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# Filling the Silence

## SHARED CONTENT IN FOUR RELATED MANUSCRIPTS OF ÆLFRIC'S *CATHOLIC HOMILIES*

► In this article I analyze the contents and transmission of a group of related manuscripts containing copies of Ælfrician and anonymous homilies in order to demonstrate the linguistic potential of variant copies of texts. I consider them from a comparative textual and linguistic perspective in a way that privileges the scribe and scribal activity over traditional philology or editorial practice. The manuscripts are Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Bodley 340 and 342, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS 162, 198, and 303. They date from Ælfric's lifetime (c. 950–c. 1010) to the mid-twelfth century. I focus on three Ælfrician homilies that appear in sequence uniquely in this cluster alongside four anonymous texts that, similarly, are not found together elsewhere. This research, funded by the Andrew W. Mellon foundation, was conducted as part of a collaborative project that sought to refine digital technologies to aid consequential research in book and language history.

### Ælfric's Attitude towards his Texts

Ælfric's authorial voice is filled with worry. We see this not just through his actions—witness his meticulous revisions and corrections made on a series of occasions to British Library MS Royal 7 C. xii—but we also know about his directives, concerns and fears through his words in the shape of his bilingual prefaces to the two Series of Catholic Homilies dedicated to Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury.<sup>1</sup> The information Ælfric provides is divided between Latin and English and thereby made appropriate for different audiences, something Jon Wilcox comments on in his edition of the prefaces (66–67). Their contents can be summarized as follows: in Latin, to Archbishop Sigeric, Ælfric tells us that these works have been translated from Holy Scripture for the edification

of the simple, “ob edificacionem simplicium” (Wilcox no. 1a, line 5). The most orthodox authorities have been followed: Augustine, Jerome, Bede, Gregory, Smaragdus, Haymo. There are forty homilies in each Series; each Series is considered sufficient for a whole year’s worth of reading to a congregation. They could be read in alternate years to prevent boredom. If someone would like to combine them into one volume for a single year, he may.<sup>2</sup> He may also produce new translations if these are insufficient or displeasing—perhaps because they are insufficiently close to the Latin or because they truncate the authorities—but he should not corrupt what is present, which Ælfric hopes is translated accurately.<sup>3</sup> In the Latin preface, then, we have sentiments suitable for Ælfric’s patron, and for the priests charged with the delivery of his homilies. In the English preface, he tells us that the impulse to translate “ða godspellican lare” (Wilcox no. 1b, line 10) “the gospel teachings” came from being aware of a great deal of “gedwyld” (“heresy”) in existing English books, obviously excepting the work of King Alfred. Scribes should take the greatest care when copying this book to make sure no error creeps in.<sup>4</sup> If anyone wishes to translate more, please set that work aside from what is in the two Series.<sup>5</sup> In the English, then, there is a warning suitable for his onward transmitters, his scribes, and for the end-user, his audience.

As with the rest of Ælfric’s writings, these statements are very clear. However, as is well known, the prefaces seem to have enjoyed only limited circulation: they survive solely in Cambridge, University Library (CUL) MS Gg.3.28,<sup>6</sup> and it is similarly telling that this manuscript is the only extant copy of the complete Second Series (Godden, *Second Series* xxi) and one of only three of the First Series representing different phases of authorial revision.<sup>7</sup>

Even those with the most passing familiarity with the Ælfrician manuscript tradition will be aware that as a whole it constitutes eloquent witness to the fact that Ælfric’s wishes, hopes, and aspirations were unheeded during his lifetime, let alone after it, but it is worth pausing to reflect on the extent to which they were disregarded even on the micro-level. Scragg’s immensely useful article on vernacular homilies and prose saints’ lives before Ælfric notes an extreme example of a composite homily containing his work in a manuscript dated to the third quarter of the eleventh century, London, Lambeth Palace MS 489 (Ker, *Catalogue* no. 283, item 5; Scragg, “Corpus” 255). At its base is a First Series homily for Tuesday in Rogationtide (ÆCHom I, 19),<sup>8</sup> but, bolted on, Frankenstein monster-like, and thus directly contradicting Ælfric’s instructions, are passages from the following: the First Series homily on the First Sunday in Lent (ÆCHom I, 11), Ælfric’s own supplement-

tary Admonitions in Lent (*ÆAdmon* 2), passages from Wulfstan's homily on Baptism (*WHom* 8c), Wulfstan's Pastoral Letter (*WHom* 13), an anonymous homily on Judgement Day (*HomU* 32), one titled "to folce" (*HomU* 23), and an anonymous Sunday letter homily (*HomU* 46). The whole of this last piece in fact immediately precedes this item in the manuscript. All of this was topped off with part of the opening of the Second Series homily on Christmas (*ÆCHom* II, 1). It is unlikely that Ælfric would have appreciated the irony of part of his First Series preface being transmogrified into a homily, as appears in a total of four eleventh-century manuscripts.<sup>9</sup>

Such repurposing (and examples can be multiplied) took place during Ælfric's lifetime. For example, CCC 162, one of the group of manuscripts considered here, contains abbreviated parts of the first of Ælfric's Second Series homily on Easter Day (*ÆCHom* I, 15) within the wider context of an anonymous piece (*HomS* 27) that Scragg ("Corpus" 242 n. 3) believes on linguistic grounds is no later than the tenth century. The same manuscript also includes a composite pendant to *ÆCHom* I, 35 (pp. 545–47).<sup>10</sup>

Composite homilies were a particular concern given their capacity to turn "ða godspellican lare" into *gedwyld*, but, as we have seen above, Ælfric also balked against the incorporation of whole anonymous pieces into manuscripts containing his work. Such an outcome, however, seems inevitable, despite his exhortations. Even eighty homilies treating separate occasions would not cover the pericopes for the whole of the ecclesiastical year; as the First and Second Series are disposed, some occasions are treated more than once: Christmas, St. Stephen, Epiphany, First Sunday in Lent, Mid-Lent Sunday, Palm Sunday, Easter Day, Tuesday in Rogationtide, the Assumption of the Virgin, and St. Peter. That the First and Second Series could be augmented was tacitly acknowledged by Ælfric, first by including a run of homilies at the end of the Second Series for the common of saints, and then when he supplemented both Series with additional homilies composed over a fifteen- or twenty-year period (*Pope* 1: 146). The majority are expositions of pericopes for Sundays not treated in the first two Series, filling lacunae in Lententide and after Pentecost (*Pope* 1: 137). Even so, gaps remained, some of which were deliberate and seemed specifically to rankle the compilers of each of the manuscripts considered here.

The four manuscripts selected for this study have long been identified as closely related to each other and all appear to have connections to the southeast of England, whether by virtue of their script, decoration, contemporary additions, or language. These codices are described

below. Attention has already been focused on individual members within the group (in particular in groundbreaking work by Donald Scragg and Elaine Treharne),<sup>11</sup> on their value as evidence for stages in Ælfric's production of the Catholic Homilies (by Peter Clemoes; Malcolm Godden, *Introduction*; and Kenneth Sisam), and on the linguistic context of the wider Ælfrician manuscript tradition (for example, "Ælfric, Language and Winchester" and "A Key to Ælfric's Standard Old English" by Mechthild Gretsch); this research attempts to unite these perspectives in order to illuminate scribal practice and strategy.

In what follows I demonstrate how close attention to the contents (both Ælfrician and anonymous) of these manuscripts and to the variant readings they supply can refine our understanding of the relationship between them. It has also been possible to reconstruct some aspects of the shape of the lost exemplar which ultimately lies behind all of these manuscript copies, contributing to the debate about the original function of this exemplar. This research is based on full transcription of selected tranches of each of the manuscripts, permitting consideration not just of lexical variants, but also of other levels of language such as phonology and morphology. I begin with an account of the methodology, followed by a description of the manuscripts in the group.

## Methodology

The first task was to check, cross-reference, and standardize Ker's description of the contents of each of these manuscripts using modern identifiers for each individual item and distinguishing the original compilation of each from later accretions. This allowed me to identify shared items helpful in refining our understanding of the relationship between the manuscripts and also to select useful texts for comparative purposes and for linguistic analysis. As a result of this process, I identified seven texts particularly suitable for this purpose, listed in the opening paragraph of this article. Three are by Ælfric, and a further four are anonymous homilies. They appear as two runs of texts only in these four manuscripts, and were fully transcribed along with glosses and annotations. The transcriptions of the Ælfric texts were made by the project's Research Assistant, Richard Shaw, then at the University of Toronto. The anonymous homilies were transcribed variously by Richard Shaw, David Boyd (University of Glasgow) and Johanna Green (University of Glasgow). Digitization of the Parker collection, which houses three of the four manuscripts studies here, made detailed comparison readily achievable; the second part of the other manuscript (Bodley 342) was specially digitized for the project.

The project initially proposed to enter transcription data directly into the web-based tool T-PEN (Transcription for Paleographical and Editorial Notation).<sup>12</sup> This tool features a parsing engine which identifies the location of each line on the manuscript page (Fig. 1). The transcription interface works with the parser to provide a transcription box which floats below each manuscript line and moves down the page as each line is keyed (Fig. 2). Customizable buttons allow the keying of

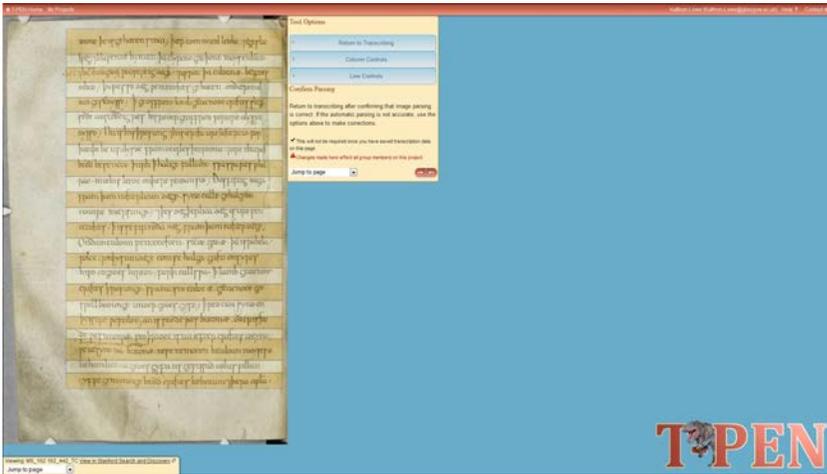


Fig. 1. The line-parser of T-PEN (screenshot).

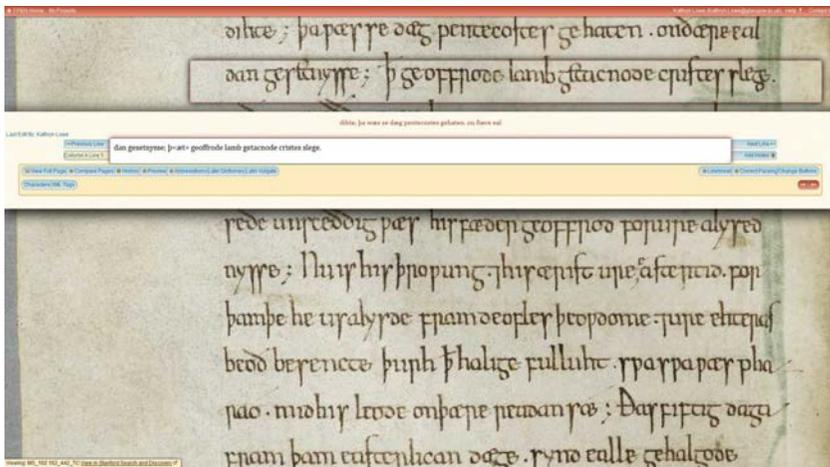


Fig. 2. The T-PEN transcription tool (screenshot).

characters such as *wynn*, *eth*, or *thorn*. Inevitably, given its beta-mode status, teething problems were encountered with the interface. Manual adjustment to the parsing results proved necessary rather more often than the 85% success rate of the automatic parser claimed by its developers would suggest. Although this tool is undoubtedly useful for students beginning to transcribe script, reducing as it does the likelihood of eyeskip by focusing attention on each line in turn, it proved frustrating for those practiced at transcription who found that the interface slowed the progress for touch-typers. Early concerns about potential loss of data led to the decision not to enter text directly into the web interface but to upload it subsequently to having completed the transcription using a standard word-processing package. This second stage was effected for the Ælfrician texts, which are now mapped onto their digital facsimiles. I outline the potential of harnessing the line-parsing engine of T-PEN in a slightly different way in the conclusion below.

## The Manuscripts

*MSS Bodley 340 and 342, Bodleian Library, Oxford*  
(*Ker, Catalogue no. 309*)

Together these two volumes form a homiliary dating to the beginning of the eleventh century with numerous alterations from the mid-eleventh century.<sup>13</sup> As Godden (*Second Series* xxvi) notes, the two-volume structure seems to be original. The homiliary is admirably comprehensive. Its main hand copies almost three-quarters of the eighty homilies which make up the two Series, and it is the largest collection of Second Series homilies after CUL Gg.3.28. As Ker (*Catalogue* 361) and Sisam (154) note, the order is essentially that of the church year.

The homiliary's provenance is either Rochester Abbey or St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. It was certainly at Rochester early, since it has additions by the corrector relating to the seventh-century bishop of Rochester, Paulinus, which includes the phrase that "wearð þa her bebyrged & her gyt aligð" 'he was then buried here and lies here still' (f. 202v). Two added quires at the end of the manuscript include a copy of the First Series homily on St. Andrew (ÆCHom I, 38), patron saint of Rochester, in a hand which may also be dated to the first half of the eleventh century (ff. 206v–18r). Eleven non-Ælfrician items are copied by the main hand, eight of which occur in a sequence comprising homilies for the run up to Lent, starting on the Second Sunday in Lent and ending on Holy Saturday.

*Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 162*  
(*Ker, Catalogue no. 38*)

This collection largely comprises homilies for Sundays and festivals, and is of a similar date to the Bodley homiliary. It is copied in a single hand with the exception of the near-contemporary addition of an incomplete homily relating to the deposition of St. Augustine (LS 2 [DepAugust]). This addition connects the manuscript to Canterbury as (more generally) do southeastern spellings in corrections of the eleventh century and the decoration of initials incorporating a fleur-de-lys motif found in both pre- and post-Conquest manuscripts from St. Augustine's (*Ker, Catalogue 56*). The manuscript has a similar cluster of non-Ælfrician material around Easter, and another around Rogationtide; it also incorporates a sequence of supplementary homilies by Ælfric for the Lenten period instead of the non-Ælfrician material that appears in Bodley 340 and CCCC 198 at this point. Scragg's detailed discussion of this manuscript reveals that its compiler originally set out to create a temporal sequence starting with Septuagesima, omitting sanctoral items, and even retrieving further items from the two Series suitable for his purpose ("CCCC 162" 79–80). Its size, generous line spacing, and comparatively few abbreviations suggest, as Treharne has argued ("Readers" 406–07), that it was perhaps originally intended as a public reading book, one that continued to be used and annotated well into (at least) the thirteenth century. Some of these interventions are discussed below.

*Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 198*  
(*Ker, Catalogue no. 48*)

This manuscript is fractionally later than the other two in the study, dated by Ker to the early eleventh century rather than to its beginning. Ker identifies the original compilation as being by four principal scribes.<sup>14</sup> As Scragg ("Blickling" 308) has demonstrated with attention to the copying stints, at least two of the scribes wrote in tandem, leading to adjustments in, for example, quire length. The original contents to f. 218r are identical to that of the first volume of the Bodley homiliary save for the substitution of the Second Series homily on the Second Sunday after Epiphany (*ÆCHom II, 4*) for an anonymous piece. Godden (*Second Series xxix–xxx*) notes that the hand changes and a new quire begins where Bodley 340 ends. A whole series of nearly contemporary additions in booklets were subsequently added to the manuscript with a single scribe adding first a series of Second Series homilies in an inserted quire, which breaks up the non-Ælfrician additions and then a block relating to the common of saints. The manuscript then duplicates the

order and contents of the second volume of the Bodley homiliary from f. 50r–106v with one omission (*ÆCHom* II, 23) to *ÆCHom* I, 27 (St. Paul) at which point the original compilation of CCC 198 leaves off. Items shared between the Bodley homiliary and this original compilation of CCC 198 are presented in Appendix 1 below, where the numbers in the columns refer to the order of each item in the respective manuscript.

We know that CCC 198 certainly fetched up at Worcester during the medieval period because of the attentions of the famous Tremulous Worcester scribe in the early thirteenth century.<sup>15</sup> There are, however, many examples of Kentish spellings in the work of the fourth scribe, which implies either that he himself came from that area or that the exemplar he used was from Kent; the cumulative evidence presented below suggests perhaps the latter.<sup>16</sup>

*Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 303,*  
(*Ker, Catalogue, no. 57*)

This post-Conquest manuscript is datable to the first half of the twelfth century, probably close to the middle part of the century according to Elaine Treharne, the scholar who has worked most extensively on this manuscript.<sup>17</sup> It is linked to the south east by virtue of its characteristic “prickly” script practiced at Rochester and Canterbury during that period (*Ker, Catalogue* 105). The contents of this manuscript, imperfect at its start and end,<sup>18</sup> are more mixed, but as Ker notes (*Catalogue* 99),<sup>19</sup> are disposed in three blocks: the first for Sundays and holy days to Easter Day (pages 1–72 of the manuscript), the second for saints’ days and the common of saints (72–202), and the last for Sundays and holy days for the second half of the year (203–90). The manuscript ends with almost entirely *Ælfrician* additions, from the supplementary homilies and Lives of the Saints, in the same main hand. The last main part of the manuscript is dominated by a section running from pages 234–90 which follows the order (with some items omitted) of Bodley 342 (ff. 50r–147v) with no additional material. It is, however, not likely to have been copied directly from Bodley 342 because of some eyeskip Godden notes which spans the recto and verso of one leaf in that manuscript (*Second Series* xxxvi). However, Ker reports incorporation of what he terms “capricious” corrections to Bodley 342 in the manuscript (*Catalogue* 99). It seems that there may be an intermediate copy lying between the two. Their close relationship is demonstrated by various shared readings I have observed. Similarly, the first part of the manuscript, identified by Godden as extending from pages 1–75 (*Second Series*, xxxiv), contains a tranche copied by Scribe 1 (pp. 1–56)<sup>20</sup> which follows the order of

CCCC 162 (pp. 237–322), again with no additional material, but with some omissions. Godden argues from textual evidence that only one of the Second Series homilies in this part derives directly from CCCC 162 (Godden, *Second Series* xxxv), but it seems more likely that all the First and Second Series homilies in this tranche were copied from a lost exemplar used also in the compilation of CCCC 162. In this manuscript the largest sequence of non-Ælfrician materials relates to Rogationtide (a group of three items running pages 215–26).

## The Common Exemplar

While details of their arguments differ, scholars agree that the three pre-Conquest manuscripts considered here ultimately share a common exemplar; this conclusion is not in doubt. However, little work has been done on establishing what this exemplar actually contained, perhaps because the focus of previous scholars has throughout been on one or other of the two Series rather than on both. Attention to such matters reveals that fourteen items appear in each independent manuscript in the same order, and were certainly in this exemplar, along, of course, with other items. They are listed in Appendix 2 below, where the numbers in the columns refer to the order of each item in the manuscript. They include four Second Series homilies, five First Series homilies, and, most telling, a run of non-Ælfrician items which appear only here as a group: homilies for Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, with one for Palm Sunday at their head. Behind this manuscript, certainly produced during Ælfric's lifetime, in turn would lie (at one or more removes) a separate set of First and Second Series homilies.

We can infer other things about this lost exemplar. Like the Bodley homiliary, it was originally produced in two volumes. This manuscript contained a large amount of non-Ælfrician material generally clustered around Lententide and the run-up to Easter, and was used directly by both the Bodley homiliary and CCCC 198, whose contents, as noted above, are almost identical up to the end of Bodley 340. Appendix 1 gives a good indication of the contents of this manuscript. The only point of difference between the two manuscripts up to item 22 is at item 8, where there is in Bodley 340 a copy of an anonymous homily for the Second Sunday after the Epiphany (HomS 4). In CCCC 198, the Second Series homily (ÆCHom II, 4) appears instead at this point. CCCC 162 also contains the Second Series text for this occasion. This implies that the exemplar was in turn part copied from a manuscript which bundled together First Series items and anonymous pieces, to

which more orthodox, Second Series pieces were substituted by the compiler of the direct exemplar. If so, the anonymous homily on the Second Sunday after Epiphany scheduled for replacement may have been accidentally retained alongside its Second Series counterpart, leaving it open to the compilers of our group of manuscripts to select one or the other. Donald Scragg (“CCCC 162” 552) explains it slightly differently by arguing that the Second Series homily replaced the anonymous piece in an intermediate copy used by CCCC 162 (and by extension CCCC 198), but the very close correspondence between Bodley 340 and CCCC 198 perhaps militates against this view.

The compiler of CCCC 162 certainly continued the substitution process by getting rid of more of the anonymous material in favour of Second Series homilies as well as some of Ælfric’s supplementary pieces and Lives of the Saints, presumably recently become available.<sup>21</sup> The first part of CCCC 303 was copied from an exemplar closely related to but probably not identical with CCCC 162; its second part was probably copied through a missing link from the second volume of the Bodley homiliary. Textual evidence precludes the possibility of either CCCC 162 or CCCC 198 being copied from the Bodley homiliary. More detailed discussion of the relationship between these manuscripts appears below, and this, together with the material presented in this section, suggests that the stemma presented as Figure 3 best reflects the relationship between these witnesses.<sup>22</sup> That it differs to some extent from the stemma suggested by other scholars, including Godden (*Second Series* lxi), Clemons (144), and Scragg (*Vercelli* 4), reflects the fuller assessment of the entire contents of the manuscripts (including the anonymous pieces) and the textual variation found in the specific texts under consideration. However, such disparity suggests that the resulting stemma might be further refined if a full set of variants from all of the texts these manuscripts share were able to be considered. My stemma perhaps coheres most closely to that of Godden’s account of the Second Series tradition, although the relationship of CCCC 303 to the existing manuscripts in this group, and in particular CCCC 162, is refined as a result of the present study.

## The Non-Ælfrician Items

The run of non-Ælfrician items present in all three of the independent manuscripts in this group contain four homilies: for Holy Thursday (HomS 22 “In cena Domini”), Good Friday (HomS 24 “In parasceve”) and Holy Saturday (HomS 25 “In sabbato sancto”), fronted by one

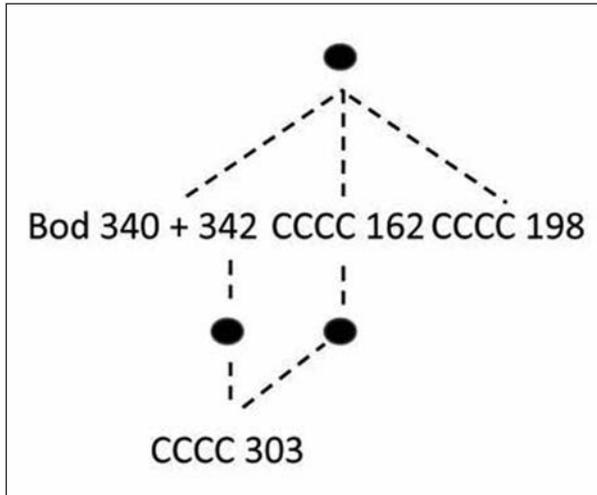


Fig. 3. The likely relationship between the manuscripts.

for Palm Sunday (HomS 18).<sup>23</sup> Ælfric would certainly not have liked their presence, since he explicitly forbade preaching in the run-up to Easter and therefore provided nothing for these first three occasions himself. As Joyce Hill has observed, Ælfric called such days *swig-dagas* (“silent days”), observing that church custom prohibited the practice of preaching then. In fact, church custom, Hill’s research demonstrates, essentially amounts to Ælfrician idiosyncrasy. This was a conclusion that some nearer to the time also reached; Ælfric’s comment, for example, “Cyrlice ðeawas forbeodað to secgenne ænig spell on ðam ðrim swig-dagum” “Church customs prohibit any homily to be preached on the three silent days’ copied in mixed majuscules in the eleventh-century homiliary CCCC 178 (p. 229), was responded to in a lengthy marginal note, essentially beginning “But this is tosh” (“Ac þis ne þynceð no us well gesæd”). The note is cryptically signed Coleman, whom Ker tentatively identifies as chancellor (d. 1113) to St. Wulfstan of Worcester (“Coleman”). The group of manuscripts considered here took such views one logical step further, by simply supplying what was missing: homilies for Holy (Maundy) Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. While this may appear to be an obvious solution, in fact it seems not to have been one that was frequently followed: the version of HomS 22 “In cena Domini” appears in only two other manuscripts,<sup>24</sup> that of HomS 24 “In parasceve” in one other manuscript unrelated to the Ælfrician textual tradition (the Vercelli Book), HomS 25 “In sabbato sancto” is unique to these manuscripts, as is the homily for Palm Sunday

(HomS 18) that fronts the sequence. However, the presence of this last piece, which appears rather different in kind from the other three texts, might be explained by the fact that, as I mentioned above, the lost exemplar to this manuscript seems to have been built originally around a First Series manuscript containing non-Ælfrician items.<sup>25</sup> The First Series homily for this occasion (ÆCHom I, 14) treats the entry into Jerusalem, but—perhaps surprisingly—not the central episode of the Last Supper and crucifixion which is left until the Second Series; its alliterative form suggests that it was a late composition (Godden, *Second Series* 474).<sup>26</sup> In line with his practice elsewhere, the compiler of CCC 162 duly inserts the Second Series homily for Palm Sunday at the head of this set, but retains the anonymous one.

This sequence, then, is unique to this manuscript cluster, as is a group of three Ælfrician homilies, comprising the First Series homily on Pentecost (ÆCHom I, 22), the First Series homily on the Second Sunday after Pentecost (ÆCHom I, 23), and the Second Series homily on the Third Sunday after Pentecost (ÆCHom II, 23). There are no alternative Ælfrician homilies for these occasions, and they are amongst the most frequently copied in the tradition: a text of ÆCHom I, 22 survives in a total of fifteen manuscripts, ÆCHom I, 23 in ten, and ÆCHom II, 23 in eight.<sup>27</sup> However, they do not appear as a group in any other manuscript.

Scholars (e.g. Sisam 154; Clemoes 68) have identified these manuscripts, containing a mixed collection of First and Second Series texts, as potentially constituting the earliest surviving response to a one-volume highlights edition apparently sanctioned by Ælfric in his Preface to the First Series: “damus licentiam, si alicui melius placet, ad unum librum ambos ordinare” (“we give licence, if it pleases anyone better, to arrange both into one book”; Wilcox no. 1a, 27–28; translation 127–28). However, as it seems that the manuscript that ultimately lies behind this group is one that originally included anonymous pieces as well as First Series items,<sup>28</sup> the presence of the non-Ælfrician items at a very early stage of transmission does not support this contention. This anonymous material was then substituted and augmented with more orthodox, Second Series, pieces by the compiler of the direct exemplar for this group of manuscripts. Knowledge that such compilers were prepared to fill the gaps with other material may have spurred Ælfric on to produce his own Second Series and supplementary texts to cover those lacunae. Of course, Ælfric remained adamant that one should not preach in the immediate run-up to Easter, and therefore would not, and did not, write ones for those silent days himself, which accounts for the survival of the

anonymous group considered here. It seems that the compilers of the manuscripts in this group decided to let others speak because and where Ælfric himself chose to remain silent.

## Textual Evidence

The data from the transcriptions of all manuscript copies of these texts (the three Ælfric homilies appear separately or together in fifteen manuscripts) will form the basis for an extended article on their language; for now, I restrict myself largely to observations of relevance to the relationship between these texts as they appear in the four manuscripts focused on here and their ultimate exemplars. For the Ælfrician texts line reference is to the editions by Clemoes (ÆCHom I, 22, 23) and Godden, *Second Series* (ÆCHom II, 23); for HomS 22 [CD], HomS 24 [IP] and HomS 25 [SS] to the editions (respectively) by Assmann, Scragg (*Vercelli* no. 1) and Evans.<sup>29</sup> HomS 18 [PS], the anonymous homily for Palm Sunday, has not to my knowledge been published.<sup>30</sup> In terms of scribal stints, the Bodley homiliary and CCCC 162 are copied by a single hand throughout, although both include a series of interesting insertions and alterations. CCCC 162's interventions are discussed separately below. The portion analysed in CCCC 303 is copied by two scribes, Ker's 1 and 3, the first of whom was responsible for the whole of ÆCHom I, 22 and part of the other two homilies. Separate scribes are responsible for the anonymous and Ælfrician material in CCCC 198 (respectively, Ker's Scribes 2 and 4).

In terms of the development of the First Series homilies, these manuscripts represent what Sisam and Clemoes identified as the second phase of Ælfric's text, the first phase being witnessed only by BL Royal 7 C xii, a manuscript almost certainly produced in Ælfric's monastery at Cerne Abbas (Sisam; Clemoes 64, 67–68). This beta stage is marked by the incorporation of certain authentic revisions to the text which appear in all later phases of the work. In terms of the texts considered here, the four manuscripts share some clearly accidental omissions. These amount in the main to one or two words, but one runs to seven words: “se halga gast becom tua ofer þam apostolum; *Crist ableow þone halgan gast uppon þam* apostolon ær his upstige” ‘The Holy Ghost came over the apostles twice; Christ breathed the Holy Ghost upon the apostles before his resurrection’ (ÆCHom I, 22, lines 214–15; words omitted from the group are in italics), which may reflect the omission of a whole line in the exemplar. Although the eyeskip, triggered by the recurrence of the dative plural of *apostol*, is an easy one to make, it should be observed

that the omission would very readily be made from f. 113v of Royal 7 C xii itself, where the eye skips easily from one word to the other at almost exactly the same position in the line beneath.

Comparison within the group also reveals some interesting relationships. CCC 162 has omissions not shared with the other members.<sup>31</sup> Two are provided in Appendix 3, Section 1. The first of these looks to be a deliberate omission; the second is probably the result of eyeskip. It also adds a homiletic ending to the main part of ÆCHom II, 23 before the *Alia narratio* section: “si him lof & wuldor. á on ecnysse amen” ‘May there be praise and glory for him forever and ever. Amen’ (p. 468).

The scribe responsible for the Ælfrician stint in CCC 198 is not a good copyist, omitting several portions of text, virtually all, it seems, due to eyeskip. There are many, a few of which are given in Appendix 3, Section 2. Each of these instances appears triggered by the same or a similar word form in the preceding clause.

Readings in CCC 162 and CCC 198 sometimes agree with each other against the Bodley homiliary (see Appendix 3, Section 3). Most amount to lexical variants. Sometimes one reading agrees with the Bodley homiliary against the other (discounting the eyeskip or accidental omissions outlined above and provided in Appendix 3 Sections 1 and 2); examples are given in Appendix 3, Section 4. Here I have distinguished what appears to be original in the manuscripts from subsequent interventions. Again, most of these are lexical variants.

The close relationship between Bodley 342 and CCC 303 is demonstrated in relation to the Ælfrician texts by a number of readings not shared by the other manuscripts. Some of these are additions or clarifications made subsequently to Bodley 342 by its contemporary corrector. Two telling examples are provided in Appendix 3, Section 5. In the first, the contemporary corrector has clarified the sense following the omission of the pronoun *he* in the original by adding “god,” an addition seamlessly incorporated by CCC 303. The two manuscripts also share a most singular rendition of “hierasenorum” for the Latin genitive plural “gerasenorum” (“of the Gadarenes”), a reading not found in any other manuscript in the tradition.

## Language

Comparison between texts as well as between manuscripts reveals that the non-Ælfrician texts display linguistic features different from the canonical set, although some distinctions may also be found between the anonymous texts suggesting that they were not originally composed as a

group. Here CCC 162 and the Bodley homiliary provide the most convincing evidence for this, as only one scribe is responsible for all texts in each manuscript's compilation, Ælfrician or anonymous.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps most telling is the frequent use of some variants found in the anonymous group which are not frequently used elsewhere, such as <heo> for the nominative or accusative third person plural pronoun, generally spelled <hi> elsewhere, and the very many examples of class 2 weak verb preterites with a medial vowel in <a> rather than <o>, a variant which does not appear at all in the Ælfrician homilies. The <heo> distribution is especially interesting. In HomS 24 [IP] the form is used 76% of the time in Bodley 340, 62% in CCC 198, but under 9% in CCC 162.<sup>33</sup> The scribe of CCC 198 seems to change his practice while copying; the early part of the homily is full of such spellings, but by the end they scarcely appear. The copy of HomS 25 [SS] in Bodley 340 also contains frequent <heo> spellings where it is overwhelmingly the most common form, used around 94% of the time. However, CCC 162 contains no examples of <heo> at all in this text, and there are only a couple in CCC 198.<sup>34</sup> It is the minority form in HomS 18 [PS]<sup>35</sup> and in HomS 22 [CD]<sup>36</sup> in all manuscripts. By way of comparison, the form does not appear at all in any of the Ælfrician homilies considered here in the three independent manuscripts, save for a single instance in CCC 198.

There are also multiple examples of the accusative singular masculine determiner <þone> spelled <þæne>. Bodley 340 uses this form on around 35% of occasions in HomS 18 [PS]. CCC 162 once again favours the Late West Saxon (LWS) spelling with <o> spellings, with <æ> found only on 17% of occurrences in the same homily. CCC 198 has the form on 48% of the occasions.<sup>37</sup> Elsewhere in the anonymous texts forms are more sporadic,<sup>38</sup> but the spelling does not appear at all in the Ælfrician texts.

In terms of phonology, non-West Saxon forms generally occur far more frequently in the anonymous homilies than they do in the Ælfrician texts.<sup>39</sup> Although Kentish forms<sup>40</sup> appear throughout the manuscripts, both in the Ælfrician and the anonymous pieces, they appear with greater regularity in these latter texts. The distribution of such forms is interesting: there are not many instances, for example, where a Kentish form appears across all three manuscripts. This variance is open to a variety of interpretations, including the possibility that these Kentish forms were generated by the scribes of these manuscripts themselves rather than being a feature of their exemplar.<sup>41</sup> However, there are plenty of instances where CCC 162 alone of the three manuscripts has the LWS form. I provide a few representative examples in Appendix 4,

Section 1. This suggests to me that all three of the scribes are standardizing strongly dialectal texts to some degree, but that the scribe of CCC 162 is more zealous in this regard than the others. This is in line with his practice in relation to the spelling forms discussed above, where we saw him fairly consistently replacing variant forms with ones which may be regarded as more squarely LWS forms. He does so with general competence, although there are some forms which are probably best regarded as hyperadaptions, a few of which are provided in Appendix 4, Section 2. By way of contrast, more Kentish spellings are retained in CCC 198 than in either the Bodley homiliary or CCC 162.<sup>42</sup> Some examples, which could be multiplied, are given in the table.

## Conclusion

During Ælfric's lifetime two of the surviving manuscripts in this set, perhaps three, were probably written, each containing material that he did not authorize. That this might appear surprising (on the face of it at least) is partly because Ælfric himself was insistent that such material should not be included in this fashion, and partly because of the practice of modern editors. These great scholars have separated the wheat from the chaff, giving us unadulterated Ælfric freed from the jostling presence of other, nameless, less proficient, and potentially less theologically sound homilists who generally kept him company. Ælfric himself would no doubt have approved of such intervention, but this is not the reality of eleventh-century manuscript production. Continuing to privilege Ælfric in this way risks skewing our understanding of how medievals themselves viewed and transmitted these texts, and also does not allow us to see Ælfric's works—or his language—in context. For example, my analysis above contradicts Mechthild Gretsch's suggestion ("Key" 73) that scribes might have been more careful when copying Ælfric's work than that of his anonymous peers. It seems instead that although scribes made sporadic attempts (and, in the case of the scribe of CCC 162, more sustained efforts) to standardize spelling, their performance throughout can best be characterized as inherently conservative. I can therefore detect no fundamental difference in the attitudes of these scribes to their exemplars. Ælfric's writings show consistency in spelling, morphology, and phonology because he worked hard to impose regularity in this regard in the manuscripts he sent out for copying; much of this consistency is transmitted through generations by scribes such as these who were trained to copy texts accurately.

## Digital Philology: The Future

This article has sought to demonstrate that the close analysis of such material can shed light not just on scribal habits and on linguistic variation but also offer correctives to detail on wider issues such as the transmission of the Ælfrician manuscript tradition. However, there is an issue with the comparatively small size of the dataset used here. Very many linguistic tokens of a particular form are required if we are to be certain that our conclusions are valid. In order fully to investigate the development of English during this period, it is essential to have accurate transcriptions of variant manuscripts which have not been filtered for importance by the standard collation process. Critical editions are necessarily focused on the text, rather than on the process of variation in the language, but this severely compromises their use for linguistic analysis. Full-text transcription is too costly and time-consuming to achieve using skilled transcribers such as research assistants or graduate students. However, it is potentially achievable with the help of the public, and with imaginative repurposing of some of the digital tools described above. Anglo-Saxon and early medieval English script, being generally non-cursive, is comparatively easy to read even by non-specialists; letter recognition is fairly straightforward and errors readily identifiable. A major crowdsourcing project to produce full transcriptions of manuscripts containing Ælfric's Catholic Homilies (totalling an estimated 11,000 manuscript pages) is presently in preparation for consideration by a UK funding agency, inspired by the potential of the research conducted above.<sup>43</sup> We aim to produce transcriptions of each manuscript in its entirety, vitally allowing Ælfric's works to be seen in their full context. The tool would utilize the line-parsing capability of T-PEN and would present individual lines to the volunteer (alongside a lower-resolution full-page image for context). The transcription will be keyed using a simple point-and-click interface; selection of a letter will provide a sample of the graph from the output of the specific scribe responsible for the target line. Users will also be asked to indicate the existence of interventions on the page such as glosses, erasures or insertions. The project's methodology will be informed by the experience gained from existing crowdsourcing ventures (such as the *Ancient Lives* project at Oxford),<sup>44</sup> and the project tool will be developed by the same highly experienced Zooniverse team. Multiple users will be fed the same manuscript line which will be removed from the queue only when a number agree on a transcription (the multiple response approach). Individual worker reliability will also be tested through seeded manuscript lines

for which a transcription has been prepared by the project team, and responses weighted accordingly. The resulting transcriptions will then be adjusted for word separation using Natural Language Processing algorithms before upload to the web interface at project end. Each word of the output will be linked both to the manuscript which contains it and context-specific information such as text and individual scribal stints, permitting searches across any or all of these fields, with the results freely downloadable from the project website. This will allow focused analysis, and will facilitate lexical searches in complementary resources such as the Corpus of Old English. The raw transcription files, preserving normally unrecorded features such as manuscript line division and word spacing, will also be available for download, and will constitute an unparalleled dataset. It is important that these searches are as flexible as possible so as to maximize the utility of the project to scholars with a wide range of interests and backgrounds. This project has been designed to make full use of the exciting extent to which digital resources and techniques can facilitate consequential research in philology, and we believe that it has the potential to serve as a model in this regard.

**Appendix 1**

Items shared between Bodley 340/342 and CCCC 198  
(original compilation).

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|              | Shared items                     | Bodley 340 | CCCC 198 |
|--------------|----------------------------------|------------|----------|
| HomS 1       | Christmas                        | 1          | 1        |
| ÆCHom I, 3   | St. Stephen                      | 2          | 2        |
| ÆCHom I, 4   | St. John the Evangelist          | 3          | 3        |
| ÆCHom I, 5   | Innocents                        | 4          | 4        |
| ÆCHom I, 6   | Circumcision                     | 5          | 5        |
| ÆCHom I, 7   | Epiphany                         | 6          | 6        |
| HomS 3       | First Sunday after Epiphany      | 7          | 7        |
| ÆCHom I, 8   | Third Sunday after Epiphany      | 9          | 9        |
| ÆCHom I, 9   | Purification                     | 10         | 10       |
| ÆCHom II, 9  | St. Gregory the Great            | 11         | 11       |
| ÆCHom II, 10 | St. Cuthbert                     | 12         | 12       |
| ÆCHom II, 11 | St. Benedict                     | 13         | 13       |
| ÆCHom I, 13  | Annunciation                     | 14         | 14       |
| ÆCHom II, 5  | Septuagesima                     | 15         | 15       |
| ÆCHom II, 6  | Sexagesima                       | 16         | 16       |
| ÆCHom I, 10  | Quinquagesima                    | 17         | 17       |
| ÆCHom II, 7  | First Sunday in Lent             | 18         | 18       |
| HomS 11.2    | Second Sunday in Lent            | 19         | 19       |
| HomS 13      | Third Sunday in Lent             | 20         | 20       |
| HomS 15      | Fourth Sunday in Lent            | 21         | 21       |
| HomS 16      | Fifth Sunday in Lent             | 22         | 22       |
| HomS 18      | Palm Sunday                      | 23         | 25       |
| HomS 22      | In cena Domini                   | 24         | 26       |
| HomS 24      | In parasceve                     | 25         | 27       |
| HomS 25      | In sabbato sancto                | 26         | 28       |
| ÆCHom I, 15  | Easter Day                       | 27         | 29       |
| ÆCHom I, 16  | First Sunday after Easter        | 28         | 30       |
| ÆCHom I, 17  | Second Sunday after Easter       | 29         | 31       |
| ÆCHom II, 17 | Philip and James                 | 30         | 32       |
| ÆCHom II, 18 | Invention of the Cross           | 31         | 33       |
| ÆCHom I, 21  | Ascension Day                    | 342 40     | 39       |
| ÆCHom I, 22  | Pentecost                        | 342 41     | 40       |
| ÆCHom I, 23  | Second Sunday after Pentecost    | 342 42     | 41       |
| ÆCHom II, 23 | Third Sunday after Pentecost     | 342 43     | 42       |
| ÆCHom I, 25  | Nativity of St. John the Baptist | 342 45     | 43       |
| ÆCHom II, 24 | St. Peter                        | 342 46     | 44       |
| ÆCHom I, 26  | St. Peter and St. Paul           | 342 47     | 45       |
| ÆCHom I, 27  | St. Paul                         | 342 48     | 46       |

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## Appendix 2

Shared items in the original compilations of the manuscripts considered here.

|              | Shared items                      | Bodley 340 | CCCC 162 | CCCC 198 |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|------------|----------|----------|
| ÆCHom I, 8   | Third Sunday after Epiphany       | 9          | 9        | 9        |
| ÆCHom II, 5  | Septuagesima                      | 15         | 10       | 15       |
| ÆCHom II, 6  | Sexagesima                        | 16         | 11       | 16       |
| ÆCHom I, 10  | Quinquagesima                     | 17         | 12       | 17       |
| ÆCHom II, 7  | First Sunday in Lent              | 18         | 15       | 18       |
| HomS 18      | Palm Sunday                       | 23         | 27       | 25       |
| HomS 22      | In cena Domini (Maundy Thursday)  | 24         | 28       | 26       |
| HomS 24      | In parasceve (Good Friday)        | 25         | 29       | 27       |
| HomS 25      | In sabbato sancto (Holy Saturday) | 26         | 30       | 28       |
| ÆCHom I, 16  | First Sunday after Easter         | 28         | 32       | 30       |
| ÆCHom I, 17  | Second Sunday after Easter        | 29         | 33       | 31       |
| ÆCHom I, 22  | Pentecost                         | 342 41     | 38       | 40       |
| ÆCHom I, 23  | Second Sunday after Pentecost     | 342 42     | 39       | 41       |
| ÆCHom II, 23 | Third Sunday after Pentecost      | 342 43     | 40       | 42       |

## Appendix 3

Variant readings.

|                                 |  |  |
|---------------------------------|--|--|
| 1                               | Omissions in CCCC 162  |  |
| ÆCHom<br>II, 23 lines<br>128–30 | Bodley 342 f. 71 v: We synd<br>gecnæwe þæt we hit<br>forgymeleosodon<br>on ðam dæge þe man þæt<br>godspell rædde ac hit mæg<br>eow nu fremian swa micclum<br>swa hit þa mihte;   | CCCC 198 f. 266r: we synd<br>genæwe þæt we hit<br>forgemeleosodon on þam<br>dæge þe man þæt godspel<br>rædde ac hit mæg eow nu<br>fremian swa micclum swa<br>hit þa mihte;   |
| HomS 24 [IP]<br>ll. 248–51      | Bodley 340 f. 140v: & þa his<br>þegnas geworhtan & gewundan<br>þyrnene beah for cynebænd. &<br>him on þæt heafod settan. for ðan<br>ðe þæt bið cýninga þeaw & casera<br>þæt hi oft habbað gýldenne<br>heafodbænd ymb heora heafod. | CCCC 198 f. 182v: & þa his<br>þegnas geworhton &<br>gewundon þyrnene beah<br>for cynebænd. & him on þæt<br>heafod settan. for ðan ðe þæt<br>bið cýninga þeaw & casera þæt<br>hi oft habbað gýldene<br>heafodbænd ymb heora heafod. |
|                                 | Bodley 340 f. 140v: & þa his<br>þegnas geworhtan & gewundan<br>þyrnene beah for cynebænd. &<br>him on þæt heafod settan. for ðan<br>ðe þæt bið cýninga þeaw & casera<br>þæt hi oft habbað gýldenne<br>heafodbænd ymb heora heafod. | CCCC 162 p. 359: & þa his<br>þegnas geworhton. &<br>gewundon þyrnene beah. for<br>ðan ðe þæt bið cýninga þeaw<br>& casera þæt hi oft habbað<br>gýldene heafodbend ymb heora<br>heafod.   |

Appendix 3, continued.

|                                    |  |  |  |
|------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| 2                                  | <p>Omissions in CCCC 198</p>   |  |  |
| <p>ÆCHom I,<br/>22 ll. 166–67</p>  | <p>Bodley 342 f. 61v: God is swa swa paulus cwæð fornimende fȳr; he is unasegendlīc fȳr &amp; ungesewenlic;</p>  | <p>CCCC 162 p. 449: God is swa swa paulus cwæð fornymende fȳr; he is unasegendlīc fȳr &amp; ungesewenlic;</p>  | <p>CCCC 198 f. 257v: God is swa swa paulus cwæð fornumende fȳr;<sup>45</sup> &amp; ungesewenlic;</p>           |
| <p>ÆCHom I,<br/>23 ll. 74–77</p>   | <p>Bodley 342 f. 66r: þam rīcan wæs forgolden mid þam hwilwendlican spedum: gif he hwæt to góde gefremode; &amp; þam þearfan wæs forgolden mid þære yrmðe: gif he hwæt to yfele gefremode;</p> | <p>CCC 162 p. 458: þam rīcan C wæs forgolden mid þam hwilwendlicum spedum gif he hwæt to góde gefremode. &amp; þam þearfan wæs forgolden mid þære yrmðe. gyf he hwæt to yfele geddyde;</p> | <p>CCCC 198 f. 261v: þam rīcan wæs forgolden mid þam hwilwendlican spedum: gif he hwæt to yfele gefremode;</p> |
| <p>ÆCHom II,<br/>23 ll. 142–43</p> | <p>Bodley 342 f. 72r: Se hælend geswutelode mid þam slæpe þa s oðan menniscnysse. &amp; mid þam wundre his godcundan mægenbrymnysse;</p>   | <p>CCCC 162 p. 469: Se hælend geswutelode mid þam slæpe þa soðan menniscnysse. &amp; mid þam wundre his godcundan mægenbrymnysse;</p>  | <p>CCCC 198 f. 266v: Se hælend geswutelode mid ðam slape ða soðan menniscnysse;</p>                            |
| 3                                  | <p>Examples where CCCC 162 and CCCC 198 agree with each other against the Bodley homiliary</p>   |  |  |
| <p>ÆCHom I,<br/>22 ll. 216–17</p>  | <p>Bodley 342 f. 62v: asende se ælmihtiga fæder... to ðam heofonlican heape;</p>   | <p>CCCC 162 p. 452: asende se ælmihtiga fæder... to ðam geleaffullum heape;</p>  | <p>CCCC 198 f. 258v: asende se ælmihtiga fæder... to þam geleafullan heape;</p>                                |

- ÆCHom I,  
22 ll. 41–43  
Bodley 342 f. 58r: se halga hired  
wæs wunierende anmodlice on  
gebedum... æfter upstige ures  
drihtnes anbiðende his behates;
- CCCC 162 p. 443: se halga hired  
wæs wunigende anmodlice on  
gebedum... æfter cristes upstige  
anbiðigende his behates;
- HomS 22  
[CD] ll. 99–100  
Bodley 340 f. 130v: Swa he gedyde  
þurh his þa halgan þrowunge. &  
þurh his þa eadmodan lare.
- CCCC 162 p. 338: Swa he  
gedyde þurh his halgan þrowunge.  
& þurh his þa eadigan lare.
- HomS 22 [CD]  
ll. 173–74  
Bodley 340 f. 132v he þysne  
middaneard aðwoh. & generede  
mid his þam whitigan blóde
- CCC 162 pp. 341–42: & he þisne  
C middaneard aþwoh. & generede  
mid his þi deorwurðan blode.
- HomS 22  
[CD] ll. 186–88  
Bodley 340 f. 132v: on aghwylce  
tíð mid ælmihtiges godes fultume.  
æghwæðer ge heane ge rice.
- CCCC 162 p. 342: on aghwylce tig  
mid ælmihtiges godes fultume  
gehwæðer ge geonge ge ealde.  
ge heane ge rice.
- HomS 24  
[IP] l. 175  
Bodley 340 f. 139r: & þa sona mid  
þan se hana creow;
- CCCC 162 p. 355: & þa sona mid  
þy creow se hana.
- HomS 24  
[IP] ll. 366–67  
Bodley 340 f. 143v: þa genamon heo  
for ðam iudea eastortidum. & for ðan  
ðe seo byrgen swa neah wæs.
- CCCC 162 p. 365: þa genamon  
hi for ðam þe seo byrgen swa  
neah wæs.
- HomS 24 [IP]  
ll. 373–75<sup>46</sup>  
Bodley 340 f. 144r: ac uton we for  
ðan ðon/ swa swa us micel þearf is  
mid ealre heortan meagolnysse &  
mid ealles modes estfullnysse **him** on  
**hand gan** & hine lufian.
- CCCC 162 p. 365: ac uton we  
for þan swa swa us micel þearf  
si mid ealre heortan abrynnysse.<sup>47</sup>  
& mid ealles modes estfullnysse  
hine lufian.
- CCCC 198 f. 254v: þæt se halga  
hired wæs wunierende anmodlice on  
gebedum... æfter cristes upstige.  
anbiðende his behates;
- CCCC 198 f. 169v: Swa he gedyde  
þurh his ða halgan ðrowunge. &  
þurh his ða eadigan lare
- CCCC 198 f. 172r: & he ðisne  
middaneard aðwoh & generede  
mid his þy deorwurðum blóde
- CCCC 198 f. 172r: on aghwylce  
tíð mid ælmihtiges godes fultume.  
gehwæðer ge geonge ge ealde. ge  
heane ge rice.
- CCCC 198 fo. 180r: & þa sona  
mid þe creow se hana.
- CCCC 198 f. 186r: ða genamon hí  
for ðam þe seo byrgen swa neah  
wæs;
- CCCC 198 f. 186rv: ac utan we for  
ðan swa swa us micel<sup>48</sup> þearf is mid  
ealre heortan abrynnysse & mid  
elles módes estfullnysse hine lufian.

Appendix 3, continued.

|                            |   |   |   |
|----------------------------|---|---|---|
| HomS 25 [SS]<br>ll. 108–09 | Bodley 340 f. 146v: we swa eall þæt <i>rim</i> þæra <i>dogra</i> after þære endebyrdnyssse tellað;  | CCCC 162 p. 370–71: we swa eall þæt gerim þæra daga after ðære endebyrdnyssse tellað;   | CCCC 198 f. 189v: we swa eall þæt gerim þæra daga after þære endebyrdnyssse tellað;   |
| 4                          | <b>Examples where either 162 or CCCC 198 agree with the Bodley homiliary against each other</b>   |   |   |
| ÆCHom I,<br>22 ll. 186–88  | Bodley 342 f. 62r: he onlihte dauides heortan. þa ða he on geogoðe hearpan lufode: & worhte hine to sealmwyrhtan;   | CCCC 162 p. 450: he onlihte dauides heortan þa ða he on geogoðe hearpan lufode. & worhte hine to sealmwyrhtan;  | CCCC 198 fo. 258r: he onlihte dauides heortan. þa ða he on geogoðe hearpan lufode: & worhtte hine to <b>sealmscope</b> ;  |
| ÆCHom I, 22<br>ll. 206–08  | Bodley 342 f. 62v: þurh cristes menniscnyssse wurdon menn alyssde fram deofles beowte: & þurh tocyrne þæs halgan gastes menniscne menn wurdon gedonne to godum; | CCCC 162 p. 451: þurh cristes menniscnyssse wurdon men alyssede fram deofles beowte. & þurh tócyrne þæs haligan gastes mennisce men wurdon gedóne to godum; | CCCC 198 f. 258v: ðurh cristes menniscnyssse wurdon menn alyssede fram deofles þeowdome. & þurh tocyrne þæs halgan gastes mennisce menn wurdon gedonne to godum þeowdome; |
| ÆCHom I,<br>23 ll. 164–65  | Bodley 342 f. 68v: se ðe us ahredde fram deofles hæfnýdum;  | CCCC 162 p. 462: se ðe us ahredde of deofles hæfnýftnyd. <sup>49</sup>  | CCCC 198 f. 263v: se ðe us ahredde fram deofles <b>costunge</b> & hæfnýdum;   |
| HomS 18 [PS]               | Bodley 340 f. 123r: æfter matheus gerecednyssse;  | CCCC 162 p. 322: æfter matheus <b>gesetnyssse</b> ;   | CCCC 198 f. 160r: æfter matheus gerecednyssse.  |
| HomS 18 [PS]               | Bodley 340 f. 123r: þy læs þæt folc onstyred <sup>50</sup> wurde;   | CCCC 162 p. 322: þy læs þæt folc <b>astyred</b> wære;   | CCCC 198 f. 160r: þe læs þæt folc onstyred wurde  |

- HomS 18 [PS]  
Bodley 340 f. 125v: þa eode to him an mennen... þa eode þær oðer maennen<sup>si</sup> to ðære duru.  
CCCC 162 p. 327: & þa eode to him an wyln... þa eode þær oðer wyln to ðære dura.
- HomS 24 [IP]  
Il. 326–27  
Bodley 340 f. 142v: þa wiste se hælend þæt ealle þa ping wæron gefylled þa ðe be him gewitegade wæron;  
CCCC 162 p. 363: þa wiste se hælend þæt ealle þa ping wæron gefyllede þe be him gewritene wæron;
- HomS 25 [SS]  
Il. 156–58  
Bodley 342 f. 147v: on ðysum frigendæge. þa he ure drihten for ealles mancynnes hælu deað geðra wade. þæt þa eac micel eorðhryns gewearð. & þeos eorðe eall gebifode.  
CCCC 162 p. 373: on ðisum frigedæge. þa ure drihten for ealles mancynnes hælu deað gebrowade. þæt þa eac micel earformys gewearð. & þeos eorðe eall bifode.
- HomS 25 [SS]  
Il. 145–46  
Bodley 340 f. 147v: & þa halgan wifmen mid swetum wyrtum. & mid deorwuðum smyrenyssum. to ðære drihtenlican byrgenne coman  
CCCC 162 p. 372: & þa halgan wifmen mid swetum wyrtum & mid deorwuðum smyrenyssum to ðære byrgenne comon.
- 5  
**Readings shared between CCCC 303 and Bodley 342**
- ÆCHom II,  
23 ll. 182–84  
Bodley 342 f. 73r: Ne dorston þa deoflu þa ða hi adræfde wæron into ðan/ swynum. gif him god/ ne sealde leafe.  
CCCC 303 p. 256: Ne dorston þa deoflu þa þa hi adræfde wæron into þan swinum gif him god ne sealde leafa.
- ÆCHom II,  
23 ll. 147–48  
Bodley 342 f. 72r: hi ða offerweon þone brym. & gelendon on ðam lande. þe is gehaten **hierasenorum**;  
CCCC 303 p. 255: Hi ða offerweon þone brym. & gelendon on þan lande þe is gehaten **hierasenorum**.

## Appendix 4

### Kenticisms

|                             |  |  |
|-----------------------------|--|--|
| 1<br>ÆCHom<br>22 ll. 170–72 | <b>Kentish forms, with LWS forms in CCCC 162 (indicative examples only)</b><br>Bodley 342 f. 61v: <i>þonne byrnð I,</i><br>seo eorðe: <i>þonne þæs eorðlican</i><br>mannes heorte. bið ontænd to<br>godes lufe: <sup>52</sup> seo þe ær wæs ceald<br>þurh flæsclicum lustum; | CCCC 198 f. 257v: <i>þonne byrnð</i><br>seo eorðe: <i>þonne þæs eorðlican</i><br>mannes heorte bið ontænd to<br>godes lufe: seo þe ær wæs ceald<br>þurh flæsclicum lustum; |
| HomS 18 [PS]                | Bodley 340 ff. 123v–24r: se ðe his<br>hand deð on minan ne disc. se me<br>seleð. & witodlice. hit gegæð be <i>him.</i><br>swa swa hit awriten is;  | CCCC 198 ff. 160v–61r: se ðe his<br>hand deð on minne disc. se me<br>seleð. & witodlice hit gegæð be<br>him. swa swa hit awriten is.                                       |
| HomS 18 [PS]                | Bodley 340 f. 126v: & æfter þan<br>hi ungyredon hine þy sciccelse. &<br>hine gegeredon <sup>53</sup> his agenum hrægle.  | CCCC 198 f. 164v: & æfter þan<br>hi ongyredon hine þy sciccelse. &<br>hine gegeredon his agenum hrægle.  |
| HomS 22 [CD]<br>ll. 9–10    | Bodley 340 f. 128v: swa we nu<br>heræfter geheran magon.   | CCCC 198 f. 167r: swa we nu<br>heræfter geheran magon.   |
| HomS 22 [CD]<br>ll. 22.5–27 | Bodley 340 f. 133v: se ungetreowa<br>iudas þam lareowe deað sætade.<br>swa <i>him</i> eall his lif to ungesældum<br>& to <i>ermðum</i> weard;  | CCCC 198 f. 173v: se ungetreowa<br>iudas <i>ðam</i> lareowe deað sætade.<br>swa <i>him</i> eall his lif to ungesældum<br>& to <i>ermðum</i> weard;                         |
| HombS 22<br>[CD] l. 262     | Bodley 340 f. 134v: ac uton nu<br>geþæncan; <i>Men.</i> be ðære bysene<br>þære bysene  | CCCC 198 f. 174v: uton nu<br>geðæncan; <i>Men</i> be ðere bisene   |

- HomS 24 [IP]  
ll. 154–55  
Bodley 340 f. 138v: þa stod petrus æt þam fyre swa ic ær sælde. & hine wermde.
- HomS 24 [IP]  
ll. 335–36  
Bodley 340 f. 143r: þa eodan þa iudeas to pilate & hine bædon þæt he hete heora sceacan forbreacan.
- HomS 25 [SS]  
ll. 121–22  
Bodley 340 f. 147r: he us þa æghwæðer ge mid wordum ge mid bisenum lærde. hu we of synnum & of deofles andwealde acerran sceoldan.
- 2  
HomS 18 [PS]  
HomS 18 [PS]  
HomS 18 [PS]  
HomS 22 [CD]  
ll. 41–43  
**Probable hyperadaptions in CCCC 162**  
Bodley 340 f. 123v: þa eode an of ðam twelf apostolum  
Bodley 340 f. 124v: þa cwæð he to his þegnum. sitað her oððæt ic gange þider  
Bodley 340 f. 129r: & se hælend wæs hlioniende æt ðam gereordum mid his apostolum. & mid heom mete þigde.
- CCCC 162 p. 355: þa stod petrus æt þam fyre swa ic ær sælde. & hine wermde.
- CCCC 162 p. 363: þa eodan þa iudeas to pilate. & hine bædon þæt he hete heora sceacan [sic] forbræcan.
- CCCC 162 p. 371: he us þa æghwæðer ge mid wordum ge mid bysenum lærde. hu we of synnum & of deofles anwealde acyrran sceoldon.
- CCCC 162 p. 323 þa eode an of þam twælf apostolum.
- CCCC 162 p. 325: þa cwæð he to his þegnum sitað her oððæt ic gange þeder.
- CCCC 162 p. 335: & se hælend wæs hleonigende æt þam gereordum mid his apostolum. & mid heom mæte þigde.
- CCCC 198 f. 180r: ða stod petrus æt þam fyre swa ic ær sælde. & hine wermde.
- CCCC 198 f. 185r: þa eodan þa iudeas to pilate. & hine bædon þæt he hete heora sceacan forbreacan
- CCCC 198 f. 190r: he us ða ægh wæðer ge mid wordum ge mid bisenum lærde. hu we of synnum & of deofles andwealde. accerran sceolden
- CCCC 198 f. 160v: þa eode an of ðam twelf apostolum
- CCCC 198 f. 161v: þa cwæð he to his þegnum. sitað hér. oðþæt ic gange þider
- CCCC 198 f. 168r: & se hælend wæs hlioniende æt ðam gereordum. mid his apostolum. & mid heom mete þigde.

Appendix 4, continued.

- HomS 22 [CD] Bodley 340 f. 131v: onget. þæt ælc þæra manna... þæt he þonze sceal nu ær þurh minne fultum & þurh mine geofe fram his synnum geclaensod beon.
- CCCC 162 p. 340: ongyt. þætte ælc þæra manna... þæt he þonne sceal nu ær þurh minne fultum & þurh mine gyfu fram his synnum geclaensod beo.
- HomS 25 [SS] Bodley 340 f. 145v: uton þonze eac nu þone traht þærto gehyran. & þas halgan rædinge eft hwilcumhwega wordum oferwæðan.
- CCCC 162 p. 368: uton þonze eac nu þone traht þærto gehyran. & þære halgan rædinge eft hwilcumhwega wordum oferwæðan.
- HomS 25 [SS] Bodley 340 f. 147r: Se ðe lihted cwæð se godspellere on ðone ærestan restedæg; hwæt wæs se æresta restedæg þe he on ðam wordum mænde. buton þæt wæs se halga drihtenlica dæg þe we nu sunnandæg nemniað.
- CCCC 162 p. 372: Se ðe lihted cwæð se godspellere on ðone ærestan ræstedæg; hwæt is se æresta ræstedæg. þe he on þam wordum mænde? buton þæt hit wæs se halga drihtenlica dæg þe we nu sunnandæg nemniað.
- 3 Kenticisms retained in CCCC 198 Bodley 340 f. 125r: ac soðlice þis is eall geworden þætte wæron gefyllede þa gewritu þæra witegena; witegena
- CCCC 198 f. 171r: ongeat. þætte ælc þæra manna... þæt he ðonne sceal nu ær ðurh minne fultum & þurh mine geofe fram his synnum geclaensod beon.
- CCCC 198 f. 188r: uton þonne eac nu þonze traht þærto gehyran. & þære halgan rædinge eft hwilcumhwega wordum oferwæðan
- CCCC 198 f. 190v: Se ðe lihted cwæð se godspellere on ðæne ærestan restedæg. hwæt is se æresta restedæg. þe he on ðam wordum mænde? buton þæt hit was se halga drihtenlica dæg. þe we nu sunnandæg nemniað.
- CCCC 198 f. 162r: ac soðlice þis is eall geworden þætte wæron gefyllede þa gewritu þæra witegena;

|                            |   |   |  |
|----------------------------|---|---|--|
| HomS 18 [PS]               | Bodley 340 f. 125r: petrus... þær þær æt ðam gate gesæt mid ðam þegnum þæt he wolde geseon þone ende; | CCCC 162 p. 326: petrus... þær æt þam gate gesæt. mid þam þegnum þæt he wolde geseon þone ende; | CCCC 198 f. 162v: Petrus... þær æt ðam gate gesæt mid ðam þegnum. þæt he wolde þone ænde \ gesion/ |
| HomS 22 [CD]<br>ll. 126–27 | Bodley 340 f. 131r: & ic hit þe gesege;   | CCCC 162 p. 339: & ic hit þe gesege;  | CCCC 198 f. 170v: & ic hit þe gesæcge;   |
| HomS 22 [CD]<br>ll. 135–36 | Bodley 340 f. 131v: Se man ana wæs þæt eadmodnyse wiðsóc & hwæðere for hyrsumnyse geðafode;           | CCCC 162 p. 340: Se man ana wæs þætte eadmodnyse wiðsóc. & hwæðere for hyrsumnyse geðafode;     | CCCC 198 f. 170v: Se man ana wæs þætte eadmodnyse wiðsóc. & hwæðere for hersumnyse geðafode;       |
| Hom S 24 [IP]<br>ll. 97–98 | Bodley 340 f. 137r: Wæs on ðan swa cuð þæt he hi ealle mid ane worde on ece forwýrd sendan mihte      | CCCC 162 p. 352: Wæs on þan swa cuð. þæt he hi ealle mid anum worde on ece forwýrd sendan mihte | CCCC 198 f. 177v: Wæs on ðam swa cuð þæt he hi ealle mid ane worde on ece forwýrd sændan mihte     |
| Hom S 24 [IP]<br>l. 339    | Bodley 340 f. 143r: þa het pilatus gán þa cempan to.  | CCCC 162 p. 363: þa het pilatus gán þa cempan to.   | CCCC 198 f. 185r: þa hét pilatus gán þa cæmpan to.   |

## Notes

1. Ælfric's corrections are summarized in Ker, *Catalogue* no. 257, item 12. For a full description of his hand, see Eliason and Clemoes 19–22. The prefaces are most usefully and accessibly edited by Wilcox nos. 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b.

2. “Damus licentiam, si alicui melius placet, ad unum librum ambos ordinare” (Wilcox no. 1a, line 8); “we give licence, if it pleases anyone better, to arrange both into one book” (Wilcox 127–28).

3. “Ergo si alicui displicet, [sive] in interpretatione—quod non semper verbum ex verbo, aut quod breviorum explicationem quam tractatus auctorum habent—sive quod non per ordinem ecclesiastici ritus omnia evangelia tractando percurrimus, condant sibi altiore interpretatione librum, quomodo intellectui eius placet. Tantum obsecro ne pervertat nostram interpretationem” (Wilcox no. 1a, lines 28–33); “And so, if it displeases anyone, either in the translation—because it is not always word for word or is a shorter explication than one has in the books of the authorities—or because we do not proceed through all the gospels in the order in which ecclesiastical custom treats them, let them make for himself a book with a better translation in whatever manner is pleasing to his understanding. But I entreat him not to pervert our version” (Wilcox 128).

4. “Nu bydde ic and halsige on Godes naman, gif hwa ðas boc awritan wylle, þæt he hi geornlice gerihte be ðære bysene, þy læs ðe we ðurh gymelease wrietas geleahrtode beon” (Wilcox no. 1b, lines 86–88); “Now I pray and entreat in God's name, if anyone wishes to copy this book, that he assiduously correct it according to the exemplar, unless we are corrupted through negligent writers”. The presence of an identical statement in the preface to the Second Series (Wilcox no. 2b, lines 15–17) and similar sentiments elsewhere (e.g. in his prefaces to the *Grammar* [Wilcox no. 3b, lines 26–27] and *Genesis* [Wilcox no. 4 lines 115–16]) suggests that Ælfric was keen his message got across.

5. “Gif hwa ma awendan wille, ðonne bidde ic hine, for Godes lufon, þæt he gesette his boc onsundron fram ðam twam bocum ðe we awend habbað” (Wilcox no. 2f, lines 6–8); “If anyone wishes to translate more, then I petition him, for the love of God, to set his book aside from the two which we have translated, we believe through God's direction.” This observation is made in the *Oratio*, the prayer appended to the Second Series.

6. Although see p. 192 for the repurpose of the preface to the First Series.

7. The others being BL, Royal 7 C. xii (A) and CCC 188 (Q) (Clemones 64).

8. I use throughout the standard short titles used in the *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE), and listed in Healey and Venezky.

9. Bodleian, Hatton 115 (Ker, *Catalogue* no. 332, item 28) and Junius 121 (Ker, *Catalogue* no. 338, item 34); CCC 188 (Ker, *Catalogue* no. 43, item 43) and CCC 178 (Ker, *Catalogue* no. 41, item 12). See also Godden, “Composite Homilies.”

10. For other non-Ælfrician additions, see Scragg, “CCCC 162” 75–76.

11. See the references cited below in the discussion of the manuscripts. Important work which discusses general issues as well as material of specific relevance to the manuscripts considered here include Treharne, “Reading” and “Presence”.

12. A useful summary of T-PEN’s capabilities is provided by Ginther.

13. Sisam proves a comprehensive account of this homiliary and its place in the Ælfrician textual tradition.

14. See also the valuable discussion by Scragg, “Blickling” 309–15.

15. For an extended study of the Tremulous Scribe, see Franzen.

16. See pp. 204–05. I have noticed some Mercian forms in Scribe 1’s work.

17. See Treharne, *St. Nicholas* 20–21 for a summary of the evidence based on her doctoral research on this manuscript.

18. Treharne gives a careful account of the book’s collation (*St. Nicholas* 6); medieval foliation indicates that forty-four pages are missing at the manuscript’s head, and any number from its end.

19. Ker’s discussion notes that articles 1–61 are copied into a single block, but his discussion of the groups which make up the compilation omits (accidentally, it appears) some articles (Ker 39–41); in what follows I adjust the pagination to incorporate these items within their appropriate groups.

20. Scribe 2 takes over part way through the Second Series homily on Palm Sunday (p. 51), and then follows that with a First Series homily for the same occasion.

21. Out, for example, goes the anonymous homily on the First Sunday after Epiphany HomS 3, which both Bodley 340 and CCCC 198 feature, in favour of the Second Series homily (ÆCHom II, 12; pp. 79–97) on Mid-Lent Sunday.

22. However, it should be noted that the relationship between CCCC 303 and CCCC 162 may be not be quite as linear as that implied in the figure but may resemble essentially a nephew/uncle rather than the grandson/grandfather consanguinity as represented here.

23. CCCC 303 contains only an independent copy of the Good Friday homily, because its compiler seems only to have access to the second volume of the Bodley homiliary.

24. CCCC 302, pp. 174–82; BL, Cotton Faustina A. ix, 119v–26r; other anonymous versions for this day survive in a further two manuscripts.

25. Scragg (“Corpus” 239–40) suggests that the three homilies may have originated in a Good Friday piece subsequently “developed... into a series for three successive days”. This does not preclude the possibility that separate homilies existed already for Maundy Thursday or Good Friday. He points to what he terms “significant links” between the three, responding to an earlier suggestion by Willard, but considers the Palm Sunday as “rather different” from the others; it is certainly the case that one of the features characteristic of the other three homilies, the use of Latin quotation from the Gospel narrative, is not present in the Palm Sunday homily.

26. Hill (128, n. 28, and references there cited) notes that the Second Series homily on Palm Sunday is a composite account of the Passion narrative in all four Gospels, separate accounts of which were traditionally read in Holy Week.

27. Manuscripts are listed in Clemons xix–xxii; Godden, *Second Series* xv–xvii.

28. The regional connections of this group of manuscripts suggest that the First Series items probably derive from the copy of the set sent to Sigeric, Ælfric's patron, and archbishop of Canterbury (reigned 990–94).

29. All the anonymous homilies are edited from Bodley 340 by these scholars. In what follows I append an abbreviated reference in square brackets to the titles of these texts (PS: Palm Sunday, CD: In cena Domini, IP: In parasceve, SS: In sabbato sancto) after their short title to aid identification.

30. An edition using CCCC 198 as its base text was produced as part of an unpublished doctoral dissertation by Schaefer. The *DOE* corpus uses Bodley 340.

31. These are not erasures but rather omitted text.

32. For spellings elsewhere in the tradition, see Scragg, “Ælfric's scribes.”

33. The actual number of occurrences of the pronouns under consideration vary slightly from manuscript to manuscript as a result of the omission of individual words or phrases in one or other of the copies, but are in excess of 90 tokens. Percentages are rounded and should be regarded as indicative only.

34. Total tokens are in excess of 40.

35. Bodley 340 5%, CCCC 162 2%, 198 CCCC 4% (over 50 tokens).

36. Bodley 340 27%, CCCC 162 0%, 198 CCCC 15% (over 10 tokens).

37. Total number of tokens are over 20.

38. HomS 18 [PS] Bodley 340 6%, CCCC 162 18%, 198 CCCC 12% (17 tokens); HomS 22 [CD] Bodley 340 13%, CCCC 162 38%, 198 CCCC 38% (over 15 tokens); HomS 25 [SS] Bodley 340 11%, CCCC 162 17%, 198 CCCC 18% (over 17 tokens).

39. CCCC 303, which does not contain the anonymous sequence, is discussed separately below.

40. Such changes affect æ/ǣ and y/ȳ at this date. See further Hogg Section 5.188–96.

41. The language of these anonymous texts is worth more analysis than I afford it here. In particular, it may be possible to differentiate between the language of individual texts; there seem, for example, to be a greater number of Kentish forms in HomS 22 [CD] and HomS 24 [IP]. It is also apparent that some words are routinely copied in their LWS form, such as *Hælend* along with some lightly stressed words such as *þære* or *wæslwæron*; this would potentially skew any quantitative study unless carefully conducted. I have similar concerns with the reporting of *-ade* endings to the Class II weak verbs, noted above, as again I have observed that the past third-person singular of certain common verbs, such as *andswarian*, never appear with *-ade* despite the proliferation of these endings in other verbs.

42. CCCC 303, of course, does not contain the anonymous sequence of homilies where we see the variation noted above. In the Ælfrician texts, the work of Scribes 1 and 3 can be readily differentiated in terms of their adherence to the LWS standard. Scribe 3, who is responsible for parts of ÆCHom I, 23 and ÆCHom II, 23, displays frequent Mercianisms in his stint: thus we see an array of forms which preserve OE *y/ȳ* spelled <u> such as “andguten” four times on page 253, “budel” on page 252, “clupode” on page 251 in ÆCHom I, 23 as a lexical substitution for *hrymde*, “dude” twice on page 252, “gut” on page 252, “hlust” on page 253, “murcðe” on page 253 (< OE *myrhðe*), “man-cunne” on page 253), “sunde” three times on 253 (for *synd*), “ufelre” on page 253, “umbe” on page 254, “unut” on page 253 (< OE *umnyt*). I have not found comparable forms in Scribe 1’s work.

43. PI Kathryn Lowe, Co-Is Chris Lintott (University of Oxford) and Marc Alexander (University of Glasgow), Senior Consultants are Elaine Treharne and Ben Albritton (Stanford University).

44. For this ambitious project, see <http://www.ancientlives.org/>.

45. The punctus elevatus is represented here and elsewhere by a raised colon.

46. Some homilies and individual passages in these homilies have the addition of later accent marks. Their nature and apparent function to aid reading aloud are described in Sisam 186–88. In the quotations I have reproduced only those which seem to to have been made by the original scribe.

47. This noun appears not to be in *DOE*.

48. <i> altered from <e>.

49. This word has <ssum> written in a different but contemporary hand above the <ftnyd>. Another hand has added a dative plural ending.

50. <on> has subsequently been expuncted and <a> written above.

51. Both occurrences of the noun in this quotation are glossed *wyl(e)n*.

52. Both verbs are glossed *scryddon*.

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- Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.3.2.38.
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- London, British Library, MS Royal 7 C. xii.
- London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 489.
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