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**‘A Scholar, a Gentleman, and a Christian’:
John Josias Conybeare (1779-1824) and his
Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry (1826)**

Volume One

by

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
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Abstract

This thesis contextualises the life and work of John Josias Conybeare (1779-1824), one of the first to hold the Rawlinson chair of Anglo-Saxon at the University of Oxford, and considers his contribution to the development of Old English studies as a discipline. I argue that he has been unduly marginalised as a result of posthumous criticism that has failed to acknowledge the extent of his contribution to Old English scholarship.

Part I of the thesis considers this issue from the perspective of John Josias himself, setting him in the context of the period in which he lived and the longer continuum of Old English studies as a whole. It also reconstructs what is known of his associates and friends, illustrating that he occupied a central position among the literati of his day alongside figures such as Thomas Gaisford (1779-1855), Joseph Hunter (1783-1861), Robert Southey (1774-1843), and Sharon Turner (1768-1847).

Part II focuses on *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (1826), the scholar's most well-known and significant contribution to Old English studies, which was published posthumously by John Josias' brother, William Daniel (1787-1857), and widow, Mary (1790-1848). This section traces the composition of the book from its first conception through to its final publication and critical reception, using previously unpublished correspondence to disambiguate the contribution of the author from that of his editors. This is followed by an examination of John Josias' ability as an early editor of Old English, which critically evaluates some of his transcriptions, translations, and interpretations as they appeared in *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, with particular attention to his work on *Widsith* and the Exeter Book.

Part III contains transcripts of unpublished correspondence and other documents that provide details about John Josias' life and, in particular, about the preparation and posthumous publication of his *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*. This thesis, which brings together genealogical, scholarly, and archival materials, constitutes the first comprehensive study of his life and work. My reassessment of his scholarship concludes that John Josias in fact made a substantial and influential contribution to the discipline, deserving of greater recognition today.

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Introduction

As the earliest editor of a number of both Old English and Middle English poems, as well as one of the first to hold the Rawlinson chair of Anglo-Saxon at the University of Oxford, John Josias Conybeare (1779-1824) (henceforth John Josias) is a figure who merits attention from scholars interested in the development of Old English studies. Although now an unfamiliar figure to most, he was once considered a leading scholar in the field and was known to many of the key literary figures of his age. He may fairly be said to have played a fundamental role in the development of the discipline because of his contribution to the study of early English literature.

In view of these achievements, it is surprising that no comprehensive study of John Josias' life and works has hitherto been undertaken. Indeed, he has been only infrequently mentioned by modern scholars, most of whom have done little more than to note in an occasional footnote or perfunctory sentence that he was the first editor of a particular text.¹ Although some of his descendants studied their family's history, noting that John Josias was a well-respected literary figure of his time, these works are primarily the self-conscious efforts of genealogical study and do not undertake to consider his role within a wider academic context.² As John Josias' great-nephew, Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare (1856-1924), would write in his edition of letters by John Conybeare, a direct ancestor of the family and a schoolmaster in Devon and Swimbridge at the end of the sixteenth century,

I venture to express the hope that members of my clan, which every year becomes more numerous and more scattered, will not think me foolish for taking some trouble and bearing some expense in copying and printing these extracts. In an age when our nobility is so largely recruited among brewers and pawnbrokers, it is something to know that for three and a half centuries one's family has consisted of scholars and gentlemen.

(F. C. Conybeare 1905: xv)

¹ See pp. 19-20 of this chapter.

² See p. 17 of this chapter.

Today many of these ‘scholars and gentlemen’ from former times have been forgotten, or they are remembered only in name. Indeed in some of these cases it seems that we have failed to preserve not only the memory, but also the reputation of those who once played central roles in shaping our modern-day conceptions of scholarship. Nonetheless, as Frantzen (1990: 226) concludes in his *Desire for Origins*, scholars should remember that ‘[o]ur own place in the tradition requires not only that we understand our predecessors but also that we see ourselves in them’. This research, therefore, attempts to present John Josias not only as a figure of historical interest but also as one who continued to inform and shape the study of Old English after his death.

Research Questions and Thesis Structure

This thesis demonstrates through careful contextual analysis that John Josias’ Old English scholarship was precise, relevant, and influential given the pressures, restrictions, and motivations of its early nineteenth-century context. Consideration is given to why he has become a marginalised character in the history of the discipline and what this has meant in terms of our understanding of the development of Old English studies. John Josias’ only major work, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (1826) (henceforth *Illustrations*), which was published posthumously by his brother, William Daniel Conybeare (1787-1857) (henceforth William Daniel), and widow, Mary Conybeare (1790-1848) (henceforth Mary), is also examined from its conception through to its final publication.

Selected correspondence is presented in Appendix One, which makes available for the first time information about the preparation and publication of *Illustrations*. These letters help us to understand how the book came to exist in its completed form and make it possible for John Josias’ work to be distinguished from that of his brother and wife. Such research allows us to contextualise fully his contribution to Old English studies and to consider whether his posthumous reputation is justified.

Research Questions

This research focuses on six sets of questions which address different aspects related to the areas of interest outlined above:

1. What was John Josias' background and how did this prepare him to undertake his research on early English literature? Similarly, what moved William Daniel to prepare and take *Illustrations* to press?
2. What factors contributed to the development of Old English studies prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century? How did John Josias' research develop, or differ, from earlier approaches to the study of the language?
3. Whom did John Josias associate with while he was working on *Illustrations* and what was the likely effect of these connections on his research? Did these individuals influence his study of Old English materials and reputation as a scholar?
4. What was John Josias' plan for *Illustrations* and how far was it realised prior to his death? How was the book subsequently edited and did decisions made at this stage alter the form in which it was finally published? Is it possible to differentiate between authorial and editorial contributions in the book?
5. Who were *Illustrations*' readers and how widely was it consulted? How was it received at the time it was published? What editions of the book have appeared since its first publication in 1826?
6. How accurate were John Josias' transcriptions, translations, and interpretations of Old English texts? What distinguishes them from more recent studies? Is his posthumous reputation deserved?

Thesis Structure

In order to consider the research questions outlined above, the following thesis is divided into three parts:

Part I: John Josias Conybeare and Old English Studies

Damico *et al.*'s three-volume *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline* (1995-2000) contains a series of biographical studies on scholars who influenced the development of medieval studies as a discipline. The approach taken in this extensive study informed my own, particularly as the biographies it contains

represent character, convey an impression of the subjects' temperament and milieu, and note facts of experience and activity [...] to set forth relationship, if you will a continuum, among scholars.

In Part I of this thesis I have attempted to present information about John Josias that gives an impression not only of his life as a scholar, but also of his character as an individual. An attempt is made to position John Josias' contribution within the development of Old English studies as a whole, as well as in his immediate early nineteenth-century context. This section also aims to describe relationships, both between individuals and the events of the period.³

To address my first group of research questions as outlined above, Chapter One supplies biographical information about John Josias and his brother William Daniel, who posthumously edited *Illustrations*, drawn from a variety of primary sources including various publications, obituaries, William Daniel's fragmentary autobiography, and other related family documentation. However, this chapter primarily focuses on information that can be related to both men's roles as scholars in order to illustrate their motivations for

³ Relationships between scholars are also considered in popular works such as Uglow's (2002) study on the Lunar Society of Birmingham (1765-1813) and Holmes' (2008) consideration of late eighteenth-century polymaths.

undertaking work on Old English and the extent of their preparation for this task.

The second chapter considers the circumstances in which Old English studies developed in the years prior to *Illustrations*' publication. It considers a number of areas that informed the discipline such as the place of the Anglican church,⁴ the movement from antiquarian to academic study, Enlightenment, and Romanticism. Although dealing with events pre-dating the period with which this thesis is primarily concerned, Chapter Two answers my second set of research questions by identifying some of the significant factors that shaped approaches to the study of Old English prior to John Josias' time and by indicating how they continued to influence the study of the language into the early nineteenth century.

Chapter Three considers Old English studies and John Josias within the context of the early nineteenth century. I focus here on John Josias' known associates, identifying the group of clergymen, academics, and other diverse individuals who formed his social circle and exerted some influence upon his research and reputation. To address the third group of research questions, this chapter aims to recreate, as far as is possible, the circumstances in which *Illustrations* was conceived, written, edited, and received.

Part II: *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (1826)

A number of studies have considered earlier scholars' publications. For example, Baker (2003) and Bankert (2003) have examined Joseph Bosworth (1789-1876) and Thomas Northcote Toller's (1844-1930) work on *A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language* (Bosworth 1838; Bosworth and Toller 1898; Toller 1921). Similarly, Part II of this thesis examines John Josias' *Illustrations* in detail, from its conception through to the recent production of electronic editions of the book. I also evaluate John Josias' scholarship in *Illustrations* by comparing his edition with those of two other editors: Henshall (1798), whose work predates John Josias' own, and Muir's (2000) more recent

⁴ Although the term 'Anglican' was not in common use at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the term is used in this thesis it refers to the established Church of England.

publication. I identify and attempt to account for some of the errors John Josias made, but also demonstrate how his work represents a considerable advance over that of earlier scholars. If, as Stanley (2000: 110) believes, ‘the history of scholarship is a history of error’, this kind of examination is necessary to understand the transmission of Old English texts over time.

The first chapter in Part II considers *Illustrations* to answer some of my fourth set of research questions, as outlined above. It contains an examination of John Josias’ preparation of the book for publication, together with a discussion of the circumstances in which it was first conceived, what he had planned to include in it, and how much is known of the incomplete proofs that passed to William Daniel in 1824. It also indicates how John Josias’ research interests informed his work on *Illustrations* and the ways in which these influenced his conception of the book. This chapter, therefore, establishes which studies represent John Josias’ own research findings, rather than those of his editors.

Chapter Five, which first addresses the remaining questions in my fourth group of research questions, considers the circumstances in which *Illustrations* was completed after John Josias’ death and defines the extent and nature of the editorial changes and additions that were made to it. This explores some of the decisions that were made while the book was being edited and is primarily based on a selection of previously unpublished personal letters from William Daniel to Mary. Aspects of *Illustrations*’ contemporary reception, as mentioned in my fifth group of research questions, are also discussed with a consideration of some of the reviews that appeared in the popular press and scholarly literature of the day.

The last chapter considers the accuracy and value of John Josias’ scholarship, providing case studies from his work on the Exeter Book. This includes a detailed analysis of his treatment of *Widsith* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 9-29), and, to a lesser extent, his study on *Cædmon’s Hymn* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 3-8), in comparison to other editions. Finally, my last research question is addressed with a consideration of comments that have been made by modern scholars about John Josias, indicating where this thesis supports and challenges previously held views and estimations of his success as a scholar.

The conclusion draws these findings together to demonstrate how the scholar once considered amongst ‘the most learned men of his day’ (Mitchell 1870: 322) came to be remembered and vilified in later years as the ‘despised Conybeare’ (Chambers 1912: vii), author of the ‘posthumously published, and forever badly proofread, *Illustrations*’ (Kiernan 1997).

Part III: Appendices and Bibliography

My responses to the research questions outlined above are supported by a range of written materials contained in Part III of this thesis, particularly the family correspondence referred to above. It is not uncommon for scholars to publish the letters of literary figures from the early nineteenth century, such as Wiley’s (1971) edition of John Mitchell Kemble (1807-1857) and Jakob Ludwig Carl Grimm’s (1785-1863) communications, or L. Madden’s (1972) selection of primary sources related to Robert Southey (1774-1843). However, this is the first time that any significant amount of correspondence relating to John Josias has been brought together and made available in print.

The appendices and bibliography are presented here as Part III and are arranged in such a way that, to some extent, they may be approached independently from the narrative contained in Parts I and II. This format attempts to make a selection of the correspondence unearthed during this research more easily accessible. Appendix One, therefore, consists of transcriptions and reproductions of various cited sources arranged chronologically with contextual notes. Each source is preceded by a summary providing its date, content, and origin. Appendix Two contains figures and tables presented in a similar fashion. Two bibliographies showing John Josias’ own publications are provided as Bibliography A, one showing the order these were produced in and the other their date of publication. A complete list of all other works cited is contained in Bibliography B, while archival and manuscript materials are listed separately in Bibliography C.

Methodology

In order to address the research aims and questions outlined above, a range of different methodologies were employed. As is discussed further in the following

section, scholarly references to John Josias and his *Illustrations* are scarce and this thesis is the first comprehensive consideration of his work. So a variety of research methods were developed to approach and present the extensive primary research this study necessitated. The main methods used to prepare this thesis are outlined as follows.

In a style similar to the prefatory literary 'lives' that were first popularised in the seventeenth century, such as Bishop Thomas Sprat's (1635-1713) biography of Abraham Cowley (1618-1667) in his introduction to a collection of the English poet's prose works (1668), biographical information about John Josias is here provided to contextualise his scholarship. Other more recent examples of the use of biography to explore earlier scholarship can be seen in works such as Benzie's *Dr. F. J. Furnivall: Victorian Scholar Adventurer* (1983)⁵ and Bieri's (2004-2005) two-volume study on the English Romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822). The biographies of John Josias and William Daniel presented here in Chapter One were compiled and cross-referenced from sources including correspondence, autobiographies, obituaries, and secondary literature, with the aim of gaining a better-contextualised understanding of the men's educational backgrounds and scholarly influences.

Although genealogical details are only occasionally mentioned in the following discussion, they formed an important part of the research process. Extensive genealogical data were collected from a range of sources and collated. This involved a full search of newspapers, parish records, gravestone inscriptions, private family records, and census information. The resulting family tree is presented as Appendix 2:1. However, this appendix represents only a fraction of the completed study, the rest of which is available electronically.⁶ As some of the sources that informed this research were fragmentary, and the archival correspondence was catalogued along with documents relating to later

⁵ Frederick James Furnivall (1825-1910), one of the founders of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), is similar to John Josias in that both men published relatively little scholarship during their lives; see Shattock (2000: 2689-2690) for a bibliography of Furnivall's publications. However, perhaps due to the success of the *OED*, Furnivall is a better-known historical literary figure in the present day.

⁶ Available from <http://www.myheritage.com/site-family-tree-20251091/conybeare-family-tree>. Due to the large number of individuals included in this study it was not possible to display all of this information efficiently in printed form.

generations of the Conybeare family with similar names, it became necessary to establish this extensive chronological framework in order to identify relevant individuals and events. Furthermore, several of the documents referred to in this thesis were brought to my attention or provided by surviving members of the Conybeare family traced through this genealogical research. The increasing availability of historical data on the internet, such as electronically searchable census records, also helped to facilitate this wide-ranging and comprehensive study of John Josias' family.

The approach to bibliographical detail in this research was thoroughgoing, particularly as it pertained to aspects of *Illustrations*' production and John Josias' other publications. Bibliography A makes available the first complete list of John Josias' books and articles across all disciplines, indicating their date of composition as well as when they first appeared in print. This includes the identification of texts that had appeared anonymously (for example, J. J. Conybeare 1807) or under abbreviated forms of his name (such as, J. J. Conybeare 1814h, 1814i). This search was also extended to consider John Josias' posthumous publications, including a fragment of poetry from his youth that was not published until almost a quarter of a century after his death (J. J. Conybeare 1850), a chapter on epitaphs in a friend's book (J. J. Conybeare 1825), and two articles published by William Daniel in his memory (J. J. Conybeare 1827, 1836). This comprehensive bibliography in itself contributes to recognition of John Josias' admirable range as a scholar.

A number of other scholars and their publications are also discussed in this thesis, particularly in Chapters Two and Three. Those individuals contemporary with John Josias were included only if a demonstrable link could be traced to the author. As the discussion in Chapter Two focuses on scholars who lived prior to the nineteenth century, the main criterion for inclusion was that they illustrated a development or change in Old English studies that could be seen still to have some bearing on scholarship in John Josias' time. These scholars were selected because of their potential influence on John Josias' work and were not necessarily central to the discipline as a whole; not all of them, therefore, have previously been afforded much attention.

A major part of the research, which particularly informed the fifth chapter of this thesis, involved the identification, transcription, contextualisation, and interpretation of a large amount of previously unpublished correspondence. The majority of these letters were found, after an extensive search for John Josias' papers, in a large sub-fond held in the Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service. In order to select the transcriptions for inclusion from the many completed, each was considered in terms of its relevance to my research questions. However, on occasion, others have been incorporated where it was felt they added generally to the narrative or provided some insight into John Josias' character (such as Appendix 1:2). Several images of pages from the correspondence are included as Appendices 1:3, 1:11, 1:13 and 1:16, following the transcription of the relevant letter, with the kind permission of Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service where the originals are available for consultation.

In order to accurately represent the contents of the letters, I undertook palaeographic training in nineteenth-century handwriting at the beginning of this project. The transcripts provided in Appendix One are my own, made from photocopies of the original manuscripts, unless otherwise stated. When I began to prepare these documents, my intention was to present them in a format that would be easily accessible for future consultation. However, during the process of undertaking my transcriptions, which was an ongoing venture spanning several years, I modified my initial transcription policy in relation to issues such as punctuation and capitalisation a number of times as I attempted to balance their intended function as appendices with the desire to remain faithful to the original manuscripts. This resulted in some inconsistencies in my transcription practice that needed to be addressed in the final stages of the project to ensure standardised output. In the end, I decided on an editing strategy that, while ultimately conservative, privileges readability over the retention of nineteenth-century punctuation. A full description of this policy appears at p. 304 below.

Another difficulty arose when I prepared contextual notes to accompany my transcripts. While some letters, such as Appendix 1:6, are written quite

carefully in a formal style, others, such as Appendices 1:5 and 1:9, are hastily scribbled research notes or messages for close family. On occasion, the private nature of the materials meant that they contained obscure references to people and events that I could not identify with any confidence. Throughout all the transcriptions, any areas of uncertainty, whether in their reading or interpretation, are marked.

Analyses of John Josias' studies were undertaken using traditional Old English dictionaries, such as Toller (1921) and J. R. C. Hall (1960), as well as modern resources such as *The Dictionary of Old English: A to G Online* (eds. Cameron, Amos, and Healey 2007) and the online *Historical Thesaurus of the OED* (eds. Kay, Roberts, Samuels, and Wotherspoon 2009). Parallel readings were identified from the *Dictionary of Old English: Web Corpus* (ed. Healey, with Wilkin and Xiang 2009) and then several editions of the texts in which these appeared were consulted, identified from bibliographies such as Greenfield and Robinson (1980). In Chapter Six, John Josias' studies on *Cædmon's Hymn* and *Widsith* are compared with those of others and with the manuscript readings themselves. I prepared my own transcriptions of texts from the Exeter Book using images from Muir's *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry* CD-ROM (2006), which allowed me to consider John Josias' work in parallel with my own and to identify how errors may have occurred.

Translations from languages other than Old English were prepared with the aid of a variety of dictionaries and grammars, such as the *Chambers Murray Latin-English Dictionary* (Smith and Lockwood 1933) and *Hammer's German Grammar and Usage* (Durrell 2011). Any translations not otherwise attributed are my own.

Together these different approaches allowed me to compile and structure the large amounts of data gathered during the research process. This work, necessary when so little has previously been published on John Josias, permitted a more accurate and objective evaluation of his contribution to the development of Old English studies.

Previous Literature Concerning John Josias Conybeare

Rather little scholarly attention has been paid to John Josias' work since his death in 1824. Those notices and studies that have appeared are outlined briefly below in an attempt to demonstrate the extent to which this thesis makes an original contribution to our knowledge of John Josias and his *Illustrations*. This section is arranged chronologically and covers literature produced in the period between the scholar's death in 1824 and the present day.

Many of the references to John Josias from the scholarly literature of the nineteenth century take the form of brief remarks or notes, such as those found in S. Fox (1830: vii), Disraeli (1841: 50, 53, 56, and 64), and Oesterley (1866: iv). Short critiques of his work in *Illustrations* are also given by Turner (1828, vol. 3: 353), Kemble (in Michel 1837: 20), and Thorpe (1842: iv). In the pamphlet *The Anglo-Saxon Meteor or Letters, in Defence of Oxford* (1835a), published anonymously in defence of the Oxford Anglo-Saxonists against accusations made by the Cambridge philologist John Mitchell Kemble (1807-1857), John Josias is described as

a Scholar, a Gentleman and a Christian. To say he was perfect would be too much; but his scholarship is registered among the honourably distinguished in the archives of this University [...] Supposing that all K[emble]'s remarks upon the version of [*Beowulf* by] J. J. Conybeare were correct (which they are not), what do they prove? Only what our lamented friend would have readily acknowledged, that in some points he failed.

(Anon 1835a: 14)

As is discussed further in Chapter Three, it seems that the author of this pamphlet was Joseph Bosworth (1789-1876) (Aarsleff 1967: 204).⁷ His opening description of John Josias has lent this thesis its title, as the following chapters consider him in all three of these roles. This takes a different approach from that adopted by the author of the short biographical entry in

⁷ See Chapter Three, pp. 137-138.

the 1887 edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (DNB)*, who focuses primarily on John Josias' geological publications rather than his literary achievements (R. Hunt 1887a).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Tinker (1903: 28-32) included five pages of discussion on John Josias' *Beowulf* passages. Here he notes some of the unusual characteristics of *Illustrations*, such as the fact that the author's research on *Beowulf* was completed in 1820 but not published until 1826 (29). After providing a brief comparison of the poem as it was edited by John Josias and by Thorkelin, he further remarks '[i]t will be seen that in these lines Conybeare has at almost every point the advantage over Thorkelin, and is indeed very nearly in accord with modern texts and translations' (30). He also proposes that John Josias' duties as professor of Poetry at the University of Oxford were his primary motivation for producing *Illustrations*.⁸

Two family studies were conducted at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1900, Minna Conybeare (d. 1905) – the wife of Henry Grant Madan Conybeare (1859-1931), William Daniel's grandson – compiled genealogical details in relation to the family. A more comprehensive study by Henry Crawford Arthur Conybeare (1853-1916), another of William Daniel's grandsons, followed in 1914, which considered the lives of several of his ancestors. In particular these studies provided information about John Josias' personal associations, which helped in the compilation of an account of his life outside academic circles.

In 1913, Steeves notes that John Josias' early communications to the journal *Archaeologia* were 'one of the most powerful stimuli to a revival of interest among his countrymen in old English letters' (1913: 120), as they attracted the attention of the Society of Antiquaries and so encouraged them to take a greater interest in Old English materials thereafter. Nonetheless, Steeves acknowledges that when *Illustrations* was finally published it was not under

⁸ Tinker may have been confused about exactly what role John Josias held at the University of Oxford and at what time. He states that '[t]he volume had its origin in the Terminal Lectures which the author gave as Professor of Anglo-Saxon and Poetry at Oxford from 1809 to 1812' (1903: 28-29). However, during the period in question John Josias held only the chair of Anglo-Saxon.

the auspices of the Society (*ibid.*). However, J. Evans (1956: 236) later stated that Sir Henry Ellis (1777-1869), the Society's senior secretary 1814-1853, had persuaded them to publish *Illustrations* in 1826. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Five, the Society does not seem to have been involved in the publication of the book, although its role in distributing unsold copies may help to account for this misunderstanding.⁹

During the 1960s, two publications considered Old English studies at the beginning of the nineteenth century: Birrell (1966) on the role of the Society of Antiquaries and Aarsleff (1967) on the study of language in England 1780-1860. However, these both focus on the institutions and organisations that shaped the discipline rather than the individuals involved, so John Josias is rarely mentioned in either – although both scholars note that he was the first to publish excerpts from certain Old English texts. Aarsleff (1967: 175) is dismissive of John Josias' scholarship in *Illustrations*, noting that 'philologically the text was inadequate, partly, it seems, because Conybeare was more interested in the translations which accompanied the selections'.

It was not until the second half of the twentieth century that articles were published that considered John Josias' research more closely, such as Bolton (1974) on annotations in a copy of Thorkelin's *De Danorum rebus gestis secul. [...]* (1815)¹⁰ and J. R. Hall (1985) on his interleaved copy of Junius' *Cædmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica Genesis ac praecipuarum sacræ paginae historiarum* (1655).¹¹ Other references from this time are mostly perfunctory, with most scholars only noting that *Illustrations* contained the first publication or translation of a particular text, for example Wardale (1965: 52) on *The Wife's Lament* and Calder (1982: 206) on *Bede's Death Song*.

Towards the close of the century, Frantzen (1990: 195-196) comments that John Josias had an 'awareness of the need for method' and had developed an

⁹ See Chapter Five, p. 214.

¹⁰ Bolton discovered this book in Philadelphia for sale in a shop and realised its significance as an early witness of the *Beowulf* manuscript. He later donated it to the British Library, where it is now London, British Library, Add. 71716. See Chapter Four, pp. 161-163.

¹¹ Although, as is discussed in Chapter Four, pp. 164-165, this seems to have been mostly used by William Daniel.

understanding of Old English poetic construction as a means to measure the literary value of manuscript survivals. In the same year, Tashjian, Tashjian and Enright (1990) considered the holders of the Rawlinson chair of Anglo-Saxon studies at the University of Oxford, but references to John Josias are again infrequent. The preparation of Kiernan's *Electronic Beowulf* (1999) prompted two further studies due to the inclusion of digital images from John Josias' copy of Thorkelin's edition of *Beowulf*: Kiernan (1997) compares his collation of the manuscript with Thorkelin's attempt, while Prescott (1997) discusses the technical aspects of presenting the images for the project and the importance of the collation for a comprehensive reading of *Beowulf*. Although *Electronic Beowulf* made John Josias' annotations more readily available, no major study of them has been undertaken by any scholar since.

In the twenty-first century, Momma and Powell (2007) examined the development of Old English studies in the United States and considered how localisation and socio-political motivations led to changes within the subject, and specifically in the literature surrounding *Beowulf*. However, John Josias' extracts from the poem are dismissed by them as amounting to only a 'substantial summary' containing 'numerous grammatical "errors" in his translation of the excerpts' (1348). They continue,

[e]ven though Conybeare was aware of the new school of philology in Germany, he was able neither to apply its methods of analysis to his reading of Old English poetry nor to understand its vernacularist implications in relation to *Beowulf* and other Germanic literature'.

(*ibid.*)

The way that John Josias has been perceived in relation to the philological movement of the nineteenth century is discussed further below.¹²

Other references to John Josias made during more recent years have been mostly fleeting. Armstrong (2000: 117-118) discusses both the Conybeare

¹² See Chapter Three, pp. 134-142.

brothers in relation to their role as ‘clergymen geologists’, but focuses more on the contribution of William Daniel as the better-known of the two in this field. Torrens (2004a) updated the entry in the *DNB*, giving slightly greater emphasis to John Josias’ literary contributions, but provides little additional information to that found in the earlier version. C. Jones (2006: 2) notes only that *Illustrations* was one of a number of ‘significant publications’ during ‘a century in which great strides in philological and editorial scholarship were made in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies’. Finally, Magennis’ (2011a: 48-50) recent evaluation of John Josias’ work includes several pages of discussion on the success and function of the blank verse translations of *Beowulf* in *Illustrations*. He also printed two extracts from these on his book’s dust jacket.

However, during this time there has been only some limited recognition for John Josias’ work beyond *Beowulf*. A. Taylor (2001: 31) acknowledges that the scholar knew of the French poem he called the *Rout of Roncesvalles* (today *La Chanson de Roland*) and had announced his intention to publish it, but that it was not included in the posthumous *Illustrations*. Cotter (2005: 33) observes in a note that John Josias was the first to describe ‘the Saviour’s six leaps’ in *The Ascension*.¹³ Finally, Conner (2006: 302) comments that John Josias’ research was significant because it alerted the scholarly community to the Exeter Book poems, resulting in an interest that led the British Museum to commission Robert Chambers to make a transcription of the codex in 1831.

Given that John Josias was the first to edit, translate, and critically evaluate a number of Old English texts, it is surprising that there has been so little scholarly consideration of his contribution to the development of the discipline. That which does exist focuses primarily on his work on *Beowulf*, while few of his other studies are ever discussed at length. Indeed, there has been no detailed consideration of *Illustrations* as one of the first major editions of Old English poetry. This research attempts to fill some of the gaps in the literature as it currently stands and thereby to contribute to our understanding of Old English studies at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

¹³ Throughout this thesis I have followed Muir’s (2000) poem titles and line numbering of the Exeter Book poems.

Part I: John Josias Conybeare and Old English Studies

Chapter One: The Author and Editor of *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*

Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry (1826) by John Josias Conybeare (1779-1824), professor of Anglo-Saxon (1808-1812) and of Poetry (1812-1821) at the University of Oxford, was variously received by its nineteenth-century readers. One scholar read it 'with great pleasure' (Turner 1828, vol. 3: 353), another considered it only 'amply sufficient' (Thorpe 1842: iv), while one declared that due to numerous errors it did 'quite as much harm as good' for Old English studies (Kemble in Michel 1837: 20). In more recent times, John Josias' work has received little scholarly attention in comparison to that of other early English scholars such as Joseph Bosworth (1789-1876), Benjamin Thorpe (1782-1870) and John Mitchell Kemble (1807-1857).¹⁴ Yet since 1826, when Joseph Hunter (1783-1861) asked '[w]hy has no person done public justice to the memory of this good and highly-accomplished man?' (reprinted in 1853: 86), only Bolton (1974: 98) has highlighted this omission and called for attention to be paid to John Josias' contribution towards the development of Old English studies as a discipline. Thus far no comprehensive study of his life, research, and correspondence has been attempted.

This chapter presents biographical sketches of John Josias and his brother William Daniel, who was directly involved in preparing *Illustrations* for the press. The following has been collated primarily from the *Pedigree of Conybeare* (1900) by Minna Conybeare;¹⁵ William Daniel's prologue to *Illustrations* (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: iii-vi) and his fragmentary autobiography which is appended to an edition of much earlier family correspondence by Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare (1905);¹⁶ *Conybeare Wills and Administrations 1563-1864* (1914) by Henry Crawford Arthur

¹⁴ For example, on Bosworth see Baker (2003) and Bankert (2010); on Thorpe see Pulsiano (1998) and the latter half of Karkov (2001); on Kemble see Dickins (1939) and Wiley (1979).

¹⁵ Minna Conybeare née Shakespear (d.~1905) married William Daniel's grandson, Henry Grant Madan Conybeare (1859-1931), in 1886. Henry Grant Madan's father was John Charles Conybeare (1819-1884), see Appendix 2:1.

¹⁶ Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare (1856-1924) was the elder brother of the above mentioned Henry Grant Madan, so another of William Daniel's grandsons, see Appendix 2:1.

Conybeare;¹⁷ several obituaries from various sources; and information contained in John Josias' own publications.

Biographical Sketch of John Josias Conybeare

Childhood and Education

John Josias was born at St Botolph's rectory in Bishopsgate, London, on 10 June 1779. He was the first child of Dr William Conybeare (1739-1815), rector of St Botolph's and doctor of Divinity at the University of Oxford (M. Conybeare 1900). His mother was Margaret Esther Conybeare née Olivier (1764-1806), the daughter of Daniel Josias Olivier (1721/2-1782) a successful merchant from an old French family (W. D. Conybeare 1905: 116). John Josias' paternal grandfather, Dr John Conybeare (1691/2-1755), had also been in religious orders as rector of St Clement's, Oxford (1724-1734), dean of Christ Church (1733-1750), and later bishop of Bristol (1750-1755) (M. Conybeare 1900). In July 1779, John Josias was christened in St Botolph's which was built upon the site of an earlier Anglo-Saxon church, an appropriate beginning for a man whose life was to be characterised by his commitment to his Christian faith and interest in early English literature.

John Josias' education began at a preparatory school in Putney, where 'great severity and coarse morals' were commonplace (W. D. Conybeare 1905: 117) and 'correct grammar was taught without any sparing of the rod' (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 9). In 1787 his brother, William Daniel, was born and the brothers went on to enjoy a close relationship, frequently studying and working together throughout their lives. After John Josias' death William Daniel wrote, 'he was not only the earliest and dearest friend, but the best and most judicious guide of my youth [...] [h]e was ever my closest companion' (W. D. Conybeare 1905: 116-117). However, due to the eight-year age gap between the brothers, they did not attend the school in Putney together.

In 1792, thirteen-year-old John Josias followed the family tradition and entered Westminster Public School, where the headmaster at that time was

¹⁷ Henry Crawford Arthur (1853-1916) was William Daniel's grandson by another of his sons, Henry Conybeare (1823-1884). See Appendix 2:1.

William Vincent (1739-1815), later dean of Westminster Abbey (1803-1815) (Trowles 2004). Vincent's own academic interests may have influenced John Josias' scholarly development during his early years, particularly the 'attention which he devoted to the religious education of his pupils' and his position, according to some of his contemporaries, as 'one of the soundest scholars in Europe' (Norgate 1899). During the turn of the century, the headmaster published on diverse subjects including the development of the Greek language, public education, ecclesiastical affairs, and the geography of commerce (Trowles 2004). Several of his pupils went on to achieve academic distinction in later life, including the classical scholar Henry Fynes Clinton (1781-1852), the author and playwright Matthew Gregory Lewis (1775-1818), and the poet Robert Southey (1774-1843).¹⁸

During his time at Westminster, John Josias excelled academically and a fragmentary survival of his poetry from this period shows that this was something he was interested in from an early age.¹⁹ He went on to be senior founder of his election before becoming captain of the school in 1796.²⁰ This position secured him one of the annual scholarships Christ Church then offered to students from Westminster, which he accepted and thus took up

¹⁸ Vincent expelled Southey from the school in 1792 for writing an article in the school periodical, *The Flagellant*, in which he proposes 'that flagellation formed a portion of the religious ceremonies of the heathen; that such ceremonies had been declared institutions of the devil in the writings of the ancient Fathers; and that, logically, no part nor portion of such ceremonies (of which flagellation was one) ought to be permitted in a Christian country' (Browne 1854: 22). This expulsion was perhaps to be expected considering Vincent's personal 'love for the rod' (Norgate 1899).

¹⁹ Matthew Trevenen (d. 1785), son of Reverend John Trevenen, was John Josias' classmate at Westminster. While at the school he wrote a song entitled 'The Ladies of Ancient Times, and the Modern Fine Ladies' to which John Josias added the final stanza, which ran

With a thousand more knick-knackeries all so modish and rare,
Would have made our sober grandfathers to wonder, scold, or swear;
But now-a-days the men methinks are still madder than the fair;
Else these gay ladies would lead apes – I can't in decency say where:
Like the ladies of modern times, and the modern fine ladies.

(Penrose 1850: 296-297)

residence in Oxford later that year (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 11). He continued to do well in his studies and in 1800 he won the chancellor's undergraduate prize for his Latin poem *Religio Brahmæ*, which was later selected for publication in Torr 's *Translations of the Oxford Latin Prize Poems* (1831: 129-150).²¹ The same year he wrote to William Daniel, who had just started school, declaring that he would 'constantly have an eye towards your well-doing' and urging him to read and study (Appendix 1:1). William Daniel, who had spent most of his early years at home suffering from ill health, later commented that 'had it not been for my brother, I should have done absolutely nothing' (W. D. Conybeare 1905: 119). This interest in his sibling's education continued to feature in John Josias' life during the years that followed.

John Josias received his B. A. in April 1801. As was common among scholars during this period he then took church orders, being ordained deacon by Bishop John Randolph in 1802, only three days after reaching the prescribed canonical age (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 12). Just over a year later, in 1803, he went on to receive priestly orders and became prebendary of Warthill in York Cathedral (Anon 1803: 791). Therefore, by the age of only twenty-four, John Josias had started to establish himself in both academic and ecclesiastical circles, while the income from his prebend provided him with sufficient funds. Thus the young scholar prepared to embark on his professional career.

After these promising beginnings it was then somewhat surprising that John Josias chose to return to Westminster Public School in 1803 after accepting a

²⁰ Writing in 1773, Richard Radcliffe, foundationer and fellow of Queen's College, notes that those most likely to benefit from foundation scholarships were young men intended for the church with 'moderate ambition', yet who lacked the family connections to financially support their education. As Radcliffe wrote of his own circumstances, 'I am still in love with the Foundation [...] [i]t has been the grand comfort of my life – it enabled me to go into the Company of my superiors with the greater pleasure because I was not dependent on them, and made me be received with the greater civility by them because they knew I wanted nothing from them' (Radcliffe 1773, cited in Sutherland 1984: 497).

²¹ As E. Simpson (2004: 694) notes, participation in these university poetry competitions 'signalled a poem produced in an exclusive environment, written by a man of some consequence, containing sentiments of unimpeachable patriotic feeling or religious devotion'. This kind of material was in high circulation throughout educated circles at the time, as can be seen from the list of subscribers to Torr 's edition (1831: vii-xviii), which includes figures such as poet and critic William Lisle Bowles (1762-1850), friend of William Daniel and palaeontologist Sir Philip Grey Ederton (1806-1881), and the British prime minister William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898).

post as an usher to the new headmaster there, Dr William Carey (1770-1846), a role that many would have considered beneath a man with his background (Brayley 1824: 163). Yet he may have wished to further assist William Daniel with his school studies, or to be closer to his parents' home where his father was 'an invalid' (J. J. Conybeare 1800; Appendix 1:1). However when William Daniel left the school in 1804, John Josias resigned his post and returned to Christ Church, although 'his usual kindness had made him generally beloved by the boys of the form over which he was placed' (Brayley 1824: 163). He received his M. A. later that year (M. Conybeare 1900).

When back at the college, John Josias set up a chemical laboratory for his own experiments and became involved in geological study, an area his brother would later particularly excel in (Brayley 1824: 163). After a year spent in ill health reading at home with his father, William Daniel joined John Josias at Christ Church in January 1805. Together the brothers attended Dr John Kidd's (1775-1851) chemistry lectures and '[i]t was at this period that a small knot of Geologists, headed by Broderip, Buckland, the two Conybeares and Kidd, had begun to stimulate the curiosity of the Students and resident Graduates by Lectures and Geological excursions in the neighbourhood' (Wrottesley 1860: lv). After discovering this common interest, William Buckland (1784-1856) remained closely acquainted with the Conybeare family. In Buckland's biography his daughter describes William Daniel as one of her father's 'earliest and most intimate companions' and the men frequently travelled together to collect geological information (M. Gordon 1894: 2). In 1812 John Josias bought some property using Buckland as a trustee, a role that the Conybeare brothers used him for three times in their lives (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 16).

After John Josias was awarded a perpetual curacy at St James' in Cowley, near Oxford, in 1806, he used the additional income from his ecclesiastical property to facilitate many trips to Devon and Cornwall to collect geological data.²² Although it is predominantly his brother who is remembered as a

²² '[John Josias] Conybeare's prebend comprised property both in Yorkshire and Devon; and in the latter county his prebendal half of the Axminster rectorial tithes alone brought in over £500 yearly' (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 12).

geologist, John Josias' work in this area was of considerable value to the geological community and was respected. He was a member of the Geological Society of London and over a period of years both he and his brother produced a number of publications for the society's journal.²³ Indeed John Josias bequeathed a large collection of geological and mineralogical specimens to Christ Church, along with the cabinets to hold them, and fifty pounds for purchasing further samples of this kind (Ingram 1848: 15).

It is also at this time that John Josias produced his first piece of work for publication in the form of a short memorial to the poet and diarist William Bagshaw Stevens (1756-1800), a man whom he had met only once, for inclusion in the *Censura Literaria* series on 'Lives of Modern Poets' (J. J. Conybeare 1807). In light of the circumstances of his own untimely demise, it is perhaps ironic that John Josias' writing career started with a description of a man who died aged only forty-four from a similar 'apoplectic fit' and who, in John Josias' words, deserved after death 'more notice than he has obtained' (1807: 397-398).

Working Life and Academic Interests

John Josias was nominated to the Rawlinson chair of Anglo-Saxon at the University of Oxford in 1808, when he was only twenty-nine years old.²⁴ At this time the Anglo-Saxon chair was still relatively new, having been established in 1795 after a bequest for this purpose was left to the University in Richard Rawlinson's (1690-1755) will (R. Rawlinson 1755: xi).²⁵ However, as is discussed further in Chapter Three, between the establishment of the chair

²³ Sommer (2007: 34) states that John Josias was a 'founding member' of the Geological Society, although he is not one of the thirteen founding members identified by Woodward (1907: 10-14), nor elsewhere (for example, Veneer 2009: 246-247). In her comprehensive study on the origins of the society, Rudwick (1967: 274) states that John Josias was elected in 1808 and William Daniel in 1811, with the latter supported by Torrens (2004b).

²⁴ There is some disagreement in the literature about when John Josias accepted this chair. In the prologue to *Illustrations* William Daniel states that this took place in 1809 (J. J. Conybeare 1826: iii). However, in the print edition of the *DNB*, R. Hunt (1887b: 61) gives the date as 1807. In the entry found in the online archived edition of the *DNB*, also by R. Hunt (1887a) and published in the same year as the print edition, this date is given as 1808. Torrens (2004a) concurs that the chair was accepted in 1808 based upon H. C. A. Conybeare's (1914: 14) reference to the register of Oxford graduates for the period.

²⁵ See Chapter Two, p. 71.

and 1834 only three of the nine people who held it published anything related to the Anglo-Saxon period: James Ingram (1803-1808), John Josias (1808-1812), and Thomas Silver (1817-1822) (Tashjian, Tashjian and Enright 1990: 99).²⁶ At the same time, John Josias continued to be successful in his ecclesiastical associations and was made one of the select preachers at Oxford in the same year (Welch 1852: 448).

In 1809, John Josias privately printed fifty copies of his *The Romance of Octavian* (J. Martin 1834: 114), a small edition containing the first transcription of an Old French poem preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 100 (J. J. Conybeare 1809). It may be that John Josias' connections with France on his mother's side originally attracted him to these materials, and he remained interested in French literature his whole life.²⁷ In spite of the limited number of copies made, *Octavian* seems to have been consulted a number of times both during and after John Josias' time. The antiquarian and collector Joseph Walter King Eyton is known to have possessed a copy (Sotheby 1848: 52), as is Philip Augustus Hanrott (1776-1856), another nineteenth-century book collector (R. H. Evans 1833: 27). There was also a copy in the library of Sir Walter Scott (Cochrane 1838: 105). Indeed, after John Josias' death, *Octavian* proved popular enough that another one hundred and fifty copies were printed for the Aungervyle Society in 1882, with additional notes by Edmund Marsden Goldsmid (J. J. Conybeare 1882).

It seems that this publication marked the beginning of the first stage of great productivity in John Josias' academic career, and the bulk of his life's work was completed over the next four years. He began by resigning his curacy in Cowley in 1810 (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 14). In 1812, he also resigned from

²⁶ See Chapter Three, pp. 112-114 and 121.

²⁷ This contrasts with John Josias' advice to William Daniel when he was a young scholar first embarking on his university career:

French my father says you are to learn. Learn it then as quick as you can, not so much for the sake of reading it, for there are not ten works in that language worth your perusal, as that it may be of use to you to speak it; and you cannot, as times go, attempt Italian and other languages from which you will derive more profit and pleasure, without first mastering the French.

(Appendix 1:1)

the Anglo-Saxon chair and became professor of Poetry at Oxford (*ibid.*). When the University of Oxford Commissioners reviewed the restrictions placed on certain positions within the University some years later, they wrote that of these

[t]he most remarkable are those imposed by Dr. Rawlinson on the Chair which he founded for promoting the study of Anglo-Saxon. It is bestowed by convocation; it becomes vacant every fifth year; it must never be given twice successively to the same College; and the fifth turn is reserved to the Founder's College, St. John's. It cannot be held by any married man; by any native of Scotland, Ireland, or any of the Plantations abroad, nor by any of their sons; nor by any member of the Royal or Antiquarian Societies.

(J. Heywood 1853: 331)

By the time of John Josias' resignation he had held this chair for approaching the maximum period, so his nomination to this second position allowed him to continue working at Oxford. The professor of Poetry was elected for a similar five years but at the end of the term the holder was usually re-elected for another (*ibid.*).

These regulations may also explain why John Josias never became a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, although he frequently presented papers to it, and why he did not marry until later in life. His thoughts do not seem to have turned to domestic life until at least December 1812, when he was presented with the vicarage of Batheaston in Somerset and the substantial accompanying income. Nonetheless he did not actually leave Oxford until December 1813, or take up residence in Batheaston until the beginning of 1814 (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 15). H. C. A. Conybeare (1914: 16) notes that

[i]t is unknown why, on becoming master of a comfortable house at Batheaston, Professor Conybeare did not at once take up his quarters there and marry Mary Davies. To that young lady he was, according to his brother, "already engaged in mutual confidence, if not in express words" in 1809 at latest.

This delay may have been related to the substantial renovation and redecoration John Josias undertook at Batheaston vicarage, which had been previously occupied by Reverend Thomas Herbert Noyes from 1798 until his death on 8 August 1812 (Anon 1812c: 193).²⁸ On 21 February 1814, John Josias married Mary Davies, the only daughter of Reverend Charles Davies (1768-1810) and Mary Davies née Drought, at St Mary Abbot's Church in Kensington (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 19). After his wedding he took up residence in Batheaston and travelled to Oxford for any commitments related to his post as professor of Poetry.

John Josias' continuation as professor of Poetry in spite of his removal from the University of Oxford was not unusual at this time. As W. Clark (2006: 454) notes

Oxford had nineteen professors in 1800, and twenty-five by 1854 [...] professorial lectures still lay mostly outside the curriculum for examination [...] the small endowments and salaries of most chairs led most professors to be non-resident by 1800, and thus to lecture little or not at all.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, although 'at least at Oxford, most fellows did not serve their time as mere idlers', professors' clerical commitments were considered more important than their academic duties (*ibid.*). So John Josias' decision to live in his parish was quite appropriate for a man in his position.

However, it was the years immediately prior to his marriage and subsequent removal to Batheaston that proved to be the most productive in John Josias' life as he hurried to 'complete and publish his outstanding researches before settling down to domestic and parochial life in the country' (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 23). In 1811, he addressed the Society of Antiquaries for the

²⁸ John Josias detailed his plans for various renovations to Batheaston vicarage in a letter to his future wife Mary (Appendix 1:2), including illustrations and floor plans (Appendix 1:3).

first time and presented a paper on ‘An Inedited Fragment of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, Contained in a MS. Volume of Homilies in the Bodleian Library’, now known as *The Grave*, which was subsequently published in *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1814a) and again in *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 270-273). John Josias addressed the Society next in 1812, this time to present a Saxon thanksgiving poem from the Exeter Book manuscript, an extract from what is now known as *The Ascension*, which was also published in both *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1814b) and *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 217-223). In 1813, he presented further materials from his studies of the Exeter Book manuscript to the Society, on *The Soul’s Complaint Against the Body* (now *Soul and Body II*) and *The Phoenix*, as well as two papers on Old English metre (presenting one in February and another in December), all of which were published in *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1814c, 1814d, 1814e and 1814f) and later reprinted in *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 232-235, 224-228, viii-xv, xxvii-xxxv).

These communications to the Society, and those that followed in later years, may have been at least partly responsible for reigniting scholars’ interest in early English literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1913, Steeves wrote that John Josias’ communications to the Society of Antiquaries

were followed by valuable communications of a kindred nature by Conybeare and others, until apparently the society as a body was awakened to the importance of the study of Old English literature as something more than a mere adjunct to archaeological research.

(Steeves 1913: 119)

Yet while Steeves identifies John Josias as a significant figure in this transition, some more recent scholars have failed to recognise this contribution. Fulk and Cain (2003: 229) instead state that very little Old English was available to scholars until ‘well into’ the nineteenth century and it was not until

poems like *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* (first ed. Benjamin Thorpe, 1842) finally were made available, they would seem to invite readers to see in them the melancholic imagination, the individuality of expression, and the yearning for oneness with nature that were the Romantics' legacy. Something of these qualities could be perceived already in *Beowulf*, which was first published in 1815; but the poem was so badly edited, and so poorly understood, that it was not until the appearance of J. M. Kemble's edition in 1833 that serious literary study of the poem could be undertaken.

This does not acknowledge that *Illustrations*, published more than fifteen years earlier than Thorpe's edition, had contained other elegiac Old English poems (*Deor*, *The Wife's Lament*, *The Ruin*) and that John Josias' study of *Beowulf*, also pre-dating Thorpe's, was consulted by a number of nineteenth-century scholars.²⁹

Furthermore, it is likely that John Josias' *Archaeologia* articles would have reached a wide and influential audience when they first appeared. At the beginning of the nineteenth century an obvious place to publish research of this nature was *Archaeologia*, which was owned and produced by the Society of Antiquaries and distributed free to all its members. By 1803 the Society's membership had grown to over 800, including the prince of Wales and other individuals from the wealthy elite, while members of the Royal Society numbered only 531 in 1800 (Sweet 2004: 105-106).³⁰

Although he must have devoted a significant share of his time to the study of English, during these years John Josias was also often occupied with duties related to his position as professor of Poetry at Christ Church. Indeed, his lecture notes for this period, which he wrote in Latin, discuss only Greek and Roman literature (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Top. Oxon. d.392-6).³¹ This knowledge was combined with his great appreciation for poetry, stemming

²⁹ For example, Turner (1828, vol. 3: 293, 307-308, 336-339, etc.) and Wright (1846: 19, 27).

³⁰ However, the Society of Antiquaries later experienced financial difficulties and had to sell some of its assets when the cost of sending out books to its members became much greater than the amount they were raising in subscription and admission fees (Sweet 2004: 106).

³¹ One of these lectures, on Hesiod, was turned into an article by William Daniel and published twelve years after John Josias' death (J. J. Conybeare and W. D. Conybeare 1836).

from his school and undergraduate days. As R. Hunt (1887b: 61) comments, 'his love of poetry [was] of the most refined character, imparting a great charm to every production of his fertile mind, and rendering him a most agreeable companion'. In Old English studies, his papers on poetry also 'rightly stressed the importance of alliteration and rhythm' (Aarsleff 1967: 175), as well as showing how distinctions between poetry and prose could be used to help identify divisions between texts in manuscripts (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: vii). This understanding of poetry, gained through academic research, better prepared John Josias to later produce his own loose blank verse English translations in *Illustrations*.

In this period, John Josias also prepared papers on geological issues. His studies 'Memoranda Relative to Clovelly, North Devon', 'Notice of Fossil Shells in the Slates of Tintagel', and 'Memoranda Relative to the Porphyritic Veins, &c. of St. Agnes in Cornwall' were presented to the Geological Society in 1813 and then later published in the Society's *Transactions* (J. J. Conybeare 1814g, 1817a, 1817b). He also continued to visit many areas around the country with his brother, and on occasion Buckland, compiling geological information and constructing maps from this data.

During the year he married, John Josias read papers on two short English poems to the Society of Antiquaries, which were later published in *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1817c).³² He then published nine short articles in the fourth volume of *The British Bibliographer* on a variety of subjects mostly drawn from early English poetry, but also including fragments of a French metrical romance and an English translation of the Old English *Finnsburh Fragment*.³³ Finally, he presented an early English text called *A Hundred Merry Tales* to the Society of Antiquaries in 1814, which he had

³²An elegy on the death of King Edward III from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Vernon Eng. Poet. a.1, f. 410 ('A dear God what may this be') and another on the earlier part of King Richard II's reign from f. 411 of the same manuscript ('Yet is God a courteous lord'). See Chapter Four, p. 154.

³³These articles were as follows: 'Sir Cleges. MS.' (1814h), 'The Kyng and the Hermyt. Fragment of a Metrical Romance. MS.' (1814i), 'Author of *Chevy Chase*' (1814j), 'Richard Sheale' (1814k), 'Apollonius Tyrius – Lear – B. Glanville, Lord Morley' (1814l), 'Inedited Poem by John Wallys' (1814m), 'Of the *Lay of Dame Sirith*' (1814n), 'Anglo-Saxon Poem on the Battle of Finsborough' (1814o), and 'Fragments of a French Metrical Romance upon Guy Earl of Warwick' (1814p). See Chapter Four, pp. 154-157.

discovered pasted inside the covers of an old book, an extract from which was published in *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1817d) and the rest of which was then printed on a limited run by Mr Samuel Weller Singer in 1815, dedicated to John Josias (Brayley 1824: 166).

The Batheaston Years

After this period of great activity in John Josias' life, the years following his wedding were much quieter. Although he built a room for a chemical laboratory in his new Batheaston home,³⁴ there is no evidence surviving of the research he conducted there and he did not publish any of his findings. When his father died in 1815, this seems to have prompted John Josias to write his own will (National Archives, PRO B 11/1688). It may be that he was already concerned about his health, as soon after he suffered from several attacks of 'apoplexy', a term used at the time 'to denote a disease in which the patient falls to the ground, often suddenly, and lies without sense or voluntary motion' (Cooke 1820, cited in Pound, Bury and Ebrahim 1997: 331-332). Modern scholars have shown that this term was formerly used to describe 'the most catastrophic of strokes' (Lindley 2008: 4), so it appears John Josias was very unwell at this time. Indeed, Joseph Hunter (1783-1861), a Unitarian minister from Bath, later commented to his son that strangers who met the scholar often were 'struck by his peculiar jerky manner' (cited in H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 22). John Josias did not publish on any subject between 1815 and 1821, although he continued in his roles as professor of Poetry at the University of Oxford and vicar of Batheaston.

While he did not publish at this time, it does seem that John Josias continued to research and prepare some texts for the press. One article he worked on between 1816 and 1817 was an 'Essay on the Various Styles and Classes of Epitaphs', which was published nearly a decade later as a chapter in the antiquary John Britton's (1771-1857) *The History and Antiquities of Bath Abbey Church* (1825). As Britton (1825: xii) wrote in his preface, the book took him some ten years to produce due to a number of delays although it was originally scheduled to appear early in 1817. John Josias' essay was referred to

³⁴ See Appendix 1:2.

in detail in the earliest announcement of the publication (Elmes 1817: 407), and Britton (1825: xii) notes that it was written earlier than the bulk of the work, so it seems likely to have been completed during 1816/7 in keeping with John Josias' primarily ecclesiastical interests during this period.³⁵

Although John Josias played a less active role in academic life after he moved to Batheaston, he found a way to connect his scholarly interest in early English literature with his ecclesiastical duties. As William Daniel wrote:

These duties, and the theological studies connected with them, now engrossed, as they justly claimed, his chief attention; and engagements merely literary or scientific were henceforth less pursued [...] Under these circumstances, to which was added a less easy access to our public libraries than had hitherto been enjoyed, the further prosecution of these favourite researches was long suspended: nor was it again resumed, otherwise than in the hope of rendering subservient to a purpose of parochial usefulness the profits which might be expected to accrue from the publication of a work.

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: iv-v)

This 'parochial usefulness' included John Josias' plans to erect a village school in Batheaston funded via subscriptions to an upcoming publication he referred to as *Illustrations of the Early History of English and French Poetry*, which was announced in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1817 (Appendix 1:4; J. J. Conybeare 1817e). Although his primary objective in producing the book was to finance the school, John Josias was also keen for his work to be functional and useful. So he planned for it to contain 'so large a portion of matter hitherto unnoticed or inedited' that it would be consulted by both students and academics (*ibid.*). However, producing a useful edition of previously unpublished texts would take much longer than John Josias had originally estimated. As the book was not ready as quickly as he had planned, and so there were no subscribers, John Josias instead chose to build the school with his own private finances and to complete *Illustrations* at his leisure

³⁵ See Bibliography A.

rather than by subscription. So he erected Batheaston Sunday School in the churchyard by his home at a personal cost of £500 in 1818 (Lewis 1840: 148).³⁶

John Josias also amassed an impressive library during these years. The younger scholar Frederic Madden (1801-1873) became friends with John Josias during the final months of his life and frequently borrowed books from him, which he used to teach himself to read Old English (Clubb 1966: 64). Indeed Madden noted in his diary that John Josias' library 'would not have disgraced a nobleman' (cited in Ackerman and Ackerman 1979: 8) and that it contained 'every volume in Saxon literature that had ever been published, except a few pages of a Saxon homily, which he had not got' (cited in Kiernan 1997). However, as no catalogue of John Josias' library survives, and his books were divided between several people after his death,³⁷ the exact contents of his collection is not known.

Final Years

It was not until 1821 that John Josias began to publish again, perhaps prompted by his decision to resign from the chair in Poetry after thirteen years of employment at the University of Oxford. He then enthusiastically took up his research on geology again, having produced nothing on the subject since 1814, publishing three geological studies across the first two volumes of the *Annals of Philosophy* (J. J. Conybeare 1821a, 1821b, 1821c). Another three articles appeared in the fourth volume the following year (J. J. Conybeare 1822a, 1822b, 1822d), alongside an essay on a sixteenth-century Italian metallurgical text (1822c) and another on a flammable chemical historically used in war (1822e). In 1823, two further geological articles were published in the fifth and sixth volumes of the *Annals* (J. J. Conybeare 1823c, 1823d), along with a notice in the former that John Josias had read the Society two notices about a 'recent ligneous petrification' on 4 April (395). Across these two volumes of the journal John Josias' essays on a chemical used in the

³⁶ It was not uncommon for members of the church to open schools. A hundred or so miles away from Bath in Devon, for example, 'schools had been set up in twenty-five towns and villages and in a further fifteen places by 1800 [...] The zeal of the Devon clergy for this movement was considerable and in 1831, of the 103 Devon parishes, 41 mention no other provision for the education of the poor' (Brown 1991: 100).

³⁷ See Chapter Four, p. 178.

embalment of Egyptian mummies (1823b) and another examining a ‘scarce and curious alchemical work by Michael Maier’ from 1617 (1823e) were also included. It seems reasonable to suppose that these articles were the result of occasional work during the years he had not published, particularly considering the amount of fieldwork that must have been undertaken as part of his research.

After John Josias’ death, the *Annals of Philosophy* published a long obituary by Edward William Brayley (1801/2-1870), science writer and then editor of the periodical, in recognition of John Josias’ contributions to the study of geology. In this Brayley (1824: 162) notes that,

[t]heological learning, with the various branches of knowledge necessary to its successful prosecution, and the ancient literature of his country, seem to have been his chief pursuits; whilst the scientific researches which formed his amusements, though not extensive, were conducted with the characteristic precision of the modern schools of science.

John Josias was also involved in the establishment of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution at the beginning of 1824, in particular with the establishment of its library, although he died before it was completed later that year (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 25).

Towards the end of his life John Josias took up his research on poetry again and on 27 November 1823 he read the Society of Antiquaries an extract from the fifteenth-century English poem *The Siege of Rouen* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Musaeo 124, ff. 28r-42v). This was to be his last communication to this organisation and it was later published posthumously in *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1827), which remains the only printed account of this manuscript. Throughout these years John Josias’ work on *Illustrations* had slowly continued, so that by the time of his death in 1824 he had corrected the printing proofs as far as page eighty in the book, and had prepared up to page 163 for the press (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: vi).

During this period John Josias also wrote on theology in a paper opposing the views expressed in an anonymously published book called *Palæoromaica* (Black 1822), which proposed that the Greek of the New Testament was a translation from a Latin original.³⁸ John Josias' *An Examination of Certain Arguments Adduced in Support of the Hypothesis, 'That the Received Text of the Greek Testament is a Translation from Latin'* [...] (1823f) cited parallel passages of Greek and Latin scripture to counter the arguments proposed in Black's study on the basis of translation theory, etymology, and manuscript transmission. The author of *Palæoromaica* answered these criticisms in a publication the following year (Black 1824), but John Josias did not write about the subject again before he died.

Early in 1824, John Josias began preparing to deliver the Bampton Lectures for that year, an annual event at the University of Oxford where scholars are invited to present a series of lectures on Christian theology. The subject he chose for these was entitled 'An Attempt to Trace the History and to Ascertain the Limits of the Secondary and Spiritual Interpretation of Scripture', which covered topics such as allegorical interpretations of the Bible, the earliest ages of the church, and comments on studying Hebrew (J. J. Conybeare 1824). These lectures were then published in 1824, although John Josias never completed the final proofs he promised his printer only days before his death (Appendix 1:7). It was later said that

in Theology, on which he had of late years fully and properly concentrated his talents, he has not perhaps left behind him his equal for extensive acquaintance with the whole field of inquiry: his deep and varied information on every part of it was unrivalled, and stood widely distinguished from the narrow erudition which sometimes passes current.

(Brayley 1824: 166-167)

³⁸ John Black (d. 1825) was a minister from Coylton in Scotland and 'no ordinary man both in genius and learning' (Orme 1869: 124). Black revealed himself as the author of *Palæoromaica* when he published a supplementary defence to the work under his own name in 1824 (*ibid.*). However, this information must have been in circulation earlier, as Thomas Gaisford (1779-1855) identifies him as the author in a letter to John Josias from 1823 (Appendix 1:6).

Indeed his Bampton lectures seem to have been well received and a few years later Edward Bickersteth (1786-1850), a prominent evangelical clergyman, referred Christian scholars to the book as one containing ‘much valuable information’ (1829: 507). Even in recent times these lectures have been examined by scholars on occasion; for example, T. E. Jones (2003: 81) discusses John Josias’ criticism of the frequent use of the principle of accommodation in the interpretation of scripture.

In June 1824, only a few days after lecturing in Oxford, John Josias arrived in London to discuss business regarding his preparation of *Illustrations* for the press (Brayley 1824: 168-169). He then visited the home of his friend Stephen Groombridge (1755-1832), English astronomer and member of the Royal Society, at Blackheath in Kent. There on 10 June, the day of his forty-fifth birthday, John Josias was ‘stuck down by apoplexy’ once again and he died the following day (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 26). He was buried back in Batheaston on 20 June in the churchyard outside his home. His gravestone was inscribed simply

JOHN JOSIAS CONYBEARE

Vicar of this Parish
Aged 45. 1824.³⁹

According to one obituary, at John Josias’ funeral the ‘church and church-yard were filled with the inhabitants of the parish of all classes’ (Anon 1824b: 187).⁴⁰ Another remarked that those who attended all ‘bore just testimony to the character of him who had been truly the father of his parish; the friend of the poor; the comforter of the afflicted; and a bright example for the profession of which he was a member’ (Anon 1824a: 376). Soon after, a marble plaque was attached to the east wall of the north transept of the church that read

³⁹ An alternative inscription for John Josias’ gravestone, that seems to have been written by Mary, was found amongst the archival correspondence (Appendix 1:8).

⁴⁰ Although this obituary was printed anonymously, it appears to have been written by William Daniel. See Appendix 1:10, p. 339, n. 452.

Sacred
to the beloved and revered memory of
John Josias Conybeare, M.A.,
Prebendary of York, and for 11 years
the faithful minister of this parish.
He completed his 45th year on the 10th of June, 1824,
when he was suddenly seized with a “sickness
unto death,” and expired on the following day.
“And now, behold, I know that ye all,
among whom I have gone preaching
the kingdom of God,
shall see my face no more.”
For the Lord saith,
“Surely I come quickly.
Amen. Even so, come
Lord Jesus.”

(Mitchell 1870: 332)

In the following years William Daniel, who was deeply affected by the loss of his brother,⁴¹ published several pieces of John Josias’ research in his memory. The most well-known of these posthumous publications is *Illustrations*, in which William Daniel wrote:

Of the merits of a work proceeding from a relative to whom he was bound by so many ties, it is not for him to speak: and the difficulty of doing so must be increased when the “*sacra et major imago*” of the departed is seen invested with a peculiar character of sacredness, and magnified in all its proportions, through the mists of the valley of the shadow of death.

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: vi)

In what appears to be a later expression of the same feelings, in addition to the above-mentioned study on *The Siege of Rouen* (J. J. Conybeare 1827),⁴² in 1835 William Daniel also published an ‘Essay on the Writings of Hesiod’ (J. J. Conybeare and W. D. Conybeare 1835). He compiled this article from John Josias’ manuscript lecture notes and it was printed over four volumes of the *West of England Journal of Science and Literature*.

⁴¹ A letter from William Daniel to his wife Sarah Anne details his feelings and movements during the days immediately following John Josias’ death (Appendix 1:9).

⁴² See p. 37 of this chapter.

John Josias was a man whose interests were more diverse than those of most modern-day academics, and who produced a considerable amount of scholarship in several areas. However, it seems that in some respects, his ability to work across such varied disciplines has been partially responsible for his relative obscurity in the history of Old English studies. Scholars such as R. Hunt (1887b) and Torrens (2004a) primarily considered him a geologist; other authors, like D. M. Thompson (2008: 75), have highlighted his theological contributions; while only a few modern critics, such as Aarsleff (1967: 175) and Frantzen (1990: 191), have briefly discussed his role amongst the Anglo-Saxonists at Oxford. However, it is only by considering John Josias with reference to all of his diverse scholarly and personal interests that it is possible to understand the circumstances in which he undertook his studies on Old English and what motivated him to do so.

Biographical Sketch of William Daniel Conybeare

Although the focus of this research is the work of John Josias, it is also necessary to consider the life of his brother, William Daniel. William Daniel was likewise a successful scholar, particularly in the area of geology, and due to his role as an editor of *Illustrations* some discussion of his background follows. As details of William Daniel's youth have been already mentioned above, this section focuses mainly on his time at Christ Church with John Josias, his later career, and his activities in the years following his brother's death. This information is drawn primarily from William Daniel's own fragmentary autobiography (W. D. Conybeare 1905), a lengthy anonymous obituary published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (Anon 1857), and an address given to the Geological Society shortly after his death (Portlock 1858). However, as this research predominantly aims to consider John Josias, the information given here is limited to discussion of events that have relevance to their relationship. A more comprehensive account of William Daniel's own achievements can be found in R. Hunt (1887c), or more recently in Torrens (2004b).

Christ Church Years

From an early age, William Daniel exhibited great admiration for John Josias, who was eight years his senior, speaking of him in his autobiography as ‘my pride, my example, and my instructor’ (W. D. Conybeare 1905: 119) and noting that he ‘looked up to him as a superior mind [...] which tended more than anything else to expand my own’ (117). This high regard was probably, in part, due to the role John Josias took in assisting with his brother’s early education. During his childhood William Daniel had been prone to long periods of sickness and had missed several years of school, so during his holidays from university John Josias often tutored him (119-120). In this way, over time William Daniel developed similar academic interests to his sibling, such as classical literature and early English poetry (*ibid.*). John Josias also encouraged and guided William Daniel in these respects while he was away at university, as can be seen in a letter from 1800 (Appendix 1:1). With this help, by the time he was twelve, William Daniel had written a play, a novel, and a number of poems, although none of these survive as he later burned them, embarrassed of his youthful compositions (Armstrong 2000: 117). Nonetheless, he did not excel in school, as John Josias had, although he eventually followed his brother to Christ Church in 1805 while ‘lamentably ill prepared to enter on an academic course’ (W. D. Conybeare 1905: 126). After such a difficult start to his education, William Daniel wrote in his autobiography: ‘I believed that my irregular education had disqualified me from ever shining as a scholar’ (135).

While he was at Christ Church, William Daniel’s grandmother provided him with an annual income of five hundred pounds, which was two hundred pounds in excess of his expenses at the college.⁴³ With this additional annual income he spent a hundred pounds a year collecting books on various aspects of English antiquity and the other hundred on travelling (W. D. Conybeare 1905: 136). For many years he toured the United Kingdom; a popular pursuit amongst young men in this period as the war with France (1793-1815) and later America (1812-15) had made international travel more difficult. Yet it was while exploring the British countryside that William Daniel began to find

⁴³ This seems to have been bequeathed to William Daniel as a result of the death of his maternal grandmother, Susanne Masse (1725-1803), see Appendix 2:1.

a ‘deeper interest in tracing out all the general relations in which the individual features of hill and dale combined’ (W. D. Conybeare 1905: 137), which developed into an interest in geology – a subject still in its infancy at the time.

However, William Daniel was unable to give his full attention to these new geological interests until he had completed his degree examinations, which he did in October 1808, graduating with a first class in classics and a second class in mathematics (Torrens 2004b). This left him free to embark on geological expeditions and to spend more time associating with others who shared these interests. With respect to geology, Portlock (1858: 5) notes that only this ‘small band of individuals, residents of the University, were united in the effort to keep alive a taste for at least one branch of natural science, and succeeded in enlisting others in its cause’. The above-mentioned William Buckland was awarded his M. A. this same year and was another active member of the group.

Buckland and the Conybeare brothers’ interest in geology was unconventional for the time, especially for students of Christ Church during a period when the University primarily prepared young gentlemen for a career in the church.⁴⁴ The college did not promote scientific study, as it was considered too practical an occupation for men who were unlikely to enter secular professions or trades (Sanderson 1975: 3). Yet, as Veneer (2009: 251) has shown, many of the others who were involved in the early informal Geological Society at Oxford also had associations with the British Mineralogical Society and were interested particularly in the practicalities of economic mineralogy. However, at around the same time as John Josias and William Daniel became involved with this organisation, its membership ‘diverged from these early practical aims quite rapidly as the Society grew and its membership profile changed’ (*ibid.*). Nonetheless, when John Josias (1823a: 50-51) wrote a short article on the plumbago (graphite) found on cast-iron retorts in gas works he still thought it necessary to note his own lack of expertise in the area, as follows, perhaps to

⁴⁴ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the church was recruiting between fifty-seven and seventy-two percent of Oxford graduates (C. A. Anderson and Schnaper 1952: 8).

justify to the industry-based mineralogists the circumstances in which a literary man was qualified to comment on scientific matters:

The very general use of coal gas, and the degree of scientific information mostly to be found in those connected with its manufacture, render it probable that for many persons the remarks which I am about to offer will possess but little of novelty. As, however, I am not aware that this subject has yet been noticed in any periodical or other publication, I venture to intrude them on the notice of your readers, rather indeed in the hope of obtaining further information from those who are more competent than myself, than of adding much to the public stock.

(J. J. Conybeare 1823a: 50)

The practical men of the early Geological Society seem to have had some influence on both the Conybeare brothers, as John Josias undertook a number of studies based on his own experiments and investigations (J. J. Conybeare 1814g, 1817a, 1817b, 1821c, etc.) and William Daniel went on to have a long career of field-based research, becoming ‘the first rank of this little body’ of new Oxford geologists (Portlock 1858: 6).⁴⁵

Further details about William Daniel’s life at this time can be extracted from the short chronological notes he attached to his fragmentary autobiography, which were probably intended to act as a framework for the rest of the work had he lived to complete it. In these notes, William Daniel provided the following information:

⁴⁵ When Buckland was appointed to the chair of Mineralogy, in succession to Kidd, he remarked that ‘it would not have been fitting for him to offer himself to fill the office of lecturer on that subject, had Mr. [William Daniel] Conybeare been desirous to occupy it’ (Portlock 1858: 6). According to Rudwick (2008: 28), the only reason William Daniel did not take up the post was because he chose instead to marry.

- 1808 In November took the degree of B.A.
- 1809 Visited Somersetshire & Gloucestershire. Davies' overturn & illness.⁴⁶ First saw my future wife in Oxon May 1809.
- 1810 Visited Cornwall in Spring. Southampton in the autumn. Obiit Davies.
- 1811 Visited Birmingham, South Wales, South^{ton}.
- 1812 Visited North Wales & Darbyshire.
- 1813 Visited Ireland. Ordained Deacon on Trin. Sunday at Trebeck Chapel by B^p of Sarum.
- 1814 Aug. 22. married Sarah Anne Ranken. We travelled to the English lakes & settled.

(W. D. Conybeare 1905: 142-143)

It is possible that John Josias accompanied his brother on at least some of these trips, as in 1813 he presented a paper 'On the Geology of Devon and Cornwall' to the Geological Society, which may be connected to William Daniel's visit in 1810. However, it is more likely that the brothers visited Cornwall on separate occasions as a memoir of Buckland states that 'in the vacation of 1812 he made a tour of Kent and Sussex with Mr. William Conybeare, and visited the west of Devon and the east of Cornwall, with Mr. John Conybeare' (F. T. Buckland 1858: xxviii). Either way, after William Daniel graduated in 1808, and with John Josias now employed at the University of Oxford as professor of Anglo-Saxon, the brothers had the freedom to travel more extensively throughout the country to conduct their geological surveys.

Nonetheless it does not seem that geology was John Josias' main occupation at this time, as the articles he composed and published in these years were predominantly concerned with Old French and Old English materials (see Bibliography A). It is more likely that William Daniel often travelled with other members of the Geological Society, and we know, for example, that it was also Buckland who accompanied him on his trip to Ireland in 1813 (M. Gordon 1894: 12). In 1811, William Daniel received his M. A., was elected a

⁴⁶ Here William Daniel refers to an accident where Charles Davies (1768-1810), the future Mary Conybeare's father, was seriously injured when his gig overturned. Davies suffered a period of ill-health before dying in 1810 (W. D. Conybeare 1905: 140). See Appendix 2:1.

member of the Geological Society of London, and was often involved in the Oxford Geology Club that was established the same year (Woodward 1907: 39). He was ordained deacon in 1813 and the church went on to play a major role in his life in the years that followed (Torrens 2004b).

Later Career

In 1814, the same year John Josias married Mary Davies, William Daniel married Sarah Anne Ranken⁴⁷ (1790/91-1864) (henceforth Sarah Anne), the daughter of Captain Charles Ranken of the East India Company, and the eldest of their seven children was born the following year.⁴⁸ Their families were already acquainted as one of Sarah Anne's brothers, John Grant Ranken (b.1789), had gone to school with William Daniel (W. D. Conybeare 1905: 123). Mary and Sarah Anne were close friends prior to marrying the brothers and were also distantly related.⁴⁹ This was also the year the brothers' father died leaving both of his sons with ample incomes (Torrens 2004b).

After graduation, William Daniel continued to undertake his geological surveys and he travelled extensively between 1815 and 1821. During this period he was seldom with John Josias, who remained in Batheaston. Instead William Daniel moved his young family frequently, living for short periods in places such as Banbury and Cropredy (Torrens 2004b). This somewhat 'peripatetic existence' continued as William Daniel moved around the country as was 'determined by the vagaries of strata' (Burns 1999: 224), until in 1819 he finally settled in Brislington, Bristol, where he was appointed as lecturer at the church of St Luke's and was elected as a fellow of the Royal Society (Torrens 2004b). He went on to produce several significant studies in the field of geology and palaeontology, which are outlined briefly below to highlight the areas in which his strengths particularly lay.

⁴⁷ Occasionally seen spelt as 'Rankin', but uniformly 'Ranken' in personal family correspondence.

⁴⁸ Torrens (2004b) states that the couple had only six children, but William Daniel mentions seven in his fragmentary autobiography (W. D. Conybeare 1905: 143; Appendix 2:1).

⁴⁹ After her father died in 1810, Mary 'had stayed much with his second cousin Mrs. Ranken, whose paternal grandmother's maiden name had been Davies and whose daughter Sarah Anne was Mary's great friend, as well as Mary's third cousin and future sister-in-law' (H. C. A. Conybeare 1905: 19).

One of William Daniel's most notable achievements was the identification of a new genus of large marine reptile, *plesiosaurus*, from fossil remains discovered by Mary Anning (1799-1847), the early British fossil collector (Creese and Creese 1994: 28). This was a particularly great success as there was no complete *plesiosaurus* skeletons discovered until 1824, several years after William Daniel's identification from partial finds in 1821, which 'confirmed Mr. Conybeare's conjectural restorations to a remarkable degree of nicety' (Anon 1857: 337). This work was carried out in conjunction with fellow geologist Henry De la Beche (1796-1855), who together with William Daniel had helped to inaugurate the British Literary and Philosophical Institution in 1820 (Torrens 2004b). Earlier, in 1811, William Daniel had identified the first ever fossil dinosaur skeleton found in Britain, also discovered by Mary Anning, as an *ichthyosaurus* (Creese and Creese 1994: 28).

In 1822, William Daniel's most important work, *Outlines of the Geology of England and Wales*, undertaken jointly with the printer and geologist William Phillips (1773-1828), was published and later referred to as 'the most useful manual on the subject ever published' (Anon 1857: 337). In particular the book's introduction attracted attention for its discussion of the conflict between geological evidence and the biblical account of the creation, an issue William Daniel went on to discuss further in a series of articles in the *Christian Observer* and the *Edinburgh Review*, winning him some renown as a theologian (*ibid.*). William Daniel subscribed to a belief followed by a group known as the 'catastrophists', who looked for evidence of biblical events in the landscape, such as signs of great floods or the movement of the Red Sea. In a paper delivered in 1829, William Daniel notes 'three deluges before the Noachian' which he believed had transformed the earth's structure in such a way that these changes could be seen from geological observations (Armstrong

2000: 117).⁵⁰ Yet after John Josias died suddenly in 1824, William Daniel did not publish any of his own work for the next five years.

The Years After John Josias' Death

One of the first tasks William Daniel undertook after his brother's death was 'the melancholy but yet gratifying task of editing' the unfinished *Illustrations* (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 171). As will be discussed further in Part II, this was a particularly difficult task as the manuscript his brother had been working on was far from complete. In his prologue to the book, William Daniel stated that he 'considered himself as precluded from any attempt to complete the whole design, and restricted to the object of arranging such of its scattered fragments as were extant, in a state sufficiently prepared for immediate publication' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 172). The influence that this editorial style had on the finished form of *Illustrations* is discussed further in Chapter Five.⁵¹

In 1827, William Daniel left Brislington to take up residence in Sully, Glamorgan, where he was appointed rector in 1822 (W. D. Conybeare 1905: 143). He seems to have started some geological work again around this time hoping to produce another volume of *Outlines of the Geology of England and Wales*, this time in conjunction with the geologist Adam Sedgwick (1785-1873). However, the project was never completed after it was suspended following an accident in 1829 where William Daniel was 'thrown out of his gig, and received a dreadful concussion of the brain' (Lyell 1881: 256).

⁵⁰ Both William Daniel and Buckland were originally catastrophist-diluvialists, who believed that the biblical flood had 'scooped out valleys and deposited surface detritus, the so-called Diluvium' (Ferngreen 2002: 183). Another geologist friend of the Conybeare brothers, Adam Sedgwick (1785-1873), had initially also subscribed to this view but in 1831 he withdrew his support, stating that he had come to believe that the Bible 'contains information for our moral conduct, not our scientific instruction' (Ferngreen 2002: 184). Buckland also eventually retracted this opinion, commenting that although he still believed the flood in Genesis was a historical event it must have been 'a geologically quiet' one (Ferngreen 2002: 183-184). However, William Daniel never publicly recanted these views. In a letter to Sedgwick about the theories of evolution within God-given laws he wrote, 'as to Vestiges of Creation I don't care for them. Were the theory true, it would only appear to me an involved series of consequences contemplated & adjusted ab initio by the same Creative & Provident intellect to which reason quite as much as faith [...] impels us to ascribe everything' (W. D. Conybeare 15 December 1851, cited in Secord 2000: 486). A detailed account of these catastrophist-diluvialist geologists has been published by Rudwick (2008).

⁵¹ See Chapter Five, pp. 182-204.

William Daniel moved his family again in 1836, this time to the rectory in Axminster, Devon. It was here between 1839 and 1840 that he conducted his last major geological study on the Lyme Regis landslip (Torrens 2004b). In the field of geology John Josias ‘was overshadowed by his younger brother’ and William Daniel’s contribution to this field has been called ‘profound’ (Armstrong 2000: 118). In 1839, William Daniel followed his brother in becoming the Bampton lecturer and his papers, entitled ‘Analytical Examination of the Ante-Nicene Fathers’, were considered by his contemporary H. Rogers (1850: 164-165) as ‘one of the most candid and able we have ever read’.

The final years of William Daniel’s life passed quietly and mostly in religious and charitable pursuits. By the 1840s he had ceased his geological work, although he received the Wollaston medal from the Geological Society for his previous achievements in 1844 (Torrens 2004b). In 1847, he moved to Llandaff in Cardiff, Wales, where he was appointed dean and was there noted for his extensive work restoring the cathedral and his ‘large benefactions to the local charities, and a constant exhibition of generosity, beneficence, and kindness’ (Anon 1857: 337). A last tragedy befell William Daniel in 1857, when his eldest son, William John Conybeare (1815-1857), died suddenly from tuberculosis (Burns 2004). It was said that ‘the loss of his son [...] led to the dissolution of the venerable Dean’ (Anon 1857: 337) and only three weeks later he also died from the same ‘apoplexy’ that had killed his brother years earlier (R. Hunt 1887c).

Conclusions

John Josias and William Daniel’s interests diversified in later life, but their shared passion for literature, geology and theology meant the two men often played a part in each other’s work. Both men were in Oxford during the period that an interest in Old English texts began to reawaken and their later career paths provided them with opportunities to conduct research in this area, and others. Indeed, it was William Daniel who bought John Josias his copy of Thorkelin’s first edition of *Beowulf* in 1815, which ‘led John to three years of tedium between 1817-1821, while he arduously compiled the first detailed

account of the *Beowulf* manuscript after the Thorkelin transcripts' (Kiernan 1997).⁵² Yet neither man would have been capable of playing a part in the publication of *Illustrations* if it had not been for a number of educational experiences they shared throughout their lives. So in this respect, and others, the completed book was the consequence of the age and circumstances in which it was produced. While this chapter provides the answers to the first set of research questions I outlined above,⁵³ the following chapter considers the development of Old English studies prior to the period in which John Josias and William Daniel lived in order to examine some of the factors that contributed to the publication of a book like *Illustrations* in the early nineteenth century.

⁵² See Chapter Four, pp. 161-163.

⁵³ See my introduction, p. 7.

Chapter Two: Old English Studies Before 1800

Between the publication of the first printed Old English texts in Parker and Joscelyn's *A Testimonie of Antiquitie* (1566-1567) and the present day, scholars have identified various distinct stages of development in Old English studies. Some of the most important changes in the discipline took place during the 1830s, when 'controversial and antiquarian' approaches to the subject began to be replaced with the 'exact, scientific methods of linguistic study' practised by the new philologists (Adams 1917: 110-111). Together a number of scholars have identified what Frantzen (1990: 58) calls a 'turning point' in Old English studies at this time.⁵⁴ However this had led many to dismiss and disparage scholarship predating this point, particularly work produced immediately before this critical period. This has resulted in the relative obscurity today of a number of figures who in their time were considered leaders in the field; for example, McKusick (1985: 85) identifies this problem regarding reception of the work of the early nineteenth-century scholar John Horne Tooke (1736-1812).⁵⁵ This thesis proposes that John Josias' contribution to the discipline has been similarly underestimated and it is therefore necessary to reconsider his role within the historiography of Old English studies and firmly contextualise his work in this regard.

This chapter therefore considers some of the factors that contributed to the development of the Old English studies prior to the period in which John Josias lived and worked. This shows the range of resources that were available while he was working on *Illustrations* and highlights where he developed or diverged from earlier approaches. These issues are considered within the contexts of the role of religion, the movement from antiquarian to academic research, and intellectual movements of the eighteenth century. While many of the events discussed in this chapter took place before John Josias was born, a rationale for this approach is first outlined.

⁵⁴ For example, Murphy (1982: 14) considers this to be the point that marked 'the change from the enthusiastic to the "scientific" in Anglo-Saxon studies in England'. Similarly Momma and Powell (2007: 1348) state that the 1830s were the 'inceptive moment of the new philology'. See Chapter Three, pp. 134-142.

⁵⁵ See Chapter Two, pp. 73-74.

Approaching the History of Old English Studies

Over forty years ago, Eric Stanley (1964) started to publish a series of nine articles exploring the critical attitudes taken by Anglo-Saxonists towards Old English texts.⁵⁶ In particular he surveys those scholars he considers to be ‘wholly unfounded in claiming to have found in the Christian literature of the Anglo-Saxons indelible vestiges of Germanic paganism, or in claiming to have discovered the paganisms the Anglo-Saxon authors appeared to have striven to conceal’ (Stanley 2000: vii). Stanley’s research illustrates how changing contextual landscapes have influenced academic approaches to Old English by recognising that the motivations for publishing particular texts, and the conclusions then drawn from them, often reflect wider social, political, and religious conditions. This can be seen, for example, in the influence of German patriotism on the Grimm brothers’ scholarship (Stanley 2000: viii-xi). Stanley (2000: 110) shows that earlier scholars’ attitudes ‘still prevail’ in Old English studies today and proposes that only by ‘[t]racing to its origins the error on which these attitudes are based’ is it possible perhaps to ‘eradicate them’. The following adopts a similar principle, in that *Illustrations* is used as a case study to reveal information about some of the various motivations and pressures that have demonstrably influenced the development of the Old English studies.

The Historical Role of the Church

From early Anglo-Saxonists such as Matthew Parker (1504-1575) to modern scholars such as Cavill (1999) and J. Hill (2003), many have acknowledged the role of Old English in the history of Christianity in England. Likewise, although the Christian context of certain texts has at times been debated,⁵⁷ the religion’s place within the development of Old English studies as a discipline is firmly established. For example, Hagedorn (1997) discusses this regarding receptions to King Alfred’s translation of the *Cura pastoralis*, and Stanley (1981: 229-231) surveys all the literature on this subject listed in Greenfield

⁵⁶ These were later turned into a book, which has now gone through two editions without substantial deviation from the original articles (Stanley 1975, 2000).

⁵⁷ See, for example, the debate on the Christian influence in *Beowulf*, as in Whallon (1965), Irving (1984), and T. D. Hill (1994).

and Robinson's bibliography (1980). Thus in order to explore the ecclesiastical influences upon the development of Old English studies, consideration must be given to its historical involvement up to and during the period in which John Josias lived. Such an examination is especially pertinent considering the strong personal connections John Josias had with the Anglican church, as described in Chapter One.⁵⁸

There seems to have been some limited interest in Old English texts prior to the sixteenth century, for example the extensive thirteenth-century Middle English and Latin glosses by the so-called 'Tremulous Hand of Worcester' on a number of Old English manuscripts (Franzen 1991). However, by the onset of the English Reformation few, if any, could understand the language. The rediscovery and consequential study of Old English in England occurred due to a series of historical events intrinsically linked with the rise of the Anglican church. Adams' survey notes that at this time

the Reformers had to establish a precedent for their beliefs [...] Their first concern was to justify, by historical documents, their attitude towards the sacrament, the secular privileges of the clergy, and the use of the Scriptures in the vernacular.

(Adams 1917: 11)

This attempt to demonstrate that the roots of the reformed church could be found in the Anglo-Saxon past resulted in a growing interest in Old English texts, which were closely examined for anything that could be used as proof that the true origins of Christianity lay in the reformed church, rather than the established Roman Catholic church (Parish 2005: 34).

With this motivation, the English antiquary John Leland (1506-1552) received a commission from Henry VIII 'to make a search after England's antiquities, and to peruse the libraries of all cathedrals, abbies, priories, colleges [...] all places where-in records, writings and secrets of antiquity were reposed' (cited

⁵⁸ See Chapter One, pp. 25-27.

in J. Simpson 2002: 8).⁵⁹ Leland spent six years travelling throughout England and Wales compiling lists of the historical documents he found and taking copious notes. Amongst the survivals he ‘noted eight Old English manuscripts that he had seen in the libraries of Abbotsbury, Christchurch (Hampshire), Glastonbury, Pershore [...] Southwick, and Wells’, as well as a manuscript containing *Bede’s Death Song* (Buckalew 1982: 20-21), the first text John Josias included in *Illustrations*. After returning to London to begin collating his materials, Leland (ed. Copinger 1895: iii) wrote to the King that

I truste right shortely so to describe yowr moste noble realme,
and to publische the majiste, and the excellent acts of your
Progenitors: that al the worlde shaul evidently perceyue that
no particular region may iustely be more extollid than yowrs yn
trewe nobilitie and vertues at al pointes renowned.

However, his findings were not published until Thomas Hearne (1678-1735) produced *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary* in 1711; the death of Henry VIII and Leland’s own disintegrating mental health having delayed the earlier completion of the work.⁶⁰

Leland seems to have made some attempt to understand the content of the Old English manuscripts he encountered, leading his contemporary and friend John Bale (1495-1563), another early scholar of medieval manuscripts, to comment that

⁵⁹ Although some modern scholars have assigned Leland the roles of ‘Royal Antiquary’ (Day 2008: 144) and ‘Royal Librarian’ (B. Klein 2001: 140), Carley (2004) notes that Leland’s description of himself as ‘antiquarius’ does not denote an official title and there is no record of him receiving a salary from the royal household for either position.

⁶⁰ When the second edition of the book appeared in 1745, ‘Rev. Dr. Conybeare, Dean of Christ Church Oxon.’ was listed as a subscriber (Hearne 1745). John Conybeare (1692-1755), later bishop of Bristol, was John Josias’ grandfather, see Appendix 2:1.

he not onely applyed hym selfe to the knowledge of the Greke and Latyne tongues, wherin he was (I myghte saye) excellentlye lerned. But also to the stodye of the Bryttyshe, Saxonysh, and Walshe tongues, and so muche profited therein, that he most perfitelie vnderstode them.

(Bale 1549, cited in Graham 2001: 416)

However Leland's knowledge, of Old English at least, was probably not as comprehensive as Bale suggests. Graham (2001: 416) notes that no annotations in any Old English manuscript can be ascribed to Leland and although surviving word lists show that he attempted to learn some Old English vocabulary, he did not undertake any systematic language study. So although the cataloguing of Old English texts had begun, there was still a need for further work to translate and interpret them in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Collectors like Leland and Bale discovered many of the materials that later scholars went on to study in greater detail, but this examination remained intrinsically connected with developments in the church. Bale, a practising Anglican during Queen Mary's reign, was forced to spend many years in exile amongst the German scholars who discovered the Gothic language translation of the Bible in the *Codex Argenteus* (Dekker 1999: 20). He was particularly interested in evidence supporting Protestantism and was a supporter of Thomas Cromwell (1485-1540), one of the most prominent advocates of the Reformation (*ibid.*).

Parker wrote to Bale following his return to England in 1560, early in the archbishop's career before he had gained much knowledge of medieval manuscripts himself, requesting information about nineteen categories of ancient books.⁶¹ However, N. L. Jones (1981) has argued that this appeal did not originate from Parker but rather it was made in response to a royal request that had been sent to him by William Petre (d. 1572), Queen Elizabeth I's (1533-1603) secretary. The royal household seems to have intended to send

⁶¹ These categories were very broad. For example, one category consisted of 'all ecclesiastical history not yet published', another 'all lives of the pontiffs not yet published'. The full list of categories in their original Latin has been published by N. L. Jones (1981: 38-39).

this information to Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520-1575) and the group of scholars surrounding him in Magdeburg, Germany at this time, who were writing a chronological account of ecclesiastical history with the aim of discrediting Catholicism and promoting Protestantism as the 'true' faith. So, as Jones (1981: 37-38) notes, although many scholars have assumed that the request to Bale reflected 'Parker's own interest in ecclesiastical history and has been linked to his attempts to acquire Bale's library [...] one is forced to conclude that the list of categories did not originate in Parker's brain'. Instead Jones proposes that the nineteen categories were sent to Elizabeth by the 'Magdeburg Centuriators', the collective name given to the scholars working with Illyricus, and were thus intended to highlight the importance of continental Protestantism by raising the profile of early English texts at this time. So in this way the very revival of Old English was founded on ecclesiastical motivations and for many years these remained central not only to the selection of texts examined by scholars but also to the approaches taken towards these.

In the later sixteenth century, English scholars such as Laurence Nowell (1515-1571), William Lambarde (1536-1601), John Joscelyn (1529-1603), and Matthew Parker (1504-1575) also began to dedicate themselves to learning Old English. The copies of Old English texts made during this period, many of which are still in the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, have allowed scholars interested in the early Anglo-Saxonists to examine the difficulties that scholars from this period had with these texts and the divergent levels of understanding between those made by 'men of learning' and those by men who were 'probably simple copyists' (Page 2003: 180).

A text illustrative of those published during this time is *The Gospels of the Fower Euangelistes Translated in the Olde Saxons Tyme out of Latin into the Vulgare Toung of the Saxons* [...] (ed. Foxe 1571). This text seems to have been primarily the work of Joscelyn, but it was produced with the support and oversight of Parker and contained a preface by John Foxe to Queen Elizabeth I (Liuzza 1994: xiii). Foxe (1517-1587) was an Anglican historian whose most significant work, *Acts and Monuments* (1563), detailed church history from

before Wycliffe to the accession of Elizabeth I, leading Olsen (1973: 40) to remark that he ‘towers above all the Englishmen who contributed to shaping English history into a Protestant mold’. In his preface to *The Gospels of the Fower Euangelistes* [...] (1571: 9), Foxe wrote:

This booke, with others moe, hath bene collected and searched out of the *Saxons* Monumētes: so likewise haue we to vnderstand and conceaue, by the edition hereof, how the religion presently taught and professed in the Church at thys present, is no new reformation of thinges lately begonne, which were not before, but rather a reduction of the Church to the pristine state of olde conformitie, which once it had.

In this way, the early scholars of Old English created an ‘ideological warrant for their own endeavours from Anglo-Saxon antiquity, a vernacular tradition giving authority to their innovations’ (Liuzza 1998: 4). Accordingly the Anglican church and Old English can be said to have had an inseparable relationship from the immediate post-Reformation period, as has been recognised by a number of studies such as Robinson (1998), Berkhout (2000), and Graham (2000).

The above is of particular relevance to this consideration of John Josias, as studies of the sixteenth-century Anglo-Saxonists have often been successful at contextualising their scholarship within appropriate contemporary landscapes and ideologies. For example, several present-day scholars have described Parker’s *A Testimonie of Antiquitie* (1566-1567), the first printed text to include Old English, in terms of it having been produced for ‘the express purpose of defending the religious tenets of the now independent Church of England’ (Gneuss 1996: 41), and as ‘a polemical treatise designed to demonstrate the continuity between the religious beliefs of the Protestant reformers and the Anglo-Saxons’ (Leinbaugh 1982: 52), while refraining from comments criticising the correctness of the book’s contents. Indeed, some authors have commended that *A Testimonie of Antiquitie* was ‘printed accurately’ and ‘corrected during the proofing stage’ (Evenden 2010: 104), although it contained ‘a somewhat inexact modern rendering’ (C. F. T. Brooke

1914: 141). It seems that within the familiar setting of the immediate post-Reformation period, modern scholars have more often evaluated Old English scholarship in terms of its significance relative to its contemporary context rather than in comparison with later learning.

Yet, as Murphy (1966: 131) observes, the use of Old English texts in attempts to discredit Catholicism in the sixteenth century was only the beginning of a tradition that was to last through the nineteenth century and, to some extent, into the twentieth. Thus scholars interested in the development of Anglo-Saxonism should be as attentive to the nineteenth-century religious contexts as they have been to those of the sixteenth century. John Josias was in many ways similar to Parker, Bale, or Leland in his desire to identify, reproduce, preserve, and interpret Old English, but his interests extended further than narrowly religious concerns. This was, in part, due to an increasing academic and professional focus that developed within Old English studies, particularly in the context of the universities, from the end of the sixteenth century onwards.

From Antiquarian to Academic

The years after the publications of Parker and his associates have been defined as a period of ‘growth’ in Old English studies (Adams 1917: 42). In 1586, the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries was founded, allowing interested parties to meet and discuss various matters related to antiquity, including Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.⁶² One of its members, Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631), amassed a large collection of Old English manuscripts that were frequently examined by the Society: including the *Beowulf* manuscript, five copies of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the Old English illustrated Hexateuch, and many others (Graham 2001: 423). The Society continued to discuss a variety of topics related to English antiquity until it was shut down in 1608 by King James I, who was becoming ever more worried about ‘the increasingly political bent of its meetings’ (*ibid.*). On closing the Society, the king stated only that he had ‘a little dislike of [the] Society’, but it seems research on areas such as the

⁶² For more on the Society, see Lutz (2000).

constitution, the power of the monarch, and the rights of parliament may have been revealing difficult precedents for him (Kamps 2003: 18). However, unlike the ecclesiastically-motivated work of the earlier Anglo-Saxonists, Kamps (2003: 18) shows that there is little evidence to suggest the Society had any underlying aims. Instead, they seem to have been interested individuals whose research primarily was personally, rather than institutionally, motivated.

One of the antiquarians who made use of the Cotton library during this period was William L'Isle (c.1569-1637), a fellow of King's College, Cambridge, best known for his *A Saxon Treatise Concerning the Old and New Testament* (1623). In a discussion of L'Isle's work on Old English texts, Pulsiano (2000: 206) notes that

[a]lthough his work would be superseded, and although subsequent generations of scholars would pass him over even in discussions of doctrinal polemic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, L'Isle's transcripts nevertheless reward study, particularly as they provide an intimate view of his method of work and the broad range of skills he applied in his role as editor and transcriber.

So in many ways L'Isle's place in the history of Old English studies is similar to that of John Josias: both men had only one major publication, both are infrequently referred to by modern scholars, and yet both can be said to have played a part in the establishment of Old English studies as a discipline.

In the preface to his *A Saxon Treatise* (1623), L'Isle described how he had learned Old English, thereby illustrating how the language was approached in the early seventeenth century. He first had to acquaint himself with High and Low Dutch before moving on to 'read awhile for recreation all the old English I could find, poetry or prose' including the above mentioned *The Gospels of the Fower Euangelistes* [...] (L'Isle 1623, cited in Adams 1917: 142). It was only after reading a great many texts that L'Isle commented that he had

so increased my skill that at length (I thank God) I found my selfe able (as it were to swimme without bladders) to vnderstond the vntranslated fragments of the tongue scattered in Master *Cambden* and others [...] So far about went I for want of a guide, who now (thanks be to God) am able to lead others in a nearer way.

(L'Isle 1623, cited in Adams 1917: 142-143)

With individuals like L'Isle working to 'lead others' towards an understanding of Old English, some limited interest in Anglo-Saxon literature continued throughout the seventeenth century. Along with this developed a growing demand for formal instruction and a 'nearer way' to learn the language that did not require the painstaking study of many untranslated texts.

Although we know relatively little about L'Isle's personal life today, he was in at least one respect similar to the Anglo-Saxonists of the previous century. Steggle (2004) notes that his religious and political motivations were undoubtedly Anglican in nature from the extended title of his *Saxon Treatise Concerning the Old and New Testament: Written about the Time of King Edgar (700 Yeares Agoe) by Ælfricus Abbas, Thought to be the Same that was Afterward Archbishop of Canterburie, Whereby Appears What was the Canon of Holy Scripture Here then Received, and that the Church of England Had It So Long Agoe in Her Mother Tongue* (1623). This ecclesiastical motivation for publication clearly continued to influence scholarship into the time of Cotton and L'Isle. However, as early English texts became more widely disseminated through an increasing number of publications, and organisations like the Elizabethan College of Antiquaries (1586-1608), they were met with greater political, rather than religious, opposition. It was this development that resulted in the first university interest in the subject and would eventually lead to the establishment of the chair of Anglo-Saxon that John Josias would hold at the University of Oxford.

But the first steps towards the establishment of Old English studies as an academic discipline came not from Oxford but Cambridge, where in 1639 Abraham Wheelock (1593-1653) was appointed to the first official post in 'Antiquitates Britannicæ et Saxonicæ, cum ecclesiasticæ tum politicæ'. The

chair was established by Sir Henry Spelman (1563/4-1641), a member of the landed gentry, who had become interested in Old English while searching for early laws to present as evidence in a dispute over the ownership of some land (Lutz 2000: 31). Spelman himself privately published one book of legal terminology drawn from early English and Latin sources and also prepared another, which was published posthumously in 1664.⁶³ When he met Wheelock, Spelman was working on an edition of texts about the history of the medieval English church, *Concilia decreta leges, constitutiones in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici* (vol. I 1639, vol. II 1664), a book that would not have been out of place amongst sixteenth-century post-Reformation publications.

However, in 1629, Cotton had been imprisoned on the charge of circulating ‘a pamphlet which advocated tyrannical courses to deal with parliament and to create an absolute monarch’ (Sharpe 1979: 143). Whether the content of the circulated pamphlet was as politically dangerous as it was portrayed to be or whether Cotton had known of its contents at all is unclear, but nonetheless as a result of his imprisonment his library was closed, removing Spelman’s access to the manuscripts he needed for his research. As Lutz (2000: 33) observes, the withdrawal of access to Cotton’s library was a twofold problem for Spelman as

[t]he library also contained the most important aids for interpreting those sources written in Old English, which had long been used by antiquaries as a grammar of Old English, and, more especially John Joscelyn’s two-volume manuscript dictionary of Old English [...] it must have been in this situation that Spelman developed the idea of establishing the study of Anglo-Saxon history and of the Old English language as a university subject.

It was against this background of restricted access to materials and difficult political circumstances that Spelman’s desire to formalise the study of Old English in the University of Cambridge was first conceived. By turning the subject into an academic discipline he hoped to gain greater access to the

⁶³ These were *Archaeologus in modum glossarii ad rem antiquam posteriorem* (1626) and *Glossarium archaiologicum* (1664) edited by William Dugdale (1605-1686) (Greenfield and Robinson 1980: 364).

manuscripts he desired, as well as providing a way to prepare others for further studies in the field. Widening access to Old English materials was a theme that was to continue into the time of John Josias.

Spelman identified Wheelock as the desired candidate for his new lectureship after being introduced to him by James Ussher (1581-1656), a scholar of ecclesiastical chronology and archbishop of Armagh (1625-1656). Wheelock was an ideal choice for Spelman as he had unrestricted access to the University libraries, was a talented linguist, and 'a man of insubstantial means' who would be entirely dependent on the income provided to him, thus ensuring his on-going compliance (Lutz 2000: 34). Wheelock was already employed at Cambridge as University Librarian and professor of Arabic, but nonetheless he accepted the arrangement with Spelman and became the first holder of the chair of Anglo-Saxon. On accepting the post he was required to deliver only two lectures each term and to be available to students wanting to learn the language twice every week (Graham 2001: 425-426).

It appears that by this point the beginnings of Old English studies as an academic discipline had been established. However, Murphy and Barrett (1985: 178) note that after Wheelock's death he

left no body of trained students to carry on his work, contrary to what Spelman had hoped, and the next generation of Saxonists, who were mostly at Oxford, were largely self-taught, like Wheelock himself. Moreover, at his death, the Cambridge lectureship, which had never been finally settled, disappeared, though the funds from it helped to support William Somner while he was compiling the dictionary which Wheelock never managed.

So the self-teaching of Old English, as had been described by L'Isle earlier in the century, continued. Indeed, this may have been in part due to Wheelock himself who, although well positioned academically to undertake the role, does not seem to have been the ideal person to inspire future generations of Anglo-

Saxonists.⁶⁴ After his death in 1653, the Reverend Samuel Foster was chosen to succeed him by Spelman's grandson, who, by then, was responsible for funding the position after the death of both his father and grandfather. However, under pressure from Ussher, it was decided that the money would be split between Foster and William Somner (1606-1669), securing a stipend for Somner's research at Cambridge and committing neither man to continuing Wheelock's Old English teaching (Adams 1917: 55; Lutz 2000: 41).

In 1659, Somner published his *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*, which included several useful items for scholars who wanted to learn Old English: including a preface detailing relevant scholarship to date, an outline of Old English grammar, vocabulary items, and an edition of Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary*. As Lowe (2000: 281) notes, 'the importance of the *Dictionarium* for the development of the study of Old English during the period was immense'. The dictionary was a valuable tool for scholars of Old English, and most importantly in the context of John Josias, it moved the study of the language to Oxford where Francis Junius (1591-1677) had been for some years obtaining Anglo-Saxon types. Although the University of Cambridge had supported Somner with the stipend, they could not print his dictionary as their printer's typefaces were all Great Primer types (the equivalent of 18pt today) and so too large for purpose (Adams 1917: 163-164). Thus it was necessary to move the dictionary to the University of Oxford for publication, where individuals like Junius had gathered the necessary smaller Pica types (*ibid.*).

Junius played a role in the development of Old English studies himself, although, as van Romburgh (2001) has shown, his primary interest was Dutch rather than Old English. In some respects he was one of the forefathers of the new philological approaches to Old English studies that were later to dominate it, as he understood the importance of etymological and comparative research and used this to 'developed a truly novel concept of language relations and of the Germanic languages as a closely related group' (Lutz 2000: 45). These

⁶⁴ During his time as professor of Arabic, Wheelock seems to have discouraged students from taking his subject. For example, on finding that no students had turned up for one of his lectures, he posted an announcement saying '[t]omorrow the professor of Arabic will go into the wilderness' (Irwin 2006: 98).

studies were part of the new seventeenth-century interest in words, as English dictionaries and etymological studies became increasingly common throughout the century: for example, Cawdrey's *A Table Alphabeticall* (1604), Bullokar's *An English Expositor* (1616), Phillips' *A New World of English Words* (1658), and Skinner's *Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae* (1671). The stated aims of these works were various, but those set out by Wilkins in his *An Essay Towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language* (1668) demonstrated a continuum with some of the ideologies of the earlier Anglo-Saxonists. By improving the understanding of language, Wilkins hoped to promote 'mutual Commerce, amongst the several nations', as well as the 'spreading of the Knowledge of Religion' through the 'unmasking many wild errors, that shelter themselves under the disguise of affected phrases' (Wilkins 1668, cited in J. Ross 2007: xxxv). Old English texts were known repositories of information useful to such aims and so they also came under this closer word-based analysis.

Jan van Vliet (1622-1666) was another early philologist who, like Junius, was from the Netherlands. Although Junius was in residence at Oxford for most of his working life, he frequently visited the Netherlands and he and van Vliet became friends after meeting in 1659 and corresponded thereafter (Dekker 1999: 93-99). The two men produced similar work in that they both moved away from the previous focus on texts as sources of historical, religious, or legal information towards comparative studies that considered texts as storehouses of words, resulting in the greater role of lexicography and etymology in seventeenth-century scholarship (353). Dekker (1999: 354) argues that this was linked with the popularity in both England and the Netherlands of the ideas of empiricism surrounding Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and the Royal Society. The Baconian method moved away from the Aristotelian idea that all things were resolvable within the human mind, suggesting instead that observations must be made and then compared with hypotheses in order to deduce their success. In terms of its application to the past,

Bacon assigns history to the part of the mind associated with memory, whereas narrative fictionalizing is associated with the imagination. In turn, he divides history writing into four categories: natural history, civil history, ecclesiastical history, and literary history [...] arguing for the historian's duty to first assemble a large body of historical data much as scientists must assemble natural historical data before drawing rational conclusions.

(Solomon 2005: 9)

Although neither van Vliet or Junius made explicit reference to Bacon's empiricism in their research (Noordegraaf 2004: 212), Dekker (1999: 292) argues that 'there are sufficient parallels to suggest that these theories had implications for Van Vliet's motivation in pursuing Old Germanic and etymological studies'. While today van Vliet is most often remembered as the first owner of the manuscript containing the *Ormulum* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 1), and Junius for bequeathing Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11 to the University of Oxford, their focus on Old English words using the Baconian method was part of a new way of approaching texts that was to continue into John Josias' time. Furthermore, as Junius bequeathed his manuscripts and Old English types to the University of Oxford he set the scene for the developments that took place there in the subsequent years.

With Junius' bequest to the university, a lectureship was created at Queens' College, and in 1679 William Nicolson (1655-1727) was appointed to provide regular teaching in Old English. John Fell (1625-1686), dean of Christ Church – a position John Josias would later hold – and bishop of Oxford, provided Nicolson with numerous research projects to complete while in this position. As Lutz (2000: 53) notes, Fell's instructions to Nicolson were ambitious and also very similar to the plan Spelman had formed for his chair in Cambridge, including a request for a grammar, a dictionary, and an edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The addition of a grammar was important to the development of the subject as an academic discipline and for teaching, given that the only one available at this time was Ælfric's *Grammar*, a Latin grammar glossed in Old English (T. N. Hall 2009: 200). However, Nicolson did

not manage to produce one, so when he became Archdeacon of Carlisle and left Oxford in 1682 the task passed to George Hickes (1642-1715).

As Douglas (1943: 78) comments, '[i]f the work of Junius had been in part the mainspring of this movement, its leader was to be Hickes, and the enthusiastic scholars who were to surround him'. Hickes, like John Josias, had polymathic scholarly interests and was a prominent Anglican in whom it has been said there was 'in one remarkable man religious and theological thought on the one hand, and often (but not exclusively) religiously motivated and high-principled antiquarian scholarship on the other' (Harmsen 2004). His *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archæologicus* (1703-1705) was the result of several scholars' work contained in two substantial volumes. The first volume of the work contained three grammars by Hickes – Old English/Mæso-Gothic, Franco-Theotisc, and Icelandic – as well as a chapter on Anglo-Saxon charters and an account of Saxon and Danish coins by Andrew Fountaine (1676-1753). The second volume contained Humphrey Wanley's (1672-1726) famous catalogue detailing Old English manuscript survivals, which was the first major work of its kind. While Harris (1998: 23) has described the *Thesaurus* as 'the first history of the English language', its influence was greatest not as a history but as a grammar. Even before the *Thesaurus*' publication, the importance of Hickes' grammar in its earlier standalone form, *Institutiones grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ, et Mæso-Gothicæ* (1689), had been noted by his contemporaries:

But what above all facilitates the progress and perfection of learners; We have had methodical and accurate Institutions of Grammar by the Learned Dr. George Hickes, incomparably skill'd in the Antiquities of our Church and Nation. So that now to be ignorant of that tongue is not the misfortune of a Scholar, but his fault. Common industry, and an easie application serves.

(Kennett 1693: 29)

The *Thesaurus*' contributors were from varied backgrounds; Fountaine was an art collector and friend of the satirist Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), while

Wanley was a librarian of modest means. However, Hicke had an ‘ability to obtain the best, even from scholars whose political and religious views were much unlike his own’ (Harris 1998: 29). Although his own motivations were driven to some extent by ecclesiastical concerns, Hicke’s willingness to work with others who were from outside the church represented one of the ways Anglo-Saxon scholars began to take a wider approach to their subject matter during this period.

By the end of the seventeenth century, just prior to Hicke’s publication, the political situation surrounding the study of Old English had also changed. Since the Reformation, great political and ecclesiastical unrest had made Old English studies ‘inexpedient, perhaps dangerous’ for the individuals who chose to pursue them (Adams 1917: 85). However, after King James II had been overthrown in the revolution of 1688 and William III and Mary II had ascended to the throne, the tensions in England lessened somewhat. Nonetheless Hicke was a nonjuror and resultantly was outlawed, so he had to live as a fugitive for many years while completing his *Thesaurus*. He was not able to return to public life until 1699, by which time the political situation had calmed (Matthews 2000: 15). Yet the very fact he was able to publish the book at all demonstrates that this was a time where Old English was increasingly being studied outside of political or religious constraints. This gradually became more easily possible, as society became more ‘tolerant, diverse, and multi-confessional’, with the ‘Glorious Revolution’ passing many more powers from the monarchy to the Parliament (Bucholz and Key 2004: 300).

The need for books such as Hicke’s *Thesaurus* was highlighted by Edward Thwaites (1677-1711), lecturer in Anglo-Saxon at Queen’s College, in a letter to Wanley dated 1698/9, in which he had stated ‘I have fifteen young students in that language, and but one Somner for them all’ (Thwaites 1698/9, cited in Adams 1917: 78). However, for all it was a valuable tool, the publication of the *Thesaurus* did not answer all the problems of the scholar wishing to learn Old English. As Adams (1917: 89) notes, ‘the work was ponderous and costly – wholly unfit for the ordinary student, and swollen to its unwieldiness by the

copious examples of the language in all stages of development, used as illustrative material'. Thus in the years that followed several attempts were made to condense Hicke's work into something more functional. In 1708, William Wotton (1666-1727), English scholar and Fellow of the Royal Society, published an abridgement entitled *Linguarum vet. septentrionalium thesauri grammatico-critici, & archæologici, auctore Georgio Hiccesio, conspectus brevis* and in 1711 Thwaites printed his *Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica ex Hiccesiano linguarum septentrionalium thesauro excerpta*. However, it was not until Elizabeth Elstob's (1683–1756) *Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue* (1715) that an Old English grammar was available in English for the first time, making it more freely accessible to scholars and antiquarians alike.

Elstob, who had previously published *An English-Saxon Homily on the Birthday of St. Gregory* (1709), was 'an "amateur" in the root sense of the word: she was enamoured of what she was doing; she pursued her Anglo-Saxon studies out of a sense of mission which afforded her "pleasure" and "satisfaction"' (Smol 1999: 84). As a woman she had been unable to follow her elder brother William Elstob (1673-1715) to Queen's College in 1691, where he had joined the growing 'Saxon circle' there, including Thwaites, although evidence suggests she visited him in Oxford (Hughes 2005: 6). However, even without a formal university education she was herself 'certainly considered a specialist in her field', even by the well-respected Hicke (Smol 1999: 84). As Smol (1999: 85) remarks, only after Elstob's time did

the idea develop of the professional as someone knowledgeable who earns a good living in a high-status job, as opposed to the amateur, someone who is not as knowledgeable as the professional and who does not hold a paying position in his or her field of interest.

Although she may have been in many respects exceptional, Elstob illustrates that by the early eighteenth century Old English was beginning to attract a wider readership. In response, several other grammars were produced throughout the century, all based in some way upon Hicke's *Institutiones*

(Adams 1917: 92), meaning that by the middle of the eighteenth century an Old English grammar could be more readily obtained by those who wanted one.

Thwaites had matriculated as a student of Queen's College in 1689, the same year Hicke's *Institutiones* was first published, and after graduation he undertook both teaching and research in Old English there (Ross and Collins 2004a). His major work, aside from his abridgement of Hicke's *Thesaurus*, was entitled *Heptateuchus, liber Job, et evangelium Nicodemi; Anglo-Saxonice; historice Judith fragmentum; Dane-Saxonice* (1698). The *Heptateuchus* [...] contained a number of Old English selections from the Old Testament, as well as the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, and the poem *Judith*. It was a controversial publication for its time in a number of respects. As Adams (1917: 80) observes, Nicolson disagreed with Thwaites' decision to print the Nicodemus and Edmund Gibson (bap. 1669-1748), bishop of London and Anglo-Saxon scholar, had told him it would be prudent to 'exclude any passages favourable to Popery'. Thwaites had also chosen to dedicate the book to Hicke, who at that time was still out of favour as a nonjuror. This decision led the vice-chancellor of the University to threaten not to publish the *Heptateuchus* if the dedication was not removed (Ross and Collins 2004a). Thwaites refused to do so, but still the book was published at Oxford in 1698 (*ibid.*), so illustrating a movement towards greater academic freedom at this time.

However, to some extent, research on Old English outside of the universities had also continued from the time of Cotton, for antiquarian interest did not abate with the movement towards more formalised study. In 1706, Wanley was made a fellow of the Royal Society, while 'regularly, though not consistently' working as a library-keeper for Robert Harley (1661-1724), member of parliament, and as secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (P. Heyworth 2004). As Levine (1991: 385) notes, Harley's library became a centre for antiquarian study, as Cotton's had been at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and a new Society of Antiquaries formed around it from 1717 to study British antiquities from before the reign of James I. The Society's membership grew and it became so important in the discussion of

Britain's history that Birrell (1966: 107) argues 'that there existed an active amateur interest in Old English out of all proportion to the concrete scholarly achievements, and that this interest was fostered primarily by the Society of Antiquaries and its individual members'. This overlap between the academic and antiquarian research conducted on Old English texts during this time served to further promote a new broader public interest that was to continue into the nineteenth century.

An aspect of eighteenth-century Anglo-Saxonism that particularly linked antiquarian and academic study was the number of books that were produced in relatively small numbers, on either limited runs or by private publication. In 1719/20 Gibson wrote to Arthur Charlett (1655-1722), head of University College and patron of Anglo-Saxonism, stating that although the number of texts being made available for the first time was 'to be greatly encouraged', he questioned

why so few copies to be printed of every book? Every person who is possessed of one of those books, will naturally reckon that he has a greater treasure because the copies are few; but certainly the end of printing was to multiply copies, and to spread them into many more hands, and to make learning more accessible than it was before. The notion of greater value should give way to greater use.

(Gibson 1719/20, cited in Adams 1917: 138)

When Christopher Rawlinson (1677-1733), another of the Anglo-Saxonists at Oxford during this time, had published his edition of Boethius' *Consolationis philosophiae* (1698) only two hundred and fifty copies were produced, many of which were given to other interested antiquarians as gifts (Adams 1917: 80). This was to prove beneficial for Hickes as this distribution increased interest in, and so subscriptions to, his *Thesaurus* (*ibid.*). However, the practice of producing Old English editions in relatively small numbers was to continue

into the time of John Josias and the difficulties this caused when producing *Illustrations* is discussed further in Chapter Five.⁶⁵

In 1755, Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755), a distant cousin of Christopher Rawlinson, bequeathed money to establish a chair in Anglo-Saxon studies at the University of Oxford. However, this position proved particularly difficult to fill due to the numerous conditions Rawlinson attached to his bequest and his Jacobite associations (Sweet 2004: 202). Rawlinson, like Hickes, was a nonjuror and his support for Jacobitism had resulted in disagreements with members of both the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries (Clapinson 2004). He had carried out his research with '[t]he nonjurors' emphasis on the importance of Anglo-Saxon studies' (*ibid.*), but as the eighteenth century progressed, and particularly after the Jacobite defeat in the Battle of Culloden of 1745, the nonjuring interest in Old English faded. Rawlinson's chair was not filled until 1795 due, in part, to a lack of interest from the University (Tashjian, Tashjian and Enright 1990: 85). This was one year before John Josias was to begin his own undergraduate career at the University of Oxford.

By the middle of the eighteenth century a number of prominent Anglo-Saxonists were dead: Thwaites in 1711, Hickes in 1715, and Wanley in 1726. Elstob was still alive, but had fled from Oxford in 1715 after her brother died leaving her unable to pay outstanding publishing debts (Gretsch 2004). However, Old English continued to be studied by a small selection of individuals who produced several significant publications in the latter part of the century.

In 1716, Edward Lye (1694-1767) was ordained deacon by Gibson and then priest by White Kennett (1660-1728), the bishop of Peterborough, in 1719.⁶⁶ M. C. Ross (1999: 67) shows that, like many of the earlier Anglo-Saxonists, Lye's knowledge of Old English was mostly self-taught and he relied on his contacts in Oxford for access to manuscripts. Lye's first publication was an edition of

⁶⁵ See Chapter Five, pp. 204-209.

⁶⁶ While hiding from his political enemies in 1696, Hickes spent time at Kennett's home, where his host read the *Thesaurus* and the men studied Old English together (Levine 1991: 355).

the *Etymologicum Anglicanum* (1743), that had remained unpublished after Junius' death in 1677, and which can be considered the first systematic English etymological dictionary (N. Barker 1978: 27). Lye also undertook an edition of the Codex Argenteus, *Sacrorum evangeliorum versio Gothica ex codice argenteo* (1750), finally publishing the manuscript known from Bale's time and also including a Gothic grammar. Lye never completed his translation of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11 into Latin but his *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum* was edited and published posthumously (ed. Manning 1772).

A number of comparisons can be drawn between Lye and John Josias in that both men were Anglicans, both studied Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11 and other Old English manuscripts at Oxford, and both died before completing their most significant work. However, it has been acknowledged that

Lye's reputation as a scholar of Anglo-Saxon and Gothic was high in his own day, both in Britain and in Europe, but became obscured by early nineteenth-century philologists like J. M. Kemble and Joseph Bosworth, who were keen to make a distinction between their own, German-influenced scholarship and that of their predecessors.

(Ross and Collins 2004b)

As mentioned above,⁶⁷ this thesis proposes that the chronological proximity of John Josias to the growth of philological study in England has been, in part, responsible for his relative obscurity within the historiography of Old English studies. Ross and Collins here propose this is the case with Lye, although they suggest that this arose not as a result of modern scholars' evaluations, but rather from the evaluations of nineteenth-century scholars like John Mitchell Kemble (1807-1857) and Joseph Bosworth (1789-1876). As will be discussed in the following chapter, some of the new philologists were amongst the most critical of the scholars who immediately preceded them, so it is possible that

⁶⁷ See p. 51 of this chapter.

through their writings they played a part in forming later opinions.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, Ross and Collins (2004b) believe this situation only applied to Lye, stating that ‘after the high point in Anglo-Saxon scholarship established by George Hickes, Humfrey Wanley, and their colleagues in the early eighteenth century Lye was the only significant scholar in this field before the nineteenth-century philologists’.

However, Lye is not the only scholar who has been regarded differently, or with indifference, because of the successes of his predecessors. Another scholar who has been identified as being similar in this regard, and who was almost contemporary with John Josias, was John Horne Tooke (1736-1812).⁶⁹ Tooke was a graduate in mathematics from the University of Cambridge and, like John Josias, had been raised within the church by a devout father (Davis 2004). Yet after being ordained a priest in 1760, he was said to have no real interest in theology although he remained opposed to Roman Catholicism (*ibid.*). He travelled often in France, meeting the philosophers Voltaire (1694-1778) and Adam Smith (bap. 1723-90), neither of whom he particularly admired (*ibid.*). By 1773, Tooke had resigned his clerical position and was back in England studying philology and law, following a series of political controversies.

In 1786, Tooke published the first volume of his *Diversions of Purley*, which ‘argued that all language can ultimately be resolved into nouns and verbs’ and contained a large section on etymologies ‘intended to demonstrate that the prepositions and conjunctions of English do in fact derive from the nouns and verbs of Anglo-Saxon’ (Steadman-Jones 2000:199). A revised edition followed in 1798 and the second volume in 1805. *Diversions of Purley* took the form of a dialogue between three people discussing the problems and confusions of traditional grammar and it aimed to prove Tooke’s materialist view that

⁶⁸ See Chapter Three, pp. 134-142 and Chapter Six, pp. 286-295.

⁶⁹ See Aarsleff (1967) for a detailed examination of Tooke’s contribution to English studies.

[t]he business of the mind, as far as it concerns Language, appears to me to be very simple. It extends no further than to receive Impressions, that is, to have Sensations or Feelings. What are called its operations, are merely the operations of Language.

(Tooke 1786, cited in Aarsleff 1967: 13)

To some extent he followed John Locke (1632-1704), an English philosopher in the Baconian image, in his belief that language's 'first aim is to communicate our thoughts, its second to do so quickly' (Aarsleff 1967: 46). Tooke then combined these ideologies with etymological study, so bringing together philosophy and philology. The influence of his work was wide-reaching, and due to its great success 'it kept England immune to the new philology until the results and methods finally had to be imported from the Continent in the 1830s' (Aarsleff 1967: 73). However, like Lye, it has been noted that 'Tooke's reputation has suffered a grievous decline in the wake of the "new philology" imported from Germany', although to some extent 'the supposedly obsolete eighteenth-century debates concerning universal grammar and the origins of language have been dusted off and subjected to fresh scrutiny' (McKusick 1985: 85). Yet this 'dusting off' and 'fresh scrutiny' has never taken place with regard to John Josias' work, perhaps because, unlike Tooke, he has not been firmly placed within the history of philology.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, as John Josias began his studies at Oxford, there were more resources for learning Old English and a wider range of contexts in which texts could be read than ever before. An interest in the subject had grown both from the antiquarian movement and in the universities, resulting in the reestablishment of the Society of Antiquaries in 1717 and the fulfilment of Rawlinson's bequest for a chair of Anglo-Saxon in 1795. Both of these institutions were to play a prominent role in John Josias' life in the years that followed. However, further reasons for an increasing interest in Old English also resulted from a series of intellectual movements, which together provided new interconnected paradigms for approaching religion, history, and scholarship as a whole.

Enlightenment

The above-mentioned ideas of Locke were part of an intellectual movement that gathered force in the eighteenth century and fundamentally changed approaches to scholarship: the Enlightenment. This was a time when scholars proposed new ideologies on how to approach the past, which in turn influenced the development of Old English studies as a discipline. As Hilton (2006: 15) notes, Anglo-Saxonism was ‘influenced by and became the vehicle of the ideas of the Enlightenment’. This section will briefly discuss some of the Enlightenment thinkers whose ideas were relevant to the Anglo-Saxonists and then consider how later Romanticism and other connected intellectual movements also played a part in forming conceptions of the past in the years leading up to those in which John Josias worked.

In 1687, Isaac Newton (1642-1727) published his *Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica*, containing his laws of motion and theory of gravitation. Its influence was considerable not only in physics, but also as a model for the functionality of empirical methodologies in other areas of scholarship. In subsequent editions of the *Principia*, and in his later publications such as *Opticks or a Treatise of the Reflexions, Refractions, Inflexions and Colours of Light* (1704), Newton continued to show his ‘commitment to the central place of careful observation, combined with minimal theory’, producing what has been widely recognised as ‘the most powerful theory about the natural world that had ever been produced’ (G. A. J. Rogers 1996: 45). Newton’s scholarship was in many respects similar to that of Bacon, whose inductive approach had been used by Old English scholars such as Junius and van Vliet, but he also amalgamated aspects of theories by René Descartes (1596-1650) and various other scholars (Westfall 2004). Descartes, French philosopher and mathematician, had proposed a deductive approach, forming a theory and collecting evidence to support this subsequently, in order to explain the movement of the planets around the sun in his *Principia philosophiæ* (1644). Newton rejected many of Descartes’ ideas but also adopted and adapted some aspects of them, so that by ‘combining the rational, mathematical approach of Descartes with the experimental method of Bacon [...] [he] demonstrated how natural philosophy should henceforward be

pursued' (Henry 2004: 23). Soon Newtonian ideas were to spread into a number of other areas of enquiry.

One individual who was to apply Newtonian ideas was Locke, who met Newton for the first time only two years after the *Principia* was first published (Woolhouse 2007: 278). Although Newton noted that the mathematics contained in his *Principia* was beyond Locke's understanding, he spent some time explaining its principles to him and the two men became friends (*ibid.*). Locke wrote on diverse subjects using a Newtonian approach, particularly applying the ideas to the realm of human experience. He proposed greater religious tolerance in his *Letters Concerning Toleration* (1689-1692), although he never extended this to include either Roman Catholics or atheists (Gough 1991: 42). Then in 1690, Locke published *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* in which he argued against the principle of innate knowledge and rejected rationalism as it had been proposed by Descartes (Hamlyn 1992: 65). He also wrote on the education of the young, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), and on Christianity, *The Reasonableness of Christianity, as Delivered in the Scriptures* (1695). He then defended the power of the parliament over the monarchy in his *Two Treatises of Government* (1698), which he published anonymously and never acknowledged during his lifetime due to its political content (Milton 2004). In each of these studies Locke used empirical methodologies, showing its applicability to many aspects of scholarship – even theology, an area John Josias would later publish in himself.

Newton and Locke were both profoundly religious and did not believe that their philosophical approaches disproved the existence of God; as Newton wrote '[w]here natural causes are at hand God uses them as instruments in his works' (Newton 1680/1, cited in Force 2004: 66). Yet Newton's mechanical world was used as evidence to support deism, an idea which had wide support from figures such as Voltaire in France, Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694-1768) in Germany, Thomas Paine (1737-1809) in America, and Matthew Tindal (1657-1733) in England. However, Gerrish (2006: 649) notes that that the term 'deist', as it is used today, does not accurately describe this group of

individuals in the eighteenth century. Instead he proposes a definition of a collection of ‘freethinkers’, ‘those who refuse to submit their thoughts – even on religion – to ecclesiastical authorities’ (*ibid.*). These ‘freethinkers’ produced increasing numbers of arguments against the existing form of Christianity and in response many orthodox counter-arguments also appeared. For example, Tindal’s anonymously published *Christianity as Old as the Creation; or, the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature* (1730) received some 150 responses, including that of John Conybeare, John Josias’ grandfather (Gerrish 2006: 650). Yet John Josias considered Locke as the ‘commentator the most unlikely to have yielded to any opinion which he deemed fanciful or unreasonable’ (J. J. Conybeare 1824: 288). It would seem that by his time recognition of the merits of empiricist methodology was not synonymous with deism in a form that was unacceptable to theists like John Josias.

Another empiricist, but one whose views were not accepted by the church, was David Hume (1711-1776). Hume was similar to Locke in many respects: both men admired Newton, studied human nature through philosophical empiricism, and rejected many of the ideas of Descartes and the rationalists. However, unlike Locke who had argued for the rationality of Christianity, in *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748) Hume was sceptical of anything that could not be directly sensed.⁷⁰ Locke derived his understanding of the metaphysical from the order of the universe, but for Hume any discussion of deities was not possible using empirical methodologies, as how could one ‘reason about entities, such as God, his qualities, and his operations, of which experience gives us no firm knowledge’ (Robertson 2004). Hume believed that, whether God did or did not exist, the concept of a deity was, by definition, out with what could be measured and comprehended by the human mind.

Hume also wrote about the harm religion was responsible for in the world around him and argued that it had little positive influence on individuals’

⁷⁰ *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* was an attempt to abbreviate and republish the ideas that had been contained within Hume’s *Treatise of Human Nature, Being an Attempt to Introduce the Experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects* (1739-1740), which ‘fell dead-born from the press, without reaching [...] distinction’ (Robertson 2004).

daily conduct, as well as creating “frivolous merits’ which partake of no natural good, like abstaining from certain goods or attending ceremonies’ (Gaskin 1993: xvii). Yet regardless of this nature, Hume believed humans had a natural tendency towards religion, which had developed from earlier beliefs that projected agency onto nature (Broadie 2012). He argued, demonstrating the Enlightenment value of toleration, that as no belief could be proven or disproven, none should be forced upon another person (*ibid.*). This was quite contrary to the thinking of the religiously-minded scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, yet Hume’s *The History of England* (1754-1761) contained one of the major accounts of Anglo-Saxon history read during the eighteenth century.

When Hume compared the Anglo-Saxon past with the present day he still recognised the roots of the current constitution; however, unlike many of the earlier historians, he did not see any intrinsic merit in this time. He outlined this view in the following passage:

Above all, a civilized nation, like the English, who have happily established the most perfect and most accurate system of liberty that was ever found compatible with government, ought to be cautious in appealing to the practice of their ancestors, or regarding the maxims of uncultivated ages as certain rules for their present conduct. An acquaintance with the ancient periods of their government is chiefly *useful* by instructing them to cherish their present constitution [...] And it is also *curious*, by showing them the remote, and commonly faint and disfigured originals of the most finished and most noble institutions.

(Hume 1762: 446)

By taking such an approach, Hume’s ‘detachment from national myths and cherished beliefs’ was widely misinterpreted as a partisan, Tory reading of the past (O’Brien 2005: 384). For although Hume’s main reason for writing *The History* was to provide an alternative to whig interpretations of the past, an expression of his ‘horror of vulgar Whiggery in all its forms’ (*ibid.*), when he wrote of his objectives as a historian in 1754, he stated that ‘[t]he first Quality

of an Historian is to be true & impartial; the next to be interesting' (Hume 1754, cited in Robertson 2004). Although he did not hold an academic position,⁷¹ Hume researched his publications thoroughly with empirical methods and employed literary skill to give his works wide appeal. Indeed, he attempted to consider historical events from the non-teleological perspective of a moral philosopher, rather than expressing a solely partisan view. The idea that books should be interesting, objective, and accurate was to feature in John Josias' approach to Old English some years later, as will be discussed further in the following chapters.

If Hume was perceived as the great tory historian of eighteenth-century history, then Catharine Macaulay (1731-1791) was considered the great whig. A devout Anglican, Macaulay's eight-volume *The History of England* (1763-1783) propagated the idea that only in Protestant cultures could progress and liberty flourish (O'Brien 2005: 387). Her work contained ecclesiastical ideologies similar to those that had featured in the studies of the earlier Anglo-Saxonists and it 'wrote out a set of more firmly held political, religious and moral certainties than Hume' (386). Some of her ideas would have been recognised by earlier Anglican scholars, as 'enlightened minds inherited Protestant anti-Catholicism and then rationalized it. Rome was demonized as the inveterate foe' (Porter 2001: 49). However, Macaulay was not entirely dissimilar to Hume in that she had 'a sophisticated sense of history as a process of accident and unintended consequence' and as 'she acknowledged that the very ideas for which she claimed permanent value (liberty, natural rights, freedom of conscience) had been stumbled upon by chance during the course of time' (*ibid.*). She was therefore in many respects 'anti-whig' in her view of history, especially in her treatment of the execution of Charles I (B. Hill 2004). So while Hume and Macaulay were quite different, they both embraced aspects of Enlightenment thinking and the alternative perspectives of the past it provided. These approaches were to become more commonly accepted in the following years.

⁷¹ Hume applied for the chair in Moral Philosophy at both the University of Edinburgh and the University of Glasgow, although he was overlooked for both positions (Broadie 2012).

Another historian from this period who should be considered briefly is Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), whose *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-1788) discussed the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain. Gibbon, like Hume, gained much of his information about the Anglo-Saxons from classical authors such as Tacitus. As Hilton (2006: 18) notes,

[t]he Enlightened historians, committed to reason and liberty, therefore, found in the classical historians not only factual information but also a ready made set of attitudes to which they could add their own, a complex of opposite pairs: civilization and barbarism, despotism and liberty, virtue and vice, and reason and superstition.

Thus Gibbon wrote of the ‘barbarian’ Saxons arriving in Britain and completely destroying the culture left by the ‘civilised’ Romans. So when once Old English texts had been searched for the noble origins of the church, these same texts were now considered to contain tales of savages of low morals and standing.

Therefore, as Porter (2001: 50) has shown, during the Enlightenment ‘academic heritage was trashed over and over again by enlightened propagandists as a tragicomedy of errors’ and individuals and scholars formerly considered important were recast into increasingly diminutive roles. Indeed, ‘[it] became *de rigueur* to denounce the bad old ways of the bad old days’ (53). These approaches to historiography played a considerable role in the development of Old English studies, and seem still to have had some support during John Josias’ time.⁷²

Another of the ways in which new ideas were to manifest themselves during this time was in an increased ‘impatience with obscurity and a prizing of clarification and transparency’, particularly as this related to language (Porter 2001: 54). Hume was a contemporary of Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), whose *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) was so important for English

⁷² See, for example, Chapter Five, pp. 227-229.

studies in this respect that people wondered at ‘so stupendous a work achieved by one man, while other countries had thought such undertakings fit only for whole academies’ (Boswell 1791: 162). Although scholars such as Junius, van Vliet, and Somner had already attempted some systematic etymological studies in English by Johnson’s time, none had been on the scale of the *Dictionary*, or were so influential.

Unlike John Josias some fifty years later, Johnson was not university educated having abandoned his studies at Pembroke College after only thirteen months due to financial constraints (Rogers 2004b).⁷³ However he did read widely and, after failing to find work as a teacher due to having no university degree, he accepted a position as a writer for *The Gentleman’s Magazine* and also began work on an edition of Shakespeare’s works (*ibid.*). In 1746, Johnson, who had financial difficulties his whole life, signed a contract to be paid 1500 guineas for compiling a new English dictionary (*ibid.*). The following year, in his plan for the book, Johnson (1747: 32) outlined his aim to produce a dictionary with which ‘the pronunciation of our language may be fixed, and its attainment facilitated; by which its purity may be preserved, its use ascertained, and its duration lengthened’. One method he used to achieve this was to illustrate his entries with quotations, which were ‘selected for their moral uplift as well as for their appropriateness to the perceived correct usage of a word’ (Barnbrook 1996: 37). This necessitated the collection and consultation of a vast number of English books throughout the nine years it took to complete the dictionary.

But when Johnson examined texts in Hickeys’ *Thesaurus*, quoting both Old and Middle English illustrative passages from it in his *Dictionary*, he did not portray them as examples of unrefined or barbaric English, as Hume or Gibbon might have done. Rather he commented that ‘our ignorance of the laws of their metre and the quantities of their syllables excludes us from that pleasure which the old bards undoubtedly gave to their contemporaries’ (Johnson 1755: 16). This shows that, as Turner would continue to lament at

⁷³ Johnson was later awarded a Master of Arts from the University of Oxford in recognition of his work on the *Dictionary* (Boswell 1791: 150).

the beginning of the nineteenth century,⁷⁴ there was not as yet a clear understanding of Old English poetic composition at this time. It is also notable that Johnson held a more positive view of Old English than many of his contemporaries, recognising instead that ‘from the nature of things gradually changing’ it was not possible to state an exact time when ‘the *Saxon* may be said to cease, and the *English* to commence’ (Johnson 1755: 18). As Wellek (1981: 101) remarks, Johnson was ‘not only touched but deeply involved in the general awakening of the historical sense and specifically in the revived interest in early English literature and in literary antiquarianism and historiography’.

Johnson took the field of lexicography beyond the early etymological studies and ‘hard word’ dictionaries, such as Phillips’ (1630-1696) *New World of English Words* (1658), by applying some of the more systematic approaches to language that had been made popular by the Enlightenment. However, in many respects Johnson did not support Enlightenment thinking – ‘[h]e frequently reviled Voltaire and Rousseau, held equivocal views about Robertson, dismissed Hume with contempt, and showed no real sympathy with Gibbon’ (P. Rogers 1996: 135). Yet by undertaking his studies on earlier language usage, Johnson identified the requirement for further detailed and systematic linguistic investigations. Nonetheless, such may never have been attempted if it was not for a series of ideological changes that accompanied the emergence of Romanticism.

Romanticism

Enlightenment thinking was not the only paradigm that was to provide new ideas for scholars of Old English during the eighteenth century, for the work of men like John Josias would not have been possible had it not been for Romanticism, which arose as a reaction to the perceived shortcomings of Enlightenment ideologies. As the Enlightenment had taught that the past was

⁷⁴ Turner notes in the first edition of his *The History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1805, vol. 4: 409), that ‘the verification of the vernacular poetry of our ancestors was modelled by rules which we have not explored’; a statement that was reprinted in the third edition in 1820 (vol. 3: 378), but that became ‘which have not been fully explored’ in the fifth edition published in 1828 (vol. 3: 354), and remained thus in the subsequent editions.

'barbarian' or 'primitive', the modern conception of Old English studies could never have developed solely under its influence. As Reardon (1985: 11) observes, the Romantic period fostered ideologies much more favourable to the study of the past,

for the Romantic mind the infinite was present not only in every form and particle of the finite, but in every period and moment of time. No age was without its intrinsic significance and typical excellence. Civilization, like life itself, was felt to be organic and continuous. In other words, no single phase of the historical process was to be discarded or discounted, because the process in its totality carries meaning.

Payne (1982) refers to the period 1750-1830 as the 'rediscovery' of Old English, describing a time when scholars reconsidered many texts while caught between the older traditions and a new interest in the non-classical past that was propagated by the ideas of Romanticism. However, in England the Romantic movement only began to gather pace towards the end of the eighteenth century and did not become truly influential until the beginning of the nineteenth (Beers 1899: 24), just as John Josias was embarking on his academic career at the University of Oxford.

At this time, ongoing war with France and rapidly advancing urbanisation were causing widespread changes in British society. Indeed the whole of Europe experienced social, political, and economic upheaval around the turn of the century, particularly due to the effects of the Industrial and French revolutions (Porter and Teich 1988: 3). In many countries people attempted to define their place in a changing world by searching their national histories for evidence to support their own particular ideologies. Yet amongst early nineteenth-century English authors, as Ben-Israel observes, there was an

absence of any strong awakening of interest in the ancient period [...] [t]he distinction between antiquarianism and history continued to exist [...] the frantic search for national antiquities never became a national and popular duty. There was no need to rebuild 'tradition' in order to defend it. There was less scholarly delving into the past for political purposes than there was, for instance, in Germany.

(Ben-Israel 1968: 116)

Instead it was a distinctly literary interest that developed in England, one with less emphasis on ecclesiastic and nationalistic interests than before. This literary focus was distinct from any of the movements that had preceded it and it was to have a wide-ranging effect on the development of the subject henceforth.

At this point Anglo-Saxon poetry was brought to the attention of the wider public for the first time, having previously been paid only scant attention where it was necessary as a source for historical information. Indeed, before the beginning of the nineteenth century many of the manuscripts now known to all students of Old English remained unpublished, including *Beowulf* (London, British Library, Cotton, Vitellius A. XV), the Exeter Book (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501), and the Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CXVII). Although the Vercelli Book was not discovered until 1822, when Friedrich Blume uncovered it while working on legal manuscripts, both the *Beowulf* manuscript and the Exeter Book had been catalogued in Wanley's *Catalogus librorum septentrionalium* (in Hickes 1703-1705, vol. 2).⁷⁵ However, unlike texts that had been deemed useful for the various ideological campaigns of the preceding centuries, they had remained unexamined until this new interest in antiquities as a literary movement began to grow. John Josias' decision to publish and translate parts of these manuscripts for the first time was the culmination of this growing literary movement, which had its roots in the mid to late eighteenth century.

⁷⁵ See, for example, Chapter Six, pp. 248-250.

However, initially this literary interest had not manifested itself in Old English texts but rather as an interest in Old Norse and Celtic poetry, such as was popularised by the work of scholars like Paul Henri Mallet (1730-1807). Mallet was a Swiss author who studied Old Norse literature and culture, publishing the first modern accounts in French in his *Introduction à l'histoire de Dannemarc ou l'on traite de la religion, des loix, des moeurs et des usages des anciens Danois* (1755) and *Monuments de la mythologie et de la poésie des Celtes, et particulièrement des anciens Scandinaves* (1756) (Frank 2003: 149). These were popularised in England by Thomas Percy (1729-1811), bishop of Dromore, who translated a number of Mallet's texts into English in his *Northern Antiquities: a Description of the Manners, Customs, Religion, and Laws of the Ancient Danes and Other Northern Nations, Including those of our Own Saxon Ancestors* (1770), stating that he did so because the subject 'must peculiarly interest the English reader, who will here find a faithful picture of his Saxon ancestors, as they existed before they left their German forests' (Percy 1874, cited in Frank 2003: 149). Both Mallet and Percy proposed that a 'noble minstrel' or 'scop' lay behind the poetic survivals and to some extent they even praised the skills of the medieval authors, quite in contrast to the approach taken by the historians of the Enlightenment period.

Percy's publications were followed by the popular translations of Thomas Gray (1716-1771), poet and holder of the chair of Modern History at the University of Cambridge (1768-1771). When he published his translations from the Old Norse of *The Fatal Sisters* and *The Descent of Odin* in 1768 they ignited such an interest in northern antiquities that in excess of a further fifty Norse translations and adaptations appeared between 1763 and 1814 (Payne 1982: 151). Soon similarities began to be drawn between Old Norse and Old English texts; for example in 1801, John Josias' contemporary George Ellis (1753-1815) remarked that Old English poetry 'in its spirit and character, seems to have resembled the Runic odes so admirably imitated by Mr. Gray' (G. Ellis 1801, cited in Payne 1982: 153). However, as this movement was primarily a literary one, there was no broad academic foundation supporting it.

As Payne (1982: 153) notes, many of the authors in this period, including Percy and Gray, were unable to read Old English texts in their original language. Although seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Anglo-Saxonists had produced grammars and dictionaries that aided the study of the language, the texts they published were chosen because they supported certain ideologies and so they were not necessarily the most significant literary works. This meant that '[a]lthough the idea of Old English poetry had captivated literary men in the later eighteenth century, a corresponding interest in the individual texts known in England before 1800 had not emerged' (Payne 1982: 154). This development did not gather force until slightly later, as John Josias began his work on *Illustrations*.

The growing interest in northern antiquities was thenceforth supported by a number of interconnected individuals: a small number of academics in the universities, literary figures, and the constantly-present antiquarian movement. As Beers (1899: 187) wrote at the very end of the nineteenth century

[a] literary movement which reverts to the past for its inspiration is necessarily also a learned movement. Antiquarian scholarship must lead the way [...] The poets, of course, had to make studies of their own, to decipher manuscripts, learn Old English, visit ruins, collect ballads and ancient armor, familiarize themselves with terms of heraldry, architecture, chivalry, ecclesiology and feudal law, and in other such ways inform and stimulate their imaginations. It was many years before the joint labours of scholars and poets had reconstructed an image of medieval society, sharp enough in outline and brilliant enough in color to impress itself upon the general public.

These burgeoning interests helped to promote further attention to all things medieval, in ways that were to develop into more considerable movements during John Josias' life. They drove a greater demand for knowledge, both academic and popular in nature, which had previously been the concern of only a very small group of interested individuals primarily within ecclesiastical and academic circles.

One such movement that emerged in the eighteenth century was Alfredianism, where the romantic mind saw King Alfred (848/9-899) ‘refracted, as if in a hall of mirrors, into multiple Alfreds – some the embodiment of royal virtue, but others the heroes of radical, oppositional politics’ (J. Parker 2007: 61). J. Parker (2007: 33) argues that this was partly driven by an interest in ‘fallen’ civilisations – led by the rediscovery of Herculaneum in 1738 and Pompeii in 1748 – as well as books like Gibbon’s above-mentioned *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-1788). Some of this increased public interest was met by amateur antiquarians, such as Henry Howard who discovered the likely location of Alfred’s, by then desecrated, tomb in 1798 (Parker 2007: 69-70). Literary figures provided romanticised works of historical fiction, such as Joseph Cottle’s (1770-1853) *Alfred: An Epic Poem* (1800),⁷⁶ which represented ‘the turning point between the dominant eighteenth-century tendency to depict Alfred as a wooing lover, and the burgeoning nineteenth-century desire to portray him as the ideal husband’ (Parker 2007: 178).

Meanwhile the academic community produced books such as Daines Barrington’s (1727-1800) *The Anglo-Saxon Version, from the Historian Orosius, by Ælfred the Great* (1773) based on the earlier work of William Elstob, and Francis Wise’s (1695-1767) edition of Asser’s *Life of King Alfred* (1722). Yet these publications were the exception, as few studies of texts from around King Alfred’s time were undertaken. It was not until Sharon Turner’s (1768-1847) *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1799-1805), which will be discussed in the following chapter,⁷⁷ that the academic contribution became more equal to that of the antiquarian and literary (Waite 2000: 15).

The increasing popularity of the medieval period was also encouraged by a broader interest in medieval architecture that arose as part of the Gothic revival, which was not a separate movement from the wider medieval revival of the time but rather one expression of it. As Yates (2008: 134) notes,

⁷⁶ Cottle published a number of works by the Lake Poets, see Chapter Three, pp. 128-130. He also wrote about the Oreston Cave fossils, which Buckland proposed as evidence of the biblical flood – see Chapter One, p. 48, n. 50 and W. Buckland (1822).

⁷⁷ See Chapter Three, pp. 123-126.

[a]lthough some Protestants undoubtedly saw the Gothic revival and neo-medievalism as something that compromised their liturgical purity, it was, as we have seen, possible to build in Gothic and ignore liturgical attitudes that some of those who built in Gothic regarded as essential [...] The most enthusiastic supporters of both Gothic architecture and a liturgy to match that style were Anglican high churchmen.

Two Anglicans, prominent amongst literary figures of the time, who shared this love of the Gothic and promoted the style in literature and art were Joseph and Thomas Warton (Agrawal 1990: 8). In his *Verses on Sir Joshua Reynolds' Painted Window at New College* (1782), Thomas Warton (1728-1790) wrote about the medieval art of glass-staining, which in turn inspired the revival of this art in the nineteenth century (Agrawal 1990: 11). His *The History of English Poetry* (1774-1781), although long and full of digressions, through its numerous quotations made a number of texts more accessible and so increased interest in them at this time (Reid 2004). Similarly Joseph Warton's (bap.1722-1800) *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (1756-1782) contained 'protests against the so-called classical excellences, and recommends the reintroduction of the Gothic and the preternatural into poetry' (Agrawal 1990: 11). Gosse (1915) argues that the Wartons' approach to the past was of the pre-romantic school, which hoped to 're-enchanted a world which Natural Philosophy had rendered too clear, and trade and industry made too commonsensical' (Alexander 2007: 13). Yet it seems that by their time the influence of Romanticism did not yet allow them to entirely discard their Enlightenment heritage, so that '[i]f at times they prettified chivalry or ennobled monastic otherworldliness, they nonetheless deepened historical understanding through careful factual research' (Stock 1996: 66).

Conclusions

By the close of the eighteenth century, Old English had been studied for some two hundred and fifty years. During this time the subject had been shaped by a wide variety of influences including politics, religion, academics, antiquarians, writers, and an increasing interest from the general public. Furthermore, a 'clique' (Gurteen 1896: 13) or 'crop' (Graham 2001: 427) of

Anglo-Saxonists had grown around the University of Oxford. John Josias' academic career which began at the beginning of the nineteenth century should therefore be viewed within the context of this continuum. As he built upon the work of the scholars who had gone before him, his work has to be considered in relation to the paradigms that preceded it in order to respond to my second set of research questions as outlined above.⁷⁸ These paradigms, never-static, continued to shift and alter as Old English studies continued its journey towards its present-day form.

⁷⁸ See my introduction, p. 7.

Chapter Three: Old English at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century

As noted in Chapter One, in 1796 John Josias entered Christ Church at the age of seventeen and embarked on a career that would culminate in his holding the chair of Anglo-Saxon (1808-1812) and then Poetry (1812-1821) at the University of Oxford.⁷⁹ His academic career was relatively short, spanning only thirty years between his matriculation and death, yet during this time he built up a diverse group of friends and associates from amongst the leading literary figures of the day. These individuals form the basis of the discussion that follows, which aims to avoid the situation Franklin (1984: 356) identifies regarding English studies about the final quarter of the nineteenth century, where scholars

know less than we should know about their era [around 1883] and those who helped form it, because accounts of the discipline's origins have tended to blur the role played by individuals. We have seen events from a distance, from the long perspective of the cultural historian, and so have talked about English studies as the product of European philology and of a favourable political, social, and economic context.

By considering a variety of John Josias' acquaintances from different backgrounds, rather than focusing exclusively on Anglo-Saxonists, it is possible to learn something of the social circle he inhabited at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In an approach similar to that taken by Uglow (2002) in her study of the Lunar Men of Birmingham, the following aims to address my third research question by showing the interconnected, but diverse, group of individuals who surrounded John Josias and to suggest how they together represented the zeitgeist of the time.

This method of approaching Old English studies also follows Kuhn (1969), who acknowledges that no examination of an academic discipline and its interrelated influences should be conducted without due consideration for the

⁷⁹ See Chapter One, pp. 24-25.

individuals who transmitted and translated its ideologies.⁸⁰ Indeed to use another model from the historiography of science, McMullin (1990: 28) proposed examining the history of disciplines through a dual approach: through the eyes of the individuals involved as well as through retrospective consideration of their scholarship. He writes

[o]ne might ask what the actors themselves thought they were doing, what sort of knowledge they believed their “new science” gave them. Or one might, from a later vantage point, ask how effective (consistent, coherent) their conception of science in fact was.

Here rather more attention is paid to the former question than the latter, although Chapter Six evaluates how successful John Josias was as an editor and scholar of Old English from a modern-day perspective. In order to illustrate how John Josias lived and worked, I here provide further details about his life during the early nineteenth century to show the circumstances through which his friendships were made and working relationships formed around the time he was working on materials for *Illustrations*.

As John Josias produced the majority of his scholarly output between 1807 and 1824 (see Bibliography A), this can be regarded as the period in which he was actively contributing to Old English studies. Therefore, the following considers the individuals he is known to have associated with during these years in particular and who fall within the broad categories of ecclesiastical contacts, university colleagues, and other literary figures of the age. By examining the ways in which these individuals interacted with one another at this time, the following discussion hopes to illustrate how Old English studies appeared to John Josias and his contemporaries in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

⁸⁰ Kuhn (1969, reprinted in 1996: 179) states that ‘[a] paradigm is what the members of a scientific community share, and, conversely, a scientific community consists of men who share a paradigm’.

The Role of the Church

As was discussed in Chapter One, throughout his life John Josias held a number of positions in the Anglican church.⁸¹ At this time, Anglicans represented the largest religious denomination in Britain and in 1818 the children of clergymen accounted for around twenty-five percent of enrolments at the University of Oxford (Ringer 1995: 136). Indeed, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century students were obliged to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles in order to matriculate at Oxford, and to graduate from Cambridge, and over sixty-four percent of these individuals went on to pursue ecclesiastical careers (Sanderson 1975: 9). Scholars who were elected to a fellowship in either university were required to take holy orders, as John Josias did when he was ordained deacon in 1802, and church attendance was compulsory (*ibid.*). John Josias was therefore not unusual in his position as an academic and clergyman at Oxford during this time. This situation continued at both Oxford and Cambridge until later in the century, and was not challenged until the establishment of the University of London in 1836, which had no religious tests for entry (*ibid.*).

John Josias' first ecclesiastical role was as prebendary of the Warthill stall in York Cathedral, which he was presented in 1803 by Archbishop William Markham (1719-1807), immediately following his father's resignation from the post (Anon 1803: 791).⁸² The Warthill prebend provided its occupant with an estate and income from its properties. Furthermore, as a number of ecclesiastical benefices could be held jointly (Cannon 1984: 61-64), John Josias did not have to resign the Warthill stall when he was presented with the curacy in Cowley or the Batheaston living. Thus it continued to provide him with an income until his death. This revenue was to prove important, as it allowed John Josias to purchase some land, travel the country undertaking his geological studies and, in later life, to collect his extensive library. When his

⁸¹ See Chapter One, pp. 25-27.

⁸² Henry Arthur Crawford Conybeare (1914: 12) notes that Markham was William Conybeare's old headmaster and 'had probably promised that if Dr. Conybeare liked to give up the prebend when John had taken priest's orders, John should succeed to it'.

estate was divided after his death, it was discovered that in all ‘for a childless man he was rather wealthy’ (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 7).

A role John Josias would hold for a shorter period was that of perpetual curate for St James in Cowley (1806-1810), a small parish two and a half miles outside Oxford, which had only 558 inhabitants by 1811 (Lewis 1840: 639). Nothing is known today of John Josias’ duties as curate of Cowley, but his role must not have been a particularly active one as he remained resident at Christ Church. When he resigned the curacy in 1810, he was succeeded by Edmund Goodenough (1786-1845), son of the bishop of Carlisle (Welch 1852: 455), a man John Josias met on at least one occasion.⁸³

Indeed, the similarities between John Josias and Goodenough illustrate the route that was taken by many young men from educated, Anglican backgrounds during this period. In 1801, Goodenough had matriculated at Christ Church, the same year John Josias completed his studies there, and he similarly seems to have excelled – gaining ‘the highest university honours in Easter term 1804’ (G. F. R. Barker and Curthoys 2004). Goodenough then went on to work at the University of Oxford as both a mathematical examiner and proctor before being chosen as a select preacher in 1817, nine years after John Josias (*ibid.*). He also worked for some time as the headmaster at John Josias’ former school and workplace in Westminster, although this was said to be a difficult period for him as although ‘[a] good scholar and an amiable man’, he ‘lacked the strength either to challenge the chapter or to assert proper authority over the boys’ (*ibid.*). When John Josias died in 1824, Goodenough replaced him as prebendary of Warthill at York (Anon 1824c: 331). Nonetheless, Goodenough does not seem to have had the same literary interests as John Josias, only publishing on three occasions during his lifetime, and these all being sermons – one delivered at William Carey’s consecration (1820), another at a festival for clergymen’s sons (1830), and the last at a meeting of the Diocesan Association of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Bath (1832) (G. F. R. Barker and Curthoys 2004).

The year before John Josias and his new wife Mary moved to the Batheaston vicarage, Joseph Nightingale (1775-1824), writer and Unitarian minister, wrote a short description of the village in which he states:

The whole parish is said to contain nearly 200 houses, and about 1100 inhabitants [...] The church of Batheaston, already mentioned as situated in the north part of the city, was built at a very early period, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist. It is a handsome Gothic building, about one hundred and twenty-eight feet in length, and twenty-two in breadth, consisting of a chancel, nave, and porch [...] this church was very early appropriated to the abbey of St. Peter, in Bath. About 1262, some dispute having taken place between the prior convent of that monastery and the vicar of Batheaston, relative to certain tythes, the following composition was agreed to by the parties: It was stipulated, that the vicar should in future receive all the oblations, mortuaries and tythes within the parish, except in such lands as belonged to the prior and convent; that besides he should have a free house and garden, together with the grass of the church yard; and in consideration of these grants, he was bound to sustain all the ordinary vicarial burdens, both in the church of Batheaston and in the chapel of St. Catherine, for the daily service of which he was to find a chaplain at his own expense.

(Nightingale 1813: 433-435)

The parish of Batheaston added a further annual income of £408 to that John Josias was already receiving from the Warthill prebend (in excess of £500) (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 15), which was combined with the benefit of a 'free house and garden'. However, now that he was removed from Oxford, John Josias was expected to take up the role of a full-time rural vicar.

Jane Austen (1775-1817), well acquainted with this subject as the daughter and sister of clergymen, portrayed characters such as Mr Collins in *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) and Mr Elton in *Emma* (1815) as men whose ecclesiastical roles occupied little of their time or concern. These figures are perhaps illustrative of a time when the eighteenth-century perception of the clergy,

⁸³ One morning at Christ Church, John Josias and Goodenough together enjoyed the music of the visiting Italian violinist Giovanni Battista Viotti (1755-1824), along with the English painter George Chinnery (1774-1852) (Lister 2009: 253).

that they were ‘rustic in manners, primitive in outlook’ and ‘did not rank higher than the neighbouring farmers and tradesmen or the upper servants of the great houses of the nobility’ (G. K. Clark 1973: 31), was beginning to change. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, aided by the additional funds brought in by the prebendary system and the growing population,

[i]nstead of concentrating, as their predecessors had tended to do, on rather crabbed theology, or on the cruder forms of sulky Tory politics, they [the English clergy] began to take an interest in antiquarianism, or literature, in botany or scientific husbandry, or in local government and the very difficult social problems the country confronted at that moment.

(ibid.)

John Josias, as a man now in possession of a good fortune, had time available in which to pursue his other interests, which did indeed include a number of the above-mentioned pastimes. But that does not necessarily mean that he was any less attentive to the requirements of his parish. Indeed, the sudden decrease in his production and publication of scholarly works at this time seems to suggest he took these duties rather more seriously than the clergymen illustrated in some of Austen’s works (see Bibliography A).

Although Batheaston was a small village, and indeed remains comparatively so today, it was at this time surrounded by the consequences of one of the most major movements of the nineteenth century: urbanisation. This process had started in the previous century as a result of increasing industrialisation, with England’s population nearly doubling from 5.4 to 9.2 million between 1700 and 1800, and in nearby Bath from 3000 to 35,000 in the same period (Morrissey 2008: 232). Indeed, throughout the country at this time there were over 10,500 parishes serving the religious requirements of the rapidly expanding population (Jennings 2009: 43). However, although the majority of the population was Anglican at this time, this was a period of concern for many Christians as the church became increasingly anxious about a number of ideologies they perceived as a threat to the established religions. Increasing population and migration, particularly from Ireland, caused greater diversity

amongst the population and the church's traditional institutional dominance was called into question. As McGrath (2000: 482) writes,

[o]n the eve of the nineteenth century, the future of Christianity in Europe thus seemed remarkably fragile. Many saw it as linked with the politics of a bygone era, an obstacle to progress and liberty. Its faith and its institutions seemed to be in irreversible decline.

However, for all these concerns may have been prevalent, there does not seem to have been any actual decrease in the number of Christians at this time. As Brown (1991) describes, instead it appears that this unease was primarily due to growing diversification within the faith itself.⁸⁴ While the established churches remained the dominant force in British daily life, a small but growing number of dissenting individuals from both the Anglican and the Scottish Presbyterian churches began to join different Christian sects.⁸⁵ The reasons for these divisions were various, but some of the pressure for change was coming from inside the churches themselves. For example, a number of individuals who remained Anglican after the Methodist split remained uncomfortable with its conservatism and began to call for reform from within (Brown 1991: 439).

The established churches could do little to prevent this greater diversification of faith in the population, as around the turn of the century a number of legal concessions had been passed promoting greater religious tolerance.⁸⁶ These extended even to the Catholics, who from 1791 were given the legal right to

⁸⁴ Brown (1991) provides the following figures to illustrate this shift: in 1716 there were 283 Baptist congregations, while by 1808 there were 532 (111); 95 Independent congregations were founded 1700-1749, compared with 269 between 1750-1799 (*ibid.*); in 1800 there were around 30,000 Catholics in Scotland (126); and by 1811 there were around 150,000 Methodists in England (120).

⁸⁵ This finding seems to be supported by a preliminary study of parish records, which shows a decline in Anglican baptisms, burials, and marriages particularly during the first decade of the nineteenth century (E. A. Wrigley and Schofield 1989: 75-76).

⁸⁶ In 1779 Parliament conceded their case by an Act substituting a declaration of acceptance of the Bible as the basis of Christian faith for the obligation of subscribing to the Thirty-Nine Articles [...] in 1813 the provisions of the Toleration Act were extended to cover Unitarians' (Brown 1991: 97).

worship and to be admitted as professionals (Brown 1991: 127). Thus a gradual shift can be observed through Britain at this time, where

[t]he two state religions, Presbyterianism in Scotland and Anglicanism in England, Wales and Ireland – were under pressure from inside and out, and sought to broaden their appeal and strengthen their defences against hostile forces.

(Brown 1991: 425)

It was in these circumstances that John Josias began his ecclesiastical career, and within this context that he was brought into contact with a number of individuals from different Christian backgrounds throughout his working life.

One individual with whom John Josias was not only acquainted but counted amongst his friends was Joseph Hunter (1783-1861), an antiquary and Unitarian minister, whom John Josias met soon after moving to Batheaston in 1814. During this time, Hunter was the minister of a Unitarian congregation at Trim Street in Bath where he delivered sermons such as *Scripture the Delight and Guide of the Unitarian Christian: a Sermon Delivered before the Members of the Western Unitarian Society at their Annual Meeting at Dorchester* (1816) (Crook 2004).

The Unitarians at this time were a small group in Britain, with only around 30,000 members by the early 1830s, but they seem to have ‘weighed more than they measured – in Parliament, local government, educational and cultural institutions, journalism, and the economy’ (Webb 2000: 113). They differed from the Anglicans on a number of points of doctrine; for example, they rejected the Trinity and the concept of eternal punishment. Therefore they were regarded as a particular threat by the established ecclesiastical institutions (*ibid.*). Indeed in August 1820, *The Gentleman’s Magazine* warned its readers that ‘[t]he Unitarians are at this very time, and for the last few months have been, very active in circulating their deadly tenets’ (Anon 1820c: 145) and in response promoted Thomas Hartwell Horne’s (1780-1862) *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity Briefly Stated and Defended: and the Church*

of England Vindicated from the Charge of Uncharitableness in Retaining the Athanasian Creed (1820). In order to protect ‘ordinary English readers’ against ‘ardent zeal and indefatigable assiduity by those who dispute or deny the Scripture doctrine of the Trinity’, this article called on Anglicans ‘to resume the defensive armour of its departed champions, and to contend earnestly, with meekness and fear, for the faith once delivered to the saints’ (Anon 1820c: 145). Nonetheless John Josias and Hunter remained friends, setting aside the theological differences that were so prominent in the early-nineteenth-century consciousness.

It seems that what united John Josias and Hunter in friendship, regardless of their differing religious affiliations, was their mutual interest in antiquities. Writing in 1860, Hunter stated, ‘I am one of those who have ever from my childhood delighted in minute historical research, and who have devoted my hours of relaxation from the absolute duties of life to this search of historic truth’ (Hunter 1860, cited in Crook 2004). This desire for ‘historic truth’ was shared with John Josias. For example, as Sweet (2004: 180-181) notes, both men shared the same, later vindicated, scepticism about the authenticity of Macpherson’s Ossian poems. However, unlike many of John Josias’ other friends, Hunter had not studied at Oxford and indeed did not have a university background at all, having been educated at a Presbyterian college in York (Crook 2004). His knowledge of history and literature in later days seems to have been for the most part self-taught, yet he was certainly a man of considerable learning – a leading member of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution, a frequent visitor to both the British Museum and Bodleian Library, and fellow and vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries (*ibid.*). Writing after John Josias’ death, Hunter (1826, reprinted in 1853: 86) notes that

[h]e [John Josias] had lent some assistance in the measures preparatory to the opening of the [Bath Literary and Scientific] Institution, and particularly in the formation of its library. Bath had not long the privilege of accounting him as one belonging to it. He had been presented to the vicarage of Bath-Easton; he found a parsonage-house in a dilapidated state, which he restored, and in a great degree rebuilt on an enlarged scale.⁸⁷

As the two men are known to have met soon after John Josias moved to Batheaston in 1814 (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 21) and the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution was not formed until 1824 (Tunstall 1847: 299), this shows the two men remained friends for the entire final decade of John Josias' life.

Hunter does not seem to have been John Josias' only dissenting acquaintance, as the two men had first met at the home of another – John Potticary (d. 1820), school master and teacher to Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) (*ibid.*). The exact details of John Josias and Potticary's relationship are not known, however Potticary's obituary in *The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature* (Anon 1820a: 187) notes that although he died at Bath, 'whither he had gone for the sake of his health', he lived for the most part at Blackheath. As mentioned in Chapter One,⁸⁸ John Josias died at Blackheath at the home of another friend, Groombridge, and it seems he maintained a group of friends in this area from the time when his maternal grandparents had a villa in nearby Greenwich (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 8). The memoirs of Robert Aspland (1782-1845), an influential Unitarian minister of the time, record that on 2 October 1808 at

⁸⁷ Writing of the Institute some twenty years later, Tunstall (1847: 299) notes '[i]t is a beautiful building of the Doric order, consisting of a library, 50 feet by 35, and a study connected with it, whose shelves are filled with rare manuscripts and valuable books'. Also see Appendix 1:2 where John Josias writes to Mary about his plans to renovate the vicarage. The floor plans and illustrations he added to this letter can be seen in the reproduction in Appendix 1:3.

⁸⁸ See Chapter One, pp. 39-40.

Gravel-Pit.⁸⁹ Mr. and Mrs. Potticary from Blackheath, with Mr. Conybeare, grandson of Bishop Conybeare and Master of Christ Church, Oxford, present. A fortunate sermon (on the Lord's Supper) for an Oxonian to hear!

(Aspland 1808, cited in Aspland 1850: 223)

So it seems that John Josias was not only socialising with Unitarians at this time, but that he was also engaging with their religion in a way that would have attracted criticism during an earlier period.

However, the above does not imply that John Josias held nonconformist ideologies himself, as the evidence suggests he remained steadfastly Anglican all his life. Only a few weeks before his death he is said to have returned a borrowed book to Hunter and parted from him stating 'that in his lecture he should show that Unitarians were wrong' but that he did 'not think the worse' of Hunter for his beliefs (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 25). The lecture to which John Josias referred was his own defence of the scriptures delivered as the Bampton Lectures for 1824 and published the same year (J. J. Conybeare 1824).⁹⁰ In this he addressed some points relating to the Anglican opposition of Unitarian doctrine, but his approach was somewhat less intransigent than that seen in the above cited remarks from *The Gentleman's Magazine* of August 1820.⁹¹ For example, in one lecture he states

were the student to accept the labours of Philo and those who most closely resemble him, as an authoritative exposition of the views which pervade the Gospel of St. John and the Epistle to the Hebrews, he might in all probability be led into the error of those who have denied the proper divinity of our Lord, and the existence and personality of the Holy Spirit.

(J. J. Conybeare 1824: 66-67)⁹²

⁸⁹ Gravel-Pit Chapel in Hackney was a Unitarian congregation.

⁹⁰ See Chapter One, pp. 38-39.

⁹¹ See this chapter, pp. 97-98.

⁹² John Josias' reference to Philo of Alexandria (20 BCE-50 CE) here is clearly aimed at the Unitarians, who often used his writings as justification for their doctrine.

An article in the American Episcopalian journal, *Banner of the Church*, published in 1831-1832, lists these lectures amongst histories of the early church and notes them as ‘an interesting history of the allegorical interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, from Philo down through all the fathers, by Conybeare; only, that here also merely the facts are given, and not results’ (Doane and Crosswell 1831-1832: 198). John Josias’ approach to his materials here can be characterised by a certain objectiveness that distinguished him from scholars of the sixteenth century.⁹³ While Leland had stood with Sir George Lawson (1493-1543), knight and friend of Cromwell, and watched him cut an ‘offending sentence’ out of a document regarding King James’ submission to Innocent III (Bindoff 1982: 501), John Josias took a more objective textual approach to his materials. During a time when Christianity seemed ‘remarkably fragile’ this would have appeared strange to many of the earlier Anglo-Saxonists who had sought to interpret texts to support their ecclesiastical ideologies.

As was discussed in the previous chapter, Francis Bacon’s theories of empiricism had initially been controversial for opposing the Aristotelian ideals that had been long accepted by the church.⁹⁴ However, by John Josias’ time these were widely accepted both in England and around the world. As Arthur Tappan Pierson (1837-1911), an American Presbyterian pastor who wrote prolifically at the end of the nineteenth century, understood their application to theology:

⁹³ See Chapter One, pp. 52-58.

⁹⁴ See Chapter Two, pp. 64-65.

The proper method of Bible study was not the Roman Catholic, Aristotelian way of twisting Scripture to pre-conceived dogmas, the way of “deduction.” Rather, “inductive” Bible study consisted of investigating “the facts as to what the Bible teaches, and comparing spiritual things with spiritual thus ascertain[ing] what is truth.” Studying the Bible must begin with the texts, “which are as the phenomena, from which a true philosophy will discover its laws of interpretations.” [...] Knowledge was the way to faith, and faith was empirical proof of having correct knowledge.

(Pierson, cited in Robert 2003: 32)

These kinds of approaches led to a situation where Old English texts, which may previously have been considered profane, became more easily accessible for examination and so became of historical and literary interest to individuals outside of the Anglican church, such as Hunter. Thus, unlike the Anglo-Saxonists who had preceded him, John Josias lived during a time when it was becoming increasingly possible to consider Old English texts in a wider variety of contexts and in the company of people from differing religious backgrounds.

John Josias does not seem to have been unique in his willingness to associate with people from different religions at this time. Herbert Oakeley (1791-1845), clergyman, Archdeacon of Colchester and graduate of Westminster and Christ Church, was a contemporary of John Josias’ and his parish was said to contain ‘many nonconformists, with whom Oakeley became engaged in lively disputes about church rates; none the less, he was held in general esteem’ (Hamilton and Matthew 2004).⁹⁵ So it seems that by the early nineteenth century, although dissent undoubtedly remained a concern for the established churches, a number of clergymen were engaging with a broad spectrum of individuals.

Nonetheless, many of John Josias’ ecclesiastical contacts were Anglican. As the majority of those who graduated from Christ Church went on to take holy orders, it is unsurprising that he maintained a number of friendships from his student days. Charles Abel Moysey (1779-1859), Archdeacon of Bath and

⁹⁵ See Appendix 1:6 where Oakeley is referred to in a letter from Thomas Gaisford to John Josias dated 25 February 1823.

theologian, graduated from Christ Church the year following John Josias in 1802 and went on to be awarded his M. A. (1805), B. D. (1818), and D. D. (1818) there while John Josias was working at the University (University of Oxford 1851: 469). He wrote the first obituary to be published after John Josias' death in the *Bath and Cheltenham Gazette* for 22 June 1824, which was later partly republished in *The Annals of Philosophy*, in which he described John Josias as a 'warmly attached friend' (Brayley 1824: 169).⁹⁶ Moysey was a vigorous defender of Anglican doctrine and often spoke publicly against the Unitarians. Like John Josias, he was also a Bampton Lecturer and in 1818 he delivered a series of eight lectures entitled *The Doctrines of Unitarians Examined, As Opposed to the Church of England* (University of Oxford 1820: 319). These lectures attracted a number of responses, including Unitarian minister Thomas Belsham's *The Bampton Lecturer Reproved, Being a Reply to the Calumnious Charges of the Rev. C. A. Moysey, D. D., &c., in his Late Bampton Lectures, against the Unitarians* (1819).⁹⁷ Moysey was also outspoken in his criticism of the Catholics, whom he compared with the Unitarians in a number of respects, leading to a heated written exchange with Peter Augustine Baines⁹⁸ (1786-1843), then a parish priest in Bath. This culminated in Baines' *A Defence of the Christian Religion* (1822), in which he argued against Moysey's claims of Catholic idolatry and said 'that he felt only pity or contempt for the man who slanders his religion, often knowing no better' and who 'puts on the whole rusty armour of antiquated bigotry' (P. A. Baines 1822, cited in Gilbert 2006: 31-32). So although Moysey seems to have been considerably less tolerant of faiths outside of the established church, he was still one of John Josias' closest companions.

Another of John Josias' Anglican associates was Charles Parr Burney (1786-1863), the Archdeacon of St Albans and Colchester.⁹⁹ Burney is mentioned in

⁹⁶ See Appendix 1:10 where Buckland mentions this obituary in a letter to William Daniel dated 27 June 1824.

⁹⁷ Thomas Belsham (1750-1829) was the minister of the Gravel-Pit Unitarian congregation 1794-1805, the same church John Josias once attended with the above mentioned John Potticary (J. Williams 1833: 555-556). See Chapter Three, pp. 99-100.

⁹⁸ Sometimes spelt Baynes.

⁹⁹ Burney succeeded the above mentioned Herbert Oakeley as Archdeacon of Colchester (Anon 1864: 214).

John Josias' will, where he was left a 'drawing of York Minster by Girtin' (National Archives, PRO B 11/1688), and may have been an acquaintance from Christ Church, from whence he graduated from his B. A. in 1808 followed by M. A. (1811), B. D. (1822), and D. D. (1822) (University of Oxford 1851: 101). However, it is also possible he was an earlier acquaintance, as he is named in the will as 'Reverend Charles Parr Burney of Greenwich in Kent' (National Archives, PRO B 11/1688), where, as noted above, several of John Josias' friends seem to have lived near to his grandparents' former home.¹⁰⁰ It seems that Burney also shared a number of John Josias' interests outside the church. In his youth his godfather, Samuel Parr (1747-1825), encouraged him to read classical literature and

not only to read but to write, to read extensively that you may write clearly, copiously, correctly, and at last elegantly; to reflect before you read, and, while you read, to mingle youthful knowledge with curious erudition, and to incorporate the best results of all your attainments with your general habits of thought and action.

(Samuel Parr to Charles Parr Burney
1804, cited in Johnstone 1828: 419)

Burney seems to have taken this advice, graduating with a second class in classics and going on to become a member of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution (Markland 1857: 94) and a teacher, taking over his father's school in Greenwich in 1813 (Troide 2004). After his death a notice was printed 'not because of his standing in the Church, but because he was for many years an eminent member of the scholastic profession', although it was noted that 'the instruction in his establishment allowed somewhat too much to classics, to the exclusion of other subjects' (Anon 1864: 214). While he does not seem to have published on either religious or antiquarian issues throughout his life, his interests were similar to John Josias' and their friendship appears to have been based around this rather than shared religious affiliations.

¹⁰⁰ See this chapter, p. 99.

So during the time he was undertaking his work on Old English materials, John Josias' immediate social circle seems to have contained a variety of individuals from the surrounding area who were members of the Anglican church, as was the norm for graduates of Oxford and Cambridge at the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, his relationships with these individuals were not only based upon shared religious concerns but also on shared literary and historical interests. The early nineteenth-century Anglican clergy were well positioned both financially and socially to pursue these types of pastime, and they seem to have followed their ecclesiastical predecessors in maintaining a keen interest in the history of England. This was partly reignited by the perceived threat of other religious movements, but by this time the study of the past also seems to have been pursued within a wider context than had been available to the Anglo-Saxonists of the preceding centuries. This can be seen by the readiness of certain clergymen to engage with members from different faiths and a greater willingness to interpret rather than alter materials that would have been considered heretical by previous generations.

Old English Studies at Oxford in the Early Nineteenth Century

During the years prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the development of Old English studies had faced a number of setbacks and obstacles. The first half of the eighteenth century had seen the deaths of many prominent Anglo-Saxonists and after Somner moved his dictionary to Oxford there was no work done on Old English at Cambridge until 1878 with the founding of the Elrington and Bosworth chair in Anglo-Saxon (University of Cambridge 1904: 228).¹⁰¹ While the eighteenth-century antiquarian movement had reawakened some interest in the Anglo-Saxon period, it was not combined with much attention to its academic study. Indeed, as discussed above,¹⁰² authors such as Percy, Gray, and the Wartons could not read Old English and '[s]ince most other critics of the medieval revival shared this handicap, little

¹⁰¹ The money to establish the chair was bequeathed by Joseph Bosworth (1789-1876) in 1867, but the funds were not transferred to the University until after his death and the position not filled until 1878 when Walter William Skeat (1835-1912) was elected (University of Cambridge 1904: 228).

¹⁰² See Chapter Two, p. 86.

advance in Anglo-Saxon studies was made in the later eighteenth century' (Sabor 1997: 479). However, from the final decade of the eighteenth century the study of Old English began to gather pace at the University of Oxford. Many of the individuals who took part in this movement were to feature prominently in John Josias' life leading up to and during his preparation of *Illustrations*.

As discussed in the previous chapter,¹⁰³ Rawlinson had made a bequest to Oxford for the provision of an Anglo-Saxon chair in his will, but this remained vacant for a number of years due to a lack of interest from the University and difficulties in meeting the conditions he had placed upon the funding. It was not until 14 November, 1794 that the London *Times* announced the election of the first Rawlinson professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford:

On Thursday came on, in full Convocation, the Election of the First Anglo-Saxon Professor, pursuant to the will of the late Dr. Rawlinson. The candidates were the Rev. William Finch LL. D. and the Rev. Charles Mayo, M. A. Fellows of St. John's College. On calling up the Votes the numbers were for Dr. Finch 101, for Mr. Mayo 167. – Whereupon Mr. Mayo was declared elected.

(*Times* 1794, cited in Tashjian, Tashjian and Enright 1990: 91)

As Rawlinson was a graduate of St John's, he had stipulated that the first and fifth scholar elected to the chair also should be from that college, so both Charles Mayo (1767-1858) and William Finch (1747-1810) were appropriate choices. Finch was a clergyman who a few years later delivered the Bampton Lectures, speaking on *The Objections of Infidel Historians and Other Writers against Christianity* (1797). However with a majority of sixty-six votes Mayo was elected, just before John Josias was to arrive at Oxford himself in the latter part of 1796.

Mayo was an Anglican clergyman who had matriculated at St John's College in 1785 and had been made a fellow there in 1788 (C. H. Mayo and Haigh

¹⁰³ See Chapter Two, p. 71.

2004). After his ordination in 1791, he received his M. A. in 1793 and B. D. in 1796 (*ibid.*). Little is known of his time in the Anglo-Saxon chair, but a few contemporary reports confirm that he did deliver lectures on the subject. The above-mentioned Samuel Parr, Charles Parr Burney's godfather, wrote that 'his lectures were well received' (*ibid.*). However, Bennett (1982: 222) notes that

[t]hough the learned Samuel Parr said that Mayo's lectures were much applauded, we know from De Quincey that Parr was not always a reliable witness.¹⁰⁴ It seems doubtful whether Mayo knew much Old English. Daniel Prince, a prominent Oxford bookseller at the time, wrote that there was no market there for books in that language; which is hardly surprising since it formed no part of the curriculum.

Another contemporary who also wrote of Mayo's time as professor of Anglo-Saxon was William Seward (1747-1799), a friend of Charles Parr Burney's father and Johnson, as well as a member of both the Society of Antiquaries and Royal Society (Dille 2004).¹⁰⁵ In the second volume of his *Biographiana* (1799) he comments that

[i]n consequence of the connection between the Saxon and the English law, Dr. Rawlinson left a sum of money to establish a professorship of the Saxon language at Oxford. It has been, for these last two years, held with great credit by the ingenious Mr. Mayo, Fellow of St. John's College.

(Seward 1799: 456)

However, as Seward was not at Oxford during this time it is unlikely he attended any of Mayo's lectures and these comments may be the result of what Frances D'Arblay née Burney (1752-1840), Charles Parr Burney's aunt,

¹⁰⁴ Thomas De Quincey (1785-1859), English essayist and author of *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1821). The fifth volume of his *Works* contained an essay entitled 'Dr. Samuel Parr: or, Whiggism in its Relations to Literature' (De Quincey 1862: 30-193).

¹⁰⁵ Although on his election to the Royal Society, Seward is said to have quipped that FRS stood for 'Fellow Remarkably Stupid' (Dille 2004).

described as his ‘solid benevolence and worth’ (Dille 2004), rather than any first-hand knowledge of Mayo’s teaching.

Another difficulty in ascertaining Mayo’s knowledge of Old English is that he did not publish on the subject. Prior to accepting the Anglo-Saxon chair his most important book was *A Chronological History of the European States: with their Discoveries and Settlements, from the Treaty of Nimeguen in 1678 to the Close of the Year 1792* (1793), a text that was said to display the author’s ‘uncommon diligence, and great ingenuity’ although ‘[f]rom errors and inaccuracies, it is not entirely free’ (Anon 1795: 224). However, this work dealt with a later period of time than necessitated any mention of the Anglo-Saxons. In 1800, Mayo made fleeting reference to the Anglo-Saxon period in his article on the ‘Prices of Grain, Cattle, and Labour in England’, which perhaps suggests his research interests in this area:

At a time when the attention of every individual in this kingdom has been turned to the enormous price of Grain, the following curious extracts selected by the Rev. Charles Mayo, of Seend, cannot but prove particularly interesting to the public: -

AGES PRECEDING THE CONQUEST.

Five Saxon pence were a shilling: and 48s. made 2 pound in weight and denomination.

Corn. – In 1043, a horse load, or quarter of wheat was sold for the high price of 60 pence, or 12 Saxon shillings, a fourth part of a pound of silver.

(C. Mayo 1800: 143)

Mayo is also known to have written in response to a publication by Samuel Henshall (1764/5-1807), who is discussed further below,¹⁰⁶ in which he criticised his methods of interpreting Old English, suggesting that he had some knowledge of the language.

No record survives of whether John Josias attended Mayo’s lectures, although as a student of Christ Church this seems very likely. John Josias graduated

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter Three, pp. 111-112 and Chapter Six, pp. 260-263.

from the college the year before reforms were introduced at Oxford that changed the curriculum and introduced the Honours system.¹⁰⁷ When these reforms were made, in many respects they followed a structure that had been in Christ Church for a number of years:

Students would be asked to construe passages from at least three classical authors 'of the best age and stamp' [...] In addition, they would be quizzed on various aspects of Greek and Latin grammar and asked to translate passages of English into Latin [...] Aristotle remained central to the undergraduate syllabus [...] the Greek New Testament and the Thirty-Nine Articles, were made a compulsory part of the examination for the first time, again paralleling moves taken at the college level at Christ Church from the late seventeenth century.

(H. Ellis 2011: 157)

Although Old English did not have the authority of the classical languages, against the backdrop of the French Revolution and then the Napoleonic Wars the study of vernacular literature became ever more relevant for scholars seeking to define a uniquely English identity. It therefore seems plausible that a Christ Church graduate at this time would have studied Old English as well as literature from the classical period.

John Josias certainly knew some of Mayo's contemporaries. In 1800, he wrote to William Daniel from Christ Church mentioning William Crowe (1745-1829), public orator at the University of Oxford from 1784 until his death (Appendix 1:1). Crowe was said to be 'ultra-whig, almost a republican' and was a 'celebrated public orator' (Courtney and Mills 2004). Later, while John Josias was at Oxford himself, he and Crowe attended at least one university event together and it seems likely that they would have met during other university occasions (see Appendix 1:1 and Appendix 1:22). Crowe died at Bath, near to

¹⁰⁷ *For Degrees in Arts*. 1801. By the Examination State of 1801 it was left to the option of each Candidate, whether he would offer himself for the ordinary Examination, or for the more strict Examination held at Easter Term, at which Honours were awarded in proportion to the merits of the Candidates' (University of Oxford 1860: 146).

John Josias' home, having continued to work as public orator well into his old age (Courtney and Mills 2004).

During his undergraduate years John Josias is also likely to have attended lectures by James Hurdis (1763-1801), professor of Poetry (1793-1801) and resident of Cowley where John Josias would later become perpetual curate. Hurdis' lecture series began with the declaration '[t]hat my Lectures may not be obscured by quotation from any dead language, I shall draw every example that illustrates my remarks from the POETS OF GREAT BRITAIN' (Hurdis n.d., cited in Miller 1997: 78). Prior to Hurdis, the professor of Poetry at Oxford lectured in Latin and only on subjects related to classical literature. Hurdis was the first to deliver 'lectures on English in English', but these 'had little impact, historically or educationally, and the practice was not perpetuated' (Miller 1997: 291). However this focus on English literature may have had an influence on the young John Josias and he subscribed to a book of Hurdis' poetry, published posthumously by the author's sisters, appearing on the list of subscribers as a student of Christ Church (Hurdis 1808: xxxii).

As Mayo's five-year term as professor of Anglo-Saxon ended in 1800, John Josias was also at Oxford as an undergraduate student during the first year Thomas Hardcastle (1751-1814) occupied the position. *The Gentleman's Magazine* for November, 1800 announced

Nov. 12 The election of Anglo-Saxon Professor came on at
Oxford, when there voted, for

Thomas Hardcastle, of Merton, A. M. 148
Samuel Henshall, of Brazenose – $\frac{71}{219}$

when the former was declared duly elected.

(Anon 1800: 1097)

Little is known about Hardcastle, who had matriculated in Queen's College in 1769 and been a fellow of Merton from 1775 (Tashjian, Tashjian and Enright 1990: 91). However, he seems to have contributed little to the history of Old English studies as he never delivered any lectures on the Anglo-Saxon period,

never published on the subject, and left the post after only three years to marry.¹⁰⁸ He does not seem to have continued his academic career after leaving the Rawlinson chair and he died at Bath in 1814.¹⁰⁹

His opponent in the election, Samuel Henshall (1764/5-1807), was an early philologist who first came to the attention of the scholarly community with his *The Saxon and English Languages Reciprocally Illustrative of Each Other* (1798). In this he attempted '[t]o assert that no correct ideas can be collected from the laborious exertions of a Hickes, a Gibson, or a Wilkins; to affirm that their Latin interpretations are of little authority, unintelligible, and delusory' (Henshall 1798: 1). However, this text was publicly criticised by the above-mentioned Mayo and also by Tooke, whom Henshall claimed had a 'fiend-like mind' (Clement 2004).¹¹⁰ Yet Henshall persisted, believing 'he was the object of a plot to discredit him', although his later works were also brought into disrepute for their inaccuracies (*ibid.*). He seems to have had little knowledge of Old English, stating himself that '[t]he present investigator relies little on his own knowledge, but is confident in the errors of his opponents; he is better acquainted with antient Latin Records than Saxon Documents' (Henshall 1798: 1). Although Hardcastle was not a formidable opponent in the election for the chair, the tide of scholarly opinion seems to have been set against Henshall before the nominations took place.

Henshall was appointed as a public examiner at Oxford in 1801 (Clement 2004), so although there is no record of John Josias having known him they were both at Oxford at the same time. William Daniel mentioned Henshall briefly in *Illustrations* in a note on the *Battle of Brunanburh*, where he remarked 'the very whimsical views of etymology entertained by that

¹⁰⁸ 'His [Rawlinson's] foundation of a Saxon lecture in that university [University of Oxford] was only carried into effect about seven years ago, and has had three professors: of which only the first, the rev. Charles Mayo, read lectures. The second, Thomas Hardcastle, M. A. vacated it by marrying. The third [James Ingram] has only very recently been appointed' (Malcolm 1803: 437).

¹⁰⁹ 'Feb. 1. At Bath, aged 65, Rev. Thos. Hardcastle, formerly fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and Anglo-Saxon Professor in that University, Rector of Gamlingay, co. Cambridge, and of Wapley, co. Gloucester. It would be difficult to describe a character, in the several relations of life, more perfect, or more excellent' (Anon 1814: 204).

¹¹⁰ Henshall also referred to Tooke as a 'self-consequential snarler' and a 'venomous viper of democracy' (Aarsleff 1967: 77).

antiquary, exhibits much such a reflection of the original as the distorting mirrors employed in optical experiments present of natural objects: almost every word is grossly mistranslated' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxxx). However, in some respects Henshall's perseverance resulted in success. First, he demonstrated the value of interlinear glosses (Bailey 2002: 460), a method that is still used in modern editions of Old English today.¹¹¹ Second, he recognised that Old English should not be considered along the same grammatical lines as the classical languages. As will be discussed further below,¹¹² comparisons between Old English and Latin or Greek were to persist for many years and although Henshall may have been, as John Mitchell Kemble (1807-1857) would call him,¹¹³ an 'irrecoverable madman' he was not the last to seek to distance himself from the work of Hickes and the other early Anglo-Saxonists. A brief examination of Henshall's translation of *Cædmon's Hymn* is included in Chapter Six.¹¹⁴

In 1803, John Josias left Christ Church for a year to work at Westminster and James Ingram (1774-1850) was elected as the next professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford. Unlike his predecessors, Ingram conducted considerable research on Old English and was the first holder of the chair to publish on the subject. He was a fellow of Trinity, having been awarded his B. A. in 1796, M. A. in 1800, and finally B. D. in 1808 from there (Greenhill and Haigh 2009). He published his inaugural lecture in 1807, in which he appealed to his audience's sense of nationalism while continuing the established theme of anti-Catholic sentiment:

¹¹¹ Such as Marsden (2004).

¹¹² See, for example, Chapter Five, pp. 222-225.

¹¹³ '[F]inally in 1807, this irrecoverable madman favoured the world with his *Etymological Organic Reasoner*; of which, as well as the other labours of M. Henshall, it is enough to say, that any one who would be a Saxon scholar, must carefully avoid consulting them' (Kemble in Michel 1837: 15).

¹¹⁴ See Chapter Six, pp. 260-263.

The Romanists, however, will tell us, that we owe no part of our ecclesiastical system to our Saxon ancestors, because *they* received it from the Church of Rome. It is well known, indeed, that there is no religious establishment in Europe, which has not derived some inherent stains from this polluted source. But as the Church of Rome was less corrupt at that early period, when the Gospel was introduced amongst our Saxon ancestors, so the system of religious discipline established in this island at that time was by no means so degrading as it afterwards became, when the encroachments of that oppressive hierarchy began to threaten the total subjugation of Europe.

(Ingram 1807: 25)

By Ingram's time, Hume's suggestion that modern English institutions and culture had originated with the Norman Conquest was less attractive and again Old English texts were interrogated for evidence of laws, history, and religion pre-dating the Norman invasion (Aarsleff 1967: 170-171). However, rather than attempting to deny the early Catholic church's influence in England, it was now proposed that it had previously taken a less 'degrading' form than in the present day.

As Aarsleff (1967: 171-173) has shown, Ingram's nationalism also manifested itself in his approach to language. In his inaugural lecture Ingram claimed that the 'great mass of the people in this country are still of Saxon origin' (Ingram 1807: 3) and that present-day English was not 'compiled from the jarring and corrupted elements of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, but completely Anglo-Saxon in its whole idiom and construction' (13). However, he also believed that language change was due to 'gradual changes which have taken place according to the natural course of events' (18) and suggested that this could be observed in texts written over a period of time, such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Ingram went on to publish the first critical edition of the *Chronicle* in 1823, which contained a note referring readers to John Josias' work on the *Finnsburh Fragment* (J. J. Conybeare 1814o).¹¹⁵ Ingram's *Chronicle* is mentioned twice in *Illustrations*, but these are both later

¹¹⁵ Ingram (1823: 379) states that he had intended to print the *Finnsburh Fragment* 'but as Mr. Conybeare has, in some degree, anticipated the Editor in this respect, he has not thought it necessary to swell the volume by a repetition of it'.

notes added by William Daniel (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxxx-lxxxii).

Ingram's place in the historiography of Old English studies is significant and a fuller discussion of his role in terms of the growth of philology has been undertaken by Aarsleff (1967: 170-173), although a more detailed examination is still required to understand his role in the development of the discipline at this time. Nonetheless it has been remarked that with the publication of his *Chronicle* 'the narrative of Old English scholarship is commonly allowed to recommence' (Sweet 2004: 219). Yet what role Ingram may have played in John Josias' life directly is more difficult to ascertain. Ingram was said to have been 'too deeply absorbed in antiquarian research to take much part in the management of the college or the affairs of the university' (Greenhill and Haigh 2009), while at this time John Josias was not publishing on Old English and frequently travelled away from Oxford. However, unlike Mayo and Hardcastle, Ingram carried out considerable research in the area of Old English studies and this must have created some kind of precedent for when John Josias succeeded him to the chair of Anglo-Saxon.

The newspapers did not report who, if anyone, stood against John Josias in the election for the chair of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford that took place in 1808. Instead *The Gentleman's Magazine* simply notes that the vacancy had arisen due to 'lapse of time' (Anon 1808b: 1183), Ingram having reached the end of his five-year tenure. John Josias meet the conditions outlined by the Rawlinson bequest but it is not clear what other factors influenced the decision to appoint him, as he was elected having never published on the Anglo-Saxon period. Yet at that time there were growing 'calls for a more pragmatic, utilitarian education' to be provided at Oxford, in line with Enlightenment ideologies and developments in continental universities (W. Clark 2006: 455). One area that was particularly censured was the tradition of selecting professors based on '[m]edieval conceptions of appointment – based on protocols and electoral colleges instituted in founders' wills' (454). Nonetheless, John Josias' own lack of publications suggests that the movement towards electing better qualified individuals to university posts had not yet fully taken hold. Indeed, Carlyle

(1900) notes that ‘Anglo-Saxon professors at that time were sometimes defined as ‘persons willing to learn Anglo-Saxon’, showing that a history of scholarly achievement in a relevant field was not yet a requirement for election.

While holding the chair, however, John Josias did conduct research on the Anglo-Saxon period – although his first literary publication was not on Old English but Old French. *The Romance of Octavian* (J. J. Conybeare 1809) was an examination of a thirteenth-century romance contained in a Bodleian Library manuscript (MS Hatton 100). Yet even when publishing French, John Josias was attentive to its relationship with the history of English literature, as can be seen in his introduction to *Octavian* where he wrote that

[w]ith respect to the present abstract [*Octavian*], the Editor was induced to undertake it, both from the extreme scarcity, and from what appeared to himself the singular merit of the original. There are some perhaps, to whom this praise will seem exaggerated: but it may be urged in his defence, that those, whose acquaintance with the early writers of Romance extends only to such works as are preserved in an English dress, will form but a scanty and unfair estimate of their powers, either of expression or versification. At the period which gave birth to these fictions, our language was in a state by no means favourable to poetical composition. It had lost not only many of the words and phrases, but much also of the stateliness and uniformity of its parent Saxon; and what had been borrowed from the French, was as yet too scanty, and too imperfectly incorporated with the original dialect, to supply the deficiency.

(J. J. Conybeare 1809: iii-iv)

Later in the text John Josias included a note praising ‘the elegance’ with which both Thomas Warton and Ellis had studied this ‘parent Saxon’ in their respective publications *The History of English Poetry* (1774-1781) and *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances* (1805).¹¹⁶ Yet, feeling much further research was required and appealing to a growing sense of nationalism, John Josias remarked that ‘[i]t is not, perhaps, too much to hope, that the attention of English scholars may before long be directed to this

¹¹⁶ This contrasts with John Josias’ later views on these works, see Appendix 1:4.

interesting though neglected period of our literature' (J. J. Conybeare 1809: 49). Indeed by this time he had started this research himself, as another note in *Octavian* shows, he knew of both the Old English *Orosius* and Gospels (J. J. Conybeare 1809: 56), although he never published any remarks on these.¹¹⁷ So it is clear that by 1809, at the latest, John Josias had begun to study Old English texts and he continued to develop his knowledge in this area in the years that followed.

It has not been possible to find any contemporary accounts of how John Josias' lectures were received by his students, but some of their content is known from *Illustrations* in which a number of extracts were published '[f]rom the late Author's MS. Lectures of Anglo-Saxon poetry' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 214; Appendix 2:3). Thus we know that he delivered lectures on the poems today known as *The Ascension (On the Day of Judgement)*; (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 214-217), *Maxims I (B) (Gnomic Poem)*; (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 228-231), and Alfred's version of Boethius (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 256-269). Although the text was not printed in *Illustrations*, an extract from John Josias' lecture on *Advent Lyric Seven* is also included in the book (201), in which he notes that

[i]t will be readily agreed that this subject, from its sacred and mysterious nature, is ill adapted to the purposes of poetry. The general absence of taste and refinement which characterized the age in which the poem was originally written, may fairly be pleaded in defence of its author; but in the present day no such excuse could well be discovered for a translator. Indeed, I should have felt disposed to have passed over the poem without notice, had not the dramatic form in which it is written rendered it an object of some curiosity. Dialogues of this kind were probably in our own country, as in Greece, the earliest and rudest species of the drama; and that here preserved is unquestionably by many years the most ancient specimen of this kind of poetry existing in our native language.

¹¹⁷ It is likely that by this time John Josias had read Foxe's *The Gospels of the Fower Euangelistes* [...] (1571) and Barrington's *The Anglo-Saxon Version, from the Historian Orosius, by Ælfred the Great* (1773).

Advent Lyric Seven's source is not directly scriptural, being based on texts compiled from an Antiphonary from York (Bamberg, Stadtbibliothek, MS Misc. Patr. 17/B.II.10, ff. 133-162; see Muir (2000, vol. 2: 397)), and so such a justification was necessary in an Anglican context. But what distinguished John Josias from his predecessors here was how he judged the value of a text. As Calder (1982: 207) notes, John Josias 'laid bare the two great principles of judgement which scholar-critics have used in their literary histories of Old English: what is dramatic and tasteful (a rather variable tenet, to be sure) is good'. So by now it seems that a text could be in bad taste, by the standards of the time, but still be considered to have some literary merit in terms of its dramatic form. This premise continued to be employed throughout the nineteenth century and indeed it 'still finds employment occasionally today' (Calder 1982: 207). It was, however, a departure from most of the approaches that had been used to consider Old English texts previously.

As well as those items identified in *Illustrations* as having been prepared from the author's lecture notes, it is also likely that John Josias spoke about a number of other Old English texts. However, these texts were not prepared for *Illustrations* from his lecture scripts due to the availability of more recent publications that could be reproduced instead. So John Josias' students are likely to have also heard lectures on Old English metrics, *Cædmon's Hymn*, *Bede's Death Song*, *Widsith*, *Beowulf*, *The Grave* and a variety of other materials from various manuscripts. However, as a fuller discussion of the texts in *Illustrations* is included in Part II of this thesis, the following will instead consider the individuals John Josias knew while he was the professor of Anglo-Saxon at the University of Oxford.

Elijah Barwell Impey (1780-1849) described John Josias as his 'dearest friend and inseparable companion both at Westminster and at Oxford' (Welch 1852: 448), having enrolled in Christ Church in 1799, three years after John Josias, where he remained 'a student on the foundation till his death 3 May 1849' (Keene 1891). He also must have known the above mentioned Moysey,¹¹⁸ as they are listed as having been admitted to St Peter's College together when

¹¹⁸ See pp. 102-103 of this chapter.

they were fourteen years old (Welch 1852: 440). Impey had first pursued a military career, following his father who was the chief justice of Bengal, but he later retired from the army and devoted himself to literature (Keene 1891). His two major works were *Illustrations of German Poetry* (1841) and a biography of his father (1846). Although these were both written after John Josias' death, the two men shared common literary interests during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Indeed, John Josias wrote in his *Octavian* that 'to E. B. Impey, Esq. this trifle is, in testimony of sincere regard, dedicated' (J. J. Conybeare 1809: flyleaf) and Impey returned the gesture by publishing a poem about him two years later (Impey 1811: 193-196), acknowledging the earlier dedication from his 'learned and ingenious Friend' (196).¹¹⁹

Impey's two-volume *Illustrations of German Poetry* does not seem to have been a great commercial success and a contemporary review from the time stated that

MR. IMPEY'S original design seems to have been somewhat confused by subsequent alterations; and his arrangements are not so clear as might be wished. Still he has produced an interesting body of German poetry and literature, and himself evinced both talent and learning in his treatment of it.

(Anon 1841a: 105)

Yet regardless of the book's shortcomings, it is relevant to the current research because of Impey's approach to translating his German materials. His translations were produced in a manner remarkably similar to that used by John Josias, as can be seen from a comparison of two statements by the friends in their respective books:

¹¹⁹ One verse from this poem discusses John Josias and Impey's similar interests:

Alike, but with unequal pace,
One classic path we lov'd to trace;
Each breast one soul inform'd:
Joint minstrels of the selfsame rhyme,
We've trimm'd our taper from the chime
Of midnight to the matin prime,
With mutual rapture warm'd.

(Impey 1811: 194)

He [the current author] has added a second translation, as nearly literal as the metre would allow, into English blank verse. This mode of publishing the whole work might, perhaps, be the best adapted for general reading, and would, at the same time, present the fairest transcript of the original.

(J. J. Conybeare 1809: 50)

The following attempt to translate what has been perhaps too hastily pronounced untranslatable into English verse, originated in a wish to produce something more in the spirit of the original, than can be conveyed by a translation in prose, which had been suggested as the only alternative.

(Impey 1841, vol. 1: 113)

This shows that the practice of providing translations aimed at capturing the original feeling of a text, as opposed to providing entirely literal translations, was still being used many years after *Illustrations* was published. Today little is known about Impey and further research is required to better establish his role amongst the scholars at Oxford in the nineteenth century.

Another acquaintance who appears to have been at Oxford around the same time John Josias held the Anglo-Saxon chair was Philip Bliss (1787-1857), who matriculated at St John's to study law in 1806 (Bell 2004). Bliss was also a clergyman, having been ordained deacon in 1817 and priest in 1818, although he was said to have taken 'little active interest' in his parish (*ibid.*). Instead Bliss' passion was for antiquities and book collecting, which both played an essential role in his professional life from 1808 when he became an assistant at the Bodleian Library (*ibid.*). In his preface to *Athenæ Oxonienses*, a book by the English antiquary Antony Wood (1632-1695) on the history of writers and bishops from Oxford, Bliss (1813: 15) wrote that

[t]o my friend Mr. Conybeare, of Christ Church, I am indebted for several corrections and hints, by which these volumes are rendered far more valuable and complete than they could have been without such assistance.

As well as this example of the two men working together, it is also known that Bliss first heard of the *Finnsburh Fragment* from John Josias, and a transcription of John Josias' introduction to the text (J. J. Conybeare 1814o) appears in Bliss' manuscript notes (Houghton Library, MS Eng. 540) and in the *Commonplace Book of Rev. Philip Bliss* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Don. e. 132-3; Allan 2010: 118). At a time when John Josias was making use of a number of manuscripts from the Bodleian Library, Bliss must have been a useful associate.¹²⁰

Two other figures who knew John Josias at Oxford were Thomas Gaisford (1779-1855) and Peter Elmsley (1774-1825), both Christ Church graduates and accomplished scholars in their own right. The two men had clashed over the above-mentioned reforms to Oxford's degree structure at the beginning of the century. Gaisford disliked these reforms and favoured the individual autonomy of the colleges, while Robert Southey (1774-1843), who will be returned to below,¹²¹ praised his friend Elmsley for attempting 'to bridge the gap between undergraduates and dons' (Collard 2004). When the chair of Greek at Oxford had become vacant in 1812, it had been expected that Elmsley would be elected to it but Gaisford was chosen instead – apparently because Elmsley was a whig (Lloyd-Jones 2004). Although he published many scholarly articles on Greek tragedies, Elmsley never got a second chance at the chair as Gaisford would go on to hold it for the next forty-three years (*ibid.*). Before he returned to Oxford to live in 1818, Elmsley was often away travelling on the Continent or in Edinburgh, yet in this latter part of his life he seems to have been well known to Buckland and William Daniel (see Appendices 1:10 and 1:18) and he was admired by scholars for his 'meticulous accuracy, exact observation of idiom, and wealth of illustrative matter' (Lloyd-Jones 2004). Likewise, Gaisford was praised for his work obtaining Greek manuscripts as a curator in the Bodleian Library and for making available previously unpublished manuscript materials (*ibid.*). Indeed, it was to Gaisford that John Josias

¹²⁰ Bliss was also responsible for providing Madden with the access to the Bodleian Library that facilitated his finding the lost English version of *Havelok the Dane* in 1826 (Matthews 1999b: 118-119). This find was acknowledged by William Daniel in *Illustrations* (in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxxviii).

¹²¹ See this chapter, pp. 128-131.

turned for advice on Greek texts (Appendix 1:6) when preparing his response to *Palæoromaica* (1822) the year following its publication (J. J. Conybeare 1823f) and he left him two works on early divinity in his will (National Archives, PRO B 11/1688).¹²² He also seems to have advised William Daniel on which of John Josias' works to publish after his death (see Appendix 1:15), and was personally sent a copy of the completed *Illustrations* (see Appendix 1:20).

It was amongst this group of learned scholars that John Josias carried out his duties as professor of Anglo-Saxon until 1812 when he was 'unanimously elected Professor of Poetry, in the room of Rev. Edward Copleston' (Anon 1812b: 759). Edward Copleston (1776-1849), clergyman and later bishop of Llandaff, was also known to John Josias and they were both elected as select preacher in the same year (Anon 1808a: 473). Copleston was in favour of the reforms at Oxford, but his aim was always ultimately 'the continued existence of an Anglican ruling élite and the dominance of Anglican institutions' (Brent 2004). However, his work lay primarily in the fields of theology and philosophy, perhaps explaining why he seems to have been taken by the claims made by the author of *Palæoromaica* that the New Testament's Greek had been translated from an original Latin source (see Appendix 1:6).¹²³

John Josias' successor to the Anglo-Saxon chair was Charles Dyson (1788-1860), who did not publish on Old English materials and was said to have delivered only a single lecture (Sanders 2004). When Dyson's five-year term ended in 1817, he was succeeded by Thomas Silver (d. 1853) who went on to produce two little known articles on the subject – *A Lecture on the Study of Anglo-Saxon* (1822) and *The Coronation Service, or Consecration of the Anglo-Saxon Kings, As it Illustrates the Origin of the Constitution* (1831), an extract of the former being reprinted in Shippey and Haarder (1998: 168-169). These works did not progress the study of Old English, offering only a 'good image' of 'English amateurishness' and expressing 'extreme uncertainty' on a number of issues (Shippey and Haarder 1998: 168). The last to hold the Anglo-Saxon

¹²² 'To the Reverend Thos Gaisford of Christ Church Oxford I leave the following books Venema Historia Ecclesiae Anthologia Graeca Stephani Carpzovius in Vet and Nov. Testamentum' (National Archives, PRO B 11/1688).

¹²³ See Chapter One, p. 38.

chair during John Josias' lifetime was Charles John Ridley (d. 1854), who held the position 1822-1827, after having been the librarian at University College for some years (Anon 1854: 519). Ridley was also a whig and 'in theory, and by every vote he gave, opposed to the authorities' (*ibid.*). However, he does not seem to have taught or published while holding the chair and there is no record of John Josias having had friendships or working relationships with any of these three men.

During the years after John Josias' own time as Rawlinson professor of Anglo-Saxon there was little particularly important work on Old English materials produced at Oxford. However it was not only within the University that early English texts were being studied and used, as there were also a number of important developments in the discipline that came from a diverse group of individuals related to the continuing antiquarian movement and the growth of Romanticism in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, as a later chapter discusses Mary's contribution to *Illustrations*,¹²⁴ the following will also briefly consider the changing role of women at this time.

Sharon Turner, the Romantics, English Philologists, and Women

As was discussed in the previous chapter, early Anglo-Saxonists were often motivated to examine Old English texts by their ecclesiastical concerns.¹²⁵ The church continued to influence Old English studies into the nineteenth century, but by this time religion was not the only factor motivating scholars to study the language. Against the backdrop of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, some scholars began to consider the origins of the British Empire and to attempt to define a uniquely English heritage in response to growing nationalism. As Bishop (2007: 55-56) remarks:

¹²⁴ See Chapter Five, pp. 182-203.

¹²⁵ See Chapter Two, pp. 52-58.

Great Britain entered the nineteenth century as one of several world powers, but, with the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815, it embarked upon an era of economic prosperity and territorial expansion far outstripping any of its rivals [...] [i]t was during this century of unprecedented imperium that Britons began to redefine themselves as players upon the world stage, and, when they reached for ideologies in which to envision themselves, their grasp fell upon the aesthetics of Romanticism, Classicism, and the new Pan-Germanicism. It was within these milieux that Great Britain rediscovered its past, particularly its Anglo-Saxon past.

This resulted in a 'rediscovery' not only of English history but particularly of the country's early literature and poetry (Payne 1982: 149-150). One individual who played a key part in this phenomenon was John Josias' contemporary Sharon Turner.

Sharon Turner (1768-1847)

Turner's four-volume *The History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1799-1805) was one of the most widely-read works on the Anglo-Saxon period produced around the turn of the nineteenth century. As Herbison (1996: 344) notes, Turner was 'the first English scholar to take a genuinely critical look at Old English poetry', and he so frequently updated and revised his books that they ran through seven editions, the last being edited posthumously by his son. Turner comments in the fourth edition of 1823 (vol. 3: iii), that when his work had first appeared over twenty years earlier 'the subject of the Anglo-Saxon antiquities had been nearly forgotten by the British public'. However, over the next quarter of a century he found that other authors 'followed in the same path' by publishing further Old English materials that 'spread the useful taste, and contributed to obtain for our venerable forefathers the attention of their enlightened posterity' (iv). Here Turner must have been thinking of texts such as Thorkelin's *De Danorum rebus gestis secul.* [...] (1815), Ingram's *The Saxon Chronicle* (1823), Bosworth's *The Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar* (1823), and most likely also of the numerous articles John Josias had published in both *British Bibliographer* and *Archaeologia* (see Bibliography A). However these texts had all been produced by and for scholars, while Turner had never been to university. His interest in the subject had developed as part of the

antiquarian movement, and unlike John Josias and the earlier Anglo-Saxonists, he was neither a clergyman nor an Oxford don.

Turner had left school at fifteen years old to become a lawyer, although he had by this time already acquired some knowledge of the classics (Loyn 2004). His interest in ancient literature was first ignited by reading Percy's Old Norse translations and he 'was surprised at the way historians, including even David Hume, had neglected the valuable social and philological wealth hidden in these sources' (*ibid.*). So he decided to write his own book, 'combining the fruits of antiquarian researches with a historical narrative' (Sweet 2004: 347). Against the backdrop of the medieval revival and works by authors such as Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832),¹²⁶ this focus on narrative contributed considerably to the success of his *The History of the Anglo-Saxons*. However this was not a work of narrative fiction, the likes of which would be popularised by Scott, but rather '[t]he reputation and authority of Turner's history rested upon solid empirical foundations' (*ibid.*). Turner represents a point at which the antiquarian movement gained a greater legitimacy, and the popularity of his books was to have a far reaching effect on the research that followed. In 1800, Turner was elected as a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, as a 'gentleman eminently versed in the History of Antiquities of this country, and author of the History of the Anglo-Saxons' (Loyn 2004).

Only one reference has been found showing that John Josias and Turner knew one another and may have been friends. In a letter to Mary dated 4 September, 1826, William Daniel transcribed part of a note he had received from Robert Southey in which he mentioned meeting John Josias 'twice, once was at Sharon Turner's where we past an evening together and he told me he had been looking into the Basque language' (Appendix 1:22). How frequent such visits were or on what terms is unknown, yet as Turner lived in Epsom,

¹²⁶ See this chapter, pp. 126-128.

some seventy miles away from Oxford, and further still from Batheaston, they may have been only occasional acquaintances.¹²⁷

Nonetheless each man undoubtedly knew the work of the other. In John Josias' *The Romance of Octavian*, he appealed for 'the publication of the Saxon Romance [*Beowulf*], from which Mr. Turner has given some extracts, and which that learned and accurate antiquary has already expressed a wish to see edited complete' (J. J. Conybeare 1809: 49). Indeed, it was Turner he believed was among the best suited to prepare this, stating that 'Mr. Turner has entered upon the field; and it remains only for himself, or some one of equal talents and information, to enlarge and continue what he has so ably begun' (49-50). Four years later, in his 'Further Observations on the Poetry of our Anglo-Saxon Ancestors' (1814f: xxviii-xxix, first read 9 December 1813; see Bibliography A), John Josias went on to note that '[t]he general history of Anglo-Saxon poetry, and the characteristic features of its diction and composition, have been so ably illustrated by the pen of Mr. Turner, as to leave but little to the industry of his successors in that field of literature'. Likewise, Turner often referred to John Josias' work both before and after his death – first citing his *Archaeologia* articles¹²⁸ and then later *Illustrations*,¹²⁹ which

¹²⁷ 'In a house off High Street and facing the Station of the Railway, which runs to Waterloo bridge, lived for many years, one of whose residence Epsom may well be proud, Sharon Turner, one of the clearest philosophers as well as sublime writers of any time' (Swete 1860: 24).

¹²⁸ For example, introducing an extract from John Josias' translation of *The Ascension*, Turner notes that '[t]here is a volume of miscellaneous Saxon poetry in the cathedral library at Exeter, the gift of its first bishop, Leofric, from which some interesting passages have been selected by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare. The curious student will find the original with a Latin translation, in the 17th volume of the *Archaeologia*' (Turner 1823, vol. 3: 324).

¹²⁹ For example, in his introduction to another extract from *The Ascension*, Turner notes that '[f]rom the same Exeter MS. Mr. J. Conybeare extracted an Anglo-Saxon hymn of thanksgiving on the creation, which claims our notice for the elegant imitations he has subjoined to convey to the English reader its contents' (Turner 1828, vol. 3: 335). He goes on to add that his Old English is reprinted from *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 244-248), but so that he does 'not borrow servilely from him [John Josias], I have inserted my own translation, assisted by that of Mr. W. C. [William Daniell]' (*ibid.*).

itself contained numerous references to Turner by both John Josias and William Daniel.¹³⁰

The Romantics

John Josias was not the only literary figure to make use of Turner's volumes, for they were also popular with four figures who would go on to define Romanticism in the first half of the nineteenth century – Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), William Wordsworth (1770-1850), Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), and Robert Southey (1774-1843). As A. Chandler (1971: 85) has shown, 'Scott and Wordsworth valued and used it [*The History of the Anglo-Saxons*]; Coleridge called Turner the "most honest" of English historians; and Southey believed that "so much new information was probably never laid before the public in any one historical publication". Both John Josias and Turner were products of the romantic age and although they also drew on a number of earlier traditions, as Payne (1982: 159) notes,

[t]he rediscovery of Old English poetry was, both chronologically and intellectually, a phenomenon of the romantic period. The same texts that influenced the revival of Old English also generated the creative aspects of romantic medievalism. Conversely, the literary taste, theory, and practice of the period are clearly reflected in the writings of the scholars and critics of Old English poetry.

So John Josias' interest in Old English resulted from the intellectual movements of the time and his publications, to some extent, also encouraged and propagated these ideas. However his influence on the medieval revival was not as great as Scott's, whose role in the popularisation of the Anglo-Saxon period was particularly far reaching. While it does not seem that the men were directly acquainted, although they undoubtedly knew each other's

¹³⁰ For example, John Josias cited Turner in each of the extracts for *Illustrations* he had prepared for the press before his death: *Cædmon's Hymn* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 6); *The Song of the Traveller* (today known as *Widsith*) (9); and *Beowulf* (30-31). In *Illustrations*, William Daniel also made reference to Turner in his essay on *Celtic Alliterative Metres* (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxi); in his *Catalogue* of surviving Old English texts (lxxviii, lxxx); and in his additional notes to *The Phoenix* (227).

work,¹³¹ a brief discussion of Scott has been included here because of the scale of his contribution to English literature at this time.

Like Turner, Scott was not a traditional scholar. Although he had attended the University of Edinburgh on two occasions, he does not seem to have had a particularly exceptional academic career and he never graduated (Hewitt 2004). However, he developed a keen interest in history and travelled extensively throughout Scotland visiting various historical sites during the last decade of the eighteenth century (*ibid.*). This interest motivated him to attempt an edition of *Sir Tristrem* (1804), a Middle English verse romance which survives in a single, incomplete copy in the Auchinleck manuscript (National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 19.2.1), but due to his lack of knowledge of medieval English and Arthurian legend this was not free from error. Indeed John Josias disagreed with Scott's belief that the romance had been written by Thomas the Rhymer (1814e, reprinted in *Illustrations* 1826: lxix), showing his greater scholarly knowledge of early English literature.¹³²

Yet Scott's greatest success was gained not from his scholarly publications, but rather from the poems and novels they inspired. Writing in his diary on 18 October, 1826, Scott compared himself to other authors who attempted to imitate his style:

They have to read old books and consult antiquarian collections to get their information – I write because I have long since read such works and possess thanks to a strong memory the information which they have to seek for. This leads to a dragging in historical details by head and shoulders, so that the interest of the main piece is lost in minute descriptions of events which do not affect its progress.

(Scott 1826, cited in Hayden 1970: 300)

¹³¹ John Josias mentioned Scott's *Sir Tristrem* (1804) in his 'Observations on the Poetry of our Anglo-Saxon Ancestors' (1814e, reprinted in *Illustrations* 1826: lxix) and in his notes to *Beowulf* (1826: 158). As is discussed in Chapter Five, p. 211, Scott is also known to have had a copy of *Illustrations* in his library.

¹³² Scott's mistake was based on the incorrect identification of the name 'Thomas' as Thomas the Rhymer, rather than identifying the text as an English version of a French poem by Thomas of Britain – a mistake that was repeated by Ellis in his *Specimens* (Santini 2010: 83). Ellis was also known to John Josias and William Daniel, see below, pp. 130-131.

It was this ability to add a popular literary element to historical materials that made Scott's work so successful. His third Waverley novel, *The Antiquary* (1816), was set in the final decade of the eighteenth century and dealt with this theme directly through its central character, Jonathan Oldbuck, whose antiquarian interests are the object of genial satire. *Ivanhoe* (1820), the fifth Waverley novel, provided a literary narrative for the Middle Ages and popularised materials that had previously been of limited interest to a general audience.¹³³ Addressing some of the themes also found in Turner's work, Scott's *Ivanhoe* discussed issues of English identity that were particularly relevant in relation to the situation in France and promoted a model of reconciliation (Crawford 2000: 317). So although he does not seem to have known John Josias personally, Scott's role in popularising the medieval period through his literature is of relevance here – a legacy that seems to have been recognised by William Daniel, who had planned to dedicate his Cædmon edition to him (Hall 1985: 392).

There is, however, evidence amongst the correspondence appended to this thesis that shows John Josias knew Southey, one of Scott's friends. Southey started life in circumstances similar to several of the individuals who have already been mentioned here, in that he was enrolled in school at Westminster in 1788 with the intention that he should carry on to Christ Church (Carnall 2004). However, as described in Chapter One,¹³⁴ he was expelled from the school and so took up a place at Balliol College in 1792, 'who took a more relaxed view' to his expulsion (*ibid.*). While at Oxford, Southey met Coleridge and the two became close friends, later going on to marry sisters, then soon after this Southey quit the college and embarked on a professional writing career (*ibid.*). After moving to Keswick he met Wordsworth through Coleridge and the men went on to share a common interest in 'how far the language of the middle and lower classes was adapted to poetry' (*ibid.*). Then, in 1813, Scott helped Southey to obtain the post of Poet Laureate, having refused the position himself (L. Madden 1972: 169-170). It is as the 'least known and least

¹³³ For example, Scott may have used John Josias' article on *King Edward and the Hermit* (J. J. Conybeare 1814i) to prepare *Ivanhoe*. See further Chapter Four, p. 154, n. 164.

¹³⁴ See Chapter One, p. 24, n. 18.

appreciated of the lake poets' that Southey is remembered today, his reputation having been overshadowed by the success of Coleridge and Wordsworth (Craig 2007: 8).

Southey knew both John Josias and William Daniel, although it seems they were not particularly well acquainted. Nonetheless, John Josias indicated him on a list of possible subscribers to *Illustrations* written between 1817 and 1821 (Appendix 1:5), and a copy of the book was indeed sent to him by William Daniel in 1826 (Appendix 1:20). On receiving the book, Southey wrote to William Daniel

I well remember you brother at Westminster tho' we never perhaps exchanged a word there for we were at different boarding houses and he was three or four years junior to me, *but I remember his age and his countenance*. In after life I only saw him twice, once was at Sharon Turner's where we past an evening together and he told me he had been looking into the Basque language. [...] The second and last time was when I received my honorary degree at Oxford. We met in the crowd and exchanged a few words of good will, and shook hands cordially like old schoolfellows who both felt that if opportunity had permitted they should have been old friends; and when I read in the newspaper of his death it was not without a feeling that in my individual capacity I had lost something in that great public loss.

(Appendix 1:22)

This admiration seems to have been genuinely expressed as Southey went on to make reference to John Josias' scholarship a number of times in his own publications. For example, in his *Life of the British Admirals* (1833: 59) he referred readers to 'Mr. Conybeare's most valuable volume' as a source of information on Byrhtnoth from *The Battle of Maldon*, a translation of which was added to *Illustrations* by William Daniel (in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxxxvii-xcvi), and in *The Doctor* (1838: 38) Southey mentioned John Josias as 'a man upon whose like we of his generation shall not look again', although in both these cases he was writing was many years after the scholar's death.

In daily life, Southey was an unrepentant opponent of Catholic emancipation (Speck 2006: 120) and ‘an acute and critical observer of English history and society’ (123). However, unlike his friend Scott, ‘his talents were more scholarly than creative’ (*ibid.*) and this is perhaps why he was so praised by William Daniel (see Appendix 1:22), especially during a time when a certain condescension was being expressed towards popular works of historical fiction.¹³⁵ Although traditionally categorised amongst the Lake Poets, a classification he objected to furiously, Southey published widely on a number of themes (Speck 2006: 123). Speck’s re-examination of Southey’s life, publications, and correspondence in *Robert Southey: Entire Man of Letters* (2006) is broadly similar to this research in terms of its aim of ‘setting Southey in historical context and restoring him to the map of English literature’ (Speck 2006: book jacket).

As well as Southey, John Josias knew some of Scott’s other friends, particularly those who published in the area of English literature. George Ellis (1753-1815) had been a student of Westminster and then Trinity College, Cambridge, where he had shown early promise as a writer.¹³⁶ He was introduced to Scott by a mutual friend while collecting materials for his books on early English literature, and from 1801 onwards the pair wrote to each other and met frequently (Lockhart 1837: 193-194). The men mostly discussed antiquarian issues and particularly, early on, Scott’s forthcoming *Sir Tristrem* (*ibid.*). Ellis’ two major works were both popular – *Specimens of the Early English Poetry* (1790) went through six editions between 1801 and 1851 and

¹³⁵ For example, George Chalmers (1742-1825), Scottish political writer and antiquarian, describes Scott’s notes as ‘loose and unlearned’, while Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (1781-1851), another contemporary antiquarian, states that ‘he never knew Scott’s opinion to be held of any value by antiquaries’ (Lang 2008: 22).

¹³⁶ Ellis’ first publication was an anonymous poem humorously praising Bath in the style of a heroic epic. It began as follows:

O THOU, who erst from *Baïa*’s smoaking plain,
Didst to these rocks transfer thy healing reign!
Lord of each stagnant and sulphurous ditch,
Great foe to vegetation and the itch!
Assist my song, inspire my votive lays,
For BATH demands, and BATH deserves my praise!

(G. Ellis 1777: 3)

Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances (1805) was reissued in 1811 and posthumously in 1845 (Rigg 2004).

When a new edition of Ellis' *Specimens of the Early English Poetry* was published in 1801, it was revised to complement Warton's *The History of English Poetry* (1774-1781) (Matthews 1999a: 71), just as John Josias' *Illustrations* was intended to do twenty-five years later.¹³⁷ As Matthews notes, this 'mixture of respect for Warton and the feeling that more needed to be done' characterised many of the publications on early English literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century (*ibid.*). Both Ellis and John Josias were alike in that their publications were intended to be more accessible to the general reader than Warton's unwieldy work, so their books did not exist 'in a domain of pure scholarship for the scholarly' (*ibid.*). Indeed, in this respect, John Josias' *The Romance of Octavian* (1809) was itself said to be 'in George Ellis's manner' (Anon 1824d: 376). In this book John Josias praised Ellis' work on Old English (J. J. Conybeare 1809: 49), although he seemed to have changed his mind after Ellis' death when he stated that the subject had been only 'cursorily and inaccurately touched upon by the late Mr. Ellis' (Appendix 1:4). However, in the context of promoting his own *Illustrations* as a new companion to Warton, this later remark was perhaps disingenuous.

In 1810, another of Scott's acquaintances, Henry Weber (1783-1818), author of *Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries* (1810), described John Josias as a friend.¹³⁸ Weber had been raised in England, but had been educated partly in Germany before studying medicine and later moving to Edinburgh (Matthews 2000: 158). He was said to have been 'a man of considerable learning' with 'a stock of curious antiquarian knowledge', gathered from reading widely across early European literature (Lockhart 1837:

¹³⁷ See Chapter Five, pp. 213-214.

¹³⁸ Writing about the English version of *Octavian*, Weber (1810: 375) notes that '[a] romantic incident which occurs in the German, and, as I am informed by my friend Mr Conybeare of Christ Church, Oxford, also in the original French, is injudiciously omitted in the English version. During the voyage one of the mariners endeavours to commit violence upon the person of the empress, but the lion hearing her cries, seizes upon him, and tears him to pieces'. This incident is discussed in John Josias' *Octavian* (J. J. Conybeare 1809: 11). John Josias also referred to Weber in his articles on *Sir Cleages* (1814h) and *King Edward and the Hermit* (1814i).

55). He met Scott between 1806 and 1807 and worked for some time as his assistant before embarking on his own literary career (Santini 2010: 126). Nevertheless, Weber's career was to be short. In 1813, Scott returned to Edinburgh and found him working in the library on a life of Swift, when suddenly Weber stood and produced two pistols with which he challenged Scott to a duel (Lockhart 1837: 56-57). Thereafter Weber was often unwell, until finally he was declared 'a hopeless lunatic' and moved to York Lunatic Asylum in 1816, where he lived, mostly at Scott's expense, until his death (*ibid.*).

Metrical Romances was the only work on Middle English that Weber ever produced, although he went on to publish several other studies on later English, European, and Oriental literature.¹³⁹ Weber spoke of some of the texts contained in *Metrical Romances* somewhat disparagingly – '[w]ith all their imperfections, they are certainly to the full as amusing as the prolix and wire-drawn moralities and second-hand narrations of Gower, Occleve, and Lydgate' (Weber 1810: ix). Indeed he complained that little of considerable literary merit survived of early English origin, in tones similar to those used by John Josias in his introduction to *Octavian* (1809).¹⁴⁰ So although he did value some texts, Weber dismissed others as 'dull' – such as *Guy of Warwick* – showing that late eighteenth-century prejudice against native romances continued into the early nineteenth century (Santini 2010: 127). So while Weber and John Josias' work was similar in that they both, to some degree, brought 'a vocabulary of aesthetic appreciation to the verse, unusual in the context of the criticism of the time' (Matthews 2000: 158), by the close of the first decade of the nineteenth century neither was applying this approach widely across the canon of early English literature.

¹³⁹ These later works were not always well received. For example, Weber's *Dramatic Works of John Ford* (1811) was subject to significant criticism and a number of scholarly responses. Weber failed to collate different editions of the plays and was said to lack sufficient knowledge of early English literature to produce a truly useful edition (Ross and Collins 2004c).

¹⁴⁰ 'At the period which gave birth to these fictions, our language was in a state by no means favourable to poetical composition' (J. J. Conybeare 1809: iv).

This is not the only comparison that can be drawn between John Josias and Weber. Weber's original aim in producing *Metrical Romances* echoed that in John Josias' *Octavian*:¹⁴¹

It was originally the wish of the editor to rescue all the ancient English romances, or, at least, all those which merit preservation for any reason whatever, from their present precarious existence in manuscript, and difficult accessibility in public libraries, and thus contribute his share to what is so very desirable for the study of language, a regular series of English metrical compositions, and to collect materials for some future compiler of that great desideratum, a dictionary of the ancient English tongue after the conquest.

(Weber 1810: x-xi)

If Weber had fulfilled this desideratum, *Metrical Romances* would have been a considerably more significant work. His mention of a dictionary certainly reflects the period's greater interest in lexicography, as discussed above.¹⁴² However, '[t]o his great mortification', Weber did not fulfil his ambition and instead printed 'a select portion only of the collections he had made and intended for publication' (Weber 1810: xi). Moreover, due to numerous errors in his Middle English transcriptions, Weber is not today considered to be any more accurate an editor than many of his contemporaries (Matthews 2000: 158).

Yet it may be that Weber's contribution to the development of Old English studies cannot be measured by considering his publications alone. John Josias appreciated Weber's help with his research, commenting that his 'extensive and accurate acquaintance with the literature of the middle ages, is joined to the greatest affability and readiness in supplying information' (J. J. Conybeare 1809: iii). Indeed it seems that Weber provided advice and help to other scholars and antiquarians of the time, as can be seen from his letter of 3 May 1814 to Jakob Grimm (1785-1863), German philologist, in which he remarked:

¹⁴¹ See Chapter Three, p. 115.

¹⁴² See Chapter Two, pp. 64-65 and 82.

As to the store of Saxon poems it is considerable, the most interesting is one on the battle of the Anglo-Saxons with the Danes, of which my friend the Rev. Mr. Conybeare, professor of Poetry at Oxford gave a few specimens with a translation, in an abstract of the French romance of Octavian at Oxford, printed privately, of which I hope to procure for your acceptance a copy from him.

(cited in Denecke and Greverus 1963: 501)

This highlights the unacknowledged role Weber seems to have played in the dissemination of literary information amongst these scholars at this time. It also confirms that the Grimms were aware of John Josias' work in both 1809 and 1826, when Mary sent them a copy of *Illustrations* (see Appendix 1:29). However, as is discussed in the following section, as a result of an argument about the application of philological approaches, the Grimms were later to receive letters containing much less favourable remarks about John Josias than Weber had made.

English Philologists

Little else is known of John Josias' relationship with the Grimm brothers, although William Daniel mentioned Wilhelm Grimm's (1786-1859) *Über Deutsche Runen* (1821) briefly in *Illustrations*, only to say rather disparagingly that Grimm had published the Old English *Rune Poem* 'very recently on the Continent with a German translation, which is very incorrect' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxxxiv; W. Grimm 1821: 217-222). However, Jakob Grimm in particular was to have a significant, if indirect, impact on John Josias' later reputation as a scholar due to his influence on the development of English philology and his friendship with a slightly later scholar of Old English: John Mitchell Kemble (1807-1857).

In the 1830s, many years after his death, John Josias' name was called into disrepute in a public argument regarding philology that took place primarily in *The Gentleman's Magazine* and which was mentioned in the Grimms' correspondence from the time (ed. Wiley 1971). Although he went on to become a prominent Anglo-Saxonist in his own right, the instigator of this argument, Kemble, was only seventeen years old when John Josias died and so the two

were not acquainted. However, during 1831, Kemble studied under Jakob Grimm in Göttingen and then took some of the German scholar's philological methods back with him to England. He later criticises John Josias for failing to take these approaches in *Illustrations* setting him against the context of the new philologists, a criticism that has also been levelled against him by more recent scholars such as Aarsleff (1967: 175)¹⁴³ and Momma and Powell (2007).¹⁴⁴

Modern scholars have defined the beginning of the new philological movement, of which Jakob Grimm was an early proponent, with various milestones. Nonetheless, most agree that Sir William Jones' lecture, 'On the Hindus' (1786), with its diachronic comparison of languages and consideration of them in terms of families, represents a significant development in the history of language studies. Yet, as Campbell (2006) has shown, Jones was not the first to discover the connections between Indo-European languages nor to use comparative linguistic evidence. Instead he was 'on the whole consistent with trends up to and including his day, weaker than some, better than others' (Campbell 2006: 261). Even so, although not the only one to do so, Jones did recognise and demonstrate the usefulness of three sources of evidence still used for investigating the relationships between languages today: vocabulary, grammar, and phonetics (*ibid.*). These areas of study were to replace different, earlier approaches to texts, which had been mainly concerned with reconstructing authoritative versions and understanding historical allusions.

However, these changes took place gradually. Aarsleff (1983: 4-5) proposes that the development of new philology at this time should be viewed as an intellectual development that began from the 'philosophically oriented preoccupations of the 1780's' and resulted in 'the philological concerns of the 1850's'. This approach recognises that

¹⁴³ See Chapter Six, p. 287.

¹⁴⁴ See Chapter Six, pp. 292-293.

history is not so simple that 1786 was the end of one tradition and the beginning of another. It was a beginning for both, and in England the battle lasted for two generations.

(Aarsleff 1983: 4)

Aarsleff also notes that English scholars took longer than many of their continental neighbours to adopt a more developed form of these approaches (*ibid.*). Indeed, it was not until Kemble returned to England from his time with Jakob Grimm, and Benjamin Thorpe (1782-1870) from his time with another early philologist and scholar in Denmark, Rasmus Christian Rask (1787-1832), that English philology can be seen to have gathered much momentum.

Little is recorded about Thorpe's background today, but in 1826 he is known to have gone to Copenhagen to study under Rask, who had been recently appointed to the chair of Literary History at the university there (Seccombe 2004). On his return, Thorpe (1834: iii) committed himself to the application of the philological method, so that 'the study of the old vernacular tongue of England, so much neglected at home, and so successfully cultivated by foreign philologists, shall be promoted in the land where it once flourished'. His *Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue* (1830) was a translation of Rask's influential *Angelsaksisk Sproglaere* (1817), but Thorpe removed any mention of the 'glorious pagan Scandinavian past' (Karkov 2001: 197), reflecting the ongoing influence of nationalism on English studies at the time. When his *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures in Anglo-Saxon* (1832) was published a couple of years later, prepared in part from notes sent to him by William Daniel,¹⁴⁵ it was 'hailed [...] as one of the best Old English texts yet issued' (Seccombe 2004). In consequence, Thorpe is today considered as 'the great exception to Kemble's charge against English scholars of apathy in relation to Anglo-Saxon literature and philology' (*ibid.*).

As Michaelis-Jena (1970: 107) has shown, Kemble's reputation as a philologist was only established after he returned from his time in Germany with Grimm. In a series of lectures delivered at the University of Cambridge, and in his

¹⁴⁵ See Chapter Four, pp. 164-165.

edition of *Beowulf* (1833), Kemble demonstrated his 'fervent approval' of Grimm's methods and so helped to promote them in England (*ibid.*). Nonetheless, it has been noted that 'Kemble has been treated very kindly by English scholars, as the founding father of their discipline', although he was 'from the very start, very reluctant to give credit to other scholars, even when he used their work' and eventually seems to have become 'clinically insane' (Shippey 2008: 231). Indeed, Kemble's reputation today remains for the most part intact, mostly because Grimm inserted some of his friend's materials into his *Deutsche Mythologie* (1835), which resulted in Kemble's views attracting considerable interest for many years afterwards. Yet, as Stark (1999: 97) observes, Thorpe and Kemble were not alone in their view that English philology was lagging behind important developments in continental countries like Germany. Nonetheless, when Kemble made this point in *The Gentleman's Magazine* it ignited a furious response from a number of other English scholars.

In April 1833, Kemble wrote a review of Thorpe's *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase* (1832) for *The Gentleman's Magazine*, in which he stated that English scholars were 'outstripped, in every direction, by our continental brethren' (Kemble 1833: 329). This led to a controversy that was fought through a series of public letters by Kemble, representing the 'new Saxonists' and continental philology, and the 'old Saxonists' who 'were antiquaries in the English tradition rather than philologists and were heavily represented in the publishing societies, especially in the Society of Antiquaries' (Aarsleff 1967: 195). Amongst those writing for the 'old' Anglo-Saxonists was Joseph Bosworth (1789-1876), who is believed to have supervised the production of an anonymously-published pamphlet against Kemble that appeared in 1835 (Anon 1835a; Aarsleff 1967: 204).

Bosworth had been educated at the University of Aberdeen, but later joined the University of Cambridge, and, like John Josias, he was a member of the clergy (Bradley and Haigh 2004). Although Kemble remained convinced for some time that the attacking correspondence in *The Gentleman's Magazine* was written by scholars from Oxford, he was wrong: Bosworth, like Kemble,

was a Cambridge man. However, unlike Kemble, Bosworth had praised John Josias' work on Old English materials in his *Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar* (1823), which he had acknowledged was

not only indebted to the printed works of some of the most eminent Saxon scholars for much valuable information, but for their epistolary communications during the progress of this Grammar. Amongst these he ought to name Sharon Turner, Esq. F. A. S., The Rev. J. J. Conybeare, A. M. late professor of Poetry at Oxford, and the Rev. J. Ingram, late Anglo-Saxon professor in the same University.

(Bosworth 1823: xxxvii)

In this book he made repeated reference to John Josias' publications (Bosworth 1823: 214, 223, 235-236) and commented that he was 'very much indebted to the Rev. J. J. Conybeare's remarks' (xxxii), praising him and Ingram for the 'common zeal and success' they had shown in promoting the study of Anglo-Saxon literature (xxxvii). However after the controversy with Kemble, by which time John Josias had been dead for nearly ten years and *Illustrations* available on sale for eight, his work was never to be viewed in such a positive light again.

While the debate of the 1830s is out with the remit of this study, and has been examined by both Wiley (1971: 9-10) and Aarsleff (1967: 195-205), some information relevant to John Josias is contained in a number of letters Kemble wrote to Jakob Grimm at this time.¹⁴⁶ Before the controversy broke in late September 1832, Kemble wrote to Grimm stating that '[a] few very badly copied fragments' from the Exeter Book had been published in *Illustrations* and that the manuscript was 'extremely important for language, poetry and Anglo-Saxon rune study' (cited in Wiley 1971: 23). He did not expand further on this statement about *Illustrations*, but the mention of 'rune study' perhaps hints that he had seen William Daniel's above-mentioned note on Wilhelm Grimm's edition of the *Rune Poem* (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826:

¹⁴⁶ Correspondence from Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung PreuBischer Kulturbesitz, 1 Berlin 30, Postfach 59, edited by Wiley (1971).

lxxxiv; W. Grimm 1821: 217-222).¹⁴⁷ Yet, as *The Gentleman's Magazine* controversy continued, Kemble started to speak out more vehemently against John Josias in his letters to Jakob Grimm. Writing in February 1835, Kemble stated 'I have written one letter crucifying Conybeare' (cited in Wiley 1971: 90) and then on 10 May 1835 he wrote that '[t]hree or four letters appeared, and I then wrote one smashing Conybeare, and of course through him, his school' (100). Kemble attacked John Josias, and through him all the Anglo-Saxonists at Oxford, although he was incorrect in his assumption that the opposing letters had originated there. Eventually he realised his mistake. In a letter to Grimm on 24 July 1835, he notes that

Oxford had certainly nothing to do either with the pamphlet, or the letters in the *Gentleman's Magazine* [...] and I therefore regret the sledge-hammer style in which I belaboured poor Conybeare. However, it cannot be helped [...] it does no harm to give these people every now and then a hint that there is some one watching them.

(cited Wiley 1971: 108)

However by then lasting damage to Conybeare's reputation had been done and Kemble does not seem ever to have publicly acknowledged his error.

One of John Josias' friends does seem to have tried to provide some balance to Kemble's views. In January 1824, the young Frederic Madden (1801-1873) was sent to spend time with his brother, Lewis Pryse Madden (1782-1839), in Batheaston where he met John Josias (Ackerman and Ackerman 1979: 8). As is discussed further in the following chapter,¹⁴⁸ John Josias developed a friendship with Madden during the last few months of his life and may have even tried to engage him to help with *Illustrations* (Ackerman and Ackerman 1979: 8). Madden responded to Kemble's public letters, under the signature 'K. N.', stating that while the 'new Saxonists' were essentially correct, more work in areas like manuscript collation was required before useful editions of Old

¹⁴⁷ See above, p. 134.

¹⁴⁸ See Chapter Four, p. 177.

English could be produced (Aarsleff 1967: 199-200). He was here perhaps thinking of John Josias' detailed *Beowulf* manuscript collation, and Madden's own editions went on to make use of a mixture of careful editing practices and philological approaches.

John Josias' work, like that of Bosworth and the other 'old' Anglo-Saxonists, cannot be placed firmly within the philological tradition. It did, however, engage with a number of issues that became increasingly important in English studies over the following decades. For example, John Josias drew a number of comparisons between Old English texts and those in Old Norse, referring to *Hrólfs saga kraka* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 163) and *Gunnlaugs saga* (9, 11, 154, 157-158, 60) in *Illustrations* with a comparative approach. On one of the last pages of *Illustrations* prepared by John Josias before his death, he notes of the dragon in *Beowulf*:

The names by which it is described in the present poem are 'Wurm' and 'Draca,' with the compounds 'Fir-draca' (the fire-drake), 'Eorth-draca' (the earth-drake), 'Eorth-scrafta' (the digger of the earth);¹⁴⁹ and the epithets derived from its imputed habits, 'hordes weard' (the guardian of the treasure), and 'beorges weard' (the guardian of the mountain). Names evidently derived from the same roots are found in all the Teutonic dialects, and indeed in most of that larger group of cognate languages which has been denominated Indo-European. Thus we have the Icelandic 'Ormr' and 'Dreka,' the German 'Wurm' and 'Drach,' the Latin 'Vermis' and 'Draco,' the Greek 'δρακων,' the Celtic 'Draig' – and the Persian 'Kirim.'

(J. J. Conybeare 1826: 164)

As well as this recognition of the importance of cognate evidence, John Josias also acknowledged that English should be considered diachronically, as this kind of 'investigation would probably throw much light upon the gradual formation of present language' (J. J. Conybeare 1809: 49). From this it is clear that John Josias was aware of a number of the important discoveries made by

¹⁴⁹ John Josias' translation here does not accord with modern readings, which translate this compound with meanings such as 'cave' or 'underground chamber'. See, for example, Battles (1994).

the early philologists of his day. For example, he knew of Jones' research and made reference to it in his examination of *Beowulf*.¹⁵⁰ William Daniel also referred to Jones' ideas in his 'Investigation of the Celtic Alliterative Metres' (in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lvii-lxiv), stating that

[t]he Celtic languages still extant (or at least those languages which are usually denominated Celtic by philologists) are reducible to two branches [...] 1. The Hiberno-Scottish [sic], including the Irish, the Gaelic of the Scotch Highlands, and the Mank dialects; 2. The Cambro-British, including the Welsh, Cornish, and Armorican. The difference existing between these two principal branches is at least as striking as that which distinguishes the Greek from the Latin languages; the particular dialects of either agree as closely as the various dialects of Greek: both are clearly and nearly related to each other, and may be traced, though more remotely yet with equal certainty, to the great Indo-European race of tongues.

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lviii)

Here William Daniel correctly identifies both branches of the Insular Celtic languages, both the Goidelic and the Brythonic, and links these to Indo-European – an early use of this term, which had only been coined in 1813 and yet was used by both John Josias (1826: 164) and William Daniel (lvii, lviii).¹⁵¹ From a letter to Bosworth, William Daniel further notes that John Josias had read his translation of Rask (J. J. Conybeare 1826: xv).

This thesis does not, however, propose the John Josias should be considered alongside Thorpe and Kemble as an early English philologist. Rather it is suggested that his role was similar to another of his contemporaries, Richard Price (1790-1833), literary scholar and editor of *The History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century*

¹⁵⁰ 'The fictions in question do assuredly bear, if it may be so termed, an oriental rather than a northern aspect; and the solution of this phenomenon will be most successfully sought for in the hypothesis more recently suggested by those continental scholars, who, regarding the Gothic and the Sanscrit as cognate dialects, and identifying the character and worship of Odin with that of Buddha, claim for the whole of the Scandinavian mythology, an Asiatic origin of far more remote and mysterious antiquity' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 80).

¹⁵¹ Szemerényi (1999: 12) states that the term was first coined in 1813 by Thomas Young (1773-1829), English polymath and Egyptologist, but was not applied commonly or consistently in England until 1830.

by *Thomas Warton* (1824). Price was a sub-commissioner at the Public Record Commission, an organisation that promoted and sponsored publications containing antiquarian or historical information, and his knowledge of German and Scandinavian literature was spoken of favourably by other contemporary scholars such as Grimm, Thorkelin, and Thorpe (Norgate 2004). Yet Price's contribution to the development of Old English studies is comparable to John Josias' in that it has never been closely examined, perhaps partly because he 'did not live long enough to make the mark on British Anglo-Saxon studies which was hoped for' (Shippey and Haarder 1998: 27). Moreover, further similarities between his work and that of John Josias can be seen in the readiness of both men to draw parallels between early English texts and classical models, a pre-philological approach, illustrating that British romanticism was not at this time as influential as the movement had proven to be in Germany (*ibid.*).

Nonetheless, when considering how an understanding of philology developed amongst nineteenth-century English scholars, and so what it is reasonable to assume John Josias could have known of it, it must be remembered that Thorpe did not go to Copenhagen to study with Rask until 1826, the same year *Illustrations* was published, and did not return to London and publish his *Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue* until 1830 (Aarsleff 1983: 182). Furthermore, Kemble and Bosworth's disagreement took place in 1833, nearly a decade after John Josias' death. It seems unfair, therefore, that *Illustrations* should be criticised for being philologically 'inadequate' (Aarsleff 1983: 175). Instead the evidence suggests that John Josias not only knew of, but also supported, the philological approaches that were gradually becoming known in England towards the end of his life.

Women

Although considerable damage was done to John Josias' reputation during the 1830s, *Illustrations* was prepared for the press before Kemble's attack on the Oxford Anglo-Saxonists in *The Gentleman's Magazine* had taken place. However, as is demonstrated in Part II of this thesis, the book went through a complex editing procedure and a number of difficulties made its final

production an arduous process. This was due in part to the fact that *Illustrations* was not prepared for the press solely by William Daniel, as is generally asserted. A number of pieces of previously unpublished correspondence I have found show that Mary also played an editorial role. In order to consider her contribution to *Illustrations* in context it is necessary briefly to examine the changing role of women as authors and readers at this time.

While nineteenth-century clergymen and gentlemen enjoyed a university education and often joined learned organisations, the University of Oxford did not matriculate its first female student until 1920 (University of Oxford 2010) and the Society of Antiquaries did not permit female members until 1921 (Nurse 2008). Furthermore, it seems that women were actively discouraged from undertaking literary pursuits at this time, even when they had an obvious talent for such work. For example, writing in response to a letter in 1837, Southey encourages Charlotte Brontë (1816-1855) to dismiss the literary ambitions she had confided in him, claiming that

the daydreams in which you indulge are likely to produce a distempered state of mind [...] Literature cannot be the business of a woman's life and ought not to be. The more she is engaged in her proper duties, the less time she will have for it, even as a recreation.

(Southey 1837, cited in Teale 2005: 5)¹⁵²

Nonetheless, in spite of widespread disapproval from many individuals, women were not altogether absent from the literary world at this time, as eighteenth- and nineteenth-century figures such as Macaulay, Elstob, and Austen show.

¹⁵² In 1839, Southey married for a second time and his new wife, Caroline Anne Bowles (1786-1854), was a poet. Southey helped Caroline to publish her poetry and even collaborated with her on a poem about Robin Hood (Carnall 2004). This suggests that he may have revised his opinion on literary women in later years.

One of the numerous barriers to the education of women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was their inability, through lack of training, to read classical languages. As many scholarly works had been written in Latin this made a significant proportion of literature inaccessible to them. As Hoberman (1997: 16) notes, '[t]hroughout the nineteenth century, knowledge of Latin and Greek – required until after World War I for admission to Oxford and Cambridge – set young men apart from their female counterparts'. However, from William Daniel's correspondence to Mary one may infer that she could probably read at least some Latin (Appendix 1:17). This was not unknown at the time, but as Pearson (2000: 124-125) argues, learning classical languages was then considered a male preserve. This attitude caused women like Frances (Fanny) D'Arblay, née Burney (1752-1840) to make it 'absolutely clear that she was not transgressing the limits of femininity by reading the learned languages', by explaining to her literary circles that she always read Greek and Roman literature in translation (Pearson 2000: 124).

D'Arblay was the paternal aunt of the above-mentioned Charles Parr Burney,¹⁵³ and she is known to have socialised with figures such as the family friend Johnson and the historian Gibbon, whom she did not like (P. Rogers 2004a). She lived near John Josias and Mary in Bath between 1815 and 1818 (*ibid.*), although it is not known if they were acquainted. D'Arblay was a keen writer and her play *Edwy and Elgiva* (begun in 1788, performed 1795, not published until the twentieth century) deals with the end of King Eadwig's short reign (955-959) (Pearson 2000: 130). She drew her facts from Hume and accepted his view that

English culture began with the Norman conquest, and her Anglo-Saxons, in the words of the play's Prologue by her brother Charles, live in 'Mystery's gloom and Errors Maze', as did all England between the 'primitive simplicity' of the Celtic church and the Protestant Reformation.

(Pearson 2000: 135)

¹⁵³ See above, pp. 103-104.

Yet her knowledge of Anglo-Saxon materials suggests that research into this area by women was considered more socially acceptable than work on texts in the classical languages at this time. Pearson (2000) argues that Elstob had ‘not only legitimized women’s entry to literary discourse through the medium of Anglo-Saxon, but also defined Anglo-Saxon itself as a feminized discipline, ‘our Mother Tongue’, and therefore entirely ‘proper’ for scrutiny by ‘the FEMALES’” (Pearson 2000: 125). As will be discussed further in Chapter Five, Mary seems to have been able to read and understand Old English well enough to play a part in editing the materials used in *Illustrations*.¹⁵⁴

Nonetheless, identifying the place of women in the early historiography of Old English studies is difficult due to their position in society. Indeed Chance's (2005) collection of essays about female medievalists includes only two women who were born before the beginning of the nineteenth century: Elstob, and Anna Jameson (1794-1860), whose series *Sacred and Legendary Art* was published from 1848 onwards. Yet undoubtedly women were beginning to play a greater role in literary life at this time. Walsh (2001: 212) has shown that when Elstob's *An English-Saxon Homily on the Birth-Day of St Gregory* was published in 1709, 116 of the 271 subscribers to her book were women. O'Brien (2001: 125) also notes that women

were often directly addressed and targeted by later eighteenth-century historians, and, in general, their presence as a significant proportion of the readership exerted a transformative pressure on the tone, subject matter and forms of historical narrative [...] historians endeavoured to reflect female concerns and interests.

Indeed as Hester Chapone née Mulso (1727–1801), author of women’s conduct books and a friend of D’Arblay, argued in her *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind* (1773), the study of history ‘could compensate women for the lack of a classical education, offer them insights into the male public world and engage the imagination in ways more beneficial than the novel’ (O'Brien 2001: 125-

¹⁵⁴ See Chapter Five, pp. 182-203.

126). Mary's input into the production of *Illustrations* serves as a reminder that women should not be forgotten or overlooked in discussion of this early stage of the discipline's development.

Conclusions

From the correspondence provided as Part III of this thesis and a range of other literary sources, it has been possible to identify a number of John Josias' friends and acquaintances. This group included many who are still remembered and praised in the present day, showing that John Josias was someone who enjoyed relationships with many of the key figures of the period. Indeed at this time Old English does not seem to have been a subject studied in isolation, but rather one that was of interest to a broad range of interconnected individuals with diverse interests. It could be said that John Josias' matriculation at Oxford in 1796 and subsequent removal to Batheaston in 1814 perfectly positioned him to meet other people who shared his interest in early English literature. This provided him with ample opportunity to consult the growing number of Old English sources and studies that were available at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

While earlier holders of the chair of Anglo-Saxon, like Silver and Dyson, seem to have made little impact on Old English studies or on the other scholars and authors around them, John Josias was a prominent figure who won the respect of many of his contemporaries. His academic research reflected the attitudes and concerns of his age, yet he was responsible for furthering our knowledge about Old English in several demonstrable ways. This contribution was recognised in his own time, but has not been adequately acknowledged by scholars since. The introduction of philological approaches to Old English in the years immediately following his death led to John Josias' identification with the 'old Saxonists' and his research was dismissed as 'non-philological' and thus of little consequence to the development of the discipline. This thesis proposes instead that his work might best be described as 'pre-philological'. John Josias' death in 1824 prevented his ever seeing the significant advances in the discipline that took place during the decades immediately following, yet for many years his research continued to inform the work of later scholars.

John Josias' major contribution to Old English studies was always intended to be *Illustrations*, an ambitious project that was in development for many years but not realised until after his death. The second part of this thesis will consider the planning, production, and execution of the book, including an examination of the joint efforts by John Josias' brother, William Daniel, and his widow, Mary, that saw *Illustrations* through to its final publication.

Part II: *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (1826)

Chapter Four: The Preparation of *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*

Illustrations was first made available for sale to the general public on 31 July 1826 (see Appendix 1:20). However, the circumstances through which it came to be posthumously published have been rarely commented upon. The following examination considers how exactly the book came to take its final form, revealing a number of details that help to explain the discrepancies between the text as it was first announced to the public in 1817 (Appendix 1:4; J. J. Conybeare 1817e) and that which was eventually published (J. J. Conybeare 1826). This chapter will discuss what is known about *Illustrations* as it was planned by John Josias and how much progress he had made in preparing it by the time of his death. The following makes reference to unpublished Conybeare family correspondence to provide a greater understanding of the situation in which *Illustrations* was conceived, planned, and announced. Finally, John Josias' unfinished draft of the book is discussed, which was used as the basis for the completed publication. For the first time this will allow scholars to differentiate the author's work from that which was completed by the editors.

John Josias Conybeare's Plans for *Illustrations*

Origins of *Illustrations*

John Josias began developing his plan for *Illustrations* a number of years prior to his death, with the intention of combining some of his earlier research with other previously unpublished studies in a single work. William Daniel (in J. J. Conybeare 1826: iii) believed that the idea for *Illustrations* originated from 'the Terminal Lectures which, in virtue of that office [professor of Anglo-Saxon at the University of Oxford], he was called upon to deliver', therefore dating its conception to sometime after 1808, when his brother was appointed to the chair at the age of twenty-nine. However, John Josias does not seem to have had a proposal for the book in mind the following year, when he wrote calling for scholars better acquainted with the texts to undertake studies similar to those he later planned for the French portion of *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare

1809: v).¹⁵⁵ He went on to describe himself as being ‘totally unaccustomed to write for the press’ (vi), perhaps suggesting that even after the point John Josias took the chair of Anglo-Saxon he did not yet feel ready to plan or execute a book on the scale of *Illustrations*.

As discussed in Chapter One, John Josias was professor of Anglo-Saxon until 1812 when he resigned the post to become professor of Poetry at the University of Oxford.¹⁵⁶ As his brother stated, it seems likely that the idea for *Illustrations* was formed during his tenure as professor of Anglo-Saxon, because his role as professor of Poetry, perhaps counter-intuitively, was not concerned with the study of English literature. As late as 1849, it was said of the chair that

[t]he only treatise on the subject which can be said to be studied is the Poetics of Aristotle [...] Frequently, instead of teaching the great principles of poetry, it largely deals in renderings of pieces of English writers into Latin verse [...] Poetry, to be acceptable at Oxford, must be in Greek or Latin.

(Tait and Johnstone 1849: 530)

This focus on classical authors can also be seen in John Josias’ five-volume incomplete ‘Praelectiones academicae’ Latin notes from the period 1812-1821 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Top. Oxon. d. 392-6). Thus it seems the idea for *Illustrations*, or at least the formulation of the initial plan for the book, must have been developed sometime between 1809 and 1812.

In his preface to *Illustrations*, William Daniel (in J. J. Conybeare 1826: iv) observed that after John Josias accepted the chair of Poetry and moved to Batheaston in 1814 he spent less time on his academic studies, focusing instead on his new clerical duties. Even so, throughout this year John Josias published a number of articles on literary themes, including several on Old

¹⁵⁵ See pp. 157-158 of this chapter.

¹⁵⁶ See Chapter One, pp. 28-29.

English (J. J. Conybeare 1814a, 1814b, 1814c, 1814d, 1814e, 1814f, 1814o).¹⁵⁷ Yet these articles do not represent work carried out while living in Batheaston, for, as Bibliography A shows, these were all written (with the possible exception of 1814o) between February 1811 and December 1813. So it seems John Josias' research on Old English materials was set aside in 1814 and there is no evidence of him working on any relevant materials for several years thereafter.

It was not until 1817 that John Josias announced to the public his plans for *Illustrations* (Appendix 1:4; J. J. Conybeare 1817e). As mentioned in Chapter One, John Josias' primary intention was to attract subscribers to the volume to fund the erection of a school near his home in Batheaston.¹⁵⁸ In many respects, *Illustrations* was a suitable choice of publication for the purpose of generating income quickly as John Josias already had some partially-prepared materials, in the form of old lecture and research notes, that he could use in the book. He also must have been convinced that the book would be popular enough to attract sufficient subscribers to fund the building of a school, probably intending to target it at members of his extensive network of literary contacts. Indeed, in the back of John Josias' personal copy of Thorkelin's edition of *Beowulf* (London, British Library Additional Manuscript 71716, back interleaf 1r) there is a list of names written in his hand under the heading 'Presentation Copies', which seems to be an early draft of possible subscribers composed sometime between 1817 and 1821 (Appendix 1:5). The identification of the individuals and organisations named on this list will be returned to in Chapter Five,¹⁵⁹ but it is worth noting at this point that there are fewer than twenty copies accounted for here.

¹⁵⁷ J. J. Conybeare 1814a (173) refers to an article on *The Grave*, which today is usually categorised as an Early Middle rather than an Old English text. John Josias recognised this and stated that '[t]his short composition appears to present a specimen, not altogether uninteresting, of our language and poetry, at the latest period at which they could fairly be denominated Saxon. Productions of this æra are not (either in print or in manuscript) of very frequent occurrence'.

¹⁵⁸ See Chapter One, p. 35.

¹⁵⁹ See Chapter Five, pp. 209-212.

Even assuming that this represents only a small proportion of the potential subscribers John Josias had in mind, it would have been necessary to generate considerably more revenue to fund the school, presuming publication costs similar to those incurred by his brother in 1826. A letter from William Daniel to Mary states that *Illustrations* was produced in two sizes, with the large version costing £2 and the smaller 18s (Appendix 1:20). William Daniel estimated the total cost of producing the publication at around £320, so had John Josias incurred similar publishing costs he would have needed to raise this as well as the £500 it would cost to build the school (Lewis 1840: 148).¹⁶⁰ If the book had sold for similar prices, it would have been necessary to sell either 410 large editions, 912 small editions, or some combination of both to meet this financial target.

First Announcement of *Illustrations*

A note concerning John Josias' intention to produce a text entitled *Illustrations* was originally circulated during the autumn of 1817 (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: iv-v). More details on the proposed publication were then provided in the form of a letter dated 10 July 1817, printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for August of the same year (Appendix 1:4; J. J. Conybeare 1817e). At this time the book was to be called *Illustrations of the Early History of English and French Poetry* and was to include *Beowulf* (manuscript transcription and translation), the Old English poem now known as *Widsith*, various other poems from the Exeter Book ('in addition' to those he had already published in journals), a number of poems selected so as to construct 'a general survey of that province of our Poetical History', and some other later English poems (if there was sufficient space for them in the book).

¹⁶⁰ The relative value of these sums in today's money, using the Retail Price Index, shows that a large edition would cost £131 and a small edition £59. The cost of producing the book would be £21,000, while John Josias hoped to raise £32,800 to fund the building of the school. These figures are calculated based on a comparison with the value of money in 2010 rather than 2013 due to limited available data (Officer 2011).

Only one French text was mentioned by name, *Rout of Roncesvalles*,¹⁶¹ but this was intended to be only one ‘among the notices on early French Poetry’ that the volume would contain (*ibid.*).

John Josias had also decided on an approach to his materials by this point, stating in this same letter that ‘analyses will be drawn up as nearly as possible in the manner of those which have been admitted into the *Archæologia*’ (Appendix 1:4; J. J. Conybeare 1817e). By the time this was written, John Josias had contributed seven articles to this journal. Two of these were studies on Old English metrics, which considered alliteration, metre, and variation (J. J. Conybeare 1814e, 1814f). The others were studies of particular Old and Middle English texts:

- *The Grave*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343. Early Middle English poem. First publication of the poem (without the later thirteenth-century lines) with parallel English and Latin translations and an introduction explaining some circumstances of its age and style (J. J. Conybeare 1814a).
- *The Ascension*. Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501. Extracts from the Old English poem – ll. 161-172a, 180b-188, 199-201a, 220b-246, 337b-339. First publication of parts of the poem with parallel Latin and following English translations. Printed with an introduction and explanations of the narrative that takes place between the published extracts (J. J. Conybeare 1814b).
- *Soul and Body II*. Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501. Extracts from the Old English poem – ll. 1-23, 120b-121. First publication of extracts from the poem with parallel Latin and following English translations. Printed with an introduction and concluding remarks (J. J. Conybeare 1814c).

¹⁶¹ Today known as *La Chanson de Roland* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 23, ff. 1-36rv). A. Taylor (2002: 27-29) comments that only two other people were aware of this text prior to John Josias – Thomas Tyrwhitt (1730-1786) had mentioned it in the notes to his *Canterbury Tales* (1778) and Abbé Gervais de la Rue had published a few extracts in his *Essais Historiques sur les Bardes, les Jongleurs et les Trouvères* (1834), which did not appear until many years after he had examined the manuscript. However, neither of these men, nor John Josias, correctly identified the text. Francisque Michel (1809-1887) studied the manuscript in 1835 and declared it was a lost song said to have been sung by Taillefer of Duke William’s household. Although modern scholars cannot confirm this identification, Michel correctly notes that the text is ‘imagined as a song, something that a minstrel might sing, chant, or recite’ (A. Taylor 2002: 29). Palaeographical evidence dates the manuscript to the second quarter of the twelfth century, making it the earliest *Chanson de Geste* (A. Taylor 2002: 3). Neither John Josias nor William Daniel ever published on this text – see Appendices 1:4, 1:15, Chapter One, p. 20 and Chapter Five, pp. 187-189.

- *The Phoenix*. Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501. Extracts from the Old English poem – ll. 1-27, 81b-84. First publication of extracts from the poem with parallel Latin and following English translations. Printed with an introduction to poem and notes throughout (J. J. Conybeare 1814d).
- ‘A dear God what may this be’ and ‘Yet is God a courteous lord’.¹⁶² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vernon Eng. Poet. a. 1. Middle English verses. Brief introduction followed by both poems in their original spelling with some brief notes on vocabulary (J. J. Conybeare 1817c).

To better understand John Josias’ approach to editing Old English materials, it is useful to compare these *Archæologia* studies with those he published in *British Bibliographer*. These other articles also appeared in 1814, but they mostly considered texts from a later period, being primarily drawn from his examination of texts in the Ashmolean Collection at Oxford (Bodleian Library, MSS Ashmole). The texts he considered in these articles were:

- *Sir Cleges*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 61. Extract from the Middle English chivalric romance (ll. 538-570). First publication of the Ashmole version of the poem and a brief introduction to its manuscript context (J. J. Conybeare 1814h).¹⁶³
- *King Edward and the Hermit*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 61. First publication of the Middle English metrical romance with a brief introduction and some short notes (J. J. Conybeare 1814i).¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Where the text has no established modern title, the first line has been given.

¹⁶³ John Josias notes that Henry Weber (1783-1818) had already published the version of *Sir Cleges* preserved in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 19.1.11 (Advocates), fols. 71a-79b (Weber 1810: 329-352), which ‘he apprehends to be unique’ (J. J. Conybeare 1814h: 18). Laskaya and Salisbury (1995: 367) have since commented that ‘[d]espite the existence of two manuscripts and an unknown source, *Sir Cleges* is a poem often described as “unique” or “original”’. For further details of John Josias’ relationship with Weber see Chapter Three, pp. 131-134.

¹⁶⁴ John Josias refers his readers to Weber (1810) for an introduction to the genre of the poem. Child (1898: 72) states that *King Edward and the Hermit* inspired the sixteenth chapter of Scott’s *Ivanhoe* (1820). It seems likely that the author learnt of the poem from John Josias’ article, as it did not appear in print again until Hartshorne’s edition (1829: 293-321). Scott was certainly aware of these articles at a later date, citing John Josias (1814k) in his ‘Essay on Romance’ (1834: 210-211).

- *Chevy Chase* and ‘The epith off the dethe off the ryghte honourable lady Margrete countes of Darbe’. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 48. A discussion of the authorship and dating of these two Middle English poems, followed by an extract from the latter (J. J. Conybeare 1814j).¹⁶⁵
- ‘O God! what a world ys this now to se’ and ‘Now for the good chear that Y have had heare’. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 48. First publication of the two Middle English poems, with some explanatory notes and a brief introduction (J. J. Conybeare 1814k).¹⁶⁶
- Short literary notes on several issues (J. J. Conybeare 1814l).
 - First, a note stating that after examining Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 216, a Middle English fragment of *Apollonius of Tyre*, John Josias was certain that it was not translated from Greek.¹⁶⁷
 - Second, a new source for Shakespeare’s *King Lear* is proposed from ‘an English MS. apparently of the fifteenth century now before me, entitled by the transcriber “*de Gestis Romanorum & Vitis Patrum*”’.¹⁶⁸ It is also remarked that Bartholomew de Glanville also drew upon earlier sources.¹⁶⁹
 - Extracts from a Middle English poem by Henry Lord Morley preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 48 (‘Never was I lesse alone than being alone’) are printed for the first time with a brief introduction.
- ‘Wanderyng on my waye, as I was wonte for to wende’. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 48. First publication of the Middle English poem, with some explanatory notes and a brief introduction (J. J. Conybeare 1814m).

¹⁶⁵ John Josias believed *Chevy Chase* was written by Richard Sheale of Tamworth, Staffordshire, and that language forms suggesting earlier authorship could ‘be equally well accounted for by the supposition that its author wrote in the north of England, where our language had retained a more unpolished character than in the southern dialects’ (J. J. Conybeare 1814j: 99). However, modern scholars have shown that *Chevy Chase* is actually the first recorded version of the oral tale *The Hunting of the Cheviot* and is unlikely to have been composed by Sheale, although he may have performed it (A. Fox 2000: 1-3).

¹⁶⁶ In the introduction to this article John Josias conceded that there may have been an earlier version of *Chevy Chase*, yet he concludes that ‘although comparing it with the others [poems] attributed to him in the Ashmole MS. I cannot but still retain my opinion that the greater part of it is his own production’ (J. J. Conybeare 1814k).

¹⁶⁷ Archibald (1991: 193) states that this poem is a ‘verse fragment (one hundred and forty-two surviving lines) of a version translated from Latin into English by a priest from Wimborne in Dorset [...] preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript’.

¹⁶⁸ This seems to refer to the manuscript which is now London, British Library, MS Add. 9066, first edited by Frederic Madden in 1838. In his introduction to the edition Madden notes that this manuscript ‘was presented by the Rev. Will. Conybeare in 1832’ (F. Madden 1838: xiv).

¹⁶⁹ Also known as Bartholomew the Englishman and Bartholomaeus Anglicus, a Franciscan scholar. See further Dunn and Byrnes (1990: 490).

- *Dame Sirith*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86. First publication of lengthy extracts from the Middle English fabliau with an introduction and some brief notes (J. J. Conybeare 1814n).¹⁷⁰
- *Finnsburh Fragment*. First publication of the Old English poem since Hickes (1703-1705, vol. 1: 192)¹⁷¹ with the first English translation. Printed with a long introduction, then Old English half-lines with a facing literal Latin translation, and following English translation. Additional notes throughout (J. J. Conybeare 1814o).
- *Gui de Warewic* [fragment]. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS D 913 [?].¹⁷² Publication of the French text with some notes and footnoted English translation (J. J. Conybeare 1814p).

These *British Bibliographer* articles were formatted quite differently from those published in *Archaeologia*, in that they appeared with no translations, cursory introductions, and little additional commentary. The exception to this is the *Finnsburh Fragment*, which included a more detailed introduction, facing Latin translation, following English translation, and a higher frequency of notes. Arguably John Josias did not need to provide translations for the Middle English materials, but his treatment of the French *Gui de Warewic* is similarly brief. In his introduction to the *Finnsburh Fragment*, John Josias (1814o: 262) explained his decision to provide two translations of the text:

¹⁷⁰ Dame Sirith is said to be the only surviving Middle English fabliau that was not written by Chaucer (Nelson and Thomson 2002: 259). Price (1824: 429) printed several corrections to John Josias' notes on this text.

¹⁷¹ John Josias' version is based on Hickes' transcription, the original manuscript having been lost since his time and never recovered (previously London, Lambeth Library, MS 487).

¹⁷² John Josias only states that the poem is taken from 'a half sheet of parchment, which had been used as a fly-leaf to a life of Thomas à Becket, printed early in the sixteenth century, and preserved in the Bodleian Library' (J. J. Conybeare 1814p: 268). This appears to best match Ailes' (2007: 13) description of the items that are now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS D 913, fols 86-89. However, as this collection was compiled in 1861, it is difficult to establish if this was the manuscript John Josias refers to here.

I have adopted the Latin language, from the consideration that, as it admitted (like the Anglo-Saxon) of an inverted construction of sentence, it would enable me to translate word for word, which I have endeavoured to do with as much precision as I was capable of; and to this object all attempts at elegance, or even purity of style have of course been sacrificed. But as such a translation, though it may present with sufficient accuracy the literal meaning, and even the characteristic involution of sentence of the original, would still be totally inadequate to convey any notion of its merits as a poetical composition, I have been emboldened to add a second translation into English verse. In this I have retained the whole manner of the original without addition or transposition.

It therefore appears that by 1817 John Josias had developed a particular approach to Old English texts, having tested this in his previously published *Archaeologia* articles.¹⁷³ It was his intention to prepare his Old English materials in exactly this way in *Illustrations*.

Nonetheless, John Josias' plan was to publish a book called *Illustrations of the Early History of English and French Poetry*, so he also had to consider how to approach his French materials. Although he had primarily prepared English texts for publication before 1817, John Josias had been interested in French literature from the beginning of his academic career and had published twice on French materials before making *The Gentleman's Magazine* announcement: the above mentioned *Gui de Warewic* fragment (J. J. Conybeare 1814p) and the early-fourteenth-century *La romanz de Otheuien empereor de Rome* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 100; J. J. Conybeare 1809). In the preface to his privately published edition of the latter, which appeared in print with the English title *The Romance of Octavian*, he wrote that

the Editor cannot but wish, that the task of making known those treasures of early French poetry, which are contained in many of our public libraries, may be undertaken by persons whose talents and opportunities render them more fully capable of its execution.

(J. J. Conybeare 1809: v)

¹⁷³ See Bibliography A.

He went on to acknowledge a number of other scholars' contributions, but lamented that 'many poems, especially of the romantic kind, remain unpublished, if not unknown' (vi). Finally, he indicated his own motivations for preparing the text for the press, stating that '[a] sincere wish of promoting (however slightly) the knowledge of so interesting a branch of our national antiquities, has induced the Editor to offer this trifling contribution' (J. J. Conybeare 1809: vi). John Josias' early publications in French were notable, mostly because of the scarcity of the texts he selected and his recognition of the importance of making these available to the wider academic community. His knowledge of other similarly neglected texts, such as the *Rout of Roncesvalles*, must have informed his decision to include them in *Illustrations*.

However, John Josias' wish to include French texts in *Illustrations* was likely to have been for reasons beyond his desire to increase the amount of early French literature in print. When he studied later English texts he often found parallels in French literature, for example, writing that *King Edward and the Hermit* was an English 'answer to the fabliau of the French minstrels' (J. J. Conybeare 1814i: 81). Furthermore, consideration of French materials would occasionally reveal later English versions. In 1809, he commented of *The Romance of Octavian* that

[a] translation, or rather abridgement in English verse, in most respects far inferior to the original, is contained in an highly curious volume of manuscript English poetry, preserved in the British Museum. (MS. Cotton. Caligula. A. 1.) [...] [a]nother poem with the same title is said by Warton to be preserved in the public library at Cambridge.

(J. J. Conybeare 1809: ii)

Here John Josias identified two of the three English versions of the text known today, citing both Cambridge, University Library MS Ff. 2. 38 and London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A. 1, the other being in Thornton MS 91 held at Lincoln Cathedral Library (Hudson 1996: 51). In his original advertisement he had indicated that *Illustrations* was to be a 'general survey of [...] our Poetical History', and therefore may have deemed the inclusion of

the French texts necessary to fully explain the history of English literature after the Norman invasion.

By the time John Josias announced *Illustrations* in 1817, he had formulated a fairly comprehensive plan of the general outline and contents of the work. A number of the Old English texts selected for inclusion had already been printed in *Archaeologia*, and he had researched a number of others in both English and French. He had also established a format for publishing his Old English materials. Although there is no record of the exact timescale in which he had intended to publish *Illustrations*, it would appear that after he made the announcement in *The Gentleman's Magazine* the aim was to produce the book quite quickly to facilitate the building of the school.

Progress Made on *Illustrations* during John Josias Conybeare's Life

During the years between the announcement of *Illustrations* and John Josias' death in 1824, there is evidence some progress was made towards preparing the book for the press beyond his initial plans. However, it seems that John Josias was not continuously working on the book during this period; rather it was a project to which he intermittently returned. By identifying these stages of research activity, it has been possible to gauge how much progress was made on the book at different points in John Josias' academic career. In order to construct a complete picture of *Illustrations* as it existed at the time of the author's death, this information is combined with surviving details about John Josias' movements during this time, details of the proofreading process, and what is known about the form of the manuscript when William Daniel began editing it for publication.

John Josias' Publication History

A consideration of John Josias' research as it is reflected in his publication history shows that he had diverse scholarly interests and his focus was not always on the history of English literature. This was not unusual for academics in the early nineteenth century: as J. T. Klein (1990) observed, it was not until the middle of the century that German ideologies of specialisation and the rigid separation of disciplines became more prevalent in

the organisation of British universities. Therefore John Josias perhaps represents the last generation of ‘Renaissance men’ working at Oxford during a time when adherence to a specific academic discipline did not restrict him from pursuing polymathic interests.

These stages of activity can be seen most clearly if John Josias’ academic output is considered according to the date it was produced rather than when it was published (see Bibliography A). Until 1814 the majority of his publications were concerned with the history of literature, primarily English but with some attention also paid to French and classical authors. In 1813 he also published three articles on geology, the study of which both he and his brother were actively involved in at Oxford during this time.¹⁷⁴ However, between 1815 and the beginning of 1821 John Josias suddenly stopped producing articles for publication after the period of high productivity that characterised the earlier years of his career. During this time it appears that he only prepared a single essay, ‘On the Origin and Characteristics of Epitaphs, with Examples of Various Classes from the Abbey Church of Bath’, intended for inclusion in a book by his friend John Britton (J. J. Conybeare 1825).¹⁷⁵ As discussed in Chapter One, ill health, his father’s death, and being occupied with his clerical duties together seem to provide an explanation for this inactivity.¹⁷⁶

When John Josias started to publish again in 1821 he did not resume his research on literature immediately, but rather turned his attention back to geology. Between 1821 and 1823 he published a number of articles on this subject across various volumes of *The Annals of Philosophy*, yet nothing specifically on the history of English literature or language (although one of his articles did examine a historical scientific text, J. J. Conybeare 1822c). It was not until the end of 1823 that John Josias’ interests seem to have become at least partly literary once more. On 27 November 1823, he read a paper to the Society of Antiquaries on a fifteenth-century poem called *The Siege of Rouen* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Musaeo 124, ff. 28r-42v; published

¹⁷⁴ See Chapter One, pp. 43-44.

¹⁷⁵ See Chapter One, pp. 34-35.

¹⁷⁶ See Chapter One, pp. 36-38.

posthumously in J. J. Conybeare 1827). He then published on biblical translation theory in response to a text claiming the Bible was translated from a Latin original (J. J. Conybeare 1823f). Finally he prepared his Bampton Lectures for 1824 (J. J. Conybeare 1824), the last work he completed before his death.

His publication history suggests that, after an initial interest, John Josias produced few other studies on English texts. However, this does not mean that he ceased all work on the literary materials intended for *Illustrations*. By considering the surviving information concerning his research activities at this time, rather than focusing entirely on his publication record, it is possible to gain a fuller understanding of John Josias' preparation of the book during these years.

Research Interests

In 1809, John Josias highlighted two of the four major surviving Old English manuscripts that he believed were worthy of further study and examination in the years thereafter – the *Beowulf* section of London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius A. xv and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11 – stating that ‘the history of our vernacular poetry, during the Saxon æra, and the century immediately succeeding it, still offers a wide field for the labours of the antiquary’ (J. J. Conybeare 1809: 49). At this time John Josias was calling on Turner or another ‘of equal talents and information’ to undertake this work (50).¹⁷⁷ However, in the years following, as part of his role as professor of Anglo-Saxon, he ‘devoted much time to an examination of the Manuscript stores of the Bodleian and Cottonian libraries, and more than once visited Exeter’ (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: iv). After a number of years studying Old English manuscripts it seems John Josias eventually considered himself suitably qualified to undertake this research himself.

It is possible to gain some insight into John Josias' work on *Beowulf* at this time from his personal copy of Thorkelin's *De Danorum rebus gestis secul.* [...]

¹⁷⁷ See Chapter Three, pp. 125-126.

(London, British Library, Add. 71716).¹⁷⁸ This book contains many marginal annotations by John Josias along with an inscription on the flyleaf stating his name, the year 1817, and the words 'dono fratris'. This date coincides with the announcement of *Illustrations* in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, which mentioned John Josias' intention to include *Beowulf* (Appendix 1:4; J. J. Conybeare 1817e). It is also notable that William Daniel had an interest in John Josias' work at this early stage and knew his brother's intentions and scholarly interests well enough to buy him this book. John Josias seems to have used this text for a considerable length of time for, as has been discussed by Bolton (1974), it represents several 'generations' of notation:

In them [John Josias' notes] he makes it clear that he commenced the collation early in 1817 [...] and completed it on June 10; a second review of the material was completed on July 14. During 1818 and 1819 he returned to the task, and he made yet another review, concentrating on the Latin translation in Thk [Thorkelin], toward the end of October 1820. Early in 1821 he saw himself as turning the book over to the printers, presumably for *Illustrations*.

(Bolton 1974: 98-99)

So although John Josias did not publish on literary materials between 1815 and 1821, it is clear that he continued to work on *Beowulf*. Indeed, William Daniel recorded in his Preface to *Illustrations* a note written by John Josias in both Latin and Greek in which he marked the date he completed his analysis of the poem:

¹⁷⁸ A full digital facsimile of John Josias' copy of the Thorkelin edition can be accessed through Kiernan's *Electronic Beowulf* (2011).

Tandem (Deo tempus, copiam ac salutem sufficiente) labor in hunc librum impendendus (opere scilicet integro diligenter perlecto, compendio ejus Anglicè exarato, particulisque quamplurimus metricè, ad verbum quâ fieri potuit, redditis) absolutus est, exeunte mense Octobris A. S. H. 1820.¹⁷⁹

**Σοὶ χάρις ὅς πάντων μεδέεις, καὶ πάντα θεωρεῖς·
'Ἄλλὰ Σὺ δὸς μ' ἀπὸ τοῦδ' ὁσίωτερ' ἐπ' ἔργα τρέπεσθαι.** 180

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: v)

As *Beowulf* was one of the texts in *Illustrations* John Josias had mostly completed for the press before his death, it would seem he spent considerable time on this over the years and returned to the project regularly.

During this time, it also appears that John Josias was considering what other texts to include in *Illustrations*. At the back of his copy of Thorkelin's edition of *Beowulf* he wrote a list of Old English texts under the heading 'Anglo-Saxon poetry' (Appendix 1:5). William Daniel believed his brother had intended there to be about twenty texts in *Illustrations*, although he knew only ten of these (Appendix 1:14). This list seems to account for the discrepancy, as it contains texts John Josias prepared for *Illustrations* before his death (*Bede's Death Song*, *The Song of the Traveller* (today *Widsith*), and *Beowulf*), as well as others that were included by William Daniel from his brother's notes (extracts from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11, Alfred's version of Boethius, and 'aenigmata' from the Exeter Book). A number of other texts John Josias seems to have intended to reproduce from previously published editions: the Anglo-Norman *Horne-Child* (today *Havelok the Dane*) as preserved in *L'Estorie des Engleis* by Ritson (1802: 270-313); extracts of Cædmon from Junius (1655); *Judith* from a transcript of the *Beowulf* manuscript, also by Junius (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 74) in Thwaites (1698);¹⁸¹ *The Battle of Maldon* from David Casley's manuscript transcription in Hearne (1726); and Hickes'

¹⁷⁹ 'At last (with God's time and sufficient supply of safety) the labour spent on this book (the whole work certainly having been read through carefully, summary of its English issued, and very many parts rendered into verse, word for word where possible) was completed, as the month of October that ended in the year of the Saviour of Men, 1820'.

¹⁸⁰ 'Thanks, Thou who dost tend and all discern; But grant me hence to holier tasks to turn'. This translation is by H. C. Conybeare (1914: 27).

¹⁸¹ See further T. N. Hall 1996: 52.

(1703-1705: 135) transcription of the Old English *Rune Poem*. In several of these cases John Josias would have had no choice but to use an edited transcription as the basis of his own examination because the original documents were lost, but this also shows that he had read a wide variety of the sources for early literature that were available in print at this time. Together these texts come to a total of around twenty in all, as William Daniel had stated.

John Josias was certainly examining at least one of these previously published texts during this period. As Hall (1985) has shown, a copy of Edward Rowe More's *Figuræ quædam antiquæ ex Cædmonis monachi paraphraseos in Genesin* (1754), essentially a reissue of Junius' *Cædmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica Genesios* [...] (1655), was in John Josias' possession from 1812 (now Harvard University, Houghton Library, 12413.36.15). John Josias was aware of the significance of the manuscript from at least 1809 and had called for a scholar to republish sections 'accompanied by such explanations as should render them generally accessible' (J. J. Conybeare 1809: 50). John Josias began this task himself with the publication of two extracts from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11 in *The Romance of Octavian*, and then several years later, in 1814, he published a further extract in *Archaeologia*. All of these texts were also included in *Illustrations*:

- *Speech of Satan* (now *Genesis B*, ll. 356-378): reprinted in *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 190-192) from *The Romance of Octavian* (J. J. Conybeare 1809: 50-53).
- *The Overthrow of Pharaoh and the Egyptians in the Red Sea* (now *Exodus*, ll. 447-495): reprinted in *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 194-96) from *The Romance of Octavian* (J. J. Conybeare 1809: 53-55).
- *The Universal Deluge* (now *Genesis A*: ll.1371b-1404a): reprinted in *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 193-94) from *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1814d).

It appears that John Josias had prepared to undertake a new considerable study of these materials himself. Indeed, Hall (1985: 382) supports this idea by arguing that it is likely it was John Josias, rather than an earlier owner, who

had Mores' edition interleaved with blank note pages. Yet there is no evidence that John Josias made any progress with this research and he published no further extracts from the manuscript after 1814. As he seems to have planned to publish extracts from the Cædmon manuscript in *Illustrations*, it may be that he decided a separate edition was a less pressing necessity than he had previously considered it.¹⁸²

Around this time John Josias also did some collaborative work with several of his friends and fellow scholars, reading and offering advice on forthcoming publications, and occasionally contributing to these. For example, he is known to have helped his friend Philip Bliss (1787–1857), assistant and then junior sub-librarian at the Bodleian Library, with the publication of his edition of the seventeenth-century antiquarian Anthony Wood's *Athencæ Oxonienses*.¹⁸³ Bliss went on to publish three further volumes of this work before 1820 and, particularly as John Josias is known to have collaborated with him in a number of other cases,¹⁸⁴ his input to these volumes seems probable. As discussed above, John Josias also wrote a chapter on epitaphs in John Britton's *The History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church at Bath*, which, although not published until 1825, was almost certainly written during 1816-

¹⁸² After John Josias' death, Mores' book was passed to William Daniel who endeavoured to complete an edition himself, having by this time gained some reputation as an Old English scholar in his own right. In his unpublished manuscript diary from 20 January 1824, Madden notes 'Mr. C. has studied the poetry as his brother Mr. W. C. has the prose writings of the Anglo-Saxons, & each excels in his own province' (Madden 1824, cited in Hall 1985: 384). However, although William Daniel completed a translation of the text his edition was never finished. In around April 1831, William Daniel sent his notes and the interleaved edition to Thorpe, who then used these in the preparation of his own edition (1832).

¹⁸³ See Chapter Three, pp. 119-120.

¹⁸⁴ See Chapter Three, p. 121.

1817.¹⁸⁵ Although these kinds of collaborations did not directly feed into his work on *Illustrations*, they do show that John Josias was an active member of the literary community during these years.

Other evidence for John Josias' literary research is fragmentary and there are few sources for his movements at this time. William Daniel tells us that after John Josias decided to resume his work on *Illustrations*

the task of enlarging and methodizing his materials was recommenced with much ardour: but many delays intervened [...] the work so undertaken was allowed to proceed, though very gradually, and only as the occasional amusement of leisure hours.

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: iv-v)

So although John Josias did not continue to publish on Old English materials after 1814, his research on literary materials clearly continued. This explains

¹⁸⁵ In his autobiography Britton wrote the following about John Josias' chapter in his book:

This was written expressly for the volume by my much-beloved friend, the Rev. John Josias Conybeare, M. A., formerly of Christ-Church College, Oxford, but who had settled in the living of Bath-Easton when I commenced the volume now referred to. He was carried off in the prime of life, when he appeared to be fixed for many years in a happy home, and with every prospect of a long and joyous sojourn on earth. His amiable manners, kindly disposition, love of literature and art, and Christian conduct in professional duties and intercourse with the world, caused him to be beloved by all who knew him whilst living, and sincerely deplored in death. As he had rendered me such a gratifying favour, in the Essay alluded to, which I believe was amongst the latest of his writings, I was prompted to express my gratitude to, and esteem for, him, by inscribing the volume "to his memory".

(Britton 1850: 217-218)

See further Chapter One, pp. 34-35.

the means by which he came to have prepared the incomplete proofs for *Illustrations* that were passed to William Daniel after his death.¹⁸⁶

Prepared for the Press

John Josias was in London during June 1824, ‘partly in order to do some business connected with the printing of his *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, a few of whose proofs he had already revised’ (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 25). This was to be his last work on the book, as he died a few days later on 10 June while visiting his friend Stephen Groombridge at Blackheath.¹⁸⁷ It seems most likely that his printer was the University of Oxford’s Press – an organisation that consisted of a number of collaborating individuals, which in 1824 included Samuel Collingwood (1762-1841).¹⁸⁸ Collingwood and John Josias had a relationship going back a number of years as he had printed *The Romance of Octavian* (1809), while using the business name ‘Collingwood and Co.’ before becoming a partner in the Press. John Josias’ *An Examination of Certain Arguments Adduced in Support of the Hypothesis, ‘That the Received Text of the Greek Testament is a Translation from Latin’* [...] (1823f) had then been printed by Joseph Parker (d. 1850), who had joined Collingwood as a business partner at the Press from 1810 (Howsam 2002: 77). Collingwood was described in an obituary by the contemporary author George Valentine Cox (1786-1875) as follows:

¹⁸⁶ In 1826, William Daniel wrote to Mary

I have found a memorandum which shows that the work went to press in 1818 (a general list of dates in the blank leaf of a Virgil beginning with the year of his getting into college at Westminster and extending only to 19 which is left blank). This I copy because though it contains only a few short abbreviations it will be viewed by you with intense interest. Though Latin you cannot fail to understand it because you know all the events it records [?].

(Appendix 1:17)

This is the only reference to printing proofs being in preparation by 1818 found in the extant sources. It seems to refer to either an early form of the proofs for *Illustrations* that were passed to William Daniel after John Josias’ death, or possibly to proofs that were later discarded. No further details are available to confirm this either way with certainty.

¹⁸⁷ See Chapter One, pp. 39-40.

¹⁸⁸ Although Collingwood was based in Oxford, in the building that is now Blackwell’s Books on Broad Street, a number of the other partners in the Press at this time had offices in London, such as Joseph Parker (Howsam 2002: 77) and William Dawson (91).

JAN. I. Died Mr. Collingwood, the Superintendent of the University Press. It was a proof of the liberality of the University, that its chief printer was known to be a zealous Dissenter. He was an accomplished, amiable, and good man, as well as an excellent printer, in which character, from the liberal share of the profits granted to him by the University, he accumulated a considerable fortune. His widow was his fourth wife; or, as he used to say, his 'fourth edition'.

(Cox 1868: 300)

The Gentleman's Magazine for January 1841 further remarked that 'it may be truly said that no man better deserved the character of a sincere, practical Christian than the late Mr. Collingwood', although '[h]e was, we believe, an Independent' (Anon 1841b: 214).

As discussed in the previous chapter,¹⁸⁹ John Josias had several dissenting friends. Yet what is more likely than religious concerns to have influenced his choice of printer is that Collingwood seems to have been a skilled worker:

The accuracy of the books printed at Oxford during the long period of his superintendence was proverbial, and it is well known that many authors have acknowledged their obligations to Mr. C[ollingwood] for important suggestions and improvements during the progress of their works at the press.

(Anon 1841b: 214)

Nonetheless, William Daniel (in J. J. Conybeare 1826: vi) notes that 'the peculiar impediments attending on the typographical details' of *Illustrations* was one of the factors that slowed down its progress during his brother's lifetime, showing that the problem of obtaining a suitable type for printing Old English to some extent had continued from Somner's time.¹⁹⁰ Another possible cause of delay may have been related to the Press itself. During February 1810, it is said to have had difficulty fulfilling orders and one of the company's London partners, William Dawson, had to acknowledge that an order of bibles would be delayed 'chiefly on account of not being able to finish the paper,

¹⁸⁹ See Chapter Three, pp. 97-100.

¹⁹⁰ See Chapter Two, p. 63.

already made, the weather being so much against the finishing it' (Dawson 1810, cited in Howsam 2002: 91). It is unknown whether these problems had any direct influence on the progress of *Illustrations*, although Howsam (2002: 91) notes that the printer continued to experience delays for many years after this event.

During his trip to discuss the proofs for *Illustrations*, John Josias was also preparing a transcript of his Bampton Lectures that were to be published by the University Press, further supporting the proposal that this was the printer he planned to use for *Illustrations*. He completed the proofs for these lectures, excepting the errata and supplementary notes, and sent them with a letter to Collingwood on 1 June 1824 stating he would send the missing materials 'with all speed' (Appendix 1:7). However, John Josias never delivered these final materials as he died within two weeks of writing this letter. Collingwood decided it was 'inexpedient to delay the publication by attempting to supply these deficiencies' (Collingwood in J. J. Conybeare 1824: i) and the lectures were published without these later that year (J. J. Conybeare 1824). The reasons why *Illustrations* was posthumously published by Harding and Lepard rather than Collingwood are discussed further in the following chapter.¹⁹¹

William Daniel's 'Prefatory Notice' states exactly how much of *Illustrations* John Josias had completed by the time he took it to his printer:

he [John Josias] had at the time of his sudden decease only corrected the proofs as far as page 80, and left in a state of complete preparation for the press the transcript of that portion of the work which extends to page 163.

(William Daniel in J. J. Conybeare 1826: vi)

Thus the texts in the book that were completed by John Josias are *Cædmon's Hymn* and *Bede's Death Song* (six pages, pp. 3-8), *The Song of the Traveller* (today known as *Widsith*, twenty-one pages, pp. 9-29), and the majority of the section on *Beowulf* (fifty pages, pp. 30-80). After page eighty, there are eighty-

¹⁹¹ See Chapter Five, pp. 204-205.

three further pages of text that John Josias had prepared for the press but had not yet proofread. The section on *Beowulf* that was prepared by the author ends one third of the way down page 163, with the following editorial statement:

Here the copy transcribed by the late Author for the press terminated: but there were also extant some scattered references indicating the subjects which he had further intended to illustrate. These have been thrown together by the Editor into the following additional notes.

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 163)

Thereafter follows a further four and a half pages of remarks on *Beowulf* added by the editor, presumably based on the author's notes. Thus pp. 1-163 of *Illustrations* represents the part of the book containing the fewest editorial emendations. These texts were sourced and prepared by John Josias as described briefly below.

Cædmon's Hymn

The first of the poems prepared by John Josias for *Illustrations*, *Cædmon's Hymn*, spans only six pages of the book. John Josias' reasons for its inclusion are mentioned in his introduction to the work, where he stated that he believed it to be 'the earliest mention [...] of Saxon poetry which antiquaries have been able to discover' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 3). However, he did not consider the text to have much literary merit and after telling of Bede's admiration for the poet he wrote that '[i]t will scarcely be thought to merit the praises bestowed on it by the historian' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 5). Nonetheless, John Josias published *Cædmon's Hymn* in Old English with a facing Latin translation, along with a short introduction contextualising it amongst other literary remains. Wanley's Northumbrian version of the poem was also given

(Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 5. 16).¹⁹² Following the poem, John Josias included a discussion of issues related to the poem's authorship and transmission, such as whether it was originally composed in Old English or was translated from Bede's Latin (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 7) – a debate which has continued into the present day.¹⁹³ In his examination he referred the reader to several texts by other scholars on a number of issues, for example Turner (1805: 385-393), Lingard (1806, vol. 2: 521-522), and passages from J. Smith's edition of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (1722: 792).

John Josias stated at the beginning of his examination of *Cædmon's Hymn* that it is 'preserved in Alfred's translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 3).¹⁹⁴ However, a comparison of the substantive variations in his version of the poem with the surviving Old English manuscripts shows that John Josias did not base his own transcription on any of these (Appendix

¹⁹² Published by Wanley in his *Catalogus librorum septentrionalium* (in Hicke 1703-1705, vol. 2: 287) and John Josias in *Illustrations* (1826: 6). In a note within his study on *The Grave in Illustrations*, John Josias wrote

'Deorcæ.' This word in writings of an earlier date is uniformly spelt 'deorc,' or 'deorce.' The substitution indeed of the æ for the quiescent e, appears not to have prevailed till after the Conquest. This will show that the copy of Cædmon's hymn given by Wanley (page 287 of his Catalogue) is not, as some have supposed, more pure in its orthography than those published in Hicke and in Alfred's Bede.

(J. J. Conybeare 1826: 272)

John Josias followed Wanley in doubting that the Northumbrian *Cædmon's Hymn* was of the same eighth-century dating as the rest of the manuscript, stating '[t]here appears to me strong ground for thinking it the work of the 11th or 12th century, and of an inexperienced scribe' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 6). However, modern scholarship places the manuscript and the *Hymn* at the same date based on a series of notes preserved on f. 128v and on palaeographical and codicological evidence (see O'Donnell 2005: 89-90).

¹⁹³ Hicke believed that the poem represented a composition by a genuine Cædmon, but John Josias states that '[a]lthough there appears no very plausible reason in favour of this supposition, its direct refutation would be no easy task, and most readers would, in all probability, wish to be spared the discussion' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 7). However, this issue has continued to be debated into the present day. Cavill (2002) outlines the main arguments that have been proposed and concludes that although he 'falls short of proof' he believes 'the traditional view, that Bede paraphrased *Cædmon's Hymn*, to be more plausible and better aligned with the available evidence' (17). O'Donnell (2005: 177) tends towards an Old English original, and comments that '[t]he inconsistency between the Latin and vernacular versions of the poem is more difficult to explain [...] if we assume that Bede's paraphrase was the original text'.

¹⁹⁴ In John Josias' time the Old English translations of Bede were thought to have been done by King Alfred himself, but on the basis of dialectal forms they are now believed to be from a Mercian original (see further Fulk and Cain 2004: 64).

2:7).¹⁹⁵ Instead it seems that John Josias took his *Cædmon's Hymn* directly from Hickes' version of the poem, perhaps not a surprising conclusion as we know from Appendix 1:5 that he had planned to include some Old English materials from previously published texts in *Illustrations*. However, Hickes' transcription also varies in places from all the surviving manuscripts, suggesting he edited some of the readings (see further Plumer 2000: 268-270). John Josias reproduced these from Hickes, but did not cite his source.

After *Cædmon's Hymn*, John Josias also published for the first time 'one short fragment of Saxon Poetry the age and authenticity of which are beyond dispute, and which may fairly be regarded as belonging to the same æra of our language and versification' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 7). This fragment, today known as *Bede's Death Song*, was included by the author for comparison with the *Hymn* on the basis that he believed it could not 'have been written more than sixty years after the works of Cædmon himself' (*ibid.*). The poem is printed with both facing Latin and English translations and some brief remarks assigning its authorship with 'no doubt' to Bede (*ibid.*).

John Josias does not state which manuscript he transcribed *Bede's Death Song* from and it has not been possible to identify this with certainty as there are very few differences between the readings of the text across its numerous manuscript survivals.¹⁹⁶ However, variations such as l. 1 'neodfere', l. 2 'snottra', l. 3 'heonen', and l. 5 'wurðe' show it came from one of the five manuscripts in the Symeon group (Dobbie 1942: cvi), which are all copies of Symeon of Durham's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* from the early twelfth century.¹⁹⁷ Although John Josias worked at Oxford, suggesting the Bodleian manuscripts are the most likely sources, he also is known to have studied other manuscripts in the British Museum (see for example, J. J. Conybeare

¹⁹⁵ On manuscript survivals of *Cædmon's Hymn* see O'Donnell (2005: 78-97).

¹⁹⁶ See Dobbie (1942: 108) for the text of the poem showing all the manuscript variants in the West Saxon versions.

¹⁹⁷ Durham, Bishop Cosin's Library, MS V.II.6; London, British Library, MS Cotton Faustina A. v; York, Dean and Chapter Library, MS XVI.1.12; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc 700; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 6.

1809: ii) and spent time in York as a prebendary at the cathedral.¹⁹⁸ Thus the source of this first publication of *Bede's Death Song* is not entirely clear.

The Song of the Traveller

John Josias entitled his next text *The Song of the Traveller*, today known as *Widsith* (sole survival in the Exeter Book, ff. 84v-87r). Again John Josias did not appear to particularly admire the poetic merit of the piece, commenting that

[t]o the lover of poetry it has perhaps but little that will recommend it. For the greater part it exhibits scarcely more than a dry catalogue of names, enlivened by a few allusions to traditionary history, which, from the absence of all collateral documents, are highly obscure.

(J. J. Conybeare 1826: 9)

It seems that the inclusion of the poem as the second item in *Illustrations* was motivated by John Josias' dating of the text to the fifth century. Although he acknowledged that this date could not be confirmed, he stated '[t]he poem which follows, now published for the first time, owes its origin in all probability to a period yet more remote [than *Cædmon's Hymn*]' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 9). This theory was arrived at by dating some of the figures named in the text.¹⁹⁹ Chronologically this should have positioned *Widsith* first in *Illustrations*, but John Josias placed it second as the dating of the *Cædmon's Hymn* was 'clearly ascertained' while he was uncertain about his second text (*ibid.*).

As with the *Hymn*, John Josias first introduced the poem by setting it in the context of surviving Anglo-Saxon literature and then he discussed its manuscript background, mentioning for the first time the Exeter Book from which he intended to include numerous examples in the completed *Illustrations*. He stated that *Widsith* was taken from the section of the

¹⁹⁸ See Chapter Two, pp. 92-93.

¹⁹⁹ For example, *Widsith* had been with Greeks and Romans (l. 76 and l. 78), Israelites and Assyrians (l. 82), and he mentions specifically that Attila ruled the Huns, and Eormannic the Goths (l. 18).

manuscript Wanley had described as containing ‘aenigmas’, but disagreed with this (Wanley in Hickes 1703-1705, vol. 2: 281; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 10).²⁰⁰ He also notes the possibility that the poem was a much earlier composition, possibly dating from the fifth century, that only survives in a later ‘translation or rifaccimento’ (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 29).²⁰¹ The poem was then presented in Old English with facing Latin translation and some explanatory notes, followed by an English translation.²⁰² Many of these notes offered explanation of the personal names the poem contains, although John Josias was unable to identify many of the people and tribes mentioned (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 29).²⁰³

As John Josias had planned to include a number of texts from the Exeter Book, *Widsith* provides an example of how he may have envisioned other texts appearing in the completed *Illustrations*. His treatment of this text is considered more thoroughly in Chapter Six.²⁰⁴

Beowulf

The final printing proofs that John Josias completed for *Illustrations* were all extracts from *Beowulf* (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius A. xv). These sections spanned some 133 pages of the volume and included an introduction, sections of the text in English translation, the same parts in Old English with facing Latin translation, a collation of the original manuscript with Thorkelin’s edition, and some further interpretive notes. Unlike the previous texts in the book, John Josias did not include the English translation after each section of Old English; rather he printed all the English sections together, translated into his own metrical verse, and included the manuscript readings afterwards. His extracts were drawn from throughout the whole poem, including parts of the adventures that take place after Beowulf leaves Heorot, although one contemporary author had considered this later section to

²⁰⁰ See Chapter Six, p. 248.

²⁰¹ See Chapter Six, pp. 255-258.

²⁰² See Chapter Six, pp. 263-286.

²⁰³ See Chapter Six, pp. 248-259.

²⁰⁴ See Chapter Six, pp. 248-286.

be ‘of inferior merit and interest’ (W. Taylor 1816: 521)²⁰⁵ and Turner (1805: 398-408) had excluded it from his discussion of the poem altogether. As John Josias did not include the whole text, he summarised the plot between the quoted sections.

In his introduction to the poem John Josias described *Beowulf* as ‘unquestionably the earliest composition of the heroic kind extant in any language of modern, or rather barbarous, Europe’ (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 30). He also included a brief note explaining why he had chosen to place it third in *Illustrations*, believing that it was ‘translated or modernized, in the Dano-Saxon period of our history, from an original of much higher antiquity’ (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 34).²⁰⁶ By assigning the poem a composition date earlier than its manuscript survival, the broadly chronological progression of his book’s arrangement was maintained. John Josias also provided some discussion of Turner’s *Beowulf* sections from the *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1805: 398-408). He commented that ‘Mr. Turner’s view of the poem does not altogether coincide with that contained in the present abstract’, as he ‘represents Beowulf as the enemy of Hrothgar’ (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 31). However, John Josias believed this was not due to any errors in ‘the acuteness or industry of Mr. Turner’, as ‘[h]e [Turner] was deceived by an accident, the transposition of a single leaf in the MS’ (*ibid.*).²⁰⁷

After he printed his introduction and selections from *Beowulf*, John Josias included his own collation of Thorkelin’s transcription with the original manuscript. In a footnote he justified his inclusion of the collation on the basis

²⁰⁵ Although anonymously published, it has been possible to identify the author of this review as William Taylor (1765-1836), a reviewer and translator who wrote primarily for the *Monthly Review* from 1810 (D. Chandler 2004). He reproduced parts of this review verbatim in the first volume of his *Historic Survey of German Poetry* (1828), repeating this phrase exactly on page eighty-six. He also referred to his review in a letter to Mary dated 1 October 1829 (Appendix 1:28), in which he thanked her for sending him a copy of *Illustrations* and promised to refer to it if he produced a second edition of his *Historic Survey*. However, Taylor never reissued his book. See Chapter Five, p. 212.

²⁰⁶ The dating of *Beowulf* has been discussed at length by almost every scholar who has encountered it since. To give only a few examples, see Frank (2007), Fulk, Bjork and Niles (2008: clxii-clxxxvii), and G. Clark (2009).

²⁰⁷ Kiernan (1981: 82) remarks that two folios from the *Beowulf* manuscript were out of place when the earlier foliation was added. The folio numbered 131 should have been placed after f. 146, and f. 197 after f. 188.

of its importance for correcting readings in the deteriorated original (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 137). However, he also notes that his collation ‘needs in many places both additions and corrections’ (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 155). These errors have been discussed in detail by Bolton (1974), who shows that Malone’s (1968: i) claim that ‘Conybeare was a most inaccurate collator and his witness, when not backed by other evidence, cannot be trusted’ is not supported by an examination of the collation. Thus the information contained in this collation remains ‘an important witness to the deterioration of the manuscript at the end of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries’ (Prescott 1997: 93).²⁰⁸

The final item in the *Beowulf* section of *Illustrations* consists of several pages of notes relating back to the English translation (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 156-167). However, there is evidence that suggests these were not completed. The English translation of the poem spans pages thirty-five to eighty-one, but the provided notes only relate to the text on pages thirty-five to seventy-four. Also, a comparison of the number of notes provided for *Beowulf* with those included for *Widsith* highlights a notable difference in frequency (Appendix 2:8). It seems unlikely that John Josias had intended to leave *Beowulf* with such little commentary, casting some doubt on William Daniel’s claims that this section was near completion. The notes themselves are similar in nature to those printed for *Widsith* in that they provide information about people and places that may not be familiar to the reader, such as the Scylfings and Frisians. At times the author also included comparative extracts from classical poems, e.g. *The Odyssey* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 159) and *The Iliad* (166).

By the time of his death John Josias had completed only three texts for *Illustrations*: *Cædmon’s Hymn*, *Bede’s Death Song*, and *Widsith*. His work on *Beowulf* appears to have been nearing completion, but the relative lack of interpretive notes suggests it was not yet finished. Thus apart from these texts all other materials in *Illustrations* were placed in the book and presented according to decisions made in some way by Mary and William Daniel.

²⁰⁸ Kiernan (1986: ix) notes that early collations of the *Beowulf* manuscript have allowed scholars to restore some 2000 letters that crumbled away when it was rebound in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Proofreading and Delivery to William Daniel Conybeare

Before John Josias' final meeting with his printer a few weeks before his death, it seems that he redoubled his efforts to complete additional pages of proofs for *Illustrations* and may have even tried to employ another to help him with this task. Kiernan (1997) argues that 'although Madden does not say so in his journal, there is some reason to think that Conybeare might have tried to engage Madden at this time to proofread for him'. The first time they met, John Josias mentioned to Madden that he had only managed to proof eight pages of his forthcoming manuscript (*ibid.*). However, only three days later he gave the uncorrected pages to Madden in what Kiernan believes was an attempt to get help. Whether Madden agreed to undertake this task is somewhat unclear, as he removed the corresponding pages from his diary when he copied it into a larger book at a later date. Yet Madden retained an entry from after their first meeting where he notes that 'he [John Josias] had sent his MS. to the press in 1821, but had not yet reviewed above eight proof sheets!' and that '[t]his is a proof of Mr. C's indolence, the only fault among all his merits, that is often observed' (F. Madden, cited in Kiernan 1997). This critical tone does not seem to suggest that Madden agreed to help with the proofreading of *Illustrations*.

Madden also may have had personal motivations for not correcting the manuscript, as after reviewing the *Beowulf* materials on 27 February 1824, he stated, 'I should like much to publish a new edition with corrections accompanied by an English version and Notes' (F. Madden, cited in Kiernan 1997). So it seems unlikely that Madden contributed to the printing proofs that John Josias took with him to London in 1824. However, Madden's account does show John Josias' progress with the preparation of the book for publication between 17 January, by which point he had completed only eight pages, and 10 June 1824, when he had completed eighty. Considering the relative brevity of each printed page of *Illustrations*, the fact John Josias only completed seventy-two pages in four months shows that his work was slow. Indeed, Madden notes in his entry for 20 January, 1824 that John Josias 'does not expect the work to issue complete from the press within a year and a half' (F. Madden 1824, cited in Hall 1985: 384).

The means by which the proofs for *Illustrations* came to be with William Daniel after his brother's death are not known, but he did inherit much of John Josias' library. John Josias' will, which he wrote in August 1815, left his brother '[a]ll [...] books in or concerning the Latin Greek Icelandic Saxon or other northern Tongues or literature' (National Archives, PRO B 11/1688). However, a number of other books remained with Mary who was bequeathed 'all other books in English French and Italian' (*ibid.*) and she seems to have sent parcels of these to William Daniel while they were preparing *Illustrations* (Appendices 1:12, 1:14). Following the discussion of women's role in learned circles of the time provided above,²⁰⁹ Mary's role in the compilation and editing of the book is discussed further in the following chapter.²¹⁰

The Decision to Publish *Illustrations* Posthumously

The idea to publish *Illustrations* may have been given to William Daniel by William Buckland who, as mentioned previously, remained a close personal friend of both the brothers throughout their adult lives. In a letter to William Daniel dated 27 June 1824, a fortnight or so after John Josias' death, Buckland wrote:

Elmsley has just printed a thin volume of his early poems at the Clarendon. Surely there must be many valuable things of this kind among the papers left by your brother which his friends would be glad to possess as a memorial of his talents. They might be divided and given away as Elmsley has done, if not published, of this you will be the best judge.

(Appendix 1:10)

William Daniel's answer to this letter does not survive, but it seems possible that if he had not considered publishing any of John Josias' work previous to receiving this communication it may have given him the idea to do so.

²⁰⁹ See Chapter Three, pp. 142-146.

²¹⁰ See Chapter Four, pp. 182-203.

Further support for this claim comes from the fact that William Daniel may have acted upon his friend's other request in the same piece of correspondence. Earlier in this letter Buckland wrote:

Many of his numerous friends in this place where he was so deservedly esteemed and loved are anxious to preserve a memorial of him by the possession of his portrait. And if such a thing exists which I fear it does not, at least I never have seen it, there could I think be no objection on the part of your family to gratify this feeling by allowing a print to be taken from it. Mr Wyatt has spoken to me upon the subject and if the thing is possible and permitted would readily undertake to get this done at his own cost, etc.

(Appendix 1:10)

A single image of John Josias does exist in the British Museum (British Roy PV, Binyon 3(b)). This watercolour and graphite whole-length seated portrait by Thomas Uwins was one of fifteen pieces that were turned into engraved plates illustrating academic costume in *A History of the University of Oxford, its Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings* (1814) by Rudolph Ackermann. It therefore cannot be the portrait commissioned after John Josias' death. However, another image exists today in a private collection in the Netherlands. When the portrait's owner became aware of this research, he kindly provided digital copies of the wax engraving, which is inscribed on the rear:

John Josias Conybeare
Late
Professor of Poetry
in the
University of Oxford
died at Blackheath Kent
June 12 1824

(Appendix 2:5)

Although the stated date of death is one day later than that recorded elsewhere, the particular attention to the time and location of death seems to

suggest this was a memorial piece.²¹¹ If this is indeed the commissioned portrait Buckland mentions in his letter, it adds further support to the possibility that William Daniel followed his friend's suggestions in all matters by publishing *Illustrations* 'as a memorial of his [John Josias] Talents' (Appendix 1:10).

Indeed William Daniel echoed Buckland's words when he stated that his motivation for completing the manuscript of *Illustrations* was so that it could serve 'as a simple memorial of its accomplished author' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 163). He restated this point in a fragmentary unpublished letter to Mary from July 1827, in which he wrote that 'the only character with which I should have been satisfied with it [*Illustrations*]' was as 'a monument and memorial' (Appendix 1:25). The decision to publish *Illustrations* posthumously was in itself not unusual, although the possible problems of doing so had been recognised in the critical reviews of other such publications. As one anonymous contemporary writer commented:

Where an author has acquired a distinguished name in his life time by productions of great learning, ability or genius, it is unjust to his memory to endanger the diminution of it by the publication of posthumous writings, which were left in an unfinished state. Yet this is commonly the case, in which posthumous publications are most frequent, and in which every scrap of paper that an author ever scrawled is thrust forward on the public attention [...] Where a work is left in a confessedly unfinished state, and cannot even be fitted to appear in public without the alterations and corrections of a stranger, we are of opinion that the motives must be very strong, and the circumstances very urgent, indeed, which can justify the publication. If an author has left a wife and family in a state of indigence and distress, perhaps we might be induced to palliate the recourse to such an expedient; but we would rather that their wants were mitigated by any other measure which is less likely to sully the literary fame of the deceased.

(Anon 1812a: 418-419)

²¹¹ The date for John Josias' death is also stated incorrectly in William Daniel's fragmentary autobiography, where it is given as 13 June 1824 (W. D. Conybeare 1905: 143). However, as this autobiography was written at least forty-five years later it seems likely that William Daniel made an error. The plaque outside the churchyard in which John Josias is buried, and a number of other sources, confirms that he died on 11 June 1824.

Due to the comparatively young age at which John Josias died and the suddenness of his illness, it may be that there was also an emotionally motivated element in the decision to attempt the publication of a book that had been left so incomplete.

Conclusions

When John Josias first decided to publish *Illustrations*, he was already established as a scholar of early English literature and had produced a number of articles on the subject. Through this work, he had developed an approach to presenting his Old English materials that he believed was effective for both scholars and general readers. *Illustrations*, which he announced to the public in 1817, was his first major edition and was intended to present earlier studies along with some new ones in a single, extensive volume. The above examination shows that while John Josias did not publish much during the period he was working on the book, he continued to undertake research and was an active member of the literary circles of the day. Although he had only prepared three texts for the press by the time of his death, they illustrate the approach he had intended to take to the volume as a whole, which was still a year and a half away from completion at the beginning of 1824. It was these unfinished printing proofs that formed the basis of the *Illustrations* that William Daniel and Mary went on to complete.

It seems that the decision to publish *Illustrations* was motivated by a variety of factors including the encouragement of Buckland, William Daniel and Mary's own wishes to preserve the memory of John Josias, and the tradition during this period of others completing works for the press subsequent to an author's death. The next chapter discusses how John Josias' brother and widow approached this task.

Chapter Five: The Publication of *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*

No previous research has hitherto considered the circumstances in which *Illustrations* was completed during the years following John Josias' death; the following study attempts to achieve an understanding of the process through an examination of, *inter alia*, previously unpublished pieces of family correspondence. This chapter will consider what is known of the editing process that took place between John Josias' death and the publication of the book, and particularly the roles played by both William Daniel and Mary in its production. I follow this with a detailed discussion of the published form of *Illustrations* to highlight the ways in which it differed from the author's original plan and to assess its usefulness as one of the earliest editions of Old English poetry. While the previous chapter focused primarily on the author's contributions, this chapter is mostly concerned with the editorial process and those sections of *Illustrations* that can be shown to have been added at this stage. Finally there is an examination of the book's distribution and reception in the years following its publication.

The Editing Process

The process by which *Illustrations* came to take its final form has formerly been attributed entirely to the work of William Daniel, who is the only editor acknowledged on the title page (Appendix 2:2). However, previously unpublished correspondence from William Daniel to Mary shows that, to some extent, they collaborated on the editing of the book. Yet in spite of this, it seems that neither of them was entirely satisfied with the published form of *Illustrations* or felt it represented the author's original plans. This was to cause a number of difficulties between the two while they worked on completing the book.

Composition of *Illustrations*

Work on *Illustrations* was rapidly resumed following John Josias' death. In a fragmentary letter sent from William Daniel to Mary in 1826 he wrote 'I did not begin with him [John Josias] till September' (Appendix 1:17), just three

months after his brother had died at Groombridge's house. Another letter, dated 31 July 1826, records the day *Illustrations* first went on sale (Appendix 1:20), so the book was produced after around twenty-two months of editing labour. The only information we have regarding the work William Daniel undertook in order to prepare *Illustrations* for the press during this time comes from a number of often fragmentary letters, which demonstrate that Mary was also involved in decisions regarding the book's final composition.

From these letters it can first be seen that a detailed plan of contents for *Illustrations* seems not to have been provided by John Josias. As a result, additional materials were added to the book during the editing process which may not have been part of his original design. In a fragmentary letter to Mary written sometime after April 1827, William Daniel wrote: 'As to the question of the design in which I filled up the chasms of the original plan, I am unalterably convinced that my own judgement was correct' (Appendix 1:25). Discussion of particular texts and William Daniel's justification for including or excluding them from the book is found at several points in the correspondence.

John Josias had announced his intention to include numerous extracts from the Exeter Book (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501) in *Illustrations*, but had only completed the printing proofs for one such text (*Widsith*) before he died. Yet William Daniel later wrote that he felt certain that John Josias had intended to include twenty extracts from this manuscript (Appendix 1:14). He told Mary that 'the Rhiming poem on men [*The Riming Poem*] and the Weland [*Deor*], were intended to be included',²¹² but gave his own justification for adding 'the description of a ruined city' (*The Ruin*) on the basis of it being 'among the most practical of all our Anglo-Saxon remains' (*ibid.*). A poem entitled the *Scaldic Poem* (today *Deor*; Exeter Book, f. 100rv; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 235-244) and another *The Ruined Wall-Stone* (today *The Ruin*; Exeter Book, ff. 123v-124v; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 249-255) were included in *Illustrations*, although William Daniel marked these as prepared 'from the

²¹² William Daniel was referring to *Deor* when he stated 'the Weland', due to the description of the smith in the first stanza of the poem. See also John Josias in Appendix 1:5.

Author's MS.' (Appendix 2:3). At the time of preparing the book, William Daniel had in his possession 'the late Author's MS. Lectures on Anglo-Saxon Poetry' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 214),²¹³ and he quoted part of his brother's lecture on *Advent Lyric Seven* (Exeter Book, ff. 8r-14r) in *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 201).²¹⁴

However, John Josias demitted office as chair of Anglo-Saxon in 1812, so these notes had probably not been revised since that point. It also seems that William Daniel was obliged to produce some material himself, as he added a note to this effect on the text of the Old English *Riming Poem* (Exeter Book, ff. 94r-95v):

[t]he very extraordinary composition last referred to is here presented to the reader in its entire form, in pursuance of the expressed intention of the late Author. As, however, no progress towards the execution of that intention had been made by him, the task of translation has devolved on the Editor.

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: xvi)

John Josias must have prepared no more than a transcription of this text, as in *Illustrations* both its translation and notes were authored by William Daniel. Thus in terms of the materials from the Exeter Book, William Daniel appears to have been working from fragmentary materials. Indeed, his decision to include *The Ruin* shows that materials were added that may never have been intended for the completed book, although, as mentioned above, there is little evidence to suggest what the original plan may have been in that regard.²¹⁵

²¹³ Only John Josias' later manuscript lectures, from his time as professor of Poetry, can be found in public library catalogues today (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Top. Oxon. d. 392-6).

²¹⁴ Neither brother ever published anything further about this text. See Chapter Three, pp. 116-117.

²¹⁵ *The Ruin* was not named specifically in the handwritten list of Old English texts contained in John Josias' copy of Thorkelin's *Beowulf*, unless he considered it amongst the '[a]enigmata Exeter M.S.' (Appendix 1:5). See also Chapter Four, pp. 163-164.

The other texts referred to in the letter reproduced in Appendix 1:14 are ‘a poem on the whale’ (today *The Whale*; Exeter Book, ff. 96v-97v), and two which can be identified as *The Fates of Mortals* (Exeter Book, ff. 87r-88v)²¹⁶ and an extract from *The Ascension* (Exeter Book, ff. 14r-20v; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 214-217).²¹⁷ William Daniel gave no opinion on whether he thought they should be included, and only the last was printed in *Illustrations*.²¹⁸ One extract from this, which was entitled *On the Day of Judgement* (today *The Ascension*, ll. 78-91 and 94-105a; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 214-217), was prepared from ‘the Author’s MS.’ (Appendix 2:3). Another, the *Hymn of Thanksgiving* (today *The Ascension*, ll. 161-172a, 180b-188, 199-201a, 220b-246, and 337b-339; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 217-223), is a reprint of an article that originally appeared in *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1814b). So in addition to drawing on lecture materials, at times William Daniel republished and repurposed his brother’s previous articles. This was the case with *The Soul’s Complaint against the Body* (today *Soul and Body II*; Exeter Book, ff. 98r-100r; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 232-235) and *The Phoenix* (Exeter Book, ff. 55v-65v; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 224-228), both of which were previously published in *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1814c and 1814d).

However, it does not seem that the decision as to what to include in *Illustrations* was made by William Daniel alone. In another undated, but undoubtedly pre-publication, letter to Mary he wrote,

²¹⁶ Identified as *The Fates of Mortals* from the following description by William Daniel: ‘one which begins with the sage remark that it sometimes happens that men and women have families, and then traces out the various fortunes of the said families, how some are hanged and some are happy’ (Appendix 1:14). The poem was not included in *Illustrations*, but William Daniel printed a ‘condensed translation’ in his introduction to the Exeter Book (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 208).

²¹⁷ Identified as *The Ascension* from the following description by William Daniel: ‘I found one strange and quaint explanation of a text in Canticles ‘he cometh leaping on the mountains’ the different events of our Lord’s life being represented as the first, 2nd, 3rd etc. leap, and the inference being that we ought in like manner to leap up to heaven’ (Appendix 1:14).

²¹⁸ Although a short extract from John Josias’ translation of *The Whale* was printed by William Daniel in *Illustrations* (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 208).

I would also suggest for your consideration whether under these circumstances it would be desirable (should you determine on no addition being made to them) that the letters to the Antiquaries' Society should be republished at all in this volume.²¹⁹

(Appendix 1:12)

As John Josias' publications from *Archaeologia* appeared in *Illustrations* in almost exactly the same form as that in which they were originally published, it seems that Mary made the final decision on whether to republish these articles and also determined the level of editorial intervention. There is another example of this earlier in the letter, where William Daniel also asked Mary about the possible inclusion of another of John Josias' previous publications:

With regard to the essay on metrics my view is this. Had it come out in a finished state it must have been the classical and standard essay on that subject – the information of the author having been much enlarged after its original composition, at many essential points. In its present form and compared with the present state of knowledge it cannot claim that character but must leave the field open to Mr. Price's which (as is evident from his many allusions to the subject) will be very compleat. But I doubt not having my Cædmon out long before his additional volume and I could certainly throw together for that work (expressing whence I consider the most valuable part of my knowledge derived) a compleat essay. I leave you to decide this question entirely.

(Appendix 1:12)

The original essays on metrics had been published in 1814 (J. J. Conybeare 1814e and 1814f), so William Daniel proposed that he wrote a replacement, using and updating his brother's ideas, to avoid the criticism any older material might otherwise attract. However, in *Illustrations* John Josias' original essays were printed with an introduction by William Daniel that read:

²¹⁹ A. S. seems to be an alternative for S. A., which was the most commonly-used notation for the 'Society of Antiquaries', who produced *Archaeologia*. The Society seems to have been interchangeably referred to as the 'Antiquaries' Society' and the 'Society of Antiquaries'.

It was the intention of the late Author of these Illustrations to have prefixed to them an Introductory Essay on the Metre of the Anglo-Saxon Poetry, in which it was designed to have remodelled the substance of some earlier communications on the same subject to the Society of Antiquaries [...] No progress, however, appears to have been made in the execution of this plan at the time when his hand was so suddenly arrested by death, beyond a rough draft of the general heads under which it was to have been arranged.

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: v)

Here again it seems that Mary was making decisions about the final form of *Illustrations*, as William Daniel's preference for a new essay to replace John Josias' earlier work was not realised. Indeed, it is possible to see the exact changes that were made to the metrical essays in an offprint of the articles that is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, 2797 d.36. This text was donated to the library by Henry Grant Madan Conybeare (1859-1931), William Daniel's grandson, in 1919 and it shows deletions from the *Archaeologia* articles that are reflected in *Illustrations*, suggesting it was used to prepare the essays for the book (Appendix 2:6).

Some further debate took place between William Daniel and Mary as to the inclusion of the planned French and later English sections of *Illustrations*. All announcements of the book prior to John Josias' death had stated that *Illustrations* would include both early English and French materials, yet only English texts were published, with the latest extract dating from the twelfth century.²²⁰ In one letter to Mary, William Daniel wrote:

²²⁰ The *Norman-Saxon Poem on Death* (today *The Grave*; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343, 170r) contains an additional one and one-half lines written in a later hand that may be that of the 'Tremulous Hand of Worcester' (Ramsey 2002), but John Josias did not print these.

as to the Norman and later English – I think their incorporation in the *present* work unadvisable. If anything were done a second part which should include Octavian,²²¹ Melusine,²²² the Siege of Rouen,²²³ and one or two of the transcripts from the Digby manuscript might be desirable. Gaisford²²⁴ thought that Octavian should be published. I don't know anything about the rout of Roncesvalles.²²⁵ To incorporate one or two only of these pieces would destroy the *unity* of the present work, create additional delay, and would not taken as insulated matters repay these disadvantages by any countervailing accession of interest. But I think altogether they might make a pretty little volume, and one might be guided by the reception of the Saxon work. From my good printer the whole might be thrown off with ease in half a year.

(Appendix 1:15)

This caution may have been related to William Daniel's own interests and abilities as a scholar. While *Illustrations* was being edited, William Daniel wrote that he had 'half completed my Cædmon' (Appendix 1:12), so he seems to have been, at the very least, competent in Old English by this time. Madden also commented on William Daniel's increasing proficiency in Old English towards the end of John Josias' life.²²⁶ Yet William Daniel never published any scholarly work on later English or French materials, although he did cite French texts in his publications suggesting that he could read the modern form of the language.²²⁷ For whatever reason, William Daniel did not, on this occasion, comply with Mary's request to incorporate a wider selection of John Josias' studies, although this would have brought *Illustrations* closer to its

²²¹ Probably a reference to John Josias' earlier work, *The Romance of Octavian* (1809).

²²² Perhaps *The Romans of Partenay* (Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.19), which is a unique survival of a late fifteenth to early sixteenth English translation of *The Romance of Melusine*. However, I have not been able to find evidence of John Josias studying this manuscript, which has only been published by Skeat (1866).

²²³ *The Siege of Rouen* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Musaeo 124, ff. 28r-42v), a poem ascribed to John Page. See Chapter One, p. 37.

²²⁴ Thomas Gaisford (1779-1855), author of *Poetæ minores Græci: præcipua lectionis varietate et indicibus locupletissimis* (1823). See Chapter Three, pp. 120-121.

²²⁵ Today known as *La Chanson de Roland* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 23, ff.1-36rv). See Chapter One, p. 20, Chapter Four, p. 153, and Appendix 1:4.

²²⁶ See Chapter Four, p. 165, n. 182.

²²⁷ For example, see William Daniel's *An Elementary Course of Theological Lectures in Three Parts* (1836: 151). See also Appendix 1:1, where John Josias refers to William Daniel learning French at school.

author's original plan. In 1827, an article entitled 'Poem, Entitled the 'Siege of Rouen', Written in the Reign of Henry the Fifth' appeared in *Archaeologia* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Musaeo 124, ff. 28-42; J. J. Conybeare 1827), presumably supplied by William Daniel, and no edition of John Josias' work on later English texts, nor French, was ever produced.

Although no French was included in *Illustrations*, several other items were added that do not seem to have been part of John Josias' original plan. William Daniel added an 'Arranged Catalogue of All the Extant Remains of Anglo-Saxon Poetry' (W. D. Conybeare, in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxxvi-xcvi), 'in the belief that it must contribute to the interest and utility of the present work, as an introductory manual to the study of Anglo-Saxon poetry' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxxvi). Attached to the end of this catalogue was *The Death of Byrhtnoth* (now *The Battle of Maldon*;²²⁸ W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxxxvii-xcvi), added by the editor because he 'conceive[d] its merit to be such as to render any collection of Saxon poetry imperfect in which it should not be included' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxxxvii), although it only appeared in English translation. William Daniel wrote that he did not include the Old English here because 'it is the intention of Price (to whose kindness he is indebted for the transcript whence the following version is made) to publish it critically in the work on Saxon Poetry which he has announced' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxxxvii).²²⁹ As is discussed further below, William Daniel was indebted to Price for his help with *Illustrations* and would not have wanted to detract from his forthcoming book.²³⁰

²²⁸ Previously London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho A.xii, but the manuscript was destroyed in the fire of 1731. Here William Daniel and Price must be referring to the transcription by David Casley, published by Thomas Hearne in 1726 (H. L. Rogers 1985).

²²⁹ Richard Price (1790-1833) never completed this proposed book of poetry. A posthumous reissue of his *The History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century by Thomas Warton* contained a footnote by Taylor (who printed *Illustrations*) which stated '[a] translation of the poem has been subsequently supplied by the Rev. W. Conybeare, in the "Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry", p. xc, and the text has also been critically reprinted, under the title of *The Battle of Maldon* [...] in Thorpe's "Analecta Anglo-Saxonica" (Taylor in Price 1840, vol. 1: 2).

²³⁰ See Chapter Five, pp. 202-203.

Another extract from the Exeter Book was added by William Daniel, *The Exile's Complaint* (today *The Wife's Lament*; Exeter Book, f. 115rv; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 244-249), with a notice that stated, 'Inserted by the Editor. The Editor has, in the present instance, been induced to deviate from the rule he had prescribed to himself, of confining these Illustrations to the materials prepared by the late Author' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 244). Further to this, William Daniel also added the Old English and facing English translations for the texts now known as *Riddle 3* (ll. 68-74), *Riddle 32*, *Riddle 46*, *Riddle 66* and the Latin of *Riddle 86* within his introduction to the Exeter Book materials (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 198-214). However, his source for the transcriptions and translations of the riddles was not given and it is unknown whether these materials were prepared by John Josias or originally intended for inclusion in *Illustrations*.

A number of extracts from the Old English *Boethius* were then printed, all prepared from John Josias' 'MS. Lectures' (Appendix 2:3). The justification for including them was not provided, but William Daniel did note that '[a]n edition, with a translation, of Alfred's Boethius has been still more recently announced' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxxvii). This appears to refer to Cardale's *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophicæ, with an English Translation* (1829). Prior to *Illustrations*, the only publications of the Old English *Boethius* were Rawlinson's *An. Manl. Sever. Boethi Consolationis philosophicæ [...]* (1698) and some short extracts published in Hickes' catalogue (1703-1705) (Godden and Irvine 2009: xv-xvi). In publishing these extracts *Illustrations* brought the Old English *Boethius* to the attention of the wider academic community before Cardale's book was published.

When composing *Illustrations*, William Daniel said that he wanted to 'preserve, as far as possible, the composition of the Author without alteration or addition' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 172). However, it seems that William Daniel was not as determined as Mary to keep the book in the form John Josias had envisaged and to use only materials prepared by the author. This appears to have been partly because William Daniel had concerns

about ‘the utility of the work’ and believed that his editorial additions were beneficial to this end (*ibid.*). The resulting composition appears to be something of a compromise between both William Daniel and Mary, but it cannot be said to represent John Josias’ original plans, or those of either one of the editors.

Editing of *Illustrations*

The surviving correspondence also shows that Mary made a number of suggestions to William Daniel about his editing of the Old English texts *Illustrations* contained. Indeed they both seem to have been working on their own draft copy of the book simultaneously, as when William Daniel wrote to tell Mary he was making the last corrections to the proofs, he stated ‘I send now all the revises I have yet got to make up your present copy in a parcel with this, and will send as soon as I get them the remaining revises’ (Appendix 1:17). It is not clear at what point Mary received a copy of the draft, but she certainly had one during the final stages of its production.

In spite of the stated intent to remain faithful to John Josias’ original design for *Illustrations*, there are several identifiable editorial interventions in the Old English texts discussed by William Daniel and Mary in the correspondence contained in Part III of this thesis. In his introduction to the Exeter Book texts, William Daniel commented that

the materials collected [by John Josias] were large and original, consisting more especially of transcripts from the MS. volume of Saxon Poems bequeathed by Bishop Leofric to his cathedral church of Exeter; but these were for the most part unaccompanied by translation or comment, and formed in their actual state only the rough MSS., from whence characteristic specimens would have been by a subsequent examination selected.

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 171)

The unfinished state of John Josias’ work must have necessitated a certain level of editorial intervention, and on at least one occasion there is evidence

that the editors worked from more than one version of a text. This can be seen in a letter from around 1825-1826, where William Daniel seems to be responding to a number of suggestions Mary had sent him about an extract from *The Ascension*:

As to omitting the statement on the double versions p. 218, it would surely have been perfectly absurd to have given in that part of the work a preliminary declaration of the intention to adopt a practice which *had been* uniformly pursued from the third page. It was always prefixed by him to his *first* communication whether to British Bibliographer or [the] Antiquaries' Society, and I suppose would have so appeared [?] among the prefatory matters in the present work. I therefore printed the passage as it originally stood in the lectures.

(Appendix 1:15)

This refers to a statement that appeared in John Josias' original publication of *The Ascension* in *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1814b: 181), in which he had explained his reasons for providing facing Latin and following looser English translations for each section of Old English he printed. He wrote that

I have ventured to add to the present specimen, besides a literal translation into Latin prose, in which I have endeavoured to preserve with the most scrupulous fidelity both the sense and verbal construction of the original, a paraphrase somewhat more liberal in English verse. I have always considered this double version as the readiest means of enabling those who are unacquainted with the language of the originals, to form at the same time a tolerably correct notion of their characteristic structure of sentence, and a fair estimate of their merits as poetical compositions.

(J. J. Conybeare 1814b: 181)

However, this statement was not included in *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 218), and William Daniel used the version of the text that appeared in

his brother's lecture notes rather than that published in the journal.²³¹ No other explanation explaining the approach to translation was provided elsewhere in the book.

Mary also proposed changes to the translation of the text now known as *The Ruin*. However, as this poem was published from John Josias' manuscript notes, now lost, it is not possible to see what was originally there. In one letter, William Daniel wrote:

As to the unlucky Wall Stone with whose fragments you seem much inclined to pelt me. The 3rd line in your transcript stood – 'The Wall Stone stood.....It fell'. A brick was clearly wanting and I built in one where I could. The two lines omitted were founded on an hasty and inaccurate translation of the original, the gripe of earth (the grave) being turned I do not exactly understand how into the gripe of war.

(Appendix 1:15)

Here, William Daniel refers to 'your transcript', suggesting that perhaps Mary was working on texts herself or that she had her husband's notes on the poem. In *Illustrations*, the third line of the English translation of *The Ruin* reads 'The Wall stone proudly stood. It fell' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 251), showing that William Daniel added the word 'proudly' to the translation. This is not supported by the text, which contains no word that may be translated

²³¹ John Josias also wrote a similar statement about his approach to translation in *The Romance of Octavian*, prior to extracts from the *Speech of Satan* (now *Genesis B*, ll. 356-378; J. J. Conybeare 1809: 50-53, reprinted in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 190-192) and the *Overthrow of Pharaoh and the Egyptians in the Red Sea* (now *Exodus*, ll. 447-495; J. J. Conybeare 1809: 53-55, reprinted in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 194-196). This statement, given below, was also not included in *Illustrations*.

The Editor has ventured to subjoin two specimens of the poetry of Cædmon, with a Latin translation, in which the order of the words corresponds exactly to the Saxon text. He has added a second translation, as nearly literal as the metre would allow, into English blank verse. This mode of publishing the whole work might, perhaps, be the best adapted for general reading, and would, at the same time, present the fairest transcript of the original.

(J. J. Conybeare 1809: 50)

‘proudly’,²³² so its addition here made the English translation further removed from the Old English. However William Daniel’s other correction, changing ‘the grip of war’ to ‘the grip of earth’, is right,²³³ so he did, on this occasion, correct a genuine error in the translation.

The correspondence also shows that William Daniel and Mary disagreed over how the title and contents pages should appear in *Illustrations*:

I think a title page should be explanatory, and it seemed desirable to express at once how far the author was responsible for the *form* in which the work appeared, as having himself prepared it in *that form* for publication, in order that the imperfections of execution (if such there be) may fall on the right head. In stating the materials of the appendix to have been *selected* from those *left by the author*, I had pointedly as I conceived referred the substance to the author and the arrangement to myself. Under the circumstances I certainly feel convinced that a notice of ‘edited by’ etc. is necessary. I never saw such a notice on the reverse of a title page, nor anywhere but in the front [...] If any such notice of ‘edited’ etc. be necessary the former description of ‘posthumous’ follows of course. Else why not edited by the author student of Christ Church? I would willingly insert [it] if you can show me preced[ent] for doing so when the studentship has been vacated. Other professional titles seem to me irrelevant – certainly I shall describe myself as M. A., etc. (NB – if I could put in architect and landscape gardener of Sully perhaps it might be a temptation). I can’t satisfy myself as to the name without Reverend.

(Appendix 1:15)

It appears that Mary suggested William Daniel’s name should not be placed on the title page along with John Josias’, but instead should appear on the following page. She also seems to have wanted to mention John Josias’ previous studentship at Christ Church, which William Daniel disagreed with on the grounds that he had never seen such a title added after an author’s name. In the end, the printed title page contained both brothers’ names on the

²³² This may be a translation of ‘wrætlic’, ‘wondrous, strange, splendid’ from l. 1 of *The Ruin*, although the Latin translation gives this word as ‘affabre’, ‘skillfully, artistically’.

²³³ *The Ruin*, l. 8a ‘heard gripe hrusan’, ‘hard grasp of earth’.

same page with the appropriate 'edited by' notices, but, as Mary wished, John Josias was described as 'Formerly Student of Christ-Church' (Appendix 2:2).²³⁴ William Daniel had written finally in his letter that '[a]fter all I shall print the title exactly as you after considering the matter write [?]' (Appendix 1:15), but the correspondence detailing how this compromise was reached does not survive. It also seems that the form of the contents may have been arranged on Mary's insistence, as a damaged reading in a letter from William Daniel seems to suggest that he believed this kind of differentiation was possible without a 'long and I think clumsy table of [content]s to state in the advertisement [?] the sources of each paper' (Appendix 1:15). Yet in *Illustrations*, the contents pages explicitly state the source of each text (Appendix 2:3).

The correspondence, therefore, shows that the editing process that took place while preparing *Illustrations* for the press involved both Mary and William Daniel. The two seem to have disagreed on a number of issues, particularly where Mary felt the project was not representative of her husband's original plans. However, it is not known whether Mary carried out any significant amount of editing herself or whether her role was mostly concerned with proofreading and advising William Daniel on small changes. It may have been that both of the editors played different roles in the various sections of the text, as varied editorial approaches seem to have been adopted in the book. *Illustrations* can be broadly divided in terms of editorial style and involvement as is described below.

²³⁴ Also included on the title page, and likely to be an editorial addition, is an extract from *The Temple of Fame* (1715) by Alexander Pope (1688-1744), with certain words picked out in upper case lettering – GOTHIC, NORTHERN, RUNIC, SCYTHIAN, MINSTRELS and SCALDS (Appendix 2:2). While most of these words are clearly relevant to *Illustrations'* contents, the mention of the Scythians perhaps illustrates the difficulty some authors from this period had differentiating these people from the Celts (Kidd 1999: 188-189). This seems to have originated from the study of classical authors, who 'could not differentiate between Celts and Scythians as they were too alike, being both non-Greek peoples' (Bridgman 2005: 79). This reference may therefore relate to the essay on Celtic metre added to *Illustrations* by William Daniel (in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lvii-lxiv). Alternatively, it could be a reference to an idea that had been popularised by Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn (1612-1653), a professor from Leiden, who argued that 'Scythian was the original mother language of Persian, Greek, Latin, the Germanic languages, Turkish, Welsh, Lithuanian, Russian and Latvian' (van Hal 2011: 159).

Materials Mostly Prepared by William Daniel (pp. i-xcvi)

The first section of *Illustrations*, prefacing the texts John Josias prepared, contains materials mostly written by William Daniel. These additions are entitled:

- Essay on the Metre of Anglo-Saxon Poetry – Advertisement (pp. iii-iv)
- Recapitulation of Metrical Laws (pp. xxxvi-xxxviii)
- Comparative View of Icelandic and Ancient Teutonic Metres (pp. xxxix-lvi)
- On the Alliterative Metre of the Celtic Nations (pp. lvii-lxiv)
- On the Derivation of the later English Alliterative Metres (pp. lxxv-lxxxv)

It seems unlikely that Mary was involved in the editing of these materials, as her interests were primarily in her husband's work. Although this section also included John Josias' 'First Communication' (pp. v-xv) and 'Second Communication' (pp. xxvii-xxxv) on Old English metrics, these were reprinted almost exactly as they stood in *Archaeologia* with only minor changes to reflect their placement in *Illustrations* rather than the journal (see Appendix 2:6).

This section also includes *The Riming Poem* (pp. xvi-xxvi), which William Daniel included 'in pursuance of the expressed intention of the late Author', yet as 'no progress towards the execution of that intention had been made by him, the task of translation has devolved on the Editor' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: xvi). So in this case the transcription of the author was presented in conjunction with notes and a translation prepared by William Daniel. Again it seems unlikely that Mary was involved in the preparation of this text.

Materials Mostly Prepared by John Josias (pp. 1-167)

The pages in this section contain those texts that John Josias had mostly completed for the press prior to his death. As it has not been possible to locate the original proofs, it is not possible to ascertain the extent to which they were changed by either Mary or William Daniel. However, as John Josias had completed these pages for publication, it is unlikely that any major editorial changes were made to them. A closer study of John Josias' own ability as an

editor of Old English will be drawn from an examination of some of these materials in the next chapter.²³⁵

Materials Reprinted from John Josias' Previous Publications/Lectures (pp. 171-273)

The final section of *Illustrations* was entitled 'Appendix: consisting of materials (not arranged during the Author's life) but intended for the work, and in part previously published in vol. xvii. of the *Archaeologia, &c.*' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: viii). This section contained the *Finnsburh Fragment*, extracts from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11, extracts from Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501, selections from the Old English *Boethius*, and the *Norman-Saxon Poem on Death (The Grave)*. In the case of each of the extracts, the source material from which it was drawn seems to have influenced the editorial approach taken towards it and the level of intervention.

Finnsburh Fragment

An unusual decision was made regarding the republication of John Josias' version of the *Finnsburh Fragment*, which had been based upon Hickes' transcription (1703-1705, vol. 1: 192-193) and had previously appeared in *British Bibliographer* (J. J. Conybeare 1814o). Instead of reprinting John Josias' introduction to the poem, William Daniel added his own introductory notice, remarking that at the time of the article's original publication 'the author [John Josias] had enjoyed no opportunity of consulting the parallel narrative recorded in the poem of Beowulf' (*Beowulf*, ll. 1063-1159; W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 174). To protect *Illustrations* from criticism for not mentioning this recent research, William Daniel silently

²³⁵ See Chapter Six, pp. 248-286.

removed John Josias' original introduction to the poem,²³⁶ and went on to make a number of changes to his brother's text.

William Daniel made two manuscript emendations that have been generally adopted: changing Hickes' 'weuna' to 'weana' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 177; *Finnsburh Fragment*, l. 25b)²³⁷ and 'hrær' to 'hræw' (178; *Finnsburh Fragment*, l. 34a).²³⁸ He also corrected John Josias' identification of Hengest as a Saxon, stating that '[t]here seems to be no authority for connecting the Saxons with the subject of this poem; the tribes concerned were, as we learn from Beowulf, on one side Danish Scylings, on the other Frisian Jutes' (177). However, a number of nineteenth-century authors, including Price and Kemble, followed John Josias in identifying this Hengest as the figure from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and even to modern scholarship his identity remains elusive (Fulk, Bjork, and Niles 2008: 275-276).

²³⁶ John Josias' own introduction to the poem gained some acknowledgement in the following years. Allan (2010: 118) has shown that it was John Josias who first gave the poem to Philip Bliss (1787-1857), Bodleian librarian and book collector, who then 'meticulously commonplacéd' the original introduction. A transcription of this appears in Bliss' manuscript notes (Houghton Library, MS Eng 540) and in the *Commonplace Book of Rev. Philip Bliss* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. Don. e. 132-3) (see Chapter Three, pp. 119-120).

John Josias' *British Bibliographer* article was also republished in full in *The Suffolk Literary Chronicle* of 1838, although with a number of changes made by an unknown editor. For example, the original version states that the poem 'appears to have been written in commemoration of the successful defence of the town or fortress of Finsborough, garrisoned by a Saxon force' (J. J. Conybeare 1814o: 261), while the later version reads 'appears to have been written in commemoration of the successful *Defence of the Town or Fortress of FINSBOROUGH*, in SUFFOLK, garrisoned by a Saxon force' (J. J. Conybeare 1838: 153). A section in which John Josias comments 'I can find the name of Finborough preserved only in two places in this country; the one in Suffolk, the other in Cheshire. It is not improbable that the latter of these may (in some one of the predatory inroads which the Danes are known to have made in the neighbourhood of the Mersey) have become the scene of the action here recounted' (J. J. Conybeare 1814o: 261-262) was removed from this later version.

²³⁷ "Weuna' is probably an error for 'weana,' *afflictions*. – ED.' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 117). It is not known if this error was made by the original scribe or Hickes.

William Daniel also made comments on the contents of *Beowulf*, asserting that Hnæf (l.40) was the ‘proper name of the son of Hildeburgh’ (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 178), although modern scholars now identify him as her brother (*Beowulf*, l. 1074, 1114, 1117; Fulk, Bjork, and Niles 2008: 274). Furthermore he altered his brother’s loose English translation in places, in one instance changing John Josias’ renderings of ‘Saxon’ into ‘Frisian’ and ‘Jutish’ throughout Sigferth’s speech (ll. 24-27), although this figure has since been identified as a Dane (*ibid.*).

And now in accents loud
 Our foeman’s chieftain bold and proud
 Sought, what Thane or Battle Lord
 At the high gate kept watch and ward.
 “Sigvart is here” (the champion cried,
 “Sigvart oft in battle tried,
 “Known to all the warrior train
 “Where spreads the Saxon’s wide domain
 “Now chieftain, turn thee to the fight,
 “Or yield thee to the Saxon might.”

(J. J. Conybeare 1814o: 267)

And now in accents loud
 The foeman’s chieftain bold and proud
 Sought what thane or battle lord
 At the high gate kept watch and ward.
 “Sigvart is here,” the champion cried,
 “Sigvart oft in battle tried,
 Known to all the warrior train
 Where spreads the Frisian’s wide domain.
 Now, chieftain, turn thee to the fight,
 Or yield thee to the Jutish might.”

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare
 1826: 180-181)

William Daniel also believed that his brother had been mistaken in his identification of the individual referred to as ‘folces hyrde’, ‘guardian of the people’ (l. 46), ‘as having been the general of the invaders; whereas it seems almost certain that Fin himself, the king of the besieged city, must be the party meant’ (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 174). He consequently made three changes to his John Josias’ translation of these lines:

²³⁸ ‘The grammatical construction of these lines requires that ‘hrær’ should be considered as a substantive governing the preceding genitives. It is probably an error of transcription for ‘hræw,’ which will make the sense, ‘around him was the corpse of many a brave fallen warrior.’ – ED.’ (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 178). Several different emendations have been proposed for this line, although most agree that ‘hræw’, ‘bodies’ makes the best sense here (see Dobbie 1942: 134-135). However it may be that John Josias was correct to keep Hickes’ original transcription of the line as ‘hwearflacra hrær’, as recently Landis (2012) has proposed that ‘hrær’ is a genitive plural dialectal spelling of ‘hræw’ that forms a kenning with ‘hwearf’, ‘crowd, troop, concourse’ and ‘lac’, ‘play, sport, strife, battle, sacrifice, offering, gift, present’ to give a new translation of ‘offerings of the troops’ bodies’ (35).

Till bleeding from the Saxon blade
 Our foeman's lord his fear betray'd,
 And told, in accents of despair,
 How broken helm and corslet reft
 Defenceless to the stroke had left
 His head and bosom bare.
 Then sought the vanquish'd foe relief
 And safety for their wounded chief.

Till bleeding from the Scylding's blade
 The City's lord his fear betray'd,
 And told, in accents of despair,
 How broken helm and corslet reft
 Defenceless to the stroke had left
 His head and bosom bare.
 Then sought the vanquish'd train relief
 And safety for their wounded chief.

(J. J. Conybeare 1814o: 267) (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare
 1826: 182)

Although this interpretation was followed into the twentieth century by scholars such as Dobbie (1942: xvii), modern scholars now believe the 'wund hæleð', 'wounded warrior', mentioned in l. 43 of the fragment is addressing Hnæf.²³⁹

William Daniel's changes to John Josias' version of the *Finnsburh Fragment* at times improved it, but he also added a number of his own incorrect assumptions to the analysis of the fragment that had not been present in his brother's work. Furthermore, William Daniel once again removed John Josias' comments explaining his approach to translation from the introduction.

Extracts from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11

The extracts from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11 were introduced with a notice by William Daniel. John Josias' own short introduction from *The Romance of Octavian* was not included, in which he had again explained his translation theory and briefly outlined the contents of two of the extracts. The *Speech of Satan* (now *Genesis B*, ll. 356-378) and the *Overthrow of the Egyptians in the Red Sea* (now *Exodus* ll. 447-495) were both reprinted from *The Romance of Octavian* (pp. 50-53, 53-55) in an identical form to that in which they first appeared (without introduction). However, *The Universal Deluge* (now *Genesis A*, ll. 1371b-1404a) was treated somewhat unusually, in that only its translation was published in this section of the book. John Josias had originally published this extract as part of his 'Second Communication' on Old English metrics in his usual manner, printing the Old English with facing

²³⁹ See further Greenfield (1972).

Latin and following English translation (J. J. Conybeare 1814f: 272-274). However, in *Illustrations* the poem is reproduced in Old English and Latin in the ‘Second Communication’ with the English translation is provided later in the main body of the book (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 193-194). This method avoided the requirement to print the materials twice in the same book, but also separated the English translation from the original text.

Extracts from Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501

As is discussed further in the next chapter, the Exeter Book poems were variously compiled from John Josias’ lecture notes – *On the Day of Judgement* (today *The Ascension*, ll. 78-91, 94-105a; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 214-217) and *Gnomic Poem* (today *Maxims I (B)*, ll. 1-13a; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 228-331); from his manuscript transcriptions – *Scaldic Poem* (today *Deor*) and *The Ruined Wall-Stone* (today *The Ruin*); and from his previous publications in *Archaeologia* – *Hymn of Thanksgiving* (today *The Ascension*, ll. 161-172a, ll. 180b-188, ll. 199-201a, ll. 220b-246 and 337b-339), *The Phoenix* (ll. 1-27, 81b-84), and *The Soul’s Complaint Against the Body* (today *Soul and Body II*). As the author’s lecture and manuscript notes cannot be traced, editorial intervention can be most easily identified in those texts that were previously published.²⁴⁰

Old English *Boethius* and the Norman-Saxon Poem on Death

The editorial input to the sections taken from the Old English *Boethius* is difficult to quantify as this text was published from John Josias’ lecture notes and there is no mention made of it anywhere in the surviving correspondence. The *Norman-Saxon Poem on Death* (today *The Grave*) is reprinted from *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1814a) and appears exactly as it stood in the original publication except for the removal of one sentence in which John Josias explained his translation method.

While William Daniel suggested that the materials in this section were composed and completed by John Josias, it is clear that the texts did not appear in the form that he had been originally intended. A number of editorial

²⁴⁰ See Bibliography A.

changes were made, sometimes silently, and these did not always add to the functionality or accuracy of *Illustrations*.

Addenda et Corrigenda, Errata

The very final section of *Illustrations* contains a note on *Widsith* (275-281) and another on the ‘principal geographical and historical allusions’ in *Beowulf* (283-286) that William Daniel received from ‘Mr. [Richard] Price, well known to the literary and antiquarian world’ (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 275).²⁴¹ Thus a copy for proofreading must have been sent to Price prior to the book’s publication and *Illustrations* contains a number of footnotes and remarks ascribed to him. Yet it seems that William Daniel did not always agree with these comments, stating in one letter that a note on *Illustrations* contained

an opinion (certainly hastily adopted) that the grammar of the poem is loose. Of this some examples are given all of which (but one) would on further examination have proved to be strictly regular, e.g. *beleac mænegum mægtha*, given as an example of the ablative form being joined to an accusative – whereas the verb *beleac* governs regularly the ablative *mænegum* – and *mægtha* is the genitive plural put quite correctly after an adjective of number – ‘he laid seige to many of the tribes’.²⁴² The one example which is really ungrammatical might easily be an error of the scribe.

(Appendix 1:12)

He concluded that he thought such discussion was ‘seldom the provenance of a large mind and I almost feel even my own humbled by stooping to it’ (*ibid.*).

²⁴¹ See Chapter Three, pp. 141-142.

²⁴² William Daniel is here quoting from *Beowulf*, ll. 1770-1771, which reads

weold under wolcnum ond hig wigge beleac
manigum mægþa geond þysne middangeard

However, in this letter William Daniel incorrectly transcribes the manuscript reading ‘manigum’ as ‘mænegum’; both dative plural forms of the adjective ‘monig’. This seems to have been his mistake rather than John Josias’, as the correct manuscript reading is given in *Illustrations* (1826: 116). His identification of ‘beleac’ as the third person, singular, preterite verb and ‘mægþa’ as feminine genitive plural are correct. However, his translation of ‘wigge beleac’, ‘he laid siege’ differs from that given in the *Dictionary of Old English* (eds. Cameron, Amos, and Healey 2007), ‘wige belucan’, ‘to make secure, protect by battle’.

Nonetheless, not wanting to involve his brother in ‘this minute drudgery of verbal criticism’, William Daniel ‘ventured to expunge the paragraph in question’ (*ibid.*). As the proofs to *Illustrations* do not survive, we do not know what he removed from his brother’s *Beowulf* materials, other than it related ‘to the authors intention of giving specimens from Cædmon’ (*ibid.*).

The diversity of the materials published in *Illustrations* must have required a variety of editorial decisions to have been taken. This would have necessitated differing levels of intervention from William Daniel or Mary. However, this makes separating the work of the author from that of the editor difficult in a number of places.

Final Drafts of *Illustrations*

A fragmentary undated letter from William Daniel to Mary records the day that ‘conveyed a parcel from Taylor containing the last proofs’ (Appendix 1:17). William Daniel recorded that these consisted of the following: ‘[t]he introduction is 91 pages, the work 284, preface contents and Errata in all 382’ (*ibid.*). This corresponds closely to what appeared in the published version of *Illustrations*, where the title page and flyleaf, table of contents, and first section (pp. ix-xcvi) consists of ninety-one pages; the main body of the work (pp. 1-286) consists of 286 pages, two more than William Daniel stated; and the whole work with errata and prefatory notice totals 382 pages. William Daniel believed he could check these proofs and have them ready for publication within only a couple of days and ‘[a]nother week ought to bring me one or two complete copies’ (*ibid.*).

It appears that William Daniel was pleased with these final proofs and he wrote to Mary expressing his satisfaction on having completed the book. Firstly, speaking of his discovery that John Josias may have started preparing *Illustrations* for the press as early as 1818, William Daniel wrote that

this date shows that in 5 years and ½ he had only printed 80 pages. As I have worked him out of 300 more in less than two years [...] the more I contemplate the work before me as a whole the better I am satisfied with its merit and probable effect.

(Appendix 1:17)

He then went on to say that he hoped Mary would feel similarly pleased with *Illustrations*: ‘when I look over all this package [final proofs] I exclaim with a truly Hornerian self-complacency ‘What a good boy am I’ and I shall be anxious to hear from you that you may reecho the same strain’ (*ibid.*).

It has not been possible to locate any response by Mary to William Daniel on this subject, although a clue as to her opinion on the final version of *Illustrations* is contained in a scarce first edition of the book that is currently available for sale. This particular volume is inscribed ‘From Mrs Conybeare’ and it contains a note which reads ‘N.B. The editor added more than interested me. Please to distinguish his productions from the author’s’ (Appendix 2:4). To whom this book was sent and on what date is not known, but it is clear that even after publication Mary remained unhappy with some of William Daniel’s interventions and insertions into the text. Given that the editors did not agree on the merit of the completed *Illustrations*, the importance of clarifying exactly how much of its contents may be attributed to John Josias himself is essential for an understanding of his success as an early editor of Old English texts.

The Published Version of *Illustrations*

Publishers

The process of bringing *Illustrations* to publication brought with it a number of financial concerns for both editors regarding their publishers, Harding and Lepard. It seems probable that this company was chosen by either William Daniel or Mary as there is no record of John Josias ever corresponding with this firm and he had previously used the University of Oxford’s printer, Collingwood. However, the decision to use Harding and Lepard may have been primarily driven by financial constraints. Joseph Harding (d. 1843), one of the then partners of the company, was known after his death to have ‘obtained a

great fortune by successful speculations in works by subscription' (Nichols 1858: 515). William Daniel did not expect *Illustrations* to sell many more copies than would cover the cost of the publication, so subscription was a logical choice. This also had been John Josias' intended method of publication when he planned the book.

However, the correspondence shows that financial difficulties occurred when *Illustrations*' printer required his bill to be settled before income from the sale of the book had been generated. As William Daniel wrote to Mary just after the book was published:

Before I read your letter I had given Triphook an order on Harding's for payment of his balance from the proceeds of the work. His account is a sufficient voucher of the state of the transaction, of which you are not likely to hear anything more in a pecuniary point of view except receiving repayment of the £100 already paid, which I trust you will get back in the course of the next two years. There is only one *possible* contingency which could create a further claim against either of us, and that is if Harding should buck before the proceeds cover Taylor's bill. This is of course a risk which must always attend on publishing a work on the author's own account. I believe however that Harding is considered quite safe. Ellis is publishing a book through him.

(Appendix 1:18)

Robert Triphook (1781-1868) was a book seller, 'whose large establishment was a familiar resort with the leading gentry and *literati* of London' (Wilson 1869: 264). He was one of the partners of Harding and Lepard, with at least ten books published in the year previous to *Illustrations* under the notification 'Printed for Harding, Triphook, and Lepard' (such as those advertised for sale in *The Literary Chronicle* 1825: 32). Richard Taylor (1781-1858) was the printer who produced *Illustrations* – a man with some knowledge of Old English characters, as well as Runic, Greek, and Gothic (Brock and Meadows 1998: 19). He also had Anglo-Saxon types (40), which few places in London possessed at this time and were essential for the publication of *Illustrations*. Yet regardless of Triphook and Taylor's strong literary connections, the

publication of John Josias' book was to prove more financially difficult than William Daniel had hoped.

In response to these concerns about possible expense arising from the publication of *Illustrations*, William Daniel wrote to Mary

I mention this only to say that if any such accident should occur I should scarcely think it right that the loss should fall exclusively on me. The fairer proceeding would be in my eyes that I should bear the additional expense which my own addenda may appear to have occasioned and you the rest. My firm persuasion however is that the matter is quite safe, and that the book will cover its own expenses within five or six pounds either way. As for the profits if there be any, which I don't expect, and you won't take them, I shall give them accordingly to the original intention of the book to Batheaston school.

(Appendix 1:18)

It is clear from this letter that William Daniel did not consider himself solely responsible for *Illustrations* and that he believed any expense incurred as a result of its publication should be shared with Mary, so that he was only responsible for the percentage of the work he considered to be his own. This adds support to the proposal that Mary played a direct editorial role in the preparation of her late husband's book. Indeed in another letter, William Daniel suggested that

[t]he utmost extent of my own additions cannot amount to more than 100 out of nearly 400 pages of which the book consists. Therefore supposing any loss to accrue, not more [than] a quarter of the damage can be justly attributed to any proceedings of mine.

(Appendix 1:25)

However, a small surviving fragment from one letter suggests that William Daniel at some point changed his mind about this distribution of responsibility for the publication costs between the pair:

You are not nor can be in the present state of the matter moreover liable at all, for I have identified myself with the publication in such a manner that the liability must *legally* fall upon me. I do not I confess like to act like a fool and a child by doing one thing today and another tomorrow.

(Appendix 1:19)

How exactly the bill settled is not recorded in the surviving correspondence or elsewhere, although the fact that the letter in Appendix 1:19 appears to have been ripped up may suggest that it was never sent.

Illustrations was not the only Old English text that experienced financial problems after being printed by Taylor. As Brock and Meadows (1998: 40-41) discuss, this printer's bills were to prove larger than the money generated from the sale of a number of books, including Thorpe's *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase* (1832), his *Codex Exoniensis* (1842), and F. Madden's *Layamons Brut* (1847). Old English texts published through the Society of Antiquaries ended up running at so great a loss that the series was suspended, leading Henry Ellis (1777-1869), the then senior secretary of the Society, to comment that '[w]e really should revert to our ancient practice much inculcated in the early Minute Books not to take our Tradesmen from Members of the Society' (J. Evans 1956: 237-238). Yet Ellis' criticism of Taylor here may be unfounded, as Hunter notes that the Society failed to take action when publications ran over schedule:

Had the Auditors done what I say they ought to have done they would year by year have called our attention to the case of Layamon. There has been an expenditure of many hundred pounds with no apparent results, going on for seven or eight years, and such was the state of health of the gentleman to whom the work had been committed that in [spite of] eight hundred pounds that the work has cost none has been completed. Had the Auditors called the Society's attention to it [...] there is no doubt that the work could have been completed a long time ago.

(J. Evans 1956: 236)

On this occasion Madden was responsible for the delay, although he eventually produced an edition of the *Brut* in 1847.²⁴³ Together with sales of Thorpe's *Metrical Paraphrase* (1832) and *Codex Oxoniensis* (1842) there was only £712 generated from these books, against costs of £1135 (Brock and Meadows 1998: 40-41). After this first attempt to produce a series of early English texts, these plans were abandoned and not attempted again until the Early English Text Society was formed in 1864.

It seems that this was a challenging time for publishing books with any printer. Writing on 30 April 1826 to Mary Slade Smith née Barker (1774–1850), poet and friend of Wordsworth, Southey remarked

I am the worst person in the world to advise with upon any transactions with booksellers, having been engaged with them some thirty years, and having been all that time used by them like a goose, that is to say, plucked at their mercy. This, however, I can tell you, that, deal with them how you will, they will have the lion's share, and no one can find it answer to publish on his own account, except it be by subscription, when his friends will take some trouble to assist him.

(Southey 1826, cited in Warter 1856: 541-542)

This was the literary climate into which *Illustrations* was released, so it is perhaps not surprising that it experienced difficulties similar to other books published at this time. Nonetheless, Harding and Lepard appear to have been a sensible choice of publisher in terms of their ability to produce the book by subscription and their access to a printer with the appropriate Old English types.

So it seems that *Illustrations*, as well as being the final result of a difficult editing process, was published at a time when other similar texts were not selling well enough to cover their own publishing costs. Nonetheless, during

²⁴³ It is perhaps unfair to be too critical of the length of time Madden spent preparing this book. As Borrie (2012) notes, it took him only four years to translate 32,000 lines of verse, without the aid of modern dictionaries and grammars. This must have been an arduous task, as he later referred to the work as his 'vomit' (*ibid.*).

the years following its publication *Illustrations* seems to have been distributed relatively widely through a variety of means and in this way it went on to have a significant impact on Old English studies regardless of its financial difficulties.

Distributed Copies and the Sale of the Edition

By considering who was sent a copy of *Illustrations* by William Daniel and Mary it is possible to gain some insight into the book's original audience, and how widely it was disseminated in the years immediately following its production. As mentioned in the previous chapter, sometime between 1817 and 1821, John Josias wrote a list of names under the title 'Presentation Copies' at the back of his copy of Thorkelin's *De Danorum rebus gestis secul.* [...] (Appendix 1:5).²⁴⁴ As the list was written by John Josias, it does not represent the individuals and organisations to which the book was actually sent, but it may show the audience he considered. Whether William Daniel and Mary used this document when compiling their own list of subscribers is unknown, but there is some overlap between those named by John Josias and those who are known to have later received a copy.

The first individual mentioned on John Josias' list, 'Ellis', probably refers to the above-mentioned senior secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, Henry Ellis (1777-1869).²⁴⁵ As many of the extracts that were intended for inclusion in *Illustrations* had been first brought to the attention of the public through the publication of letters written by John Josias to Ellis for printing in *Archaeologia*, he seems a logical first choice to receive a copy. Indeed it appears that either William Daniel or Mary may have sent *Illustrations* to Ellis, as it is listed in a catalogue of the Society's books from 1861 (Society of Antiquaries 1861: 5).

The next item John Josias wrote on his list was 'Sax. Prof.', suggesting a copy was to be sent to the then professor of Anglo-Saxon. As was discussed in

²⁴⁴ See Chapter Four, p. 151.

²⁴⁵ See my introduction, p. 18.

Chapter Three,²⁴⁶ there was no Anglo-Saxon chair at the University of Cambridge at this time so this is most likely referring to Thomas Silver (1777-1853), who held the chair at Oxford between 1817 and 1822, around the same time this list was composed. However, Silver no longer held this position by the time *Illustrations* was published in 1826, so it is unlikely that a copy was sent to him by William or Mary. At this point, Charles John Ridley (d. 1854) held the position at Oxford, but there is no record today of his library's contents. Alternatively, it might refer to James Ingram (1774-1850), who held the Anglo-Saxon chair 1803-1808, and whose copy of *Illustrations*, inscribed 'E legatis Jaconi Ingram', is today Dublin, Trinity College Library, Old Library, F.11.3.

The following item on this list, 'Goughs Coll.' may be a reference to Richard Gough (1735-1809), an English antiquarian who was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and published on a number of issues related to the history of Britain. On his death he bequeathed 'a valuable library of Northern literature [...] in trust for the professor's use' to the University of Oxford (White 1852: xlvii). As Gough had died by the time this list was composed, it is possible that this refers to the 'Gough's Collection', now in the Bodleian Library (MSS. Gough). However, as there is no copy of *Illustrations* currently held in the collection, this identification cannot be firmly confirmed, although it would have clearly fitted with Gough's interest in 'recent works which had helped to stimulate an interest in the Saxon period' (Sweet 2004: 216). Today a copy of the book is held in another similar collection at Oxford – Bodleian Library, Douce, C 616 (1).

A number of the other names John Josias included on his list seem to refer to libraries, including Christ Church Library ('Ch. Ch. Lib.'), Exeter Chapter House Library ('Exeter Chapter House'), Bristol Cathedral Library ('Bristol library'), and the Athenaeum Library ('Athenaeum'). While there are no copies in Christ Church's library today, there are a number held in other college

²⁴⁶ See Chapter Three, p. 105

libraries at the University of Oxford.²⁴⁷ When John Josias wrote ‘Bib Univer’, which seems to stand for ‘Bibliotheca Universitatis’, perhaps he had intended a wider distribution for his book beyond Christ Church. A copy of *Illustrations* is still held in the Cathedral Library at Exeter today (LEA.CON), but if a copy was also sent to Bristol it was most likely destroyed along with the majority of the library’s books in 1831.²⁴⁸ A catalogue from 1845 confirms a copy was in the Athenaeum Library at that time (Athenaeum Club 1845: 76).

Five of the other names John Josias listed to receive a presentation copy of *Illustrations* refer to individuals. The name ‘Barnes’ probably refers to Ralph Barnes (1781-1869), who was the secretary to the bishop of Exeter, Chapter Clerk, and an ecclesiastical lawyer (Anon 1869: 306).²⁴⁹ Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan (1797-1879), was a sixth baronet who had studied geology along with Buckland, John Josias, and William Daniel. He moved to Edinburgh in 1820 and continued to be interested in antiquarian subjects, contributing to John Hodgson’s *History of Northumberland* (1827) (Morrell 2004). Thereafter, Turner, Southey, and Scott are listed. Turner and Southey are named in William Daniel’s correspondence as receiving copies of *Illustrations* (Appendices 1:20, 1:22) and a contemporary catalogue shows that Scott had owned a copy in his library at Abbotsford (Cochrane 1838: 188).

One final copy is listed for the ‘York institution’, but it is not clear to what this refers. The Irish geologist William Henry Fitton (1780-1861) mentions in his book that ‘Mr. Phillips of the York Institution’ lent him some ‘original maps and other papers, of very early date’ (1833: 29). It seems likely that the gentleman referred to by Fitton is William Phillips (1775-1828), the English mineralogist and geologist with whom William Daniel co-authored *Outlines of*

²⁴⁷ First edition copies of *Illustrations* are held in New College Library, Restricted Access: RS2225; Queen’s College Library, Tunnel: P.b.35; St Anne’s College Library: 821.12 2; St John’s College Library: Vet. Engl. 23; and Trinity College Library, Old Library: F.11.3.

²⁴⁸ During the Bristol Riots of 1831, the Cathedral Library’s ‘six or seven thousand volumes’ were destroyed when the rioters ‘threw the greater number of these volumes into the flames, and the Catalogue, of which, unfortunately, no duplicate was kept, shared a similar fate’ (Botfield 1849: 1).

²⁴⁹ See Chapter Six, pp, 236-237.

the Geology of England and Wales (1822), but no further information about the institution has been found.

It is also possible to compile a list of individuals to whom *Illustrations* was sent from William Daniel's letters to Mary. The first copies produced were sent to Mary herself ('I will order the two first to you' – Appendix 1:17), with another copy sent to her brother, Charles Davies ('I shall send your brother a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Poetry' – Appendix 1:17). When the book became available for purchase, copies were also sent to 'Gaisford, Marlow, Kidd, Serle, Groombridge, Burney, Petric, Turner, Ellis, and Barnes of Exeter' and also 'thro Turner a copy to Southey. The Mackworths are in town so I thought I would not avoid giving them one' (Appendix 1:20). A number of these individuals can be identified as those men John Josias is known to have had an association with from the discussion in the previous chapter – Thomas Gaisford, John Kidd, Stephen Groombridge, Charles Parr Burney, Henry Ellis Sharon Turner, and Robert Southey.²⁵⁰ As is discussed further below,²⁵¹ on 29 July 1826, Madden also noted in his diary that he had been presented with a copy of *Illustrations* two days prior to its general release (Madden 1826, cited in Kiernan 1997).

It also appears that further copies were sent out at a later date, as can be seen from a letter dated 1 October 1829 from William Taylor (1765-1836), reviewer and translator, to Mary thanking her for the 'obliging present' of a copy of *Illustrations* (Appendix 1:28). Mary also sent a copy to the Grimm brothers, as can be seen from a letter dated 12 October 1829 confirming that a copy of *Illustrations* was posted to Kassel (Appendix 1:29). The similar date on which these two books were dispatched seems to confirm Mary was distributing a number of copies during this period and it is possible that they also contained a note from her, like that described above, asking the reader to 'distinguish his [William Daniel's] productions from the author's' (Appendix 2:4).²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Refer to the Index for further discussion of these men in relation to John Josias.

²⁵¹ See pp. 230-231 of this chapter.

²⁵² See Chapter Five, p. 204.

A further two copies of *Illustrations*, currently offered for sale, are inscribed with the names of their former owners: Thomas Falconer and Frederic Markham Tindall. It has not been possible to identify Frederic Markham Tindall, but Falconer (1771-1839) was a classical scholar from Bath who may have known John Josias from his time at the University of Oxford, where he was a fellow of Corpus Christi College and Bampton lecturer (1810). Another copy of *Illustrations*, containing a label stating ‘J. W. Mackie, Student of Christ Church, OXFORD’, was purchased during the process of this research. It seems likely that this copy was owned by John William Mackie (1787- 1847), the son of John Mackie (1748-1831) who was a famous physician, committed Anglican, and also spent ‘several winters in Bath’ (Greenhill 2004). In an obituary it was noted that the elder Mackie knew John Josias and that his only son, John William, was a student of Christ Church (Anon 1832: 189). In each of these cases, it is not known whether these men received their copies of *Illustrations* from either of the editors, bought them at the time of publication, or obtained them subsequently.

Aside from the copies that were sent by William Daniel and Mary, *Illustrations* was also made available for general sale. In one letter William Daniel notes that ‘if we sell 300 small and 80 large this will cover the expense [of publishing the book]. [...] I have neither the hope or desire of doing more’ (Appendix 1:20). However, if these sales had been realised this would have generated a further £110 profit beyond the £320 required to cover the expected publishing costs as William Daniel described in Appendix 1:20.²⁵³ The exact number of small and large copies produced is not recorded, although the advertisement that announced the volume stated that

²⁵³ 300 small copies x 18s	£270	Expected cost of publication	£320
80 large copies x £2	£160	Expect revenue from sales	£430
	<u>£430</u>		<u>£110 profit</u>

[a] few copies have been printed in 4to., price 2*l.*, in order to range with the Quarto edition of Warton's *History of English Poetry*, to which it may be considered as forming an introductory volume. The 8vo. will range with the new edition of the same work.

(Anon 1827b: 166; Appendix 1:21)

Warton's quarto volumes of *The History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century* were published between 1774-1781, followed by Price's edition that appeared as four octavo volumes in 1824. Warton was logically paired with *Illustrations*, as although he was considered 'England's first true literary historian' (Fairer 1981: 37), his examination began at the close of the Old English period – so *Illustrations* was presented as a remedy to this omission. As Price's volumes were the latest edition of the work, this was the one which was selected to range with the smaller, more popular volumes.

Nonetheless, sales of either size appear to have been disappointing, as in their accounts for 1832 the Society of Antiquaries recorded

the Rev. William Conybeare's liberal donation of 100 copies (25 of which are on large paper) of his edition of the late Rev. John Conybeare's *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, to be sold at reduced prices in aid of the Saxon Fund.

(Llandaff, Phillips, and Markland 1834: xviii)

So it appears that numerous copies of *Illustrations* remained unsold even six years after its publication, indeed so many that William Daniel eventually gave them away. Considering his earlier concerns about the financial hardships that would result from not selling enough copies, it seems likely that this was only done after all avenues for recovering costs through sales had been exhausted. Yet this donation, combined with the copies that were distributed by Mary and Daniel, must have resulted in *Illustrations* reaching a greater number of readers. So while it may be that the number of books sold was relatively small, nevertheless many of the copies produced eventually

ended up in the libraries of various influential individuals in the literary circles of the time.

Over the years that followed, copies of *Illustrations* seem to have become completely unavailable for purchase. Two years after William Daniel's donation to the Society, Lardner (1834: 24) comments that the 'book [*Illustrations*] is become too scarce to be purchased at any price'. This is supported by a catalogue entry from 1843 stating that the large copy was 'scarce' (Bohn 1843: 170), while by 1855 another catalogue marked it 'very scarce' (Willis 1855: 7). It seems *Illustrations* became unavailable to buy during the third decade of the nineteenth century and remained so until into the twentieth century when reprints were issued.

Surviving Copies

Today WorldCat records 106 locations around the world where public or university libraries hold a copy of the first edition of *Illustrations* (1826), in countries and institutions such as America (Harvard University), Australia (University of Melbourne), Canada (Dalhousie University), Germany (Berlin State Library), Ireland (University College Cork), Japan (Kelo University), New Zealand (University of Otago), and South Africa (University of Cape Town). Copies are also held in eleven locations throughout the United Kingdom, in university libraries in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Cambridge, King's College London, Manchester, Newcastle, Oxford, and in Guildhall Library, London Library, the National Art Library, and Torbay Library.

Further to the copies recorded in public catalogues, a number of others have been traced for sale, including the book with Mary's note in it described above (Appendix 2:4).²⁵⁴ Thomas Gaisford's aforementioned copy,²⁵⁵ including his bookplate and a letter of presentation from William Daniel, was sold in a private sale on eBay.com in 2011 (item number: 320752934215). At the present time, there is also one copy for sale in America (Connie Popek), another in the Scottish Borders inscribed as belonging to 'Thomas Falconer' (Bookdonors

²⁵⁴ See Chapter Five, p. 204.

²⁵⁵ See Chapter Three, pp. 120-121.

CIC),²⁵⁶ and in Spain there is the only surviving large copy it has been possible to trace (Cole and Covtreras). This large edition contains the bookplate of 'Frederic Markham Tindall'²⁵⁷ and is described in the seller's catalogue as being 'printed on fine laid paper with huge margins', suggesting that the type was not altered for the limited run of larger volumes. Furthermore I obtained two first editions of *Illustrations* during the process of this research, both of which were bought from America. One is unmarked and in its original binding. The other has been rebound, apparently soon after it was purchased, by John William Mackie.²⁵⁸

Reprints

Illustrations was first reprinted in 1964, 140 years after its author's death, by Haskell House Publisher, 'publishers of scarce scholarly books'. This book was identical to the first edition, other than some minor changes to the publisher's logos and notices. In the last ten years, *Illustrations* has been issued a number of times in paperback facsimile editions by Kessinger Publishing Ltd. (2007), BiblioBazaar (2009), Nabu Press (2010), Elibron Classics Series (2011), and most recently by Ulan Press (2012).²⁵⁹ It is also accessible today in several non-paper formats: Columbia University in New York holds a microform copy (Butler Microforms, 401 Butler, F h294), and both Hathitrust Digital Library (821.2 C7645il) and Cornell University Library (Internet Archive, PR1505.C63) have their own e-book versions. However, *Illustrations* is most widely available electronically in Google eBook format (2007), which is a facsimile of the first edition currently held in The New York Public Library.

²⁵⁶ See p. 213 of this chapter.

²⁵⁷ See p. 213 of this chapter.

²⁵⁸ See p. 213 of this chapter.

²⁵⁹ Some of these cannot be considered separate reissues, as BiblioBazaar and Nabu Press are different publishing names of the same company. These new copies of *Illustrations* have been produced due to the recent market success of selling made-on-demand copies of old books that no longer come under copyright restriction but may have gone out of print (Albanese 2010). Although the benefit of these editions is that *Illustrations* has been made more widely available, in the case of some other texts incidents of copyfraud have resulted in public domain, online editions becoming restricted. Furthermore, examination of these reprints often reveals missing pages and copying errors.

Until electronic formats of *Illustrations* were released in the twenty-first century, it was never intended, nor expected, that the book would be made available to a large audience. However, primarily as a result of William and Mary's distribution of the book during the decade following its publication, it was read by many of the principal scholars and antiquarians who played a role in the development of Old English studies at the beginning of the nineteenth century. As at this time few individuals could read Old and Middle English, and only a little had been made available in print, it is argued here that a small readership, consisting of the right people, was sufficient to allow *Illustrations* to have a notable impact on the discipline at this formative stage of its development. The value of the book for popularising early English materials by making them available in translation, and providing access to previously unknown texts was recognised at the time *Illustrations* was published in a number of its reviews.

Reception

As the discussion above has identified some of the individuals who formed *Illustrations*' original audience, this section considers how the book was critically received by its contemporary audience in an attempt to identify which aspects of it were admired or considered wanting. This is examined first from the perspective of the reviews that appeared in various contemporary periodicals and then by considering some of the comments about *Illustrations* that were made by the scholars of the day.

Contemporary Reception

A notice appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1826 announcing that *Illustrations* was ready for publication (Anon 1826a), while another in *The Edinburgh Magazine* for May reported that it would be available the following month (Anon 1826b). However, we know from Appendix 1:20 that the book did not go on sale until 31 July 1826. This suggests that it took slightly longer to release *Illustrations* for general sale than was expected at the point these magazines were contacted, possibly due to the difficulties between William Daniel and Mary in the final months of the editing process or to allow time for

Price's notes to be incorporated.²⁶⁰ Yet these final efforts were necessary to ensure that the book appeared in the most accurate form possible, as both editors must have known that if *Illustrations* was to sell enough copies to cover its publishing expenses then it needed to receive positive reviews in the weeks following its release.

The first review of *Illustrations* was published in *The London Literary Gazette* on 12 August 1826, less than two weeks after the book was released (Anon 1826c; Appendix 1:23). *The Gazette* (published 1817-1862) was one of a number of weekly magazines that published reviews of new literature at this time, and it 'commanded unprecedented power and influence' from the 1820s into the 1840s (D. Thompson 1935). At the height of its circulation *The Gazette* was selling 4000 copies a week, so it had considerable influence over the success, or failure, of the publications it reviewed (*ibid.*). Nonetheless, when *Illustrations* appeared in *The Gazette*, William Daniel wrote to Mary that

there is a very favourable but also very poor and blundering review in the Literary Gazette. This is in my estimation altogether a work minoram gentium, yet those same gentis minores are far more numerous, and I am informed that the Gazette possesses a large circulation and considerable influence, so that after all it may perhaps contribute to make the work more generally known.

(Appendix 1:22)

From this it can be seen that William Daniel was mostly interested in reaching a scholarly audience, although he recognised the benefit of increasing sales of *Illustrations* amongst a more general readership. Indeed *The Gazette's* reviewer acknowledged that the book was more academic than those they usually considered in the journal, stating that they felt an 'inability to do justice to the present work', as

²⁶⁰ See Chapter Five, pp. 202-203.

it would require the study of the language for several years, and much investigation of its remaining treasures, to qualify any critic for deciding upon many of the points which the diligence and acumen of the Editor of this volume, of his late excellent brother, of the gentlemen we have named above [Turner, Ingram, and Bosworth], and of Thorkelin the Danish author – have brought to light and opened for discussion.

(Anon 1826c: 497)

So it was noted that this review was ‘a popular notice’, one that was ‘better suited to our limits than a learned and labourious disquisition’, and that it was provided only because ‘much may be learnt from a view of these remarkable documents’ (*ibid.*). Nonetheless, this kind of review must have helped with promoting the sale of *Illustrations*, important considering its financial difficulties and the fact that many scholars, who otherwise might have bought it for themselves, had been presented with a copy by William Daniel or Mary already.

Another reason why William Daniel objected to this review may have been because he did not believe that *The Gazette*’s writer had focused on what he considered the most successful parts of *Illustrations*. After a brief description of John Josias’ background and the circumstances through which the book came to be published, the reviewer then commented on the author’s work on Old English metrics. As was discussed above,²⁶¹ William Daniel had not wanted to include his brother’s metrical studies in *Illustrations* and had suggested to Mary that they should be replaced with a new essay written by him. Yet it was this work that *The Gazette* chose to highlight to its readers first, stating that

²⁶¹ See pp. 186-187 of this chapter.

Mr. Conybeare endeavours to shew that it [the Anglo-Saxon's poetry] was distinguished from their prose by the continual use of a certain definite rhythm [...] [a]lliteration, the extensive use of periphrasis, the omission of short particles, and, at a later date, terminal rimes (*viz.* during the Dano-Saxon period), are the other characteristics of the Muses of our ancestors.

(Anon 1826c: 497)

The use of alliteration was then exemplified with an extract from William Daniel's essay, 'Comparative View of the Icelandic and Ancient Teutonic Metres', where he compared the Old Norse in part of *Guðrúnarkviða I*, from the Codex Regius (Reykjavik, Stofnun Arna Magnussonar, MS GkS 2365), with his own Old English and English translations of the poem, commenting that 'the systematic employment of alliteration was a practice entirely of northern or of Celtic origin, and though not unknown, yet very rarely resorted to by the classical prosodists of either Rome or Greece' (*ibid.*). This was followed by an extract from *The Riming Poem*, also added by to *Illustrations* by William Daniel, as an example of the use of terminal rhymes. A brief description of the book's contents followed, along with a short extract from William Daniel's translation of *The Battle of Maldon* as 'the most spirited and Homeric descant which has reached us from these olden times' (Anon 1826c: 498), again drawing the classical comparisons that remained common in the pre-philological period.

The Gazette's reviewer considered *Illustrations* to be 'one of the most valuable contributions that has ever been offered to enrich this field of curious, antiquarian, and national inquiry' (Anon 1826c: 497). Indeed, it was thought to be of such interest that the magazine published a further review a week later, on 19 August 1826 (Anon 1826d). This second communication began with several references to the concerns of the day surrounding the place of women ('[w]oman, the dearest source of inspiration, was then [during the Anglo-Saxon period] an inferior creature, and not a companion') and the influence of romanticism on literary tastes ('the refinements of chivalry began to awaken a degree of attention and romantic gallantry', '[w]hat they had of *nature* in them, and may have expressed in perishable ballads or slight poems, has not floated

down the stream of time to us') (Anon 1826d: 518). This discussion was followed by extracts from the sections in *Illustrations* on *Cædmon's Hymn*, *Widsith*, and *Beowulf* without a great deal of further commentary. This style of review, which included many quotations from the text under examination, was particularly common in the weekly magazines of the time, while more often the quarterly magazines were accused of using their reviews to promote particular political opinions (D. Thompson 1935).

The following month, within a shorter review of *Illustrations*, the same passage of *Guðrúnarkviða I* that had appeared in *The Gazette* was printed again in its sister publication, *La Belle Assemblée, or Court and Fashionable Magazine* (published 1806-1847) (Anon 1826e; Appendix 1:24). This women's magazine was one of a number that were available during the period, such as *The Lady's Monthly Museum* and *The British Lady's Magazine*. Yet it was not as frivolous a publication as some of its competitors and it contained items such as news, fiction, social commentary, scientific information, details of cultural events, and reviews of recent books. Yet even for this magazine's literate audience, it was felt that

[*Illustrations*] is of a nature far too *recherchée* for the general reader; but as its editor is fortunately a man of true poetic taste and feeling, it contains many gems which, from their intrinsic merit and beauty, deserve to appear in a separate volume. We speak with reference to the metrical version into which some of the old Saxon poems are very happily thrown.

(Anon 1826e: 129)

It was in the blank verse translations that the reviewer felt '[t]he lovers of ancient literature will find a rich treat', and so the extract from *Guðrúnarkviða I* was published in English, without the Old Norse and Old English versions found in *The Gazette*, although it was acknowledged that this was more 'paraphrastic than a close translation' (*ibid.*). So while this review did not contain many details of *Illustrations'* contents, it must have brought the book to the attention of a number of female readers.

William Daniel referred to two further reviews of *Illustrations* in a letter to Mary, where, addressing her apparent dissatisfaction with the finished book, he wrote that ‘the Reviews the Monthly and Westminster sanction my own views of what I acted in my Editorial capacity, [...] though I do not see sufficient knowledge of the subject to convince me to attach any value myself to their opinions’ (Appendix 1:25). In *The Monthly Review* (published 1749-1844) for October 1826 (Anon 1826f; extracts printed in Appendix 1:26), *Illustrations*’ reviewer presented the book to its readers as ‘an introduction to the history of our early English poetry’ (Anon 1826f: 183). This monthly periodical was selling around 6000 copies each month from the 1780s, and it is today considered ‘the first successful and systematic review journal in the modern sense’ (P. Baines, Ferraro, and Rogers 2011). With this large readership, a successful review must have had a considerable influence on the sales of the books it considered. Yet again it seems that William Daniel did not value its non-specialised opinion particularly highly.

The article in *The Monthly Review* began similarly to that in *The Gazette*, with a description of John Josias and William Daniel’s background and an explanation of how *Illustrations* came to be posthumously published. It also discussed John Josias’ research on Old English metrics and how he used this to distinguish poetry from prose. Like the other reviews of *Illustrations* from the time, the author drew unfavourable comparisons between Old English and classical literature:

With respect to the essence of poetry, picturesque and elevated thought expressed in appropriate language, the Anglo-Saxons fall immeasurably short of the Greek and Roman models, and are even inferior to their Scandinavian brethren.

(Anon 1826f: 184)

This was followed by extracts from William Daniel’s translation of *The Battle of Maldon*. The many similarities between this review and that which had appeared in *The Gazette*, perhaps suggests that the *Monthly Review* writer was

to some extent following the earlier article, although he chose to illustrate his discussion with lengthier quotations from *Illustrations*.

However, unlike those that had preceded it, *The Monthly Review* article included a sizable extract from John Josias' English translation of *Widsith*, which can be seen in the extract included in Appendix 1:26. This was followed by a brief discussion on *Beowulf* and an outline of the rest of *Illustrations*' contents. Here some of the items in the book were treated with less enthusiasm than others:

Alfred's version of the poetical parts of Boethius has been too frequently printed to require any notice in these pages; and as to the minor poems selected from the Exeter manuscript, and the Norman-Saxon poem on death, we can only attribute their insertion in the Appendix to the unbounded veneration entertained by the editor for every scrap of antiquity, which his brother had collected in his leisure hours [...] we may be allowed to question, as a matter of taste, the propriety of the frequent eulogies which the editor bestows upon the author.

(Anon 1826f: 191)

It seems that by attempting to position *Illustrations* primarily as 'a monument and memorial' (Appendix 1:25), William Daniel alienated some of his potential audience, who viewed *Illustrations* as a sentimental scrapbook of John Josias' various scholarly productions rather than a cohesive work. Furthermore, by reprinting extracts from earlier publications, but including few introductory or explicatory notes, it appears that the context and significance of some of the Old English texts could not be appreciated by a non-specialised audience.

The other review William Daniel mentioned in his letter to Mary was published nine months after *Illustrations*, in April 1827, in a relatively new quarterly called *The Westminster Review* (published 1824-1914) (Anon 1827a; extracts printed in Appendix 1:27). This periodical was not as popular as some of the others mentioned above, with a circulation of around 2000 copies per issue at the height of its success (D. Thompson 1935). Yet it must have been a particularly difficult publication for *Illustrations* to receive a positive review

from, as it ‘often condemned poetry for being a frivolous activity, one that did not substantially promote the welfare of society’ (*ibid.*). Nonetheless, when the lengthy review was published, it was done with ‘patriotic gratulation’ towards ‘the growing attention which has of late been given to the study of the language of the Anglo-Saxons’, although with the oft-expressed contemporary reservation that early English literature could not ‘pretend to vie with the fine models of Greece and Rome, or with the polished productions of our own Augustan era’ (Anon 1827a: 464).

Nonetheless, *The Westminster Review* did note ‘that a much higher state of *comparative* civilization must have existed among our ancestors of the Saxon era than is apparent in the pages of our common-place historians’, so setting the findings in *Illustrations* against the description of the past contained in works by individuals like Hume (465).²⁶² Together with Ingram, John Josias was lauded for having ‘done much, not only to promote the study of the Saxon language within the academic confines, but even to popularise the subject in the rapidly extended circles of general inquiry’, and both men were presented as continuing the work of earlier Anglo-Saxonists such as Junius, Lye, and Hickes (*ibid.*).

The Westminster Review article also acknowledged for the first time the diversity of reader to whom *Illustrations* might appeal, including ‘the literary antiquary’, ‘the philologist’, ‘the prosodist’, ‘the lover of critical analysis’, and even ‘the admirer of the wild energies of poetic genius’ (Anon 1827a: 466). To these disparate groups a brief description of the publication’s background was offered, followed by an outline of the book’s contents, but again the same sections on *Guðrúnarkviða I*, *The Battle of Maldon*, *Cædmon’s Hymn*, *Widsith*, and *Beowulf* were highlighted as were found in the other contemporary reviews and various comparisons were drawn with classical models. The most praise was given to *Beowulf*, where the two main episodes of the poem, the text leading up to and including the battle with Grendel and his mother and the events some years later with the dragon, were referred to as

²⁶² See Chapter Two, pp. 77-79.

an Iliad and an Odyssey, both from the pen of the same Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Danish, Homer, who, if not equal to the Greek, has yet no feeble touch of the same heroic fire, and draws evidently his inspirations from the same fountains of imaginative conception and original genius.

(Anon 1827a: 472)

So while undoubtedly authors continued to draw classical parallels in this period, it does seem that by the time this review was published writers were beginning to consider Old English literature more favourably.

Yet, although it contained the most lengthy and detailed contemporary examination of *Illustrations*, *The Westminster Review* still only mentioned the materials added towards the end of *Illustrations* briefly. However, on this occasion the author stated that this was ‘not because we deem the editor, either in what he has arranged, or in what he has deemed it necessary to add, appears at all to have fallen off in his task; but because we see the danger of our article extending to unreasonable length’ (Anon 1827a: 475). So only concise descriptions were given of the remaining items in the book, which were supported by a number of illustrative quotations. Here an unusual approach was taken to the translation of *The Wife’s Lament*, which was added to *Illustrations* by William Daniel, where the reviewer provided a short extract from the poem in Old English (ll. 36-38a) along with their own English translation:

‘ – mec man punian, On puda bearpa Under ac treo On ðam eorð scraefe; Cald is ðis eorð sele.	- me maun wonne In woody bowers, Under oak-tree In them earth scrafe; Cold is this earth cell.	I am compelled to sojourn In woodland bowers, Beneath the oak-tree, In this earthy cavern; Cold is this earthy mansion;
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(Anon 1827a: 481)

(Anon 1827a: 481)

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 248)²⁶³

²⁶³ William Daniel’s translation was not printed in *The Westminster Review*, but it is included here for comparison.

The Old English in *The Westminster Review* was presumably taken from *Illustrations*, but 'heht' was left out from the first line (presumably because the verb could not be recognised) and 'in' was replaced with 'on' on the fourth. The reviewer proposed his own translation to demonstrate for

the consideration of Mr. Conybeare whether, in the mere interpreting version, it would not be more useful to the uninitiated reader, and more conducive to etymological purposes, if, wherever the original words happen, in every thing but their modes of spelling and inflection, still to continue to be English, they were scrupulously preserved in what professes to be the close translation of the parallel column.

(Anon 1827a: 481)

This could not be applied to any of the texts prepared by John Josias, who had used Latin for his parallel translations 'as it admitted (like the Anglo-Saxon) of an inverted construction of sentence', and so allowed for a closer translation (1814o: 262). Yet it does show that there was an increased interest in etymological approaches at this time, although the reviewer's translation method here, to some extent, echoes the conjectural approach found in Henshall's unsuccessful *The Saxon and English Languages Reciprocally Illustrative of Each Other* (1798).²⁶⁴ So while there seems to have been a growing awareness of philological approaches during this period, these were still not being applied accurately or consistently three years following John Josias' death. The review ended with a positive discussion of John Josias' metrical work and the recommendation of the book 'to the diligent perusal of all those who can feel an interest in the poetical and philological antiquities of our language' (Anon 1827a: 483).²⁶⁵

²⁶⁴ See Chapter Six, pp. 260-263.

²⁶⁵ This edition of *The Westminster Review* also contained a brief review of John Josias' study on *The Siege of Rouen* (376-378), which was published posthumously by William Daniel (J. J. Conybeare 1827). However, this contained little more than a series of extracts from the article with little commentary other than to note that one section of the poem was written 'in a strain, superior to every other part of the poem, and, to any writer of the age, excepting Chaucer' (378). This shows that appreciation for later poetry was more common than that for Old English examples at this time.

A year after it was first published, *Illustrations* was reviewed again in another British periodical (Anon 1828). *The British Critic* (published 1792-1853) was a monthly publication that, particularly after changing hands in 1816, was known for its lengthy literary reviews and connections with the Anglican church (Brake and Demoor 2009: 78). This review began with a description of John Josias' background, similar to those discussed above, but with rather more emphasis given to his role as 'an enlightened theologian', 'exemplary minister', and 'one of the most active clergymen' (Anon 1828: 62). As was also seen in *The Westminster Review*, the main criticism of *Illustrations* in *The British Critic* related to the translations it contained:

We regret, indeed, that it was not made a little less formidable to English readers, by detaching the translations from the Saxon text, and reserving for the rear of the volume that grim array of barbaric syllables. We shall freely confess, also, that the metre in which the translations are written (for the most part blank verse) is not the most inviting in itself, and certainly not the most faithful to the spirit of the original. The Saxon verses were short, and the little rhythm they have is dactylic, or trochaic, (we use the terms loosely for want of better,) the English version moves in a ponderous iambic. Too great decoration is also conspicuous in some translations, and certainly more befitting a version of one of the poets of antiquity than of a more than semi-barbarous Saxon ditty.

(Anon 1828: 63)

Here it was proposed that there was something inappropriate about John Josias' use of blank verse. Again the 'semi-barbarous Saxon ditty' was compared with the productions of the 'poets of antiquity', but this time the objection was that the iambic metre was too high-flown for use in the translation of Old English. This seems to follow Hume, in that it promoted the idea of an uncultivated and under-developed Anglo-Saxon literature, and it presumed an understanding of the text's original reception that could not have been based upon any serious consideration of the 'scanty and rude' Old English texts or their audience (64).

Yet regardless of this criticism of the translations, *The British Critic* reviewer then went on to print several pages of lengthy extracts from John Josias' English translation of *Beowulf*. He concluded this section by noting of the translations that:

To us it appears that they have only one fault – that of being *too good* – too refined – too heroic in their structure. The Saxon original, with infinitely less ornament, by its abrupt laconic lines of a few syllables, aided by a construction more artificial than our own, is a much better echo of the wild and barbarous legend they contain. By the side of these primitive verses, the well-trimmed growth of Mr. Conybeare's iambics look something like a fair-proportioned Grecian villa beside the Cyclopean masses of Stonehenge.

(Anon 1828: 68-69)

In remedy to this perceived shortcoming, the reviewer then attempted to 'show, *practically*, how little poetic we conceive such translations ought to be, by venturing to produce one or two of our own' (Anon 1828: 63). For this they selected an extract from *Judgement Day II* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201; ll. 1-6a), attached to William Daniel's catalogue of surviving Old English texts (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxxx), and a section from *Genesis A* (ll. 1-7a), from an editorial note on Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11 (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 184). The reviewer's translation of the latter is given below and followed by William Daniel's version for comparison:

High right it is that we should sing
Heaven's high eternal King;
Lord of hosts, in glory bright,
Him our voice should praise aright,
Him our hearts should love – obey,
Sole Creator, only stay!
Mightiest, above all that be,
Creator and Redeemer He.

(Anon 1828: 70)

Us is much right that we heaven's guardian Lord,
The King in glory o'er his hosts supreme,
Praise with our lips, and in our hearts adore.
Source of all power, of all his noblest works
Himself the nobler head, Almighty Prince!
To him beginning none of days was wrought
Before, nor change nor end approacheth nigh
The' eternal Ruler's ever-during sway.

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 184)

Neither of these translations were literal renderings, but they exemplify how methods of considering the past altered approaches to Old English texts at this time. The reviewer then went on to attach a further translation of *The Ruin* in the same style and concluded their review of a work by 'a man admired and regretted' (Anon 1828: 72).

So it would seem that when *Illustrations* was first released for sale its reception was generally positive, while most of the negative criticism it received was in some way related to editorial additions by William Daniel. This perhaps helps to explain Mary's aforementioned note, which she sent out with copies of *Illustrations* towards the end of the decade asking that the editorial contributions be differentiated from those of the author.²⁶⁶ Yet the reviews discussed above were aimed predominantly at a more general readership, indeed one that was unlikely to have enough knowledge of early English literature to judge the quality of the scholarship the book contained. This seems to be the reason why so many of these reviews only discussed the merit of the translations as compositions themselves and as tools to aid translation. However, in order to gain a broader understanding of *Illustrations'* contemporary reception it is also necessary to consider how the book was viewed by other scholars of the day.

Scholarly Reception

It seems that a few copies of *Illustrations* were sent out for scholarly review before it was released for general sale. As discussed above, Price provided some notes on a pre-publication version of the book, including a few corrections

²⁶⁶ See Chapter Five, p. 204.

to the materials authored by William Daniel (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lv, lxix) and occasional additional comments (147, 203). Although Price did not publish a review of *Illustrations*, William Daniel suggests that he and Turner, as men ‘acquainted with the subject’, were ‘clearly of the same mind’ in their judgement of the book (Appendix 1:25). If this is the case we can assume their opinions were positive, as a note in the sixth edition of Turner’s *The History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1836, vol. 3: 353) refers its readers to *Illustrations* ‘with great pleasure’, while acknowledging that he and the author did ‘not coincide in all the translations’ but could appreciate ‘the value of the researches, and the talent in both the brothers which the work displays’. Turner made particular mention of the Exeter Book materials printed in *Illustrations*, calling them ‘important and interesting’, as well as commenting that ‘the value of some has been enhanced by the poetical paraphrases which accompany their Latin translation’ (*ibid.*).

Another scholar who received a pre-release copy of *Illustrations* was Madden, who wrote in his diary on 29 July 1826 that he had been presented with a copy by William Daniel and considered it ‘very faulty’, which he could prove by using his ‘own collated copy, to point out the errors’ (Madden 1826, cited in Kiernan 1997). This unfavourable opinion may have been influenced by Madden’s own plans to publish on *Beowulf*, as he notes that ‘[n]ow Conybeare is dead I am at perfect liberty to publish it in any way I please’ (*ibid.*). Indeed he had started his own examination of the poem earlier in the year, which included transcribing all of John Josias’ notes from the above-mentioned copy of Thorkelin’s *Beowulf* between 24 February and 1 March 1824 (*ibid.*). Only two days after hearing of John Josias’ death on 15 June, five days after the event itself, Madden promptly sent for the *Beowulf* manuscript in the British Museum and he began his own collation on 21 June 1824, remarking that ‘[n]otwithstanding Conybeare’s having gone *three* times over it [...] he has omitted to notice a quantity of errors, and has added a few himself’ (*ibid.*). Yet as Kiernan (1997) has shown, it is only due to Madden’s reliance on John Josias’ earlier work that he was able to produce his own, more accurate, *Beowulf* manuscript collation. By the time that Madden defended his deceased

friend's reputation against Kemble's criticism in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, it would seem that he had a higher opinion of John Josias' scholarship.²⁶⁷

It is from Bosworth's anonymously-published defence of John Josias against Kemble, where he called him 'a Scholar, a Gentleman, and a Christian', that the title of this thesis is taken (Anon 1835a: 14). While Bosworth acknowledged that *Illustrations* was not entirely free from errors, he notes that this was also true of the works of scholars such as Turner, Cardale, and Ingram (*ibid.*). He remarked that when Kemble had 'written half what these gentlemen have published, he will see enough of his own *real errors* to make him lenient towards the *oversights* of others' (*ibid.*). This sentiment was echoed by Thorpe in 1842 (iv), who wrote that although *Illustrations* was 'wanting in the completeness and accuracy that could result only from a careful perusal of every line in the manuscript', it still 'proved amply sufficient to excite the attention of scholars both at home and abroad'. Thorpe also clearly placed John Josias' research within the context of the scholarship that had gone before it, noting that the publication of poems from the Exeter Book in *Illustrations* had removed the manuscript from 'the obscurity in which it had lain for nearly seven centuries' since the 'imperfect and inaccurate' entries in Wanley's catalogue (*ibid.*). Thorpe's opinion is particularly relevant to this thesis as he is today considered one of the earliest English philologists.²⁶⁸ Yet even he, writing many years after *Illustrations* was published, recognised the book's contribution to Old English studies. As is discussed further in the following chapter,²⁶⁹ it seems that, with the exception of Kemble, it was not until the time of the next generation of Anglo-Saxonists – all raised on philological approaches – that John Josias' research was allowed to slip from distinction and memory.

So from amongst the small group of scholars who were best placed to evaluate the merit of John Josias' research on Old English materials in the years immediately following *Illustrations*' release, there was only one who expressed

²⁶⁷ See Chapter Three, pp. 136-140.

²⁶⁸ See Chapter Three, p. 136.

²⁶⁹ See Chapter Six, pp. 286-295.

significant displeasure at its contents: Kemble. This was expressed in the above-mentioned controversy in *The Gentleman's Magazine*,²⁷⁰ but also can be seen in the forematter to his translation of Michel's *Bibliothèque Anglo-Saxonne* (1837). Here, in a letter to Michel, Kemble wrote:

But unfortunately man is frail, and so are Anglo-Saxon processors, and so is the Rev. J. Conybeare, who has committed many grievous blunders, and whose book in consequence, if not looked to, may do quite as much harm as good.

(Kemble in Michel 1837: 20)

Yet in this letter even Kemble had to acknowledge that *Illustrations* had 'beyond a doubt been of considerable service to the student' and he notes that William Daniel's donation of unsold copies of the book to the Society of Antiquaries was done 'with a commendable zeal for the diffusion of Saxon learning' (*ibid.*). As he now recognised this contribution, Kemble must have later realised that he had been excessively critical of John Josias earlier in the decade, although, with his characteristic lack of grace, he never publicly acknowledged this.

While these contemporary scholars seldom showed much interest in the poetical merit of John Josias' translations, as was seen in the periodical reviews, they recognised the contribution that *Illustrations* made to the furtherance of interest in early English literature, particularly regarding *Beowulf* and the poems from the Exeter Book. Errors made by John Josias seemed to spark interest in the texts from later scholars. Although many of these individuals went on to gain a more detailed understanding of his Old English materials than John Josias ever had himself, they were only able to undertake such studies because he had brought the texts to the attention of the scholarly community in the first place. *Illustrations*, to some extent, therefore formed the basis of later advancements in Old English studies.

²⁷⁰ See Chapter Three, pp. 136-140.

Conclusions

When William Daniel and Mary began the task of editing *Illustrations* they intended to produce a volume that was as faithful to John Josias' original plans as possible. This proved a difficult task considering the scale of the edition that had been proposed and the extent to which it had been left incomplete. Moreover, the requirement to produce a text that was functional conflicted with the stated aim of preserving the original work of the author. This added to the difficulties of trying to edit a book that neither William Daniel nor Mary was as well qualified as John Josias to undertake. The resulting editorial process therefore seems to have been frequently difficult to manage. These problems at the editing stage resulted in a book that did not fulfil its author's original intentions. This perhaps contributed towards *Illustrations* not selling as well as the editors may have wished.

But even though the sales may have been disappointing, it seems that *Illustrations* was read by many of the important literary figures of the time and even today a number of copies are held in university and public libraries around the world, as well as being accessible in various electronic formats. At the time the book was published, it was generally acknowledged that it contributed to the development of greater interest in early English literature. Any errors that it contained did not distract attention entirely from the importance of its contents, nor did it stop a large number of individuals referring to it in the years that followed. So it is perhaps best to follow William Daniel in the belief that 'it is the aggregate of such opinions that forms the public estimation on which one depends' (Appendix 1:25), which, in the case of *Illustrations*, seems to have been favourable throughout the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Nonetheless, although it seems from the above that John Josias' *Illustrations* played an important role in popularising early English literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century and that it created a foundation on which later studies were built, it is also necessary to evaluate the quality of the scholarship it contained. If the texts in *Illustrations* had been inaccurately transcribed from the manuscripts, badly translated, or erroneously described,

then the usefulness of the book for later scholars would have been greatly diminished. My last chapter therefore considers John Josias' work on the Exeter Book and the form in which some of his Old English scholarship, considered separately from the contributions of his editors, appeared in *Illustrations*. Finally, the book's modern reception history is discussed to indicate where this research has agreed with, or challenged, previous scholars' views on *Illustrations* and John Josias' work as an early editor of Old English poetry.

Chapter Six: John Josias Conybeare as Old English Editor and Scholar

While the two previous chapters discussed the circumstances that led to *Illustrations*' publication in 1826, here I consider the quality of the scholarship the book contains. I show that, as well as being important for promoting and popularising the study of early English literature, *Illustrations* was a well-executed piece of scholarship that provided a solid foundation on which later studies were then built. I bring together evidence from throughout this thesis to identify which texts from the Exeter Book John Josias was the first to study after Wanley's cursory examination of the manuscript for his *Catalogus librorum septentrionalium* (in Hickes 1703-1705, vol. 2: 281). This is followed by a consideration of John Josias' discussion of *Widsith* in *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 9-29), as an example of research that he had finished preparing for *Illustrations* before his death,²⁷¹ to outline his understanding of the poem and where his work contributed to studies by later scholars. This is further demonstrated by an examination of John Josias' approach to editing and translation, which compares his publication of *Cædmon's Hymn* and *Widsith* with that in an earlier and a later edition respectively. Finally, *Illustrations*' most recent reception history highlights how previous scholars' attitudes have continued to influence John Josias' reputation as an early editor of Old English poetry in the present day, demonstrating that some previous opinions of *Illustrations* have been unduly critical and consequently many have failed to recognise John Josias' achievements in Old English studies.

John Josias and the Exeter Book

During his career, John Josias worked quite extensively on three of the four major surviving manuscripts of Old English: the *Beowulf* manuscript (London, British Library, Cotton, Vitellius A. XV), the Exeter Book (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501), and the *Cædmon* manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library,

²⁷¹ As discussed above, John Josias' transcription of *Cædmon's Hymn* was not prepared from his own manuscript examination and there is evidence to suggest he did not complete his work on *Beowulf*. See Chapter Four, pp. 169-174.

MS Junius 11), although he died before the Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CXVII) was made available in print following Blume's discovery of the manuscript towards the end of 1822 (see Remley 2009). Arguably John Josias' research on the Exeter Book was the most significant he undertook, as this manuscript had been least often scrutinised by scholars before him. As the first to undertake a detailed examination of the Old English poetry it contains, it is perhaps surprising that his place in the development of the discipline is not more frequently recognised. In order to establish how thorough John Josias' work on the manuscript was, I first identify which texts he chose to work on.

In his preface to *Illustrations*, William Daniel notes that John Josias had 'more than once visited Exeter for the express purpose of consulting the valuable collection of Saxon poetry bequeathed to the library of that cathedral by Bishop Leofric' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: iv). He appears to have carried out this examination with some assistance from Ralph Barnes (1781-1869), the previously-mentioned secretary to the bishop of Exeter, chapter clerk, and ecclesiastical lawyer.²⁷² Barnes was a noted palaeographer who 'would decipher ancient and crabbed MSS. with an ease in which he had no rival' (Anon 1869: 306). George Oliver (1781-1861) dedicated his *Monasticon dioecesis Exoniensis* (1846: iii-iv) to him 'as a patron and lover of venerable antiquity' and, like Spelman in the seventeenth century,²⁷³ he was said to have had a particular interest in using early English manuscripts as a source for legal precedent.²⁷⁴

Writing in 1811, Barnes remarks that the manuscripts in Exeter Cathedral had been 'subject to the chilling influence of damp and neglect', but then

²⁷² See Chapter Five, p. 211.

²⁷³ See Chapter Two, pp. 60-63.

²⁷⁴ 'Mr. Barnes conducted the great and memorable case of the Chapter of Exeter against the Crown as to the right of the Chapter to elect its own Dean. A vast amount of antiquarian and historical evidence was brought to bear on the case, and Mr. Barnes had the satisfaction of winning the cause, whereupon an Act of Parliament was passed vesting in the Crown the appointment of the Dean' (Anon 1869: 307).

[t]he Dean and Chapter [...] became sensible of the duty of affording due protection to the literary property committed to their care for the benefit of posterity, and with commendable discretion consigned their Manuscripts to the care of their Chapter Clerk, and deposited their printed books in the Chapter-house.

(Barnes 1811, cited in Botfield 1849: 132)

Although he never published on its contents, it seems that Barnes was the first after Wanley to study the Exeter Book. He catalogued the manuscript in September 1811, although he provided the same description as had appeared in an earlier record from 1751: ‘Miscellanea Leofrici etc. charactero Saxonico’ (Muir 2000, vol. 1: 2). Nonetheless this manuscript does appear to have been directly in Barnes’ care in later years, as on the manuscript’s eighteenth-century binding, removed in 1930, a note reads: ‘In 1831 this Book was entrusted to the British Museum for the Purpose of being copied for the Institution, and returned October 1832 – Ralph Barnes, Chapter Clerk’ (cited in Muir 2000, vol. 1: 3-4).²⁷⁵ The details of his role in facilitating John Josias’ examination of the manuscript are not recorded, but both the Conybeare brothers agreed that he should be sent a copy of *Illustrations*.²⁷⁶ This is no modern account of Barnes role in the early preservation and cataloguing of the manuscripts at Exeter; like John Josias, he is now rarely mentioned by scholars.

Although John Josias’ notes and transcriptions from the Exeter Book do not seem to have survived, William Daniel discusses which texts his brother had examined in his *Introductory Notice* to the manuscript (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 198-214). Here the manuscript is divided into ten books, following Wanley’s ‘purely arbitrary division’ (Wanley in Hickeys 1703-1705, vol. 2: 279-281; Strunk 1904: vii), and William Daniel outlines which texts his

²⁷⁵ Another important manuscript that Barnes was responsible for was the Exon Domesday (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3500). Oliver (1861: 33) notes that Walter Calverley Trevelyan, mentioned in the previous chapter on p. 211, found a missing folio from this manuscript among his family papers and it was the ‘present respected Chapter Clerk, Ralph Barnes, Esq., who [...] restored it to its proper place’.

²⁷⁶ See Chapter Five, p. 211 and Appendices 1:5 and 1:20.

brother had prepared notes on. These are indicated below by underlining, along with the titles they were given if they appeared in *Illustrations*.²⁷⁷

Book I

1. *Advent Lyric One, Two, Three* (ff. 8r-9r)
2. *Advent Lyric Four, Five, Six* (ff. 9r-10r)
3. *Advent Lyric Seven and Eight* (ff. 10r-11v) not named
4. *Advent Lyric Nine and Ten* (ff. 11v-13r)
5. *Advent Lyric Eleven and Twelve* (ff. 13r-14r)

Today Muir (2000, vol. 1: 43-62) recognises twelve distinct poems between ff. 8r and 14r of the Exeter Book.²⁷⁸ However, William Daniel, following Wanley, divides this section into five texts and notes that his brother had prepared a transcript of the third (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 201). This shows that John Josias had examined *Advent Lyric Seven and Eight*, although his transcriptions do not appear to have survived and he never published these texts. He also seems to have taught his students at the University of Oxford about *Advent Lyric Seven*, as in *Illustrations* William Daniel quotes from John Josias' lecture notes, written while he was professor of Anglo-Saxon, which describe the text as 'a *dialogue* between the Virgin Mary and Joseph, imitated probably from some of those apocryphal writings current in the middle ages under the titles of the Life, or the Gospel, of the Virgin' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 201).

William Daniel does not mention any further engagement with the *Advent Lyrics* and states only that this first book contained five poems 'which appear to be correctly described in Wanley's catalogue, and which principally relate to the nativity of our Saviour, and the praises of his virgin mother' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 201). An examination of the manuscript shows that this grouping of the *Advent Lyrics* is supported by the divisions in

²⁷⁷ This discussion follows Wanley and William Daniel's manuscript divisions, although these had no codicological basis, in order to highlight more accurately which texts, or parts of texts, John Josias had studied. A summary of the evidence showing that John Josias examined each text is also included in Appendix 2:11.

²⁷⁸ Also known collectively as *Christ I*.

the text. Large capitals and a preceding blank line mark the beginning of *Advert Lyric Four* (f. 9r), *Seven* (f. 10r), *Nine* (f. 11v), and *Eleven* (13r). Yet it was not until Cook (1900) that it was recognised that the *Advert Lyrics* are derived from antiphons, allowing scholars to further divide the texts on the basis of their sources.

Book II

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>The Ascension</i> , ll. 1-77 (ff. 14r-15r) | |
| 2. <i>The Ascension</i> , ll. 78-160 (ff. 15r-16v) | <i>On the Day of Judgement</i> |
| 3. <i>The Ascension</i> , ll. 161-246 (ff. 16v-17v) | <i>Hymn of Thanksgiving</i> |
| 4. <i>The Ascension</i> , ll. 247-339 (ff. 18r-19r) | <i>Hymn of Thanksgiving</i> |
| 5. <i>The Ascension</i> , ll. 340-427 (ff. 19r-20v) | |

Wanley's second book consists of the poem now known as *The Ascension* divided into five parts.²⁷⁹ This is an understandable division, considering that ll. 78 (f. 15r), 161 (f. 16v), 247 (f. 18r), and 340 (f. 19r) begin with large capitals and are preceded by a blank line in the manuscript. John Josias certainly examined the middle part of this poem, as ll. 78-91 and 94-105a from the second section appeared in *Illustrations* as *On the Day of Judgement* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 214-217) and ll. 161-172a, 180b-188, 199-201a, 220b-246 from the third section along with ll. 337b-339 from the fourth as the *Hymn of Thanksgiving* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 217-223). These extracts from the third and fourth sections were printed together because either the author or the editor noticed that the second 'appears to be the sequel of the former poem' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 202). William Daniel notes that these three middle sections of the poem were '[e]ntirely transcribed by the author' (*ibid.*).

Book III

1. *Christ in Judgement* (ff. 20v-32r)

William Daniel states that John Josias made no transcriptions from this book and follows Wanley in his description of this section as seven poems about the

²⁷⁹ Also known collectively as *Christ II*.

Day of Judgement (Wanley in Hickes 1703-1705, vol. 2: 280-281; W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 203).²⁸⁰ In the manuscript this text is divided into seven parts: ll. 1-105 (ff. 20v-22r), 106-214 (ff. 22r-23v), 215-332 (ff. 23v-25v), 333-460 (ff. 25v-27r), 461-561 (ff. 27r-28v), 562-663 (ff. 28v-30r), and 664-798 (ff. 30r-32r).

Book IV

1. *The Life of Saint Guthlac (A)* (ff. 32v-44v)

William Daniel notes that John Josias did not transcribe this part of the manuscript and follows Wanley in his description of it as ‘treating the joys prepared by God for those that love him; together with a poetical narrative of the Celestial Visions of St. Guthlac the anchorite’ (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 203).

Book V

1. *The Life of Saint Guthlac (B)* (ff. 44v-52v)

2. *The Canticles of the Three Youths* (ff. 53r-55v) not named

William Daniel does not outline the exact contents of this fifth division in the manuscript, stating only that according to Wanley it contains nine texts about ‘the Creation and Fall of Man; of the above-mentioned St. Guthlac; and of the Three Holy Children Ananias, Azarias, and Mishael; and Nebuchadnezzar’ (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 203). This section is now thought to consist of two texts, today known as *The Life of Saint Guthlac (B)* (ff. 44v-52v) and *The Canticles of the Three Youths* (ff. 53r-55v). William Daniel notes that the only part of this section that was transcribed by John Josias was the *Song of the Three Youths* (*The Canticles of the Three Youths*, ll. 73-179b), which he had compiled with the version that appears as ll. 362-408 of *Daniel* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11 (ff. 173-212) (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 203), although this does not seem to have survived. As discussed above,²⁸¹ John Josias published other extracts from the Cædmon

²⁸⁰ Also known collectively as *Christ III*.

²⁸¹ See Chapter Four, pp. 164-165.

manuscript (*Genesis A*, ll. 1371b-1404a, *Genesis B*, ll. 356-378, and *Exodus*, ll. 447-495).

Book VI

1. *The Phoenix* (ff. 55v-65v)

The Phoenix

In *Illustrations*, *The Phoenix* is described as consisting of seven parts, from which only the first was transcribed by John Josias (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 203-204). This seems to be a mistake, as the poem is actually divided into eight sections in the manuscript – ll. 1-84 (ff. 55v-57r), 85-181 (ff. 57r-58v), 182-264 (ff. 58v-59v), 265-349 (ff. 59v-60v), 350-423 (ff. 61r-62r), 424-517 (ff. 62r-63r), 518-588 (ff. 63r-64r), 589-677 (ff. 64v-65v) – each clearly defined by capital letters and preceding blank lines (or a blank half-line in the case of the first division). This error suggests that William Daniel never examined the Exeter Book himself, as here he seems to have misinterpreted Wanley's description of 'septem constans Capitulis' (Wanley in Hickes 1703-1705, vol. 2: 281). There are seven capitals throughout the text of the poem, but this does not count the initial majuscules with which the poem commences on f. 55v. John Josias published ll. 1-27 and 81b-84 of *The Phoenix* in *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1814d) and this article was then reprinted in *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 224-228).

Book VII

1. *The Passion of St. Juliana* (ff. 65v-78r)

The missing part of *The Phoenix* was not included at the beginning of the next division, which was said to contain 'the Passion of St. Juliana, in the time of Maximian; in seven sections, extending from leaf 65 to 78' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 204). There are only six divisions in *The Passion of St. Juliana*: ll. 1-104 (ff. 65v-67r), 105-224 (ff. 67r-69r), 225-344 (ff. 69r-70v), 345-453 (ff. 70v-72r), 454-606 (ff. 72r-74v), and 607-731 (ff. 74v-76r). The seventh part referred to here is the text that is now known as *The Wanderer* (ff. 76v-78r). Again, this error must have occurred from following Wanley, who also identifies seven sections in this book and closes it with the last line of *The Wanderer* (Wanley in Hickes 1703-1705, vol. 2: 281). William Daniel notes that

no transcripts were made from this section (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 204).

Book VIII

1. *God's Gifts to Humankind* (ff. 78r-80r)
2. *Precepts* (ff. 80r-81v)
3. *The Seafarer* (ff. 81v-83r)
4. *Vainglory* (ff. 83r-84v) not named

The contents of this section were not outlined in *Illustrations*, although, following Wanley again (in Hickes 1703-1705, vol. 2: 281), William Daniel notes that it contains 'a metrical Homily, treating on the doctrines of Theology, in four sections' and that his brother did not transcribe this (W. D. Conybeare 1826: 204). This part of the manuscript contains the texts known today as *God's Gifts to Humankind* (ff. 78r-80r), *Precepts* (ff. 80r-81v), *The Seafarer* (ff. 81v-83r), and *Vainglory* (83r-84v), with clear divisions in the manuscript at the beginning of each. While it would seem that John Josias did not study this section in detail, he knew enough about *Vainglory* to comment that it was not related to *Widsith* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 10).

Book IX

1. *Widsith* (ff. 84v-87r) *Song of the Traveller*
2. *The Fates of Mortals* (ff. 87r-88v) not named
3. *Maxims I (A)* (ff. 88v-90r) not named
4. *Maxims I (B)* (ff. 90r-91r) *Gnomic Poem*
5. *Maxims I (C)* (ff. 91r-92v) not named
6. *The Order of the World* (ff. 92v-94r) not named
7. *The Riming Poem* (ff. 94r-95v) *The Riming Poem*
8. *The Panther* (ff. 95v-96v) not named
9. *The Whale* (ff. 96v-97v) not named
10. *The Partridge/Homiletic Fragment III* (ff. 97v-98r) not named

William Daniel states that Wanley (in Hickes 1703-1705, vol. 2: 281) described this section of the manuscript as ‘ferè totus in ænigmatibus’,²⁸² but argues that this ‘does not correctly apply to any part of it, and which could have been suggested only by the obscurity of difficulty of its actual contents’ (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 204).²⁸³ He further notes that Wanley’s opinion on the texts was formed ‘from the attributes ascribed to their mysterious subject’, although he does agree that they are very obscure (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 210). The divisions between the texts in this section accord with those given by modern editors, apart from where, failing to notice missing folios in the manuscript, the final two fragmentary poems were listed as one.²⁸⁴ William Daniel also notes that John Josias had ‘entirely transcribed’ all of these texts (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 204).

John Josias had intended to include most of the poems from this section of the Exeter Book in *Illustrations*,²⁸⁵ although William Daniel and Mary only printed three of these (*Widsith*, *Maxims I* (B), and *The Riming Poem*). It seems, however, that some progress had been made towards the preparation of the other texts. William Daniel summarises the entire contents of *The Fates of Mortals* and *Maxims I* (A, B, and C) in *Illustrations*, quoting his brother in both cases (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 204). Indeed in his discussion of *Maxims I* (B), William Daniel also includes John Josias’ translation of ll. 24b-32 and the Old English for ll. 61b-62a (205), showing that his brother had studied more of this text than appeared in *Illustrations* (ll. 1-13a; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 228-231). Next he quotes a ‘condensed translation’

²⁸² ‘Almost everything is enigmatic’. Here William Daniel misquotes Wanley, who wrote ‘Liber IX. fere totus est in Ænigmatibus’ (Wanley in Hickes 1703-1705, vol. 2: 281). See further below on p. 248.

²⁸³ As it does not seem that William Daniel ever examined the Exeter Book he is probably following his brother’s notes here, as are mentioned below on p. 248.

²⁸⁴ The text on f. 98r was previously thought to be a continuation of *The Partridge*, which commences on the previous folio. However, Conner (1993: 104-105) shows that at least one gathering must have been lost between the end of quire XII (*The Partridge*, l. 2 ‘wundorlicne’) and the beginning of quire XIII (*Homiletic Fragment III*, ‘fæger’). If the current thirteenth gathering is the first quire of the third booklet in the Exeter Book, the poem on f. 98r cannot be the end of *The Partridge* (*ibid.*); subsequent to Conner the poem was referred to as *Homiletic Fragment III*.

²⁸⁵ See Chapter Four, pp. 152 and 163-164.

of *The Order of the World*, again presumably from John Josias' notes, that corresponds with ll. 1-89 of the poem before concluding that '[a] few lines of inferior merit, on the joys of heaven and the means of obtaining them, are added' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 207).

However, the following text, *The Riming Poem*, was not translated by John Josias. William Daniel notes that he had to undertake this himself for *Illustrations* (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: xvi). It is not known why John Josias had not produced a translation of this poem, as extracts from his translations of *The Panther*, *The Whale*, and *The Partridge* show that he prepared modern English versions of the next poems in the manuscript (208). William Daniel's English translation of *The Riming Poem* appeared in *Illustrations* facing his brother's Old English transcription (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: xvi-xxvi).

No extracts from the fragment now known as *Homiletic Fragment III* were included in *Illustrations*, but William Daniel did note that this section contained '[a] short religious poem of thirty lines' (*ibid.*). However, he follows this description by quoting the fragmentary surviving lines from *The Partridge*, believing it was the beginning of a text that spanned two folios in the manuscript.

Book X

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <u><i>Soul and Body II</i></u> (ff. 97v-100r) | <i>The Soul's Complaint
Against the Body</i> |
| 2. <u><i>Deor</i></u> (f. 100rv) | <i>Scaldic Poem</i> |
| 3. <i>Wulf and Eadwacer</i> (ff. 100v-101r) | |
| 4. <i>Riddle 1</i> (f. 101r) | |
| 5. <u><i>Riddle 2</i></u> (f. 101r) | not named |
| 6. <u><i>Riddle 3</i></u> (ff. 101v-102v) | not named |
| 7. <i>Riddle 4-30</i> (ff. 102v-108r) | |
| 8. <u><i>Riddle 31</i></u> (f. 108rv) | not named |
| 9. <i>Riddle 32-45</i> (ff. 108v-112v) | |
| 10. <u><i>Riddle 46</i></u> (f. 112v) | not named |
| 11. <i>Riddle 47-59</i> (ff. 112v-115r) | |

12. <i>The Wife's Lament</i> (f. 115rv)	<i>The Exile's Complaint</i> (William Daniel)
13. <i>Judgement Day I</i> (ff. 115v-117v)	
14. <i>Contrition</i> (A and B) (ff. 117v-119v)	
15. <i>The Descent into Hell</i> (ff. 119v-121v)	
16. <i>Almsgiving</i> (ff. 121v-122r)	
17. <i>Pharaoh</i> (f. 122r)	
18. <i>The Lord's Prayer I</i> (f. 122r)	
19. <i>Homiletic Fragment II</i> (f. 122rv)	
20. <i>Riddle 30b</i> (f.122v)	
21. <i>Riddle 60</i> (ff. 122v-123r)	
22. <i>The Husband's Message</i> (f. 123rv)	
23. <i>The Ruin</i> (ff. 123v-124v)	<i>The Ruined Wall-Stone</i>
24. <i>Riddles 61-65</i> (ff. 124v-125r)	
25. <i>Riddle 66</i> (f. 125rv)	not named
26. <i>Riddle 67-88</i> (ff. 125v-129v)	
27. <i>Riddle 89</i> (f.129v)	not named
28. <i>Riddles 90-94</i> (ff. 129v-130v)	not named

John Josias must have examined the first two texts in Wanley's tenth book, *Soul and Body II* and *Deor*, as they both appeared in *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 232-235, 235-244). However, William Daniel does not provide much information about his brother's work on the rest of the texts in this section. Indeed, he refers to the final part of the manuscript in terms similar to those used by Wanley in his description of the previous division:

The remainder of the volume, about thirty leaves, is principally occupied (the exceptions will presently be stated) with various ænigmata, for the most part so extremely obscure that they might suffice to damp the perseverance of a Saxon Œdipus far more keen than the present Editor'

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 208-209)

Nonetheless, William Daniel seems to have made some attempt to incorporate John Josias' notes from this part of the manuscript, stating that

[l]est [...] the reproach which an omission of much the same importance on the part of an early editor of Chaucer has drawn from his successors (*Tantamne rem tam negligenter*), should be repeated on this occasion, the following specimens are subjoined, as illustrating the general nature of these riddles of the olden time.

Scott (1845: 215) notes that this Latin comment was made by Thomas Tyrwhitt (1730-1786), editor of the *Canterbury Tales* (1775-1778), referring to Thomas Speght (1550-1598), another early editor of Chaucer, who ‘omitted, as trivial and fabulous, the story of Wade and his boat Guingelot’ from his *The Workes of our Antient and Learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer* (1598). William Daniel was obviously keen to avoid the same criticism of *Illustrations*, so he included a short outline of this final part of the manuscript.

Nonetheless, William Daniel ignores both *Wulf and Eadwacer* and *Riddle 1* in his description of this section. He begins by quoting the first line of *Riddle 2* in Old English followed by a short paraphrase of its contents, which appears to be taken from John Josias’ notes, and then ll. 68-74 of *Riddle 3*, apparently believing that the two riddles formed part of the same text. In the manuscript, the first line of *Riddle 3* is not marked with a large initial and the text begins at the top of a new page (f. 101v), which probably explains why these riddles were initially considered together. William Daniel then prints several examples from the *Riddles* in Old English, with facing English translations, to demonstrate their ‘miscellaneous character’ (*Riddle 31*, *Riddle 46*, *Riddle 66*) and the Latin only of *Riddle 89*.

The majority of the other texts in this section are described by William Daniel very briefly, although he does add *The Wife’s Lament* to *Illustrations* with his own English translation (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 244-249). As there is no evidence William Daniel ever examined the Exeter Book himself, and the poem does not appear in Wanley’s catalogue entry (in Hicke 1703-1705, vol. 2: 281), it seems likely that the Old English transcription of *The Wife’s Lament* and his outlines of the other texts were taken from John Josias’ notes. William Daniel describes *Judgement Day I* as ‘a poem on the duty of reflecting on the destruction of the world by fire, the torments of hell,

general retribution, etc.’, although he regards it as two poems divided as in the manuscript at f. 115v (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 213). He notes only that *Contrition* (A and B) was ‘a prayer for pardon’ but gives no further details (*ibid.*). A slightly longer description follows of *The Descent into Hell*, but this includes no direct quotations from John Josias’ notes although it probably paraphrases them (213-214). *Almsgiving* is described with the statement ‘[c]harity covereth a multitude of sins’, while *Pharaoh* is said to be ‘[a] short and mutilated fragment on the destruction of Pharaoh’s host in the Red Sea’ (214). William Daniel provides equally short descriptions of *The Lord’s Prayer I* (‘metrical paraphrase of the Lord’s prayer’) and *Homiletic Fragment II* (‘[a] short poem on religious comfort’) (*ibid.*).

The rest of the manuscript, after *Homiletic Fragment II* (f. 122rv) to the end (f. 130v), William Daniel describes as ‘much mutilated’ with its texts ‘rendered hopeless, from the imperfect state in which they occur’ (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 214). However, as mentioned in the previous chapter,²⁸⁶ it does seem that John Josias had prepared some notes on *The Ruin* that included both a transcription and a translation. Yet, as William Daniel comments in his introduction to the poem,

[t]his poem was left by the late Author of these Illustrations in a very imperfect state of preparation: the Latin translation had not received any revision, consisting only of scanty notes in pencil on the margin of his transcript; and the few first lines of the metrical version were alone completed.

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 249-250)

This illustrates one of the difficulties of trying to separate the contribution of the editors from that of the author: we cannot always be certain how much of a text was prepared after John Josias’ death.

Nonetheless, John Josias clearly examined texts taken from throughout the entirety of the Exeter Book. He built upon Wanley’s work and identified a

²⁸⁶ Chapter Five, pp. 193-194.

number of divisions between texts that had not been recognised previously, particularly those between *Widsith* and *Homiletic Fragment III* (Exeter Book, ff. 84v-98r). Thus it seems that John Josias should not only be remembered as the first to publish a number of the Exeter Book poems, but also as the first to carry out a thorough examination of the whole manuscript.

John Josias' Study of *Widsith*

As the above discussion has shown, although John Josias studied many of texts in the Exeter Book, he focused on the sections Wanley entitled Book IX and the first half of Book X, which today corresponds roughly to gatherings XI-XV (Muir 2000, vol. 1: 7-11). From this section of the manuscript it seems that *Widsith* was the text John Josias had worked most extensively on, so it may be considered representative of the form he had intended the other Exeter Book texts to take in *Illustrations*. To evaluate his success as an editor of Old English, the following discussion will consider John Josias' treatment of the opening lines of this particular poem in detail.

Widsith* in Wanley's *Catalogus librorum septentrionalium

As discussed above, John Josias first must have encountered *Widsith* in Wanley's *Catalogus librorum septentrionalium* (in Hickes 1703-1705, vol. 2: 281), where only the first line is transcribed under the heading 'Liber IX. fere totus est in Ænigmatibus'. After examining the Exeter Book manuscript himself John Josias disagreed with this statement, remarking that Wanley's 'usual industry and accuracy seem here to have forsaken him; for the section in question contains little or nothing to which that name can, by any license whatever, be applied' (1826: 10). He notes instead that it consists of 'various poems chiefly on religious or moral subjects', amongst which *Widsith* 'forms one of the few exceptions to this rule' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 10). However, here it appears that John Josias misunderstood Wanley who seems to have meant that in this section of the manuscript 'almost everything is in [the form of] riddles', rather than that its contents themselves were enigmatic.

Wanley's catalogue entry begins with a reasonably accurate transcription of *Widsith's* opening line and ends with the final line from *Homiletic Fragment III*.²⁸⁷

Incipit. Ðid sið maðolad pord hord on leac se þe
mæst mær þa ofer eorðan folca. (*Statim sequuntur multarum gentium nomina Saxonica.*)
Expl þæt spa æþelne eard pica cyst in puldres plite
punian motan. FINIT.

(Wanley in Hickeys 1703-1705, vol 2: 281)

The transcription of the first line of *Widsith* contains one transcription error ('maðolad' for 'maðolade', overlooking the 'e' that follows the preceding majuscules). Wanley also alters the word separation at the end of the first line of the transcription, giving 'on leac' instead of the manuscript reading 'onleac' (< past tense of *onlucan*, 'unlock', 'reveal') and separating the two elements of the relative 'se þe'. In the second line he substitutes the *thorn* of 'eorþan' for an *eth*. In the final line of *Homiletic Fragment III*, Wanley separates the preposition 'in' from the following genitive, giving 'in puldres' rather than the manuscript reading 'inpuldres', and does not reproduce the concluding punctuation, ': – FINIT :7'.

However, John Josias and William Daniel may have been correct in their criticism of Wanley's knowledge of the texts in this section, as he unknowingly grouped a number of texts together within this single catalogue entry. When he saw the Latin word 'FINIT', which appears at the end of *Homiletic Fragment III* on f. 98r, he believed this indicated the end of a single text that started from 'Ðid sið' on f. 84v. However, it seems unlikely that Wanley read the manuscript in any detail beyond the 'Saxon names of many nations' that appear near the beginning of *Widsith*. If he had read further, distinctive punctuation at the end of texts (':7', or other similar punctuation, appears at the end of all the poems in this section), blank lines (like those before *The*

²⁸⁷ As discussed above, today the texts contained between those points are known today as *Widsith* (ff. 84v-87r), *The Fates of Mortals* (ff. 87r-88v), *Maxims I* (A, B, C) (ff. 88v-92v), *The Order of the World* (ff. 92v-94r), *The Riming Poem* (ff. 94r-95v), *The Panther* (ff. 95v-96v), *The Whale* (ff. 96v-97v), *The Partridge* (f. 97v), and *Homiletic Fragment III* (f. 98r).

Fates of Mortals on f. 87r and *Maxims I (A)* on f. 88v), and large capitals (such as at the beginning of *The Riming Poem* on f. 94r and *The Panther* on f. 95v) would have alerted him to some of the textual divisions. Nonetheless, it was this catalogue entry that prompted John Josias to carry out the first detailed examination of these pages of the Exeter Book himself.

Widsith* in *Illustrations

Widsith remained unknown to the scholarly community, other than through Wanley's catalogue entry, until *Illustrations* was published in 1826. Yet John Josias had intended to include the poem in his book from an early stage in his planning, and he mentions it in his *Gentleman's Magazine* announcement of 1817:

A remarkable Poem, hitherto inedited, from the MS. of Saxon Poetry, given by Bishop Leofric to the Library of Exeter Cathedral, (circ. A.D. 1070), containing an enumeration of the persons and tribes visited by a wandering Bard and apparently towards the commencement of the sixth century.

(Appendix 1:4; J. J. Conybeare 1817e)

This was the only Old English text apart from *Beowulf* that John Josias referred to specifically in this announcement and he also included it amongst the texts he listed in his copy of Thorkelin's *De Danorum rebus gestis secul.* [...] (Appendix 1:5). As the poem was added to *Illustrations* from proofs he had completed prior to his death, it is unlikely that these materials were changed substantially by William Daniel or Mary.

John Josias' main motivation for publishing *Widsith* was that he believed it preserved 'the only contemporary picture on record (at least in Saxon poetry)' of poetry written by a 'Scald or Minstrel by profession' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 9). In his view, this distinguished the author of *Widsith* from that of *Cædmon's Hymn* – the latter being the production of a monk who 'seems to have been nearly if not altogether destitute of the advantages of human learning' (3-4). Instead he proposed *Widsith* was composed by a professional travelling poet,

although one who expressed himself with ‘extreme jejuneness and barbarity’ (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 10). To support this claim he suggested several analogies between *Widsith*’s author and other professional poets from antiquity, such as the two competing poets in *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu* (published by Eiríksson in 1775 and described briefly by Turner in 1807 (vol. 1: 428)).²⁸⁸ He also proposed similarities with classical examples, stating of the last section of *Widsith*, concerning the praise of the poet, that

[t]he tone of this flattering picture of the honours paid by the Gothic tribes to the Muses and their votaries, will remind the classical reader of that in which the early bards of Greece were accustomed to speak of themselves, their pretensions, and their rewards.

(J. J. Conybeare 1826: 27)

To illustrate this he refers his readers to the beginning of *The Odyssey* by Homer,²⁸⁹ Hesiod’s *Works and Days*,²⁹⁰ and Pindar’s *Olympian*.²⁹¹ As discussed above,²⁹² the comparison of Old English texts with those by classical authors

²⁸⁸ There was a copy of Eiríksson’s book in the Society of Antiquaries’ library from at least 1816 (Society of Antiquaries 1816: 29). John Josias’ knowledge of *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu* goes beyond the summary given in Turner, so it is likely he read this text.

²⁸⁹ ‘Tell of the storm-tossed man, O Muse, who wandered long after he sacked the sacred citadel of Troy. Many the men whose towns he saw, whose ways he proved; and many a pang he bore in his own breast at sea, while struggling for his life and his men’s safe return. Yet even so, despite his zeal, he did not save his men; for through their own perversity they perished, having recklessly devoured the cattle of the exalted Sun, who therefore took away the day of their return. Of this, O goddess, daughter of Zeus, speak as thou wilt to us’ (Homer, *The Odyssey*, Book I, ll.1-8, trans. Palmer 2003: 1).

²⁹⁰ ‘Then I crossed over to Chalcis, to the games of wise Amphidamas where the sons of the great-hearted hero proclaimed and appointed prizes. And there I boast that I gained the victory with a song and carried off an handled tripod which I dedicated to the Muses of Helicon, in the place where they first set me in the way of clear song. Such is all my experience of many-pegged ships; nevertheless I will tell you the will of Zeus who holds the aegis; for the Muses have taught me to sing in marvellous song’ (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, ll.656-662, trans. Evelyn-White 1920: 51).

²⁹¹ ‘Water is best, and gold, like a blazing fire in the night, stands out supreme of all lordly weath. But if, my heart, you wish to sing of contests, look no further for any star warmer than the sun, shining by day through the lonely sky, and let us not proclaim any contest greater than Olympia. From there glorious song enfolds the wisdom of poets, so that they loudly sing the song of Cronus, when they arrive at the rich and blessed hearth of Hieron, who wields the sceptre of law in Sicily of many flocks, reaping every excellence at its peak, and is glorified by the choicest music, which we men often play around his hospitable table’ (Pindar, *Olympian I*, trans. Svarlien 1990).

²⁹² See, for example, Chapter Five, pp. 222-225.

was a common theme in the early nineteenth century, although here John Josias proposes a similarity only in the poem's method of composition and not in its literary value, as '[t]o the lover of poetry it has perhaps but little that will recommend it' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 9). However this is not to say that John Josias saw no literary worth in all Old English texts, as this statement can be contrasted with his analysis of *Beowulf* where he recognised the poetical merit of the text itself (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 80-81).²⁹³

John Josias also highlights a native literary parallel between the author of *Widsith* and Richard Sheale, a sixteenth-century poet he had published two previous articles about (J. J. Conybeare 1814j and 1814k). He believed that Sheale was the author of *Chevy Chase* and a number of other poems preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 48,²⁹⁴ and he included one of these texts, about a professional poet's struggles with poverty,²⁹⁵ in a footnote to *Widsith*, remarking that '[o]ther times and other manners at length sorely reduced the estimation and pride of the minstrel' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 27). By making this comparison, John Josias was the first to propose that there were Old English sources preserving the work of a professional 'scop', 'poet, singer', tracing this trade's declining reputation to Sheale's poverty in the sixteenth century. As the first to publish *Widsith* and *Deor*, and one of the earliest editors of *Beowulf*, his *Illustrations* provided the texts that scholars have continued to cite as the only examples in Old English of this nature.²⁹⁶ While the idea of these professional minstrels was prevalent in other literatures, it was not until *Illustrations* that there was Old English textual support for such a proposal.²⁹⁷

²⁹³ '[H]e who makes due allowance for the barbarisms and obscurity of the language (an obscurity much increased by our still imperfect knowledge of its poetical construction and vocabularly) and for the shackles of a metrical system at once of extreme difficulty, and, to our ears at least, totally destitute of harmony and expression, will find that *Beowulf* presents many of those which have in all ages been admitted as the genuine elements of poetic composition' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 80-81).

²⁹⁴ See Chapter Four, p. 155, ns. 165 and 166.

²⁹⁵ 'O God! what a world ys this now to se', in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 48.

²⁹⁶ For example, see Moisl (1981: 236).

²⁹⁷ The word 'scop' is not used in *Widsith*, where the bard is referred to as a 'gleoman' (l. 136). However, John Josias had seen these two terms used interchangeably in *Beowulf* (l. 496 'scop', l. 1160 'gleomannes'), suggesting they were to some extent synonymous.

Thorpe (1842: 511) did not agree with the suggestion in *Illustrations* that *Widsith* contained the factual account of a wandering ‘scop’ and instead declares the narrator is an ‘imaginary travelling minstrel’. However, not all scholars were so quick to refute John Josias’ claims and indeed, the identification of a ‘scop’ in *Widsith* continued to dominate scholarship on the poem for many years after John Josias’ death. L. F. Anderson (1903: 5) believes *Widsith* is ‘an account composed originally by a court singer of his experiences in the practice of his profession’ and that

[t]he scop held among the early Anglo-Saxons a position of honour. The simplicity of their social organization, the immediate relations in which one member of the tribe stood to the others gave the incumbent of this office a weight and influence which it is difficult to imagine.

(L. F. Anderson 1903: 30)²⁹⁸

Although John Josias knew that the ‘scop’ and the author in *Widsith* might not be the same person (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 29), he still assumed that the original poem had been composed by a real historical figure on the basis that due to ‘its minuteness of personal detail and want of poetical interest’ it was unlikely to be fictional (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 28). However, after later scholars had identified more of the figures in the poem the impossibility of the whole poem being the composition of a single real person became clear. As Frank (2003: 152) summarises:

In *Deor* and *Widsith*, too, all we have are English poets writing poetry about the singing of poetry by far-off fictive Germanic scops. As if chosen by central casting, these bards reciting the tales of the tribe in the very presence of great kings, heroes and ring-givers behave just as the eighteenth-century bardic myth said they would. Yet they are no more likely than Macpherson’s third-century Gaelic bard to reflect unmediated historical reality.

²⁹⁸ The relationship between poets and patrons in Old English has been more recently discussed by Maring (2011).

Nonetheless, John Josias' initial identification of a 'scop' in *Widsith* remained influential for many years and elements of his proposal can still be seen in studies by more recent scholars such as French (1945), Eliason (1966), Fulk and Cain (2003), and J. Hill (2009).

Yet John Josias did not suggest that his own interpretation of *Widsith* was definitive. Rather he encouraged his readers to consider the poem for themselves, on the basis that his own suggestions would 'be more easily appreciated when the reader shall have been made possessed of its contents' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 10). Similarly, he states that he is submitting the poem in its entirety 'to the antiquarian student' for further consideration (9). A desire to present Old English materials for study was one of John Josias' motivations for publishing previously unknown poems like *Widsith*.²⁹⁹ William Daniel echoes this in his introduction to his brother's incomplete materials, stating that

[h]ad the design of the present work been completed, according to his [John Josias'] original intention, a valuable manual of the poetry of the mother dialect of the English language would have been added to the stock of our literature, and a greater degree of attention than it has yet excited might have been called forth towards a subject claiming, at least, no mean degree of philological interest, and recommended to the student of this country by those associations which bind nations, no less than individuals, to their ancestry.

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 171)

While John Josias had directed his work at the antiquarian, William Daniel highlighted its philological interest, perhaps indicating something of the shift in scholarly approaches that was taking place at this time.³⁰⁰ However, these antiquaries were not old and confused figures of little learning as portrayed in Scott's *The Antiquary* (1816), but rather included amongst their number the likes of Turner who was considered the leading historian of the Anglo-Saxon

²⁹⁹ See Chapter One, p. 35.

³⁰⁰ See Chapter Three, pp. 136-140.

period throughout the whole of the first half of the nineteenth century.³⁰¹ By this time, the antiquarian movement was becoming more rigorously academic in its approach and there was consequently an increasing demand for materials to allow its members to learn Old English. It seems it was these individuals John Josias had in mind when he decided to produce an edition of early English texts.

***Widsith's* Date and Origins**

In his analysis of *Widsith*, John Josias proposes a number of points to support his theory that the poem was composed before the eleventh century. He notes first that the poet says that he lived during the time of Attila the Hun (d. 453), Ermanaric (d. 370s), the king of the Goths, and Gunther (d. 437), the king of Burgundy (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 28). He also observes that the lack of references to Charlemagne (742-814), or any of his successors, suggests that *Widsith's* composition predated his reign (*ibid.*). Finally, he comments that the many allusions to 'obscure or forgotten tribes' indicate that the poem may even have been composed before many of the Gothic tribes joined together early in Germanic history (28-29). Yet, while John Josias believed that the poem's composition pre-dated Bede's completion of his *Ecclesiastical History* between 731 and 734 (Thacker 2010: 176), he also recognised that palaeographical evidence dated the Exeter Book to 'little if at all anterior to the age of Leofric' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 10), around the time of the Norman Conquest. As he could not confirm with certainty that the poem was 'the unaltered production of a bard of the 5th century', he instead concludes that '[a]lthough everything conspires to fix its original composition to that period, it is doubtless, in its present state, more safe to regard it as a translation or *rifacimento* of an earlier work' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 29).

Nonetheless, John Josias believed that *Widsith* was based on an early account of the travels of a historical poet rather than those of a fictional one. He suggests that this individual was with 'little doubt [...] a native of the Continent' (1826: 29), justifying this identification as follows:

³⁰¹ See Chapter Three, pp. 123-126.

He [the poet] speaks of his own countrymen the Myrginges, the Angles, and the Suevi, as having been for some time *contermini*, which could not have been the case in England, of which country one might at first sight, from the similarity of the words Myrginges and Myrcas (*Mercians*), have suspected him to be a native.

(J. J. Conybeare 1826: 29)

John Josias does not, however, suggest exactly where the original author might have come from, stating that this information ‘is more than can perhaps, in the present state of our knowledge as to the history and geography of those dark and turbulent ages, be readily decided’ (*ibid.*). An identification of the Myrgings was later attempted by Chambers (1912: 159-161), who agrees with John Josias’ continental origin for these people and notes that the north of their boundary connected with the Angles, placing them south of the Eider, in what is today the state of Schleswig-Holstein, Germany. This continental origin for the Myrgings is still given by modern scholars such as Magennis (2010: 86).

Soon after its publication in *Illustrations*, a number of scholars began to debate John Josias’ proposals regarding *Widsith*’s date and origins. Clarke (1853: 144), for one, agrees that the poem could be ‘thirteen hundred years old’. Haigh (1861: 147) is also ‘satisfied that this Tale of the Traveller relates the history of real wanderings’, citing similar reasons to John Josias, although he attempts to realign the poem with nationalistic views by proposing that the narrator was English and that the tribes named in the poem refer to the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlers. Indeed by the turn of the century, so many scholarly opinions about the poem’s date had been proposed that Lawrence (1906: 3) remarks ‘[a] more careful examination of the evidence is likely to involve one still deeper in the briars of criticism. The easiest way out, perhaps, is to call the question insoluble’. Nonetheless, a number of scholars persisted in their consideration of these issues and debate on the dating of *Widsith* continued throughout the twentieth century.

Writing nearly a hundred years after *Illustrations* was first published, Chambers (1912: 150) proposes that *Widsith* is a heroic poem looking back at

an earlier time from a later perspective. He follows John Josias in the belief that *Widsith* is ‘exceedingly early’, but dates its actual composition to the seventh century rather than the fifth (Chambers 1912: 150). Scholars at this time were, for the most part, divided between two possible theories regarding the dating of *Widsith*.³⁰² On the one hand, there were those who believed the poem to be contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with the Exeter Book. However, other scholars believed, as John Josias had done, that at least some of *Widsith* must have been composed at a much earlier date. It was the latter of these theories that was still the most commonly held view amongst English scholars a hundred years after John Josias’ death.³⁰³

By the time of Krapp and Dobbie (1936), it was widely recognised that *Widsith* was the work of ‘successive revisers and interpolators’ (1936: xlv) and probably could not have a single date of composition attached to it. Most scholars agreed that a number of different materials were compiled in the poem, so that while ‘[t]he catalogue of Germanic kings in ll. 18-34 smacks of great antiquity’, the ‘extravagant miscellany in ll. 75-87 [...] seems to belong to the late period’ (Krapp and Dobbie 1936: xlv). In 1938, Malone proposed that the continental author was not a ‘scop’ but an ‘antiquary and a historian’ (50). French (1945: 623) disagrees, stating ‘the writer was a scop [...] his learning was merely professional [...] and that his ultimate aim in composing the poem or in reciting it subsequently was to interest a patron in supporting him’. Scholars such as Eliason (1966: 185) argue instead that parts of *Widsith* are based on preliterate oral traditions.

Even in the twenty-first century, Muir (2000, vol. 2: 542) notes that ‘[i]t seems likely that the catalogues that are embedded in this poem contain some of the earliest surviving Anglo-Saxon poetry’, which Fulk and Cain (2003: 219) agree with on the basis of ‘the antiquity of the legendary material’, ‘some apparently archaic spellings’ and the possibility that the catalogue structure was a ‘verse type used in prehistory as a way to preserve tribal lore’, although they concede

³⁰² See Chambers (1912: 147-152).

³⁰³ Chambers (1912: 148) lists the following scholars as holding the same opinion as John Josias: Kemble, Guest, Haigh, Stopford Brooke, Earle, Garnett, and Chadwick.

that their conclusions do not cohere with current theories on oral transmission. J. Hill (2009: 15), however, remarks that '[w]hatever we may conjecture about the prior history of *Widsið*, all that we can read now is the version that was available to the Anglo-Saxons in the tenth century'. Nonetheless, the early dating of *Widsith* proposed by John Josias remained the consensus view in scholarship until the end of the 1980s, when, as Neidorf (2013: 165) observes, scholars became increasingly cautious about assigning dates to texts that predated their manuscript survival, although he has argued on the basis of orthographic, lexical, onomastic, and cultural evidence that an earlier date of composition for *Widsith* still seems most likely.

It is difficult to see how the date of the poem can be narrowed more successfully given the paucity of the available evidence. However, John Josias was the first to propose a date for the poem earlier than its Exeter Book survival and a continental origin, which were both major themes in much of the scholarship on the poem that followed.

Widsith's Title

When John Josias printed *Widsith* in *Illustrations* he entitled the poem *The Song of the Traveller*. He similarly referred to 'the Song of Beowulf' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 80), although he did not adopt this in his title, using the word 'song' to indicate the poems he believed were composed by a 'scop'. Although the poem is not referred to by John Josias' title in modern scholarship, it did continue in use for many years after the author's death. As was discussed in the previous chapter,³⁰⁴ Mary sent a copy of *Illustrations* to the Grimm brothers in 1828, which was then used in the preparation of Wilhelm Grimm's *Die Deutsche Heldensage* published the following year. Grimm followed John Josias in calling the poem the *Lied vom Wanderer* (Grimm 1829: 17),³⁰⁵ as did Guest (1838: 76). In the years following, some scholars gave the poem the dual

³⁰⁴ See Chapter Five, p. 212.

title of *The Song of the Traveller – Widsith*, such as in S. A. Brooke (1898: 8) and Compton-Rickett (1912:13). However, by the second quarter of the twentieth century the majority of scholars called it simply *Widsith*, for example R. K. Gordon (1930: viii) and Krapp and Dobbie (1936: 149).

John Josias' Transcription and Translation of Old English

It can be difficult to assess the value of historical scholarship from our present-day perspective. For example, Newton's findings in *Opticks or a Treatise of the Reflexions, Refractions, Inflexions and Colours of Light* (1704) cannot be compared with measurements taken by a modern spectrometer, nor Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) with findings made by present-day geneticists. However this does not mean that it is impossible to apply any form of criticism to past scholarship, for if Newton and Darwin's works had not contained accurate and significant findings then there would be little cause to remember them today. Nonetheless, this kind of evaluation is perhaps most effective when it places a work within the continuum of a discipline's development. In this way, differences in knowledge between former times and our own can be more easily understood.

The starting place for my study of John Josias' approach to editing Old English was a comment made by Irving (1998: 11) about his own edition of *Exodus* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11, 173-212), which he had published forty years previously. Here he remarks that

the more I am reminded by kindly scholars of the serious deficiencies of my edition, the more I wish I had done a better job then. But I suppose I did the best I could. The concerns of editors in those days were different ones.

³⁰⁵ However, Wilhelm Grimm had identified the personal name interpretation, stating in his *Die Deutsche Heldensage* 'und noch deutlicher spricht das Gedicht von dem Sanger Widsith [...] der in der Welt umher zu allen beruhmten Konigen zieht, eine Zeit lang in ihre Dienste tritt und kostliche Geschenke zum Lohn fur seine Kunst empfangt'. In my own translation 'and the poem speaks still more clearly of the singer Widsith [...] who attracts all the famous kings around the world, works in their service for a long time and receives costly gifts from them as a reward for his art'.

Irving's observation emphasises how a relatively short period of time can alter how a publication is regarded within the scholarly community. However, John Josias' research is separated from the present day by nearly two hundred years. So here two examples are provided to demonstrate how *Illustrations* differed from an edition that was published before it, Henshall's *The Saxon and English Languages Reciprocally Illustrative of Each Other* (1798), and from another that appeared much more recently, Muir's *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry* (2000). While considerably more attention is paid to the latter than the former, Henshall's editing is considered briefly to demonstrate that approaches were changing in John Josias' time too and have continued to do so to the present day. John Josias and Henshall's approaches to editing Old English are considered here through a comparison of their versions of *Cædmon's Hymn* (Henshall 1798: 46-48; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 3-8).

Henshall's *The Saxon and English Languages Reciprocally* [...] (1798)

John Josias' and Henshall's versions of *Cædmon's Hymn* as they appeared in their respective publications, *Illustrations* and *The Saxon and English Languages Reciprocally* [...], were similar in some respects. Both scholars printed the Old English text in a column down the left, with a facing Latin and following English translation. Furthermore, neither man took their Old English transcription from a manuscript; instead Henshall reproduced his text from John Smith (1722: 170) and John Josias from Hickes (1689: 187).³⁰⁶ However, in contrast to John Josias who prepared the majority of his studies from his own manuscript transcriptions, Henshall relied entirely on previously published texts. In the case of *Cædmon's Hymn*, Henshall also took his Latin translation from Smith (1722: 170), which is itself a copy of Bede's paraphrase of the poem's contents. Thus the only part of Henshall's work that is his own is his English translation of *Cædmon's Hymn*, which he provided between the lines of the Old English (Henshall 1798: 47).

However, Henshall's English translation does not display any knowledge of Old English. Before his extracts from King Alfred's will (Winchester, New Minster, S1507; Henshall 1798: 30-33), Henshall states that he will attach

³⁰⁶ See Chapter Four, pp. 171-172.

Manning's (1788: 24-26) Latin translation below it to 'shew that this Record has been studied through the medium of the Latin Language' (Henshall 1798: 29). So rather than considering the Old English itself in any detail, it seems that Henshall's approach was based on looking for words that seemed familiar in modern English and then confirming his understanding of them through the Latin. *The Saxon and English Languages Reciprocally* [...] seems to have been a particularly ill-conceived piece of scholarship as its main purpose was to demonstrate that 'the Latin Language cannot convey ideas equally accurate or correct, as may be acquired through the medium of English Phraseology' (1798: 27). Yet Henshall undertook this study through Latin himself and then produced an incomprehensible English translation that did little to confirm his proposition.

Henshall first provides Smith's Old English transcription and Latin translation of a West Saxon *eorðan*-recension version of *Cædmon's Hymn*, which on the basis of its substantial variants is most likely to be that in Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 3. 18 (see Appendix 2:7). John Josias' transcription from Hickes is also from the *eorðan*-recension group of manuscripts, so the two scholars' Old English texts differ only slightly (*ibid.*). Yet for reasons he does not disclose, Henshall's interlinear English translation of *Cædmon's Hymn*, which is printed beneath his Old English and parallel Latin columns, instead translates the *aelda*-recension version of the poem from the Moore Bede (Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 5. 16), which he also took from Smith. So Henshall's interlinear version contains early Northumbrian features (such as 'barnum' instead of 'bearnum') and a substantive variant 'aelda barnum', 'for the children of men', for 'eorðan bearnum', 'for the children of the earth', which can be seen in John Josias' translation below. Henshall's provides 'elder Barns' for 'aelda barnum', showing he is working from the Northumbrian version, but his translation makes no sense:

Now we shall hearen heaven's Reach word, mighty's might;
and his mode of thought; worked worlds father; so he worlds
give was; eke Do-right earth in stilled; he erst shaped elder
Barns Heavens to roof holy Shaping; then middle earth
men's kind world eke Do-right after tied, free folds from
(the) Almighty.³⁰⁷

(Henshall 1798: 47)

NOW should we *all* heaven's guardian King exalt,
The power and counsels of *our* Maker's will,
Father of glorious works, eternal Lord,
He from of old stablish'd the origin
Of every *varied* wonder. First he shaped,
For *us* the sons of earth, heaven's canopy,
Holy Creator. Next this middle *realm*,
This earth, the *bounteous* guardian of mankind,
The everlasting Lord, for mortals framed,
Ruler omnipotent.³⁰⁸

(J. J. Conybeare 1826: 6)

From the *aelda*-recension version, Henshall translates l. 5, 'He aerist scop aelda barnum', as 'he erst shaped elder Barns'. John Josias does considerably better with the *eorðan*-recension version, where l. 5, 'He ærest sceop eorðan bearnum', appears as 'First he shaped, for *us* the sons of earth'. John Josias' rendering of the entire poem is correct, although the influence of Bede's Latin translation might be suggested from his decision to render 'eorðan' as genitive 'for *us* the children of the earth', rather than as accusative, 'he first created the earth for men', although both readings are possible.³⁰⁹

Later philologists must have winced when they read some of the notes in Henshall's edition, such as one telling his readers that the absence of an 'l' in the word 'weard' need not invalidate his translation 'world', as the letter 'is sometimes not to be much regarded' (Henshall 1798: 47). Indeed Henshall's approach to translation seems to represent what Shippey and Haarder (1998:

³⁰⁷ Henshall uses round brackets to denote editorial additions to the manuscript reading.

³⁰⁸ John Josias uses italics to indicate words that are not in the original text.

³⁰⁹ John Josias recognised that some Old English phrases could be interpreted in several ways, noting in his *Illustrations* that '[t]he reader will have frequent opportunities of observing that the elliptical construction of Saxon poetry renders it thus ambiguous' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 5).

22) refer to as ‘the tradition of vague guessing’, which can be seen in some scholars’ attempts to translate Old English in this early period. Yet they argue that this is also the case in works by Turner, Thorkelin, and John Josias. This thesis instead proposes that *Illustrations* represents quite a different kind of work from *The Saxon and English Languages Reciprocally* [...], the former containing close textual work based on manuscript readings, while in the latter, as William Daniel observes, ‘almost every word is grossly mistranslated’ (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxxxix). There has been no modern evaluation of Henshall’s early edition of Old English; this brief examination seems to suggest that one would not redound to his credit.

Nonetheless, while it cannot be disputed that John Josias prepared a more useful collection of Old English texts than Henshall, this does not necessarily mean that *Illustrations* should be considered of equal value to editions produced by scholars today. After all, John Josias’ own scholarship is not really exemplified to its best advantage by a transcription of *Cædmon’s Hymn* that he took from Hickes and two translations that were guided by Bede’s Latin. To explore the merit of John Josias’ work on Old English further the following considers the version of *Widsith* that appeared in *Illustrations*, and compares it with a modern edition.

Muir’s *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*

The following discussion compares *Widsith* as it appears in *Illustrations* with the version in Muir (2000) to highlight some of the differences between editions composed nearly two hundred years apart and in very different contexts. The circumstances in which the books were prepared are discussed in the scholars’ respective prefaces:

the Author [John Josias] was not contented merely to avail himself of the documents already rendered accessible through the medium of the press by his predecessors in the same path of investigation; but devoted much time to an examination of the Manuscript stores of the Bodleian and Cottonian libraries, and more than once visited Exeter for the express purpose of consulting the valuable collection of Saxon poetry bequeathed to the library of that cathedral by Bishop Leofric.

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: iv)

In order to prepare this edition I have gathered together every major edition of the texts in the Exeter manuscript (D&C 3501) and virtually everything that has been written about them since the anthology first attracted the attention of critics at the beginning of the nineteenth century [...] The extensive and impressive array of works it contains reflects the extent to which critical attention has been focused on this one manuscript.

(Muir 2000: Foreword to the First Edition)

As the first scholar to examine the Exeter Book in any detail, John Josias had only Wanley's brief catalogue entries to work with, which were not without error.³¹⁰ Muir, on the other hand, had a plethora of studies and editions from the manuscript to guide him in his own research, and key resources such as the *Dictionary of Old English: Web Corpus* (ed. Healey, with Wilkin and Xiang 2009) to help him identify comparable material.

Another significant advantage Muir had over John Josias was access to a facsimile (eds. Chambers, Förster, and Flower 1933); although both men went to Exeter a number of times to consult the manuscript itself (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: iv; Muir 2000, vol. 1: 5), Muir could refer to the facsimile in between visits if necessary. Furthermore, Muir was able to review digital images of the manuscript when preparing the second edition of his book (Muir 2000: Foreword to the Second Edition). As the first to publish *Widsith*, John Josias' edition is largely dependent upon his own scholarship. Although Muir's was the first major study of the Exeter Book since Krapp and Dobbie

³¹⁰ See pp. 248-250 of this chapter.

(1936), and it was considered to be a ‘significant improvement’ on the earlier edition, many of the poems in the manuscript had been edited separately or in small groups during the interim period, and his edition therefore could take advantage of such work (Deskis 1997: 535).

Although the following discussion attempts to show where and how Muir’s edition differs from *Illustrations*, it is important to recognise that this kind of comparison is problematic due to the different contexts in which the two editions were prepared. Nonetheless, such a comparison is necessary in order to demonstrate John Josias’ ability as an early editor of Old English, undertaken while working in circumstances much less favourable to the study of the language than those enjoyed by scholars today.

Layout

Widsith was prepared using the same layout as is found in John Josias’ Old English studies in *Archaeologia*. The manuscript transcription is printed in individual half-lines down one column on the left of the page, with a literal Latin translation in a column down the right. This is followed by an English rendering in blank verse. Stanley (1981: 252-253) credits the Grimms as the first to print Old English in long lines when they presented an extract of *Judith* from the *Beowulf* manuscript in this way in their *Die Beiden Ältesten Deutschen Gedichte* (1812), although no major edition used this format until Jakob Grimm’s *Andreas und Elene* (1840). Nonetheless, scholars who edited *Widsith* in the years following the publication of *Illustrations* used long lines, as can be seen in the extracts from *Widsith* and *Beowulf* printed by Wilhelm Grimm in his *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829). John Josias identified Old English poetry as arranged in pairs of short lines, outlining in his studies on Old English metrics how alliteration and metre connected them (1814e, 1814f). Presenting the text in half- lines offered a practical solution that allowed him to align his facing Latin translation with the appropriate part of the original text.

John Josias’ approach to editing *Widsith* was praised by his contemporary, Rasmus Rask, Danish philologist and scholar. Rask particularly liked John Josias’ use of half-lines to present the poem, noting that Wilhelm Grimm’s long

lines in his *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829) had led to the ‘forced union of two lines’, resulting in *Widsith* being printed so that ‘not only are the verses improperly arranged, but the alliteration is entirely deranged’ (Rask 1830: 152). Indeed it seems that Rask’s praise for *Widsith* as it appeared in *Illustrations* was based on his own comparison with the manuscript.³¹¹ Using the example of what is now *Widsith* ll. 8-9, Rask remarks that these lines are ‘perfectly right in Conybeare’ and that John Josias had ‘only completed a slight mistake in the preceding lines, and in the translation’ (Rask 1830: 153). In order to evaluate how accurate Rask’s appraisal of *Illustrations* was, the opening lines of the poem are considered in my own discussion below.

Muir’s layout of *Widsith* follows the Grimms in his use of long lines plus caesura. Both editors use modern punctuation, rather than reproducing the manuscript pointing and both use quotation marks for direct speech. Otherwise John Josias restricts himself to commas and full stops and is altogether more sparing in his use of punctuation, whereas Muir deploys a fuller range of punctuation marks. One example of this can be seen in l. 9, where Muir introduces the speech that begins in l. 10 with a colon while John Josias prints a full stop.

The greatest difference between Muir and John Josias’ versions of *Widsith* can be seen in the level of additional information about the poem each scholar provides. Both include footnotes discussing difficult readings or emendations, but Muir also provides a substantial commentary as part of his second volume that summarises previous scholarship and provides alternative interpretations of certain readings. Removing this information to a separate volume displaces the commentary from the immediate context of the text itself, but allows the information to be presented more clearly than is possible in the standard apparatus of a sequence of footnotes, such as in Chambers (1912). Yet as Deskis (1997: 536) remarks in her review of the first edition of Muir, his

³¹¹ As discussed above in Chapter Three, p. 136, Rask knew Thorpe and it seems possible that he obtained access to transcriptions of Exeter Book poems from him. Thorpe’s edition of the manuscript was not published until 1842, but it was certainly in preparation by 1835 when a magazine commented ‘[w]e look forwards, however, anxiously to what we trust will be the third publication [following Thorpe’s edition of *Cædmon* and Madden’s then expected *Layamons Brut* (1847)] of the committee, the Exeter Book itself, which is now in preparation by Mr. Thorpe’ (Anon 1835b).

commentary is ‘overwhelmingly philological, concentrating on various proposed (and some new) solutions to difficult words or lines but saying little about broader literary issues’. John Josias’ commentary, although highlighting some of these issues, also includes an introduction to the poem and discussion of various literary analogues in footnotes.

Another significant difference between Muir and John Josias’ editions is that *Illustrations* includes both Latin and English translations of each text it contains, while *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry* contains none. This indicates a difference in the scholars’ intended audiences, with Muir presuming that his edition will be used by those already familiar with Old English. During John Josias’ time only a handful of individuals could read the language, so he could not assume such prior knowledge. However, John Josias was not the first to produce texts with a parallel Latin translation, as can be seen from the discussion of Henshall’s publication above.³¹² Indeed, this approach to translating early literature was first used by Swedish scholars who had printed Old Norse texts with facing Latin translations and incorporated, from French and German scholarship, the practice of placing variants and notes at the bottom of the page rather than in the margins (Ragnheiður Mósesdóttir 2006: 25). Thereafter, other scholarly publications used the same format as the Swedish editions and it became the model for presenting early literature in translation (*ibid.*).

When Icelandic scholars published Old Norse at the beginning of the nineteenth century they adopted a similar format to the Swedish editions (Ragnheiður Mósesdóttir 2006: 24). During the seventeenth century, the majority of the texts published in Iceland were religious texts, but in 1688 the bishop of Skálholt, Þórður Þorláksson (1637-1697), received royal permission to print the sagas. When they appeared, the original manuscript text was printed on the facing page’s verso and the Latin translation on the recto, such as in *Gunnlaugs saga* (1775). But the 1809 publication of *Egils saga* presented the text in columns with the original down the left and the Latin translation on the right (*ibid.*), making it more accessible for those learning the language.

³¹² See pp. 260-263 of this chapter.

Although he never published on the subject, John Josias was certainly well acquainted with the Old Norse sagas and he refers to *Hrólfs saga kraka* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 163) and *Gunnlaugs saga* (9, 11, 154, 157-158, 60) in *Illustrations*. So it seems likely that he developed his own method of presenting translations from an acquaintance with such texts.

In the following discussion, John Josias' facing Latin translations are considered alongside an examination of his manuscript transcription of *Widsith*. As his English translation was avowedly loose, and therefore cannot be accurately mapped onto the lines as presented below, I consider it separately alongside a modern translation in the following section.³¹³ As Muir's edition does not include translations of the poems it contains, the two editors cannot be compared in this respect. Instead I use John Josias' Latin translation to evaluate his understanding of the Old English.

***Widsith*, ll. 1-9 (f. 84v): Transcription and Latin Translation**

The text selected for this examination comprises the first lines from *Widsith* as they appear in the Exeter Book on f. 84v, corresponding to ll. 1-9 of Muir's edition, from the start of the poem to the commencement of the direct speech in l. 10. There is no significant damage to this folio and the text is written clearly in the same Square minuscule script as the rest of the manuscript, dated to the second half of the tenth century by Conner (1993: 48-94). The poem before it, *Vainglory* (ff. 83r-84v), terminates half way down the page where its ending is clearly marked by the final word 'AMEN', punctuation (:7), and a blank line. *Widsith* begins with a large initial capital *wynn*, followed by a row of majuscules and a minuscule *e*. There are no abbreviations in this section, but later in the poem *tironian notae* are used commonly for 'and/ond', which John Josias consistently gives as 'and' in exactly the same way as Muir gives 'ond'.³¹⁴

³¹³ See pp. 282-285 of this chapter.

³¹⁴ This variation is not included in the collations in Appendices 2:9 and 2:10 as it is a consistent difference between the two editions that reveals little about the editors' approach to the Old English.

The following does not attempt a new edition of the first lines from *Widsith*; more detailed notice of analogues, interpretations, and various editorial emendments are provided in Chambers (1912), Malone (1936), and Hill (2009). Instead I attempt to highlight what differentiates John Josias' version of *Widsith* from that of Muir and to suggest why such discrepancies occur. In the discussion below, references to individual lines from the poem are given according to Muir's lineation for clarity (ll. 1-9), although the line numbers that appear in *Illustrations* and their exact location in the manuscript are provided in Appendix 2:9. Manuscript readings are provided from my own transcription, which was made using images from Muir's digital edition (2006). In my transcription, *wynn* is replaced by <w> in line with standard editorial practice.

In order to examine Muir's transcription in comparison to the manuscript readings from my own, both are provided below in parallel columns. The manuscript readings are divided according to Muir's long lines; the end of manuscript lines are marked by /.

**Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501,
f. 84v, ll. 1-8.**

WID SID MADOLADe / word hord onleac
seþe mæst mærþa ofer / eorþan
folca geond ferde ofthe flette geþah /
myne licne maþþum hine from myrgingum
æþe / le onwocon he mid ealh hilde
fælre freoþu webban / forman siþe
hred cyninges ham gesohte
eastan / of ongle eorman rices
wraþes wær logan ongonþa / worn sprecan

Muir (2000, vol. 1: 238), ll. 1-9.

Widsið maðolade, wordhord onleac,
se þe [monna] mæst mægþa ofer eorþan,
folca geondferde; oft he [on] flette geþah
mynelicne maþþum. Him from Myrgingum
æþele onwocon. He mid Ealhilde,
fælre freoþuwebban, forman siþe
Hredcyninges ham gesohte
eastan of Ongle, Eormanrices,
wraþes wærlogan. Ongon þa worn sprecan:

However, John Josias' Latin translation was designed to cohere with his own edition of the text from the Exeter Book which differs in some places from my transcription given above. John Josias' translation is therefore presented below in parallel with the Old English text as it appeared in *Illustrations*, arranged in his half-lines.

J. J. Conybeare (1826: 10-11), ll. 1-18.

WID sið maðolade,
Word-hord onleac
Se ðe mæste
Mærða ofer eorðan
Folca geond-ferde
Of ðe flette geðah.
Mynelicne maððum
Hine from Myrgingum
Æðele onwocon,
He mid Ealhilde,
Fælre freoðu,
Webban forman
Siðehreð cyninges
Ham gesohte,
Eastan of Ongle,
Eormanrices
Wraðes wærlogan.
Ongon ða worn spreca.

J. J. Conybeare (1826: 10-11), ll. 1-18.

Longum iter narravit,
Verborum copiam reseravit
Ille qui plurima
Mirabilia de terræ
Populis, iter faciens
(Procul) a domo, intellexerat.
Amicis verbis
Illum a Myrgingis
Nobiles excitarunt ?
Ille cum Ealhilda
Fido amore
Uxore primâ ?
Sithredi principis ?
Domum quæsivit
Ex oriente ab Anglis
Hermanrici
(Propter) iram infidam ?
Incepit tunc populum adloqui.

The following discussion is broadly divided into issues relating to transcription errors, word separation, editorial emendments, and translation, although there is inevitably some overlap between these areas.

Transcription Error

(l. 3)

John Josias' transcription of ll. 1-9 of *Widsith* contains a small number of differences from the manuscript reading. In many cases, as is discussed further below,³¹⁵ these appear to be the result of purposeful emendation. Yet on one occasion John Josias has clearly made an error, not found elsewhere. In l. 3b, John Josias transcribes the manuscript reading 'ofthe', 'often he' as 'of ðe', 'from whom'. Here he takes the 't' from 'oft' together with the 'h' from 'he' to form 'th', which he then renders as *eth*. While there are other differences between Muir and John Josias' division of words, as is discussed in the following section,³¹⁶ in this case his decision to normalise 'th' as 'ð' has obstructed his understanding of the words. It could be that John Josias emended this reading later, perhaps doubting the accuracy of his own transcription and having no way to check it without returning to Exeter. This

³¹⁵ See pp. 274-278 of this chapter.

³¹⁶ See pp. 271-274 of this chapter.

mistake in the transcription of the poem also altered its translation. John Josias reads ‘of’ as Latin ‘a’, ‘from’, but adds an editorial ‘procul’, ‘far’ to give ‘(far) from home’, ignoring the Old English ‘ðe’. This appears to be the ‘slight mistake’ mentioned above by Rask.³¹⁷

Word Separation

(l. 6)

Elsewhere in these lines, John Josias’ transcription differs from Muir’s in terms of his word separation. One example of this can be seen in l. 6, where John Josias divided the two elements of the Old English compound ‘freoþuwebbe’, ‘peaceweaver’ following the manuscript separation. He then parses the first element as part of a dative phrase, giving ‘fælre freoþu’ in Latin as ‘fido amore’, ‘faithful love’, and translates the second element with the next word to give ‘webban forman’, ‘uxore primâ’, ‘first/foremost wife’, taking both phrases as variation on the prepositional phrase in the previous line, ‘mid Ealhilde’. His translation is marked with a question mark to show he is not confident about his interpretation.

On this occasion, John Josias’ error in not identifying the compound was immediately corrected by another scholar. Indeed in *Illustrations* itself, one of Price’s additional notes³¹⁸ repunctuates these half-lines and provides a parallel English translation:

He mid Ealh-hilde,	He with Ealhilde,
Fælre freoðu-webban,	The faithful lovely dame,
Forman siðe	In his first journey
Hreð cyninges, &c.	[Sought the home of] the haughty king.

(Price in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 280)

This error was therefore not propagated in the work of later scholars. Furthermore, Price’s note includes the remark

³¹⁷ See p. 266 of this chapter.

³¹⁸ See Chapter Five, pp. 202-203.

‘Freoðu-webbe,’ or ‘freoðu-webba,’ which also occurs in *Beowulf* [...] is clearly from the context a poetical expression for ‘woman’. Possibly, from its derivation, it may mean “the weaver of love”.

(*ibid.*)

However, Price and John Josias were not entirely mistaken in their use of ‘love’ to translate ‘freoðu’. The *OED* entry for the noun ‘frith’, a now obsolete word meaning ‘peace’, shows this word is descended from Old English ‘freoðu’, from the unattested Proto-Germanic element ‘*fri-’, ‘like, love’.

As Frantzen (2002: 210) notes, our familiarity with the compound ‘freoþuwebbe’ today is the result of scholarly interest in the role of women in the Anglo-Saxon period, where this compound has become a ‘dominant motif’. However, there are only three recorded examples of it in the corpus: *Widsith*, *Elene* l. 88, and *Beowulf* l. 1942. As John Josias died before the Vercelli Book was made available in print he would not have been familiar with any part of the poem *Elene*. Furthermore, the section of *Beowulf* that contains this compound was not included in *Illustrations*, and he may not have transcribed this part of the poem. It is therefore likely that he saw the word for the first time in *Widsith*. Muir, on the other hand, had at his disposal a corpus to search and a wide range of published discussion on the compound.

(ll. 6-7)

Muir takes the manuscript reading l. 7a ‘hreoð cyninges’ as a compound, while John Josias separated the two elements of the word. This was potentially a result of John Josias’ (mis)understanding of the previous half-line, which he renders as ‘Webban forman’, taking ‘forman’ (translated ‘prima’, ‘first, foremost’) with ‘webban’ (the second element of ‘freoþuwebbe’), and failing to recognise that ‘forman’ instead should have been parsed with ‘siðe’. Instead he took ‘siðe’ as an element of a personal name in the following half-line, reading ‘Siðehreoð cyninges’. Price takes ‘forman siðe’ together as ‘In his first journey’ (Price in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 280), however, Muir (2000, vol. 2: 543) notes that a similar formulaic construction appears in *Beowulf*, l. 740, ‘ac he gefeng hraðe forman siðe’, ‘but to start with he quickly seized’. This knowledge allows

Muir to understand the words in l. 7a as forming a name composed of the complimentary epithet ‘hreð’, ‘glory’ with the genitive singular of ‘cyning’, to form ‘king of glory’.

Hill (2009: 112) notes that ‘hreð-’ is often collocated with ‘gotan’ to refer to ‘the Goths’ and indeed the following line of *Widsith* refers to Eormannic, the Gothic king. Chambers (1912: 252-253) explains that ‘hreð’ was often used by Old English scribes to refer to these people, but that in this context it is actually a corruption of ‘hrædas’, which may not have been easily identified by John Josias. Price reordered the half-lines and read ‘siðe’ with ‘forman’, but he did not recognise the reference to the Goths here – translating the compound with two words as ‘haughty king’. Muir passes over the line with no comment about the connection to the Goths in his footnotes or commentary. As mentioned above,³¹⁹ his edition rarely includes literary interpretive notes.

John Josias renders ‘Siðehreð cyninges’ in Latin as ‘Sithredi principis’, forming a proper noun composed of two N+N elements, ‘sið’, ‘journey’ and ‘hreð’, ‘glory’. Elsewhere in *Widsith* other names are formed similarly, such as l. 32, ‘Sceafthere’, ‘spear-harrier’ and l. 62, ‘Sweordweras’, ‘swordsmen’ (Hill 2009: 124). John Josias had also seen the phrase ‘mægen hreð manna’ in *Beowulf*, l. 445a, which can be read variously as ‘mægenhreð manna’, ‘the great glory of men’; ‘mægen Hreðmanna’, ‘a force of Hrethmen’; or ‘mægen hreðmanna’, ‘a force of glorious men’ (Jack 1994: 54). This may have alerted him to the use of ‘hreð’ as an element in names. However, perhaps because he had difficulty with these lines, John Josias does not include *Beowulf*, ll. 442-447b in his Old English text, passing over these lines with ellipsis (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 96).

Nonetheless, John Josias recognises that there was some difficulty with his understanding of ll. 6-7 and he notes that ‘[t]he sense here attributed to ‘Webban forman Siðehreð cyninges’ is purely conjectural’ (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 11). He translates the second half of l. 7, ‘ham gesohte’, correctly in Latin as ‘domum quæsivit’, ‘sought the home’.

³¹⁹ See p. 266 of this chapter.

Same Emendation

(l. 3)

On a number of occasions both Muir and John Josias alter the word separation found in the manuscript in the same way. In the second half-line of l. 1, both Muir and John Josias form a N+N compound from the manuscript reading ‘word hord’. The *Dictionary of Old English: Web Corpus* (ed. Healey, with Wilkin and Xiang 2009) contains seven occurrences of these words appearing as a compound, although they are not presented as such in the two examples appearing in the Exeter Book itself (l. 3 of *Vainglory* (f. 83r) and l. 17 of *The Order of the World* (f. 92v)). In order to identify this compound, John Josias must have been aware of the requirement for the primary stress in the half-line to fall on ‘word’.

As there is no directly comparable compound in Latin, John Josias translates it as ‘verborum copiam’, ‘an abundance of words’, although he manages to retain a sense of the original with his translation of ‘onleac’, the third person past singular form of the verb ‘onlucan’, ‘to unlock, open’, as ‘reseravit’, from ‘reserare’, ‘to open up, unfasten’. In this first line, then, John Josias correctly identifies two poetic uses of language that are commonly found in Old English. As Magennis (2011b: 43) notes, the third person past singular form of ‘maþelian’, ‘to speak’ occurs forty-four times in the surviving corpus where it always introduces speech. The kenning ‘wordhord onleac’, ‘unlocked his word-hoard’ also appears in an identical form four times in the corpus, always in the second half-line (*ibid.*).

(l. 8)

Muir and John Josias also make the same emendations to l. 8 of *Widsith* in their respective editions: they both capitalise ‘Ongle’ (l. 8a) and recognise the compound name ‘Eormanrices’ (l. 8b). Although John Josias does not comment on the word ‘ongle’, his Latin translation of this is ‘Anglis’, which can be used to refer to the ‘Angles’. Similarly, Muir (2000, vol. 2: 543) notes that this word denotes modern Angeln, which has been identified as this tribe’s original home. Nonetheless, there is some ambiguity in John Josias’ Latin translation of this half-line, which he gave as ‘Ex oriente ab Anglis’. While the first part

translates the Old English correctly as ‘from the East’, the preposition ‘ab’ has several meanings in Latin.³²⁰ Here it seems likely that John Josias was using the ‘ab’ + ablative to denote a source or origin, as it is used in ‘Belgas esse ortos a Germanis’, ‘the Belgae were descended from the Germans’ (Hale and Buck 1903: 216), with ‘Anglis’ appropriately rendered as an ablative. He translated this in his English version as ‘From Anglia’s eastern limits sought’ (22). Chambers (1912: 19) shows that, because of the rules governing Old English adverbs of place with verbs of motion, the phrase is best translated as ‘from the east, from Angle’, rather than earlier renderings ‘the home to the east of Angle’.

(l. 9)

Both editors transcribe l. 9 in exactly the same way, with the exception of a punctuation mark at the end of the line. Both form a compound from the manuscript reading ‘wær logan’, ‘pledge-breaker’ and divide ‘ongonþa’ into two words ‘ongon þa’, ‘he began then’, used periphrastically with the infinitive ‘sprecan’, ‘to speak’. John Josias translates this in Latin with ‘(Propter) iram infidam’, ‘(because of) treacherous rage’, with the preposition apparently supplied to explain the genitive in ‘wraþes’, ‘of cruel’. However, this is unnecessary if the half-line is instead taken as a variation on ‘Eormanrices’ in conjunction with ‘ham gesohte’, ‘sought the home [...] of Eormanric, of the cruel pledge-breaker’, as Muir does.

However, John Josias was concerned about the association of Eormanric with l. 9a ‘wraþes wær logan’, stating that [t]he apparent purport of the last paragraph does not agree with what is afterwards said in praise of Hermanric’ (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 11). Malone (1936: 33) agrees with John Josias and instead takes ‘wærlogan’ as a late form of the dative plural to give the translation ‘of the foe to traitors’. One solution to this problem is provided by Chambers (1912: 34), who argues that the positive representation of Eormanric in ll. 88-92,³²¹ is not in conflict with the negative association here in

³²⁰ The form ‘ab’ rather than ‘a’ is used before a vowel.

³²¹ These lines appear in Muir (2000, vol. 1: 241) as ‘Ond ic wæs mid Eormanrice ealle þrage – / þær me Gotena cyning gode dohte; / se me beag forgeaf, burgwarena fruma, / on þam siex hund wæs smættes goldes, / gescyred sceatta scillingime;’.

l. 9a, as '[t]here is nothing inconsistent in a tyrant being a generous patron of the arts'. Muir (2000, vol. 2: 543) notes both interpretations but concludes that l. 9a is understood as a reference to Eormanric by most translators and editors.

Different Emendation

(ll. 2-3)

On other occasions, John Josias and Muir differ in their choice of emendation, such as in l. 2, which appears in the manuscript as 'seþe mæst mærp̃a ofer / eorþan'. Both editors divide 'seþe' in l. 2a into two words, but John Josias also emends the singular superlative 'mæst', 'most, greatest' to the plural form 'mæste', translating this in Latin with 'plurima', 'most, greatest', in the same plural form. He parses this in agreement with 'mirabilia', 'wonderful, marvellous' (his translation of genitive plural 'mærp̃a', 'of glories') and reads these words in conjunction with the genitive plural noun in the following half-line (l. 3a, 'folca', 'people'), which together with l. 2b 'ofer eorþan', 'over earth' he renders as 'plurima / Mirabilia de terræ / Populis', 'most wonderful of people over earth'. However, no later editor followed John Josias in this emendation and other early attempts to understand l. 2 involved the addition of an extra verb, such as Kemble (1835, vol. 1: 227) who adds 'fandian', 'to examine, explore' to give 'se þe mæst fandode', 'he who explored most'. All modern editors, including Muir, supply a genitive plural 'monna', 'of men' to the half-line rather than emending the form of the superlative or adding an additional verb – 'se þe [monna] mæst', 'he who of men'. Indeed, a similar line appears in *Beowulf*, l. 2645 'forðam he manna mæst / mærd̃a gefremede', 'because he of men has performed the greatest of glories', although John Josias does not print this line in *Illustrations*.

Yet while John Josias preserves the manuscript reading 'mærp̃a', 'of glories' in the second half-line of l. 2 ('mærp̃a ofer eorþan'),³²² he is alone in doing so. Kemble (1835, vol. 1: 227) suggests instead an emendment to 'mægþa', the genitive plural of 'mægþ', 'tribe, nation', as a variation on 'folca', 'people, nation'. Muir follows Kemble here, as do most modern editors, to permit the

³²² Although he alters the *thorn* of 'mærp̃a' to an *eth*, as he does consistently in his version. These differences are not included in my collations in Appendix 2:9 and 2:10 as this is a consistent variation.

translation ‘he who of men travelled through most of (the) races and peoples over the earth’. John Josias also correctly understood the meaning of the verb ‘geondferan’, although in Latin he translates the past singular of the Old English with a present participle, separating it from the main clause with commas to form the phrase ‘inter faciens / (Procul) a domo’, ‘travels far from home’.

John Josias translates ‘mæste / mærdā ofer eorðan / folca’ together as the object for l. 2a ‘se þe’, ‘he who’, which he identifies as the subject of the verb ‘geðah’ in l. 3b. However, he does not recognise that this form is from ‘geþicgan’, ‘to receive’ and instead appears to identify it as from ‘geþencan’, ‘to think, consider’, translating it in Latin with ‘intellexerat’ from ‘intellegere’, ‘to understand, realise’.³²³ This confusion caused him to render these lines as ‘he who travels far from home, understood the most wonderful of people over earth.’ He ends his sentence there, thus separating the verb ‘geðah’ from the object ‘mynelicne maþpum’, ‘desirable treasure’ in the next half-line (l. 4a). Nonetheless, the manuscript reading here is clearly in need of emendation to make sense, even if ‘mynelicne maþpum’ is identified as the object. Later editors, including Muir, insert ‘on’ here, to read ‘oft he [on] flette gepah’, ‘often on the hall-floor he had received’. Without this, there is no reason for the dative form of ‘flett’, ‘floor of a house, hall’. Moreover, there is a parallel line in *Beowulf*, l.1024b-1025a: ‘Beowulf gepah / ful on flette’. Nonetheless John Josias does not emend this half-line like Muir, partly due to the influence of his mistake with ‘ofthe’ in l.3b.

(ll. 4-5)

In the second half-line of l. 4 – ‘hine from myrgingum’ – Muir alters the accusative singular manuscript reading ‘hine’ to the dative form ‘him’, observing that the accusative form ‘makes little sense here’ and noting Thorpe’s example of a parallel with the dative in *Beowulf* ll. 56b-57a, ‘Opþæt him eft onwoc / heah Healfdene’, ‘until later great Halfdane was born to him’ (Muir 2000: 543). Similarly, Muir reads ll. 4b-5a as ‘Him from Myrgingum /

³²³ As can be seen in Appendix 2:10, John Josias also fails to identify this verb in l. 65b, not recognising the expunction of ‘e’ in ‘geðeah’.

æþele onwocon’, ‘his ancestors were born from the Myrgings’. However, John Josias retains the accusative in his Old English transcription and Latin translation, which he gives in Latin as ‘Illum a Myrgingis / Nobiles excitarunt’, ‘the nobles stirred up/excited, him from the Myrgings’, misunderstanding the verb. Nonetheless, he notes that he is ‘doubtful as to the sense of this clause’ although ‘[i]t may [...] imply that the nobles of his own country encouraged him to travel’ (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 11).

(l. 8)

On one occasion, John Josias emends the manuscript reading while Muir retains it. The name ‘Eormanric’, in l. 8b, provides an example of how difficult it can be to determine what is scribal error and what should be considered as an acceptable spelling variation. In l. 111b, the manuscript reads ‘ear / manrices’, which Muir (2000: 242) gives as ‘Earmanrices’ and John Josias (1826: 19) as ‘Eormanrices’. While John Josias is correct to realise that this refers to the same Eormanric as is mentioned in l. 8, he emends the manuscript reading. While this issue may not be of importance to someone interested in the literary merit of the poem or the historical references it contains, these kinds of variations are important for students of language and scribal practice at this time. So while Muir’s philological approach notes this variation, John Josias’ more literary edition does not.

Translation

(l. 1)

In some places, the two editors present different possible interpretations of particular words or phrases. For example, Muir follows the majority of modern authors in calling the poem *Widsith*. However, John Josias, as the first editor of the poem, had entitled it *The Song of the Traveller*. Both authors draw their name from the first line of the poem, but they translate this differently. In l. 1, John Josias translates Old English ‘wid sið’ with Latin ‘longum iter’, ‘long journey’, correctly recognising the Old English adjective ‘wid’, ‘vast, broad, long’ and the noun ‘siþ’, ‘going, motion, journey’. He does not, however, identify this as a personal name and instead translates it, with a similar sense to his Latin rendering, in English as ‘He that had wander’d far and wide’ (J. J.

Conybeare 1826: 22). John Josias was perhaps influenced here by *The Riming Poem*,³²⁴ where *Widsith* is used as a figurative compound in l. 51b.³²⁵ Nonetheless, even without recognising a name, John Josias' Latin translation of 'maðolade', 'spoke' with 'narravit', 'said, told' correctly identifies the person, number and tense of the verb 'maþelian', 'to speak', showing he understood 'wid sið' as a figurative subject.

Muir (2000, vol. 2: 542) notes that 'widsið' appears elsewhere in the corpus both as a personal name, as in the *Liber Vitae Dunelmensis*,³²⁶ and as a figurative compound meaning 'he who journeys widely'. Yet he also notes that most editors take the compound as a name and he follows them in titling the poem *Widsith*, although, as Old English manuscripts do not contain titles, this is an editorial decision. John Josias' transcription of 'WID sið' for the manuscript reading 'WID SIÐ' is closer to the original, as he preserves the word separation and some of the majuscules, while Muir prints 'Widsið' although includes the manuscript reading as a footnote.

(l. 4)

As John Josias ended a clause spanning ll. 2a-3b after 'geðah', this caused him to struggle with his translation of the first half-line of l. 4, 'mynelicne maþpum', giving it in Latin as 'amicis verbis', 'with friendly words', although he noted that these words 'may perhaps belong to the preceding clause in conjunction with 'word-hord onleac' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 10). It is not clear how John Josias arrived at 'words' from 'maþpum', although perhaps he thought this was a poetic noun in some way related to 'maþelian', 'to speak'. Similarly, he may have theorised that 'mynelicne' was an adjective related to the noun 'myne', 'affection, love, favour'. He did not include this half-line in his English translation, suggesting the meaning was altogether unclear to him.

³²⁴ See p. 244 of this chapter.

³²⁵ In *Illustrations*, l. 51b of *The Riming Poem* is translated as 'A wide journey beginneth' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: xxii).

³²⁶ See Krapp and Dobbie (1936: 300).

(l. 9)

In the final half-line of the section considered here, John Josias had difficulty translating the word ‘worn’, ‘large amount’. This seems to have been due to the context of the line, which appears in the manuscript as ‘ongonþa / worn sprecañ’, as in his *Beowulf* section in *Illustrations* he successfully translates it in Latin as ‘multos’ (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 89) and ‘multa’ (120). Although he seems to have understood this word, he was perhaps unclear on how it fitted into the grammar of the sentence, while modern translators would give something like ‘spoke many (words)’. He instead translates the word as ‘populum’, ‘people’ in the accusative, giving the half-line as ‘Incepit tunc populum adloqui’, ‘he began then to speak to the people’.

Conclusions

Consideration of John Josias’ transcription of the rest of *Widsith* (Appendix 2:10) shows that his version differs only very slightly from that provided in Muir. Where he does make what might be considered to be wrong emendations, these tend only to change the spelling or grammar of a word, such as in l. 17b when he gives ‘gefrægn’ for ‘gefrægen’, in l. 22b ‘Helsingum’ for ‘Hælsingum’, l. 28b ‘weolde’ for ‘weold’, and l. 52a ‘cunnode’ for ‘cunnade’. However, the vast majority of the differences recorded in this collation are related to differences in word separation, where on occasion the manuscript reading, Muir, and John Josias all differ, such as l. 43a which appears in the manuscript as ‘bifi fel dore’, in Muir as ‘bi Fifeldore’, and in John Josias as ‘Bi fifel dore’.

Yet John Josias was not the only nineteenth-century scholar who had difficulty with *Widsith*. For example, when Rask (1830: 152-153) compares John Josias’ translation of ll. 7-9 with Wilhelm Grimm’s (1829: 18) version he notes that in the latter ‘gesohte’ (7b) was translated into German as ‘ich besuchte’, ‘I visited’ rather than ‘er buchte’, ‘he visited’. This mistake seems to have occurred because Grimm believed the direct speech began in l. 7, rather than where John Josias had marked it at l. 10.

The dissimilar circumstances in which the two editions were prepared resulted in different approaches to editing the manuscript. Some modern scholars, such as the classically-trained Michael Lapidge (2003: 133), argue that ‘when the texts as transmitted are obviously faulty, it is the editor’s first duty to detect error in the transmitted text and, if possible, remove it’. However, from John Josias’ perspective it was more difficult to suggest corrections in his transcriptions knowing less of the corpus and having fewer tools as research aids than Muir. This made it understandably difficult to determine whether a reading was an error or an acceptable variant. He was therefore obliged to rely on the manuscript reading more often than Muir, lacking such resources to help him. He also clearly indicated in footnotes or with question marks any uncertain sections of his translation. In this way, he invited other scholars to improve on his preliminary work.

Given the above, it is testament to John Josias’ success as an editor of Old English that there is comparatively little substantive difference between his edition of *Widsith* and that of Muir some two hundred years later. Although his Latin translation in places is inaccurate, John Josias was again careful to indicate areas of uncertainty for others to refine.

English Translation

As mentioned above,³²⁷ in 1824, the editor of the *Annals of Philosophy*, Edward William Brayley, published a lengthy obituary on John Josias. In this, Brayley (1824: 164) makes the following comments about his Old English studies as they appeared in *Archaeologia*:

³²⁷ See Chapter One, p. 37.

These extracts he accompanied with literal translations into Latin prose, preserving with the most scrupulous fidelity both the sense and verbal construction of the original; and with paraphrases somewhat more liberal in English verse. “I have always considered this double version,” he observes, “as the readiest means of enabling those who are unacquainted with the language of the originals, to form at the same time a tolerably correct notion of their characteristic structure of sentence, and a fair estimate of their merits as poetical compositions.” And though he proceeds to regret his inability to execute the English versions in a manner more worthy the spirit of his author; yet those who read them will find that he has accomplished the task with much success: the character of his versions is at once simple and dignified, and adapted with much taste to the varying style of the original poems.

As discussed in Chapter Five,³²⁸ *Illustrations* was aimed at a wider audience than the handful of scholars who could read Old English at this time and so John Josias’ approach to translation was twofold. For his literal Latin translation, accuracy was important and he attempted to render the original as faithfully as possible, although this did not result in elegant Latin or give any regard to techniques like alliteration or figurative language. Indeed, some scholars still offer this kind of literal translation (albeit into English) to help the beginning reader. This can be seen in the following modern translation of *Widsith*, ll. 1-9 by Mitchell and Robinson (1998: 197):

Widsith spoke, unlocked his word-hoard, he who of men travelled through most races and people over the earth; often he had received in hall desirable treasure. His ancestors sprang from the Myrgings. He with Ealhild, gracious weaver of peace, first, from Angel in the east, sought the home of the Gothic king Eormanric, the savage breaker of his promises. He began then to speak many things:

(Mitchell and Robinson 1998: 197)

³²⁸ See Chapter Five, pp. 217-229.

However, John Josias had already provided this kind of translation through Latin, so for his free translations into English he used a very different style of poetry and composed blank verse in iambic pentameter.

While, as was discussed above,³²⁹ John Josias was criticised for his use of iambic pentameter on the basis that its elevated style made it unsuitable as a form, he chose it purposely. Rather than attempting to represent the accentual Old English verse, he instead used blank verse. In some respects this could be regarded as appropriate: John Josias was attempting to invoke a feeling of the past similar to that which was found in translations of classical poetry. He translates *Widsith*, ll. 1-9 in English as:

In phrase that spoke a poet's soul,
His treasured lore he 'gan unfold;
He that had wander'd far and wide,
The Bard his toils and travels told.

From Mergia sprung of noble race,
He left a hall that gave him birth;
And many a wondrous sight had seen,
Long roaming o'er the peopled earth.

For he with love and service true,
In fair Alhilda's princely train,
From Anglia's eastern limits sought
A Gothic monarch's rich domain.

He that of Hermanric had known
The liberal hand, the warrior pride,
Turned to the list'ning crowd his song,
And told his travels far and wide.

(J. J. Conybeare 1826: 22)

As professor of Poetry at Oxford, he doubtlessly intended *Illustrations* to illustrate his own abilities as a poet as well as those as an Anglo-Saxonist. Either John Josias or William Daniel included a quotation on the title page of *Illustrations* from *The Temple of Fame* (1715) by Pope, which was adapted

³²⁹ See Chapter Five, pp. 227-229.

from Chaucer's *House of Fame* (~1374-1380).³³⁰ This was an appropriate choice for introducing the book, as Pope's piece had been adapted from an earlier English text in a style similar to John Josias' own blank verse English translations. These loose English translations were devised to attract the widest audience possible to Old English; given the critical reviews *Illustrations* received,³³¹ they appeared to have had the desired effect. Indeed even in the modern day, the first four lines from John Josias' English translation of *Widsith* are quoted as an introduction to Muir's (2000, vol. 2: 542) commentary on the poem, while several selections from his rendering of *Beowulf* appear on the front cover of Magennis (2011a).

Yet, while Mitchell and Robinson differ from John Josias in their approach to translation, the forward to their edition (1998) outlines their editorial approach in very similar terms to that which was taken in *Illustrations*.

1. first and foremost, to provide the help needed for an understanding of the text;
2. to keep the notes as simple as possible, so that we do not goad the reader into asking 'So what?';
3. to reduce emendation to a minimum;
4. not to repeat in the notes what is in the glossary;
5. to discuss phonological and metrical problems, and variant readings, only when they may affect the meaning of the poem. [...]
6. to discuss archaeology [...] and what Klaeber calls 'the fabulous elements' and 'the historical elements' [...]
7. to adopt a detached and impersonal presentation and to avoid imposing our own ideas or those of others, about the 'meaning' or the 'significance' of individual passages or of the poem [...] Such problems of judgement and literary interpretation we leave to the student and the teacher.

(Mitchell and Robinson 1998: Foreword)

In the last line of the quotation, Mitchell and Robinson define their edition as one designed for students and teachers. This was also John Josias' aim and he

³³⁰ See Chapter Five, p. 195, n. 234.

³³¹ See Chapter Five, pp. 217-229.

followed many of the same principles in *Illustrations*. His Latin translation serves the purpose of aiding ‘an understanding of the text’ and his notes are restricted mostly to comments marking uncertain passages or identifying named figures from other sources. He emends the manuscript reading only when he cannot make sense of a line in any other way. He does not include much discussion in his work about ‘phonological or metrical problems’, although two essays on Old English metrics were included in the book. Mitchell and Robinson attempt to minimise the amount of phonological information they provided on the basis that it may not be attractive, or helpful, for those new to the language. John Josias’ notes are mostly historical, and pose questions, rather than offer solutions to the reader, such as ‘[c]an these Wrosni be the Borussi?’ (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 13), or ‘[i]nhabitants of Gafleberg?’ (15).

Illustrations, then, was a book primarily designed for those learning Old English, including to some degree a number of more general readers who might not otherwise have encountered the language. The book, written in a time when Latin grammar was still taught extensively, took advantage of the potential offered by a dual-language translation which permitted a combination of scholarly and popular approaches. John Josias had planned to do more than simply excite the interest of amateur historians; instead he offered the first edition of Old English poems from the Exeter Book for the purposes of the further study by and enjoyment of a wider, more general audience.

So while today more importance is attached to Rask’s studies on phonetics and his identification of Germanic sound shifts than to John Josias’ editions and translations from the Exeter Book, from their perspective their studies were not comparable: one was making an Old English manuscript available in print with translation for the first time, while the other was interested in comparative historical phonology as a source of information about the relationship between families of languages. Indeed, without editions like *Illustrations*, the nineteenth-century philologists would have had no texts on which to base their comparative studies of early languages. When the

approaches of the new philologists were finally combined with the Old English texts that scholars like John Josias helped to make available there was a significant increase in the amount of scholarship produced on Old English literature.

However, as is discussed above,³³² John Josias was among the few early English scholars who recognised the significance of comparing early languages, although this was not a main focus of any of his studies. Nonetheless, it is hard to imagine that any English scholar at this time had much detailed knowledge of the ideas of scholars like Rask, given that Thorpe did not translate his *Angelsaksisk Sproglaere* (1817) into English until 1830. Yet both Grimm brothers used *Illustrations* in their own work,³³³ suggesting a greater level of contact between the continental and English scholars than is usually acknowledged.

More Recent Reception of John Josias' Research on Old English

To conclude this examination of the role John Josias played, or is perceived to have played, in the development of Old English studies, the following section considers some of the more recent criticism of his scholarship. Although, as noted near the beginning of this thesis,³³⁴ references to John Josias have been infrequent since the close of the nineteenth century, it is worth considering these modern scholarly opinions to show the ways in which they diverge from or support the findings presented here.

Aarsleff (1967: 175)

Although Aarsleff's examination of John Josias is brief, he offers one of the first modern evaluations of *Illustrations*. Yet his conclusions are framed in such a way that he appears to follow Kemble to some extent, setting the 'old' approaches to Old English against the 'new', in each case to the detriment of *Illustrations*. For example, while he states that John Josias' essays on Old English metre 'rightly stressed the importance of alliteration and rhythm', he

³³² See Chapter Three, pp. 140-141.

³³³ See p. 258 of this chapter.

³³⁴ See my introduction, p. 16.

asserts that this was ‘vitiating by an attempt to use the terminology of classical versification’ (Aarsleff 1967: 175). He acknowledges that the book contained ‘some specimens that had never before been published’, but complains that ‘philologically the text was inadequate’. Finally, he comments that these Old English texts may have been sounder if John Josias had not been ‘more interested in the translations’ that accompanied them. Although, then, Aarsleff’s book was published over a hundred years after the controversy caused by Kemble, its criticism of John Josias’ scholarship is framed in strikingly similar terms.

This thesis queries Aarsleff’s claim that John Josias’ research was in some ways ‘inadequate’ in terms of its application of philological approaches. Instead I propose that in 1824, when the author died, these ideas were not yet known in England and it was to take another decade at least before they were to have any significant influence on approaches taken by English scholars.³³⁵ The discussion above has also identified a rationale for John Josias’ attention to translation, which shows that it was an appropriate method for presenting previously unknown Old English materials to a diverse readership.³³⁶ While he used classical comparators at times in *Illustrations*,³³⁷ I argue that these were used by most Old English scholars of the day as a technique to help familiarise the texts for their intended audience, who were already acquainted with Latin and Greek literature.

Bolton (1974)

The first detailed examination of any of John Josias’ research on Old English materials was published by Bolton in 1974. In it, he highlights the importance of the *Beowulf* collation that appeared in *Illustrations* as ‘the first independent witness to the MS in the early nineteenth century’ (97). Bolton came to this opinion primarily through an examination of John Josias’ annotated copy of Thorkelin’s edition of the poem, which he had found for sale in a bookshop.³³⁸

³³⁵ See Chapter Three, p. 142.

³³⁶ See Chapter Five, pp. 217-229.

³³⁷ See Chapter Five, p. 222.

³³⁸ See my introduction, p. 18.

He notes that the additional information this edition contains is important for a consideration of John Josias' contribution to Old English studies, as he recognised that the *Beowulf* materials in *Illustrations* were not entirely completed for the press by the scholar himself (*ibid.*). Indeed, he goes as far as to suggest that a lost transcript must have existed between John Josias' work in the Thorkelin edition and that which appeared in *Illustrations*.

Several of Bolton's findings agree with those contained in this thesis, particularly regarding William Daniel's role as an editor (although not Mary's, which my research is the first to identify). He shows that William Daniel had the Thorkelin edition when he was preparing his brother's book and indicates some of the discrepancies between the collation John Josias had prepared and that which appeared in *Illustrations*. By comparing the work in Thorkelin's edition with the manuscript reading and the published version, Bolton shows that John Josias' work 'brought to the public a far better text than Th[or]k[elin]', although it acknowledges that it appeared in 'a somewhat garbled version of that improvement' (Bolton 1974: 100).

On the basis of its merit, Bolton (1974: 98) called for someone to undertake 'a whole monograph surveying Conybeare's *Beowulf* readings and indeed his contribution to OE studies in general'. This thesis primarily attempts to answer the second part of this request.

Frantzen (1990: 195-196)

Frantzen's brief discussion of John Josias also focused on his study of *Beowulf*. However, he approaches this within the context of its influence on, what he called, '[t]he rehabilitation of Anglo-Saxon studies' at the beginning of the nineteenth century (195). Within this context he recognised that John Josias achieved much, acknowledging that he was the first to publish texts from the Exeter Book (although he did not state which), responsible for the first detailed studies on Old English metre, and that he won recognition for Old English poetry through his acknowledgement of its literary merit. By considering *Illustrations*, one of the earliest editions of Old English texts and

the first to publish many of the texts taught in universities today, Frantzen situates the book within the discipline's earliest origins.³³⁹

Indeed, Frantzen was interested in John Josias because of his relative obscurity in modern times. He addresses his *Desire for Origins* (1990)

to medievalists, classicists, and others whose intellectual interest in ancient civilisation has been marginalized by previously marginalized subjects and by what might be termed stubborn self-marginalization.

(rear book cover)

Frantzen therefore attempts to emphasise the study of Old English in the context of the cultural movements and events in which it was created, as I have done here.

However, Frantzen's approach is not based on a close examination of *Illustrations* or Kemble's publication (1835); instead he draws his conclusions entirely from the contemporary context. This led him to give substantial praise to Kemble, whom he calls 'nineteenth-century England's most important Anglo-Saxonist' (195), commenting that he

first believed that *Beowulf* was historical, as did Turner and Conybeare, and dated it to the mid-fifth century, close to "the coming of Hengest and Hors into Britain." He believed that the poem was brought by these settlers and that the manuscript was only a "careless copy" of "an older and far completer poem." The implications of his view for editorial method are considerable. Kemble believed that manuscript readings should be kept rather than emended [...] [h]e lamented the continuing decline of the manuscript, the "progressing evil" of letters falling away.

Yet even when John Josias noted that *Beowulf* 'may be a translation or rifacimento of some earlier work' ten years prior to Kemble, he was following

³³⁹ See also Chapter Two, p. 52.

Thorkelin and Turner (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 30). John Josias had similarly proposed that *Widsith* predated its manuscript survival,³⁴⁰ which shows that this idea had been established in scholarship prior to Kemble's time. Furthermore, as discussed above,³⁴¹ John Josias also often chose to preserve a manuscript reading rather than emend it. He recognised that some of the Old English manuscripts he was working with were deteriorating and so there was a requirement to transcribe and preserve these materials. This was also his motivation for carrying out his collation of the manuscript with Thorkelin's edition.³⁴² This suggests that Frantzen's praise of Kemble here might with more justification have been accorded to John Josias, whom Kemble followed in this regard.

Frantzen (1990: 195) comments further that John Josias was 'the first to connect *Beowulf* not only to northern antiquities, but to the Orient', referring to the section of *Illustrations* quoted above.³⁴³ He presents this as evidence that John Josias was aware of early philological approaches, supporting this research in its proposal that *Illustrations* was prepared within a distinctively 'pre-philological' period.³⁴⁴ Nonetheless John Josias avoided the worst pitfalls of the early philologists, unlike Kemble who, at times, demonstrated 'the capacity of philology to produce extravagant speculation, richly supported by arcane learning, much of it mythological and most of it thoroughly romantic' (*ibid*). As neither romanticism or philology were widely established in England in the years prior to *Illustrations*' publication, John Josias took a more cautious approach to the interpretation of his sources although he acknowledged the significance of the new research that was gaining increasing support on the continent.³⁴⁵

While Frantzen's contextual approaches informed those taken in this research, the above example of Kemble highlights why such information is most helpful

³⁴⁰ See pp. 255-258 of this chapter.

³⁴¹ See pp. 268-282 of this chapter.

³⁴² See Chapter Four, pp. 161-163.

³⁴³ See Chapter Four, p. 141, n. 150.

³⁴⁴ See Chapter Three, pp. 136-140.

³⁴⁵ See Chapter Three, pp. 140-141.

when considered in conjunction with a textual examination. By overlooking the scholarship *Illustrations* contained, Frantzen failed to recognise that the successes he attributed to Kemble had earlier origins.

Conner (1993: 252)

Conner (1993: 252) writes only a paragraph about *Illustrations* in his appendix on the preservation of the Exeter Book manuscript since 1100 (236-254), although John Josias was the first editor to transcribe significant portions of its contents (Appendix 2:11). Nonetheless, Conner acknowledges that *Illustrations* promoted significant further interest in the manuscript due to the range and variety of its contents. In particular, he highlights the studies on *The Riming Poem* and *Widsith* as examples of how John Josias selected poems on the basis of their literary appeal and the role this played in awakening a greater interest in Old English (1993: 252).

Like Frantzen, Conner also recognises that John Josias is significant in the historiography of the discipline. For example, he notes that John Josias (J. J. Conybeare 1814d) was the first to identify an analogue with Lactantius' poem in his edition of *The Phoenix* (1993: 252). He continues:

This is the earliest published study of origins and influences in Old English poetry and, as such, it stands at the head of a tradition of scholarship which has greatly aided our understanding not only of the literature but of the culture as a whole.

(*ibid.*)

Moreover, Conner states that another of John Josias' greatest successes was that he introduced 'an ignorant public to poetry with which it was only vaguely familiar' (*ibid.*). As has been discussed above, John Josias' blank verse translations were intended to make the Old English more accessible and familiar.³⁴⁶ However Conner perhaps underestimates the extent of the

³⁴⁶ See pp. 282-286 of this chapter.

antiquarian interest at the time, as it seems likely that by 1826 at least some of John Josias' educated readership already knew some Old English.³⁴⁷

Momma and Powell (2007: 1348)

Not all evaluations of John Josias' work have been as positive as those in Frantzen and Conner. For example, Momma and Powell (2007: 1348) only briefly mention John Josias, again in the context of Kemble. Here they note that Kemble's edition of *Beowulf* was 'philologically more sound than any done by his predecessors in England. The case in point is John Josias Conybeare' (*ibid.*). They contrast philological approaches used by Kemble, '[t]he main player in this new trend', with John Josias, 'able neither to apply its methods of analysis [...] nor to understand its vernacularist implications', highlighting some of the latter's errors in his translation. On the other hand, Kemble is lauded for 'his most significant contribution to the study of Old English literature [...] his privileging of poetry over prose' (1349), something that had surely already been claimed by John Josias' edition of Old English poetry, pre-dating Kemble's by over a decade.

Momma and Powell (2007: 1348-1349) also comment that when Kemble proposed that *Beowulf* 'records the exploits of one of our own forefathers, not far removed in point of time from the coming of Hengest and Hors[a] into Britain', although 'the tongue spoken by Hengest [...] was that of Ælfred the king, four centuries later' (Kemble 1835: xix, xxi), this was a 'new and controversial' suggestion (Momma and Powell 2007: 1349). This is not the case: in the additional notes William Daniel added to *Illustrations*, incorporating Price's comments,³⁴⁸ he notes that some of the content of *Beowulf* seems to have been compiled

³⁴⁷ See Chapter Five, pp. 229-232.

³⁴⁸ See Chapter Five, pp. 202-203.

anterior to the invasion of Hengist and Horsa in the fifth century; and the materials, therefore, from the poem of Beowulf was afterwards composed, may have been imported in their train in the form of those heroical songs which we learn from Jornandes and other writers formed a favourite amusement among the Gothic tribes.

(W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 285-286)

This thesis seems to have been taken up by Kemble, who repeated it with no reference to *Illustrations*. Yet as the comment was hidden in the additional apparatus at the back of *Illustrations* it is perhaps unsurprising that later scholars overlooked its first appearance in print. John Josias' own comments on the dating of the poem were somewhat more cautious, noting that '[w]hether the poem itself be, in its present dress, of a higher antiquity than this, we have no evidence external or internal which might enable us to pronounce' (1826: 32).

Momma and Powell cite Kemble's above-mentioned attack on John Josias in the *Gentleman's Magazine* as the source of their information rather than returning to *Illustrations* itself and checking the veracity of his criticism.³⁴⁹ This illustrates one of the ways in which John Josias' reputation has been tarnished in more recent years due to a reliance on the opinions of earlier scholars, which have at times been accepted without adequate attention to the context in which they were initially made.

Magennis (2011a: 48-50)

The only modern scholar who has examined John Josias' approach to translation in *Illustrations* is Magennis, who notes the differing function of the English and Latin translations and their role in popularising the Old English materials at the beginning of the nineteenth century (2011a). Unlike some of the scholars discussed above, Magennis' approach is textual; he notes that 'evident in the translation is Conybeare's uncertain grasp of the sense of the Old English' (49); this coheres with my findings on the translation of the

³⁴⁹ See Chapter Three, pp. 136-140.

opening to *Widsith*.³⁵⁰ Yet unlike Aarsleff (1967) or Momma and Powell (2007), Magennis also sets John Josias' work in context, noting that his translations are 'reflective of the state of knowledge of the language of the poem at this time' and indeed 'an advance on that of Thorkelin and Turner' (*ibid.*). Similarly, my research has attempted to show that John Josias' scholarship was the product of the circumstances in which it was composed, so should not be censured for failing to incorporate later ideas and approaches that were unknown in his time.

Magennis could be said to be the first scholar to recognise that *Illustrations* requires a more prominent place in the historiography of Old English not only because of its role in the popularisation of Old English, but also because of the value of the scholarship it contains. Magennis' decision to print extracts from John Josias' translation of *Beowulf* on the front cover of his book perhaps indicates that he identifies *Illustrations* as a text from which the study of the poem developed.

Conclusions

In order to answer my final set of research questions,³⁵¹ this chapter attempts to situate John Josias and his *Illustrations* within the development of Old English studies. It identifies him as the first to carry out a detailed examination of the Exeter Book and to edit and translate portions from it, going much further than the brief notices in Wanley's *Catalogus librorum septentrionalium* (in Hickes 1703-1705, vol. 2).³⁵² It also demonstrates that John Josias' transcriptions and translations of Old English, although not always accurate, provided a text good enough to attract and sustain the interest of the general, as well as more specialist, reader.³⁵³

In light of these findings, it seems then that some of the retrospective criticism that has been directed at John Josias' skills as an editor is unfair. This chapter

³⁵⁰ See pp. 268-286 of this chapter.

³⁵¹ See my introduction, p. 7.

³⁵² See pp. 235-248 of this chapter.

³⁵³ See pp. 268-286 of this chapter.

proposes that his *Illustrations* represents a major contribution to Old English studies in its immediate early nineteenth-century context and beyond that into the present day. It made a number of texts available for the first time and accessible to the general reader, as well as useful to the scholar. Indeed, it shows that John Josias was a reliable and conservative editor whose work provided a solid foundation for those who followed him.

Research Conclusions

This thesis has offered a fresh evaluation of John Josias' contribution to the development of Old English studies. It has proposed that previous scholarship has for the most part either disregarded his contribution or understated its importance. Consequently John Josias has become a marginalised character in the historiography of the discipline, whereas during his own lifetime he was considered amongst the foremost in the field. This research has attempted to reposition John Josias within our current understanding of Old English studies at this time by illustrating his merit as a scholar, the wide distribution and use of his *Illustrations*, and the posthumous influences that caused his reputation to decline.

This trajectory can be traced, in part, to the unusual circumstances in which *Illustrations* was prepared for the press by William Daniel and Mary. Their interventions resulted in a book that, when presented to the scholarly community in 1826, was far removed from that John Josias had planned and indeed did not fully represent the wishes of either editor. Furthermore, in the years immediately following *Illustrations*' publication there was also a shift in scholarly attitudes as a result of new philological approaches. Some of the early English philologists, such as Kemble and Thorpe, attempted to differentiate their contributions from those of the 'old Saxonists' through highly critical evaluations of their work. However, while the application of the philological approach still can be considered one of the most significant developments in Old English studies, it is as unreasonable to judge John Josias' contribution through this lens as it would be to apply it to Junius, Somner, Hickeys, or Thwaites before him. Unfortunately John Josias died during the lifetime of many of those who later adopted new philological approaches, making comparison sadly inevitable. This thesis has attempted to redress this imbalance by considering *Illustrations* within the context in which it was created rather than evaluating its success on the basis of its shortcomings in comparison to our current state of knowledge.

In this thesis, a reevaluation of John Josias' contribution to his discipline was approached from a variety of perspectives. Part I sought to position the scholar

both within the context of Old English studies as a whole and in his immediate early nineteenth-century setting. This approach was based on the principle that any scholarly contribution should be considered in context. By judging every successive generation of scholars against the supposed shortcomings of that which preceded it, we deny ourselves a considered evaluation of the successive steps upon which every later advancement has been built. This thesis also attempted to reconnect the individual with their research through a careful study of John Josias' environment, attempting a more thoroughgoing consideration of his character and associations, together, albeit to a lesser extent, with that of his brother, William Daniel. However, this consideration was not limited to the immediate context of the nineteenth century, as it was also important to show John Josias' place within the longer continuum of Old English historiography. As a polymath whose interests diversified far beyond the narrow focus of modern specialisms, he may fairly be considered as an outstanding example of a scholar of his generation.

The second part of this thesis returned to an examination of the work for which John Josias is best known, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, and drew upon the information provided in Part I to provide a more wide-ranging examination than can be achieved through close textual analysis alone. One of the significant findings from this combined textual and biographical research demonstrated that both William Daniel, John Josias' brother, and Mary, his widow, were responsible for the final shape of *Illustrations*. Extensive archival research made it possible to separate the contributions of the editors from those of John Josias himself and thus to offer a more accurate evaluation of his scholarship isolated from such later accretions. As William Daniel's own contributions to *Illustrations* 'have, in common with the introduction itself, neither the advantage of being written on the most enticing subject in the world, nor in the most alluring manner' (Anon 1828: 63), this separation is even more pertinent when examining John Josias' success as a scholar. Altogether John Josias completed a relatively small number of studies on Old English materials, but those he did produce were significant. However, as a result of his later reputation, his many abilities in this respect have been undervalued.

The final part of the thesis presented, *inter alia*, unpublished Conybeare correspondence as supporting evidence for the events described in the dissertation. The results of this archival research are presented in a second volume so that it may be consulted in tandem with the body of the thesis or read independently. It is hoped that this approach will perhaps encourage similar work on other marginalised figures from the history of the discipline.³⁵⁴

John Josias seems not to have been properly appreciated as an innovator and trendsetter in the field of Old English studies. It was not until forty years after John Josias' death that Furnivall founded the Early English Text Society (EETS), which aimed to make medieval texts more readily available to the scholarly community. Yet it was John Josias who began the process of making Old English texts more widely available and he did this many years before the EETS editions started to appear. The grand conception of *Illustrations* showed that John Josias was keenly aware of the interest of this material and the importance of bringing it to the attention of a wider audience. Its publication, even in its altered and reduced form, sparked an interest in Old English literature and did much to assure its place in our curriculum today.

³⁵⁴ In the process of completing this study the figure of Richard Price (1790-1833), literary scholar and editor of Warton, represented an elusive but frequently appearing figure whose life and works would perhaps benefit from a consideration similar to that carried out here.

**‘A Scholar, a Gentleman, and a Christian’:
John Josias Conybeare (1779-1824) and his
Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry (1826)**

Volume Two

by

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Appendix 1: Correspondence and Reviews

At present let me beg of you to work hard in endeavouring to acquire a good legible hand, which is an indispensable necessary, as you at present write most vilely.

(John Josias to William Daniel, 1800; Appendix 1:1)

The following pages contain transcriptions of the correspondence that is referred to or cited in the main body of this thesis. The majority of these letters come from the Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service's D5154 holding, *Papers of A. W. Boyd, Naturalist*, from a sub-fond entitled 'CONYBEARE FAMILY'. The administrative information attached to the archive states that:

Arnold Whitworth Boyd was a naturalist and antiquarian with interests in local history, folklore, dialect and conservation. He was born in 1885 and died in 1959. Through his marriage in 1919 to Violet Blanche Conybeare he was related to the latter family and to the Marklands of south Lancashire [...] Many of the historical papers and ephemera of the Markland and Conybeare families came into Mr Boyd's possession. This collection has been divided into three parts, relating as far as possible to the activities of the Marklands, the Conybeares and the Boyds.

Violet Blanche Conybeare (1887-1952) was William Daniel's great-granddaughter, through his son Charles Ranken Conybeare (1821-1885) and grandson Charles Henry Conybeare (1861-1928).

The archive contains only two items written by John Josias: a letter to Mary (D5154/40; Appendix 1:2; image, Appendix 1:3) and some notes on Bovey coal (D5154/48), which I have not included below.³⁵⁵ A few previously published letters by John Josias have been added where they are relevant to the narrative (Appendices 1:1, 1:4, 1:7). Appendix 1:5 contains a transcription of

³⁵⁵ The archivist has tentatively assigned these notes to John Josias, but I found no reference to this study during my research.

notes John Josias wrote in his personal copy of Thorkelin's edition of *Beowulf* (London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 71716), which were transcribed from Kiernan's *Electronic Beowulf* (2011).

The archive also holds a number of letters addressed to John Josias (D5154/39), of which all but one are from the family lawyer, Charles Ranken. The lawyer's letters contain nothing of relevance to this thesis, being mainly concerned with financial transactions, and so they are not included here. The other letter is from Thomas Gaisford and is presented as Appendix 1:6.

The majority of the following appendices were found amongst correspondence to Mary (D5154/37; Appendices 1:12 (image, Appendix 1:13), 1:14, 1:15 (image, Appendix 1:16), 1:18, 1:20, and 1:22), Sarah Anne (D5154/36; Appendices 1:9 and 1:25),³⁵⁶ William Daniel (D5154/38; Appendix 1:8), or amongst unidentified Conybeare materials (D5154/42; Appendices 1:17 and 1:19).³⁵⁷ One further letter from William Buckland to William Daniel was uncovered in a notebook containing much later unrelated correspondence (D5154/27; Appendix 1:10 (image, Appendix 1:11)). Although an extensive search was conducted, it was not possible to locate Mary's responses to William Daniel's letters about *Illustrations*.

Several sources have been inserted below relating to the publication history of *Illustrations*, which appear chronologically amongst the correspondence. An advertisement for the book is presented in Appendix 1:21, and extracts from a number of contemporary reviews are given in Appendices 1:23, 1:24, 1:26, and 1:27. Two further letters dating from after the publication of the book are included as Appendices 1:28 and 1:29.

The selected texts that follow have been arranged chronologically with their source, date, and description summarised on the page preceding. Where possible, notes are provided to identify named individuals and to refer the

³⁵⁶ Appendix 1:25 is actually a letter to Mary which has been incorrectly archived.

³⁵⁷ Appendices 1:17 and 1:19 are both letters from William Daniel to Mary from around 1826 that have been incorrectly archived within a section headed 'Conybeare family correspondence (unidentified) 1834-1840'.

reader to the relevant discussion in the main body of the thesis. Images of some of the letters have been included, following the transcript to which they relate, with kindest thanks to the Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service for their permission to reproduce them.

In the previously unpublished material transcribed here, I have silently expanded suspensions and abbreviations to increase the readability of the correspondence for modern readers. Insertions, deletions, and corrections are not noted but simply incorporated into the transcription unless they seem to have been made by another hand. Punctuation has been modernised to accord better with present-day usage. In particular, I have replaced William Daniel's favoured dash with an appropriate punctuation mark according to context, and have lightly emended his usage elsewhere. Capitalisation and word division has been normalised throughout the transcriptions. However, line division, spelling, and underlining for emphasis (represented with italics) have been preserved as they appear in the original documents. Uncertain readings are queried, supplied readings are given in square brackets, and physical damage noted. Abbreviated names are only expanded in brackets when there is any uncertainty about the identification of the individual to which they refer.

Where documents have been reproduced from a previously published source, and it has not been possible to consult the original from which the transcription was made, these have been printed as they appeared in their edited form.

Appendix 1:1 – Letter, John Josias (Christ Church) to William Daniel (Pentonville), 1800

Source: In F. C. Conybeare (1905: 152-157).

Dating: From postmark.

Outline: John Josias, aged twenty-one, writes to William Daniel from Christ Church, Oxford. He congratulates his brother on becoming a student at Mr Lendon's school in Pentonville and offers him advice for his future studies.

It has not been possible to locate the original document from which Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare made his transcription.

Master W. Conybeare,³⁵⁸
Rev. Mr. Lendon's,³⁵⁹
Rodney Street,
Pentonville

Single sheet, Sunday evening, 5.36³

[postmarked 'Oxford, 4 o'clock, No. 17, 1800 E.V.']

Christ Church, *Sunday morning*.

DEAR WILLIAM,

As I feel a very sincere pleasure in being enabled to address you for the first time as a schoolboy, and some anxiety to hear from yourself how you like your new situation, I lose no time in writing to you. Your father acquainted me with this good news by a letter which I received on Friday, and as no post goes from here on Saturdays, that which sets out this evening is the earliest conveyance by which I can transmit to you my hearty congratulations. You seemed yourself so thoroughly impressed with the necessity of your mixing with other boys in a school and so well disposed towards it, that it is needless for me to give you any advice on that score; indeed you will soon perceive that most of the evils, which weak minds conceive to be attendant on a public education, are imaginary, and that such as do exist, though I very much doubt the existence of any, are more than counterbalanced by the good effects which arise from it. To such as yourself it is likely to be of the most beneficial consequences. The unvarying regularity of a school will give you habits of application and steadiness which the disorder of a small family, the head of which is an invalid, must necessarily have precluded your acquiring at home; you will feel more pleasure too in learning, where every one about you is engaged in the same pursuit, than you possibly could alone. Add to this that a school is a field of action where the powers of the mind are more forcibly called into play, and new ones more likely to be drawn forth, than they could be in the dull routine of a nursery education. You have, under all your disadvantages, acquired such a portion of knowledge as proves that your abilities with proper cultivation may rank higher than those of most whom you are likely to meet among your schoolfellows. You may surely then feel yourself happy that you are now in a fair way to acquire improvement, and that it is your own fault if you do not cut a very respectable figure. From my knowledge of the goodness of your heart, I have no fear of your not living on pleasant terms with your school fellows. The trifling habits of impatience and dislike of control that you have acquired at home will soon wear off of themselves, but

³⁵⁸ William Daniel (1787-1857), John Josias' brother.

³⁵⁹ Reverend Abel Lendon, the head of a school and curate of Totteridge. The costs of this school are noted in a diary entry by Warren Hastings (1732-1818), the first Governor-General of India, from 1806: 'Terms, 80 gs. per annum, entrance 5 gs. to instruct him in English, Greek, Latin, and Geography; Writing and Arithmetic, extra 5 gs.; French and dancing (if taught) 5 gs. each, with entrance' (Hastings 1806, cited in Lawson 1895: 209).

you must not be surprised or angry if they now and then bring you into a little scrape first. One great benefit of school is that it teaches children to govern their passions. That you will always be ready to do a good-natured act towards another, I make no doubt; let me advise you also never to be forward in mobbing or laughing at others, as none of us are without some ridiculous quality, which may subject us to retaliation; but while you abstain from rowing your companions, do not be too hasty when you are rowed yourself, as it will only increase their wish for having fun with you, and perhaps get you a thrashing into the bargain. If you appear indifferent to their abuse, they will lose their aim; and if you have good-nature enough to join in the laugh against yourself, you entirely disarm them. As to your friends at school, do not make them in a hurry. You may well avoid disclosing all your concerns to a chance acquaintance, without carrying an appearance of reserve which is disagreeable enough in a man, but in a boy disgusting. If you know any one of great talents among your schoolfellows from whom you are likely to get useful information, make yourself as intimate with him as discretion will allow. This will not be very difficult, as great abilities are generally accompanied by good-nature and willingness to communicate information and assistance to those who ask it. I have acquired most of the little knowledge I possess myself by this method. Your present plan of study, what books you are to read, what part of them, how much time, and all particulars of that sort, I expect to hear at length and very speedily from yourself. I will then from time to time send you my remarks on your reading and the use which you may make of it, which I shall have more leisure to do than your master can, and I shall confine my observations to such parts of your study as he is not expected to explain to you. Indeed, in whatever I write, I shall constantly have an eye towards your well-doing here at Christ Church, and endeavour to put you into such a train as may enable you to come here prepared and instructed in those points which it costs most of us our first 2 or 3 years to acquire. At present let me beg of you to work hard in endeavouring to acquire a good legible hand, which is an indispensable necessary, as you at present write most vilely. Another very requisite art for you is arithmetic, to which I would have you pay peculiar attention, as after a very short period it will become more interesting and repay you fully for the trouble you have taken to learn the dry rudiments of it. Nothing has given me more regret than that the little regard that was paid to it at Putney and Westminster prevented me from applying to it,³⁶⁰ and I have since tried it in vain. The mind does not so easily accommodate itself to the impressions of a new science at 20 as at 14. French my father says you are to learn. Learn it then as quick as you can, not so much for the sake of reading it, for there are not ten works in that language worth your perusal, as that it may be of use to you to speak it; and you cannot, as times go, attempt Italian and other languages from which you will derive more profit and pleasure, without first mastering the French. Concerning your Greek I need say nothing. You began to see the beauties of the language while I was at home, and will every day discover new ones. Latin verse and English too, if you like it, you should both write and read incessantly. 'Tis not merely amusement that you will derive from these exercises; their good effects extend through the whole circle of

³⁶⁰ Before going to Christ Church, John Josias had attended a preparatory school in Putney then Westminster Public School. See Chapter One, pp. 23-25.

literature, and on this subject, to quote a passage in Crowe's public oration³⁶¹ - "Sentio quantum poetarum lectio tum ad acuenda et expolienda iuvenum ingenia, tum etiam ad severioris literaturae incrementum conducatur. Hoc etiam in animo habeo posse in ea arte precepta dari quoad ceteras literarum partes pertineant. Exinde fore ut iuvenes postquam haec didicissent, limatum et subtile ingenium ad omne fere genus literaturae afferre possent."³⁶² If you cannot construe this, Mr. Lendon will explain it to you. I have a full confidence both in his ability to make you a scholar, and his will to treat you with good-nature. Give my best remembrances to him, and compliments to Mrs. L.³⁶³ If you go on with your drawing, do not let it interrupt your literary studies. I have a large lot of landscapes for you, also Spenser's works,³⁶⁴ which you wished for. The landscapes are easy and good, being copied in *aqua tinta* from Claude Lorraine.³⁶⁵ Remember me to Frank Latham.³⁶⁶ Write soon and particularize all I desired you. For the present

Believe me,
Your affectionate brother,
J. J. CONYBEARE.

P. S. Take care of my letters. Do not lose them, as I have a particular reason for it.

³⁶¹ Reverend William Crowe (1745-1829), public orator at the University of Oxford. Crowe was still in residence at Oxford during John Josias' time as professor of Anglo-Saxon and Poetry, see further Chapter Three, p. 109. During a university convocation in 1820, 'an ode, in honour of the King's accession, written by the Rev. J. Josias Conybeare, Professor of Poetry, and set to Music by Dr. Crotch' was played, at the end of which 'the Creweian Oration was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Crowe, the Public Orator' (Anon 1820b: 410). John Josias was present at this meeting where he also met Robert Southey (1774-1843), and both men must have listened to Crowe's oration; see also Appendix 1:22.

³⁶² 'As far as I can judge, the study of poets is first for exercising and refining young men's mental abilities, second it may lead to preferment of more serious literature. Besides this, I believe that the guidelines in this art form can be assigned, as far as they apply, to other branches of literature. After that, it would seem that young men, as they had mastered this, would be able to transfer a sophisticated and honed intellect to almost any other branch of literature'.

³⁶³ Mrs Lendon. In a letter from 1806, the above-mentioned Warren Hastings wrote: 'On the 14th I attended good Mrs. Grant, with John, to Mr. Lendon's, and delivered the dear boy to his charge, with a particular recommendation of him to Mrs. Lendon' (Hastings 1806, cited in Gleig 1841: 389).

³⁶⁴ Possibly Edmund Spenser (1552-1599), English poet.

³⁶⁵ Claude Lorrain (c. 1600-1682), artist.

³⁶⁶ Francis Latham, one of William Daniel's classmates who he named in a list of 'Boys at Lendon's, 1800-2' in his fragmentary autobiography (W. D. Conybeare 1905: 123).

**Appendix 1:2 – Letter, John Josias (Batheaston) to Mary (Oxford),
[~December 1812 - February 1814]**

Source: [Letter] *A. W. Boyd, Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/40. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: Undated. However, John Josias acquired the vicarage discussed in this letter during December 1812; see further Chapter One, pp. 29-30. The letter also addresses Mary by her maiden name, Davies, showing it must have been written before the couple married on 21 February 1814.

Outline: John Josias outlines the condition of Batheaston vicarage and his plans for redecorating and renovating the property to his future wife. Although the building is not identified by name in the letter, John Josias is undoubtedly referring to the vicarage. This has been confirmed by comparing the ink sketches and floor plans it contains with those held by the Batheaston Historical Building Survey (1999).

[Page One, left]

Miss Davies³⁶⁷
Brewers Lane
Oxford

[Page One, right]

My dearest girl,

I had written [...] ³⁶⁸
that Charles³⁶⁹ had already a[...] ³⁷⁰
of my relation. Being unwilling therefore to make you
pay more postage than was necessary, I have set to
work to compress what he has left unsaid [?] into such a
space as to square with William's ingenious ground plans and
elevations.³⁷¹ The staircase has no turning, being only the
9 steps given in carpenter's plans. The landing place above is
handsome. The parlor windows are so contrived as to pay
tax only as one each. The passage is evidently an addition
after the main building. The older part is certainly much
out of order, but the kitchen and two pantries are so good [...] ³⁷²
make it worth a thorough repair. The lau[ndry] [...] ³⁷³
such mere sheds and so bad that it will probably be necessary
to remove them. I shall be able to tell you more when I have
seen a surveyor. Mrs N[oyes]³⁷⁴ had left the whole furniture
of the drawing and dining rooms, some in the best bedroom (all
very indifferent and far from new), the servants' bedsteads and
bedding and sundry other things – altogether valued at about
£130. These we immediately agreed to repose [?], which has acco-
rdingly been done. The fixtures appear very good, the parlor
grates especially. They are altogether charged at 36 odd shillings.
You see that there is no laundry – the N[oyes]'s washed out. The
second coach house it would be perhaps better to take down.
The one near the house is in such a situation that it could
not be converted to any other purpose. The bishop is in
Bath.³⁷⁵ I shall tomorrow call on him, better my accounts with

³⁶⁷ Mary Conybeare née Davies (1790-1848). See Appendix 2:1 and Chapter One, pp. 29-30.

³⁶⁸ The rest of this line has been cut out of the letter.

³⁶⁹ Possibly Charles Davies (1792-1827), Mary's brother, or the family lawyer Charles Ranken.
See Appendix 2:1.

³⁷⁰ The rest of this line has been cut out of the letter.

³⁷¹ Possibly William Daniel (1787-1857), John Josias' brother.

³⁷² The rest of this line is missing because of a hole in the manuscript.

³⁷³ There is a hole in the manuscript here obscuring the end of this word, which seems to read
'lau[ndry]', and the rest of the line.

³⁷⁴ Maria Noyes. The occupant of Batheaston vicarage immediately previous to John Josias
was Thomas-Herbert Noyes (d. 8 August 1812), whose wife, Maria, survived him (Anon
1812c: 193).

³⁷⁵ Possibly Richard Beadon (1737-1824), who was bishop of Bath and Wells 1802-1824.

[Page Two, right]

Mr Littlehales,³⁷⁶ see my curate,³⁷⁷ and learn what
[...] ³⁷⁸ bear the best character here. Mr L[ittlehales]³⁷⁹
[...] very favourably of Pinch [?]. The roof
[...] of the older part which much requires it
[...] I shall endeavor to get set about directly, in order
to discover, when it is untiled, what the real state of
the walls etc. is. If, as I believe, they will remain firm
my addition must probably be made at the other end.
If not, the coach house may be brought into use and
connected with [the]³⁸⁰ main building. At all events I apprehend
I must build a room.³⁸¹ The garden is very pretty and
the whole lies very compactly and comfortably. I will
write again soon, in the meantime best love to
Mrs D[avies]³⁸² and believe me,

my dearest girl,
ever devotedly yours
John Josias Conybeare

[Page Two, left]

³⁸³Orchard (trees omitted) it extends somewhat
further to the south, and at the southwest corner there is a shabby
useless wooden *coach* house for a *gig*. The whole length of the grounds
from the house to the river about 100 of my steps, from north to
south nearly twice as much.

N. B. The street
front is shrouded
from the road by
trees planted in the
court, which I
have been obliged to
leave out.

³⁷⁶ Maria Noyes, née Littlehales, was the daughter of Baker John Littlehales (1732-1785) and the sister of Edward Baker Littlehales (d. 1825) (Anon 1812c: 193), to whom this may refer.

³⁷⁷ When John Josias died in 1824, Reverend Mr Hutchins was the curate who received his body (Anon 1824b: 187). However, it is unknown if he was the curate at this time.

³⁷⁸ The first words of this line, and the following three lines, are missing because of a hole in the manuscript.

³⁷⁹ Possibly the above mentioned Edward Baker Littlehales.

³⁸⁰ This word has been omitted by John Josias.

³⁸¹ An archivist's note attached to the sub-fond containing this letter states that John Josias 'altered the vicarage to make a laboratory'. See further Chapter One, p. 34.

³⁸² Possibly Mary Davies née Drought, Mary Davies' mother. See Appendix 2:1.

³⁸³ These notes accompany illustrations of a labelled house and gardens.

[Page Two, right, top]

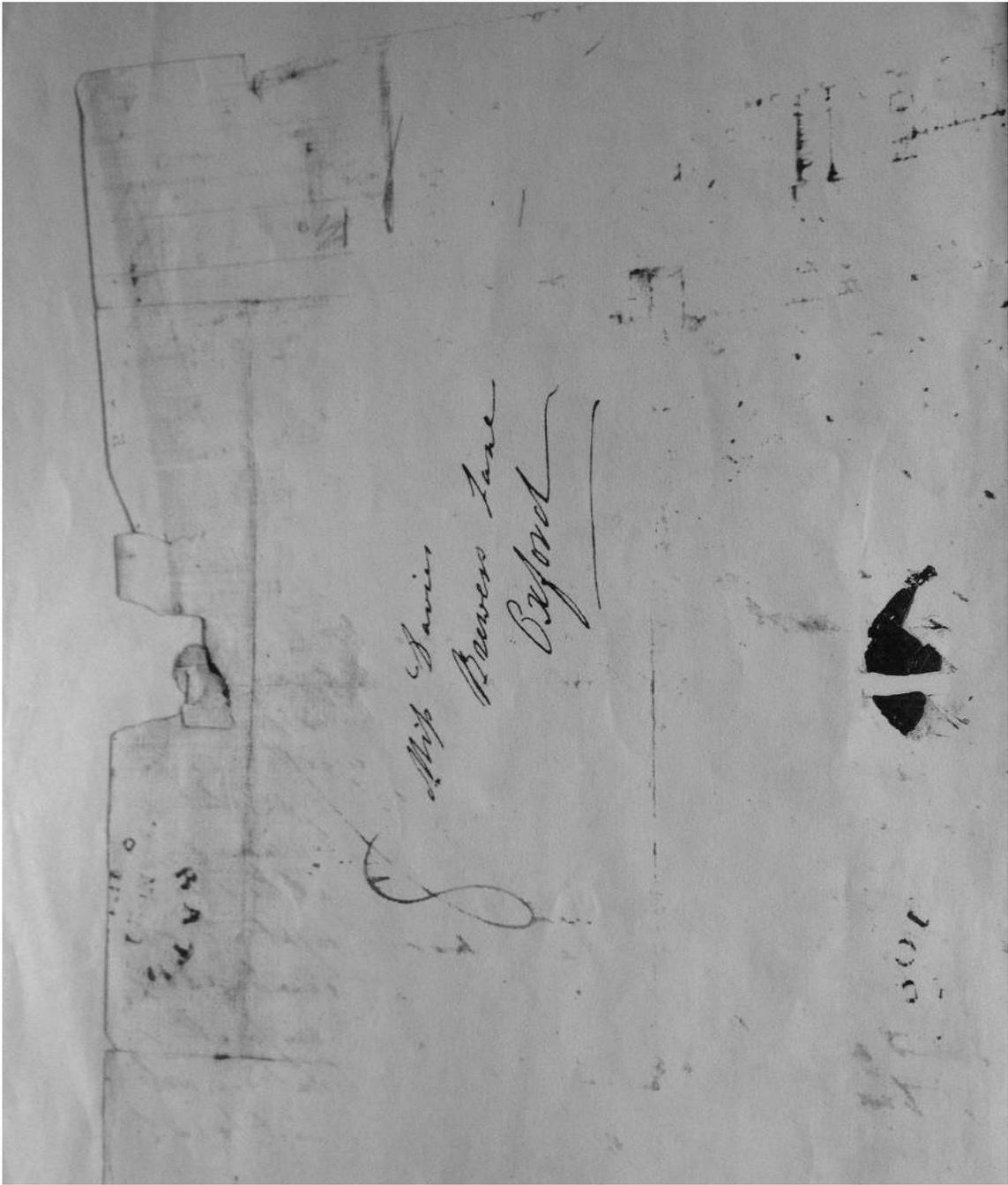
³⁸⁴Third floor has two handsome garrets above the new part. Nothing but a dark store room in the angle of the roof over the old, with a gable projecting towards the garden which ought to be pulled down for fear it should descend of its own accord and pull the rest of the house down with it.

³⁸⁴ These notes accompany illustrations of a labelled floor plan.

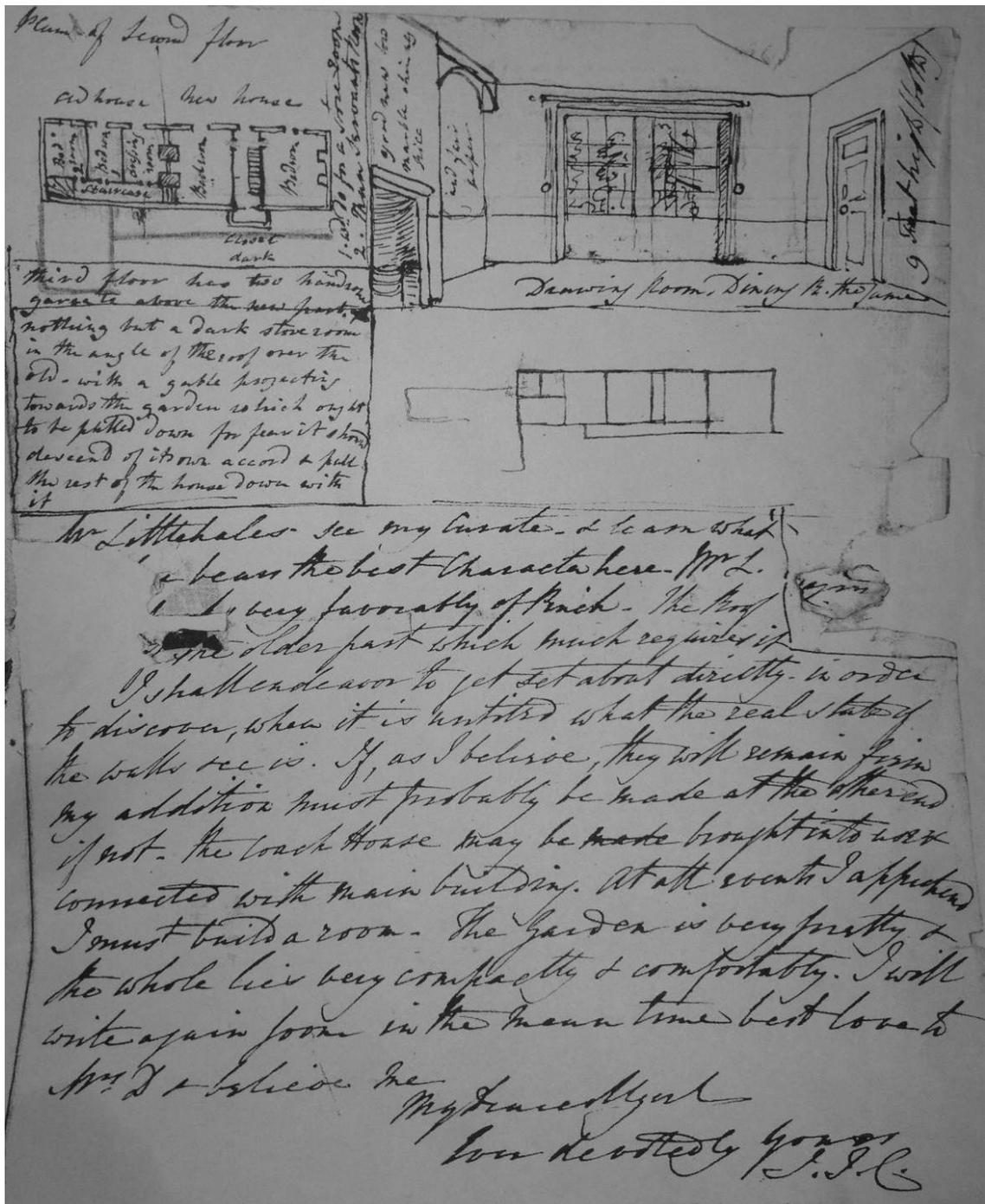
**Appendix 1:3 – Image, John Josias (Batheaston) to Mary (Oxford),
[~December 1812 - February 1814]**

Source: [Letter] *A. W. Boyd, Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/40. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Outline: Images of the letter transcribed in Appendix 1:2, reproduced with the kind permission of Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.



My Dearest Girl
I had written
that Charles had already a
of my relation. being unwilling therefore to make you
pay more postage than was necessary, I have set to
work to compress what he has left unaid into such a
space as to square with Wth ingenious ground plan &
elevations. The staircase has no turning, & being only the
& steps given in Carpenter's plan. the landing place above is
handsome. The Parlor Windows are so constructed as to pay
Tax only as one each. The Passage is evidently an addition
after the main building. The older part is certainly much
out of repair - but the kitchen & two parlors are so good
make it worth a thorough repair. The Sauth
such mere sheds & so bad that it will probably be necessary
to remove them. I shall be able to tell you more when I have
seen a Surveyor. The Mrs. H. had left the best furniture
of the Drawing & Dining Rooms. some in the best bedroom (all
very indifferent & far from new.) The servants' Bedsteads &
Bedding & sundry other things - altogether valued at about
130^l. These we immediately agreed to refuse - It has been
duly bed done. The fixtures appear very good - the parlor
grates especially - They are altogether charged at 36.00/6s.
You see that there is no Laundry - the N^o washed out. The
second coach House it would be perhaps better to take down.
There here the house is in such a situation that it could
not be converted to any other purpose - The Bishop is in
Bath. I shall tomorrow call on him, & settle my accounts with



Appendix 1:4 – Letter, John Josias (Batheaston) to Sylvanus Urban, 10 July 1817

Source: In *The Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1817 (J. J. Conybeare 1817e).

Dating: Stated on letter.

Outline: John Josias sent this letter in 1817 to announce a forthcoming book he called *Illustrations of the Early History of English and French Poetry*. Although addressed to Mr Urban, it was intended for publication in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Here he briefly outlines his proposed contents for the book, before appealing for subscribers in order to fund the erection of a school. See Chapter One, pp. 35-36.

MR. URBAN,³⁸⁵ Bath Easton, July 10.

By having the goodness to insert the following notice in your estimable Miscellany, with whose general objects the work which it announces is not altogether unconnected, you will at once contribute to a charitable purpose, and possibly convey some information to those who may be interested in the earlier literary Antiquities of our country. To such persons it can scarcely be unknown that although much has been done by those who dedicated their time and labour to the publication of our antient Poetry, there still remains an ample field for the industry of their successors in this entertaining pursuit. With respect to our Saxon Poetry in particular, with the single exception of the correct and ingenious view of its leading features given by Mr. Sharon Turner in his valuable History,³⁸⁶ nothing material has in this country been contributed to its illustration since the days of Thwaites³⁸⁷ and Rawlinson.³⁸⁸ The publications, too, of these scholars, and of their more eminent predecessors Junius³⁸⁹ and Hickes³⁹⁰ (to say nothing of the scarcity of their occurrence), are for the most part rendered inaccessible to general readers by the absence of translations, or even explanatory notes.

In the work which has already been announced on your covers,³⁹¹ under the title of "Illustrations of the Early History of English and French Poetry," it is proposed in some measure to supply this deficiency in our literary annals. Of its plan some notion may perhaps be formed from the following brief statement of the sources from which it is proposed to draw that part of its materials which have been unknown to, or only partially noticed by, former writers on the same topics.

³⁸⁵ The name Sylvanus Urban was used as a *nom de plume* by *The Gentleman's Magazine's* founder Edward Cave (1691-1754); selected as it encapsulated 'the magazine's appeal to both city and provincial readers' (Pooley 2002). However, after Cave's death, successive editors of the magazine continued to use the name and it became the standard address when writing to the publication (*ibid.*). The editor at this time was John Nichols (1745-1826), who held this position from 1778 until his death.

³⁸⁶ Sharon Turner (1768-1847), English historian and author of *The History of the Anglo-Saxons from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest* (1799-1805). See Chapter Three, pp. 123-126.

³⁸⁷ Edward Thwaites (1667-1711), scholar and teacher of Old English at Queen's College, Oxford. See further Chapter Two, p. 69.

³⁸⁸ Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755), nonjuring clergyman and antiquarian. See further Chapter Two, p. 71.

³⁸⁹ Francis Junius (1591-1677), Germanic philologist and author of *Cædmonis monachi paraphrasis Genesisios [...]* (1665). See further Chapter Two, pp. 63-66.

³⁹⁰ George Hickes (1642-1715), scholar of Germanic languages and author of *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus [...]* (1703-1705). See further Chapter Two, pp. 66-68.

³⁹¹ No earlier mention of *Illustrations* has been found in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, although it seems John Josias circulated his intentions to produce the book earlier that year: 'Proposals for publishing by subscription, in aid of that object [the school], 'Illustrations of the early History of English and French Poetry', were circulated in the autumn of 1817, and an advertisement explaining in detail the contents of the proposed work inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August that year' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: iv-v).

1. The Poem of Beowulf. This most valuable and interesting remain of our Saxon Poetry was first noticed in Wanley's Catalogue (V. Hickes. Thesaur. A.L.S. vol. III. p. 218),³⁹² and has since been partially made known to the English reader by an analysis of the first six cantos given by Mr. Turner. That learned and amiable Historian has, however, been misled as to its real subject, by the accident of his not adverting to the misplacement of some sheets of the manuscript. For the discovery of this circumstance, and for the still greater labour of transcribing and publishing the whole of the original, we are at length indebted to a foreigner, G. I. Thorkelin,³⁹³ long since known by his assiduous and successful cultivation of the literature and antiquities of his own country.

From circumstances, however, which it would be tedious and unnecessary to detail here, this has been executed but imperfectly. The text itself is so incorrectly given (whole lines of the MS. being sometimes omitted) as to render it almost unintelligible; and the translation (partly from this circumstance, and partly from the Editor's being evidently but little versed in the peculiarities of Saxon Poetry), is so incorrect and confused as to convey a very imperfect notion of its original. In order, therefore, to present a full and accurate analysis of this unquestionably the earliest Heroic Poem of Modern Europe, the whole has been scrupulously collated with the Cottonian Manuscript, and a great part of necessity re-translated.

2. A remarkable Poem, hitherto inedited, from the MS. of Saxon Poetry, given by Bishop Leofric to the Library of Exeter Cathedral, (circ. A.D. 1070), containing an enumeration of the persons and tribes visited by a wandering Bard and apparently towards the commencement of the sixth century.³⁹⁴

3. Extracts from various other Poems contained in the Exeter MS. (in addition to those notices of the same nature which have already been admitted into the *Archæologia*).³⁹⁵ Some of these are highly remarkable both for their subjects and their versification.

To the above will be added such notices of the Anglo-Saxon Poems already published by Junius and others, as may appear necessary to make up a general survey of that province of our Poetical History; a province almost entirely passed over by Warton,³⁹⁶ and but cursorily and inaccurately touched

³⁹² Humfrey Wanley (1672-1726), Old English scholar, librarian, and compiler of *Catalogus librorum septentrionalium*, which was published in Hickes (vol 2, 1703-1705). See further Chapter Two, pp. 66-67 and 69.

³⁹³ Grímur Jónsson Thorkelin (1752-1829), Germanic languages scholar and the first to transcribe and publish parts of *Beowulf*. See further Chapter Four, pp. 161-163.

³⁹⁴ Today known as *Widsith*, in Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501, ff. 84v-87r.

³⁹⁵ John Josias had previously published a number of articles on Old English in the journal *Archæologia*, see Bibliography A and Chapter One, p. 32.

³⁹⁶ Thomas Warton (1728-1790), poet and literary critic, author of *The History of English Poetry* (1774-1781). These volumes commenced with a discussion of literature from the end of the eleventh century. See Chapter Two, p. 88.

upon by the late Mr. Ellis.³⁹⁷ – A few notices on English Poems of a somewhat later date will be added, if room should be found for their insertion.

Among the notices on early French Poetry will be found some account of a poem on the well-known subject of the Rout of Roncesvalles,³⁹⁸ which, from various circumstances of internal evidence, I am led to regard as the earliest specimen in this line at present known to exist among the Manuscript treasures of our Libraries.

The analyses will be drawn up as nearly as possible in the manner of those which have already been admitted into the *Archæologia*.

Such is a brief outline of the volume which it is proposed to publish for the purpose of assisting in the erection of a Parochial School in a village where it is seriously wanted, and where the means of the inhabitants are unfortunately inadequate to the purpose.³⁹⁹ To many persons this would doubtless be a sufficient reason for countenancing its publication. I feel no delicacy in stating fairly that the object of this communication is partly to bring it under the eyes of such persons, and partly to assure the antiquarian student (who may be disposed to join in the promotion of a charitable scheme) that, whatever may be the faults of the execution, it is hoped that the volume will contain so large a portion of matter hitherto unnoticed or inedited as will render it not totally unworthy of a place in his Library.

J. F. [sic] Conybeare.

³⁹⁷ George Ellis (1753-1815), writer and friend of Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), author of *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances* (1805). See Chapter Three, pp. 130-131.

³⁹⁸ Today known as *La Chanson de Roland*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 23, ff.1-36rv. See Chapter One, p. 20, Chapter Four, p. 153, Chapter Five, pp. 187-189, and Appendix 1:4.

³⁹⁹ John Josias did erect this school, but at his own expense. See Chapter One, p. 35 and Appendix 1:8.

Appendix 1:5 – Notes, John Josias in his Copy of Thorkelin’s *De Danorum rebus gestis secul.* [...], [~1817-1821]

Source: [Manuscript] London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 71716, back interleaves 1r and 1v. Digital images of these pages are available from Kiernan’s *Electronic Beowulf* (2011).

Dating: The flyleaf of this book states that it was given to John Josias by his brother in 1817. Bolton (1974: 98-99) has shown that he had finished working on this edition by early 1821, which dates these notes to 1817-1821.

Outline:

Back interleaf 1r: a list of names under the title ‘Presentation Copies’. The dating and identification of the individuals and organisations listed suggests they may be those to whom *Illustrations* was intended to be sent.

Back interleaf 1v: a list of texts arranged into categories under the heading ‘Anglo Saxon poetry’. The dating and identification of these poems suggests this may be a list of the texts that *Illustrations* was intended to contain.

[Back interleaf, 1r]

Presentation Copies⁴⁰⁰

Ellis	about 20
Sax. Prof.	
Gough's coll.	
Ch. Ch. lib.	
Barnes	
Exeter chapter house	
Bristol library	
York institution	
Trevylyan 5 copies for north	
Sharon Turner	
Southey	
Walter Scot [sic]	
Bib Univer	
Athenaeum	

⁴⁰⁰ The abbreviations used by John Josias here have not been expanded as each is considered in Chapter Five, pp. 211-214.

[Back interleaf, 1v]

Anglo Saxon poetry – ⁴⁰¹

Romantic

Beowulf – pub.

War of Finsburh – p.⁴⁰²

Allusions to

the Story of Weland – p.

of Wade

of Sigurd – or Sigmund – p.

Horne child published by Ritson

Odes and Elegies.

– On the Battle of Brunanburh Sax Chron

On Brihtnoð. Hearnas

Moral and Didactic.

Alfred's Boethius

Scriptural narrative

The paraphrase of Cædmon –

pub. by Junius. Amsterdam.

p.

The History of Judith. pub. by Thwaites

in his ed of the Saxon Heptateuch

Miscellaneous

Dialogue of Solomon and Saturnus

Song of the Traveller – Exeter MS.

Ænigmata Exeter M.S.

Poem on the Runic characters

Hickes -

Introduction to Gregory's Pastoral

Devotional

Hymns etc. in the Exeter M.S.

Prayers – at the end of the Junius

ed. of Cædmon.

Prayers

Creed

Commandments

Translation of poem of Bedes

⁴⁰¹ A discussion of each of the listed texts is contained in Chapter Four, pp. 163-164.

⁴⁰² John Josias did not write 'p.' beside texts on this list to indicate where he intended to place them in *Illustrations*. While preparing the book for publication, William Daniel encountered a similar document and wrote to Mary:

I found a list on a loose piece of paper included with the copy of the illustrations, with the initial lines of seven of the extracts and a page marked against each. According to my usual mode of inference the conclusions per saltum, I settled that these were the places it was conjectured the several pieces would occupy in the work, especially as I knew that two of them, the Rhiming poem on men [*The Rhiming Poem*] and the Weland [*Deor*], were intended to be included and a third, the description of a ruined city, is certainly among the most practical of all our Anglo-Saxon remains [*The Ruin*].

(Appendix 1:14)

However, later in the same letter William Daniel writes that he 'was probably mistaken in my inference that these were to be at present included because I afterwards discovered that the pages (on which I had built it) referred to the places the poems occupied in the original manuscript' (Appendix 1:14). Similarly here, John Josias seems to have intended to indicate where in the *Beowulf* manuscript the Battle of Finnsburh (*Beowulf*, ll. 1068-1158), Weland (*Beowulf*, ll. 450-455), and Sigmund (*Beowulf*, ll. 875-897) are mentioned.

Appendix 1:6 – Letter, Thomas Gaisford (Oxford) to John Josias (Batheaston), 25 February 1823

Source: [Letter] A. W. Boyd, *Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/39. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: Stated on letter.

Outline: In this letter Thomas Gaisford (1779-1855) writes to John Josias and declines an offer to assist with the composition of a memorial inscription. He then answers a number of questions asked by John Josias in a previous (unknown) letter regarding various classical works. These questions formed part of John Josias' research for his publication in response to *Palæoromaica* (Black 1822), which appeared the same year this letter was written (J. J. Conybeare 1823f). See Chapter Three, pp. 120-121.

Although the author's name has been cut out of this letter, it is possible to identify him as Gaisford from a reference he makes to his own *Poetæ minores Græci: præcipua lectionis varietate et indicibus locupletissimis*, vol. 2 (1823).

[Page One, left]

Reverend John Josias Conybeare
Bath Easton
Bath

[Page One, right]

Oxford February 25 1823

My dear Conybeare,

The day after the arrival of your letter I received an application from Oakeley⁴⁰³ on the subject you mentioned. So little am I versed in lapidary lore, that I must decline the honour of assisting in the composition of the inscription – if you will undertake to write it, that is if the subscribers, or the Dean and Chapter (who will, I should think, insist that whatever is proposed to be inscribed shall be previously submitted to them for their approbation) will rest the responsibility of production upon you, if you think my opinion to be worth having, I shall be happy to give it to you unreservedly as a friend. My Latin you know is all conversant about notes and commentaries, and wrapped up in technicalities, which unfit one for any species of elegant composition.⁴⁰⁴

You must have misapprehended me as to the manuscripts of Simplicius.⁴⁰⁵ There are two in Oxford, one at New College the other at Corpus – we have now indeed a portion of a third in the Bodleian – all of these contain the genuine work; and

[Page Two, left]

I have sometimes thought that no other exemplar of the spurious work exists except that from which Aldus printed.⁴⁰⁶ I cannot find the edition of the Latin translation printed in 1540. The Bodleian copy is dated 1544, which appears to correspond with that used by Peyron.⁴⁰⁷ Your queries now are answered – except that about αλλοιουσθαι,⁴⁰⁸ which I cannot

⁴⁰³ Herbert Oakeley (1791-1845), church of England clergyman and graduate of Westminster and Christ Church. See Chapter Three, p. 102.

⁴⁰⁴ Other letters from Herbert Oakeley regarding the composition of an inscription for the monument of a deceased dean exist in Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service, D5154/83.

⁴⁰⁵ Simplicius of Cilicia (c.490-c.560), Aristotelian commentator.

⁴⁰⁶ Aldus Manutius (1449-1515), printer and publisher of classical works.

⁴⁰⁷ Amadeus Peyron (1785-1870), professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Turin, Italy.

⁴⁰⁸ 'Alterations' or 'changes'.

at present, and which is not very important, as the fact of interpretation does not rest upon one or two instances, the corruption extending through every page and line of the work. We must allow an extraordinary affinity between Morbeka's version⁴⁰⁹ and the Aldine text⁴¹⁰ – much greater than exists between the genuine text and it. Nevertheless I do not think that if a Græculus of the 14th or 15[th]⁴¹¹ century had been set to translate he would or could have produced a work so nearly allied in expression as the spurious is to the genuine, without having a copy of the genuine by his side.

When I was at Paris in 1817, the last day I was able to visit the Royal Library, I asked to see a manuscript of Eustratius upon Aristotle's *Ethics*,⁴¹² being desirous of examining it in one or two passages of considerable importance to philology. You may guess what my surprize was, when I discovered that this manuscript was as different from the printed texts as the

[Page Two, right]

manuscript of Simplicius from the Aldine edition, though in the contrary way: the genuine Eustratius having got into the press room of Aldus, and the altered text being still a manuscript. I made an extract or two, which I cannot at this moment lay my hand upon, or I would have sent them to you; but I was prevented by want of time from pursuing the inquiry so far as I could have wished. We have now positive proof that two commentaries have been transposed for no assignable reason. Who shall say how far this practice has extended?

As for Philoromaicus (alias Mr Black, a Scotsman)⁴¹³ I have not yet seen him except in his advertisement in the newspaper and in the review of the work in the *British Critic*.⁴¹⁴ From

⁴⁰⁹ The most widely available edition of Simplicius at this time was a Latin translation from the Greek by Gulielmus de Morbeka (Cawley and Yost 1965: 57).

⁴¹⁰ The Aldine edition – *Simplicii commentarii in octo Aristotelis physicae auscultationis libros cum ipso Aristotelis textu* (1551) (Tarán 1985: 248).

⁴¹¹ This 'th' has been omitted by Thomas Gaisford.

⁴¹² Eustratius of Nicara (c.1050/60-c.1120), Aristotelian commentator. It seems that the manuscript Gaisford saw was an edition by the philologist Giovanni Bernardo Feliciano, who translated the work into Latin along with other commentaries on Aristotle's *Ethics* by Aspasius in 1543 (Baschera 2009: 148).

⁴¹³ John Black (d. 1825), minister from Coylton in Scotland and author of *Palæoromaica* (1822). See Chapter One, p. 38.

⁴¹⁴ *The British Critic*, a conservative Anglican journal, published a review of *Palæoromaica* in 1823 concluding that '[a]s to his [Black's] principal hypothesis, that the received text of the Greek Testament is a translation from the Latin, we think that the disquisitor has utterly failed in his attempts to give it even a colour of probability' (Anon 1823: 347).

the latter I conclude the work to be utterly worthless in criticism, the author being ignorant of the leading principles of his art. Nathless he has bitten Copleston,⁴¹⁵ who mentioned the book to me some weeks ago as being replete with learning and acuteness etc. etc. I wish our f[riend woul]d [rea]d [a]⁴¹⁶ little more and make himself master of [...]⁴¹⁷ pronounces an opinion in public.

[Page One, left]

Perhaps it has escaped you that I printed the fragments of Empedocles and Parmenides in Poet. Minor. T. 2. p. xli etc.,⁴¹⁸ whence it should appear that our Oxford manuscripts are considerably better than the Turin one apud Pers[...]⁴¹⁹

We beg our united regards to Mrs C[onybeare]⁴²⁰ and Mrs Davies.⁴²¹ We have had great pleasure in receiving so good reports of you from various quarters.

Believe me [...]⁴²²

⁴¹⁵ Edward Copleston (1776-1849), English scholar and provost of Oriel College. See Chapter Three, p. 121.

⁴¹⁶ There is a hole in the manuscript here obscuring several words, which seem to read 'f[riend woul]d [rea]d [a]'.

⁴¹⁷ Some words from the middle of this line are missing because of a hole in the manuscript.

⁴¹⁸ *Poetæ minores Græci: præcipua lectionis varietate et indicibus locupletissimis*, vol. 2 (1823) by Thomas Gaisford (1779-1855) contains Empedocles and Parmenides extracts on pp. xli-xlvii. See Chapter Three, pp. 120-121.

⁴¹⁹ The end of this word cannot be read as the ink has faded.

⁴²⁰ Mary Conybeare née Davies, (1790-1848). See Appendix 2:1.

⁴²¹ Possibly Mary Davies née Drought, Mary Davies' mother. See Appendix 2:1.

⁴²² The author's name has been cut out of the letter. A further two lines of text have been written upside down below this point, which are mostly obscured by the section that has been removed; only the word 'inscription' can now be read.

**Appendix 1:7 – Note, John Josias (Gower Street) to Samuel Collingwood,
1 June 1824**

Source: In J. J. Conybeare (1824: i).

Dating: Stated on note.

Outline: This note from John Josias to Samuel Collingwood (1762-1841), the printer of his *Bampton Lectures* (1824), was included on the first page of the book when it was published soon after John Josias' death. Below the note Collingwood adds the following comment:

The above note fully explains the Author's intention with respect to the completion of his work. His sudden and lamented death, on Friday June the 11th, prevented its execution; and it is judged inexpedient to delay the publication by attempting to supply these deficiencies.

See Chapter Four, pp. 167-169.

To Mr Collingwood⁴²³

27, Gower Street. Monday, June 1, 1824.

DEAR SIR,

I enclose the proofs, with the Title, Preface, and Contents. Can you have the goodness to let me have proofs of these latter by Wednesday night's coach, as I leave town on Friday. I will then forward the Errata, and any supplementary Notes which may seem needful, with all speed.⁴²⁴

I remain,
Dear Sir,

Very truly, yours,

J. J. CONYBEARE

⁴²³ Samuel Collingwood (1762-1841), printer for the University of Oxford. See Chapter Three, pp. 167-169.

⁴²⁴ John Josias' *The Bampton Lectures* (1824) were published without errata or supplementary notes. See Chapter Four, p. 169.

Appendix 1:8 – Fragmentary Letter, Mary [?] to William Daniel (Blackheath), 15 June 1824

Source: [Letter] *A. W. Boyd, Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/38. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: From postmark.

Outline: This fragmentary letter is the only item found during this research that seems to have been written by Mary. A second, nineteenth-century hand notes that ‘This is Mrs M. C.’s writing altogether’ and it is addressed to William Daniel at Groombridge’s House in Blackheath, where John Josias died on 11 June 1824. It is marked ‘for J. J. C.’s grave’ and appears to be wording for an inscription.

This inscription did not appear on John Josias’ gravestone, as is noted in Chapter One, p. 39.

[Page One]

The Reverend William Daniel Conybeare⁴²⁵
Stephen Groombridge Esq.⁴²⁶ [postmarked '12 Noon 15 June 1824']
Blackheath

William Daniel Conybeare,⁴²⁷
for John Josias Conybeare's grave.

This is Mrs Mary Conybeare's writing
altogether.⁴²⁸

[Page Two]

Here sleepeth in the Lord
in whom living he trusted
Ioannes Iosias Conybeare etc.
For 12 years the faithful minister of this parish
for the religious education of whose youth
he erected at his private expense
the adjoining school.⁴²⁹
The Giver of every good gift
had bestowed upon him
intellectual powers of the highest orders
rendered lovely by their union with unaffected benevolence
and childlike simplicity and purity
of mind and manners
and sanctified by their application and use.
Having occupied⁴³⁰ these talents faithfully
through a life crowned with every happiness
though not with length of days
he was while commemorating with his friends
his forty fifth birth day
stuck mortally by apoplexy
and after a lapse of 26 hours
removed to his rest.
He left a widow
and an only brother
to whom his loss
is irreparable.

⁴²⁵ William Daniel (1787-1857), John Josias' brother.

⁴²⁶ Stephen Groombridge (1755-1832), English astronomer and member of the Royal Society.
John Josias died while visiting Groombridge in 1824, see Chapter One, p. 39.

⁴²⁷ William Daniel's initials and the following three lines of text are written in a different hand.

⁴²⁸ Mary Conybeare née Davies (1790-1848). See Appendix 2:1.

⁴²⁹ John Josias built the school in 1818, but it was demolished in 1855 to allow a larger one to be built in its place (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 8). See Chapter One, p. 35.

⁴³⁰ Two letters are missing from this word because of a hole in the manuscript.

Appendix 1:9 – Letter, William Daniel (Blackheath/London) to Sarah Anne (Bristol), 16 June 1824

Source: [Letter] *A. W. Boyd, Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/36. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: Stated on letter and postmarked.

Outline: In this letter, written five days after John Josias' death, William Daniel transcribes part of a letter that was sent to Charles Davies (Mary's brother) by Charles Hawkins. He briefly describes the well-being of several family members, and then outlines the plans for John Josias' funeral.

[Page One, left]

Mrs Conybeare⁴³¹
Brislington
Bristol

[postmarked '16 June 1824']

[Page One, right]

June 16 1824

Dearest love,

I have nothing further to communicate but I wish to transcribe a passage from a letter of Charles Hawkins⁴³² to Charles Davies,⁴³³ which I think I shall wish frequently to re-peruse and which I am sure will gratify you also most deeply in countering [?] our feelings for the dead with warm love for the friendly living. I could fold Hawkins to my heart a thousand times. I wish more and more to feel every word he expresses. To this extract I will add anything that occurs.

After discussing L. D.'s [?] arrangements with regard to College business etc., he proceeds

'Meanwhile I do hope and trust that resort to continual prayer to God who is then most merciful when he appears most terrible your sister will endeavour to preserve her health as the means of supporting her in her great trial. Don't suppose that cold hearted as some people call me I rail at sorrow like a Stoic. I have wept at the very thought of your sorrow to day – but we must try to bear sorrow like Christians.

The longer I live the more I think I see of the evident providence of God in real life as well as in the Bible.

Even in this melancholy event we ought not perhaps to call Mr Conybeare's death other than a happy one to him.⁴³⁴ He could not be unprepared to go to Christ and in that case the shorter the suffering the more merciful to him. There are but two

[Page Two, left]

just ends for which we are born and he had served both. He had laboured for his own salvation and for the good of others and yet God had added to his lot a large share of happiness ever during his trial, and perhaps he may not yet be unconscious of the esteem and admiration and warm affection with which his memory will be long regarded. God grant that your sister's trial may be made as little severe as he judges consistent with her highest interests. There is something ever to be looked for

⁴³¹ Sarah Anne, William Daniel's wife. See Appendix 2:1. William Daniel moved his family to Brislington in 1819 so he could study the coalfields in Bristol, see Chapter One, p. 46.

⁴³² Charles Hawkins (1777-1857), prebendary of Barnby, York Minster in 1824.

⁴³³ Charles Davies (1792-1827), Mary's brother. See Appendix 2:1.

⁴³⁴ John Josias died on 11 June 1824, five days before this letter was written, see Chapter One, pp. 39-40.

in the example of the widow of a Christian minister and that minister such a man. And certainly where affection cannot be doubted – the example of the patience of a Christian is highly useful and God can give us both resignation and comfort. I believe that this is one of the reasons why the Holy Ghost is called the comforter. By degrees she may think of these things – God help you.’

I have also received a very kind note from cousin Charles⁴³⁵ – there for was written last night. I continue from the last mentioned person’s house, for it was necessary for Mrs Davies⁴³⁶ to come over to London to pack up the things she had left in Gower Street close by here and at Bagswater. [...] ⁴³⁷
[...] it was of course highly improper that she should go alone, and as Charles was better occupied near his sister,⁴³⁸ my most useful post was with her,

[Page Two, right]

but I could not have well attended her [illegible word] her [illegible word] houses – and this is my most comfortable waiting place therefore. Indeed I rather like to see Mary Ranken,⁴³⁹ and Cecilia⁴⁴⁰ is but little in the room. I have sent a note over to Charles Chambers⁴⁴¹ telling him I shall be here for two hours if he can come over – his kindness required acknowledgements – and it is pleasant rather than painful to me to see affectionate people. Mary continues tolerably free from physical illness, Charles having had a restless night Tuesday and a bad⁴⁴² he[...][ye]sterday but is better again today [...] of a[...]tanily very nervous – and full of distress[...] appear[...] for Mary – but gallantly [?] keeps up [...] outwardly better than could be expected. Neither our line of route (whether by the direct road or Oxford)⁴⁴³ nor

⁴³⁵ Charles Ranken, family lawyer. He was Sarah Anne’s cousin, as the illegitimate son of her uncle. See Appendix 2:1.

⁴³⁶ Possibly Mary Davies née Drought, Mary Davies’ mother. See Appendix 2:1.

⁴³⁷ The rest of this line, and all but the final word of the following line, has been crossed out.

⁴³⁸ Charles Davies (1792-1827), Mary’s brother. See Appendix 2:1.

⁴³⁹ Possibly Charles Ranken’s mother.

⁴⁴⁰ Cecilia Ranken née Arnott, Charles Ranken’s wife. See Appendix 2:1.

⁴⁴¹ Possibly Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers, who was one of the judges of the Supreme Court in Bombay from 1824. As a lawyer it is possible Ranken was acquainted with Chambers, who did not leave England for Bombay until 1827 (Anon 1829: 566).

⁴⁴² The following three lines are missing words at both the beginning and the end due to damage to the manuscript.

the time of our arrival whether early or later on Saturday are finally settled – Mary’s feelings being our way (for Oxford that is and an early arrival on Saturday or late on Friday) and her friends’ opinions the other. I am glad that *two only*, herself and brother are now left to conclude this subject. 5 o’clock Sunday evening is the time finally settled, this will allow Charles two days to stay with her afterwards.

[Page One, left]

What other particulars I may have to tell I cannot now write not being alone or willing to trust myself [?], while under observation. I look to you to send me *proper* linen over to Bath Easton on Saturday. Most affectionately, yours William Daniel Conybeare

⁴⁴³ It seems that the party did return to Batheaston via Oxford, as in the following letter, dated 27 June 1824, from William Buckland to William Daniel he refers to having seen Charles Davies at Christ Church ‘8 days since’, which was Saturday 19 June (Appendix 1:10).

Appendix 1:10 – Letter, William Buckland (Ch. Ch.) to William Daniel (Brislington), 27 June 1824

Source: [Letter] *A. W. Boyd, Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/27. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: Stated on letter and postmarked.

Outline: After returning to his home in Brislington after John Josias' funeral in Batheaston, William Daniel received the following letter from William Buckland. Here Buckland forwards a request for a memorial portrait of John Josias to be made and comments on recently published obituaries. Finally he suggests that if John Josias has left any interesting papers these should be given away or published.

This letter was found amongst a miscellaneous collection of letters to William Daniel, mostly relating to geology, bound in a leather folder.

[Page One, left]

Reverend William Conybeare⁴⁴⁴
Buckland to Conybeare?⁴⁴⁵
Brislington
South Bristol

[postmarked '1824']

[Page One, right]

My address for the next month will be
Post Office Glasgow.

Christ Church College 27 June

My Dear Conybeare,

I was glad to find by
Charles Davis on his return hither 8 days since⁴⁴⁶
that you are all supporting yourselves
as well as is possible under the most
severe affliction in which you have
been involved. Never I believe did
an individual excite more universal
regret beyond the circle of his
family and immediate friends whilst to
the latter his loss is immeasurable. Many
of his numerous friends in this place where
he was so deservingly esteemed and loved
are anxious to preserve a memorial of
him by the possession of his portrait.
And if such a thing exists which I fear
it does not, at least I never have seen it,

[Page Two, left]

there could I think be no objection
on the part of your family to gratify
this feeling by allowing a print to be
taken from it.⁴⁴⁷ Mr Wyatt⁴⁴⁸ has

⁴⁴⁴ William Daniel (1787-1857), John Josias' brother.

⁴⁴⁵ This line is in a different hand.

⁴⁴⁶ Charles Davies (1792-1827), Mary's brother. See Appendix 2:1. This seems to have been an alternative spelling of his family name. After staying in Blackheath for several days after John Josias' death, William Daniel, Mary, and Charles discussed the possibility of returning to Batheaston via Oxford (Appendix 1:9). It seems this was the route taken, allowing Buckland and Charles to meet on Saturday 19 June 1824, eight days before this letter was written. Charles was then in Batheaston on Sunday 20 June to read the last service at John Josias' funeral (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 27).

spoken to me upon the subject and
if the thing is possible and permitted
would readily undertake to get this
done at his own cost, etc. Such is
his proposal which I now submit to you.
You probably would like to stipulate as to
the style in which it shall be done,
the artist etc., and I leave it with you to
reply to him touching application
I now make, as I am going away
tomorrow for Glasgow, where a letter directed
to the Post Office will reach me during
the next month, and I shall hope to hear
from you. In consequence of a letter read by
Shuttleworth⁴⁴⁹ from Mr Price [?] of Bath⁴⁵⁰ respecting
the absurd paragraph in the Bath
papers, I have taken steps to get

[Page Two, right]

Moysey's letter inserted in the Oxford
Journal of History which last week simply
announced the death without a word of character.⁴⁵¹
The only other course that suggested itself
was for me to write to you (had the
time allowed) to draw up a succinct
account of his life, but the interval
would have been too great. I hope however
you will still do so and publish it in
some clerical or classical journal.⁴⁵²
You will be glad to hear that

⁴⁴⁷ This may refer to a wax portrait, recording the date John Josias died on its rear, which is held in a private collection in the Netherlands and is reproduced with permission in Appendix 2:5. See also Chapter Four, pp. 179-180.

⁴⁴⁸ Possibly Benjamin Dean Wyatt (1775-1855), the eldest son of architect James Wyatt (1746-1813) and former student of both Westminster and Christ Church.

⁴⁴⁹ Possibly Philip Nicholas Shuttleworth (1782-1842), bishop of Chichester, prebendary of York and warden of New College (Carpenter 1841: 807).

⁴⁵⁰ Richard Price (1790-1833), literary scholar and editor of *The History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century* by Thomas Warton (1824). It is not clear what letter is referred to here. See Chapter Three, pp. 141-142.

⁴⁵¹ Charles Abel Moysey (1779-1859), archdeacon of Bath and theologian, published an obituary about John Josias in the *Bath and Cheltenham Gazette* for Tuesday 22 June, 1824. An extract from this appeared in September 1824 in *The Annals of Philosophy* (Brayley 1824). See Chapter Three, pp. 102-103.

⁴⁵² Henry Arthur Crawford Conybeare (1914: 27) believed that the 'style suggests the unsigned *Gentleman's Magazine* article of August was written by the dead man's brother [William Daniell]'. The obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1824 is more personal in tone than others that were published and the author seems to have been in attendance at the funeral (Anon 1824b: 187).

Mr P[eter] Elmsley⁴⁵³ is considerably better
and has been amending during several days
past, tho' hardly yet pronounced
to be out of danger.

I must be at Glasgow on the [illegible number] of July
and in August shall leave my water party
and go [to]⁴⁵⁴ Glen Roy and probably to Inverness.

Pray remember me most kindly
to Mrs Conybeare⁴⁵⁵ and believe me
ever sincerely yours
William Buckland

[Page One, left]

Elmsley has just printed a thin volume of his
early poems at the Clarendon.⁴⁵⁶ Surely there
must be many valuable things of this kind
among the papers left by your brother
which his friends would be glad to possess
as a memorial of his talents. They might
be divided and given away as Elmsley has
done, if not published, of this you will
be the best judge.

⁴⁵³ Possibly Peter Elmsley (1774-1825), classical scholar and former student of Westminster and Christ Church. He was described by a friend as 'a monster [...] that weighs about 20 stone' and he died at Oxford of heart disease nine months after John Josias on 8 March 1825 (Collard 2004). See Chapter Three, pp. 120-121.

⁴⁵⁴ This word has been omitted by William Buckland.

⁴⁵⁵ Sarah Anne, William Daniel's wife. See Appendix 2:1.

⁴⁵⁶ The above mentioned Elmsley published his *Sophocles: Oedipus Coloneus* at the Clarendon Press in 1823.

Appendix 1:11 – Image, William Buckland (Ch. Ch.) to William Daniel (Brislington), 27 June 1824

Source: [Letter] *A. W. Boyd, Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/27. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: Stated on letter and postmarked.

Outline: Images of the letter transcribed in Appendix 1:10, reproduced with the kind permission of Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

There will I think be no objection
 on the part of your family to ~~conceive~~
 the ~~idea~~ by allowing a ~~Drum~~ to be
 taken from it. Mr. Wash. has
 spoken to me upon the subject and
 if it is in your power I ~~permitted~~
 could readily undertake to get it
 done at my own cost &c. such is
 Mr. Wash's view I now submit to you.
 you probably will like to stipulate as to
 the style in which it shall be done
 the artist &c. & I leave it with you to
 reply to him touching the application
 I now make, as I am going away
 to-morrow for Glasgow, & enclose a letter directed
 to the Post Office which will reach me during
 the next month; & I shall hope to hear
 from you. In consequence of a letter recd. by
 I putleroth from Mr. Cross of Bath respecting
 the absurd Paragraph in the Bath
 paper I have been obliged to get

My next letter inserted in the ~~Review~~
 Journal of the Day as last week nearly
 announced the death of a word of ~~it~~
 the only other course that suggested itself
 was for me to write to you, (had the
 time allowed) to draw up a succinct
 account of the life, but the interval
 wd have been too great. I hope however
 you will still do so & publish it in
 some clerical or classical Journal
 you will be glad to hear that
 Mrs. Wesley is considerably better
 & has been amending during several days
 past. She is hardly yet pronounced
 to be out of danger
 I must be at Glasgow on the 2^d of July
 & in August shall have my water party
 & go to the Day & probably to ~~some~~
 May remember me most kindly
 to Mr. & Mrs. Longland & believe me
 ever sincerely yours
 W. G. M. M.

**Appendix 1:12 – Fragmentary Letter, William Daniel to Mary, no date
[~1824-1826]**

Source: [Letter] A. W. Boyd, *Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/37. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: Undated. However, this letter is from the period during which *Illustrations* was being prepared for the press, 1824-1826. It seems to have been written before Price's edition of Warton was released in 1824.

Outline: William Daniel acknowledges receipt of a parcel from Mary and indicates that he will send proofs of *Illustrations* (there seems to have been several generations of these) to the printer the following day. He then discusses Price's corrections to Turner's analysis of *Beowulf* (1824, vol. 1: xc-xcvi) and says he wants to avoid bringing his brother into a similar dispute (so removes a passage from his proofs). Finally, Mary is left to decide whether to republish John Josias' essays on metrics and his other articles previously printed in *Archaeologia*.

[Page One]

Dear Mary,

I hasten to acknowledge the reception of your parcel.

I will myself put into the *post* the corrected proof for Taylor tomorrow, which is the safe way.⁴⁵⁷ There is one note in it which contains I had [?] an opinion (certainly hastily adopted) that the grammar of the poem is loose.⁴⁵⁸ Of this some examples are given all of which (but one) would on further examination have proved to be strictly regular, e.g. *beleac mænegum mægtha*, given as an example of the ablative form being joined to an accusative – whereas the verb *beleac* governs regularly the ablative *mænegum* – and *mægtha* is the genitive plural put quite correctly after an adjective of number – ‘he laid seige to many of the tribes.’⁴⁵⁹

The one example which is really ungrammatical might easily be an error of the scribe. In all the Saxon I have read I have always found the grammar quite as regular as in Latin or Greek and having now half completed my *Cædmon* I am tolerably able to judge.⁴⁶⁰ All the bad translations of Turner⁴⁶¹ which Mr Price has corrected in his notes to Warton⁴⁶² arise from his having embraced the same hypothesis, which is certainly very convenient, if nobody was at hand to take one up for false concords. But this minute drudgery of verbal criticism is seldom the province of a large mind and I almost feel even my own humbled by stooping to it. On the grounds above stated I have ventured to expunge the paragraph in question, the remainder of which relates to

[Page Two]

the author’s intention of giving specimens from *Cædmon*.⁴⁶³ Convinced

⁴⁵⁷ Richard Taylor (1781-1858), the printer who produced *Illustrations*. The proofs discussed here cannot be the ‘last proofs’ mentioned in Appendix 1:17, as the edition’s final contents are still not confirmed. See Chapter Five, p. 205.

⁴⁵⁸ Richard Price (1790-1833), literary scholar and editor of *The History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century* by Thomas Warton (1824), produced notes for *Illustrations* to which this seems to refer (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 275-86; see Chapter Three, pp. 141-142).

⁴⁵⁹ William Daniel is here referring to *Beowulf*, ll. 1773-1774:

weold under wolcnum ond hig wigge beleac
manigum mægþa geond þysne middangeard

See further Chapter Five, p. 202.

⁴⁶⁰ See Chapter Four, pp. 164-165 on William Daniel’s work on *Cædmon*, which was never published.

⁴⁶¹ Sharon Turner (1768-1847), English historian and author of *The History of the Anglo-Saxons from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest* (1799-1805), which contained extracts from *Beowulf*. See Chapter Three, pp. 123-126.

⁴⁶² See Price’s (1824, vol. 1: xc-xcvi) corrections to Turner on *Beowulf*.

⁴⁶³ As these proofs for *Illustrations* do not seem to have survived, we do not know what William Daniel removed from John Josias’ *Beowulf* materials.

of the untenableness of the position assumed I should not like to see his name involved in the controversy which Mr Price promises in his forthcoming volume against the similar doctrine of Turner. I would not have even the shadow of a blemish detected by the *superior punctuation* of a critic in small waies [?].

With regard to the essay on metrics my view is this.⁴⁶⁴ Had it come out in a finished state it must have been the classical and standard essay on that subject – the information of the author having been much enlarged after its original composition, at many essential points. In its present form and compared with the present state of knowledge it cannot claim that character but must leave the field open to Mr Price's which (as is evident from his many allusions to the subject) will be very compleat. But I doubt not having my Cædmon out long before his additional volume and I could certainly throw together for that work (expressing whence I consider the most valuable part of my knowledge derived) a compleat essay.⁴⁶⁵

I leave you to decide this question entirely, and I would also suggest for your consideration whether under these circumstances it would be desirable (should you determine on no addition being made to them) that the letters to the Antiquaries' Society should be *republished* at all in this volume.⁴⁶⁶ If they are not now *republished* I shall incorporate them regularly into the new essay which I propose, if they are I shall refer to them.

⁴⁶⁴ Referring to two essays on Old English metrics, previously published in *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1814e and 1814f), and *republished* in *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: v-xv and xxvii-xxxv).

⁴⁶⁵ As the essays were reprinted, William Daniel did not write an essay on metrics. He also did not complete his work on the Cædmon manuscript, eventually passing his notes to Thorpe, see further Chapter Four, pp. 164-165.

⁴⁶⁶ Referring to John Josias' previous publications in *Archaeologia*, a journal produced by the Society of Antiquaries, see Bibliography A.

**Appendix 1:13 – Image of Letter, William Daniel to Mary, no date
[~1824-1826]**

Source: [Letter] *A. W. Boyd, Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/37. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Outline: Images of the letter transcribed in Appendix 1:12, reproduced with the kind permission of Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dear Mary -

I hasten to acknowledge the reception of your parcel
I like myself put into ~~the post~~ the corrected part for Taylor
tomorrow - which is the safe way - there is one note in it which
contains 1 - ^{two} an opinion (certainly hastily adopted) that the grammar
of the poem is loose - of this some examples are given all of which
(but one) would on further examination have proved to be strictly
regular. e.g. beleac mænegum mægtha - given as an example
of the ~~future~~ ^{ablative} form being joined to an accusative - whereas the verb
beleac governs regularly the ablative mænegum - & mægtha
is the genitive plural put quite correctly after an adjective
of number - he laid siege to many of the tribes -
The other example which is really ungrammatical might easily
be an error of the scribe - In all the Latin I have read I
have always found the grammar quite as regular as in Latin
or Greek & having now half completed my ^{Latin} ~~Latin~~ I am tolerably
able to judge - All the bad translations of Turner which Mr.
Price has corrected in his notes to Herbert arise from his having
embraced the same hypothesis, which is certainly very convenient -
if nobody was at hand to take one up for false emends - but the
minute tendency of verbal criticism is dead on the province of a
large mind & I almost feel even my own humbled by stating to
it - on the grounds above stated I have ventured to expunge
the paragraph in question - the remainder of which relates to

the author's intention of giving specimens from Coedman - convinced
of the weakness of the position assumed I should not like to see his name
involved in the controversy which Mr. P. pursues in his forthcoming
volume against the similar routine of Turner - I would not have
even the shadow of a Nemesis detected by the superior penetration of
a critic in such cases -

with regard to the Essay on metres my view is this - had it
come out in a finished state it must have been the classical
& standard essay on that subject - the information of the author
having been much enlarged after its original composition ^{and many of the points} & etc
many optical printers - ^{in the} present ^{form} & compared with the
present state of knowledge - it cannot claim that character
but must leave the field open to Mr. Poirer which (as is evident
from his many allusions to the subject) will be very complete -
but I don't not having my Coedman out long before his
addition of Volume & I could certainly ^{draw} together for
that work (capprising whence I consider the most valuable
part of my knowledge derived) a complete essay -

I leave you to decide this question entirely - & I would also
suggest for your consideration whether under these circumstances
it would be desirable ^{to determine} should you ^{determine} in no addition
being made to them) that the letters to the A.S. should be
re published at all - ^{in this volume} If they are not now re-pub. I shall
incorporate them regularly into the new essay which I propose,
if they are I shall refer to them

Appendix 1:14 – Letter, William Daniel to Mary, no date [~1825-1826]

Source: [Letter] A. W. Boyd, *Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/37. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: Undated. However, this letter seems to be from the period during which *Illustrations* was prepared for the press, 1824-1826.

Outline: William Daniel explains to Mary that he has realised his mistake in attributing numbers in John Josias' notes to the position a text was intended to take in *Illustrations*. These instead denote their manuscript position. William Daniel also acknowledges that Mary's books have arrived safely.

[Page One, left]

Mrs Conybeare

[Page One, right]

Dear Mary

I enclose the Village Preacher.⁴⁶⁷ My notion about the extracts from the Exeter manuscript was founded on a mistake. I found a list on a loose piece of paper included with the copy of the illustrations, with the initial lines of seven of the extracts and a page marked against each. According to my usual mode of inference the conclusions per saltum, I settled that these were the places it was conjectured the several pieces would occupy in the work, especially as I knew that two of them, the Rhiming poem on men⁴⁶⁸ and the Weland,⁴⁶⁹ were intended to be included and a third, the description of a ruined city, is certainly among the most practical of all our Anglo-Saxon remains.⁴⁷⁰ The others were a bestiarum,⁴⁷¹

[Page Two, left]

a poem on the whale,⁴⁷² one which begins with the sage remark that it sometimes happens that men and women have families, and then traces out the various fortunes of the said families, how some are hanged and some are happy,⁴⁷³ and another very miscellaneous and somewhat obscure. Among the untranslated pieces I found one strange and quaint explanation of a text in Canticles 'he cometh leaping on the mountains' the different events of our Lord's life being represented as the first, 2nd, 3rd etc. leap, and the inference being that we ought in like manner to leap up to heaven.⁴⁷⁴ From the

⁴⁶⁷ Possibly referring to the anonymously published book *The Village Preacher: a Collection of Short, Plain Sermons; Partly Original, Partly Selected, and Adapted to Village Instruction* (1821).

⁴⁶⁸ Today known as *The Riming Poem*. Exeter Book, ff. 94r-95v.

⁴⁶⁹ Today known as *Deor*, Exeter Book, ff. 100r-100v.

⁴⁷⁰ Today known as *The Ruin*, Exeter Book, ff. 123v-124v.

⁴⁷¹ Probably *The Panther*, Exeter Book, ff. 95v-96v, which immediately precedes *The Whale* in the manuscript.

⁴⁷² Today known as *The Whale*, Exeter Book, ff. 96v-97v.

⁴⁷³ Today known as *The Fates of Mortals*, Exeter Book, ff. 87r-88v.

nature of the subject I should be inclined to pass this
aut silentio.⁴⁷⁵

I say I was probably mistaken in my inference
that these were to be at present included because
I afterwards discovered that the pages (on which
I had built it) referred to the places the poems
occupied in the original manuscript but yet the
ten I have mentioned I feel certain were intended to

[Page Two, right]

be 20.

Your box of books has arrived safely.

Mary's eye is (after applying leeches twice
I each time) gradually recovering, but she cannot
yet bear the shutters of her bedroom open.⁴⁷⁶

My aunt returns Tuesday. I looked in vain
for any symptoms of probable unrest [?] in her.
Batheaston with Hill be her home and gadding her
pleasure.⁴⁷⁷

Sarah is anxious that I should assure you
of her having lost no time in communicating
the message you gave her for me a fortnight
since.⁴⁷⁸ The fault is mine I hoped to have
seen you sooner and therefore did not write. The
granite was merely a fancy of mine – to which
I attached no consequence – and what you have now
communicated proves that the plan would have
been impracticable.

Believe me ever most affectionately yours

William Daniel Conybeare

P.S. Sarah is still but

indifferent. I cannot expect her to be better as she will
often sit up (working generally for the children) till past one
all the last week.

⁴⁷⁴ Today known as *The Ascension*, Exeter Book, ff. 14r-20v.

⁴⁷⁵ The following line reads 'Your box of books is safely arrived', but this has been erased.

⁴⁷⁶ Possibly Mary Elizabeth Conybeare (1817-1866), William Daniel's oldest daughter.

⁴⁷⁷ Julia Elizabeth Olivier (1753-1831) was the only one of William Daniel's aunts still alive at this time.

⁴⁷⁸ Sarah Anne, William Daniel's wife. See Appendix 2:1.

Appendix 1:15 – Letter, William Daniel to Mary, June [~1825-1826]

Source: [Letter] A. W. Boyd, *Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/37. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: Undated. However, this letter seems to be from during the period *Illustrations* was being prepared for the press, 1824-1826.

Outline: William Daniel says to Mary that adding the French and Middle English texts John Josias had originally planned to include in *Illustrations* would destroy the unity of the book and so these should instead be published in a second volume. He also discusses a number of points regarding a statement on John Josias' approach to translation, *The Ruin*, and how the book's title page should appear. In a damaged reading from the last line of the letter he also seems to suggest that it is not necessary to add a table of contents to show the sources of each study in *Illustrations*.

[Page One, left]

Mrs Conybeare

June

I now add the first sheet of the introduction,
having just received the verse.

[Page One, right]

Dear Mary,

In primis – as to the Norman and later English –
I think their incorporation in the *present* work inadvisable.
If anything were done a second part which should
include Octavian,⁴⁷⁹ Melusine,⁴⁸⁰ the Siege of Rouen,⁴⁸¹
and one or two of the transcripts from the Digby manuscript
might be desirable. Gaisford⁴⁸² thought that Octavian
should be published. I don't know anything about the
rout of Roncesvalles.⁴⁸³ To incorporate one or two only
of these pieces would destroy the *unity* of the present work,
create additional delay, and would not taken as insulated
matters repay these disadvantages by any countervailing
accession of interest. But I think altogether they might
make a pretty little volume, and one might be guided
by the reception of the Saxon work. From my good
printer the whole might be thrown off with ease in
half a year.

As to other objections I may say with David 'Is
there not a cause?' in my own vindication as to all

[Page Two, left]

the questions at Issac [?]. I will consider the title page
last. As to omitting the statement on the double versions
p. 218, it would surely have been perfectly absurd to
have given in that part of the work a preliminary
declaration of the intention to adopt a practice which *had been* uniformly
pursued from the third page. It was always prefixed
by him to his *first* communication whether to British

⁴⁷⁹ Probably referring to John Josias' earlier work *The Romance of Octavian* (1809).

⁴⁸⁰ Perhaps *The Romans of Partenay* (Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.19), see Chapter Five, p. 188, n. 222.

⁴⁸¹ *The Siege of Rouen* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Musaeo 124, ff. 28-42), in J. J. Conybeare (1827).

⁴⁸² Thomas Gaisford (1779-1855), author of *Poetæ minores Græci: præcipua lectionis varietate et indicibus locupletissimis* (1823). See Chapter Three, pp. 120-121.

⁴⁸³ Today known as *La Chanson de Roland*, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 23, ff. 1-36rv. See Chapter One, p. 20, Chapter Four, p. 153, Chapter Five, pp. 187-189 and Appendix 1:4.

Bibliographer⁴⁸⁴ or [the]⁴⁸⁵ Antiquaries' Society,⁴⁸⁶ and I suppose would have so appeared [?]
among the prefatory matters in the present work.
I therefore printed the passage as it originally stood
in the lectures.

As to the unlucky Wall Stone with whose fragments
you seem much inclined to pelt me.⁴⁸⁷ The 3rd line
in your transcript stood –
'The Wall Stone stood.....It fell.'
A brick was clearly wanting and I built in one where
I could. The two lines omitted were founded on an hasty
and inaccurate translation of the original, the gripe of earth
(the grave) being turned I do not exactly understand how
into the gripe of war.

For the title page I am not a bigot more than yourself
but like Mrs Hornty⁴⁸⁸ thought myself right and think so
still.

[Page Two, right]

I think a title page should be explanatory,
and it seemed desirable to express at once how far the author
was responsible for the *form* in which the work appeared,
as having himself prepared it in *that form* for publication,
in order that the imperfections of execution (if such there
be) may fall on the right head. In stating the materials
of the appendix to have been *selected* from those *left*
by the author, I had pointedly as I conceived referred the
substance to the author and the arrangement to myself.
Under the circumstances I certainly feel convinced
that a notice of 'edited by' etc. is necessary. I never
saw such a notice on the reverse of a title page, nor
anywhere but in the front. As for Horsley's works,⁴⁸⁹
in all the first volumes there was nothing that could
possibly be called editorial work, nothing beyond the mere
correction of the proofs. When his son had exhausted all
these he added after an interval of some years a volume
which he certainly might have been said to *edit*, but

⁴⁸⁴ Referring to John Josias' publications in *British Bibliographer*, see Bibliography A.

⁴⁸⁵ This word has been omitted by William Daniel.

⁴⁸⁶ This refers to John Josias' communications to *Archaeologia*, see Bibliography A.

⁴⁸⁷ Today known as *The Ruin*, Exeter Book, ff. 123v-124v.

⁴⁸⁸ Unknown individual.

⁴⁸⁹ John Horsley (1685/6-1732), antiquary and natural philosopher, was the author of the *Britannia Romana* (1732). It was published posthumously in April of 1732, the author having died 'suddenly and unexpectedly [...] by an apoplexy' in January of that year (Haycock 2004).

I suppose continued the title of the former volumes.
If any such notice of 'edited' etc. be necessary the former description
of 'posthumous' follows of course. Else why not edited by the author
student of Christ Church? I would willingly insert [it]⁴⁹⁰ if you can show me
preced[ent]⁴⁹¹
for doing so when the studentship has been vacated. Other
professional titles seem to me irrelevant – certainly I shall

[Page One, left]

describe myself as M. A., etc. (NB – if I could put in architect
and landscape gardener of Sully perhaps it might be a temptation).
I can't satisfy myself as to the name without Reverend. Formerly
professional degrees B. D. or D. D. were almost universal and
superseded the need of such an adjunct. After all I shall
print the title exactly as you after considering the matter
write [?] [...] ⁴⁹², Yours William Daniel Conybeare
It will be easy without a long and I think clumsy table of
⁴⁹³[content]s to state in the advertisement [?] the sources of each paper.

⁴⁹⁰ This word has been omitted by William Daniel.

⁴⁹¹ The corner of the manuscript is folded here, obscuring the end of this word, which seems to read 'preced[ent]'.

⁴⁹² The first word of this line is difficult to read, and the second word is illegible, due to smudged ink.

⁴⁹³ The corner of the manuscript is folded here, obscuring the end of this word, which seems to read '[content]s'.

Appendix 1:16 – Image, William Daniel to Mary, June [~1825-1826]

Source: [Letter] *A. W. Boyd, Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/37. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Outline: Images of the letter transcribed in Appendix 1:15, reproduced with the kind permission of Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dear Mary -

Impressions - as to the Roman & later English -
I think their incorporation in the present work inadvisable -
- If any thing were done a second part which should
include Oeterica, Poesiana, the Siege of Breda,
& one or two of the transcripts from the Digby M.S.
might be desirable - I am afraid though that Oeterica
should be published - I don't know any thing about the
rest of Poesiana - to incorporate one or two only
of these pieces would destroy the unity of the present work -
create additional delay - & would not be taken as isolated
matters except these disadvantages by any counterbalancing
acquisition of interest - but I think altogether they might
make a pretty little volume - but one might be hindered
by the acceptance of the Latin work - from any good
printer the whole might be thrown off with ease in
half a year -

As to other objections I may say with David "I,
there not a cause?" in my own vindication as to the

the questions at issue - - I will consider the title page
last - as to omitting the statement on the double version
p 218 - It would surely have been perfectly absurd to
have given in that part of the work a preliminary
declaration ^{of the intention to edit} for a practice which had been uniformly
passed from the third page - - It was always prefixed
by him to his print communication whether to Brit-
Bib. or A.S. - & I suppose would have so appeared
among the prefatory matters in the present work -
- I therefore printed the page as it originally stood
in the lectures -
As to the unhappy Walk Stone with whose fragments
you seem much inclined to gild me - The 3rd line
in your transcript stood -
"The Walk Stone stood It fell"
A trick was clearly working & I hit it in one where
I could - the two lines omitted were founded on an hasty
& inaccurate translation of the original - the gripe of earth
(the grave) being turned I do not exactly understand how
into the gripe of War -
For the title page I am not a bit more than yourself
but like M^{rs} Horvitz thought myself right & thank co
Stah -

I think a little page should be explanatory - ~~I think it~~
it seemed desirable to express at once how far the author
was responsible for the form in which the work appeared -
as having himself prepared it in that form for publication -
in order that the imperfections of execution (if such there
be) may fall on the right head - in stating the materials
of the appendix to have been selected from those left
by the author - I had previously as I conceived referred the
substance to the author - the arrangement to myself -
under the circumstances I certainly ~~conceive~~ feel convinced
that a notice of "Edited by" is necessary - I never
saw such a notice on the reverse of a little page - or
any where but in the front - as for Aristotle's works
in the first volumes there was nothing that could
possibly be called Editorial Work - nothing beyond the mere
correction of the press - when his son had exhausted all
these he added after an interval of some years a Volume
which he certainly might have been said to Edit - but
I suppose continued the title of the former Volumes -
- If any such notice of "Edited" is necessary the former description
of Prothomeros follows of course - else why not edited by the author
student of (b) (c) I w. willingly insert if you can show me pieces
for doing so when the student ship has been vacated - other
inexplicable titles seem to me irrelevant - certainly I shall

Describe myself as *ma. a. c.* (NB - if I could put in *landscape*
+ *landscape Gardener* of *Sally* perhaps it might be a temptation
I can't satisfy myself as to the name without *Rec?* *Profess*
Professional Degrees *B.D.* or *D.D.* were almost universal

I am 33 the first part of the *Instruction*
having just received the news

I have

G. C. Lawrence

expressed the need of such an adjunct - after all I shall
print the Fifth exactly as you after considering the matter

with - *Henry J. D.*
It will be easy without a trace I think always taken
is to state in the advertisement that the source is *local paper*

**Appendix 1:17 – Fragmentary Letter, William Daniel to Mary [?], no date
[~1826]**

Source: [Letter] A. W. Boyd, *Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/42. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service. This letter is incorrectly catalogued in the archive amongst unidentified correspondence dating from 1834-1840.

Dating: Undated. This must be from July 1826, as William Daniel states he will have copies of *Illustrations* available to send to Mary within a week, which he mentions doing in Appendix 1:18. The book was released for sale to the public on 31 July 1826 (Appendix 1:20).

Outline: Mary is not named in this letter, but William Daniel is certainly writing to her (he mentions sending copies of *Illustrations* for her to take to Ireland, and then addresses his next letter to her in Belfast, see Appendix 1:18). William Daniel writes that he has received the last proofs of *Illustrations* from the printer and that he will send Mary a copy of all his revisions to bring her version up-to-date. He notes the time taken to produce the book, that Taylor's father has died, and says he will send copies of *Illustrations* to Mary and her brother as soon as possible.

[Page One]

the sort of bait to tempt me to any imprudence. Thus much for that odious subject business. You will rejoice to hear that the same mail which brought your letter also conveyed a parcel from Taylor⁴⁹⁴ containing the last proofs⁴⁹⁵. I shall work hard at them tomorrow and hope to return them corrected by Wednesday's mail. Another week ought to bring me one or two complete copies. I will order the two first to you that you may have them to take to Ireland, but as the shortest and surest way I send now all the revises I have yet got to make up your present copy in a parcel with this, and will send as soon as I get them the remaining revises. The introduction is 91 pages, the work 284, preface, contents and errata – in all 382. I have found a memorandum which shows that the work went to press in 1818 (a general list of dates in the blank leaf of a Virgil beginning with the year of his getting into college at Westminster and extending only to 19 which is left blank). This I copy because though it contains only a few short abbreviations it will be viewed by you with intense interest. Though Latin you cannot fail to understand it because you know all the events it records [?]. But to return to Taylor, this date shows that in 5 years and ½ he had only printed 80 pages. As I have worked him out of 300 more in less than two years (for I did not begin with him till September) it will at least appear that I have discharged indolently the task which devolved on me, and the more I contemplate the work before me as a whole the better I am satisfied with its merit and probable effect.

[Page Two]

I inclose Taylor's letter by which you will see that my suspicions as to [illegible word] wrong'd him and that his father was really ill and is since dead.⁴⁹⁶

We are all dying with heat, men and trees, as Thomas writes he expects to see nothing here but straw ashes. I am obliged to give all my trees drink as if they were Christians and we have moreover a plague of gnats which in Sarah's opinion justifies the etymology of Baal Zebub.*

Charley is *wonderfully* recovered both in looks and strength,⁴⁹⁷ but Henry continues very cross,⁴⁹⁸ though otherwise better letting

⁴⁹⁴ Richard Taylor (1781-1858), the printer who produced *Illustrations*. See Chapter Five, p. 205.

⁴⁹⁵ The words 'last proofs' are written in larger letters in the manuscript.

⁴⁹⁶ Richard Taylor's father, John Taylor (1750-1826), died on 23 July 1826 after falling off a gig (Fell-Smith and Loughlin-Chow 2004).

⁴⁹⁷ Charles Ranken Conybeare (1821-85), one of William Daniel's sons. See Appendix 2:1.

⁴⁹⁸ Henry Conybeare (1823-1884), another of William Daniel's sons. See Appendix 2:1.

a troublesome cough at night only, more nervous I think than anything else.

*I shall send your brother a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Poetry, if *you* wish to do so I dare say he will accept duplicate of it.*⁴⁹⁹ We hope Mrs D[avies]⁵⁰⁰ continues favourably.

And now when I look over all this package I exclaim with a truly Hornerian self-complacency 'What a good boy am I' and I shall be anxious to hear from you that you may re-echo the same strain

Affectionately yours WDC

*We have actually fenced our beds with close linen [?] curtains as they do with mosquito nets in the tropics.

Hay sells already for 6 shillings a ton [?] in Cardiff. I shall feed my horses on wheat I think for economy thro' the winter, for everything else seems destroyed.

⁴⁹⁹ Charles Davies (1792-1827), Mary's brother. See Appendix 2:1.

⁵⁰⁰ Possibly Mary Davies née Drought, Mary Davies' mother. See Appendix 2:1.

Appendix 1:18 – Letter, William Daniel (London) to Mary (Belfast), July 1826

Source: [Letter] *A. W. Boyd, Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/37. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: Stated on letter and postmark. This letter must be earlier than the one in Appendix 1:20, as this is dated from the last day of the month (31 July 1826).

Outline: William Daniel writes sending Mary the first copies of *Illustrations* that have been printed. He says that he has given the book's printer permission to collect his bill from the publisher and discusses the financial situation. He states that he believes Mary should be liable for the proportion of the work that was written by John Josias, but assures her that he thinks the book will make enough money that neither of them will incur any costs.

[Page One, left]

Mrs Conybeare at the Reverend the Chancellor of Down
Glebe House
Portaferry
Belfast
Ireland

[postmarked '1826']

[Page Two, right]

London Thursday afternoon
July⁵⁰¹

Dear Mary,

Your letter, and the subsequent silence of three posts whence you say you will write again next day has left me in much uneasiness as to Mrs D[avies],⁵⁰² which pray dissipate by a speedy note to Sully, where I hope now to find myself again in 24 hours.

I have sent to day with the resignation [?] of the mortgage debt of Reverend Hall⁵⁰³ your 8^{vo} copy of the Illustrations, and a 4^{to} one as presentation from myself to your brother, to Mullen Butler⁵⁰⁴ as I mentioned my intention of doing in my last. Before I read your letter I had given Triphook⁵⁰⁵ an order on Harding's for payment of his balance from the proceeds of the work.⁵⁰⁶ His account is a sufficient voucher of the state of the transaction, of which you are not likely to hear anything more in a pecuniary point of view except receiving repayment of the £100 already paid, which I trust you will get back in the course of the next two years. There is

[Page Two, left]

only one *possible* contingency which could create a further claim against either of us, and that is if Harding should buck before the proceeds cover Taylor's bill.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰¹ This word appears to be written in a different hand from the rest of the letter.

⁵⁰² Possibly Mary Davies née Drought, Mary Davies' mother. See Appendix 2:1.

⁵⁰³ An unknown individual.

⁵⁰⁴ Mullen Butler, a book seller with a premises on Nassau Street, Dublin. This was Harding's Irish correspondence address. See also Appendix 1:20.

⁵⁰⁵ Robert Triphook (1781-1868), a book seller and partner of Harding and Lepard who published *Illustrations*. See Chapter Five, p. 205.

⁵⁰⁶ Joseph Harding (d. 1843), a partner of Harding and Lepard who published *Illustrations*. See Chapter Five, pp. 204-205.

This is of course a risk which must always attend on publishing a work on the author's own account. I believe however that Harding is considered quite safe. Ellis is publishing a book through him.⁵⁰⁸ I mention this only to say that if any such accident should occur I should scarcely think it right that the loss should fall exclusively on me. The fairer proceeding would be in my eyes that I should bear the additional expense which my own addenda may appear to have occasioned and you the rest. My firm persuasion however is that the matter is quite safe, and that the book will cover its own expenses within five or six pounds either way. As for the profits if there be any, which I don't expect, and you won't take them, I shall give them accordingly to the original intention of the book to Batheaston school.⁵⁰⁹ I trust that the India business will now be very speedily settled. Fanford's [?]⁵¹⁰ report was received

[Page Two, right]

by the [illegible word] yesterday, who thereon discussed an examination of the state of their warehouses since 1814, the whole term for which I could claim.

Whence I infer that they will waive the statute of limitations.

I heard Cecilia⁵¹¹ growling t'other day over some commissions from Elizabeth,⁵¹² so I said carelessly in the Elmsley⁵¹³ style 'what, readymade child h[...]'⁵¹⁴ suppose' and found my guess right. She makes [...] provision enough for she can't well want them for the next six months. But they are working patterns I believe so perhaps [?] she thinks it lucky [?] always to have a child's cap in hand in her work box, or means to make up for lost time by twins, and so wishes to lay in a large stock of things.

The [illegible word] I have seen are the Thames Tunnel

⁵⁰⁷ Richard Taylor (1781-1858), the printer who produced *Illustrations*. See Chapter Five, p. 205.

⁵⁰⁸ Henry Ellis (1777-1869), the then senior secretary of the Society of Antiquaries. He published his *Original Letters Illustrative of English History* (1826) with Harding and Lepard.

⁵⁰⁹ See Chapter One, p. 35.

⁵¹⁰ Unknown individual.

⁵¹¹ Cecilia Ranken née Arnott, wife of Charles Ranken the family lawyer.

⁵¹² Unknown individual.

⁵¹³ Peter Elmsley (1774-1825), classical scholar and former student of Westminster and Christ Church. See Chapter Three, pp. 120-121.

⁵¹⁴ The end of this line, and the next, is missing because of a hole in the manuscript.

engineer Brunel⁵¹⁵ who lectured me for an hour while up [?] [illegible inserted word] Father

T.⁵¹⁶ was murmuring overhead on the superiority of the moderns over the ancients ‘Talk of the Romans – perfect barbarians – with that fine waterfall of Tivoli so near and never to think of turning a single mill with it.’

[Page One, left]

I wanted him to read *Ondine* that he might learn what he had to expect for his disrespectful treatment of her English cousins.⁵¹⁷ I also got into Hornor’s Colosseum⁵¹⁸ (or Pantheon as it ought to be called being nearly a copy only on a larger scale of the latter building), you have or may have seen a long description of it and its panorama in the papers some time since. They got Madam Pasta⁵¹⁹ there t’other day, hooked her up in the basket to the roof and made her sing there in nubibus. They say the effect was very fine. Affectionately Yours William Daniel Conybeare

⁵¹⁵ Isambard Kingdom Brunel (1806-1859), civil engineer who built a suspension bridge over the Thames between 1841-1845, since demolished (Buchanan 2011).

⁵¹⁶ Unknown individual.

⁵¹⁷ *Ondine*, sometimes *Undine*, seems to refer to the novella of the same name published in French by Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué in 1811, and in English in 1818. His story was based upon the tale of Melusine, a water nymph who murdered her lover (see further Gallagher 2009).

⁵¹⁸ Thomas Hornor (1785-1844) was a surveyor and painter who sketched a 360 degree panorama of London that was then displayed in the ‘London Colosseum’, a huge building built for the purpose in Regent’s Park. The building was demolished in 1875 (see further Baignet 2004).

⁵¹⁹ Giuditta Pasta (1797-1865), Italian soprano.

Appendix 1:19 – Fragmentary Letter, William Daniel to Mary, [~July 1826]

Source: [Letter] A. W. Boyd, *Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/42. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: Undated. Although very fragmentary, this letter must have been sent soon after the previous one, as they both refer to Triphook, a bookseller, being told to arrange his bill through *Illustrations'* publisher Harding and Lepard. See Chapter Five, pp. 204-205.

Outline: William Daniel states that Triphook is not liable for the loss made on *Illustrations* and neither is Mary as he has legally identified himself with the book.

[Page One]

[...] ⁵²⁰ was
[...] there would
[...] nothing [...] to have done but
to have taken back the remaining paper at a loss. Triphook⁵²¹
was not answerable for the extraordinary delay which had occurred,
and unless he had charged interest would certainly have sustained
a loss which publishers who uniformly calculate on a shorter interval [?]
do not usually bear. Thus the business still appears and has
ever appeared to me, and I wonder you do not feel with me
that it is better to expose oneself to the risk of possible loss from

[Page Two]

would be [...] ⁵²²
preclude all [...] balance of 21.
for that balance [...] already told you I had given him an
order on Harding⁵²³ before I recieved your letter on the subject. You are
not nor can be in the present state of the matter moreover liable at
all, for I have identified myself with the publication in such a manner
that the liability must *legally* fall upon me. I do not I confess like
to act like a fool and a child by doing one thing today and another tomorrow.
If for forms sake you wish to add to your papers as [illegible word]
a stamped receipt I will give you one from myself. The mode I have

⁵²⁰ The majority of the first three lines are missing because the beginning of the letter has been ripped off.

⁵²¹ Robert Triphook (1781-1868), a book seller and partner of Harding and Lepard who published *Illustrations*. See Chapter Five, p. 205.

⁵²² The majority of the first three lines are missing because the beginning of the letter has been ripped off.

⁵²³ Joseph Harding (d. 1843), a partner of Harding and Lepard who published *Illustrations*. See Chapter Five, pp. 204-205.

Appendix 1:20 – Letter, William Daniel (Charlotte House) to Mary (Portaferry, Belfast), 31 July 1826

Source: [Letter] *A. W. Boyd, Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/37. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: Stated on letter. This letter must be later than the one in Appendix 1:18, as it is written on the last day of the month (the letter in 1:18 states only that it is from 'July').

Outline: William Daniel tells Mary that *Illustrations* is now available for sale to the public and states he will send her several copies to Ireland. He also names a number of other people who he has sent a copy to. He goes on to discuss an unconnected financial issue and some points regarding the Axminster moiety (which passed to Mary after John Josias' death).

[Page One, left]

[postmarked '1826']

Mrs Conybeare
Reverend Charles Davies⁵²⁴
Glebe House
Portaferry
Belfast
Ireland

[Page One, right]

Charlotte House, July 31 1826.

P.S. The conveyance
is not properly engrossed
so I cannot send my
parcel till
Thursday,
but you can
write to Mullen⁵²⁵
to say that such
an one is to
be forwarded
from Harding⁵²⁶
and then you
can get of
Lewton⁵²⁷
immediately
it arrives.

Dear Mary,
In primis the solitary song of August is heard not
in the grove but in the row, the book being this day available
in the trade. I shall send two large and two small copies
by mail to Mullen Bookseller, Nassau Street, Dublin (Harding's correspondent)
to whom you can write by next post desiring him to
forward them to you by any conveyance which will most
conveniently deliver them at Portaferry. The expenses
of publication will be about 120 paper, 150 printing,
and 50 advertisements, boarding etc. = in all 320.
I have charged the small paper 0.18.0 (i.e. 13s 6d to us)

⁵²⁴ Charles Davies (1792-1827), Mary's brother. See Appendix 2:1.

⁵²⁵ Mullen Butler, a book seller with a premises on Nassau Street, Dublin. This was Harding's Irish correspondence address. See also Appendix 1:18.

⁵²⁶ Joseph Harding (d. 1843), a partner of Harding and Lepard who published *Illustrations*. See Chapter Five, pp. 204-205.

⁵²⁷ Unknown individual.

large 2.0.0 (i.e. 1.10.0) if we sell 300 small and 80 large this will cover the expense and therefore repay you. I have neither the hope or desire of doing more. I shall forward copies to Gaisford, Marlow, Kidd, Serle, Groombridge, Burney, Petric, Turner, Ellis and Barnes of Exeter⁵²⁸ etc. I mention the names only whom I more especially regard as those whom *you* would wish so distinguished, that if I have omitted any you may remind me in your next letter. It is no use troubling you with a list of northern literati. I have

[Page Two, left]

forwarded thro Turner⁵²⁹ a copy to Southey.⁵³⁰ The Mackworths are in town so I thought I would not avoid giving them one.⁵³¹ I inclose with the books the papers about Ben Hall's loan which I have signed, and Charles Davies must,⁵³² so that I trust you will soon receive all that is due in that quarter. The Indian princess's fortune is not in abeyance [sic] thro any fault of Charles R[anken]⁵³³ – your claim is sent out to the court in India, who at their own good pleasure will direct a commission to this country to examine said claim, i.e. whether you and Charles are really your father's children. You only are concerned – the bequest being to your father and his descendants your mamma has no possible connection with the matter. Charles R[anken] let her sign a power of attorney because she would not be satisfied without doing so, but her signature in truth can never be requisite in any stage of the proceeding because your father's share rests in his children from the terms of the bequest and she has not the most remote interest in it. Of course it is of no use to tell her all this, the present delays arise solely from the return of the jurisdiction of a foreign court and the inadmissibility of any evidence not taken by a commission emanating from themselves. I must I fear again leave town without pocketing

[Page Two, right]

the East India tithes, though my visit will materially accelerate the matter, and I think I shall certainly have it by Christmas. With regard to Axminster I would ask the following questions. 1. among the papers you lent me is a list of copyholds

⁵²⁸ Discussion of the individuals on this list is included in Chapter Five, p. 212.

⁵²⁹ Sharon Turner (1768-1847), English historian and author. See Chapter Three, pp. 123-126.

⁵³⁰ Robert Southey (1774-1843), poet and reviewer.

⁵³¹ Unknown individuals.

⁵³² Charles Davies (1792-1827), Mary's brother. See Appendix 2:1.

⁵³³ Possibly Charles Ranken, the family lawyer. See Appendix 2:1.

attached to the manor of Axminster, are these included in the terms offered, and if so have the tenants any customary right as to the renewal of their leases. Otherwise it might be a good speculation to refuse renewal and let them fall in on the expiration of the present lives, all older than my own, because this would secure to *my children* if I purchased a rental estimated I see at more than 90s per annum. I apprehend that when Smith⁵³⁴ stated the average value at 470 he meant to include the prospect of this revision in his estimate and if so I don't think it excessive.⁵³⁵

2. I can make nothing out of your list of presentations, can you give me any particulars that may serve as a clue? Who were the Drakes,⁵³⁶ were they the lessors, and how long did they continue so, who held the lease last? Has my enquiry been ever made at York, that Chapter surely must know the rights of its own members, and be able to tell whether the presentation is annexed to two of its own prebendal estates jointly or alternately.

[Page One, left]

I have spent a day with my aunt in her lodgings at Chelsea. Little apartments in a little row, where I really blush'd as I directed my coacher [?] to enquire for Lady C[ongreve],⁵³⁷ considering that he must think it somewhat equivocal, and that my business must be with *one* of the present Sir W[illiams] Lady C's - she is? [sic] herself in that case pass for the old [illegible word]. She is very well however and charmed with her cheerful view of the road and a scrap of untilled [?] nursery ground beyond. Only Sir S. and Lieutenant Mack[worth] and Gaith are in town.⁵³⁸ Fanny at Cavendish practising [?] [illegible word] on 3 Miss Drakes in their time [?].⁵³⁹ Always affectionately yours William Daniel Conybeare

⁵³⁴ Unknown individual.

⁵³⁵ Axminster was divided into two moieties, one of which belonged to William Daniel from June 1831. The other had been John Josias' and had then passed to Mary after this death. Mary gave this to William Daniel only a few days after he bought the other, so he became the owner of the whole rectory (Pulman 1854: 261).

⁵³⁶ Axminster was purchased at the beginning of the seventeenth century by the Drake family. The moieties remained in the family until the end of 1766 (Pulman 1854: 261).

⁵³⁷ Possibly William Daniel's maternal aunt, Julia Elizabeth Olivier (1753-1831), who married Sir William Congreve (1743-1814) in 1804.

⁵³⁸ Unknown individuals.

⁵³⁹ Unknown individuals.

Appendix 1:21 – Advertisement, Announcing the Publication of *Illustrations*

Source: ANON. 1827b. [Advertisement] *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, eds. J. J. CONYBEARE and W. D. CONYBEARE. *The Classical Journal*, March, p. 166. Image from Google Books (public domain).

Dating: Journal publication date. Although *Illustrations* was first available for sale on 31 July 1826, this notice did not appear until eight months later.

Outline: This advertisement for *Illustrations* does not contain William Daniel's name as editor, but promotes particularly a number of his contributions to the book. It is also mentions that a few copies were made available for sale in a larger size (see also Appendix 1:20).

This day is published, in One Volume, 8vo. 18s. boards,⁴²²
ILLUSTRATIONS OF ANGLO-SAXON POETRY.

By J. J. CONYBEARE,
 Late Prebendary of York, and Professor of Anglo-Saxon and
 Poetry in the University of Oxford.

This Volume contains analyses of the principal Romantic, Historical, Sacred, and Miscellaneous Poems extant in the Saxon language, illustrated by metrical versions of their most interesting passages; the originals of which are subjoined, accompanied by literal translations into Latin. An Introductory Essay on the Laws of the Saxon Metrical System, and its affinity with that of the earliest Scandinavian and Teutonic poetical remains, is prefixed, together with a Catalogue raisonnée of all the Saxon poetical MSS. preserved in the various libraries of this country.

••• A few copies have been printed in 4to., price 2*l.*, in order to range with the Quarto edition of Warton's *History of English Poetry*,⁴²³ to which it may be considered as forming an introductory volume. The 8vo. will range with the new edition of the same work.

Harding, Lepard, and Co., Pall Mall, East.⁴²⁴

⁵⁴⁰ The prices of the small and large copies of *Illustrations* given in this advert correspond with those provided by William Daniel in Appendix 1:20.

⁵⁴¹ Frederic Madden's diary entry for 17 January 1824 states that John Josias had intended *Illustrations* 'as an introductory vol. to Warton' (cited in Hall 1985: 390). See also Appendices 1:21 and 2:4, and Chapter Five, pp. 213-214.

⁵⁴² Harding and Lepard, the printers who published *Illustrations*. See Chapter Five, pp. 204-205.

Appendix 1:22 – Letter, William Daniel (Sully) to Mary, 4 September [1826]

Source: [Letter] *A. W. Boyd, Naturalist, Papers, D5154/37*. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: The letter is dated 4 September, with no year given. However, Southey is thanking William Daniel for the book he notes sending in Appendix 1:20, so this letter must be from 1826.

Outline: William Daniel transcribes a portion of a letter he has received from Robert Southey thanking him for his copy of *Illustrations* and describing the capacity in which he knew John Josias. The third page of this letter discusses William Daniel's son and his injured eye.

Sully, September, 4

Dear Mary,

Sarah intends an answer to your last affectionate and affecting letter.

Meanwhile I have just received a few lines from Southey⁵⁴³ which I transcribe without loss of time because I know they will afford you ~~satisfaction~~ that is too cold a word.⁵⁴⁴ The original of course I shall guard for myself.

It confirms all my impressions as to its author, which you know were always very enthusiastic – ‘Dear sir, your letter reached me at a time of deep affliction otherwise I should not have waited till the book arrived to thank you for it.’⁵⁴⁵ Our friend Turner⁵⁴⁶ sent the letter by post and I received the book yesterday in a bookseller’s parcel. I have looked throug[h]⁵⁴⁷ it with eager interest and shall peruse it leisurely with pleasure and advan[tage].⁵⁴⁸

I well remember you brother at Westminster tho’ we never perhaps exchanged a word there for we were at different boarding houses and he was three or four years junior to me, *but I remember his age and his countenance*. In after life I only saw him twice, once was at Sharon Turner’s where we past an evening together and he told me he had been looking into the Basque language.

One other person I have known who had acquired it and only one, he was a Portuguese judge desembargador by name Antonio Ribeiro dos Santos,⁵⁴⁹ a man of great learning. The second and last time was when I received my honorary degree at Oxford.⁵⁵⁰ We met in the crowd and exchanged a few words of good will, and shook hands cordially like old schoolfellows who both felt that if opportunity had permitted they should have been

⁵⁴³ Robert Southey (1774-1843), poet and reviewer. See further Chapter Three, pp. 128-131.

⁵⁴⁴ The last six words are written above ‘satisfaction’, which has been erased.

⁵⁴⁵ See Appendix 1:20, where William Daniel notes that he has sent a copy of *Illustrations* to Southey.

⁵⁴⁶ Sharon Turner (1768-1847), English historian and author. See Chapter Three, pp. 123-126.

⁵⁴⁷ The edge of the manuscript is folded here obscuring the end of this word, which seems to read ‘throug[h]’.

⁵⁴⁸ The edge of the manuscript is folded here obscuring the end of this word, which seems to read ‘advan[tage]’.

⁵⁴⁹ António Ribeiro dos Santos (1745-1818), Portuguese librarian and scholar. In *The Foreign Quarterly Review* for 1827 it was noted that ‘[a] Portugueze of great learning, the late Desembargador Antonio Ribeiro dos Santos, was of opinion that the proportion of [words from] Basque roots was greater [in the Spanish language] – a result of his inquiries which could not have been expected in that part of the peninsula’ (Anon 1827c: 5).

⁵⁵⁰ ‘In the Convocation holden in the Theatre on Wednesday, the Honorary Degree of D. C. L. was conferred on the following noblemen and gentlemen: - Lord Apsley, Lieutenant General Lord Hill, Sir William Grant, Sir Jacob Astley, Bart. General Sir Anthony Farrington, Bart. Major-General Sir George Murray, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir H. Hardinge, Sir Thomas Lawrence, G. Watson Taylor, Esq., J. Ingram Lockhart, Esq., C. O. Bowles, Esq., Charles Peers, Esq., R. Southey Esq., and Joshua Watson, Esq. And the Honorary Degree of M.A. on Rowland Hill, Esq.’ (Anon 1820b: 410).

old friends; and when I read in the newspaper of his death it was not without a feeling that in my individual capacity I had lost something in that great public loss. I had lost one whose good opinion I was proud of possessing, one with whom there was the bond of common principle and pursuits, and that tie of school recollections which when there is anything like mental esteem to strengthen it becomes almost a degree of relationship in life. He has left a good example and an enduring name and he has taken with him faculties which render him capable of higher happ[iness]⁵⁵¹

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than is to be attained on earth and which had been nurtured and disciplined with that end in view. Were it not for those who must feel our loss how desirable a thing were death!

Now is not this the production of a true right-hearted man. I have always admired him, because whatever mistakes there might be occasionally as to the means yet with regard to the end he has never written a single line which was not sincerely intended to advance the best interests of society and which did not breathe an high principle and a noble and generous spirit. Now whatever admiration I may have for talent abstractly I yet always feel that it has something poor wanting and unworthy⁵⁵²[ab]out it where there is not also high principle and a warm heart.⁵⁵³[Yo]ur mother will I know particularly admire all that is said⁵⁵⁴[ab]out old school recollections. I am especially struck with half a line which I have marked, and gratified by his accurate recollection of a passing conversation, it shows he must really have thought what was said from that quarter worth being attended to, but the conclusion is the most beautiful. After Southy's letter I can hardly pluck up courage for a plunge in bathos sufficient to add that there is a very favourable but also very poor and blundering review in the *Literary Gazette*.⁵⁵⁵ This is in my estimation altogether a work *minoram gentium*, yet those same *gentis minores* are far most numerous, and I am informed that the *Gazette* possesses a large circulation and considerable influence, so that after all it may perhaps contribute to make the work more generally known – but certainly from Southey to it is a skip from the

⁵⁵¹ The corner of the manuscript is folded here obscuring the end of this word, which seems to read 'happ[iness]'.

⁵⁵² The edge of the manuscript is folded here obscuring the beginning of this word, which seems to read '[ab]out'.

⁵⁵³ The edge of the manuscript is folded here obscuring the beginning of this word, which seems to read '[Yo]ur'.

⁵⁵⁴ The edge of the manuscript is folded here obscuring the beginning of this word, which seems to read '[ab]out'.

⁵⁵⁵ *The London Literary Gazette*, 12 August 1826 (Anon 1826c). See Chapter Five, pp. 218-221 and Appendix 1:23.

zenith to the nadir of English literature.

I know few things, I have regretted more of life than the intelligence of Bishop Heber's death,⁵⁵⁶ considering both the peculiar qualities of the man and the

situation he held it is assuredly the heaviest loss the Church has for a long time sustained. I had almost looked upon him as the apostle of the east, yet he is undoubtedly taken from the evil and spared from trials of unparalleled

bitterness. Will not our acquisitions in [illegible word] open very promising opportunities for extending what the Judsons [?] have so well began⁵⁵⁷ there.

⁵⁵⁸[P]oor Willy's eye is I think quite stationary,⁵⁵⁹ the other I am thankful to say is quite unaffected, and I trust there can be

[Page Three]⁵⁶⁰

ground for apprehension as to that. But even if the obscurity of the injured pupil should not [illegible word] it will I fear ever remain unserviceable.

Poor fellow in the uninflicted spirits of his age he seems seemingly sensible of his privation, at first it made it still more painful to me to see him thus. I do not apprehend any material interruption to his education. I read often [?] to him now and make him viva voce retranslate into Latin passages which I select from Cicero and read in English to him. Writing as his amanuensis in these branches we could not get on better if he were Argus, but Latin verse and Greek are for a time suspended. I could however continue means of pursuing these if it shall be judged advisable to continue the instructions on his readings, which are only now enforced [?] in order to give the affected eye every possible chance in I fear a forlorn hope. I shall write this week to Judson [?]

stating that there is absolutely no change and asking whether he would wish [...] ⁵⁶¹him over again for inspection or to [...] ⁵⁶²the usu [...] month.

⁵⁵⁶ Reginald Heber (1783-1826) was the bishop of Calcutta and probably knew William Daniel from his time as a student at the University of Oxford where he had attended Brasenose College (see further Laird 2004).

⁵⁵⁷ Unknown individuals.

⁵⁵⁸ The corner of the manuscript is folded here obscuring the beginning of this word, which seems to read '[P]oor'.

⁵⁵⁹ William Daniel's oldest son, William John (1815-1857), was hit in the eye by a stone while at school, which caused permanent damage. After this 'he seems to have been more often under the tuition of his father at Sully than of the masters at Westminster' (H. C. A. Conybeare 1914: 32).

⁵⁶⁰ This page is partly obscured by a second overwritten letter running vertically across the writing.

⁵⁶¹ Some words from the middle of this line are missing because of a hole in the manuscript.

⁵⁶² The corner of the manuscript is folded here obscuring the final word of the line. The following line is damaged by a hole in the manuscript and seems to read 'the usual [...] month'.

⁵⁶³fish. Charles 'what was readily
such expenses as the Cubs going
are these considered as past
She wants to know on account
aday pray answer this query soon
it before instead a general information
be acceptable. I fear Willy's
me to accomplish my descent on
bridge going and a visit to Southey
be attractive.

⁵⁶³ This second note is overwritten vertically, the first half of each line lost by the cut away section of the page.

Appendix 1:23 – Review of *Illustrations*, *The London Literary Gazette*, August 1826

Source: ANON. 1826c. [Review] *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, eds. J. J. CONYBEARE and W. D. CONYBEARE. *The London Literary Gazette*, 12 August, pp. 497-499. Image from Google Books (public domain).

Dating: August 1826.

Outline: This review was published less than two weeks after *Illustrations* was first made available for sale on 31 July 1826. See Chapter Five, pp. 218-221.

REVIEW OF NEW BOOKS.

Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry. By John Josias Conybeare, M.A., &c. Edited, with additional Notes, &c., by W. D. Conybeare, M.A., Rector of Sully. 8vo. pp. 382. London, 1826. Harding and Lepard.

NOTWITHSTANDING the interest which we have always taken in the literature of our Anglo-Saxon progenitors, and particularly in its illustration by writers who have published since the *Literary Gazette* commenced, (such as Sharon Turner, Ingram, and Bosworth,) we feel our inability to do justice to the present work, one of the most valuable contributions that has ever been offered to enrich this field of curious, antiquarian, and national inquiry. Indeed it would require the study of the language for several years, and much investigation of its remaining treasures, to qualify any critic for deciding upon many of the points which the diligence and acumen of the Editor of this volume, of his late excellent brother, of the gentlemen we have named above, and of Thorkelin the Danish author,—have brought to light and opened for discussion: conjecture must frequently supply the place of accurate data; the materials upon which to form a judgment, with regard to the earliest times, are exceedingly scanty; and the rude memorials of a rude language, obsolete for centuries except in these written characters, furnish insufficient grounds for certainty of decision. Still, however, much may be learnt from a view of these remarkable documents; and upon their mere surface they display a great deal to excite and gratify the curiosity of a country inhabited by the descendants of Anglo-Saxons, who deduce from that mixed race, even to the present hour, a multitude of their customs, their laws, and their very feelings.

With this impression upon our mind, we are not sorry that our want of an intimate acquaintance with the intricacies of the Anglo-Saxon tongue compels us, as it were, to take simply a popular notice of the work in hand;—probably, after all, better suited to our limits than a learned and laborious disquisition.

The late Mr. Josias Conybeare, who was Professor of Anglo-Saxon Poetry at Oxford, from 1809 to 1812, in that capacity directed much research to the subject which he was called upon to illustrate; and after his retirement from the academical chair to the duties of a Christian teacher, a benevolent and charitable object induced him further to pursue these literary labours. To his lectures originally, and to his subsequent inquiries, (to the period of his lamented death), we are indebted for the principal portion of this publication; but we have also to confess our great obligations to his brother, the editor of it, than whom a more intelligent and congenial co-adjutor could not have been brought to the completion of the unfinished task.

Of the remnants of Anglo-Saxon learning and piety, the chief stores exist in the Bodleian and Cotton Libraries, and in a valuable collec-

tion of MSS. poetry bequeathed to the Library of Exeter Cathedral by Bishop Leofric, between the years 1046 and 1073.* In Lambeth Palace there were, but we fear there are not, some remarkable fragments (the Battle of Finsborough, for instance); and in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, we believe; there are other specimens. Consulting these sources, the late Mr. Conybeare produced that information to the world which appeared in the *Archæologia*, and *Transactions of the Antiquarian Society*, upon the metre of Anglo-Saxon poetry, its forms, character, &c. &c., together with limited illustrations from the ancient compositions to which he referred. The present volume enlarges and explains these topics, and superadds much which was completed for the press when the author died, and much (as we have observed) of high value which his editor has furnished.

From the first specimens of Anglo-Saxon poetry with which we are acquainted, Mr. Turner thinks, on the authority of Bede, it was constructed without regard to any particular metre, and written to the ear: Mr. Conybeare endeavours to shew that it was distinguished from their prose by the continual use of a certain definite rhythm, invariably trochaic or dactylic; each line, or hemistich, usually consisting of two feet, and the pauses always at the end of lines. He allows, however, that emphasis often holds the place of quantity, and that lines of three or four feet are occasionally intermixed with the regular metres of two; which exceptions seem to us to bring the conclusion very nearly to Mr. Turner's definition. Alliteration, the extensive use of periphrasis, the omission of short particles, and, at a later date, terminal rimes (viz. during the Danosaxon period), are the other characteristics of the Muses of our ancestors. The system of alliteration was finally carried to an excessive pitch, as appears not only from the examples cited by Hickes, but by some very curious ones supplied by Mr. Conybeare. The general resemblance to the old Icelandic and Teutonic poetry is very striking; and it may fairly be supposed that the systematic employment of alliteration was a practice entirely of northern or of Celtic origin, and though not unknown, yet very rarely resorted to by the classical prosodists of either Rome or Greece. To illustrate this, we beg to quote the first verse in Icelandic and in Saxon of the *Gudrunar Quida*, one of the most interesting poems in the Eddaic collection, which relates the grief of

* "It has now (in consequence, probably, of the dispersion of monastic property after the Reformation) found its way to the Bodleian, as have some other parts of the good bishop's literary donation; others are preserved in the library of Bennett College, Cambridge; while a few only remain in the possession of the Chapter of Exeter. The contents were chiefly of a liturgical nature, with portions of the Scriptures, Commentaries on them, Homilies, &c. Persius is the only poetical, and Porphyry the only philosophical writer of classical antiquity. Of the later period we have Boetius, Sedulius, Prudentius, and Orosius.—It is added, that he found in the church, at his accession, only a Capitulary, and old and decayed copies of the Epistles, Lessons, Night-song, and Massal."

Gudrun for the loss of her husband Sigurd, murdered by her brother Gunnar.

Original Icelandic.

Saxon Version.

Ar var þat Gudrun	Ær þam ðe Gudrun
Görðiz at deya	Gearwode dydan
er hon sorz-full sat	ða heo sorzfulle sæt
yfir Sigurði ;	ofer Sigurde ;
gerðit hon Hiuþra,	ne gearcode heo Heofingz,
ne Hündom sla,	ne Hondum sloh,
ne Queina um	ne ymb Cwanode
sem Honor aðrar.	swa same Cwenas oðre.

Literally thus :—

“ It was ere that Gudrun
Prepared to die,
When she sorrowful sat
Over Sigurd's [corpse] ;
She made not showers [of tears],
Nor smote she with her hands,
Nor moaned she for him
The same as other women.”

But as we have stated that our review should be of a popular as much as of a literary class, we will here add the whole ballad as very sweetly put into a metrical version by the editor of this volume.

“ By her Sigurd's blood-stain'd hier,
As, with equal death oppress,
Gudrun sat ; she shed no tear,
Her hand she smote not on her breast:
Word, nor sign, nor act, might shew
The wonted course of woman's woe.

Sages came, the wisest they,
But vain the aids from art they borrow:
Can rhetoric soothe, or reason sway,
That stern mood of deepest sorrow,—
When the heart to bursting swells,
Yet no tear its anguish tells?

Round her press'd a widow'd train,
Sisters they in grief united,
Calling back long scenes of pain,
Each her own sad tale recited:
Vainly thus to wake they try
The soothing power of sympathy.

Vainly—for her anguish'd mind,
Stunn'd beneath that sudden blow,
Hardens, to itself confined,
Nor opens to another's woe:
Hard and cold was Gudrun's soul,
Nor sigh would rise, nor tear would roll.

Last did youthful Guirand speak :—
“ Matrons, though in wisdom old,
Here, I ween, your skill is weak ;
Age's counsels, all too cold,
Cannot reach the widow'd heart,
When youth's strong loves are rent apart.”

With hurrying hand from Sigurd's hier,
Swept she then the pall away:
“ On him, thy love, look, Gudrun dear,
To his cold lip thy warm lip lay,
And round him, as they still could hold
Thy living lord, thine arms unfold.”

Gudrun turn'd—one hurried glance
On that much-loved form she threw—
A moment view'd, where murder's lance
Had pierced the breast to her so true:
Saw stiff with blood those locks of gold,
And quench'd that eye so bright, so bold.

She saw, and sank, and low reclined,
Hid in the couch her throbbing head—
Her loose veil floated unconfined,
Her burning cheek was crimson'd red:
Then, her bursting heart's relief,
Copious fell the shower of grief.”

In the Exeter MS, already spoken of, there is a singular riming poem, in which “ the poet, bound by the double fetters of alliteration and

rime, has found himself obliged to sacrifice sense to sound, to a more than ordinary extent. The style is throughout figurative, harsh, and elliptical in the highest degree: words occurring in no other Saxon writer, and to be interpreted therefore only through the medium of an uncertain analogy, are frequent; and more common terms are disguised by an unaccustomed variety of spelling. . . . The rime is frequently double; and the poet, not contented with this exhibition of his powers in the accumulation of similar sounds, has in one passage (of nine lines) introduced an additional rime into the body of every line, thus :—

Bald Ald switeð
Wræ lac wriðeð
Wrath oth smiteð

so that every letter almost is fettered by the absurd intricacy of the metre. The identical rimes are not confined to the couplet, but extend sometimes to eight or ten lines.—The whole style of composition is analogous to the later systems of Scaldic metre introduced about the middle of the ninth century, in the place of the more simple versification of the *Edda* and *Voluspá* (which is altogether identical with the usual Saxon metre). It is probable that the knowledge of these more complicated systems was introduced among the Saxon poets in the age of Canute; but they do not appear to have found a favourable reception.”

This poem, indeed, is the only instance known to be extant of a regular imitation of them. “ The subject appears to be an illustration of the transitory nature of human enjoyments: this is exhibited by describing the same individual as first flourishing in the very acme of pleasure, fame, affluence, and power; and then as a spirit tormented by the fires of purgatory, and a corpse consumed by worms. The conclusion points out the hope of translation, after these purifying pains have accomplished their appointed end, to the joys of heaven.” We heartily wish we could insert the whole of this interesting production; but must be contented with a very small part of it. In the picture of his happiness it is said—

“ Sealcas wæron	My servants were saga-
scærpe,	ciots,
Seyl was hearpe.	There was skill in their harping.
Hlude hlyneðe,	It resounded loud,
Hleoðor dynede,	The strain re-echoed,
Swegl-rad swinsade	Melody was heard
Swiðe, ne minsade.	Powerfully, nor did it cease.
Burg sele beofode,	The hall vibrated (at the sound),
Beorht hlifade ;	Splendour shone ;
Ellen eacnade,	My spirit expanded,
Ead eacnade ;	My happiness increased ;
Fream froðade,	I was prudent among princes,
Fromm godade,	And successful among the brave,
Mod megnade,	Powerful in mind,
Mine fegnade,	And rejoicing in spirit.
Treow teygade,	My tree flourished,
Tir welgade,	My sway increased,
• • • • •	• • • • •
Bled blissade,	Fruit blessed me,
Gold gearwade,	Gold was at hand,
Gim hwearfede,	Gems poured around me,
Sinc searwade,	Silver was artificially wrought,
Sib nearwade ;	My kindred were closely united ;

† The defective alliteration shows *thama* line is here 1046.”

From ic was in fret- I was brave in adornment,
wum,
Freolic in in-geat- And graceful in carriage,
wum,
Was min dream My glory was lordly,
dryhtlic,
Drohtad hyhtlic; My dominion illustrious;
Foldan ic freeðode, I was benevolent to the
land,
Folcum ic leoðode; I sang lays to the people;
Lif was min longe My life was long
Leodum ingemonge, Among my nation,
Tirum getonge My condition in my do-
minions
Teala gehonge. Was happily supported."

Then comes the reverse—[we quote the original no longer, as there is already sufficient to shew the nature of the versification.]

"But now my breast is rough, shaken by the season of woe, nigh to stern necessity; and he is tormented at the approach of night, who before in the day was highly esteemed; deep fire now is wrapt around.

"Thus now the world wendeth; fate sendeth [men to their doom], and feuds pursue them; chieftains oppress, war-kings go forth, the dart of slaughter pierceth, the violent arrow flieth, the spear smiteth them, sorrow devour-eth the city; the bold man in age decays, the season of vengeance tormenteth him, and enmity easily assaileth him; the abyss of sin increaseth, sudden treachery glideth in, grim rage grieveth, woe possesseth, every possession is deceitful, summer's heat groweth cool, many things fall to the ground, the portion of strife aboundeth, earthly power groweth old, courage groweth cold. This Fate wove for me, and as decreed assigned it that I should grieve with this grief. And the grim grave flesh may not flee; soon as the rapid day hath flown, necessity seizeth in her grasp when she cometh nigh, she that hath taken me from my country, and here exerciseth me in hardship. Then the corpse lieth, worms fret the limbs, and the worm departeth not, and there chooseth its repast until there be bone only left."

We observe that our author disputes the originality of Ossian; but his objections may rather apply to the interpolations, than invalidate the authenticity of these extraordinary traditions. Passing this, however, and a curious dissertation on ancient Welsh poetry, we shall here insert a very useful quotation relative to the immediate subject of our observations—the Anglo-Saxon. The editor has given us a synoptical catalogue of all that time has spared in this department of literature; remarking—

"Full and complete critical editions of the whole of these remains, with translations, are yet indeed desiderata in our literature; and it is perhaps scarcely creditable to our national feeling that these monuments of the parent speech of Englishmen should so long have been neglected; while in most continental states similar remains, in no degree of superior interest, have been presented to the public with every requisite illustration. But a better spirit appears to be now arising. While these pages have been passing through the press, an edition of Beowulf has been promised, by a writer who in his re-publication of Warton's History of English Poetry has proved that the philological antiquary will find nothing wanting in any work which he may undertake. An edition, with a translation, of Alfred's Boethius has been still more recently announced; and the Editor of these pages hopes shortly to bring the Cedmonian paraphrase in a similar manner before the public. The whole of the Exeter Manuscript, together with the remaining minor

poetry of the Saxons, might easily be comprised in another single volume; and if this were accomplished, their entire *corpus poeticum* would be rendered generally accessible."

The leading articles are,—1. The History of Beowulf (MS. Cotton), first mentioned by Wanley 1705, and brought into public notice by Mr. Turner in 1805; subsequently, 1815, published by Thorkelin, with a Latin translation, at Copenhagen: 2. Fragment on the Battle of Finsborough (MS. Lambeth), printed by Hickes in Thes. Lingg. Septt. without a translation: 3. Fragment on the Death of Beorhtnoth (MS. Cotton), printed by Hearne, translated in the present volume; the original burnt. Upon these narrative and historical poems, Mr. C. adds—

"The allusions contained in one of the poems of the Exeter MS. to the stories of Weland and of Theoderic of Berne, render it probable that these heroes of the Edda and of the cyclus of Teutonic romance, were also celebrated in Saxon poetry. The slaughter of the dragon by Sigurdr, or Sigmund, another cardinal event in that cyclus, is also alluded to in Beowulf in a manner which shews it to have been familiar. Chaucer enumerates the adventures of Wade and his boat, a fiction also of the same school (see Wilkinz Saga), among the romances of price: so that we have probably lost a Saxon poem on this subject. The romance of Horn Childe, published by Ritson in his collection, is evidently derived from a Saxon original. And the same remark may be extended to the romance of Haveloke (long supposed to be lost, but recently discovered by Mr. Madden among the MS. stores of the Bodleian), and to that of Attila, king of East Anglia."

Other poems are from Scriptural sources, such as Judith, Daniel, &c.; and others again are founded on the lives of the Saints; besides hymns and minor sacred pieces. There are also the Odes and Epitaphs preserved in the Saxon Chronicle, and a few more (five) of the date between 938 and 1065. The Exile's Complaint, given in this work from the Exeter MS., and some of Alfred's translations of the Metres of Boethius may be mentioned, too, as of the elegiac class. The latter, besides, afford specimens of the moral and didactic; to which the Exeter MS. further contributes. Among the miscellaneous remains, the most prominent are the Song of a Traveller, (Exeter MS.), given by Mr. C.; Dialogue between Solomon and Saturn, (MSS. of C. C. College), mixed with Runic characters; Poem on the Site of Durham and its Holy Relics, (MSS. Cotton); and several preserved in Hickes.

The fragment of the Death of Byrhtnoth, Alderman or Earl of Northumbria, who was slain in battle against the invading Danes, apparently at Maldon in Essex, A.D. 991, is the most spirited and Homeric descant which has reached us from these olden times. It consists of 690 lines:—as a sample we quote two passages after the fall and mangling of the body of the Saxon leader, and the flight of some of his force.

"Then yet stood in the array Edward the tall chief, prompt and strenuous: he vowed in haughty words 'that he would not yield a foot's breadth of earth, nor turn his back in flight, since his superior lay dead.' He broke through the wall of shields, and fought against the foe until he had worthily avenged his lord, liberal in largess, on the men of the sea, before he himself fell among the slaughtered. The same did Ætheric, his noble comrade, eager and impetuous, the brother of Sebyrht; stoutly he fought, and very many others: they clove the

bucklers; keen they were: they burst the covering of the shields; and the hauberk sang a strain of terror." [How finely poetical is this last expression!]

"Byrhtwold spoke: he was an aged vassal: he raised his shield, he brandished his ashen spear; he full boldly exhorted the warriors:— 'Our spirit shall be the hardier; our heart shall be the keener; our soul shall be the greater, the more our forces diminish. Here lieth our chief, all mangled—the brave one in the dust: ever may he lament his shame that thinketh to fly from this play of weapons. Old am I in life, yet will I not stir hence; but I think to lie by the side of my lord—by that much-loved man.'"

But Beowulf is the grand attraction of the work to which we have wished to draw the attention of our readers: and not to trouble them with too much of one theme, we shall reserve that Poem and a few other matters for a future *Gazette*.

Appendix 1:24 – Review of *Illustrations*, *La Belle Assemblée*, September 1826

Source: ANON. 1826e. [Review] *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, eds. J. J. CONYBEARE and W. D. CONYBEARE. *La Belle Assemblée, or Court and Fashionable Magazine*, September, p. 129. Image from Google Books (public domain).

Dating: September 1826.

Outline: This review was published less than two months after *Illustrations* was first made available for sale on 31 July 1826. See Chapter Five, p. 221.

The enchanted Lyre forms a wilderness of flowers and weeds, most strangely, most fantastically intertwined; and Pedro Ladoron, or the Shepherd of Toppled Hill, is an outrage upon all knights of the long bow, Baron Munchausen alone excepted. Still, as we have said, the work has great indications of genius. There are altogether seven pieces in the volume.

"*Recollections of a Pedestrian, by the author of 'The Journal of an Exile,'*" in three volumes, are very lively, spirited, and amusing. We have no room for extract; but we can venture to say that all who were pleased with *The Journal of an Exile* will wish to read a second production of the same author.

"*The Rambles of Redbury Rook, by the Author of 'The Subaltern Officer,'*" in one volume, is a clumsy and indecent, an ill-tempered and vulgar allegorical satire.

The First Part of the second volume of "*The Stanley Tales*" is superior to either of its predecessors. It contains eight tales:—Gordon the Gipsy; Ellen; The Castle of Eseclees, a wild legend; The Smuggler; The Lost Friend; The White Roses; The Elder's Death-Bed; and Nicholas Pedrosa.

The lovers of ancient literature will find a rich treat in "*Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, by John Josias Conybeare, M.A. &c.; edited, with additional Notes, &c., by W. D. Conybeare, M.A., Rector of Sully.*" The work is of a nature far too *recherchée* for the general reader; but as its editor is fortunately a man of true poetic taste and feeling, it contains many gems which, from their intrinsic merit and beauty, deserve to appear in a separate volume. We speak with reference to the metrical version into which some of the old Saxon poems are very happily thrown. One of these, the *Gudrunar Quida*, from the Eddaic Collection, describing the grief of Gudrun for the loss of her husband Sigurd, who had been murdered by her brother Gunnar, we select:—

By her Sigurd's blood-stained bier,
As, with equal death opprest,
Gudrun sat; she shed no tear,
Her hand she smote not on her breast:
Word, nor sign, nor act, might shew
The wonted course of woman's woe.

Sages came, the wisest they,
But vain the aids from art they borrow:
Can rhetoric soothe, or reason sway,
That stern mood of deepest sorrow,
When the heart to bursting swells,
Yet no tear its anguish tells?

Round her pressed a widowed train,
Sisters they in grief united—
Calling back long scenes of pain,

Each her own sad tale recited:
Vainly thus to wake they try
The soothing power of sympathy.

Vainly—for her anguished mind,
Stunned beneath that sudden blow,
Hardens, to itself confined,
Nor opens to another's woe!
Hard and cold was Gudrun's soul,
Nor sigh would rise, nor tear would roll.

Last did youthful Gulrand speak:—
"Matrons, though in wisdom old,
Here, I ween, your skill is weak;
Age's counsels, all too cold,
Cannot reach the widowed heart,
When youth's strong loves are rent apart."

With hurrying hand from Sigurd's bier
Swept she then the pall away:
"On him, thy love, look, Gudrun dear,
To his cold lip thy warm lip lay;
And round him, as they still could hold
Thy living lord, thine arms enfold."

Gudrun turned—one hurried glance
On that much-loved form she threw—
A moment viewed where murder's lance
Had pierced the breast, to her so true;
Saw stiff with blood those locks of gold,
And quenched that eye so bright, so bold.

She saw, and sank, and low reclined,
Hid in the couch her throbbing head,
Her loose veil floated unconfined,
Her burning cheek was crimsoned red;
Then, her bursting heart's relief,
Copious fell the shower of grief.

This, it will be observed, is rather a paraphrastic than a close translation. The curious alliteration of the Icelandic, as well as of the Saxon version of the poem, we, of course, cannot with any effect transfer to our pages. To us, the work is one of great and lively interest.

"*The Lusiad, an Epic Poem, by Luis de Camoens, translated from the Portuguese, by Thomas Moore Musgrave,*" is entitled to great praise for fidelity, and also for spirit. It is, however, in blank verse—a measure which, though it affords great facilities to the translator, is less happy

Appendix 1:25 – Fragmentary Letter, William Daniel to Mary, [no date, after April 1827]

Source: [Letter] A. W. Boyd, *Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/36. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: Undated. Although fragmentary, this letter must have been written after the reviews mentioned on Page Two, Left. *The Monthly Review* article was published in October 1826, *The Westminster Review* in April 1827.

Outline: This letter has been archived amongst letters to Sarah Anne, but from the context it is clearly incorrectly catalogued as it is from William Daniel to Mary. William Daniel discusses the financial situation of *Illustrations* and expresses his sorrow that Mary seems to have disliked his arrangement of the book.

[Page One, right]

and from thence we sent them back, waiting at Margam for a Pyle chaise. With Margam my Aunt was quite enraptured but the delay prevented our reaching Cambridge till 8 when I again vainly recommended stopping. I therefore proposed 4 horses as the alternative which brought us home a little past 10. After all this fatigue she attended church twice yesterday, and is certainly today looking much better than when she left Batheaston, but as soon as she saw me writing to you declines doing so herself till she has had more time to look about her. So I have made my own narration more full than I intended.

I have written to Harding⁵⁶⁴ for his account by this post; I enclose his memorandum of last year which appears to me a full protection to the extent of your £100. In the course of two months I do not doubt I shall be able to free you from all anxiety on the subject, as I should have done ere now if I had not conceived that dissatisfied with my mode of conducting the business you had intended in your letters, which annoyed and hurt me exceedingly, to decline my further interference. In every particular I had endeavoured to act on my best judgement

[Page Two, left]

and it was very painful to me to see that throughout my management of both the literary and pecuniary branches [?] of the publication gave annoyance only when I was most anxious they should please. As to the question of the design in which I filled up the chasms of the original plan, I am unalterably convinced that my own judgement was correct and that to have done less would have occasioned a total decheance of the pretensions of the book to rank as a standard work on the subject, the only character with which I should have been satisfied with it considered in its light of a monument and memorial, and a character which I should have grieved to see detracted from it by the mere omission of a few supplemental materials intended to have be added (except the Berthnoth)⁵⁶⁵ but the absence of any important part of which would have left the field open to any future writer to have occupied the ground on which I wished to see that book placed. Both

⁵⁶⁴ Joseph Harding (d. 1843), a partner of Harding and Lepard who published *Illustrations*. See Chapter Five, pp. 204-205.

⁵⁶⁵ *The Battle of Maldon*, a translation of which was added to *Illustrations* by William Daniel (in J. J. Conybeare 1826: lxxxvii-xcvi). See Chapter Five, p. 189.

the Reviews, the Monthly⁵⁶⁶ and Westminster,⁵⁶⁷ sanction my own views of what I acted in my editorial capacity, and though I do not see sufficient knowledge of the subject to convince [?] me to attach any value myself to their opinions, yet it is the aggregate of such opinions that forms the public estimation on which one depends, and Turner⁵⁶⁸ and Price⁵⁶⁹ were clearly of the same mind who were acquainted with the subject.

[Page Two, right]

As to money matters, I do not see how you could have conceded to pay Harding the £100. We would have been liable to continual dues for it, an exposure which I cannot bear, and he would have charged interest, an [illegible word] once proceeding, but one which it was better to submit to them when [?] into litigation, which must have delayed to an uncertain period the publication. Having paid that 100 I was unwilling to pay more, for the account with Harding was of course more than liquidated as soon as the store of published copies was at his disposal, and I do not see what object would have been gained by paying Taylor less than a third of his bill.⁵⁷⁰ Your distinction as to the executorship account always seemed to me arbitrary, because it would not have covered more than half of the printing the body of the work as actually and completely [?] at the time [?] prepared for the press viz. 80 pages out of 170. The utmost extent of my own additions cannot amount to more than 100 out of nearly 400 pages of which the book consists. Therefore, supposing any loss to accrue, not more [than]⁵⁷¹ a quarter of the damage can be justly attributed to any proceedings of mine. In settling the price I consulted Arch [?] and [illegible word]⁵⁷² whom I considered as possessing the best trade information. My reason for declining the arrangement you proposed with I am convinced every feeling and intention of literality was because I could not answer that Harding would not fail. If he had I should clearly have been responsible for the remainder

⁵⁶⁶ *The Monthly Review*, October 1826 (Anon 1826f).

⁵⁶⁷ *The Westminster Review*, April 1827 (Anon 1827a).

⁵⁶⁸ Sharon Turner (1768-1847), English historian and author. See Chapter Three, pp. 123-126.

⁵⁶⁹ Richard Price (1790-1833), literary scholar and editor of *The History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century* by Thomas Warton (1824). See Chapter Three, pp. 141-142.

⁵⁷⁰ Richard Taylor (1781-1858), the printer who produced *Illustrations*. See Chapter Five, p. 205.

⁵⁷¹ This word has been omitted by William Daniel.

⁵⁷² Unknown individuals.

[Page One, left]

of Taylor's bill above the 27.18.0. without the possibility of getting for years a farthing from Harding to meet it. This was a contingency you did not look to. From the proportion of 80 pages to the whole work this bill must be at least £100. Now I would have willingly paid 5 times the sum for the sake of getting out the work as I thought most likely to do it justice if I could have afforded it but other claims of duty [illegible word] under my present *family* circumstances. My paper is at an end adieu [?]. Affectionately yours William Daniel Conybeare

Appendix 1:26 – Extracts from a Review of *Illustrations*, *The Monthly Review*, August 1826

Source: ANON. 1826f. [Review] *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, eds. J. J. CONYBEARE and W. D. CONYBEARE. *The Monthly Review*, October, pp. 188-191. Image from Google Books (public domain).

Dating: October 1826.

Outline: This review was published three months after *Illustrations* was first made available for sale on 31 July 1826. See Chapter Five, pp. 222-223.

It exhibits a lively picture of the minstrel character, and contains an extraordinary enumeration of tribes and sovereigns, 'whose very existence has now no other memorial.' It occurs towards the end of the Exeter manuscript, and the handwriting, according to our author, 'appears but little, if at all, anterior to the age of Leofric.' We extract some stanzas from the author's translation of this singular poem, omitting the greater part of the minstrel's geographical catalogue, which is too long and too jejune for our purpose.

' In phrase that spoke a poet's soul,
His treasured lore he 'gan unfold;
He that had wander'd far and wide,
The Bard his toils and travels told.

' From Mergia sprung of noble race,
He left the hall that gave him birth;
And many a wond'rous sight had seen,
Long roaming o'er the peopled earth.

' For he with love and service true,
In fair Alhilda's princely train,
From Anglia's eastern limits sought
A Gothic monarch's rich domain.

' He that of Hermanric had known
The liberal hand, the warrior pride,
Tuned to the list'ning crowd his song,
And told his travels far and wide.

' Full many a monarch have I known
In peace and wealth his sceptre bear;
Each land its native law shall own,
And he that seeks a lasting throne
Must make the people's weal his care.'—p. 22.

' Far o'er Italia's fair and fertile soil
My course was sped with Elfwine's faithful band
And Edwin's son well recompensed the toil,
For large his soul and liberal was his hand.
A guest I've shared the minstrel's lot,
With Jute and Angle, Pict and Scot,
The state of Græcia's sons have known,
Where Cæsar holds his lofty throne;
The' imperial city's towering mien,
Her wealth, her power, her pomp have seen.
Well may I tell the garb, the port, the face
Of many a Western, many an Eastern race;
From him that o'er the' Egyptian desert roves,
Or shelter'd rests on Idumæan groves,
To him who bows beneath the Persian's sway,
Or dwells where Ganges courts the rising day.
Long was the time, and joyous all,
Spent in Hermanric's high hall;
And well, full well, where'er he strays,

The Bard his grateful voice may raise,
In Hermanric's exhaustless praise.
Well may he sing from land to land
The Gothic monarch's bounteous hand ;
No common gift was his ; to frame
The bracelet that he bade me claim,
Six hundred scillings full were told,
Scillings of the virgin gold.
The Bard his home regain'd, and soon
Edgils bore that precious boon :
And Edgils, Mergia's noble thane,
Repaid the gift with rich domain.
Noble was Edgils' gift, yet more
Alhilda added to the store ;
Edwin's daughter, bounteous queen,
Unchanged through many a varying scene,
The bard has blest her fostering love.
And still, where'er condemn'd to rove,
Well may he sing that matchless dame,
Of all that bear a royal name,
First to dispense, with bounty free,
To grateful vassals land and fee.

'Twas when great Edgils bad the minstrel throng
For high reward assay the rival song,—
Sweet arose the vocal strain,
And sweet the harp's responsive tone ;
But soon confess'd each listening thane,
The lay that pleased was mine alone.
I travers'd then the Goth's domain,
And dwelt in Hermanric's high bower ;
Of all that hold an earthly reign,
Best in arms, and first in power,
The time would fail me, should I sing
Of every thane and every king
That in my wanderings far and long
Has loved my harp and paid my song ;
Ere Myrgia saw the bard again
Return to swell her Edwin's train.
Full oft the battle-field I sought,
Where Wulfhere, leagued with Wyrnhere, fought
'Gainst Ætla's lawless sons contending,
Their ancient seat of power defending ;
Where loud and long the temper'd sword
Rung on the rounded target board.
Befits it too my song should name
Wudga and Hama's warrior fame :
Strong in their brotherhood they bore
Dismay and death around,
Where routed foes in wild uproar
Or fled, or strew'd the reeking ground ;

And wreathed gold, and kingly spoil,
Repaid full well their gallant toil.

So sped the bard, by kings and heroes sought,
And wide as o'er the nations still he roved,
One constant truth his long experience taught,
"Who loves his people is alone beloved."
Thus north and south where'er they roam,
The sons of song still find a home,
Speak unreprieved their wants, and raise
Their grateful lay of thanks and praise.
For still the chief, who seeks to grace
By fairest fame his pride of place,
Withholds not from the sacred bard
His well-earn'd praise and high reward.
But free of hand, and large of soul,
Where'er extends his wide controul,
Unnumber'd gifts his princely love proclaim,
Unnumber'd voices raise to heaven his princely name.'—p. 27.

If this poem be not a mere fiction, it is an honourable tribute to the various Gothic tribes which it mentions. It is besides a delightful record of the attentions paid in those days to the minstrel; and, as our author remarks, strongly reminds the classical reader of the self-satisfied manner, in which 'the early bards of Greece were accustomed to speak of themselves, their pretensions, and their rewards.'

The next Saxon poem which occupies the attention of our author is entitled *Beowulf*, and is considered by him as one of the most perfect specimens of the language and versification of our ancestors. It is among the manuscripts of the Cottonian library, and appears to be 'the earliest composition of the heroic kind extant, in any language of modern Europe.' The manuscript is said to be of the tenth century, but there seems to be a great difference of opinion as to the date of the poem. Its object is to celebrate the exploits of *Beowulf* the Dane, performed in the course of his warfare against

' that fierce spirit
Roaming the marches in his lonely might—
The Grendel—he that by the Fifel tribe
Fastness and fen-land held, and dark morass,
Unholy wanderer!

and also against a dragon, which ravaged his territory, and devoured his subjects. The poem is divided into forty-three cantos, of which the editor has given us an elaborate analysis, and a metrical version of very considerable merit. The author ascribes the composition in its present dress to the Dano-Saxon period of our history, and supposes it to be the work of one of the bards, 'who graced the court, and shared the patronage of the magnificent

Canute.' But he contends, with the Danish antiquary, Thorkelin, that it is a rifacimento, or Saxon translation, of an earlier work, written originally in the Danish language. It is, upon the whole, we think, a very curious composition, and well deserves the attention which both the author and the editor have bestowed upon it. Before finishing his learned and interesting notes on this poem, the labours of the author were terminated by his death. An appendix is added by the editor, consisting of materials intended by the author for the work, but not finally arranged by him for publication. These consist of—I. The battle of Finsborough; II. Specimens from the Junian Cædmon; III. Specimens of minor poems from the Exeter manuscript; IV. Alfred's version of Boethius; and V. A Norman-Saxon poem on death. Upon this list of contents we shall only remark, that the authenticity of the poems attributed by Junius to Cædmon (the bard already mentioned) depends only on the fact, that we know from Bede, that the subjects treated in them, are similar to those upon which Cædmon was employed. Hence the epithet Junian, which sufficiently marks the problematical character of those compositions. Alfred's version of the poetical parts of Boethius has been too frequently printed to require any notice in these pages; and as to the minor poems selected from the Exeter manuscript, and the Norman-Saxon poem on death, we can only attribute their insertion in the Appendix to the unbounded veneration entertained by the editor for every scrap of antiquity, which his brother had collected in his leisure hours. Of the sincerity of that veneration we would be the last to entertain the slightest doubt. Nevertheless, we may be allowed to question, as a matter of taste, the propriety of the frequent eulogies which the editor bestows upon the author. The following flight of fancy, which occurs in the preface, must strike the generality of readers as bordering on the ridiculous. 'Of the merits of a work proceeding from a relative to whom he was bound by so many ties, it is not for him (the editor) to speak: and the difficulty of doing so must be increased when the "*sacra et major imajo*" of the departed is seen invested with a peculiar character of sacredness, and magnified in all its proportions, through the mists of the valley of the shadow of death!!'

Appendix 1:27 – Extracts from a Review of *Illustrations*, *The Westminster Review*, April 1827

Source: ANON. 1827a. [Review] *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, eds. J. J. CONYBEARE and W. D. CONYBEARE. *The Westminster Review*, April, pp. 464 and 481.

Dating: April 1827.

Outline: This review was published nine months after *Illustrations* was first made available for sale on 31 July 1826. See Chapter Five, pp. 223-226.

is indeed a servitude of more extended duration than any other: yet there is scarcely a negro who may not have it in his power to purchase freedom for himself and his offspring. When we look at the unceasing toil of large classes of our own countrymen, at their poverty and misery; when we consider the state of our criminal law, the heavy punishments attached to trifling offences against the rich or their property; when we reflect on our marine and military servitude, we are induced to think that greater importance is attached to a name, than properly belongs to it; and that we should probably do more good, both to the West-Indies and England, by emancipating the colonies, than by giving freedom to the slaves.

ART. IX.—*Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry.* By John Josias Conybeare, M. A. &c., late Prebendary of York, and Vicar of Bath Easton; formerly Student of Christ Church, and successively Professor of Anglo-Saxon, and of Poetry, in the University of Oxford. Edited, together with additional Notes, introductory Notices, &c., by his Brother, William Daniel Conybeare, M. A. &c., Rector of Sully. Large 8vo. Harding & Lepard. 1826.

IT is with a species of patriotic gratulation that we notice the growing attention which has of late been given to the study of the language of the Anglo-Saxons. The remnant literature of these our ancestors is not indeed very extensive, nor can it pretend to vie with the fine models of Greece and Rome, or with the polished productions of our own Augustan era. What they have left, however, or so much of their bequest as the wreck of time has spared, is far from being only valuable as matter of literary *curiosity*, fit only for the shelves and cabinets of the antiquary. In point of historical record, for example, the Saxon Chronicle, which "contains the original and authentic testimony of contemporary writers to the most important transactions of our forefathers, both by sea and land, from their first arrival in this country to the year 1154" (and is therefore one of the bases upon which all English history, in an institutional and political point of view, must rest), may be, "philosophically considered," as the learned and ingenious translator, Mr. Ingram, has truly observed, as "the second great phenomenon in the history of mankind. For, if we except the sacred annals of the Jews, contained in the several books of the Old Testament, there is no other work extant, ancient or modern, which exhibits at one view a regular and chronological panorama of a people, described in rapid succession by different writers, through so many ages, in their own vernacular language;" constituting, accordingly,

Nor is this approximation of the ancient towards the modern dialect the result, in these instances, of any growing admixture of words from the Norman-French; and the instances are neither few nor less striking that might be selected from the specimens of the pure Anglo-Saxon epoch. In the Elegiac poem, "The Exiles Complaint," for example, from Bishop Leofric's Exeter MS. successions of lines of this description are so thickly strewn as to constitute nearly a third part of the whole. Take, for example, the following:—

‘ Under ac tpeo	Under oak tree
Geond ðar eorð geaefa,	Geond this earth <i>scrafa</i> .
Ðær ic sittan mot	There I sit must
Summor langne dæg ;	Summer long day ;
Ðær ic wepan maeg.	There I weep may.’

There are but two words *geond* near, and *scrafa* a cave, that require any translation; and similar successions of an equal number of lines occur in several parts of the same poem where scarcely a syllable needs to be changed to make them English still: as—

‘ —mec man punian,	—me maun wonne
On puda beappa	In woody bowers,
Under ac tpeo	Under oak-tree
On ðam eorð geaefe ;	In them earth <i>scrafe</i> ;
Cald is ðis eorð cel.	Cold is this earth cell.’

Mr. Conybeare's *literal* rendering is not, indeed, so close; nor is it desirable that it should be so, as the effect is certainly uncouth, and has been attempted by us only for the sake of illustration.

“ I am compell'd to sojourn
In woodland bowers,
Beneath the oak-tree,
In this earthy cavern ;
Cold is this earthy mansion.”

We submit it to the consideration of Mr. Conybeare whether, in the mere interpreting version, it would not be more useful to the uninitiated reader, and more conducive to etymological purposes, if, wherever the original words happen, in every thing but their modes of spelling and inflection, still to continue to be English, they were scrupulously preserved in what professes to be the close translation of the parallel column.

And here we might take leave of this curious and interesting volume, if a passage in the last article of the "Appendix" (that on the Norman-Saxon fragment) did not call our attention back to the subject with which we had a strong inclination to have

Appendix 1:28 – Letter, William Taylor (Norwich) to Mary (Bath), 1 October 1829

Source: [Letter] *A. W. Boyd, Naturalist, Papers*, D5154/37. Cheshire: Cheshire and Chester Archives and Local Studies Service.

Dating: Stated on letter.

Outline: In this letter, William Taylor thanks Mary for a copy of *Illustrations* she sent to him and says that he will refer to this if he produces a second edition of his book. Other examples of Mary sending out copies of *Illustrations* can be seen in Appendices 1:29 and 2:4. See also Chapter Four, p. 175 and Chapter Five, p. 212.

Although the letter was sent to ‘Mrs Conybeare’ it is possible to identify this person as Mary rather than Sarah Anne as it is addressed to Bath.

[Page One, left]

Mrs Conybeare
Bath

[Page One, right]

Norwich 1 October 1829

Madam

I feel flattered by your obliging present of the Reverent John Josias Conybeare's Illustrations of Anglo-saxon Poetry. Had I known this work at the time of reprinting what was originally published concerning Beowulf in the Monthly Review for 1816 (vol. LXXXI p. 516)⁵⁷³ I should eagerly have expressed the peculiar interest I have taken in the analysis of Beowulf by Mr Conybeare, and the gratitude I have felt for the instruction communicated in his account of the Exeter manuscript. Should a second edition of the Historic Survey of German Poetry

[Page Two, right]

become requisite I shall take pleasure in atoning for the omission.⁵⁷⁴ Allow me however to regret that Mr Conybeare had not cast his eyes on my peculiar theory of the date and local origin of Beowulf: he would no doubt have assisted me by a critical note to appreciate more justly my own hypothesis. I am with sentiments of regard and gratitude madam your obedient servant

William Taylor

⁵⁷³ This letter is by William Taylor (1765-1836), reviewer, translator, and author of *Historic Survey of German Poetry* (1828) (D. Chandler 2004). Here he refers to his review of Thorkelin's *De Danorum rebus gestis secul.* [...] (W. Taylor 1816), see further Chapter Four, p. 175 and Chapter Five, p. 212.

⁵⁷⁴ Taylor never attempted a second edition of his *Historical Survey of German Poetry*.

Appendix 1:29 – Letter, Edgar Taylor (Temple) to the Messrs. Grimm (Kassel), 12 October 1829

Source: In Hartwig (1898: 11).

Dating: Stated on letter.

Outline: This is a covering note written by Edgar Taylor that seems to have been placed on a copy of *Illustrations* that he forwarded to the Grimm brothers on Mary's behalf. Other examples of Mary sending out copies of *Illustrations* can be seen in Appendices 1:28 and 2:4. See Chapter Three, pp. 133-136.

M. M. Grimm.⁵⁷⁵ Cassel.

Edgar Taylor⁵⁷⁶ at the request of Mrs. Conybeare the widow of the original compiler of the accompanying volume,⁵⁷⁷ takes the opportunity afforded him of Miss Christie's⁵⁷⁸ box going to Cassel to forward to M. M. Grimm the parcel committed to his care, of which Mrs. Conybeare requests their acceptance.

E. T. was happy in making the acquaintance, short as it was, of the Mr. Grimm who was in London this Summer and would be very glad either here or (if his good fortune should enable to make so long a Journey) at Cassel to extend the introduction to other members of a family on all accounts so much respected.

Temple 12 Oct. 1829.

⁵⁷⁵ Jakob Grimm (1785-1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786-1859), German scholars and authors. See further Chapter Three, pp. 133-136.

⁵⁷⁶ Edgar Taylor (1793-1839), translated the Grimm brothers' *Kinder und Hausmärchen* (1812) into English and published them under the title *German Popular Stories* (1824-1826) (A. Gordon and Metcalfe 2006).

⁵⁷⁷ Mary and *Illustrations*.

⁵⁷⁸ Taylor married Ann, daughter of John Christie, in 1823. This could refer to an unknown member of this family (A. Gordon and Metcalfe 2006).

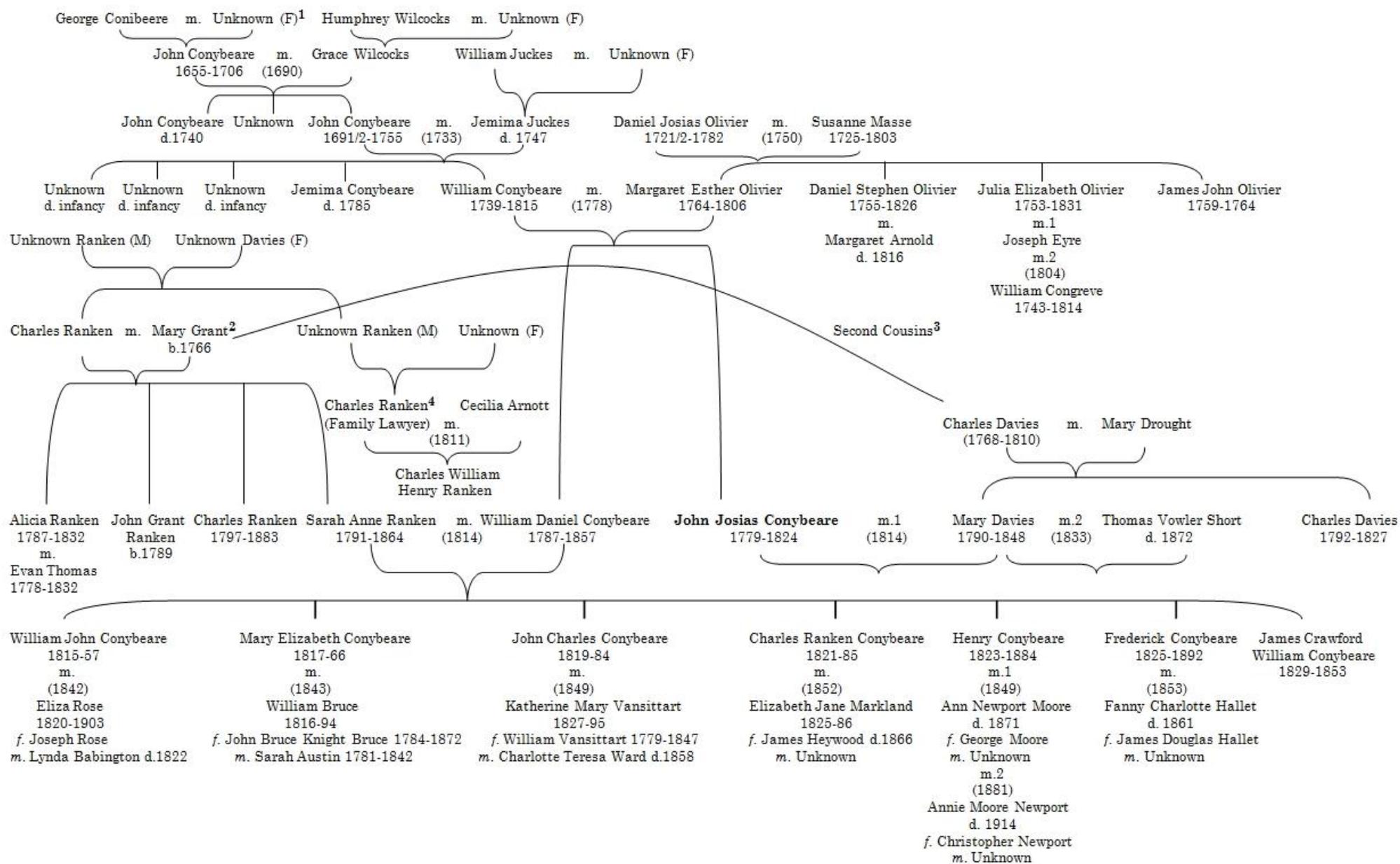
Appendix 2: Figures and Tables

Appendix 2:1 – John Josias Conybeare’s Immediate Family

Source: The information shown in this family tree was gathered over a period of three years from a variety of sources including parish records, newspaper announcements, genealogical notes, and materials obtained from present-day family members. All the data presented here was cross-referenced across all available sources.

Outline: The diagram on the following page represents only a small part of the family tree I constructed while undertaking this research. The individuals shown here are those most relevant to the content of this thesis. Some brief explicatory notes follow on the next page.

My genealogical database of Conybeare family members contains 229 individuals dating from between the birth of John Josias’ great-grandfather, John Conybeare (1655-1706), through to the death of a second John Josias Conybeare (1888-1967), who was William Daniel’s great-grandson. I have published this information online, using the *Family Tree Builder* database software by My Heritage, where it is possible to browse the data and generate various genealogical reports and statistics about the family (<http://www.myheritage.com/site-20251091/conybeare-family-tree>).



Further Notes to Appendix 2:1

1. Baptismal Registers show that George Conibeere and his wife had eight children between 1655 and 1668. John Conybeare, named here, was their eldest child.

2. Charles Ranken and Mary Grant had eleven children in total, although many did not survive into adulthood. Their children in order of issue were: Alicia Ranken (1787-1832), John Grant Ranken (b. 1789), Sarah Anne Ranken (b. 1791), Mary Ranken (1792-1794), Elizabeth Ranken (1793-1794), Maria Elizabeth Ranken (b. 1794), Elizabeth Ranken (b. 1795), Charles Ranken (1797-1883), George Elliot Ranken (b. 1798), James Crawford Ranken (b. 1798), and Harriette Ranken (1801-1825). Only those who are relevant to the correspondence discussed in this thesis have been included here.

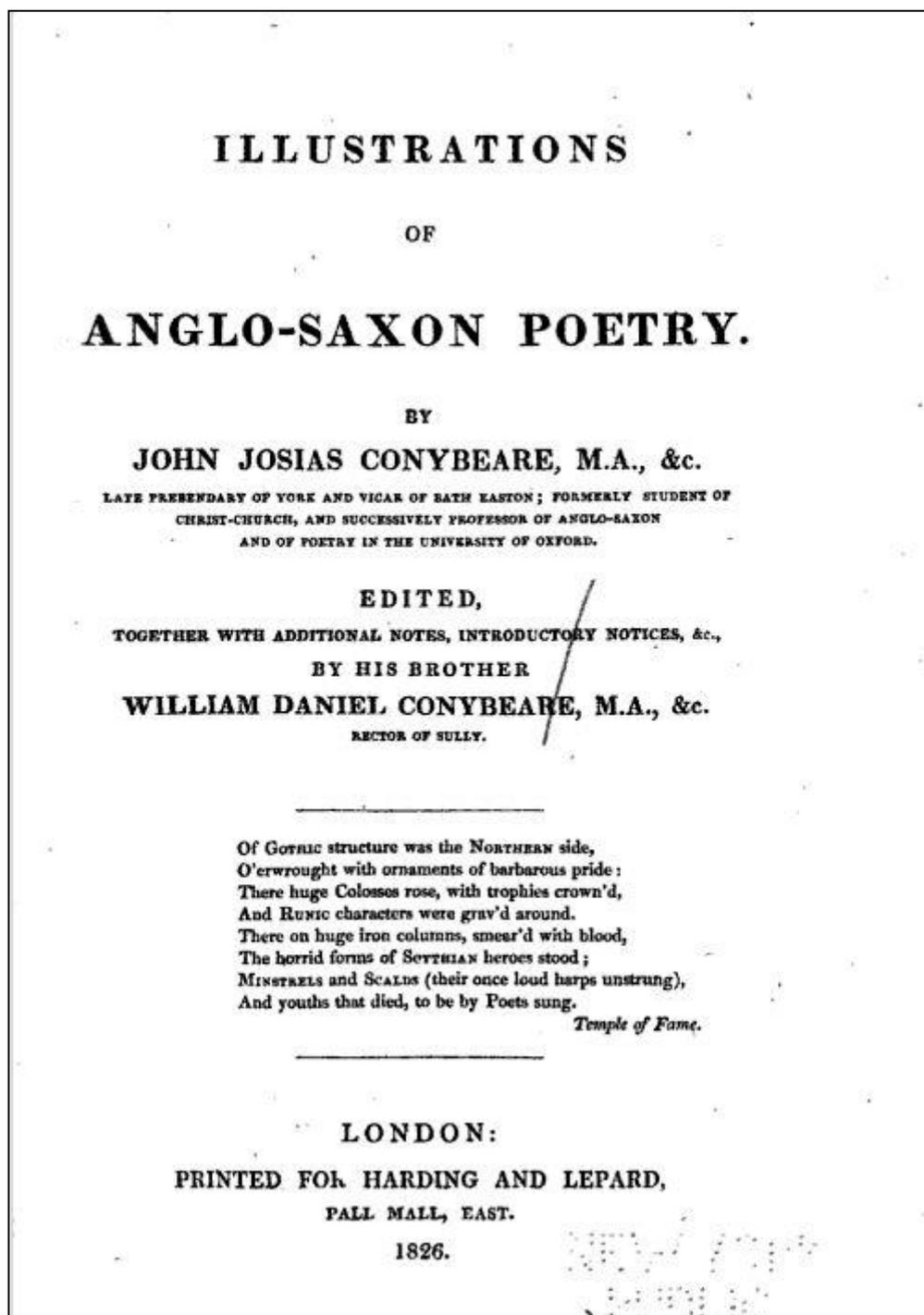
3. Charles Davies and Mary Grant shared a common ancestor in Gilbert Davies, who was the father of Mary's paternal grandmother. Charles Davies and Mary Grant were second cousins, meaning Mary Davies and Sarah Anne Ranken were third cousins (H. C. A. Conybeare 1915: 19).

4. Charles Ranken, who acted as both William Daniel and John Josias' lawyer on a number of occasions, was the illegitimate son of Sarah Anne's uncle (H. C. A. Conybeare 1915: 7).

Appendix 2:2 – Title Page of *Illustrations* (1826)

Source: Google Books (public domain).

Outline: This is the title page as it appeared in the first edition of *Illustrations*, published by Harding and Lepard in 1826.



Appendix 2:3 – Contents Pages of *Illustrations* (1826)

Source: Google Books (public domain).

Outline: These are the contents pages as they appeared in the first edition of *Illustrations*, published by Harding and Lepard in 1826.

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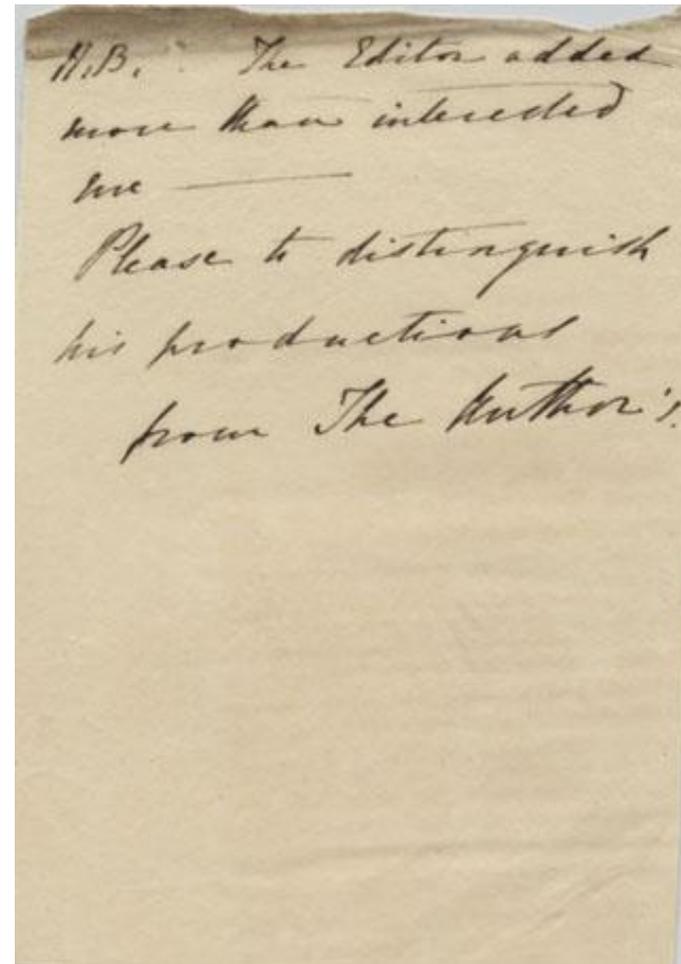
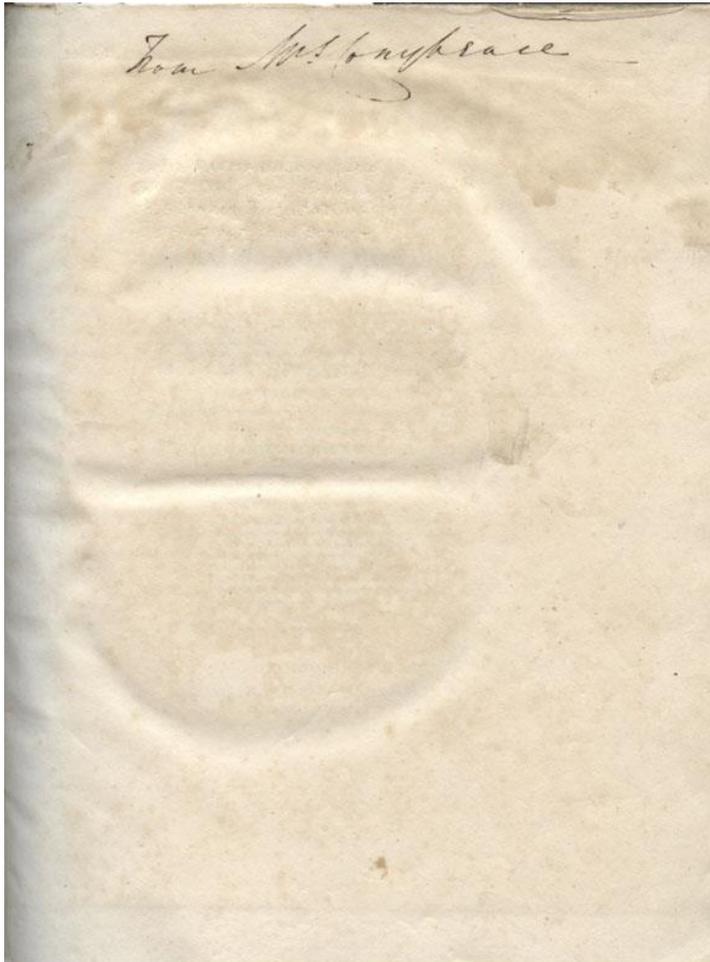
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¹ "An Analysis of the Norman Metrical Romance of Octavian," of which a limited impression for private distribution was printed by the late Author.

Appendix 2:4 – Flyleaf from *Illustrations* (1826) and Inserted Note by Mary Conybeare

Source: Reproduced with permission from the Bauman Rare Books' catalogue, #57863.

Outline: This first edition of *Illustrations* is currently offered for sale by Bauman Rare Books. It is a large quarto edition, as is mentioned in Appendices 1:20 and 1:21, which was produced to range with Thomas Warton's *The History of English Poetry* (1774-1781). This edition is inscribed 'From Mrs Conybeare' on the flyleaf and is sold with the note below from Mary. See Chapter Five, p. 204, and Appendices 1:28 and 1:29.



Appendix 2:5 – John Josias Conybeare, Front and Rear of Wax Portrait

Source: Wax portrait from the private collection of Dr Pieter van Eijk. Digital photographs by Peter Cox, the Netherlands. Reproduced with permission.

Outline: This wax portrait was purchased at a collectors fair in Utrecht during February 2009 and is currently held in a private collection. The rear of the portrait is inscribed 'John Josias Conybeare Late Professor of Poetry at the University of Oxford died at Blackheath, Kent June 12, 1824'. This date is one day later than elsewhere recorded. See Chapter Four, pp. 179-180.



Appendix 2:6 – Extracts and Note from Oxford, Bodleian Library, 2797 d.36

Source: Google Books (public domain).

Outline: This offprint of John Josias' *Archaeologia* articles, presented to the Bodleian Library by his great-nephew Henry Grant Madden (1859-1931), appears to have been used to prepare *Illustrations*. The deleted sections indicated below were not reprinted in the book.

11 Nov 19
 DELMORE.
 WINGATESTONE.
 the librarian
 Bodleian Library
 Dear Sir
 I do not know whether
 the enclosed is in the
 Bodleian if not I should
 like the library to have
 it, if it is of any interest
 Yrs faithfully,
 Hugh Conybeare

TAKEN FROM VOL. XVII. OF ARCHÆOLOGIA.

~~Observations on the Metre of the Anglo Saxon Poetry, by the
 Rev. J. J. Conybeare, M.A. Professor of Poetry in the Uni-
 versity of Oxford, in a Letter to Henry Ellis, Esq. F.R.S.
 & S. A.~~

~~Read 25th of Feb. 1813.~~

~~MY DEAR SIR,~~

~~Christ Church, Oxford, February 2, 1813.~~

~~THE contradictory opinions, which our ablest philological antiquaries
 have advanced with respect to the leading characteristics by which
 the poetry of our Anglo Saxon ancestors was distinguished from their
 prose, will I trust plead my excuse for trespassing upon the time of the
 Society of Antiquaries, by offering to its attention a few cursory ob-
 servations on that subject. They are suggested principally by the
 perusal of two very interesting documents contained in the Exeter
 Manuscript, some extracts from which I have already had the honour
 of transmitting through your kind intervention.]~~

Hickes, indisputably one of the most learned of those who can be
 said to have examined with a critical eye our Saxon literature, appears
 perhaps no where to so little advantage, as in the pages which he has
 dedicated to this topic. Influenced by the desire of reducing every
 thing to some classical standard, a prejudice not uncommon in the age
 in which he wrote, he endeavours, with greater zeal than success, to
 shew that the writers whom he was recommending to the world, ob-
 served the legitimate rules of Latin prosody, and measured their feet
 by syllabic quantity. In making so large demands upon the credulity
 of his readers he was, though unconsciously, laying the foundation of
 future scepticism. A later author, (Mr. Tyrwhitt) justly celebrated
 for the success of his critical researches on many subjects connected
 both with early English and with classical literature, but whose ac-
 quaintance with the Anglo Saxon poetry appears to have been derived
 principally, if not entirely, from the Thesaurus of the illustrious
 scholar above alluded to, was the first person who ventured openly to

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Observations on the Metre, &c.

3. Lines of three syllables (similar to those mentioned above), as

Tīȝ, feȝabe	Ġnæƿ, haƿath	Treop, thƿæg
Blæb, blġƿabe		Ġƿo, tƿæg

~~In this poem (from which I forbear to make any further quota-
 tions, in the expectation of having, at some future opportunity, the
 honor to lay the whole of it before the Society,) and in all the other
 metrical compositions of the Saxons with which I am acquainted,
 there are certainly many lines which it is beyond my power to reduce
 to a strict agreement with this metrical system; but these difficulties
 are not, I think, of sufficient frequency or cogency to invalidate
 those conclusions concerning the metre of Anglo Saxon Poetry, which
 may be drawn from the general tenor of its construction. It is pro-
 bable too, that an uncultivated age was not very fastidious as to the
 precise observation of the rhythmical canons. If the violations of
 metre were not such as grossly to offend in singing or repetition, they
 would scarcely demand any higher degree of correctness.~~

~~I ought perhaps to apologize for having already taken up so great
 a portion of the Society's time by the discussion of so unimportant a
 subject. Should it however appear not totally unworthy of their
 attention, I shall be happy, at some future opportunity, to have the
 honor of transmitting such remarks as have occurred to me upon some
 other characteristics of Anglo Saxon Poetry.~~

~~Believe me, with the sincerest esteem,~~

~~My dear Sir, yours, &c.~~

~~J. J. CONYBEARE~~

**Appendix 2:7 – Substantive Variants in West-Saxon ‘eorðan-recension’
Versions of *Cædmon’s Hymn*⁵⁷⁹**

Source: Manuscript variants from O’Donnell (1996: 110). Comparison with Henshall (1798: 46), Hickes (1689: 187), and J. J. Conybeare (1826: 5).⁵⁸⁰ See Chapter Four, p. 171 and Chapter Six, p. 261.

	C(N)	O	Ca	T₁	B₁	Henshall (1798: 46)	Hickes (1703-1705: 187)	J. J. Conybeare (1826: 5)
1a	Ne	Nu	Nu	Nu	Nu	Nu	Nu	Nu
	∅	∅ <i>corr.</i> <i>to we</i>	we	∅	we	we	we	we
	sculon her gean	sculan herian	sceolan herigean	sculon herigean	herigan sculon	sceolan herigean	sceolon herigean	sceolon herigean
3a	weoroda	wero <i>corr. to</i> wera	wera	weorc	weorc	[weorc]	Weorc	Weorc
	wul: dor fæder	wuldor fæder	wuldor fæder	wuldor fæder	wuldor godes	wuldor fæder	wuldor fæder	wuldor Fæder
3b	wundra	wundra	wuldres	wundra	wund ra	wuldres	wundra	wundra
	gewhwæs <i>corr. to</i> gehwæs	ge hwæs	ge hwæs	gehwæs	fela	gehwæs	gehwæs	gehwæs
4b	or	oór <i>corr.</i> <i>to</i> oór, ^d	ord	ór	ord	ord	ord	Ord
	onstealde (f.146v)	onstealde	onstealde	on stealde	astealde	onstealde	onsteald	onsteald
5a	scop	gesceop	ge scóp	sceop	sceop	gescop	scop	scop
5b	eorþū	eorðan	orðan <i>corr. to</i> eorðan	eorðan	eorðan	eorþan	eorðan	Eorðan
6b	sc. ^y pend	scyppend	scyppend	scyppend	scyp pend	scyppend	scippend	Scippend
7a	þa	ða	þa	þa	þe	ða	Ða	Ða
8b	eode	teo de	teode	teode	teode	teode	teode	teode
9a	fīnū	fīrum	fīrū	fīrum	fyrum	fīrum	Fīrum	Fīrum
	foldan	folda, <i>corr. to</i> folda, ⁿ	foldan	foldan	foldan	foldan	Foldan	Foldan

C(N) - London, British Library, Additional 43703; **O** - Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279;
Ca - Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 3. 18; **T₁** - Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 10;
B₁ - Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 41

⁵⁷⁹ A comparison shows that John Josias’ version of *Cædmon’s Hymn* was taken from one of the West-Saxon *eorðan*-recension manuscripts, rather than the West-Saxon *ylða*-recension or the Northumbrian *aeldu*-recension survivals. However, variations from the sixth manuscript in the *eorðan*-recension group, Tournai, Bibliothèque Municipale 134, are not included here as this version is not found in a copy of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, where John Josias stated his version appeared (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 3).

⁵⁸⁰ Shaded cells indicate that the variation appears in J. J. Conybeare (1826: 5). Capitalisation has been ignored for the purposes of this comparison and abbreviated words have been compared on the basis of their expanded forms.

Appendix 2:8 – Frequency of Notes on *Beowulf* and *The Song of the Traveller in Illustrations* (1826)

Source: J. J. Conybeare (1826).

Outline: A comparison of the number of notes attached to two of the texts William Daniel believed were completed by John Josias prior to his death. The higher frequency of notes attached to *The Song of the Traveller* (now *Widsith*) suggests that John Josias' analysis of *Beowulf* was not finished. See Chapter Four, p. 176.

The Song of the Traveller (now *Widsith*)

PAGE	NOTES
10	2
11	2
12	9
13	6
14	1
15	5
16	1
17	7
18	1
19	2
20	4
21	1

Beowulf

PAGE	NOTES	PAGE	NOTES	PAGE	NOTES	PAGE	NOTES
35	2	47		59		71	
36		48		60		72	
37	1	49	1	61		73	
38		50	1	62	1	74	1
39	1	51	1	63		75	
40		52	2	64		76	
41	1	53		65	1	77	
42	1	54		66		78	
43	1	55	2	67		79	
44	3	56	1	68		80	
45		57	1	69		81	
46		58		70			

Appendix 2:9 – *Widsith* Collation I (ll. 1-9)

Source: MS – Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501
M – Muir’s *The Exeter Anthology* [...] (2000, vol. 1: 238-243)
C – J. J. Conybeare’s *Illustrations* (1826: 10-22)
CT – J. J. Conybeare’s Latin translation of the poem (1826: 10-22)

Outline: The following collation compares my own transcription of *Widsith*, ll. 1-9, made using Muir’s CD-ROM digital facsimile (2006), with the version that appears in *Illustrations* and Muir’s edition. These lines are given in full to illustrate small differences in editorial punctuation and division that are less easily identified out with the context of the line in which they appear. John Josias’ Latin translation is also given beneath the half-line to which it relates. His English translation was not included here as it is loose and does not map directly onto the Old English half-lines.

In the following transcription of the manuscript, *wynn* has been consistently transcribed as ‘w’, while all other readings have been retained as they appear in the Exeter Book. The relevant folio number and line number from the manuscript is printed on the left of the transcription. However, for ease of reference, the half-lines given below are divided according to Muir and his line numbers are given in square brackets. John Josias printed the poem in half-lines and his numbering is given in round brackets. See Chapter Six, pp. 268-281.

84v, l. 1	MS	WID SIÐ MAÐOLADe
	M	Widsið maðolade, [1a]
	C	WID sið maðolade, (1)
	CT	<i>Longum iter narravit</i> , (1)
84v, l. 2	MS	word hord onleac
	M	wordhord onleac, [1b]
	C	Word-hord onleac (2)
	CT	<i>Verborum copiam reseravit</i> (2)
	MS	seþe mæst
	M	se þe [monna] mæst [2a]
	C	Se ðe mæste (3)
	CT	<i>Ille qui plurima</i> (3)
84v, ll. 2-3	MS	mærþa ofer / eorþan
	M	mægþa ofer eorþan, [2b]
	C	Mærða ofer eorðan (4)
	CT	<i>Mirabilia de terræ</i> (4)
84v, l. 3	MS	folca geond ferde
	M	folca geondferde; [3a]
	C	Folca geond-ferde (5)
	CT	<i>Populis, iter faciens</i> (5)
	MS	ofthe flette geþah
	M	oft he [on] flette geþah [3b]
	C	Of ðe flette geðah. (6)
	CT	<i>(Procul) a domo, intellexerat.</i> (6)
84v, l. 4	MS	myne licne maþþum
	M	mynelicne maþþum. [4a]
	C	Mynelicne maððum (7)
	CT	<i>Amicis verbis</i> (7)
	MS	hine from myrgingum
	M	Him from Myrgingum [4b]
	C	Hine from Myrgingum (8)
	CT	<i>Illum a Myrgingis</i> (8)
84v, ll. 4-5	MS	æþe / le onwocon
	M	æþele onwocon. [5a]
	C	Æðele onwocon, (9)
	CT	<i>Nobiles excitarunt</i> [?] (9)
84v, l. 5	MS	he mid ealh hilde
	M	He mid Ealhilde, [5b]
	C	He mid Ealhilde, (10)
	CT	<i>Ille cum Ealhilda</i> (10)

	MS	fælre freoþu webban
	M	fælre freoþuwebban, [6a]
	C	Fælre freoðu, (11) / Webban [forman] (12)
	CT	<i>Fido amore</i> (11) / <i>Uxore primâ</i> [?] (12)
84v, l. 6	MS	forman siþe
	M	forman siþe [6b]
	C	[Webban] forman (12) / Siðe[hreð cyninges] (13)
	CT	<i>Uxore prima</i> [?] (12) / <i>Sithredi principis</i> [?] (13)
	MS	hreð cyninges
	M	Hreðcyninges [7a]
	C	[Siðe]hreð cyninges (13)
	CT	<i>Sithredi principis</i> [?] (13)
	MS	ham gesohte
	M	ham gesohte [7b]
	C	Ham gesohte, (14)
	CT	<i>Domum quæsivit</i> (14)
84v, ll. 6-7	MS	eastan / of ongle
	M	eastan of Ongle, [8a]
	C	Eastan of Ongle, (15)
	CT	<i>Ex oriente ab Anglis</i> (15)
84v, l. 7	MS	eorman rices
	M	Eormanrices, [8b]
	C	Eormanrices (16)
	CT	<i>Hermanrici</i> (16)
	MS	wraþes wær logan [7]
	M	wraþes wærlogan. [9a]
	C	Wraðes wærlogan. (17)
	CT	<i>(Propter) iram infidam</i> [?] (17)
84v, ll. 7-8	MS	ongonþa / worn sprecan
	M	Ongon þa worn sprecan: [9b]
	C	Ongon ða worn sprecan. (18)
	CT	<i>Incepit tunc populum adloqui.</i> (18)

Appendix 2:10 – *Widsith* Collation II (ll. 10-143)

Source: MS – Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501
M – Muir’s *The Exeter Anthology* [...] (2000, vol. 1: 238-243)
C – J. J. Conybeare’s *Illustrations* (1826: 10-22)

Outline: The following collates John Josias and Muir’s transcription of *Widsith* to identify significant variations between the two versions and the manuscript. The words are collated below wherever one edition differs from the other, or where either differs from the manuscript reading.

Manuscript readings are from my own transcription of *Widsith*, which was made using Muir’s CD-ROM digital facsimile (2006). For the purposes of this comparison, *wynn* is routinely transcribed as ‘w’ and differences between Muir and John Josias’ use of *eth* and *thorn* are ignored (although noted where they occur within another comparison). Similarly, *tironian notae*, which Muir always reads as ‘ond’ and John Josias as ‘and’, are also not compared below. Abbreviations are compared here on the basis of their expanded version, while editorial capitalisation and punctuation is disregarded.

As in the previous appendix, the relevant folio number and line number from the manuscript is printed on the left of the transcription. For ease of reference, Muir’s line numbers are given in square brackets and John Josias’ in round brackets.

84v, ll. 8-9	MS	weal / dan
	M	wealdan – [10b]
	C	wealdan. (20)
84v, l. 9	MS	þeoda
	M	þeodna [11a]
	C	ðeoda (21)
84v, l. 10	MS	seþe
	M	se þe [13a]
	C	Se ðe (25)
	MS	þeoden stol
	M	þeodenstol [13a]
	C	ðeoden-stol (25)
85r, l. 1	MS	alex andreas
	M	Alexandreas [15a]
	C	Alexandreas (29)
85r, l. 2	MS	hemæst
	M	he mæst [16b]
	C	he mæst (32)
	MS	þeic
	M	þe ic [17a]
	C	ðe ic (33)
85r, ll. 2-3	MS	ge / frægen
	M	gefrægen [17b]
	C	gefrægn (34)
85r, l. 3	MS	eorman ric
	M	Eormanric [18b]
	C	Eormanric (36)
85r, ll. 4-5	MS	crea / cum ·
	M	Creacum [20a]
	C	Creacum. (39)
85r, l. 5	MS	holm rycum ·
	M	Holmrygum [21a]
	C	Holm-ricum. (41)
85r, ll. 5-6	MS	hendenglom / mum
	M	Heoden Glommum; [21b]
	C	Henden Glommum. (42)
85r, l. 6	MS	hælsingum ·
	M	Hælsingum, [22b]
	C	Helsingum. (44)

85r, l. 7	MS	mearc healf
	M	Mearchealf [23b]
	C	Mearchealf (46)
85r, ll. 9-10	MS	finfolc / walding
	M	Fin Folcwalding [27a]
	C	Finfolc Walding (53)
85r, l. 10	MS	sige here
	M	Sigehere [28a]
	C	Sigehere (55)
	MS	sædenum
	M	Sædenum [28b]
	C	Sæ Denum (56)
85r, ll. 11	MS	weold ·
	M	weold, [28b]
	C	weolde. (56)
85r, l. 12	MS	sæ ferð
	M	Sæferð [31a]
	C	Sæferð (61)
	MS	ongend þeow
	M	Ongendþeow, [31b]
	C	Ongendðeow. (62)
85r, ll. 12-13	MS	scaft / here
	M	Scafthere [32a]
	C	Scafthere (63)
85r, l. 13	MS	long beardū
	M	Longbeardum, [32b]
	C	Longbeardum. (64)
	MS	hún hæt werum ·
	M	Hun Hætwerum, [33a]
	C	Hunhæt Werum. (65)
85r, l. 14	MS	hring weald ⁵⁸¹
	M	Hringwald [34a]
	C	Hingweald (67)
	MS	here farena
	M	Herefarena [34b]
	C	Here-farena (68)

⁵⁸¹ The 'e' here stands for expunction.

85r, l. 15	MS	cy / ning ·
	M	cyning. [34b]
	C	cyning. (68)
	MS	sewæs
	M	se wæs [36a]
	C	Se wæs (71)
	MS	manna
	M	manna [36a]
	C	monna (71)
85r, l. 16	MS	noh wæþre heofer
	M	no hwæþre he ofer [37a]
	C	Nohwæðre he ofer (73)
	MS	eorl scype
	M	eorlscype [37b]
	C	Eorlscype (74)
85r, l. 17	MS	cniht wesende
	M	cnihtwesende, [39a]
	C	Cniht wesende (77)
85r, l. 18	MS	cyne rica
	M	cynerica [39b]
	C	Cynerica (78)
	MS	efen eald
	M	efeneald [40a]
	C	efen-eald (79)
	MS	eorl scipe
	M	eorlscipe [40b]
	C	eorlscype (80)
85r, l. 19	MS	onorette
	M	on orette – [41a]
	C	onarette (81)
	MS	mer ce
	M	merce [42a]
	C	Merce (83)
85r, l. 20	MS	bifi fel dore
	M	bi Fifeldore; [43a]
	C	Bi fifel dore, (85)
	MS	swahit ·
	M	swa hit [44b]
	C	Swa hit (88)

85v, l. 1	MS	æt somne
	M	ætsomne [46a]
	C	æt somne (91)
	MS	suhtor fædran
	M	suhtorfædran, [46b]
	C	Suhtor fædran (92)
	MS	hyfor wræcon
	M	hy forwræcon [47a]
	C	hi forwræcon (93)
85v, l. 2	MS	for bigdan
	M	forbigdan, [48b]
	C	forbigdan (96)
	MS	for heowan
	M	forheowan [49a]
	C	Forheowan (97)
85v, l. 3	MS	heaðo bear ^d na
	M	Heaðobeardna [49b]
	C	Heaðo beardna (98)
85v, l. 3	MS	geond ferde
	M	geondferde [50a]
	C	geond ferde (99)
85v, ll. 3-4	MS	fremd / ra
	M	fremdra [50b]
	C	Fremdra (100)
85v, l. 4	MS	ginne grund
	M	ginne grund – [51a]
	C	ginnegrund. (101)
85v, ll. 4-5	MS	cun / nade
	M	cunnade [52a]
	C	cunnode (103)
85v, l. 5	MS	freo mægum
	M	freomægum [53a]
	C	Freomægum (105)
85v, ll. 6-7	MS	men / go
	M	mengo [55a]
	C	mengo (109)
85v, l. 7	MS	inmeodu healle
	M	in meoduhealle [55b]
	C	in meodu healle, (109)

85v, l. 7	MS	hume cyne gode
	M	hu me cynegode [56a]
	C	Hu me cyne gode (110)
85v, l. 8	MS	midhreð gotum ·
	M	mid Hreðgotum, [57b]
	C	mid Hredgoðum, (113)
85v, l. 9	MS	midsuþ denum ·
	M	mid Suþdenum; [58b]
	C	mid Suð-Denum. (115)
	MS	icwæs
	M	ic wæs [59a]
	C	ic wæs (116)
85v, l. 10	MS	icwæs
	M	ic wæs [60a]
	C	ic wæs (117)
85v, ll. 10-11	MS	Wi / nedū
	M	Winedum [60a]
	C	Winedum, (118)
85v, l. 11	MS	icwæs ·
	M	ic wæs [61a]
	C	ic wæs (120)
85v, l. 12	MS	icwæs
	M	ic wæs [62a]
	C	ic wæs (122)
	MS	7sycgum
	M	ond [mid] Sycgum [62a]
	C	and Sycgum, [?] (122)
85v, ll. 12-13	MS	midsweord / werum ·
	M	mid Sweordwerum; [62b]
	C	mid sweord werum. (123)
85v, l. 13	MS	midhronum
	M	mid Hronum [63a]
	C	Mid Hronum (124)
	MS	icwæs
	M	ic wæs [63a]
	C	ic wæs (124)
85v, ll. 13-14	MS	midheaþo / reamum ·
	M	mid Heaþoreamum; [63b]
	C	mid heaðo Reomum (125)

85v, l. 14	MS	midþyringum
	M	mid Þyringum [64a]
	C	Mid Þuringum (126)
	MS	icwæs
	M	ic wæs [64a]
	C	ic wæs, (126)
85v, l. 15	MS	þæric
	M	þær ic [65b]
	C	Ðær ic (129)
	MS	geþeah
	M	geþah – [65b]
	C	geðeah, (129)
	MS	meþær
	M	me þær [66a]
	C	Me ðære (130)
	MS	guð here
	M	Guðhere [66a]
	C	Guðhere (130)
85v, ll. 15-16	MS	for / geaf
	M	forgeaf [66a]
	C	forgeaf (130)
85v, l. 16	MS	toleane
	M	to leane; [67a]
	C	to leane. (132)
85v, l. 17	MS	midfroncū
	M	mid Froncum [68a]
	C	Mid Froncum (134)
	MS	icwæs ·
	M	ic wæs [68a]
	C	ic wæs (134)
	MS	midfrysum
	M	mid Frysum [68a]
	C	mid Frysum, (134)
85v, ll. 17-18	MS	frum / tingū
	M	Frumtingum; [68b]
	C	Frumtingum. (135)
85v, l. 18	MS	icwæs
	M	ic wæs [69a]
	C	ic wæs (136)

85v, l. 18	MS	midglommū
	M	mid Glommum [69a]
	C	mid Glommum, (136)
85v, l. 18-19	MS	rum / walum ·
	M	Rumwalum. [69b]
	C	Rumwalum. (137)
85v, l. 19	MS	icwæs
	M	ic wæs [70a]
	C	ic wæs (138)
85v, l. 20	MS	mon cynnes
	M	moncynnes, [71a]
	C	moncynnes (140)
	MS	leohteste
	M	leohteste [72a]
	C	Leohtest (142)
86r, l. 1	MS	icwæs
	M	ic wæs [75a]
	C	ic wæs (148)
86r, l. 2	MS	icwæs ·
	M	ic wæs [76a]
	C	ic wæs (150)
	MS	midfinnū ·
	M	mid Finnum [76a]
	C	mid Finnum, (150)
86r, ll. 2-3	MS	ca / sere
	M	Casere, [76b]
	C	Casere, (151)
86r, l. 3	MS	seþewinburga
	M	se þe winburga [77a]
	C	Se the winburga (152)
	MS	wiolane
	M	wiolena [78]
	C	Wiolane (154)
86r, ll. 3-4	MS	wa / la
	M	Wala [78b]
	C	wala (155)
86r, l. 4	MS	midpeohtum ·
	M	mid Peohtum [79a]
	C	mid Peohtum, (156)

86r, ll. 4-5	MS	scri / de finnum ·
	M	Scridefinnum; [79b]
	C	Scridefinnum. (157)
86r, l. 5	MS	lid wicingum
	M	Lidingum [80a]
	C	Lid-wicingum (158)
	MS	icwæs ·
	M	ic wæs [80a]
	C	ic wæs (158)
86r, l. 6	MS	long beardum ·
	M	Longbeardum, [80b]
	C	Longbeardum. (159)
86r, ll. 6-7	MS	hun / dingum ·
	M	Hundingum; [81b]
	C	Hundingum. (161)
86r, l. 8	MS	moidum
	M	Miodum [84a]
	C	Moidum (166)
86r, l. 9	MS	icwæs
	M	ic wæs [84a]
	C	ic wæs (166)
	MS	midpersum
	M	mid Persum [84a]
	C	mid Persum, (166)
	MS	mofdingum
	M	m[id] Ofdingum, [86b]
	C	Mofdingum, (167)
86r, l. 10	MS	7ongend myrgingum
	M	[mid] Ongendmyrgingum [85a]
	C	And ongend Myrgingum (168)
	MS	amot hingum ·
	M	Amothingum; [85b]
	C	Amoðingum [?] (169)
86r, ll. 10-11	MS	east / þyringum
	M	Eastþyringum [86a]
	C	East-Þyringum (170)
86r, ll. 11	MS	icwæs ·
	M	ic wæs [86a]
	C	ic wæs (170)

86r, ll. 11-12	MS	7idumin / gum ·
	M	ond [mid] Idumingum. [87b]
	C	And Indumingum. (173)
86r, l. 12	MS	icwæs
	M	ic wæs [88a]
	C	ic wæs (174)
	MS	mid
	M	mid [88a]
	C	wið (174)
	MS	eorman rice
	M	Eormanrice [88a]
	C	Eormanric (174)
	MS	þærme
	M	þær me [89a]
	C	Ðær me (176)
86r, ll. 12-13	MS	gote / na
	M	Gotena [89a]
	C	Gotena (176)
86r, l. 13	MS	seme
	M	se me [90a]
	C	Se me (178)
86r, ll. 13-14	MS	burg wa / rena
	M	burgwarena [90b]
	C	Burgwarena (179)
86r, l. 14	MS	onþam
	M	on þam [91a]
	C	On ðam (180)
86r, ll. 14-15	MS	ge / scyred
	M	gescyred [92a]
	C	gescyred (181)
86r, l. 15	MS	sceatta scilling rime
	M	sceatta scillingrime; [92]
	C	Sceatta-scilling rime. (182)
	MS	iceadgilse
	M	ic Eadgilse [93a]
	C	ic Eadgilse (183)
	MS	onæht
	M	on æht [93b]
	C	On æht (184)

86r, l. 16	MS	sealde
	M	sealde, [93b]
	C	selde (184)
	MS	hleodryhtne
	M	hleodryhtne, [94a]
	C	hleodryhtne (185)
86r, ll. 16-17	MS	leo / fum
	M	leofum [95a]
	C	Leofum (187)
86r, l. 17	MS	toleane
	M	to leane, [95a]
	C	to leane. (187)
	MS	heme
	M	he me [95b]
	C	he me (188)
86r, l. 18	MS	meþa
	M	me þa [97a]
	C	me ða (191)
86r, l. 18	MS	ealhhild
	M	Ealhhild [97a]
	C	Ealhilde (191)
86r, l. 19	MS	dryht cwen
	M	dryhtcwen [98a]
	C	Dryht-cwen (193)
86r, ll. 19-20	MS	leng / de
	M	lengde [99a]
	C	lengde (195)
86r, l. 20	MS	londa
	M	londa [99b]
	C	lond (196)
	MS	þōn
	M	þonne [100a]
	C	Ðon (197)
86r, l. 21	MS	ic
	M	ic [100a]
	C	is (197)
	MS	swegl
	M	swegle [101a]
	C	swegle (199)

86r, l. 21	MS	wisse
	M	wisse [101b]
	C	Disse (200)
	MS	gold hrodene
	M	goldhrodene [102a]
	C	gold-hrodene (200)
86v, l. 1	MS	dōn
	M	Ðonne [103a]
	C	Don (202)
86v, ll. 1-2	MS	forunc / rum
	M	for uncrum [104a]
	C	for uncrum (203)
86v, l. 2	MS	sige dryhtne
	M	sigedryhtne [104a]
	C	Sige dryhtne (204)
	MS	bihearpan
	M	bi hearpan [105a]
	C	bi hearpan, (206)
86v, l. 3	MS	þōn
	M	þonne [106a]
	C	Don (208)
86v, ll. 3-4	MS	wor / dum
	M	wordum [107a]
	C	Wordum (210)
86v, l. 4	MS	þaþe
	M	þa þe [107b]
	C	Ða ðe (211)
86v, l. 5	MS	nehyrdon .
	M	ne hyrdon. [108b]
	C	ne hyrdon. (213)
	MS	icealne
	M	ic ealne [109a]
	C	ic ealne (214)
	MS	geond hwearf
	M	geondhwearf [109a]
	C	geond hwearf (214)
86v, l. 6	MS	siþa
	M	gesiþa [110a]
	C	siða (216)

86v, l. 6	MS	þaselestan
	M	þa selestan – [110b]
	C	Ða selestan (217)
	MS	inn weorud
	M	innweorud [111a]
	C	in weorud (218)
86v, ll. 6-7	MS	ear / man rices ·
	M	Earmarices. [111b]
	C	Eormanrices. (219)
86v, l. 7	MS	heðcan
	M	Hehcan [112a]
	C	Heðcan (220)
86v, l. 8	MS	east gotan
	M	Eastgotan, [113b]
	C	East Gotan, (223)
86v, ll. 9-10	MS	sea / folan
	M	Seafolan [115b]
	C	Seafolan (227)
86v, ll. 10-11	MS	incgen / þeow ·
	M	Incgenþeow; [116b]
	C	Incgenðeow, (229)
86v, l. 11	MS	ægel mund
	M	Ægelmund [117b]
	C	Egel-mund (231)
86v, l. 12	MS	wiþ myrginga
	M	Wiþmyrginga; [118b]
	C	Wið Myrginga. (233)
	MS	wulf here
	M	Wulphere [119a]
	C	Wulphere (234)
86v, ll. 12-13	MS	soh / te
	M	sohte [119a]
	C	sohte (234)
86v, l. 13	MS	wyrm here
	M	Wyrmhere – [119a]
	C	Wyrnhere (235)
	MS	fuloft
	M	ful oft [119b]
	C	ful oft. (235)

86v, l. 13	MS	þærwig
	M	þær wig [119b]
	C	Ðær wig (236)
86v, ll. 13-14	MS	hræ / da
	M	Hræda [120a]
	C	hreada (237)
86v, l. 14	MS	wistlá wudu
	M	Wistlawudu [121a]
	C	wistla wudu (239)
86v, l. 15	MS	eald ne
	M	ealdne [122a]
	C	Ealdre (241)
	MS	eþel stol
	M	eþelstol [122a]
	C	eðel-stol (241)
	MS	ræd here
	M	Rædhere [123a]
	C	Ræðhere (243)
86v, l. 16	MS	rond here
	M	Rondhere, [123a]
	C	Rondhere (243)
	MS	gisl here
	M	Gislhere, [123b]
	C	Gislhere, (244)
86v, l. 17	MS	newæran
	M	ne wæran [125a]
	C	Ne wæron (247)
	MS	ge siþa
	M	gesiþa [125a]
	C	gesiða (247)
86v, l. 18	MS	þeahþe
	M	þeah þe [126a]
	C	Ðeahte (249)
	MS	ichy
	M	ic hy [126a]
	C	ich y (249)
86v, l. 19	MS	ofþam
	M	of þam [127a]
	C	of ðam (251)

86v, l. 19	MS	hwinende
	M	hwinende [127b]
	C	hwynende (252)
86v, l. 20	MS	þær
	M	þær [129a]
	C	ða (255)
87r, l. 1	MS	onþære
	M	on þære [131b]
	C	On ðær (260)
	MS	þætsebip
	M	þæt se bip [132a]
	C	Ðæt se bið (261)
	MS	Lond buendum
	M	londbuendum, [132b]
	C	Lond buendum, (262)
	MS	seþehim
	M	se þe him [133a]
	C	Se ðe hym (263)
87r, l. 2	MS	togehealdenne
	M	to gehealdenne, [134a]
	C	To gehealdenne, (265)
87r, l. 3	MS	gleo men
	M	gleomen [136a]
	C	Gleomen (269)
87r, l. 4	MS	þonc word
	M	þoneword [137b]
	C	Ðonc word (272)
87r, l. 5	MS	gydda
	M	gydda [139a]
	C	Gyðða (275)
87r, l. 6	MS	seþe
	M	se þe [140a]
	C	Se ðe (277)
87r, ll. 6-7	MS	eorl / scipe
	M	eorlscipe [141a]
	C	Eorlscipe (279)
87r, l. 7	MS	oþþæt eal
	M	oþþæt eal [141b]
	C	Oððe ðæt eal (280)

87r, l. 7	MS	7lifsomod
	M	ond lif somod; [142a]
	C	et lifsomod: (281)
87r, l. 8	MS	heah fæstne dóm :- :7
	M	heahfæstne dom. [143b]
	C	Heah fæstne dom :” (284)

Appendix 2:11 – Exeter Book Poems Examined by John Josias

Source: Compiled from this thesis.

Outline: The following lists all the poems from Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501 that there is evidence John Josias examined, followed by a list of those that were not. The evidence that shows each text was amongst those he studied is stated, along with a reference to the relevant discussion in the body of the thesis.

Texts John Josias is known to have examined from Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501:

- ***Advent Lyric Seven* (ff. 10r-11r):** although this text was not printed in *Illustrations*, an extract from John Josias' lecture on the poem is included in the book (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 201). William Daniel notes that John Josias had transcribed the whole of this poem (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 201).⁵⁸²
- ***Advent Lyric Eight* (f. 11rv):** although this text was not printed in *Illustrations*, in Wanley's division of the manuscript *Advent Lyrics Seven* and *Eight* are treated as a single text and William Daniel notes that John Josias had transcribed the whole of this poem (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 201).⁵⁸³
- ***The Ascension* (ff. 14r-20v):** *On the Day of Judgement* in *Illustrations* (today *The Ascension*, ll. 78-91 and 94-105a; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 214-217) was prepared from John Josias' lecture notes; extracts were published in *Archaeologia*, and then reprinted in *Illustrations*, where it appeared as the *Hymn of Thanksgiving* (ll. 161-172a, 180b-188, 199-201a, 220b-246, 337b-339; J. J. Conybeare 1814b; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 217-223); and William Daniel records that '[a] copy of the entire poem is among the transcripts of the author' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 201), referring to the second to fourth sections of the text as they were defined by Wanley.⁵⁸⁴
- ***The Canticles of the Three Youths* (ff. 53r-55v):** according to William Daniel, John Josias did not transcribe all of this text, but he did collate the *Song of the Three Youths* (*The Canticles of the Three Youths*, ll. 73-179b) from within it with the version that appears in the Cædmon manuscript (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 203), although this does not seem to have survived.⁵⁸⁵
- ***The Phoenix* (ff. 55v-65v):** ll. 1-27 and 81b-84 appeared in *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1814d) and were reprinted in *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 224-228). William Daniel tells us that his brother only transcribed the first section (ll. 1-84, ff. 55v-57r; W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 204).⁵⁸⁶
- ***Vainglory* (ff. 83r-84v):** John Josias comments that *Widsith* 'seems to have no connection with the articles preceding or following it' (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 10), which are *Vainglory* (Exeter Book, ff. 83r-84v) and *The Fates of Mortals* (Exeter Book, ff. 87r-88v). However, nothing was ever published by either of the brothers about this text.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸² See Chapter Six, pp. 238-239.

⁵⁸³ See Chapter Six, pp. 238-239.

⁵⁸⁴ See Chapter Six, p. 239.

⁵⁸⁵ See Chapter Six, pp. 240-241.

⁵⁸⁶ See Chapter Six, p. 241.

⁵⁸⁷ See Chapter Six, p. 242.

- ***Widsith* (ff. 84v-87r):** John Josias completed the printing proofs of this text for *Illustrations*, where it appeared as *The Song of the Traveller* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 9-29).⁵⁸⁸
- ***The Fates of Mortals* (ff. 87r-88v):** see above, *Vainglory*. William Daniel also mentions that his brother had studied a poem ‘which begins with the sage remark that it sometimes happens that men and women have families, and then traces out the various fortunes of the said families, how some are hanged and some are happy’ (Appendix 1:14). William Daniel published a summary of this poem’s contents, that seems to have been taken from his brother’s manuscript notes (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 204).⁵⁸⁹
- ***Maxims I (A)* (ff. 88v-90r):** William Daniel tells us that John Josias had transcribed this poem (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 204), but neither brother ever published it.⁵⁹⁰
- ***Maxims I (B)* (ff. 90r-91r):** the *Gnomic Poem* (today *Maxims I (B)*, ll. 1-13a; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 228-331) was prepared for *Illustrations* from John Josias’ lecture notes and William Daniel notes that his brother had made a complete transcription of this text (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 204). William Daniel also included a translation of ll. 24b-32 in his description of the Exeter Book along with the Old English for 61b-62a (205).⁵⁹¹
- ***Maxims I (C)* (ff. 91r-92v):** William Daniel tells us that John Josias had transcribed this poem (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 204), but neither brother ever published it.⁵⁹²
- ***The Order of the World* (ff. 92v-94r):** a ‘condensed translation’ of this text is included in *Illustrations* as a quotation, which appears to be taken from John Josias’ manuscript notes (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 205-206). John Josias also prepared a complete transcription of this text (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 204).⁵⁹³
- ***The Riming Poem* (ff. 94r-95v):** William Daniel mentions in *Illustrations* that John Josias had only prepared a transcript of this text (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: xvi). He also refers to the poem as one he knew was ‘intended to be included’ in *Illustrations* (Appendix 1:14). William Daniel’s English translation of the poem appears next to John Josias’ transcription in the book (W. D. Conybeare 1826: xvi-xxvi).⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁸⁸ See Chapter Six, pp. 242-244 and 248-285.

⁵⁸⁹ See Chapter Six, pp. 242-244.

⁵⁹⁰ See Chapter Six, pp. 242-244.

⁵⁹¹ See Chapter Six, pp. 242-244.

⁵⁹² See Chapter Six, pp. 242-244.

⁵⁹³ See Chapter Six, pp. 242-244.

⁵⁹⁴ See Chapter Six, pp. 242-244.

- ***The Panther* (ff. 95v-96v):** William Daniel refers to John Josias studying ‘a bestiarum’, mentioning it immediately before *The Whale*, which follows *The Panther* in the manuscript (Appendix 1:14). He also tells us that John Josias had transcribed this poem (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 204) and a brief extract of his translation was printed in *Illustrations* (208).⁵⁹⁵
- ***The Whale* (ff. 96v-97v):** William Daniel refers to John Josias studying ‘a poem on the whale’ (Appendix 1:14) and notes that he had transcribed it (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 204). A brief extract of John Josias’ translation was printed in *Illustrations* (208).⁵⁹⁶
- ***The Partridge* (f. 97v) and *Homiletic Fragment III* (f. 98r):** while John Josias did not notice the missing folio between these texts, William Daniel tells us he transcribed them both and prints *The Partridge* (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 204).⁵⁹⁷
- ***Soul and Body II* (ff. 98r-100r):** ll. 1-23 and 120b-121 appeared in *Archaeologia* (J. J. Conybeare 1814c) and this article was then reprinted in *Illustrations* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 232-235).⁵⁹⁸
- ***Deor* (ff. 100rv):** The *Scaldic Poem* (today *Deor*; Exeter Book, f. 100rv; J. J. Conybeare 1826: 235-244) was prepared for *Illustrations* from John Josias’ manuscript notes. William Daniel also refers to John Josias studying ‘the Weland’ (Appendix 1:14) and it is included on the list of Old English texts in John Josias’ copy of Thorkelin’s *Beowulf* edition (Appendix 1:5).⁵⁹⁹
- ***Riddle 2* (f. 101r):** William Daniel gives ll. 1-3a in *Illustrations*, followed by a short paraphrase of the text’s contents that appears to be a quotation from John Josias’ notes (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 209).⁶⁰⁰
- ***Riddle 3* (ff. 101v-102v):** lines 68-74 are included by William Daniel in *Illustrations* from John Josias’ manuscript notes (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 209-210).⁶⁰¹
- ***Riddle 32* (f. 108v):** included by William Daniel in *Illustrations* from John Josias’ manuscript notes (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 210-211).⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁵ See Chapter Six, pp. 242-244.

⁵⁹⁶ See Chapter Six, pp. 242-244.

⁵⁹⁷ See Chapter Six, pp. 242-244.

⁵⁹⁸ See Chapter Six, pp. 244-247.

⁵⁹⁹ See Chapter Six, pp. 244-247.

⁶⁰⁰ See Chapter Six, pp. 244-247.

⁶⁰¹ See Chapter Six, pp. 244-247.

⁶⁰² See Chapter Six, pp. 244-247.

- **Riddle 46 (f. 112v):** included by William Daniel in *Illustrations* from John Josias' manuscript notes (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 211-212).⁶⁰³
- **The Ruin (ff. 123v-124v):** was prepared for *Illustrations* from John Josias' manuscript notes, where it appears as *The Ruined Wall-stone* (J. J. Conybeare 1826: 249-255). William Daniel and Mary also discuss the publication of this poem in the attached correspondence (Appendix 1:15).⁶⁰⁴
- **Riddle 66, (f. 125rv):** included by William Daniel in *Illustrations* from an unknown source, most likely to be John Josias' manuscript notes (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 212).⁶⁰⁵
- **Riddle 86, (f. 129r):** William Daniel printed the Latin text of this riddle, but did not translate the 'corrupt Latinity, which appears absolutely unintelligible' (W. D. Conybeare in J. J. Conybeare 1826: 213).⁶⁰⁶

Texts there is no evidence John Josias examined from Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501:

Advent Lyrics (ff. 8r-10r, 11r-14r), *Christ in Judgement* (ff. 20v-32r), *The Life of Saint Guthlac* (A and B) (32v-52v), *The Passion of Saint Juliana* (ff. 65v-76r), *The Wanderer* (ff. 76v-78r), *God's Gift to Humankind* (ff. 78r-80r), *Precepts* (ff. 80r-81v), *The Seafarer* (ff. 81v-83r), *Wulf and Eadwacer* (ff. 100v-101r), *Riddles 1-59* (ff. 101r-115r),⁶⁰⁷ *The Wife's Lament* (f. 115rv), *Judgement Day I* (ff. 115v-117v), *Contrition* (A and B) (ff. 117v-119v), *The Descent into Hell* (ff. 119v-121v), *Almsgiving* (ff. 121v-122r), *Pharaoh* (f. 122r), *The Lord's Prayer I* (f. 122r), *Homiletic Fragment II* (f. 122rv), *Riddle 30b* (f. 122v), *Riddle 60* (ff. 122v-123r), *The Husband's Message* (f. 123rv), and *Riddles 61-94* (ff. 124v-130v).⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰³ See Chapter Six, pp. 244-247.

⁶⁰⁴ See Chapter Six, pp. 244-247.

⁶⁰⁵ See Chapter Six, pp. 244-247.

⁶⁰⁶ See Chapter Six, pp. 244-247.

⁶⁰⁷ Apart from *Riddles 2, 3, 32, and 46*.

⁶⁰⁸ Apart from *Riddles 66 and 86*.

Bibliography A: John Josias Conybeare's Publications

Ordered by Date of Authorship and Colour Coded by Theme ⁶⁰⁹

	Work related to English language or literature
	Work related to language or literature from other countries
	Work related to the study of geology
	Work related to the study of other areas of science
	Work related to the study of theology
1792-1796	<u>Poetic Fragment – final stanza of Matthew Trevenen's 'The Ladies of Ancient Times, and the Modern Fine Ladies'</u> In: PENROSE, J. 1850. <i>Lives of Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Vinicombe Penrose, K. C. B., and Captain James Trevenen, Knight of the Russian Orders of St. George and St. Vladimir</i> . London: Murray, pp. 296-297.
1807	<u>Short memorial to the poet William Bagshaw Stevens</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1807. Rev. William Bagshaw Stevens, D. D. <i>Censura Literaria</i> , vol. 5, pp. 387-398.
1809	<u>Edition of an Old French poem preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 100</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1809. <i>The Romance of Octavian, Emperor of Rome, Abridged from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Printed for Private Distribution Only</i> . Oxford: Collingwood.
1811 (28 Nov.)	<u>On the Middle English poem <i>The Grave</i></u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1814a. Communication of an Inedited Fragment of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, in a Letter from the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, M. A. Anglo Saxon Professor at the University of Oxford, to Henry Ellis, Esq. F. R. S. and S. A. <i>Archaeologia</i> , vol. 17, pp. 173-175.

⁶⁰⁹ There is some subjectivity in these categorisations – for example, 'Some Account of a Scarce and Curious Alchemical Work, by Michael Maier' is a literary study on an alchemical text from the early seventeenth century. However, in each case an attempt has been made to categorise according to the main theme of the work.

1812
(5 Nov.)

On an extract from the Old English *The Ascension*

CONYBEARE, J. J. 1814b. Account of a Saxon Manuscript Preserved in the Cathedral Library at Exeter, in a Letter from the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, M. A. Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, to Henry Ellis, Esq. F. R. S. and S. A. *Archaeologia*, vol. 17, pp. 180-188.

1813
(4 Feb.)

On the Old English poem *Soul and Body II*

CONYBEARE, J. J. 1814c. Further Extract from the Exeter Manuscript in a Second Letter from the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, Professor of Poetry at the University of Oxford, in a Letter to Henry Ellis, Esq. F. R. S. and S. A. *Archaeologia*, vol. 17, pp. 189-192.

1813
(4 Feb.)

On the Old English poem *The Phoenix*

CONYBEARE, J. J. 1814d. Account of an Anglo-Saxon Paraphrase of the Phoenix Attributed to Lactantius, Contained in the Exeter Manuscript, in a Third Letter from the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, M. A. to Henry Ellis, Esq. F. R. S. and S. A. *Archaeologia*, vol. 17, pp. 193-197.

1813
(25 Feb.)

On Old English poetry and metrics

CONYBEARE, J. J. 1814e. Observations on the Poetry of our Anglo-Saxon Ancestors, by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, M. A. Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, in a Letter to Henry Ellis, Esq. F. R. S. and S. A. *Archaeologia*, vol. 17, pp. 257-266.

1813
(29 March)

On the rocks of Clovelly

CONYBEARE, J. J. 1814g. Memoranda Relative to Clovelly, North Devon. *Transactions of the Geological Society*, vol. 2, pp. 495-500.

1813
(23 April)

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1813
(3 Dec.)

On the porphyritic veins of Cornwall

CONYBEARE, J. J. 1817a. On the Porphyritic Veins (locally Elvans) of St. Agnes, Cornwall. *Transactions of the Geological Society*, vol. 4, pp. 401-403.

1813
(9 Dec.)

On Old English poetry and metrics

CONYBEARE, J. J. 1814f. Further Observations on the Poetry of our Anglo-Saxon Ancestors, by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, M. A. Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford; Addressed in a Second Letter to Henry Ellis, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary. *Archaeologia*, vol. 17, pp. 267-274.

1812-1814
(approx.)

On the writings of Hesiod (Greek poetry)

CONYBEARE, J. J. and W. D. Conybeare. 1836. Essay on the Writings of Hesiod, Principally Compiled from Some MS. Lectures Delivered at Oxford by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, Professor of Poetry. *The West of England Journal of Science and Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 1-11, 37-47, 77-89, and 121-130.

1814
(3 March)

On two late medieval English poems preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vernon Eng. Poet. a. 1

CONYBEARE, J. J. 1817c. Two English Poems of the Time of Richard II. Communicated by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, M. A. Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, in a Letter to Henry Ellis, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary. *Archaeologia*, vol. 18, pp. 21-28.

1814

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CONYBEARE, J. J. 1814h. Sir Cleges. MS. *British Bibliographer*, vol. 4, pp. 17-19.

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CONYBEARE, J. J. 1814n. Of the Lay of Dame Sirith. *British Bibliographer*, vol. 4, pp. 193-200.

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1814

CONYBEARE, J. J. 1814p. Fragments of a French Metrical Romance upon Guy Earl of Warwick. *British Bibliographer*, vol. 4, pp. 268-270.

<p style="text-align: center;">1814 (24 Nov.)</p>	<p><u>On the sixteenth-century English jest book ‘A Hundred Merry Tales’</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1817d. Appendix: Nov. 24, 1814. <i>Archaeologia</i>, vol. 18, pp. 430-432.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1816/17</p>	<p><u>On the epitaphs from Abbey Church in Bath</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1825. An Essay on the Origin and Characteristics of Epitaphs, with Examples of Various Classes from the Abbey Church of Bath. In: J. BRITTON. <i>The History and Antiquities of Bath Abbey Church</i>. London: Longman, pp. 98-120.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1817 (10 July)</p>	<p><u>Public letter announcing <i>Illustrations</i></u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1817e. John Josias Conybeare to Sylvanus Urban, Bath Easton, July 10 1817. <i>The Gentleman’s Magazine</i>, August, pp. 102-104.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1821 (17 Jan.)</p>	<p><u>On a new substance discovered in ironstone</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1821a. Description of a New Substance Found in Ironstone. <i>The Annals of Philosophy</i>, vol. 1, pp. 136-137.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1821 (15 Feb.)</p>	<p><u>On the red rock Marie (newer red sandstone)</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1821b. On the Red Rock Marie or Newer Red Sandstone. <i>The Annals of Philosophy</i>, vol. 1, pp. 254-259.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1821 (Sept.)</p>	<p><u>On the geology of Okehampton, Devon</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1821c. On the Geology of the Neighbourhood of Okehampton, Devon. <i>The Annals of Philosophy</i>, vol. 2, pp. 161-166.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1821 (21 June)</p>	<p><u>On a substance in flints and the fusibility of certain rocks</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1822d. Memorandum on a Substance Contained in the Interior of Certain Chalk Flints & Memorandum on the Comparative Fusibility of Certain Rocks, and the Character of the Results. <i>The Annals of Philosophy</i>, vol. 4, p. 388.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1822 (2 Oct.)</p>	<p><u>On siliceous petrifications in calcareous rocks</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1822a. On Siliceous Petrifications Imbedded in Calcareous Rock. <i>The Annals of Philosophy</i>, vol. 4, pp. 335-337.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1822 (4 Oct.)</p>	<p><u>On the geology of the Malvern Hills</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1822b. On the Geology of the Malvern Hills. <i>The Annals of Philosophy</i>, vol. 4, pp. 337-339.</p>

1822 (14 Oct.)	<p><u>On an Italian metallurgical text by Biringuccio (1540)</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1822c. On Works in Niello and the Pirotechnia of Venoccio Biringuccio Siennese. <i>The Annals of Philosophy</i>, vol. 4, pp. 364-370.</p>
1822 (5 Nov.)	<p><u>On literary references to 'Greek Fire' (a flammable chemical used as a weapon at several points in history)</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1822e. On the Greek Fire. <i>The Annals of Philosophy</i>, vol. 4, pp. 434-439.</p>
1822 (15 Dec.)	<p><u>On the plumbago (graphite) found in coal gas retorts</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1823a. Queries on the Plumbago Formed in Coal Gas Retorts. <i>The Annals of Philosophy</i>, vol. 5, pp. 50-53.</p>
1823 (14 Jan.)	<p><u>On mumia (the substance found in Egyptian mummies)</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1823b. Examination of Mumia. <i>The Annals of Philosophy</i>, vol. 5, pp. 124-127.</p>
1823 (2 Feb.)	<p><u>On the geology of Devon and Cornwall</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1823d. On the Geology of Devon and Cornwall. <i>The Annals of Philosophy</i>, vol. 5, pp. 184-190 and vol. 6, pp. 35-38.</p>
1823 (10 Feb.)	<p><u>On hatchetine (mineral substance)</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1823c. On Hatchetine. <i>The Annals of Philosophy</i>, vol. 5, p. 190.</p>
1823 (4 April)	<p><u>On ligneous petrification</u> Two notices on a 'Recent Ligneous Petrification' were read to the Geological Society by John Josias and announced in <i>The Annals of Philosophy</i>, vol. 5, p. 395, but never published.</p>
1823 (Oct.)	<p><u>On an alchemical work by Michael Maier (1617)</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1823e. Some Account of a Scarce and Curious Alchemical Work, by Michael Maier. <i>The Annals of Philosophy</i>, vol. 6, pp. 241-435.</p>
1823 (27 Nov.)	<p><u>On the fifteenth-century English poem The Siege of Rouen</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1827. Poem, Entitled The Siege of Rouen: Written in the Reign of Henry the Fifth. Communicated in a Letter from the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, Late Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, to Henry Ellis. <i>Archaeologia</i>, vol. 21, pp. 43-78.</p>

1823

On biblical translation theory

CONYBEARE, J. J. 1823f. *An Examination of Certain Arguments Adduced in Support of the Hypothesis, 'That the Received Text of the Greek Testament is a Translation from the Latin': Addressed to the Author of Palæo-romaica.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

1824
(May/June)

On the early church and scripture (Bampton Lectures)

CONYBEARE, J. J. 1824. *The Bampton Lectures for the Year MDCCCXXIV Being an Attempt to Trace the History and to Ascertain the Limits of the Secondary and Spiritual Interpretation of Scripture.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

1814 - 1824

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CONYBEARE, J. J. 1826. *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. W. D. CONYBEARE. London: Harding and Lepard.

Ordered by Date of Publication and Colour Coded by Theme

	Work related to English language or literature
	Work related to language or literature from other countries
	Work related to the study of geology
	Work related to the study of other areas of science
	Work related to the study of theology
1807	<u>Short memorial to the poet William Bagshaw Stevens</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1807. Rev. William Bagshaw Stevens, D. D. <i>Censura Literaria</i> , vol. 5, pp. 387-398.
1809	<u>Edition of an Old French poem preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 100</u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1809. <i>The Romance of Octavian, Emperor of Rome, Abridged from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Printed for Private Distribution Only</i> . Oxford: Collingwood.
1814	<u>On the Middle English poem <i>The Grave</i></u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1814a. Communication of an Inedited Fragment of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, in a Letter from the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, M. A. Anglo Saxon Professor at the University of Oxford, to Henry Ellis, Esq. F. R. S. and S. A. <i>Archaeologia</i> , vol. 17, pp. 173-175.
1814	<u>On an extract from the Old English <i>The Ascension</i></u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1814b. Account of a Saxon Manuscript Preserved in the Cathedral Library at Exeter, in a Letter from the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, M. A. Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, to Henry Ellis, Esq. F. R. S. and S. A. <i>Archaeologia</i> , vol. 17, pp. 180-188.
1814	<u>On the Old English poem <i>Soul and Body II</i></u> CONYBEARE, J. J. 1814c. Further Extract from the Exeter Manuscript in a Second Letter from the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, Professor of Poetry at the University of Oxford, in a Letter to Henry Ellis, Esq. F. R. S. and S. A. <i>Archaeologia</i> , vol. 17, pp. 189-192.

1814

On the Old English poem *The Phoenix*

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1825

On the epitaphs from Abbey Church in Bath

CONYBEARE, J. J. 1825. An Essay on the Origin and Characteristics of Epitaphs, with Examples of Various Classes from the Abbey Church of Bath. In: J. BRITTON. *The History and Antiquities of Bath Abbey Church.* London: Longman, pp. 98-120.

1826

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1838

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1882
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- ANON. 1795. [Review] *The Chronological History of the European States, with their Discoveries and Settlements, from the Treaty of Nimeguen in 1678, to the Close of the Year 1792, &c. Also Biographical Sketches of the Sovereigns Who Have Reigned during that Period, and of those Persons Who Have Been Principally Interested*, ed. C. MAYO. *The New Annual Register, for the Year 1794*, pp. 224-225.

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