Werk

Titel: Ælfrics Version of Alcuini Interrogationes Sigeuulfi in Genesin

Autor: Mac Lean, G. E.

Ort: Halle a.S.

Jahr: 1883

PURL: https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?338212566_0006|log52

Kontakt/Contact

Digizeitschriften e.V.
SUB Göttingen
Platz der Göttinger Sieben 1
37073 Göttingen

info@digizeitschriften.de

ÆLFRIC'S VERSION OF ALCUINI INTERROGATIONES SIGEUULFI IN GENESIN.

General Introduction.

§ 1. The authors and origin of their works.

Alcuin, the celebrated English scholar, and teacher of Charlemagne, compiled in Latin, at the end of the eighth century, a Hand-book upon Genesis.[1.2]

The immediate occasion of the work was the questions upon certain difficulties in Genesis, which his inseparable pupil and friend, the presbyter Sigewulf, had at different, times put to him. Therefore the little volume, written in catechetical form, was dedicated, in an affectionate preface, to Sigewulf, whose name it has since borne, — 'Interrogationes Sigewulfi Presbyteri'. — The aim of Alcuin was, in his words: 'to gather from heavy tomes *preliosas sapientiae margaritas*, which the weary traveller might carry with him, and with which he might recreate himself'. The testimony for this work is that it lived.

---

[1] The first Biography of Alc., in the IX cent., is anonymous: Beati Flacci Alcuini Vita ex vetusto codice MS. Sanctae Mariae, Rhemensis, primum a D. Quercetano edita. Pat. Lat. C, col. 90 sq.. Du Quesne asserts it was written before 829 A. D., Pat. Lat. C, col. 89. 1. See also Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande von Adolf Ebert, 2. bd., Leipzig 1880, s. 344. The best edition of the *Vita* is in Jaffe's Monum. Alcuinian. (6. bd. der Bibl. rer. German. v. Jaffe.) 2. Das Leben Alcuin's, von F. Lorenz, privatdocent zu Halle, 1838. 3. Biogr. Brit. Lit., A.S. Period under Alc..

[2] Lorenz s. 89, assigns the Inter. to Alc.'s first residence in France, 782—790. Lorenz gives no evidence. From the Pref. of Alc., which emphasizes that Sigewulf is 'individuus socius tanto tempore', I would place the Inter. after Alc.'s return (792) to France, and before 796, when he retired to the quiet of the monastery of St. Martin. The Pref. shows it came from a period of secular occupation and travelling.

Two hundred years later[1], another Englishman, the A. S. author, Ælfric[2], as the evidences of our dissertation will show, the teacher, not of a Charlemagne but of a Country, translated Alcuin's Work '*on Englisc*'. Ælfric abridged the 280 questions and answers of Alc. to 69. He added a preface upon the 'illustrious teacher' Alc., inserted an astronomical page, probably appended a creed and doxology, and in many points impressed the production with his winning personality.

With great skill he retained the catechetical form, while he adorned the work with a rhetorical, if not poetical, semi-metrical alliteration.

The 'Interrogationes Sigewulfi' retained its old name, and was issued as a sermon in a series of Homilies entitled, *Passiones Sanctorum.*

§ 2. Analysis of the Contents.

The analysis of the A. S. Version offers the following table of contents:

I. Introduction. The life of Alc., and the origin of the Latin work, ll. 1—17.
II. Questions I—XV, inclusive. Difficulties in the Creator's moral government, or the rational creation.
III. Ques. XVI—XXI. The physical creation. This scientific division is crowned by Ælf.'s insertion from Bede about the planets.[3]
IV. Ques. XXII—XXVI. The Father, Christ, the Spirit, and the Trinity as manifested in creation.
V. Ques. XXVII—XXXIV. The Origin of man — His divine image and possible destinies.
VI. Ques. XXXV—XXXVII. The Origin of evil.
VII. Ques. XXXVIII—XLVIII. The first Age in the History of the World. — The Adamic Age.
VIII. Ques. XLIX—LVIII. The second Age of the World's History. From Noah to Abraham.

---

[1] The 'Lives of the Saints', in which Inter. was one, was issued after the death of Arch B. Sigeric 995, to whom the first Hms. were submitted, and before 998, for they are dedicated to Æthelweard, who disappears from that date. Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur von Bernhard ten Brink, 1. bd., Berlin 1877, s. 136 gives 996 as the date of the *Passiones Sanctorum.* In Ælf. De V. and N. T. are probable references to a number of the Hms. in the Lives of the Saints; e. g., Sweets Reader p. 61, l. 162.

[2] Our statements rest upon evidence to be found in the following pages.

[3] It is the habit of the A. S. author to mark the important transitions with some brief insertion.

IX. Ques. LIX–LXIX. The third Age of the World's History, continued, not to its end, but to its culmination in the offering of Isaac.[1]

X. ll. 511—541. A creed, or confession of the one Creator in a Holy Trinity.

XI. ll. 541–545. A Doxology.

§ 3. The present value of the work.

With the 'Popular Treatise on Science' in the Middle Ages[2], which has attracted so much attention since its publication in 1841, is linked this Popular[3] Treatise on Theology, by the same author, and with a reference to the Treatise on Science which it followed and supplemented.

This wedding of science and theology, and in a popular catechism for the common people, not only emits light from what we too hastily have called the dark ages, but also should be a light in its method and spirit to guide our age.

The MSS., of different age, the phonological changes, the relation to Ælf. literature, and the decision of the question of its authorship, in a field never investigated, make the Interrogationes valuable.

Critical Introduction.

§ 4. The A.S. Text.

The text is printed precisely as it stands in the MS. C. This remark applies to all the details of the MS., as far as a transliteration can give them. The spelling, contractions, spacings of the words, (often very suggestive, and I believe much less a matter of the scribe's fancy or convenience than is commonly thought) accents, punctuation, and even mistakes of the copyist are left unaltered. Also the lines of the MS. are retained, not simply for the aroma' of the antique page, at once suggested to the scholar, but as a help to accuracy in transcription, and an explanation, on the face of the text, of the cases of homoioteleuton and similar errors of the scribe.

---

[1] It is noteworthy that this ancient division of the O. T. Hist. is repeatedly used by Ælf.; e. g., On the O. T., Sweet's Reader, p. 61, l. 151 etc.. The main source of the body of the Inter., Bede's Com., ends with the weaning of Isaac. The A.S. author had Bede before him and ends with Bede, only adding as a finale the sacrifice of Abraham.

[2] De Temporibus Anni. The ed. Wright attributed it later to Ælf..

[3] Popular, as the number of MSS. of it shows.

Fortified by the words of Mr. Ellis [1] and the modest example of Prof. Skeat [2], I do not regret that I resisted the attractive temptation to *make* a text. Occasionally, in a few important variations, and in some unimportant ones, where the convenience of the reader might call for it, my judgment as to the correct reading is given in the C notes.

All the MSS. of the Interrogationes are so plainly written, and so well preserved, and are in such essential harmony, that there ought to be little difficulty in establishing the orginal text.

In almost every instance, the variations of the MSS. will be found the one to correct another. The few remaining inaccuracies may have flowed from Ælfric.[3] Later, I believe that scholars will be able to arrive at even the orthographic peculiarities of Ælfric; e. g., it appears to me probable that he himself wrote very uniformly -nȝ final, and not the early and frequent modification of the final guttural in the combinations -nc, -ncȝ, -nȝc.

It seemed desirable to use another MS., and not to make a copy of Bouterwek's faithful work, with its minor inaccuracies corrected, in order to emphasize the essential harmony just spoken of among the MSS., and to illustrate the linguistic changes in the closing period of Anglo-Saxon literature.

With respect to the accents and the marks of punctuation, in some cases it was hard to decide whether or not they were in red ink and of later date. The rule has been to give those only which were apparently in the original. We

---

[1] 'Until trustworthy reprints, not doctored, not corrected, not respelled have been for some years before the world *** we will not be able to trace languages historically upwards either in sound or thought'. President's address for 1872. Alexander J. Ellis, Esq.. Transactions of the Philological. Soc. 1873—74, p. 341.

[2] 'My own plan is to give the uncorrected readings of the MSS. themselves, from a conviction that in many instances students not only prefer to correct them for themselves but may be better able to correct them than I am'. Pref. p. XXI. The Gospel according to St. Mark, in Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions, etc.. Edited by Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M. A. Cambridge, University Press, and London 1871.

[3] 'The possibility did not appear to me excluded that Ælf. himself could have erred'. Prof. Zupitza vorläufiges vorwort to his edition of Ælfric's Grammatik.

will speak further of these and similar points under the discussion of the MS. C.

All the variations, excepting those of accentuation[1], of all the MSS., including Junius' transcript, are in the first division of the foot notes. The variations of punctuation are indicated because of the question of metrical composition, though probably imperfectly, on account of the difficulty of determining the original pointing. In using these notes, it should be observed that, unless there be some occasion for remark, it is to be understood that in readings J agrees with B; that J uses capitals for proper names; fills out all contractions; and has his peculiar kind of points (⁘); that c uses ð so universally that only the exceptions thereto are noted.

The numbers of the questions, according to the Anglo-Saxon order, in no way signified in the original, are put upon the margin in Roman numerals, but the numbers of the questions in Alcuin's work, also not in the MSS., are inserted, in brackets, in the Latin.

§ 5. The Latin Text

consists of all the questions, and parts of questions, of Alcuin used by the Anglo-Saxon author[2], a chapter of Bede used independently by the Anglo-Saxon writer, and a passage from Isidore, which, if not directly, was indirectly the source for the Anglo-Saxon creed and doxology. The best edition of this and the other works of Alcuin is by Frobenius[3], but as

---

[1] The importance of the accentuation I do not undervalue. I have the record even of all these variations. A number of the accents in our text are only marks of division between the words and letters. But they may also sometimes have value for the accompanying vowels, and are therefore given following Prof. Skeat's example in his Lives of the Saints.

[2] Nothing could have been gained for our purposes, in unduly lengthening our work by the insertion of the 280 Ques. of Alc.. These need to be edited critically by themselves. It will be seen that in the parts used we have attempted to make a critical edition. For a list of the editions of the Questions v. *Monitum praevium* in Pat. Lat. Tom. C, col. 515.

[3] Alcuini Opera post primam Editionem a viro clarissimo D. Andrea Quercetano, curatam, de novo collecta, multis locis emendata et opusculis primum repertis plurimum aucta variisque modis illustrata. Cura ac studio Frobenii, S. R. I. principis et Abbatis ad S. Emmeraman, Ratisbonae, 1777. Tom. I pars 2, p. 304 occurs Inter..

Wright[1] well says 'this might be rendered much more perfect by a collation of the MSS. preserved in our English Liberaries'. Accordingly we have based our text upon Frobenius[2], but have collated with a very old inedited MS. of the Inter., Barlow 35[3], in the Bodleian Library. Variations of the Frobenius MSS., suggestions of Frobenius marked 'Edit.', and a few but valuable critical judgments upon the text by Prof. Franz Delitzsch are given in the third division of the footnotes.

It will be found that the Latin throws light upon the Anglo-Saxon, and not infrequently the A. S. helps in determining about a variation in the Latin text.

§ 6. The Manuscripts.

It has been generally supposed that there were at first preserved to us six A. S. MSS. of the Interrogationes, viz. in Codd. C C[1] M. B. b. c. and the transcript of J.[4]

But it has been believed, at least from Wanley's time, that MS. C of Cod. C was lost. The truth is that there is no evidence that the modern world ever possessed but five of these MSS., and C, instead of having been lost, has been counted twice, as the following

§ 7. Discovery with respect to the MSS.

will show. Wanley says, p. 117[5], concerning the MS. of Interrogationes Sigeuulfi Presbiteri p. 136 in C[1]: 'Notandum est, hoc opusculum ad alium aliquem Cod. quondam pertinuisse, ea quoque quæ sequuntur, aliena manu scribuntur'. Wanley further remarks, p. 120, under his description of Cod. C: 'Interrogationes Sigewlfi Presbyteri, quae in Indice Homiliarum huic

---

[1] Biographia Britannica Literaria. A. S. Period, by Thomas Wright M. A. London, 1842 p. 366.

[2] Chiefly we used the reprint of Frobenius in the Pat. Lat. Tom. C. A reprint so literal (aside from the punctuation, and insertion of the marginal notes of Frobenius in the text in brackets) that the Editor uses Frobenius' phrase 'in nostra hac editione', and copies typographical errors. e. g., an L had slipped out in Frobenius' Roman numerals CC(L)XXXI. and Pat. Lat. has 231 in Arabic numerals!

[3] For a description of this MS. v. under MSS.

[4] See titles etc. under abbreviations.

[5] Hickesii Thesaurus, Vol. III Antiquae Literaturae Septentrionalis Liber Alter, seu Humphredi Wanleii Catalogus. Oxoniae, MDCCV.

Cod. praemisso memorantur, quaerenti non occurrebant; forte, quia ex hoc Cod. avulsae in superiori Volumine, una cum aliis Tractatibus compingebatur.'

Before I observed these notes of Wanley, I came to the positive proof that what he suggests with a 'forte' is the actual fact; viz. The MS. of the Inter. in C[1] pp. 139—159[b] inclusive has been transferred, and probably intentionally, to its present position from Cod. C p. 31, where it originally belonged.

The evidences are:

1. A proof conclusive in itself — the halves, upon which vellum is pasted, of the first and last pages 139 and 159[b] of the Inter., contain, as a holding to the sunlight showed, what matches word to word with the last line of p. 29[b] and the first line of p. 33 of Cod. C. The upper half of the p. 139 Inter. contains the conclusion, about 14 lines, of the Exameron Anglicè.

The sentence, of which the last words, on the bottom of 29[b] Cod. C, are: 'stuntnysse 7 nat', is continued unbroken in the first line of p. 139 Inter.: *þæt* his lif is ȝelogod on ȝeswincum. Ðonne etc.

On account of the Latin preface of Alcuin written upon the vellum, which is pasted over this half page, it is difficult to read all of the conclusion of the Exameron. But the last line can be seen clearly: 'ȝodcundnysse. ana soð scyppend eallra þinga amen'.

Then follows immediately the caption: 'Interrogatio' etc., which has been retouched, and the initial letter enlarged by a hand as late as the time when the preface of Alcuin was prefixed, for the enlarged 'I' touches upon the new vellum, and the tint of the ink is the same as that of the red ink upon the parchment which has been pasted on.

About the middle of p. 159[b], after the end of the Inter., my attention was attracted by three marks upon the original parchment, just above the edge of the new piece of vellum.

These marks indeed led to the entire discovery about the MSS.. Upon holding the sheet to the light and looking closely, it could be seen that one of these was the mark of contraction, and the others the finish of the characters in the superscription: Do*mini*ca iiii Post Pentecosten.

The biblical text follows: 'Ðrant' etc.

Then comes the translation with a line of large letters: 'Ðat halize ȝodspell' etc. There are fifteen lines to the bottom of the page. The last one is: 'he ȝelaðode his frinde and nehȝeburas hī to. 7 cwyð'.

This corresponds exactly with the first line on p. 33 of Cod. C, where the sermon continues without the loss of a word: 'Blissiað mid me forþan þe ic ȝemette min sceap'.

Thus is completed the first and sufficient proof that pp. 139—159[b] of C[1] were taken bodily from Cod. C, between pp. 29[b] and 33, as now numbered. The further evidences serve to confirm the above.

2. The pages of the Interrogationes are narrower than those of C[1] but correspond to those of Cod C.

The measurements are, Inter. 7½ inches in width, which is also the

width of the pp. of the Cod. C, while the pages of C[1] are 8 inches in width. The outer edges of the pages are 11½ inches long in both Codices.

3. The handwriting of the Inter. is the same as that of Cod. C, and perceptibly different from that of C[1]. The strokes are slightly heavier and not so firmly made as those of C[1], and the horns of the letters are more marked, the ð is more upright. The caption of Inter. corresponds exactly in color, and in its plain form with those of Cod. C, whereas in C[1] the initials of the superscriptions are some what ornamented.

4. That there is a transferrence of Inter. from Cod. C to C[1], and that it was made *purposely* would appear from the manipulations of the volumes with reference to this MS..

a. The index of C[1] places Interrogationes Sigiuulfi p. **139**. But it stands in the column after Dom*in*ica in Septuagesima p. **161**, and before Dom*in*ica in Sexagesima p. 174.

As a matter of fact, while Inter. is on p. 139, it follows Dom*in*ica III Post Epiphania Dom*in*i, and precedes Dom*in*ica in Septuagesima. This shows, perhaps, a doubt of the collector or binder as to the place of insertion of the Inter..

The index is on parchment cut from a psalm or massbook, and turned and pasted. Have we not here the same workman, who was busy at the same time 'mending' the MSS., and who pasted the preface of Alcuin on p. 139?

The index of Cod. C has after '2 Exameron fo. 15' '3 Interrogatio Sigiuulfi X fo [an erasure]'. 4. Doma 4 Post Pentecost̄ fo 33'.

This last sermon actually begins on 31[b], but the sixteenth line of the sermon is on p. 33.

It is probable that this index, which is on paper, was copied from an older one containing Interrogationes.

The form 'Interrogatio' instead of 'Interrogationes' is exactly that of the superscription of the Inter. itself, where the -es is inserted above the line by a later hand.

The old index and the present superscription would be most likely to correspond, for the old scribes frequently failed to note the accidence. Our copyist wrote 'Interrogatio' as it stood before him — whereas in the index to C it was written grammatically: 'Interrogationes'. At the same time Siȝiuulfi, written in both indexes with the i after the ȝ, shows strongly the peculiar spelling of the same author.

In the index of Cod. C the 'Interrogatio Siȝiuulfi X fo' marks a copyist's inadvertence, or better, exactness in transcribing the text of the old index.

The assignment of no page and the sign (X) declare that the Inter. was taken out before the volume was paged according to the present numbering. The indexing of the sermon following Inter. as upon p. 33 was made without counting the new leaf 31, or before its insertion.

b. It is worthy of notice that a new parchment leaf is inserted in *each* Cod.. In C[1] there is a blank leaf pp. 138. 138[b] just before Inter.. In Cod. C the new leaf, pp. 31. 31[b], contains, on about half of p. 31, the new copy necessary to give the end of Exameron, which had been

removed on the first page of Inter.. Wanley makes the note, p. 120: 'Ultima hujusce Homiliae de Hexamero pagina recenti manu restituitur'. P. 31^{b} has, in the same hand, the beginning of the sermon which is on the lower half of the last page of Inter.. Thus was Cod. C made continuous. By the pasting on of the vellum over the first and last pages of the Inter., with equal deftness was the Inter. installed in C^{1}.

5. When was the transfer made?

The new blank leaf in C^{1} may have been put there in this rearrangement for the Latin Preface of Alcuin, which was finally copied on the half page above the Inter.. There are red border lines, in place of those made by compasses, on the pasted vellum of the blank leaf pp. 138. 138^{b} of C^{1}, and the new leaf 31 of Cod. C. The above traces of a common hand, in Cod. C and C^{1}, in the transfer of the Inter. lead us to Arch Bishop Parker, who is thought to have caused the Preface of Alcuin to be added, and who, in his fondness for 'mending' MSS., made several changes akin to the above. Prof. Skeat notes a case with respect to the Bodley MS. N. E. F. 3. 15 now Bodley 441, containing 194 leaves. 'But it must be particulary 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. I may mention in particular leaves 57—62 containing Mark I, 1 to IV, 37, leaf 90 containing the last 3 verses of St. Luke, and leaves 192—194 John XV, 9 to the end *** Nothing seems to be known of its history except that it was once in all probability in the possession of Matthew Parker, Arch B. of Canterbury. This is rendered probable by the way in which several rubrics have been copied into it from the Cambridge MS.'.[1.2]

The transfer then cannot well be later than Parker's day, and it cannot antedate the Worcester scribe alluded to by Prof. Zupitza.[3] The MS. of Inter. bears glosses from this scribe's hand, and his characteristic marks over the ȝ y etc. These appear throughout Cod. C, and in the *Inter.*, but *not* in C^{1}.

6. Why was the MS. changed?

The reason is not perfectly clear. It was not sheer carelessnes, or, if it was, no small effort was made to cover it up. There appears to have been a purpose resting upon a fancy, or some better ground. It is not improbable that Arch B. Parker made the change with reference to his notion of the symmetry of the Codd. and with reference to the church year. Finding three sermons upon the creation, 1. De Initio Creaturae, 2. Exameron, 3. Inter., following each other at the opening of Cod. C, Archbishop Parker removed the third sermon and placed it in C^{1}, at the beginning of the period of fasting, by the Dominica in Septuagesima. The

[1] Pref. p. VII of Prof. Skeat's Edition St. Mark in A.S. version.

[2] Another instance of 'mending' is that of the Hatton MS. formerly marked 65, now marked 38 in the Bodleian. It formerly belonged to Rev. John Parker, son to Arch B. Parker. Aleaf having been lost, the missing portion Luke XVI was restored. Prof. Skeat, ibid. X. It should be noted that despite the mendings, the antique text of the Inter. has been kept intact.

[3] Articles Jenaer Lit.-Zeit. 1878 no. 27, s. 410, and Anglia, III. bd. s. 33.

subject of Inter., treating so much of the fall and succeeding sins and temptations of man, could be applied to the period in which, in remembrance of Gen. III 19, the faithful kept the Dies cinerum.[1]

7. The result of the above investigation is a conclusive demonstration that the MS. was changed from its original Cod. C to C[I], and the overwhelming probability that it was done under the direction of Arch Bishop Parker. It shows the worth of a guess of a scholar like Wanley. And though it appears that Corpus Christi College Library and the world were never quite so rich in the number of the MSS. of the Inter. as was thought, yet they will feel richer to know that *nothing* has been lost, which the care of a Parker gathered, and the faithfulness of the Masters, Fellows and Librarians of Corpus Christi College has guarded.

A Description of each of the MSS.

will prepare the way for the comparison of them, and their classification.

§ 8. MS. C and Cod. C

in view of conclusions above will be properly treated together.

1. MS. C extends from the middle of p. 139 to the middle of p. 159[b] in C[I]. These 22 pages we now, mentally, return to their original home in Cod. C. There they would be paged 31—51[b]. Our special studies under Cod. C refer to these 22 pp..

Cod. C = 178 as at present numbered in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, earlier from the shelf number known as S. 6, is briefly described by Wanley on p. 120: 'Cod. membranaceus et antiquus in fol. min., duabus constans partibus, quarum priore continentur Collectio Homiliarum Saxonicarum'.

Wanley's remarks, p. 120, as to MS. C have already been cited. Of the Second part of Cod. C he says, p. 122, 'Sequitur Regula S. Benedicti Latinè et Saxonicè, alia et vetustiori manu scripta' etc..

Nasmith[2], p. 261 under 178, simply repeats Wanley's statements, adding that it is the second tome of Saxon homilies, by which he can only rightfully mean the second tome of homilies in the Parker Collection. The MS. is $11^1/_2$ in. × $7^3/_8$ in., bound as are the other Corpus MSS. of which we speak, in very ordinary vellum.[3]

---

[1] The possibility that the exchange was at first made by sheer mistake rests upon the fact that Cod. S. 5 and Cod. S. 6 would be naturally together, side by side. Both Codd. began alike, Cod. S. 5 would probably be rebound first, and a roughly made III, indicating the place of the Inter. in Cod. S. 6, might have been read as XI, the order in Cod. S. 5 in which Inter. appears.

[2] 'Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum, quos Collegio Corporis Christi et B. Mariae Virginis in Academia Cantabrigiensis legavit ** Matthaeus Parker. Edidit Jacobus Nasmith, ** Cantabrigiae MDCCLXXVII.

[3] A gentleman in Cambridge, in a position to know, informed me that these MSS. and many others in similar binding, were rebound some 60 or 70 years ago, under the administration of the Rev. John Lamb D. D.

Hereafter, in speaking of Cod. C, we mean the first distinct part ending at p. 286.

The pages have a pair of compass-scratched lines around the four sides. Across the page from one of these inner lines to the other, the measurements are from $5\,^3/_8$ in. to $5\,^2/_8$ in.. It is important to note here that all these measurements apply equally to *all* the pages of the Inter. and the other original pages of the Cod.

2. The superscriptions are plain rubrics, whose illuminated letters are simply large vermilion capitals without ornament. Aside from these, the letters are large and plain, and the text unornamented. The following details concerning the individual letters are significant.

The c is not yet angular, and is readily distinguished from the t. There is only one Karolingian e. with the so called tongne, l. 25. It may have been made here for a capital. Not yet has an i alone an acute stroke over it[1] (excepting, of course, cases where the accent belongs), though the i in combination with an i, u, n, m, is very generally marked to prevent confusion of the letters.[2] There are two exceptions: l. 227 'mihte; Gít', and l. 519 'he ís wísdom'. As there are but these two cases, it is fair to suppose that the scribe misplaced the accents. Especially is this likely, since the immediately preceding and succeeding words in both cases should have had the marks (míhte (to distinguish the ı) and wísdóm two in place of the one). Hu ís l. 152 and Hí ís l. 360 are only apparent exceptions. There is one K. l. 74 but the upper loop is wide open.[3]

The three forms of the s. are to be found. The regular A.S. s (ſ) long below the line, is predominant. The long ſ above the line is frequent. The Latin s occurs here and there, but chiefly finally; e. g., us, is etc.. The *ſs* in iſs l. 145, the only time the word is spelled with a double s, indicates perhaps a consciousness with respect to the forms of the letter.[4.5]

---

[1] 'Schon im XII. findet man das strichlein zuweilen, auch über dem einzelnen *i*, daneben kommt aber immer auch noch *ı* ohne bezeichnung häufig vor'. Prof. W. Wattenbach, Anleitung zur Lateinischen Palaeographie. Zweite auflage, Leipzig 1872, 2. t., s. 8.

[2] Im 11. jahrhundert fing man an, zusammenstehende *i*-striche mit accenten zu bezeichnen, um vermischungen vorzubeugen, ibid. 2. t., s. 8.

[3] 'Min. K. etc. Im 12. findet sich die obere rundung auch geschlossen, worauf es bald zur regel wird'. Ibid. 2. t., s. 9.

[4] 'Vom X. an findet sich s allein hin und wider am ende, zunächst so, us, is; einzelne an anderen stellen *** Vom 12. an wird s immer häufiger an allen stellen'. Ibid. 2. t., s. 15.

[5] Hickes points out cases of ſ and s in the middle and end, as well as at the beginning of a word, in a charter of king Edgar of 964, in a charter of Oswold of 990, where he also finds an r not Saxon, also an intermixture of all the s's in a charter of Wulfstan 1017. Of all the above I observe that the cases are in the Latin, and not in the A.S. parts of the charters, save the r in circe. The first charter Hicks gives, in which all kinds of the s appear, and even in the same syllable in the A.S., is that of Aldred, Bishop under Edward the Confessor, between 1049 and 1058. Hickesii Thesaur. Gram. A.S. cap. XXII p. 139 sq.. A.S. script is in full use in the Psalter of Eadwine in the interlinear. On the other hand, the Gallic letters were written, in the tenth century in Hyde Abbey, near Winchester. Wattenbach ibid. 1. t., s. 19.

The scribe, as in the later MSS. of the X. and XI. centuries[1], has the evident intention of writing þ initially, ð medially and finally, though he does not invariably follow it. He manifests a consciousness that þ should be hard and ð soft.[2] For w the rune wen is used, and w[3] never. The superscription has the old uu.

The y of course stands no longer upon the line. It is almost invariably dotted (ẏ).

The contractions are not especially numerous. The horizontal strokes are made quite straight and firm, with the finishes at the ends distinct. 7 stands for 'and' with only two exceptions, and these are at the beginning of sentences. l. 32, l. 450. On the contrary there is not a case of 7 in the composition of a word.

The addition of a mark in red, but several times in black, like a comma just over the d occurs in ll. 162, 164, 169 twice, 170, 178, 218, 467. These are all in connection with 'de' in the one verb cwede, ȝecweden, save once with 'do' in wurdon. These seem to be glosses indicating that ð' = de. Wattenbach[4] assigns the use of this sign to the fifteenth century. But it may be queried if here it does not appear much earlier. The use of a hyphen at the end of a line to connect the syllables of a word, is frequent, but never is there a hyphen at the beginning of a line.[5]

As far as the chirography can afford an argument, comparing the description of the MS. with the generally established laws (indicated in the foot notes) as to the handwriting of the MSS., it is clear that Cod. C could not have been written much earlier than the latter half of the XI century, and not later than the beginning of the XII. century.

3. The glosses of the Cod. C are those well known to the students of prominent A. S. MSS., and are commonly assigned to the XII. cent.. Another indication, in connection with the other MSS. containing these annotations, that our Cod. was written before the XII. cent. opened. — The glosses in MS. C are not particularly numerous, and are in red ink. Chiefly they are interlinear words here and there, but sometimes upon the margin. It is worthy of note that the Latin[6] equivalents for the A.S. are apparently the words *Alcuin* used; e. g.: l. 397 over the infin. ágan possidere. Not the Latin s but an ſ long above the line is used.

The marks accompanying the glosses, to which allusion has been

---

[1] Henry Sweet, M. A. History of English Sounds. Transact. of the Philolog. Soc. 1873—74, p. 537.

[2] Kurzgefasste Angelsächsische Gram. von Prof. Dr. C. W. M. Grein, Kassel 1880, s. 39.

[3] 'Im 11. kommt w auf, doch bleibt auch daneben uu noch lange in gebrauch'. Wattenbach ibid. 2. t., s. 15.

[4] 'ð kann für de stehen, wofür im 15. jahrhundert ð' aufkommt'. Wattenbach ibid. 2. t., s. 25.

[5] 'Ein strich am ende der zeile kommt bis ins 11. jahrhundert nur sehr selten vor, dann häufiger' und besonders im 12. auch am anfang'. Ibid. 2. t., s. 36.

[6] The glosses are Latin, though the proper names Albin and Siȝewulf appear in A.S.. More accurately, the color of the ink of the glosses would be called reddish-brown.

made, were for the convenience of the reader of a later age, and mark the transition from A.S.. The marks are two perpendicular strokes (ıı = w) over ȝ when it is to be read as w; e. g., ll. 219. 220, over the ȝ of the adj. áȝen = awen, owen, new Eng. own.

The single perpendicular mark (ı = i), hardly once omitted over the prefix ȝe-, shows, of course, the reading ie = mid. Eng. i. The sign like c over the y of the termination -nyss is a hastily written e making -ness. Attention has been called to similar glosses and marks in MSS. Hatton 20 (Cura Pastoralis, a copy sent to Bishop Wærfeth of Worcester), Hatton 76 (The Dialogues of Gregory, attributed to the same Wærfeth), and 391 C. C. C. Cambridge (which according to Wanley came from Worcester).[1]

Not only our Cod. C, but also B, has these glosses etc.. In all probability they were once in the same library in Worcester. The orthographical peculiarities of Cod. C, and of the other Codd., will be taken up to the best advantage under the comparison of the MSS..

4. Of the Contents and Sources of Cod. C the scribe himself explains that he has collected twenty-four sermons in two Books; that two of the first twelve he has enlarged from other sermons, but the twenty-two others he has left fully according to their old arrangement. Of the second Book he adds, 'In hoc codicillo continentur duodecim sermones Anglicè, quos accepimus de libris, quos Aelfricus Abbas Anglicè transtulit'.[2]

Wanley, p. 120 sq.[3], following an erroneous division, made from the heads of the sermons, has XXX instead of XXIV. Fifteen of these sermons I have found in the Hms. of Ælf. pub. by Thorpe (ten in vol. I, five in vol. II, and probably there are one or two more to be found there), and four, including the Inter. in Ælf.'s Lives of the Saints.

Dietrich says of the sermons of the first Book of the MS., 'there are several undoubtedly from Ælf. and some uncertain ones'.[4] The scribe's remark about the second Book, probably, was made because he took (or received?) the sermons from the two well known Books of Ælf.'s sermons (*de libris, quos Ælfricus* etc.). Investigation shows this is the case, all being in the two vols. edited by Thorpe.

We are not warranted then in making the inference that the other sermons are not from Ælfric.

On the contrary, the second Book being an especial Ælfric course upon the Life of Christ, from the Annunciation to the day of Pentecost, and in view of the force of the scribe's reference to the second Book as simply specializing *among* Ælfric's works, and particularly in view of his other remark that twenty-two of the twenty-four sermons are fully left

---

[1] Prof. Zupitza in der Jenaer Literatur-Zeitung 1878 no. 27, s. 410. Anglia bd. III, s. 33.

[2] (Note Dietrich's well founded argument that Ælf. was an Abbot and not Bishop) 1855, s. 514, anm. 56. Abt Ælfrik, Zur Literatur-Geschichte der Angelsächsischen Kirche, von Dr. ph. et th. Eduard Dietrich. Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie. Jahrgang 1855, IV. heft, vol. 25 und 1856, II. heft, vol. 26.

[3] v. Wanley for the table of contents.

[4] Dietrich ibid. 1855, s. 514.

in their old arrangement, and the other two are merely enlarged, we are justified in concluding that he received all as by Ælfric.

Confirmation of this must be seen in the fact that many of the sermons in the first Book are well known productions of Ælf., gathered not only from the Hms., but also from the Lives of Saints. It is likely that the uncertain remaining articles are from Ælfric, though not traced to some vol. of his. Indeed it is to me quite possible, that in this well compacted and arranged Cod. we have a manual edition of selected works, such as the practical Ælf. later in life authorized. The evidence for this theory is not wanting. The older Benedictine Rules bound in the Cod. show its use as a handbook.

Dietrich well points out the grounds to justify the belief that Ælf. himself published a third edition of his Homilies.[1] If it is objected that there are several sermons not earlier known as Ælf.'s, Dietrich again affords a reply. 'It is probable, when the relations and peculiarities of his writings are found out, that there will be several works more than those now attributed to him, to be ascribed to' 'the labor of the industrious practical theologian'.[2] 'It is probable that Ælf., who had his life long time to preach, after the collection with which he began his literary career, published new homilies which would supplement his works'.[3] Ælf. himself refers to his preaching when he visited at the house of Sigwerd.[4] Again he intimates that he had gone beyond his original design and added to a vol. of his sermons.[5]

In any case Cod. C may be placed under the first or second of the three classes of the MSS. of Ælf.'s Homilies, which Dietrich has so well made.[6]

Dietrich ranks Cod. C under the third class, but, so to speak, apologizingly, and evidently with many doubts.[7] He calls it 'a well written A. S. Cod.', and upon the question of its containing homilies not by Ælf. only says, 'and some uncertain ones'. And at once he suggests that Ælf. must have preached and published other sermons during his life-time.

---

[1] Ibid. 1855, s. 512 sq. and 1856, s. 206.

[2] Ibid. 1855, s. 489.

[3] Ibid. 1855, s. 515.

[4] P. 43 in: 'Of the Old and New Testament. A saxon Treatise ** Concerning the Old and New Testament, written about the time of King Edgar (700 years agoe) by Aelfricus Abbas, thought to be the same that was afterward Arch-Bishop of Canterburie ** Now first published in print with English of our times by William L'Isle *** The Originall remaining still to be seen in Sr. Robert Cotton's Librarie, London. Printed by John Haviland for Henrie Seile dwelling in Pauls churchyard at the signe of the Tygers head 1623'.

[5] '— bócum wel feówertig lárspella on Engliscum gereorde and sumne eácan þær tó', Grein's Bibliothek I, 14 : 44. 'about fortie sermons and more in the english tongue', L'Isle 27: 11 f. b. eng..

[6] The first class in which Ælf.'s order has been preserved. The second class 'versetzte' MSS., in which the Hms. are arranged according to the church year, unified into one whole. The third class mixed MSS., in which Hms. from other authors are put between Ælf.'s, which he solemnly forbade. These collections are the most numerous. Dietrich ibid. 1855, s. 513 sq..

[7] Ibid. 1855, s. 514 sq..

5. The Arrangement of Cod. C finely combines an ideal order of thought with the ecclesiastical year. The first sermons of the first Book, 1. De Initio Creaturae, 2. Exameron, 3. Interrogationes, are logically enough placed at the beginning, and in their order set forth 1. creation, 2. its progress, 3. its philosophy and practical trials for man. Then 4. Dom̄ IIII post Pen., in which the publicans and sinners draw near to Christ, and the lost are sought by Him, speaks of sympathy and help for man. The course then goes on to prayer, and finally to the field of morals, closing with the immoralities, and the crowning of immorality in 'De Falsis Diis'. Here the need of the manifestation of the true God leads to the second Book. The Annunciation, XVIII (as now numbered), is first, and then the Birth of Christ.

Next, in contrast with the pure One, a New-Year's sermon upon the vices is inserted. The regular course of sermons upon the Life of Christ follows, illustrating and pledging the redemption of the world, and culminating upon the day of Pentecost, in the beginning of the new creation. The end and the beginning of his vol., the old and new creation, are linked together by the scribe when, closing with 'In die Pentecostes', he puts Dom̄ IIII post Pentecosten as the fourth sermon in his first Book, causing three sermons upon the natural, to succeed the spiritual creation. Dietrich bears us witness that such an interpretation, with respect to the arrangement, is not forced and is characteristic of Ælfric. Dietrich sees in both vols. of the Hms. of Ælf. an order, not only connected with the church year but with the inner subject matter, which, in the the main, is everywhere to be recognized.[1]

In the arrangement of the Cod. C in detail, let it be noted that the Inter. is in a group at the beginning of the Cod., with two well known pieces of Ælf. before it, and two more after it.

6. The description of Cod. C has established it as an Ælf. Cod., well written, and, though probably copied fifty years after Ælf.[2], a MS. of worth, and of the first rank with reference to miscellaneous sermons like the Exameron, Inter. etc..

It will not be necessary to describe so fully the other MSS..

§ 9. Cod. C[1]

can be dismissed with a few words, as it has been shown to be only the modern lodging-place of the MS. C.

1. Wanley describes it, p. 116, S. 5: 'Cod. membr. in fol. min. ante Conquisitionem Angliæ scriptus, in quo continentur uberrima collectio Homiliarum Saxonicarum'. P. 120 'Cod. truncato desideratur tota pene Homilia'. Nasmith, No. 162, p. 230, merely repeats from Wanley, and counts it as the first Book of A.S. Hms. in the Parker collection.

The Cod. is $11^1/_2$ in. outer, $11^5/_8$ in. inner edge of the leaf $\times$ 8 in. across the page — save, of course, the twenty — two pages of MS. C. There

[1] Ibid. 1855, s. 508.

[2] We adopt in the main the Biography of Ælf. given by Dietrich. He was Abbot and not Archbishop, and lived until 1017 or possibly 1023.

is a double border of scratched lines on the four sides of the page. Across the page, from inner line to inner line measures from $5^2/_8$ in. to $5^3/_8$ in.. Thus the Cod. C^1 and MS. C have the same length of lines, but MS. C has a margin of $^1/_2$ in. less in width.

2. The Superscriptions in vermilion are similar to those of Cod. C, but the initial letters are somewhat ornamented. While the writing on the whole resembles that of Cod. C, it is noticeable, in addition to what has been said earlier, that Cod. C^1 has scarcely a dotted ẏ.

3. The Cod. seems to be without glosses.

4. The index of Cod. C^1 contains fifty-two Hms., beginning with De Initio Creaturae and ending with Dominica II in Adv. Dom.. In Wanley's Contents, pp. 116—120, this last is numbered LV. The Cod. at present really closes with the end of this sermon on p. 563, though three quarters of a page follows under the title: 'In die depositionis Beati Augustini Anglor. Doctoris'.

5. The Cod. is properly put by Dietrich[1] under his third class of the MSS. of the Hms., the *mixed* ones. It, in parts, fits the church year, and has a series of sermons for week-day fasts.

The Cod. is a large one. There is no evidence that it originally had a copy of the Inter.. The Cod. is full without the Inter.. If it had been in the original Cod., in accordance with all the other MSS., it would have been in the group of sermons upon the creation, or in the group taken from the end of the 'Lives of the Saints'.

6. The Cod. C^1 is of value in our investigation because its date, 'before the conquest' as given by Wanley, is not far from the same date with that of our Cod. C, and the Codd. were so closely associated in the mind of Parker, that they are linked together for us by the change of the MS. of the Inter..

§ 10. Cod. M.

1. Wanley describes it p. 186: 'Julius E. VII, Liber membranaceus antiquus, et optimæ notæ, olim peculium Monasterii S. Edmundi de Burgo; in quo continentur Homiliæ Saxonicæ de Sanctis, per Aelfricum ex Latino conversæ, cujus etiam Præfationes in utraque lingua operi premissæ sunt'. Wanley prints the Latin and A. S. prefaces. He p. 190 adds: 'Truncatur hæc homilia, nam post hæc verba: Hi worhton etc. omnia desiderantur, una cum homilia de XII Abusiuis quam in hoc codice primitus extitisse, ostendit Præfatus Index Capitulorum. Codex Aelfrici temporibus competens, pulchre et accuratè scriptus in folio minori'. The Catalogue[2] of MSS. in the Cottonian Library has, p. 18: 'Jul. E VII. Codex membr. in folio min. constans foliis 238, Sæc. circiter X, Liber festivalis: sive Homiliae Saxonicae de Sanctis'. Here follows, in Planta, Wanley's description given above.

The MS. measures $10^7/_8 \times 7^3/_8$ or $7^1/_2$ in. to the binding. It is bound

[1] Ibid. 1855, s. 514.

[2] Catalogue of MSS. in the Cottonian Library department in the British Museum, compiled by J. Planta. Printed by Parliament, 1802.

in fine vellum, and entitled: 'Vitae Sanctorum per Ælfricum Saxonicè'. The original name is within on an old parchment title-page: 'Passiones et Vitae Sc̄orum'. 'Thomas Cotton' is written upon the margin of the first page. It is also stamped with the royal crown and 'British Museum'. The border lines of the pages are scratched, double at the sides, single at the top and bottom. The measure across the page from one inner line to the other is $4^{7}/_{8}$ in..

2. The rubrics of the volume are in form and size about like those of Cod. C[1]. But in color they are much brighter, and the initials are handsomely and quite elaborately formed, which is not the case in any other of the Codd. containing the Inter.. The letter i is without marks above it to distinquish it from an adjoining i, n, m, etc.. All the forms of the s appear. M has generally þ initially, and ð medially and finally, but there is a tendency to use þ in all positions, as the following cases will evince where, contrary to all the other MSS., M has þ; oþþis l. 21, oðþisre l. 24, fæþme l. 326, þeþa l. 339, oþer l. 371, forþanþe l. 386, Þa l. 495. The wen is used, even in the capital letters of the superscription, instead of the u u of C, or the later w of the other MSS..

The contractions are about the same as in C, however the contraction (c̄þ) for cwæþ occurs nineteen times, which is not to be found in C. 'And' is without exception represented by 7, which also stands sometimes in compound words.

3. The MS. is free from glosses, and is in the neatest possible condition.

4. The table of Contents, undoubtedly a part of the original MS., and the prefaces of Ælf. following, establish most satisfactorily the Contents, Sources and Arrangement of the Cod..

The MS. table of contents is printed accurately in Prof. Skeat's Edition of 'The Lives of the Saints', pp. 8—10, giving the entire number of articles as XXXIX. Wanley, carefully printing from the titles distributed through the Cod., has XLVIII, without counting the last and missing sermon, which would make XLIX. Subtract Wanley's articles (VIII. XVII. XXII. XXV. XXIX. XXX. XXXII. XXXIV. XXXV = 9) and we have forty remaining. These 9 are not mentioned in the MS. index, and are variations of the same narratives, a note, and a sermon inserted[1] with an 'item'. Add Wanley's XXVIII, or, it may be, count some 'Item Alia' and we have forty in the MS.-list, and in that of Prof. Skeat. The index in the MS. already shows a confusion in the numbering, — omitting to number 'Sc̄a Lucia' and passing from XVII to XIX. In fact, then, in this third Series of Ælfric's Homilies there were forty sermons as in his first two Series.[2]

We may call forty Ælf.'s ideal number for a vol. of Homilies. And it fits his character to be just so exact.

---

[1] v. Dietrich ibid. 1855, s. 519.

[2] 'Even if there are no longer forty sermons according to the present numbering, there is a reminiscence of the forty sermons in his first work', v. ibid. 1855, s. 517.

His first vol. has forty. In his second vol., which has forty-five, when he reaches the fortieth sermon he inserts an 'Excusatio Dictantis'[1] for prolongiug the book.

The number is important with respect to the Lives of the Saints, for it vidicates the integrity of the Cod., and further the authenticity of the Inter., which is the first of a group of three sermons[2] at the end of the Cod., and which are necessary to make the forty or even thirty-nine Homilies. These last three sermons, though not Lives of Saints, complete the development of thought in the series, according to Ælf's. method of thinking.

5. In his arrangement of his vols. of Homilies he swings between the order of the subjects, and the chronological requirements of the church year. First, he arranged his book to illustrate and teach his idea; viz., a life of holiness in mankind. He purposely begins with the Nativity of Christ, thus placing Jesus as the fountain-head of the lives of the saints.[3] Including the Biblical ones he has thirty-three saints. His patriotism, the need when he wrote of a brave defence of his fatherland, his monastic idea of purity, all commingled with his religion in influencing the selection of his subjects. The order was more or less constrained by the Calendar[4] until, having completed the circuit of the church year, he crowned the development of his idea with three general sermons.

In the Life of St. Thomas he has presented the triumph, through holiness, of the intellectual doubter. He is in the sphere of intellect, and of the Biblical saints, and passes naturally to one of his pet themes in the Inter..

He dwells upon the creation with its philosophical difficulties, the sufferings of the Old Testament saints, (e. g. the martyrdom of Abel),[5] and their victories in holiness, culminating with his hero Abraham, 'tried, justified and glory-crowned'.[6]

The homily concludes with the creed of the prophets.[7]

The Confession of the one Creator and further the 'holy Father', who from 'his holy bosom' sent his pure son, with the final allusions to the 'holy angels' and the 'Holy Ghost', is the real climax in the 'Lives of the Holy Ones'.

And yet the way was left open for the next homily, De Falsis Diis. He cannot close without, from the height of his thought, meeting the heathen influences, against which he had already contended in this vol., in De Auguriis. The connection of this Hm. with the Lives of the Saints is emphasized in the closing warning that, though saints are named gods

---

[1] Hm. II, 521, 1 sq..

[2] 'De Int*er*rogationib*us* sigewulfi pr*esbyte*ri'. 'De Falsis Diis'. 'De XII Abusiuis'.

[3] 'Christus an der spitze', Dietrich ibid. 1855, s. 517.

[4] 'The Lives of the Saints are arranged nearly in the order of the Calendar'. Prof. Skeat 'Lives of the Saints', preface p. VI.

[5] v. Inter. l. 76 sq. and especially l. 81.

[6] v. Inter. l. 498.

[7] v. Inter. l. 511 — to the end.

in the Scriptures, they have no power of themselves. In the XII Abusiuis the practical Ælf. parts with his hearers, in an application of his thought to morality — a holy living. Thus was completed the circle described from his central idea of holiness in mankind. The avowed design[1] of the book was, not to compose something original, but to make a compilation of translations connected with the saints. Saint, with Ælf., was not confined to those who were canonized; and it was his custom to introduce English heroes. Alcuin was esteemed as highly as a saint, and moreover he was an Englishman. A translation of his famous Inter., in its contents well adapted to the editor's idea of his collection, and the addition of a preface about Alcuin's life, befitted admirably Ælf.'s purpose.

Dietrich ascribes these last three treatises to the original Cod., and, after examining them collectively and singly, believes them to be by Ælf.[2].

According to Dietrich there are two handwritings in the Cod.. But he only points out the second hand in the Ægyptian St. Mary, which he thinks cannot be by Ælf.. (MS. pp. 120—134.) He notes, immediately after it, the continuation of the original handwriting.[3] He fears that there may be some other insertions, but there is nothing to reflect upon the copy of the Inter..

6. We have then, in Cod. M, one of Ælf.'s complete works, and a MS. of the first class, in which Ælf.'s order is preserved. It is a MS. in many respects competent, as Wanley says, to be contemporary with Ælf.. But the insertion of the 'Ægyptian St. Mary' suggests, in the face of Ælf.'s repeated solemn injunctions against the insertion of anything between his productions, the elapse of a number of years.

However the possibility remains, that the Ægyptian St. Mary etc. were bound into this Cod. many years later.[4] The comparatively elegant Cod. suggests a time of prosperity.

From the evidence thus far gathered, this Cod. at the latest belongs in the second quarter of the XI century, say under the reign of king Cnut.

As far as Cod. M can afford evidence, the probability is overwhelming that we have found the original connection and editor of the Inter..

§ 11. 1. Cod. B

is described, and the contents accurately given by Wanley, p. 36: 'Codex membr. in octavo grandiori, paulo post Conquæstum Ang. scriptus, in quo continentur Collectio Hom. Saxon. una cum aliis Tractatulis ordine describendis'.

The contents simply, are printed in the Bodleian Catalogue[5]: 'MSS.

---

[1] v. Ælf.'s prefaces in 'Lives of the Saints' by Prof. Skeat.

[2] 'They revolve wholly in the sphere of Aelfric's thoughts and expressions'. Dietrich ibid. 1855, s. 519 and passim.

[3] Ibid. 1855, s. 519 und s. 522.

[4] The question cannot be determined until some one makes researches with reference to the portions of the Cod. involved and with reference to the origin of the A. S. Ægyptian St. Mary.

[5] Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae. Oxoniae e theatro Sheldoniano MDCXCVII, vol. II, p. 249.

Franciscus Junius Fr. F. Horum autem catalogum accuratum debemus viro optimo Thomae Tannero'. 5135 Catalogue No.. '23 Jun., Liber II Homiliarum Saxonicarum'. 29 articles are enumerated of which is 'Interrogationes Sigewlfi Presbyteri'.

The MS., $9^{6}/_{8}$ in. $\times$ 6 in., is bound plainly in vellum. It has 153^{b} fol.. The index upon parchment concludes with the 'Sermo excerptus de libro Regum'. (Wanley's XXXI, Bod. Catalogue no. 27.) The Cod. properly ends with this sermon at 139^{b} fol.. The remaining fol. 140—153^{b} are in different hands. From fol. 140—147 is a 'Tractatus quidam moralis' of which the superscription is wanting. It begins 'Us se lareowas'. Fol. 148—153^{b} contain a treatise in a beautiful hand 'De Somniorum diversitate et prognosticis quibusdam'. The captions of the short chapters of the little work are in Wanley from XXXIII—XXXIX.

The pages of the Cod. have a pair of scratched lines upon each side, and one line accross the top and bottom. From one inner perpendicular line to the other is $3^{7}/_{8}$ in..

2. The titles are often in smaller capital letters than the first line of the sermons, which is in capitals. The illuminated letters are simple large vermilion letters. Every capital letter throughout the text has a dab of red in it.[1] All the forms of s appear, although the A. S. s is perhaps predominant. The tendency is quite strong to use ð universally.[2] Especially numerous are the Ðs, þ with a few exceptions is never used save initially. The contractions possibly number less than in C, but c̄þ is common, also 7 in the composition of words.

3. We have said already that the same glosses and marks as those in C are in B.

4. The Contents of the vol. on the whole bespeaks a collection of fast-day and miscellaneous sermons from Ælfric. They are selected from the two vols. of Hms., the Lives of the Saints, and the sermons, which we have supposed to have been issued later by Ælf., in the first Book of Cod. C.

5. The arrangement recognizes the church year, but the book can hardly be put under Dietrich's second class of 'arranged' Codd. It is notewortly that groups of sermons, which are in the first Book of Cod. C, at the end of the second vol. of Hms., and at the end of the Lives of the Saints, are kept together in B, though the order is not perfectly preserved — e. g., the Inter. comes after De XII Abusiuis.[3]

6. This Cod. was clearly written when Ælf.'s original order was being forgotten, but the reminiscences of the old dispositions points to

---

[1] This is remarked of the MS. of the Story of Gen. and Ex. p. VI pref.: The Story of Genesis and Exodus. An early English Song about 1250 A. D. Now first ed. from a unique MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, with Introduction, notes, and Glossary by Richard Morris. London, Pub. for E. E. T. S. 1865.

[2] In the following cases — contrary to the usage of all the other MSS. B has ð. Inter. l. 5 cuðe, l. 14 ðære, l. 386 forþanðe, l. 444 þeða.

[3] Dietrich refers to this copy of De XII Abusiuis as one of the most complete ones, ibid. 1855, s. 519.

the existence before this of the arrangement in Cod. C, and the primitive setting of the Inter. in M.

The date undoubtedly is early in the last quarter of the XI. century, as Wanley has it, 'paulo post Conquestum'. A curious trace of this appears in the use, contrary to all the other MSS., and requiring a shifting of the alliteration, of 'on Engla *þeode*' in place of 'on Engla *lande*', in Inter. l. 2. An A. S. scribe, in a land recently conquered by Normans, would keep the glory of an Alcuin's fame for the English folk.

§ 12. 1. Cod. b

is described by Wanley, p. 40: 'Codex membr. in Quarto litteris grandiusculis sed Normanno-Saxonicis scriptus, in quo continetur collectio Homiliarum'. The Bodleian Catalogue[1], numbers it as 5136, but 24 among the Junius MSS., 'et Liber III Hom. mutilus in initio'.

The Ms., $10^1/_8$ in. $\times$ $6^1/_2$ in., is bound like Jun. 23 and has 395 pp.. The lines at the sides are double, and are scratched. The length of line between them is $5^1/_4$ in..

2. In the superscription we see the beginning of the tendency to make angular letters — e. g., in the w with its horns. The illuminated letters are plain, and all the letters large and separately made.

The so called Italian a takes the place of the a employed in all the MSS. thus far described.

The Norman f and g invariably stand for the A. S. f and ȝ. The A.S. r and ꝛ [s] are supplanted by the Latin characters. þ here tends to become universal, though in the use of the capital there is almost a literal agreement with B in the employment of Ð. The þ is used in the following instances, where no other MS. agrees with b. Inter. l. 323 neoþan, l. 324 neoþe, l. 328 nyþe, l. 409 seþe, l. 406 fandaþ, l. 434 mæþe, l. 438 þu, þer, mæȝþa, forþiȝ, æȝþer, soþ, l. 464 wunaþ, l. 472 loþes, l. 500 mæȝþa, l. 509 deaþ, l. 510 habbaþ, l. 511 secȝaþ, soþan, l. 512 seþe, l. 538 soþlice, l. 545 cweðaþ. A sort of half made v sometimes usurps the place of a u. The contractions are more numerous than in C. In the Latin quotation, Inter. l. 191, contrary to the other MSS., b has &. In the use of 7 in compound words b agrees with B.

3. There are no glosses.

4. The Cod. is a vol. of sermons for saints and week-day festivals, taken with a few exceptions from Ælf..

5. Excepting the first discourse in b, the scribe, beginning with the second Book of Ælf.'s first vol. of Hms., follows Ælf. to the end of the vol. but omitting the Sunday sermons. Then, with two inserted Hms., one from the five appended by Ælf. to his second vol. of Hms., come the Exm., Inter., XII Abusiuis, De Auguriis, De Falsis Diis. In this group of five sermons, four (of which three are its well known final cluster) are from The Lives of Saints.

---

[1] Catalogi Manuscriptorum before cited.

Exm. precedes the Inter. as in Cod. C.

The next four discourses in b, beginning with 'De Septiformi Spiritu'[1], — the latter contained, for the first time among our Codd., in B, — also stand together in B, but exactly in an inverted order. Two of these Hms. are near together in Cod. C.

6. The evidences bring b down to the XII century. We have an Ælf. Cod., but belonging in all probability to Dietrich's third class of mixed Codd. of Hms.[2]. Although Ælf.'s requests that no other works be interlarded with his are forgotten, the Inter. still appears in its original group.

It should be remarked that B and b are really, together with Jun. 22 and 99, Hatton and not Junius MSS.. Wanley, p. 43, testifies that Hyde, the librarian, told him that the MSS. were donated to the library by Lord Christopher Hatton. Junius continues that upon their arrival at the library they were loaned to Dr. Mareshall — who in turn lent them to Junius. Mareshall dying soon after, Junius kept the vols. until his death, when, by his bequest, they with his other MSS. came again to the library.

Macray[3] adds, 'Junius himself frequently refers to them as "Codd. Hattoniani"'. The same author also says, p. 99, 'In 1675, in the register of benefactions, on a page faintly headed in lead pencil with this date, is entered a gift from Christopher, Lord Hatton, "Homiliarum Saxonicarum 4 volumina antiqua"'.

§ 13. Cod. c.

1. Wanley's description, p. 133, reads: 'Cod. membr. in Quarto grandiori, post conquisitionem Angliæ, manu Normanno-Saxonica scriptus, in quo continetur Collectio Homiliarum Saxonicarum'. P. 137: 'Codice ad finem mutilo, desideratur Conclusio hujus [De Judith] Homiliæ'.

Nasmith, p. 335, adds nothing, save that this is the ninth tome of A. S. Hms. in the Corpus collection.

The MS., $10^1/_8$ in. $\times$ $7^1/_2$ in., is bound as are the other Corpus MSS., and has at present 362 pages. The copy of the Inter. extends from the bottom of p. 317 to the bottom of p. 327. The leaves are lined with reddish-brown ink, and not with *scratched* lines. The lines are double at the top and bottom, but single at the sides of the pages. From line to line across the page is $5^1/_2$ in..

2. The illuminated letters are gracefully formed, but without ornament.

No space upon the parchment is lost. The Hms. succeed each other closely. The letters are small, close together but distinct. The penman

---

[1] The name is alluded to by Ælf. in his treatise De V. T. as if of a work of his.

[2] Having by no means seen all the Codd. of Ælf.'s Hms., I would not say but that it is possible that all in b may have flowed from him. The number of sermons in b, not belonging to Ælf. is small, but we do not look, at this late date, for sermons by him to appear for the first time. Dietrich classifies b under this third class, ibid. 1855, s. 514.

[3] Annals of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Rev. Wm. D. Macray, M. A. Rivingtons 1868, p. 100.

was a good and practiced writer, and the writing in contrast with the constrained hand of MS. b. In general the A.S. forms of the letters have disappeared. Only the ſ, ȝ, ð, þ, and wen are retained, but ð is used almost altogether. For the first time we have a number of the comely capitals ð.

The contractions are not much more numerous than those of M.

3. The MS. Inter. has no glosses.

4. The Contents of the Cod. appears in the index, written in a round cursive hand upon a parchment leaf, across the top of which vellum has been pasted. The 'pag.' of the index begin with 'pag.' 45 and run to 233, but they do not refer to the present numbers. By this evidence, which no one appears to have remarked, the Cod. is mutilated at the beginning. At present the first Hm. is for a Sunday after Epiphany. By comparison with the first vol. of Hms., we find this sermon is VIII and for the third Sunday after Epiphany. This Hm., in Cod. c, is followed by a succession of discourses up to Easter, taken almost in their original order from the first and second vols. of Hms..

5. We may conjecture then, that originally Cod. c began with the usual De Initio Creaturae, and with two or three others, of which, probably, one was upon Epiphany. After Easter from Hm. XVIII to XL there is a section devoted to saints. The Hms. are principally from Ælf's. first and second vols., and are most of them — noticeably with the same order — the same as the first XVIII Hms. in Cod. b. From XLIII to LXIX is a section of fast-day and Sunday sermons.

From XLIII to LXII the Hms., selected from Ælf.'s two vols., answer as closely in subject and order to Cod. C[1] from XXXVII to LII, as the former section corresponds with Cod. b. Near the close of this section is the group from the Lives of the Saints, LXIV De XII Abusiuis, LXVI De Falsis Diis, LXVII Inter., followed by two Ælf. sermons, one also from the Lives of the Saints. With LXX begins a miscellaneous appendix, but LXXII is from the Lives of the Saints, — De Machabeis. For LXXIII Oratores, Laboratores, Bellatores, compare Ælf. De N. T.[1], LXXIV is De Judith, which was so early connected with Ælf.'s works, and of which he himself speaks.[2] Thus the Cod. ends, with this last piece not completed.

6. The aim of the scribe of Cod. c must have been to make a full edition of Ælf.'s Hms., and perhaps, judging from the miscellaneous appendix, it was, or was to be, one of a series in an Ælf. library.

Though a late and mixed Cod. in the XII century, the Inter. maintains clearly its connection with Ælf., and the original cluster in Cod. M.

§ 14. The Transcript J

is a little bound pamphlet of 22 written pages in the small neat hand of Junius.

---

[1] Grein's Bibliothek der A.S. Prosa, bd. I, s. 20, 18 sq..

[2] 'Seó is eác on Englisc on úre wísan gesett'. De V. T. Sweet's Reader, 73: 529.

Upon the inner cover is written what Wanley, p. 98, has printed: 'Sigewlfi Presbyteri Interrogationes cum Albini Responsionibus, descriptæ ex antiquo Hattonianæ Bibliothecæ Codice, et collatæ cum altero ejusdem Bibliothecæ Codici'.

J uses the A. S. letters but with Italian a, and a character like the Hebrew aleph for æ. His rule, regardless of his MSS., is to put ð initial, and capitals for proper names. He fills out all contractions. He omits all accents, and punctuates as he chooses, employing, as before said, his peculiar three dots (·:·) for periods, which are neither the Irish :. nor the Carolingian ;·

His text is a copy of the MS. B, with merely the prominent verbal variations of MS. b annotated upon the margin, and he fails sometimes to notice even these. The numbers of the questions are given, but he has a total of sixty-eight instead of sixty-nine interrogations, because of an omission in his two MSS..

MS. b omits question X entirely, and MS. B omits one line containing the beginning of question XI, but the last half of the question, with its interrogation mark, and the full answer are intact. Junius deliberately drops the interrogation mark, and, without reference to MS. b, embraces all, though the connection gives no sense, in the answer to question X. Numbering question XII as XI his figures are erroneous to the end.

This unfortunate emendation is one of the very *few* which he makes, most of which are equally infelicitous. In l. 117, B reads þas eofon with an erasure, probably of an h, before eofon. From the frequent occurrence of heofon in the context B wrote heofon for seofon, but began to correct his error. J, while noting the seofon of MS. b, himself writes heofon, which is contrary to the sense.

J[1] adopts the principle of stricly following his text, and deserves praise for abiding by it. Only twice have I detected insertions, and those were justifiable, although it would have been better if he had indicated that they were such. The cases are: l. 305 tàcn which B had omitted, and at l. 312 where a line was omitted by B, but written afterward upon the margin of the MS..

§ 15. The Latin MS. Barlow 35.

A note is pasted upon the inner cover of Jun. 104 briefly explaining who Alcuin or Albinus was, and with a reference to his works where the Interrogationes can be found; viz., in the *Mikropresbutikon* p. 447. A verification of the reference shows that it is to the Basel edition of Alcuin's works by Moltherus in 1550. It is likely Junius himself appended this note, which was the occasion of Wanley, p. 98, making the same reference with the addition: 'Inter Hattonianos Codd. Bibl. Bodl. extat Latinum vetus exemplar harum Responsionum'. Here, in all probability, even the accurate Wanley makes an error, for no such

[1] For similar principles and practices of Junius in his copies, v. Prof. Skeat's A.S. version of the Gospel of St. Mark, Pref. p. XV.

copy can be found to-day in the Hatton MSS.. There is however, just what Wanley undoubtedly was describing, in the Barlow MSS. no. 35. Upon the authority of the assistant librarian, there has been no known interchange of the MSS., although Barlow 35 has been rebound since Wanley's day. It stands however upon the shelves next to the Hatton MSS., and so inadvertently Wanley named it Hatton. This explanation is made probable by a mistake upon the inside of the cover, where written in lead pencil 'Hatton 35', crossed out, stands just above 'Barlow 35'.

This MS., $8^1/_2$ in. $\times$ $6^1/_2$ in., has indeed every appearance of being a very old MS.. There are four single scratched lines about the sides of the pages. The leaves have never been numbered. Eight pp., containing paschal calculations, precede the Inter. which covers seventy-six pp. A 'Scholia Grecorum Glossarum' succeeds the Inter., and a letter of Cicero, with an appended column or two close the Cod. of less than one hundred pages. The 'Questiones Albini super [Libro] Geneseos' begin at once without Alcuin's prefatory letter to Sigewulf. The questions and answers are indicated by $\overline{\text{IN}}$ and $\overline{\text{R}}$ but are not numbered.

The Blessing of Jacob, usually appended to Alcuin's Inter., is *not* in this MS..

There is but one other known Latin MS. of the Inter. in the Bodley library, Laud. 437 (Laud. F. 134). It is comparatively late and contains two or three theological treatises; e. g., Cur Deus Homo? and the Lives of five Saints. These Latin Codd. add to the testimonies that the Inter. was long and widely used in theological school-books, and further, that it had in some way become connected with the Lives of the Saints.

§ 16. Bouterwek's Printed Copy of MS. M

extends from p. 17, l. 5 to p. 23, l. 12 of his 'Screadunza'.

It is a faithful uncollated text of MS. M, with the numbers of the questions in Alc. and Ælf. inserted. This reliable text, to which a valuable glossary is added, can only be a subject of criticism in view of the demands of the extremest accuracy, which linguistic scholarship has been forced to make since the time the Screadunza was printed.

It will be well to note the following points.

Boutw. gives no description of the MS.. He relegates the MS. reading, in a case of difficulty, to the foot of the page, but scrupulously gives it there. Divisions are made upon the page of the text which of course do not exist in the MS.. Without remark, most, but not all, of the contractions are expanded, proper names are supplied with capital letters, the acute accents of the MS. are changed to circumflex, and the punctuation is freely suited to his own ideas. No mention is made of erasure of letters or words in the text. A few illustrations will indicate the average of changes.[1] A collation of p. 17 Scread. with the MS. shows that Boutw.'s punctuation

[1] For similar characteristics of a text by Bouterwek, v. Prof. Skeat upon Bouterwek's Die vier Evangelien in Alt-Northumbrischer Sprache. ** 1857 in the A.S. version of the Gospel of St. Mark, pref. p. XVIII.

is entirely unreliable. Citing by the lines of the printed text the MS. has line 10 . . . . wisdome. l. 11 no . after cnottum l. 12 no . after cuþe l. 14 wordum. l. 16 godspelle. min l. 18 . . . dæȝ. l. 19 . . . enȝlas. 7 l. 20 . . . ȝehælan na l. 21 . . . þas. heah l. 22 heah enȝel þe nu l. 23 wuldre swa . . . There are erasures of letters: l. 16 of five after wyrce, l. 17 of about ten after niwan.

An examination of the footnotes of Boutw. shows some confusion into which his notes must have fallen. P. 17, l. 25 read sylfum, p. 21, l. 8 reads in MS. foda gelogod. on þon̄ þriddan fleringa wæs seo forma wunung etc. (see Boutw.'s note), p. 21, l. 21 middan ends one line in the MS. and eard begins the next. Nevertheless what Boutw. notes incorrectly about this very instance is true of the spacing of the word throughout the text. P. 21, l. 28 MS. has micclan. Of course if Boutw. read middan and so copied it, he made the right conjecture when he edited. P. 22, l. 19 MS. reads Iacób abrahames suna · hæfde etc., (N.B. sunu before suna in C and c explains this suna in M). The numbers of the Latin questions are not accurate.

The only intentional reading of the MS. by Boutw. with which I would disagree is p. 22, l. 26 (l. 448 of text) sodomaiscra, where certainly the text has the regular form sodo*mi*tiscra. The scholar will recall how easily the A.S. 'mit' might be hastily read 'mai'.

A few references to Bouterwek's readings where his opinion might be valuable, will be found in the notes containing the variations of the MSS..

§ 17. Textual Comparison of the MSS..

To gather out the most marked points in the variations of the MSS., we shall give first the more prominent variations of each MS., in which particular citations not a single other MS. agrees, though the same forms often may be found elsewhere.

This method will indicate the peculiarities of each text. These variations will be classified under the three heads, 1. probable clerical variations, 2. phonological variations, and 3. possible intentional alterations.

MS. C in the following places is noted to vary from all the other MSS..[1]

1. Probable clerical variations: l. 21 wyre for wyreð, l. 45 þur for þurh, l. 49 Forþe for Forþanþe, l. 226 ne synȝode for nolde synȝian, l. 319 *þæt* haliȝ for *þæt* haliȝe, l. 325 ȝenyrwerd for-weð, l. 371 ȝehate for ȝehaten, l. 416 ȝeoffrod for ȝeoffrode, l. 421 melchesedech for melchisedech, l. 422 melchisedehes, l. 426 omits na, l. 473 ahreddene for ahreddenne, l. 476 þu for þus.

[1] We observe the practice, pursued throughout the work, of giving the accents only when the MSS. or the authorities cited have them. And in the MS. references, when the letters are not given, an agreement of the MSS. is understood.

2. Phonological variations: l. 28 ȝehælon for -lan MBb, -len c, l. 31 heatol for hetol, l. 31, 413, 465 Forþon for -þan, l. 43 micclan for -clum, l. 136 easwerd for eastwerd, l. 138 westward for -weard MBb, -werd c, wæst- M, l. 154 woriende for worigende, l. 234 herȝenlic for -ȝendlic, l. 229 -standeð for -standað, l. 307 ȝewistlice for -wislice, l. 314 forlætnyss for forlætennyss, l. 346 unwæsmbærnysse for -wæstm-, -bærenysse c, -bernesse b, l. 355 forhtiȝan for forhtian, l. 360, 448 heofenū for heofonū, l. 391 þar for þær, l. 413 ȝetaenade for -node, l. 421 saecundum for sec-, l. 430 rixade for -ode, l. 465 eenyssy for -nysse, l. 470 be þam sodomitiscan for -cum, l. 471 fordemede for -demde, l. 485 weorold for woruld, cf. l. 482 woruld C also, l. 492 ȝeopenað for -nod, l. 508 acynð for acenð MBc, acenned b but cf. l. 509 acenð all MSS..

3. Possible intentional alterations: l. 144 fyrlenū? Probably the scribe purposely changed e from the text before him to um, l. 60 sumes for anes, l. 191 scientiae for scientie, l. 243 dyde for axode, l. 279 innan þam men for innan þone man, l. 325 ȝestoten (ȝescoten?) for ȝetoȝen, l. 326 belocen ufewerd for ufewerd belocen, l. 360 on inserted, l. 383 todæled for todælde M, todælede Bbc, l. 386 wæs for wearð, l. 441 wife for æwe, l. 442 bæd heo hire were for bæd heo hire wer, l. 494 ȝeoffrode for ȝeoffrian, l. 500 afandode for -að.

In MS. M we note the following variations from all the other MSS..

1. Probable clerical variations: l. 2 albin for albinus, l. 202 om. seo before sawl, l. 340 om. *þæt* bef. flod, l. 435 om. sunu, l. 444 se for seo.

2. Phonologial variations: l. 6 kyninȝe karolus for initial c (B also K), l. 32 beswican for -cen, l. 89 oferȝædnysse for -ȝæȝædnysse, l. 115 tunȝlena for tunȝlene, l. 170 -nyssa for -nesse, l. 229 beoð for beon, l. 237 þreaȝinȝa for þreaunȝe, l. 280 ȝeleaffullum for -fullan, l. 286 fyran for fyren, l. 288 fyrena for fyrene, l. 309 wununȝa for -ȝe, l. 310 ȝesceafta for -te, l. 331 flerinȝa for -ȝe, forma for -me, l. 332 flerinȝa for -ȝe, but 334—5 M also -ȝe, l. 370 ȝeboȝodon for -ȝodan, l. 379 cyninȝ, l. 386 -dafnode for -dafenode CBc, -dafonode b, l. 389 utfaru for útfæru, l. 393 flæsclican for flæslican, l. 402, 409, 411, 414 twice, kyninȝe for cyn-, l. 414 once kyninȝ cf. l. 379, l. 416 buton for -an, l. 482 þinȝe for þinȝ, l. 462 eorþa for eorþe, l. 499 ofsprinȝee for -sprinȝe, l. 510 spræcan for sprecan.

3. Possible intentional alterations: l. 15 ealunȝa for ealle, l. 107 ȝecynd for ȝecyndes, l. 123 oþ þrittiȝ for on þrittiȝ, l. 271 þeþe for se ðe, l. 301 seo eorðe for se eorðe, l. 313 forȝæȝednysse for -nyss, l. 330 þære for heora, on þoū for on þære, l. 350 ȝesette for -sett, -set. c, l. 353 nanū for anū, l. 395 life for eðle, l. 449 on stemne for mid stemne.

MS. B varies from all the other MSS. in the following references.

1. Probable clerical variations: l. 67—68 one line omitted, l. 117 þas [one letter erased] eofon for þa seofon, l. 153 ofer wæteru for -rū, l. 299 om. ȝe in ȝeþinȝiað, l. 308 utlunȝa for -laȝa, l. 312—313 om. from buton to buton, l. 324 after wid ½ line and first word of next erased, but full text, l. 379 Nebroð for Nembroth, l. 502 þe om. before ȝeþunȝenran.

2. Phonological variations: l. 6 karulus for carolus, l. 140 hi ȝanȝað for hi ȝað, l. 300 ȝesyhð for -sihð, l. 366 byð for bið, l. 436 finst for findst CMb, fintst c, l. 438 finst for findst M, fintst Cc.

3. Possible intentional alterations: l. 2 þeode for lande, l. 11 ȝod for se hælend, l. 27 synn ins. after mannes, l. 48 ȝesceafta for nytena, l. 49 þysne for þone, l. 51 huse ins. after þam, l. 56 adileȝian þa synne for þa synne adileȝian, l. 61 to ealles mancynnes alysednysse for to alysed- ealles man-, l. 62 ne befeolle on swa mycelne ȝylt, for on swa mycelne ȝylt ne befeolle, l. 124 saturne for saturnū, l. 127 is ȝehaten tunȝel ins. bef. is seo sunne, l. 128 dazum ins. after syxtiȝū, l. 135 on eahta tidū om., l. 141 ealle om., l. 169 awriten for ȝecweden, l. 191 ȝehaten om., l. 217 blod 7 wæter for wæter 7 blod, because Gos. Jn. has XIX. 34 'exivit sanguis et aqua' but I Jn. V. 6 'per aquam et sanguinem, ** non in aqua solum, sed in aqua et sanguine, the latter so emphatic prob. in original text, l. 277 funde he nane synne on him, for funde he on him nane synne, l. 287 þam ins. before lifes, l. 294 to þam lifes for to þæs lifes, l. 305 tacn om., l. 332 wildan deor for wilde deor c, wíldeor CMb, l. 338 sǽ for sǽlicra, l. 389 þe ȝod abrahame bebead for þe ȝod abrahame bead M, be ȝod abrahame bead Cbc, l. 394 mid for on, l. 423 is for wæs, l. 458 ȝecynde for ȝecynd.

MS. b is unique in the following passages.

1. Probable clerical variations: l. 41 sylce for swilce, l. 138 writes ǽ over bec, showing the text from which he copied had ǽ? l. 167 toforen with an a written over the e for toforan, l. 325 swa om. before toȝædere, l. 357 on om. before þære, l. 411 butan om., l. 448. 452. 457. 461 sodomisticra for sodomitiscra, l. 492 in om. before ȝehyd.

2. Phonological variations: l. 2 lareaw for lareow, l. 3 micelæ for micele, l. 20 ȝescop for -sceop, l. 28. 32 synna for synne, l. 30 unmiltsiendlic and miltsiendlic for -ȝendlic, l. 32 seolf for sylf, ll. 22. 178 twice, 179. 180. 352. 359. 422. 459. 524 -nes, -ness, -nesse for -nys, -nyss, -nysse, l. 146 heofenan for heofonan, l. 149 hwet for hwæt, were for wære, and often, l. 185 ȝeseȝe for ȝesawe, l. 247 etest for etst Bc, ytst CM, l. 275 unȝemetelice for -metlice, l. 289 a[n partially erased] wendedlice, l. 291 inȝehydnes for -hydes, sweord for swurd, l. 317 ofþinȝð for -þincð, ll. 318. 388 hwet for hwæt, l. 322 earc for arc, wes for wæs, l. 347 larewas for lareowas, l. 348 unwæstmberre for -bærre, l. 369 sunu for suna, l. 374 fiftenæ for fiftene c, fiftyne CMB, l. 376 seofantiȝ for -fontiȝ, l. 386 manncynnes for mancynn-, l. 397 sceolan for sceoldan, ll. 401. 442 wære for were, cwede for cwæde, l. 405 eniȝū for æniȝū, l. 417 leofade for leofode, l. 419 mæder for meder CMB, moder c, l. 437 broþor for breþer, l. 446 tecð for tæcð, l. 461 ȝeedcwicað for -cucod, l. 475 burhȝa for burȝa, l. 482 worldlican for woruld-, l. 488 costað for costnað, also l. 505, l. 511 axunȝe for -ȝa, l. 519 forðon for Forðam, l. 520 feder for fæder, l. 543 anwurð for awurð.

3. Possible intentional alterations: l. 64 ques. 10 om., l. 129 *þæt* for se, l. 222 þurh þone wodan mann for þurh wodne man, l. 251 forðan þet

for forþon þe þa, l. 279 sunt for possibilia, l. 293 lufu for lufe, l. 346 þæra om. before manna, l. 380 ærest for fyrmest, l. 381 þe om..

MS. c supplies the ensuing variations with which, in the passages cited, no other MS. agrees.

1. Probable clerical variations: l. 135 after seofon, tunglan ins. with scribe's marks of erasure, l. 279 synðan = syn[d]ðan for synd., l. 393 þeȝþeȝenas for þeȝnas Cb, þeȝenas MB, l. 475 ȝodas for ȝodes from the following enȝlas? l. 484 bið for beoð.

2. Phonological variations: l. 7 ðan for þā, l. 15 axunȝe for -unȝa, l. 25 Hu fela ȝesceadwisra for -wisa M, -wise CBb, l. 35 unmihtihre for -tiȝre, l. 40 wuldol for wuldor, l. 46 heron for hyran, ll. 49, 190 sceppend for scyp- CBb, scip- M, ll. 93, 264, 367, 395, 445, 447, 460, 467, 474, 506 ðan for þam, l. 178 ȝeȝelicnis for -nyss CM, -ness b, l. 235 yfelan for yfelū, l. 271 tiht for tihte, ll. 288, 311 ænȝla for enȝla, l. 290 ȝerumed for -rýmed, l. 292 hwilwændlicen for -wendlican, l. 315 ælmihtih for -mihtiȝ, l. 338 awyriȝed for awyrȝed, l. 340 widȝyllan for -ȝillan, l. 361 þacne for þam tacne[1], l. 372 sunus for suna, l. 380 formest for fyrmest, l. 387 alysendnys for -sednys, l. 388 ȝemæneð for -mænað, l. 435 sunas for sunu, l. 440 cefese for cyfese, l. 441 untemende for -tymende, l. 458 bismerlice for bismorlice b, bysmorlicē CMB, l. 462 ȝewitnunȝæ for -nunȝa M, -nunȝe CBb, l. 474 dohtren for dohtra, l. 475 ȝodas for ȝodes, þæra for þære, l. 495 ȝehersum for -hyrsum.

3. Possible intentional alterations: l. 36 on miltsunȝe for to miltsunȝe, l. 266 swa ðæt he selra bið for swa he selra bið, l. 340 of ðam flode for on ðam flode.

2. To illustrate the relations of the MSS., it will be helpful to pass from the peculiarities of single texts to some of the coincidences of any two given MSS..

MSS. C and M:

l. 108 Fyres CM for fyrenes Bbc, l. 258 forþā CM for forþan Bbc, l. 287 ȝet CMc for ȝeat Bb, l. 402 swustor CM for swuster Bbc, l. 439—440 forliȝr CMc for -liȝer Bb.

MSS. C and B: many lines correspond in their beginning and end.

Cf. ll. 226, 251 etc., l. 298 ȝesyhðe CB for -sihde Mbc, l. 368 yldesta CB for yldsta M, yltsta b, ylsta c, l. 428 spacing hi re CB, l. 461 afeormað CB for -mod Mb -med c.

MSS. Cb:

l. 276 the line is the same even to punctuation and abbreviation in both Cb, l. 342 diȝlan Cb for diȝelan MBc, l. 489 æȝðer beon Cb for beon æȝðer MBc.

MSS. Cc:

l. 272 oferswiþe Cc for -swiðde MBb, l. 306 *þæt* man hine ofslean Cc for *þæt* hine man ofslean MBb, l. 320 unre Cc for ure MBb, l. 360

[1] Probably a clerical error.

Hí ís C, Hi is c, Hwi is MBb, l. 380 mycelan Cc for mycelan B, miclan Mb.

MSS. Mc:

l. 10 heofonlican Mc for -con CBb, l. 14 Mc om. halȝan CBb, l. 21 Albin Mc for Albinus CBb, l. 29 enȝlas Mc for enȝles CBb, l. 39 underþeod Mc for ȝeunderþeod CBb, l. 45 scyppende Mc for scip- CBb, l. 129 Mc om. 7 syx CBb, l. 239 fram Mc for fra CBb, l. 240 stuntnys Mc for -nyss CB, -ness b, l. 242 Mc om. ne before axode CBb, l. 254 seo næddra Mc for -dre CBb, l. 259 bestinȝð Mc for bestineð CBb, l. 301 ȝewyrȝed Mc for awyrȝed CBb, l. 355 Mc om. eft CBb, l. 379 wolde beon ærest Mc for wolde ærest beon CBb, l. 383 seofontiȝ Mc for seofantiȝ CBb, l. 394 þa ins. before lealtras Mc, l. 397 sceoldon Mc for -dan CBb, l. 497 ȝeárode Mc for ȝearode CBb. M and c often agree in accent, l. 507 lustum Mc for luste CBb.

MSS. MB:

l. 274 ne funde MB for ne a funde Cbc, l. 327 strenȝst MB for strenȝest CBc.

MSS. Bb:

l. 43 Toþon Bb for þan MCc, ll. 453. 458. 460 swefle Bb for swæfle MCc. B and b often agree in e for æ.

3. To complete the comparison of the MSS. before summing up, it will be necessary to examine more closely the phonological variations of the MSS..

Under old a = W.S. æ, ðǽr hwǽr or also Goth. þár hwár we have traces of the E.W.S.[1] in C. L. 238 hwar C, hwær MBc, hwer b, l. 303 þar C, þer b, þær MBc, l. 335 þar C also in 391. 436. 438, but 438 þer b.

MS. C, analogously, has a for æ, of the two the earlier form, in l. 274 þara C, l. 333 þara CB, l. 334 Cb, l. 337 þara C. The use of e for W.S. æ, a principal mark of the Kentish, and also in Northumbrian, but in the latter not the rule as in K. is prominent in MS. b. This W.S. æ = e is universal in the Ps.[2], and I take it, at least in MS. b, to be a mark of the Mercian, ll. 332. 423. 426 twice, 460. 494. 496 wes b, ll. 186. 187. 284 weron b, l. 401 were MCBc, ll. 14. 26. 204. 430 twice, 432. 434. 461. 479. 491 þere b, ll. 301. 438 þer b, þar C, l. 320 spreeð CBc, l. 321 spreec b, ll. 221. 424. 503 spree b, l. 221 Hweþer M, ll. 285. 388. 408. 446 hwet b, ll. 401. 446 cwede b, ll. 14. 410. 446. 464. 483. 499 cweð b, l. 414 nes b. The tendency of MS. b generally is to use e.

The o for Teutonic a before nasals, predominant in the ninth century and appearing statedly in the Ps., becomes in some frequent words a mark of L.W.S.[3] In MS. C this o is certainly a sign of L.W.S. and per-

---

[1] Kurzgefasste Alt-Westsächsische Grammatik von P. J. Cosijn. Erster theil. Die vocale der stammsilben. Leiden 1881, s. 4.

[2] Die Sprache des Kentischen Psalters (Vespasian A. I.). Ein Beitrag zur Angelsächsischen Grammatik von Rudolf Zenner. § 3.

[3] Angelsächsische Grammatik von Eduard Sievers. Halle 1882. § 65. Zenner § 2. Cosijn s. 11. Sweet's Reader p. XXI.

haps also of a trace of a not- W.S. dialect. l. 38 forþon CB, l. 53 C, l. 59 Cb, ll. 69. 85 C, l. 526 b, forþan C. forþon C contrary to all the other MSS. ll. 31. 211. 232. 244, 251. 338. 413. 465. 535.

MS. C alone preserves the old alternative of o for a (old a = W.S. a or o) in lichoman ll. 199. 201. 204.

The *brechung* of a to ea and eo before l + cons. takes place always in all our MSS. in eall, ealdetc..

MS. C alone has an old W.S. form and one prominent in the Ps.[1]: weorulde ll. 24. 485, but l. 7 worlde C, worulde MBbc, l. 115 woroldlices C, -ruldlices MBbc.

The change of i into y, so common in L.W.S., that it is an especial feature of the dialect is illustrated in l. 281 willaþ Mbc, wyllaþ CB, l. 319 wile Mbc, wyle CB, l. 468 wille Mbc, wylle CB, l. 491 wile Mbc, wyle CB, l. 501 wile Mbc, wyle CB, ll. 316. 449. 450. 462. 508 þyþ B, l. 45 scyppende Mc, scip- CBb, l. 49 scippend M, scep- c, scyp- CBb, l. 232 scippend M, scyp- CBbc, l. 403 hire CMbc, hyre B also in 441. 422 twice, l. 385 siþþan Mb, syþ- CBc, l. 427 siþþan bc, syþ- CMB, l. 273 þises Cc, þyses MBb, l. 342 þisre CMc, þysre Bb.

Cases of umlaut of á = Gothic ai are numerous as in E.W.S. and Ps.: l. 276 æniȝ all MSS., l. 405 æniȝū CMBc, eniȝū b. The W.S. æ sometimes as in the Ps. = é[2]: l. 145 forlæton C, forleton MBc, forletan b, l. 346 unwæstmbærnysse all MSS., but b -bernesse, l. 348 unwæstmbærre all MSS., but b -berre, l. 463 unwæstmbære all MSS. but b -bere.

The é úmlaut of ea one of the principal marks of the older K. and North. and the ý later predominant may be significant in our MSS.: l. 46 hyran CMBb, heron c, l. 195 ȝehyrsumnysse all MSS., and l. 196 unȝehyrall MSS. but CB omit, l. 495 ȝehyrsum CMBb, -hersum c, l. 217 alysenne all MSS., l. 386 alysednys all MSS., l. 61 -sednysse all MSS., but b -sanne, l. 540 alysde all MSS..

Sweet[3] has noticed that the MSS. of Ælf. generally have ý forms but in the MS. of Ælf.'s N.T. i is frequent.

In l. 313 þeostru CMbc þystru B, l. 9 ældeodiȝ all MSS., l. 72 steóre all MSS., ll. 39. 45 ȝeunderþeod all MSS., but b -dd, the eó has not suffered umlaut, this, generally a peculiarity of K. (and North.), is also the usual case in the Ps..

The vowels of the unaccented syllables of the abstract nouns in -nys in MSS. M and B are, without exception, -nys -nyss. MS. C has -nys -nyss save in four instances-nesse, i. e. in the dative sing., where the final vowel may have led to the change ll. 67. 170. 271. 342. MS. c has -nys -nis -nyss together with frequent -nes -ness but his first instance of -nes does not occur until he has reached the l. 163, showing that with thought he was following his copy. MS. b, on the other hand, without exception has -nes, -ness. In the abstracts in -nis occurs in l. 172 þrynness CB, þrynnys Mc, -nyss b.

---

[1] Zeuner's gram. s. 28. As to the origin, cf. Paul VI, 35 ff. Cosijn s. 23.
[2] Zeuner's gram. s. 42.
[3] Sweet's Reader p. XXVI.

It will be interesting to note the usage of the MSS. with respect to the syncope of the vowel in the case of sawul: l. 102 sawl CMB, saul b, sawul c, ll. 176. 199. 200 sawle all MSS., l. 202 CBbc sawul, sawl M, ll. 204, 212 sawle all MSS.. The preservation of the semi-vowel w after a vowel is noted in the Ps..[1]

One of the chief signs of Kentish, the change of ȝ into i at the end of a syllable after a palatal vowel, is rare in the Ps.. But iȝ final always becomes ie in the Ps. according to Zeuner.

This transmutation of ȝ in to i has not been noted in our MSS. except in iȝ final: l. 105 drie CMB, driȝe b, drye c, l. 107 drie MB, driȝe Cb, drye c.

A token of late date, and perhaps of L.W.S. appears in the change of final í to iȝ: l. 52 hwi MBbc. hwiȝ C, ll. 134, 438 forþi all MSS. but forþiȝ b. In l. 428 burh in *all* our MSS., the ȝ final after a long vowel having become h testifies to L.W.S..

The doubling of consonants affords nothing especially noteworthy. In mann, mancynn the use is promiscuous. MS. b most regularly has -nn. M and C in the majority of cases have -n. Micel as in L.W.S. often doubles its c in oblique cases. And we have sceall for sceal (L.W.S.): l. 404 sceal all MSS. but b -ll, ll. 480, 482 sceal all MSS., but 480 M -ll, l. 334 steall all MSS. but C -l, l. 445 ȝodspel all MSS. but b -ll, ll. 39, 45 underþeod all MSS. but b -dd, l, 387 alysednys all MSS. but b -ss, l. 459 ȝalnys all MSS. but M -ss, l. 271 þus all, but b -ss, l. 465 þisū MBc, þissū Cb, l. 329 pyt all, but b -tt, l. 345 fleasemettas all MSS. but c -metas, l. 350 ȝesett all, but c -set, l. 352 næfre all but B -ff.

Usually the preterite of the second class of the weak verbs ends in -ode, and -ade is rare. Our MSS. conform to this rule. But the -ade is most frequent in the Ps. and North., and MS. C only shows a tendency to -ade, l. 114 forsuwade C all other MSS. -ode, l. 171 ȝeswutelad C, -lod MBb, -lode c, l. 284 ȝeswutolade C, -lode MBbc, l. 291 ȝetacnade C, -node MBbc, l. 413 ȝetacnade C, -node MBbc, l. 430 rixade C, rixode MBbc.

The few cases of the omission of ȝ in the participle of weak verbs are yet numerous enough not to be mere copyist's errors upon the part of C and b: l. 108 turniende C, -niȝende MBbc, l. 118 dweliende and woriende C, -ȝende MBbc, l. 307 cwaciende Ccb, -ciȝende MB, ȝeomriȝende CMBc -riende b, woriende Cb, woriȝende MBc, l. 340 waniende b, -iȝende CMBc, l. 516 wuniende C, -niȝende b.

In the names of kindred only two or three instances call for remark. MS. b l. 419 mæder, c modor where rightly CMB meder dat. sing., l. 474 MS. c for dohtra acc. pl. has 'dohtren' a very late form[2] l. 372 MS. c for acc. pl. has sunus and l. 435 acc. pl. sunas, — again late forms. The first, with u instead of a, indicates the error of the scribe falling between his MS. and his speech?

---

[1] Zeuner's gram. § 26.

[2] Hickes in his Grammar, De Dialecto Normanno-Sax. I. XIV cites dat pl. 'Aarones dohtren'.

The declension of the proper names is regular as classified by Müller.[1] The masculine names ending in a consonant or -e are of the strong declension, e.g. ll. 422. 447. 460. 484. The names with Latin endings -us or -es have in Inter. always Latin inflections, and even the accusative iouem, l. 125, is correctly given.

This is another suggestion of Ælf.'s authorship.

§ 18. Conclusions concerning the MSS., and their Classification.

The comparison of the MSS. confirms the general conclusions reached under the description of the MSS., and adds information with respect to details.

The conclusions may be stated without especial arguments, basing them upon the facts and inferences opened in the description of the MSS., and in the three stages of their comparison.

All the MSS. are clearly L.W.S., and would indicate the composition of the original at about the year 1000 A. D..

The MS. M has the purest L.W.S., and B is next. C follows, but preserves a few forms earlier than those of the first two MSS.. Perhaps there is a slight trace of Mercian influence in C.

MS. b has apparently a Mercian coloring, although, from the lateness of the MS., this may be asserted to be only the marking of the Semi-Saxon, or so called Transition *par excellence* period.

MS. c is the least spontaneous of all the copies. Besides the handwriting, several forms, which have slipped in by inadvertence, tell the tale of the late date. This MS. was made in another age from that of the MS. which it copied, but it was meant to be an accurate reproduction of the original.

The MSS. were written at different times during a period of at least a hundred years.

They spring apparently from separate places excepting two of them.

With respect to these localities we have not sufficient data to make conclusions, but there are some grounds for the following conjectures.

---

[1] Angelsächsische Grammatik von Dr. Theodor Müller. Aus dem handschriftlichen nachlasse des verfassers herausgegeben von Dr. H. Hilmer. Göttingen 1883, s. 153.

MS. M, upon Wanley's authority, was once the property of the monastery of St. Edmondsbury. But the MS. is thoroughly L. W. S.. It is however quite likely that it was copied in Winchester, where Ælf. probably wrote The Lives of the Saints [1], for the purpose of being sent to East Anglia.

It is well known how Ælf.'s revered master, Ethelwold, took especial interest in reestablishing those future glories of England's fen district, the abbeys of Peterborough, Ely and Thorney, which had been ruined by the Danes, converting them of course into regular Benedictine houses.[2]

The especial communication between Winchester and these East Anglian monasteries, and the interest of Ælf. therein, is such that Soames and others have placed him as at one time Abbot of Peterborough.[3] However, from the indications that MS. M was a copy made perhaps two decades after the composition of The Lives of the Saints, it seems to me more likely that it was copied by a W. S. monk in St. Edmondsbury from a text previously sent from Winchester, perhaps, to Peterborough.

MS. c, the youngest of our MSS., is the most closely related to M the oldest. The general agreement between them, extending oftentimes to the contractions and accentuation, makes it probable that MS. c was copied from MS. M.

In any case, MS. c was a transcript from a text nearly identical with MS. M. It is a natural supposition that MS. c was made from MS. M, in St. Edmondsbury, for one of the other monasteries, e. g., Ely or Thorney, in the East Anglian group.

MSS. C and B, by the evidence from the glosses, were in the library at Worcester, or, more accurately, were at sometime in the hands of a scribe who was in Worcester. These MSS. are probably not copies of one another, but, if they were, on account of transpositions and omissions in B, clearly MS. C was the original.[4] From various intimations already given,

---

[1] Dietrich ibid. 1856, s. 245.

[2] The Anglo-Saxon Church: its History, Revenues, and general Character. By Henry Soames. Second Edition London 1840, p. 223.

[3] Soames ibid. p. 223 sq..

[4] The possibility that MS. B was copied from MS. C is virtually excluded by the omission by MS. B of the creed at the end of MS. C.

we would locate MS. C somewhere upon the borders between W.S. and Mercia. Thus it falls within the circle where Ælf. moved about 1005, and afterward.[1] The mention, by the copyist of MS. C, of *Abbot* Ælf., may denote that he was in the very monastery of Ensham. Ensham, although from the beginning of the twelfth century in the diocese of Lincoln, was near the borders of the diocese of Worcester, in which the zealous cultivator of A.S. literature, Wulfstan, whose authority Ælf. recognized and for whom he wrote[2], was Bishop.

Thus, from Ælf.'s day forward, there were close relations between the district about Ensham and the cathedral town of Worcester[3], which would account for the same hand in the twelfth century annotating MSS. C and B. We can also find a hint that, in a center of A.S. learning like Worcester, a punctilious grammarian (for such the numerous emendations and transpositions in his text show him to have been) should have written MS. B in scrupulous W.S..

Concerning MS. b there is no external evidence, save that it was connected with the Hatton Collection which contained a number of famous Worcester MSS.. The internal evidence indicates a Mercian region where the transition from W.S. was not so tenaciously resisted as in the south.

MS. b *cannot* be a copy of any of the rest of our MSS., for, aside from other conclusive grounds, it has the final creed, which is in none of the MSS. except MS. C. The forms prove it to be much later than MS. C, but it cannot be copied from C, as the mere examination of the variations in the final part, ll. 511—545, contained only in MSS. C and b shows. MS. b is not given to making verbal additions, but we find them here numerous for the short space: cf. ll. 515, 518, 525, 532 [the erasures in C], 534 [an entire clause], 540.

---

[1] Dietrich ibid. 1856, s. 233 passim. Between 1005—1012 Ælf. was resident within the borders of Mercia and Abbot of Ensham in Oxfordshire. In the pref. to his Liber Consuetudinum, to the monks of Ensham he says of himself 'vobiscum degens'. His friends, Sigwerd and Wulfget, to whom he writes, were in Mercia.

[2] Vide The Pastoral Epistle.

[3] It is noteworthy, that the poem of the twelfth century with a reference to Ælf. was discovered among the archives of Worcester Cathedral. v. below p. 463 and note 2.

In conclusion, we have five MSS., four of which are independent of one another, but all closely identified with Ælf.'s works.

There are two types of MSS., those most conservatively L.W.S., MSS. MB and c, and those yielding somewhat to less conservative (Mercian) influences, C and b.

At the head of the first class is MS. M, and of the second MS. C, and these two are the eldest, though MS. C is a much younger sister. The MSS. of the first type contain 511 lines, those of the second have 545.

§ 19. The Authenticity of the final Creed and Doxology, ll. 511—545.

Two independent MSS., C and b, have them, and two other MSS., M and B, equally independent, and one of them the oldest MS., with MS. c, the copy of MS. M, have them not. That they were a component part of MSS. C and b has been shown. There was no doctrinal ground for their omission or addition. With this about evenly balanced testimony before us, only a probable conclusion remains to be derived from the internal evidence. The MSS. MBc conclude, at the end of the answer of the LXIX question, with the remark: 'We will not speak further about this, because we have now written the most necessary questions'. In any case this follows the question abruptly, but it certainly may serve as a termination of the treatise.

However it is to be observed that not one of these three MSS. closes with an 'Amen', which is so usual in these discourses that its omission may be significant.

If Ælf. is the author, a remark like the 'We will not etc.' is characteristic of him in making a transition[1] of subject but it is not his customary way of closing an article. It is the rule for the sermons in The Lives of the Saints to begin at once with the name and time of the saint, and to close with a short doxology and an 'Amen'.

The practice to close thus is almost universal with Ælf.. We gain then the presumption that the Inter. would originally close with something of the kind.

[1] Vide Inter. ll. 112—114. 144 and the parallel readings upon them and l. 509.

The contents of the appendix favors its authenticity. It is alliterative, and thus harmonizes in form with the Inter. and The Lives of the Saints. The subject matter could almost be replaced word for word from other passages in Ælf.[1]. The praise of the Creator and the Trinity were favorite themes of his.[2] The probable indirect source of this form of the creed[3] was Isidore[4], an author whom Ælf. used during this period of his life in his glossary[5], and in his treatise on the Old and New Testaments.[6] It is unlikely that a treatise like the Inter. should have been issued as a sermon without some such liturgical finish.

In the analysis of the entire Cod. M it also appeared that the creed and doxology at the close of the Inter. had their place in the scheme of thought of the entire volume. The probalities therefore are that the creed and doxology are genuine.

How then are we to acount for their omission, and especially in MS. M?

It is quite possible that the author, if he was Ælf., as in several other cases[7], edited a first edition of the Inter. without this appendix.

---

[1] See parallel readings on ll. 511–545.

[2] There may be a possible relation between the Epistle to Wulfget at Ylmandune, concerning the Trinity, creation, and duty of reconciliation, with the last page of the Inter.?

[3] This creed printed here for the first time Dietrich had not seen, but forming his judgments from the extracts of Wanley, he thought it was upon the incarnation. The few lines he saw he was inclined to believe authentic, and remarks that they are found else where in Ælf. Dietrich ibid. 1855, s. 507.

[4] Vide end of the Latin text.

[5] Ælf.'s Gl. 308. 13, cf. Isid. Etymolog. Liber XII Cap. II, 12 (Pat. Lat. XXIV col. 435). Ælf.'s Gl. 309. 3, cf. Isid. Etymolog. Liber XII Cap. II, 17 (Pat. Lat. XXIV col. 436). Though no one, so far as I know, has published anything upon the sources of the Glossary of Ælf., and many Glossaries were afloat in the middle ages, the passages to which I have referred must have been direct from Isidore.

[6] Cf. Ælf.'s misunderstanding of Malachim as a proper name: 'þás béc áwriton Samuel and Malachim'. Sweet's Reader 66. 276, cf. Isid. Etym. L. VI Cap. II, 11 (Pat. Lat. XXIII, 2). Dietrich well says Isid. was for Ælf.'s O. and N. Testament 'die hauptquelle'. ibid. 1855, s. 504.

[7] E. g., his Job first a kind of treatise, and then later adapted to the form of a sermon. comp. Hms. II, 446—460, and Hiob in Grein's Bibliothek der A. S. Prosa.

It is more probable that some early copyist, knowing of Ælf.'s repetitions about the Trinity, or wishing to save labor and parchment, ended his copy at the good stopping place afforded by the remark 'We will not now etc.'.

In connection with all the above, the omission in this manner is more likely than the insertion of such a long and elaborately alliterated passage. MS. M is a copy, and not an original.

The Question of the Authorship of The Interrogationes

has never been critically and fully determined.

§ 20. The Opinions of Critics.

Thorpe[1] and Wright[2] simply attribute The Inter. to Ælf.. Dietrich[3] says, 'although the author is not named, with probability it is attributed to Ælf.'. He adds arguments to that end, but as the Inter. was not then printed, concludes with the remark 'as the work is not yet printed, at this time the full proof cannot be drawn out, which the language and manner of treatment must give'.

Bouterwek evidently attempts no investigation of the question, but he had an impression that the translation was one hundred years earlier than Ælf.. He only devotes one clause of a sentence to the entire matter: 'quam monarchus natione Saxo-occidentalis, circa finem seculi IX, fecisse videtur'.[4]

On the whole, the opinions of the critics favor the Ælfrician authorship.

The chief difficulty of the critics sprang from their treatment of the Inter. as an independent treatise, whence arose the forcible objection that the tractate lacked the personal salutation or mention of the author, which was so universally Ælf.'s custom, that it is almost necessary to the establishment of his authorship. This objection wholly falls in the light of

---

[1] Vide Thorpe's Pref. I Vol. of Hms..

[2] Vide Biogr. Brit. Lit. A. S. Period p. 362 a noncommittal mention of the A. S. of the Inter., but under Ælf. he inclines to the Ælf. authorship.

[3] Dietrich ibid. 1855, s. 506 passim. — s. 515 he mentions Inter. among the treatises appearing to have every claim to recognition as Ælf.'s.

[4] Screadunga pref..

the evidence of the MSS. that the Inter. was one of a series of sermons.

The Inter. was never a *bóc,* but only a *cwide* or *lár-spell.* It stands under a general preface at the beginning of the volume.

§ 21. The External Evidences.

The external evidences are not numerous or explicit, but, as far as they go, they are all in favor of Ælf.. The Inter. is bound without exception with Ælf. Codd.. The proofs the MSS. afford have been interwoven, for compactness and clearness, under the discussion of the MSS..

Without repeating them, they can be summed up in the powerful argument of the scientist; viz., the best hypothesis to explain all the phenomena of the MSS. is that Ælf. wrote the Inter..

The first known remotest allusion, after Ælf.'s day, to the authorship, is in the brief explanation of the scribe of MS. C.[1] He gives it to be understood that his collection is from Ælfric.

A curious scrap of evidence I find in the quaint and plaintive poem of the twelfth century, found by Sir J. Phillips[2] in the pieces of parchment used in binding a book. The patriotic Saxon poet, under the Norman supremacy, turns to the former days, and names some of the great English teachers. Next after Bede he mentions:

> — 'Aelfric abbod þe we Alquin hoteþ. he was bocare. 7 þe . . . bec wende. Genesis. Exodus. Uronomius. Numerus. Leviticus. þi . . . þeos weren ilærde ure leoden. on englisc. etc.'.[3]

No one has accounted for the combination 'Ælfric abbod þe we Alquin hoteþ'. Despite the many variations of the

---

[1] Vide above p. 437.

[2] A Fragment of Aelf.'s Grammar, Aelf.'s Glossary, and A Poem on the Soul and Body, in the orthography of the twelfth century: Discovered among the archives of Worcester Cathedral. By Sir T. Phillips Bart.. Edited by Sir T. P., London. W. Clowes & Sons Stamford St. 1838. — It is a fol. of only 8 pp. — 'the writing I deem to be of the latter part of the twelfth cent., although the language seems to be a century older'. Pref. of T. P.. Vide also Biogr. Brit. Lit., A. S. Period, pp. 59. 60 and note.

[3] Vide Sir T. Phillips ibid. p. 5, l. 13 sq..

name Ælf., that of Alquin does not occur, nor could it well do so under the laws of phonology. It is plainly the name of Alcuin.[1]

What theory can reasonably explain this association of the names of two men so widely separated in time? The contact between Alc. and Ælf., in the Inter., which at least was ranked among Ælf.'s works, had been prominent, and the popular tractate was still remembered. Its popular title would have been 'Ælfric's Alcuin's Interrogationes etc.'. The poet, living when the knowledge of Ælf. as well as of his works had almost disappeared, 'when many of the teachers perish and the people along with them',[2] artlessly explained the title Aelfric's Alquin's etc., teachers and patriots about which only the shadows of fame hung, as the two names of one man.

This, naturally, must be taken as a supposition without weight as an argument.

§ 22. The Internal Evidences.

The material for gathering internal evidence is fully set forth in our pages. The way is prepared therefore to give the evidence and conclusions without extended arguments.

The Inter., as well as many of the Lives of the Saints, is written in what Prof. Skeat[3] calls 'a loose sort of alliterative verse'. Further, Prof. Skeat discovers in the Lives of the Saints that the scribe in general has taken pains to mark off the lines by the insertion of points, and Prof. S. prints the lines accordingly. The Inter. likewise, in this kind of punctuation, coincides with its fellows in Ælf.'s works. And the same art of punctuation is preserved even in MSS. C and b, here remarkably distinct, if not in the grammatical MS. B or the late MS. c. The neighbor, De Abusiuis, of the Inter. in the Lives of the Saints, which was in another period transliterated seems also to have kept the same kind of punctuation, and,

---

[1] Albinus enim et Alcuinus, Alboinus, vel Albuinus, Alchoinus, Alquinus, Alchuinus, Alchwinus, Alkoinusque, tam in manuscriptis quam excusis libris indifferenter reperitur. Alcuini Vita D. Andreae Quercetani Praefatio (Pat. Lat. col. 107 sq.).

[2] Poem. Sir T. Phillips ibid. p. 5, l. 25.

[3] Ælf.'s Lives of the Saints, ed. by Prof. Skeat, pref. p. VI.

according to Prof. Skeat's excellent note [1], is a fair specimen of what may be defined as semi-alliterative verse or rhythmical prose. The alliteration is not kept up with much regularity. It was excellently adapted, no doubt, for the purpose of recitation aloud. Certain words of explanation and all the Latin quotations are not to be counted as belonging to the rhythmical portion.

This description fits exactly to the Inter., and, as is well known, is common to many of Ælf.'s productions. Dietrich finds at least ten sermons in the two volumes of Hms. entirely in rhythmical lines.

This, in its form more a rhetorical than a poetical art of Ælf.'s, is so characteristic of him that he has well been placed as the forerunner of the transition from the old alliterative verse to the rhythmical line.[2]

To this Master in this field must the Inter. be ascribed, not simply because of its possessing this form but because of the difficulties overcome to bring the tractate into this shape. The editor had not only to make a translation and to conform it to his alliterative movement, but also a translation of abstract matter, preserving the form of question and answer.

The A. S. preface (ll. 2—17 inclusive) has 19 regular metrical lines. The questions and answers, beginning in l. 18, compared with the smooth cadences preceding them do not at first seem to be metrical, — but this is on account of the new and double difficulty of combining question and answer and Biblical quotations. In l. 21 the alliteration and cadence are better and so in the following question. The author holds himself free occasionally not to alliterate for a line or two, and especially in quotations, explanations and the barest historical passages. But on the whole it is marvellous how well the editor maintains his semi-alliterative verse.

Where his didactic subject permits it, or he can insert a

---

[1] Appendix p. 329 in: Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Ed. from MSS. in the British Museum, Lambeth and Bodleian Libr. by Richard Morris. First Series.

[2] Among other works, the Admonitio ad Fil. Spir. is alliterative 'and indeed not in the stricter form of the older period but in Ælf.'s freeer form'. Dietrich ibid. 1855 s. 548, cf. 1856 s. 185.

remark, he often rises to true poetry in thought and word as well as in form; e. g., ll. 142—144 of the melody of the planets, and the shining heaven (the poetical word rodor[1]). Ll. 290—294 the allegorical interpretation of the cherubim guarding paradise as fullness of knowledge, that is true love, and of the fiery sword as temporal hardships. Through tribulation, and true love to God and man we shall come again to the tree of life. He crowns this poetic passage with the faultless couplet, l. 295, that tree of life is the beloved Saviour, Christ. Ll. 492—498, the trial of Abraham in the sacrifice of Isaac. It will be remembered this last passage Ælf. has translated alliteratively.

The narrative about Abraham and even the explantory remark 'we will not etc.' l. 509, together with the creed and doxology are in the good meter of the introduction and better passages. Thus the end harmonizes with the beginning.

The argument from the form of the Inter. in its alliteration, poetic passages, and even punctuation, is a strong one for the integrity of the longer version and the Ælfric authorship.

The language and dialect so thoroughly L. W. S., and without any substantial traces even of *early* L. W. S., show that Bouterwek's suppositon that it dates from a monk in the IX. century is untenable. There is no shred of evidence that the Inter. of Alcuin was translated into English before Ælf. and that he issued it with his works. Ælf. is scrupulous to give credit to other authors.

A comparison of the Inter. with the Blickling Hms.[2] shows that it is of a later period.

The vocabulary where the Inter. and the Blickling Hms. touch is different, and that of the Blickling is more archaic — and this despite the poetic tinge given to the Inter.. The Blickling Hms. have not once the phrase which is a characteristic of Ælf., and which occurs several times in the Inter. '*on ealdan wisan*'. Blickling uses *ȝeþuncen* but once, and *ȝeladung* not at all, while *cyrican* is in Blickling 17 times, and '*ȝodes*

[1] Sweet asserts p. 276, that rodor is found only in poetry.

[2] The Blickling Homilies of the tenth century from the Marquis of Lothian's unique MS. A. D. 971. ed. with a translation and index of words by the Rev. R. Morris M. A., L. L. D. London 1880, pub. for E. E. T. S.

cyrican' at p. 41 l. 26, the very phrase where Inter. has, and Ælf. always has, *ȝeladunȝ*. *Ȝeswutelian* is not in Blickling. Bl. has, p. 89 l. 9, *unwisum netenum,* which is not in Inter., but, l. 48, *þa unsceadwisan nytenu,* which in turn is not in Bl.. For the Latin *abyssus* in the Ps. Bl. has '*to helle ȝrunde*' pp. 141. 9, 85. 4, 87. 14. 20, but Ælf. and Inter. tranlate *abyssus* by *niwelnis*. In Bl. is *middan ȝeardes Alýsend*. Though the verb is used often by Ælf. and Inter., it is well known his favorite word for Redeemer is *Hǽlend*, and the phrase '*se leófa Hǽlend*', occurring more than once in Inter., is a sign of Ælf.. On the other hand *þa ȝecorenan,* Inter. ll. 392, 500, a favorite word of Ælf. is 7 times in Bl..

It should be noted, on account of its bearing on the final creed and doxology of Inter., that the ascriptions to the Trinity are rare and short in Bl.. The longest, p. 249 l. 24, is scarcely three lines long. In Ælf. doxologies and even creeds upon the Trinity are frequent.

In short, in vocabulary and forms of expressions Inter. materially differs from the Bl. Hms., and in each difference we found the Inter. agreeing with the words and phrases of Ælf. which were purposely chosen for the test.

In this comparison with a parallel specimen of pre-Ælf. literature we have gained the fact, as we before had with respect to the forms, that the language makes probable no earlier date than Ælf.'s time for the origin of the Inter.. If this be so, then the Inter. must be assigned to Ælf., for it is in MS. M too soon identified with his works to have been there unless he had authorized it, and that he would only have done in the case of a writing of his own. He was ever careful that his writings be kept by themselves.

If it had sprung from a contemporary of Ælf., we should have had some trace of an author of such ability in connection with the work.

To turn from the negative to the positive argument derived from the language, a comparison of the vocabulary, phrases, idioms and syntax of the Inter. with those of the Ælf. literature should be made. That we have done, and for convenience, the selected parallel readings are given under the A. S. text. It is therefore not necessary to repeat the references here. Our

conclusion from the comparison with the literature is that the Inter. is from Ælf.. Certain determining characteristic words and phrases have been indicated under the comparison with the Bl. Hms.. Varying expressions will of course be found in the parallel readings. A marked one is in l. 19, the Inter. has *weorca*, where Gen. and numerous other strictly parallel passages have *weorces*. But the explanation of the use of the gen. pl. in the Inter., in place of the sing. in all other places, is that the Latin has the pl. 'operibus'.

In general it may be remarked that when the Inter. was translated Ælf.'s Gen. was not written, and therefore the forms of the Scriptural texts were not yet fixed. Further, Ælf.'s mind was so active, and his vocabulary so large, that he often varies his forms of expression even in the Hms.. The exigencies of translation and alliteration are also to be taken into account. In the light of these considerations, the correspondences between the Inter. and the parallel passages from Ælf. will make a deep impression as to common authorship.

One of the most conclusive arguments for the Ælf. authorship develops itself in the comparison with the Ælf. literature.

There is a probable direct reference in the Inter., in one of those personal explanatory remarks so characteristic of Ælf., to a similar remark in the *De Temporibus Anni*.

At Inter. l. 112 he closes Alc.'s question, which has a reference to the wandering stars (planets) in their contest with the firmament. He adds: 'I ween that thou understandest not what this means, but we from other books will explain this more clearly (will say this more openly). I will say *now* that about which I kept silent some time *before* on account of the unwontedness of the lay understanding' (ungewunan woroldlices ȝesceades [1]).

He then gives, ll. 115—144 a translation of cap. XII *De Cursu Planetarum* from Bede's *De Natura Rerum*. In *De Temporibus* [2] the author says: 'The seven are called *septem planetae*, and I know it will seem very incredible to unlearned men, if we

[1] The not uncommon use of *weoruldlic* for lay. e. g.: *weoruldmen* = the laity.

[2] Screadunga 29. 28 sq..

speak scientifically concerning the stars (planets) and concerning their courses'. And he closes this same chapter[1] with: 'Though we should speak more of the heavenly constellations (tunglum) still the unlearned may not learn their luminous course'. The writer of *De Temp.*, in this his IX section *De Diversis Stellis*, was following closely the cap. XI *De Stellis* of Bede's *De Natura Rerum.*

The two above remarks are Ælf.'s insertion, occasioned by his omissions. The first is of the names of the planets which Bede gives. Notice is given with the second remark of the omission of Bede's next cap. XII *De Cursu Planetarum*, cap. XIII *De Ordine eorum*, etc.. On account of the ignorance of his hearers, the author thus reluctantly left the subject of the planets, so attractive to him, with a half-way notice that he would speak further about it. In the Inter. it must be the same author who, upon the simple mention by Alc. of the counteracting influence of the heavens and the planets, reverts to his former omission in *De Temp.*. In the Lives of the Saints, according to the preface[2], he was opening more than ever before subjects with which the laity were unacquainted.

He proceeds in accordance with this principle in the Inter., but with the words, 'I ween' etc. and 'I will now say' etc., rendered necessary that he might not contradict his remarks in *De Temp.*. He then makes his longest insertion in Alc., from his Bede at cap. XII, the very point where he omitted in *De Temp.*. The argument from this reference is unmistakable that the author of the Inter. and *De Temp.* was the same. It is now universally and rightfully conceded that Ælf. wrote *De Temp.*.[3]

---

[1] The translation is Wright's in: Popular Treatises on Science written during the Middle Ages, in Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and English. Edited from the Original MSS. by Thom. Wright. London 1841. Printed for the Historical Society of Science.

[2] Vide Ælf.'s Lat. Pref. Skeat's ed..

[3] Vide Thorpe in his pref. p. VII of Vol. I Hms.. Wright was at first silent in his pref. to Popular Treatises etc.. In Biogr. Brit. Lit., A.S. Period p. 479, he is indefinite, 'to some scholar of the tenth cent.', but in ibid. p. 486, he passes over to Ælf.. 'We ought probably to attribute to Ælf. *De Temp.*' etc., with an argument therefor. Dietrich 1855, s. 488,

§ 23. The Translation.

The translation in its choice of words and general style is Ælfrician.

With respect to the terms, consult our notes upon parallel readings. There simple words with their Latin equivalents are given, especially from Ælf.'s grammar, when they are emphasized by their repetition or similar causes, and are the same as those chosen in the Inter. for Alc.'s words.

In the pref.[1] to the Lives of the Saints, Ælf. says that he has not been able always to translate word for word, *sed tamen sensum ex sensu*, and he has diligently taken care to translate in simple and plain language, such as would profit the hearers. He abridges longer narratives that they may not be tedious for the fastidious.

The Inter. is a translation of this description. It shows a master's hand in its general literalness, combined with freedom of arrangement and English idioms.[2] The abridgement of Alc.'s treatise into a sermon, not longer than many of Ælf.'s Hms., corresponds with the announcement in the pref., and speaks strongly against the Inter. ever having been an independent tractate.

§ 24. The Subject.

The subject of the Inter. argues for Ælf.. The creation was a theme with which he began his Hms.[3], and to which he often returned. He, at the period of his life in which The Saints Lives appeared, was busy with Old Testament translations, and that of the book of Gen. soon followed. His friends[4] seem to have had especial interest in Gen., and he,

---

enters upon a full discussion of the subject, and concludes positively for the Ælf. authorship. I investigated this question *de novo*, and found confirmation of Dietrich at every point.

[1] Ælf.'s Lat. pref. Skeat's ed. p. 4. 22 sq..

[2] Cf. among similar rems. in Ælf.'s prefaces; e. g., Hms. II, p. 1, 'interpretaro, non garrula verbositate, aut ignotis sermonibus, sed puris et apertis verbis linguae hujus gentis' etc., espec. Pref. to Gen., Grein, s. 24, z. 7 sq..

[3] De Initio Creaturae, Hexameron, etc..

[4] A. S. pref. to Gen., Grein, ibid. s. 22, z. 3 sq.. Æthelweard, at whose bidding he translated Gen.; Ælf. had delayed Æthelweard's request. 'He

doubting the propriety of publishing all the book, wished to satisfy their demands with selections from it, such as he has made in the Inter.. The choice of questions and even passages, which shall be taken from Alc.'s long work, displays an author of Ælf.'s caution about giving all the narratives of Gen. to the public of his time. A comparison with his version of Gen. will show that the passages in Alc., which he passes by, on grounds of propriety, are generally the ones omitted in his Gen.. The few brief insertions bear traits of Ælf., of his ardent devotion and his practical sense, of his purity, and peculiarly of his monastic notions of virginity.[1] We have an author who lived after the monastic revival in England, a good scholar of Æthelwold.

Thus the particular subjects, as well as the general theme, lead up to Ælfric.

§ 25. The Sources.

The sources[2] of the Inter. are Alc. and Bede. Traces of Gregory the Great, and Isidore appear.

In the honorable fashion of an Ælf., Alcuin is named at the beginning as the author, and there is scrupulousness to give credit to 'other books'[3] (i. e. Bede) for the only insertion of any length.

There is an important case in Ques. XLIII, where Alc. gives a brief answer, using Bede's Commentary; but the author of Inter. continues the ans., embodying a phrase *next* to that Alc. used in Bede's Com. (Pat. Lat. XC col. 215) with a parallel passage in Bede's Hexameron (Bed. Hex. I, Pat. Lat. XCI col. 61).

Here is full proof of the supposition, which other comparisons of the sources raise, that the A.S. translator knew, and was thoroughly at home among the sources of Alc.'s original. These sources, and the two or three others in the A.S. Inter., were the authorities Ælf. repeatedly cited, translated and, so to speak, knew by heart. Bede was the favorite

---

fears that some foolish man will think that he may live under the new law as the patriarchs lived in their time'.

[1] Cf. text, passim.

[2] Cf. the fourth div. of the notes under the text.

[3] Inter. l. 113.

authority of Alc. and Ælf.. In the Lives of the Saints, Bede, named and unnamed, is used.[1]

The sources proclaim a scholar, none other nor less than Ælfric.

From the broad stream of general knowledge, through the windings of external evidence, and along the brooks and rivulets of the internal evidence, up to the fountain head of the original sources, we have found one unbroken argument for the Ælfric authorship of the Interrogationes.

[Schluss, den text mit den varianten enthaltend, folgt in band VII.]

CONTENTS.

General Introduction.

§ 1. The authors aud origin of their works.
2. The analysis of the contents of the A.S.Version.
3. The present value of the work.

Critical Introduction.

4. The Anglo-Saxon text.
5. The Latin text.
6. The number of the A. S. MSS..
7. A discovery with respect to the A.S. MSS..
8. A description of MS. C and Cod. C.
   1. General description.
   2. The chirography.
   3. The glosses.
   4. The contents and sources.
   5. The arrangement of the contents.
   6. Conclusions.
9. A description in like manner of Cod. C[1].
10. „ „ „ „ „ „ Cod. M.
11. „ „ „ „ „ „ Cod. B.
12. „ „ „ „ „ „ Cod. b.
13. „ „ „ „ „ „ Cod. c.
14. A description of the transcript, MS. J.
15. „ „ of the Latin MS. Barlow 35.
16. „ „ of Bouterwek's printed copy of MS. M.

---

[1] Vide Dietrich 1855, s. 522. For the sources of Ælf. vide passim in Dietrich e. g., 1855, s. 510 sq., Bede 10 times in Hms.. Gregory 15 times in I vol. Hms.. 1855, s. 504 in De V. and N. T., Isidore a principal source.

§ 17. A textual comparison of the A.S. MSS..
1. The unique variations of each MS., a) clerical variations b) phonological var. c) possible intentional var.
2. Coincidences of the variations.
3. An examination of the phonological variations.

18. Conclusions concerning the MSS. and their classification.
19. The authenticity of the final creed and doxology.

The Question of the Authorship of the A.S. Version.

20. Vague opinions of the critics.
21. External evidences.
22. Internal evidences.
23. The translation.
24. The subject.
25. The sources.

LEIPZIG. GEORGE EDWIN MAC LEAN.