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A COMPARISON OF DECORATIVE FEATURES IN THE ÆLFRICIAN TEXTUAL TRADITION

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the enlarged and decorated initials in manuscripts containing texts from Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies, specifically those that begin new texts. I demonstrate that such aspects of *mise-en-page* are transferred from manuscript to manuscript with the texts they accompany; furthermore, this transference accompanies known routes of textual dissemination.

This thesis is divided broadly into four sections. Following the first, in which I provide research contextualisation along with a discussion of relevant terminology, I next focus on groups of manuscripts identified as closely related based on their textual content. I here note several points of previously unnoticed exceptional visual similarity between these textually-linked manuscripts, most notably between several texts occurring in MS Cott Faust A. ix and MS CCCC 302.

In the third section, I focus on texts that are particularly frequently copied: Ælfric's First Series homilies for Pentecost (*ÆCHom* I, 22), the Lord's Prayer (*ÆCHom* I, 19), and All Saints' Day (*ÆCHom* I, 36). I compile the appearance of text-beginning initials across all surviving instances of the texts; *ÆCHom* I, 36 especially shows evidence of letter-form transference across multiple manuscripts, namely MS CCCC 303; MSS Bod 340/342; MS Cott Vesp D. XIV; and MSS Hatton 113 and 114 and MS Junius 121.

In the final section, I include additional case studies that argue that the above similarities are significant, and not a result of scribal standards or specific house styles. I begin with an investigation into the decoration of other vernacular manuscripts from a similar time and place of origin: CCCC 201, CCCC 322, MS Cott Tib B. I, and MS Cott Vesp D. XXI. I also include two sections on textual analysis, one on the variation between <þ> and <ð> in closely-linked manuscripts, and one comparing two homilies in two related volumes.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Ælfric of Eynsham's First Series of Catholic Homilies survives today in a remarkable number of manuscripts. This series of forty texts, completed just over a thousand years ago, covers topics on multiple aspects of Christian faith arranged in the order of the religious year from Nativity to Advent. These texts are designed for preaching, and their emphasis on exegesis and deference to the Church Fathers paint a picture of an author highly concerned with orthodoxy and the souls of his fellow countrymen. Upon completion of this series, Ælfric supervised a prodigious programme of copying and distribution that continued for over two centuries after his death. The number of manuscripts that survive today containing Ælfric's First Series testifies to the wide dissemination of his works, and to the production of many more manuscripts that are now lost.

The First Series texts, and the manuscripts that contain them, have continued to be a topic of interest: these texts have been read, edited, and employed for didactic or political purposes from the period in which they were created until the modern era. Despite this long critical history, there is much that remains unknown about how these texts were transmitted, copied, and disseminated between religious centres and libraries. Furthermore, it is only comparatively recently that the manuscripts that house these texts have begun to attract attention as objects worth study in their own right, reflecting a broader turn in medieval studies towards a manuscript-focused approach. Within the last few decades, scholars have begun to understand the ways in which page layout, copying practices, and decoration in manuscripts can all provide insight into how scribes and readers interacted with the texts they contained.

A great deal of the investigations into the non-textual aspects of a manuscript have, however, been focused on more elaborate forms of decoration, such as illumination, full-manuscript decorative programmes, and intricate, colourful illustrations. Such styles often originate from later in the medieval period, and frequently appear in codices written in Latin. This has left earlier, vernacular manuscripts—including those containing Ælfric's First Series—understudied. While the decorations in Ælfrician manuscripts, almost entirely comprising enlarged or coloured initials, may not be especially ornate, they are nevertheless valuable repositories of information and context. In this thesis I analyse these decorative elements within First Series manuscripts and demonstrate how this approach

complements a more traditional text-based study. My thesis thus aims to address two primary research questions:

1. Were the enlarged or decorated initials in these manuscripts transmitted alongside the texts they contain?
2. If so, can similarity between these initials refine or contribute to our understanding of textual transmission and production?

1.1 THESIS STRUCTURE

This thesis is structured in four parts. Following this introductory section, chapters 2–4 (pp. 14–89) outline the rationale behind the thesis, describing the methodology adopted and how it is tailored to address my research questions. This section also provides a review of literature regarding manuscript decoration in the early medieval period, along with a discussion of the relevant terms and concepts referenced throughout the work. Finally, I include brief descriptions of all salient features of the First Series manuscripts analysed in this thesis. Chapters 5–6 (pp. 89–148) comprise two case studies each based on a set of closely textually-related manuscripts. Each chapter in this section contains a discussion of the manuscripts in question as a cluster, and a comparison of the texts that are shared across the set. I discuss the similarities between text-beginning initials at the end of these chapters, with a focus on significant concordances that may indicate specific relationships between the manuscripts. Chapters 7–9 (pp. 149–251) focus on individual, frequently copied homilies; each of the three homilies selected appears in at least a dozen manuscripts, and as such is well-suited to inter-manuscript comparison. As in the previous section, these chapters each begin with a relevant background discussion of the text in question followed by how the initials that begin these texts appear in all surviving occurrences. The analyses at the ends of these chapters focus on the similarities identified between specific instances of the text-beginning initials that open these homilies. Chapters 10–12 (pp. 252–284), the control studies, include three brief case studies, one focusing on the text-beginning initials from manuscripts from a similar milieu as these Ælfrician ones, and two that focus on textual variants between Ælfrician texts within the First Series manuscripts. These studies together demonstrate the significance of the similarities between decorated initials identified in the previous chapters.

2 METHODOLOGY AND MANUSCRIPT RESEARCH CONTEXT

In this section, I describe the methodology used in this thesis to select material for analysis, as well as discussing individual recorded features and the rationale for their inclusion. I supply research context, including a summary of the most relevant scholarship on manuscript decoration in this period. I also explain how the decorative features in the Ælfrician First Series corpus fit into this tradition. Finally, I provide a brief discussion of the terminology used throughout the thesis and that deployed by other scholars.

2.1 RATIONALE

In this project, I combine descriptive palaeography with a qualitative approach by recording specific information about the initials that begin new texts in First Series manuscripts, along with any other letters within the texts that are enlarged, decorated, or drawn in a colour of ink different from that of the body text. Most commonly, a typical Ælfrician text will contain two to three of these decorated initials: the Latin *incipit* and the Old English text both frequently begin with an enlarged or coloured letter, and on occasion a further textual division is highlighted within the body of the text with an additional decorated initial. Collecting data on this broad scale allows aspects of initials to be compared with a great deal of specificity: when arguing for a relationship between two text-beginning Fs, for example, I am able to point to both visual concordances as well as the similarity of letter size within their respective manuscripts. I collect this information in a series of spreadsheets, which allows me to hide or display certain features, compare several specific manuscripts or the entire corpus, and apply custom rules to the spreadsheets in order to offer new ways of analysing the data. The comparison of text-beginning and enlarged initials in this way allows for the identification of previously unnoticed similarities and relationships between manuscripts and texts; furthermore, these similarities can also provide new context and information concerning the production and distribution of these manuscripts. This comparative data may be used in either a top-down or a bottom-up approach: the qualitative data can bolster claims made concerning the similarity of two or more decorated initials, texts, or manuscripts; the data can also highlight interesting similarities on which to base a larger study involving complementary forms of analysis. Although this thesis focuses on a specific subset of manuscripts containing Ælfrician First Series content, a similar methodology could easily be applied on a broader scale or to a different corpus of manuscripts.

2.2 THE CORPUS

The manuscripts investigated in this thesis are all those that contain a significant proportion of texts from Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies. These manuscripts were chosen for two primary reasons:

1. **Corpus size:** a relatively high number of manuscripts containing First Series texts survive to the present day, especially for vernacular texts from before the Conquest. Despite this relative profusion of surviving volumes, the total number of non-fragmental manuscripts is less than two dozen, a number that allows for comparisons across the entire corpus in order to identify key differences and patterns.
2. **Accessibility:** many Ælfrician manuscripts are available in digital surrogate form. As many of the First Series manuscripts are housed at the British Library or the Parker Library, both of which have exceptional online digital resources, much of this data may readily be checked or reproduced by anyone who wishes to interrogate the images themselves. For those manuscripts where facsimiles are not available online, I used images scanned from microfilm or consulted the manuscripts in person.

I have not included any material contained in manuscript fragments, many of which are not readily accessible due to their fragile state. Furthermore, as a major aspect of the methodology employed here is intra-manuscript comparison, manuscripts that contain only a single (or only part of a single) Ælfrician text do not offer sufficient information to make claims about any decorated initials contained within. In addition to this, many of these fragments, incomplete as they are, were either unfinished in their programme of decoration or begin or finish imperfectly, further limiting the number of decorative elements. The resulting corpus comprises material drawn from twenty-two manuscripts, listed here alongside their sigla (as assigned by Clemoes, 1997: xvii–xviii). Each contains a significant amount of Ælfrician material. A more detailed discussion of these manuscripts may be found in the following chapter (pp. 48–88).

1. MS A: London, British Library, Royal MS 7 C. xii
2. MS B: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 343
3. MS C: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 303
4. MS D: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MSS 340 (D1) and 342 (D2)
5. MS E: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 198

6. MS F: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 162
7. MS G: London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian D. xiv
8. MS H: London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius C V
9. MS J: British Library Cotton MS Cleopatra B XIII (J1) and Lambeth Palace MS 489 (J2)
10. MS K: Cambridge University Library MS Gg.3.28
11. MS L: Cambridge University Library MS li.1.33
12. MS M: Cambridge University Library MS li.4.6
13. MS N: London, British Library, Cotton MS Faustina A.ix
14. MS O: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 302
15. MS P: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton MS 115 and Kansas, University Library MS Y 104
16. MS Q: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 188
17. MS R: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 178, pp. 1–270, and CCCC MS 162, pp. 139–60
18. MS S: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton MS 116
19. MS T: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius MS 121 (T1) and Hatton MSS 113 (T2) and 114 (T3)
20. MS U: Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.34
21. MS V: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS 419 (V1) and 421 (V2)
22. MS Xⁱ: London, Lambeth Palace MS 487

2.3 FEATURES RECORDED

The features recorded for this project are those that may be qualitatively measured, and those that appear universally across all of the First Series manuscripts. I have therefore not attempted to make claims regarding the skill or delicacy with which an initial is drawn or the exact style of script used, as these are very much a matter of personal judgement. I include only contemporary decorative features, ignoring any later marginalia or additions. The features that are recorded are as follows:

2.3.1 COLOUR

Red, black, and green are all common colours of ink used for text-beginning, enlarged, or decorated initials, with purple or blue initials appearing on occasion. Most frequently

initials are drawn in only one colour, but in some manuscripts, such as MS B and MS G, two or more is the norm.

2.3.2 *LINE HEIGHT*

I record the line height of all of the initials to compare the height of individual initials on both an intra- and inter-manuscript level. The height of individual letters is determined based on the ruled lines on the page: an average minuscule letter in the body of the text generally takes up one third of the height a single ruled line, while a letter with an ascender or a majuscule letter will take up approximately half of the available vertical space. Decorated or enlarged initials vary widely in their heights, some of them the height of a single ruled line and some of them inhabiting nine ruled lines or more. The practice of determining the size of an initial is often made easier by visible ruling marks, but when these are unavailable the size is estimated. For the sake of simplicity, the numerical values recorded in this field are expressed as half or whole numbers. When an initial is written in a coloured ink but not enlarged, the line height is recorded as either .5 or 1 lines tall. I also record the ratio of the height of the letter to the overall number of lines on the page: a three-line letter on a manuscript ruled for thirty lines of written text produces a different visual effect than one in a manuscript ruled for only twenty lines. By recording these values for both individual letters and entire manuscripts, I am able to determine average initial heights within texts or manuscripts. I am also able to compare the size of individual initials to these averages to determine whether they fall within the standard range of size within the manuscript, or if the initial is outstanding or unusual.

2.3.3 *LEVEL OF DECORATION*

When determining the decoration level of text-beginning or enlarged initials, I compare the letters only to others within the *Ælfrician First Series* corpus, and maintain similar standards across all manuscripts in the corpus. Some manuscripts are more highly decorated than others: for example, MS C has almost no decoration, while MS D has several letters that have been elaborated upon with birds and two-headed beasts. Similar categories are applied across all of the manuscripts. The categories, along with their numerical values, are as follows:

1. The letter is not decorated at all and is written in much the same style as an average majuscule letter in the body of the text.

2. The letter is slightly decorated: a single foliate sprig, or two dots along a pen-stroke, for example.
3. The letter is somewhat decorated: more elaborate than a letter with a value of 2 (but not especially so), and not exhibiting the more intricate features of a letter with a value of 4.
4. The letter is very heavily decorated, often with multiple colours of ink. Despite its high level of decoration, the letter is neither illuminated nor elaborated upon with zoomorphic forms.
5. The letter incorporates zoomorphic motifs and is thus the rarest and most highly decorated type of letter in the manuscripts.

Most initials in this corpus fall between 1 and 4. Those that fall into the fifth category are discussed individually in the following chapters. The use of numerical values here allows me to create averages for decoration, similar to my summary of line height. Of course, there are often situations in the corpus wherein it is difficult to determine if a decorated initial belongs in the second or third category, or the third or fourth, but the advantage of using a system such as this for large-scale comparisons is that over the entire data set, these instances of uncertainty should balance each other out. This system is inspired by the system developed by Johanna Green in her work on the Exeter Book (Green, 2012). As with the previous values, these numbers allow me to identify what I refer to as the average decoration level of entire manuscripts.

2.4 TEXTUAL CONTENT RECORDED

2.4.1 *ÆLFRICIAN OR NON-ÆLFRICIAN*

The spreadsheets record whether or not an initial begins or is contained within a text written by *Ælfric*. This is done in order to determine if the initials beginning *Ælfrician* texts differ from those beginning the other texts in *Ælfrician* manuscripts. Different types of *Ælfrician* texts—homilies, letters, and other items—are not distinguished from one another; all are included as *Ælfrician*.

2.4.2 *LANGUAGE*

Text-beginning initials in the First Series corpus either begin portions of text in Old English or Latin; often, a homily will contain both languages, with a title, rubric, or incipit in Latin and the following text in Old English. These initials are sometimes similar, but they

often differ markedly: some manuscripts tend to give visual precedence to Latin initials, while others elaborate more upon the Old English ones.

2.4.3 TEXT

The final variable is the text that these initials begin. Not only does this allow for quick comparison between the beginning of the same text across multiple manuscripts, it also allows for assessment of a single text's overall decoration level in order to determine if one text is frequently more decorated than another.

2.5 FEATURES THAT WERE NOT RECORDED

Several aspects of the initials and texts are not recorded in this data set. First, I do not include any set of criteria used for assessing the illustration that appears in two manuscripts. As very few of the manuscripts in the corpus contain any illustration, it is overall so rare as to be unhelpful: if a feature is only found in a single initial, or appears in only two manuscripts in the entire corpus, it cannot be effectively used to note connections or patterns. I do not attempt to pass judgement on the quality of the hand nor of the decoration, as this is neither the primary goal of this thesis nor my area of expertise. Finally, the style of decoration (i.e. use of parallel lines, *fleurs de lys*, dots, etcetera) is not recorded in this data. While there are some common styles of decoration used across the manuscripts, there is too great a level of variation to attempt to categorise the decoration in the same way other variables were categorised. Individual initials are discussed in terms of the styles of decoration they contain, but this is not recorded in the same way as the features listed above.

3 MANUSCRIPT DECORATION IN LATE PRE-CONQUEST ENGLAND

Most of the scholarly work done on the decoration of manuscripts produced in the British Isles is subsumed into one of two categories: the decoration of Insular manuscripts, those manuscripts produced in Irish, Welsh and English centres of manuscript production between approximately the seventh and tenth centuries (Netzer, 2011: 225–43); and post-Conquest manuscripts, generally defined as those produced from around the turn of the twelfth century until the beginning of the fifteenth (Kauffmann, 2011: 474–87). This leaves the period in which the majority of Ælfrician manuscripts were produced—around the turn of the millennium—relatively understudied as a discrete period of manuscript production and decoration. In this section I summarise some of the work most relevant to my research, focusing on articles relating primarily to the period of interest of this thesis.

Richard Gameson has worked extensively on the decoration of manuscripts in this period, including broad overviews of types of decoration (1991, 2011a) and investigations into individual manuscripts (1992). In his 1992 article he discusses the different types of decorated initials found in this period, as first codified by Francis Wormald (1945); these types of initials are referred to in several of his other works, and a summary of the types is included here for reference:

1. ‘The embellished letter — a pen-work character, often of a single colour, with one or more of its strokes lengthened and enhanced with some type of decorative flourish’ (Gameson, 1992: 116). This type of initial is the most commonly found one within the First Series corpus, and can be seen in the overwhelming majority of the manuscripts, spanning a wide range of time and place of origin. Some of the manuscripts that include initials of this type are MS E, MS H, and MS V, as well as many others in the corpus.



Figure 1: Embellished letter. MS E, fo. 81r

2. Wormald's Type I initial: a letter constructed, at least partially, of complete or near-complete animals and birds. These initials were common in the first half of the tenth century, and continued to be produced throughout the early medieval English period (Gameson, 1992: 116). This type of initial is much rarer in the Ælfrician manuscripts, and is found only twice in the entire corpus, each time in MS D2.



Figure 2: Type I initial. MS D2, fo. 21r

3. Wormald's Type II initial: similar to the Type I initial, except rather than whole animals being used to construct the letter, only the heads of beasts are used for decoration, and the beasts' heads are interwoven with interlace (Gameson, 1992: 116). This type of initial is slightly more common than Type I initials in Ælfrician manuscripts but is still very rare. It occurs only in MS D1, MS D2, and MS L.



Figure 3: Type II initial. MS L, fo. 61r

4. Franco-Saxon-based capitals: these letters are subdivided into panels, with symmetrical interlace and incorporations of beasts' heads (Gameson, 1992:

116). These initials are derived from the decorated initials from Franco-Saxon manuscripts. No initials of this type are found within the First Series corpus.

Gameson notes as well that in addition to these types of initials, ‘a wide range of Anglo-Saxon books have initials and capitals which, although essentially plain in themselves, are deployed in such a way that they have a striking ornamental effect’ (Gameson, 1992: 117). This judicious use of enlarged initials can be seen across the corpus: even in manuscripts such as MS A, a relatively undecorated manuscript, the text-beginning letters are given exaggerated descenders that box in the edges of the text (fo. 14v), or are carefully and precisely drawn around the body of the text to suggest a sense of full-page cohesion (fo. 190r). Elsewhere in the same article Gameson discusses the display script used in the Tanner Bede, noting the use of display capitals that are sometimes used to present first lines of Old English texts. He argues this feature is common in later pre-Conquest English manuscripts (Gameson, 1992: 140) and it indeed occurs throughout many of the manuscripts in the Ælfrian corpus, where display capitals are sometimes the only form of decoration found within the manuscript: manuscripts in which display capitals are used following decorated initials include MS O and MS Q, and manuscripts in which display capitals are used in lieu of any other type of decorations include MS P and MS U.

In his overview of manuscript decoration from c. 871–c. 1100, from the reign of Alfred the Great to that of William Rufus, Gameson explains that the primary form of decoration in manuscripts at the beginning of this period comprises Type I decorated initials (Gameson, 2011a: 249). These initials, in his view, lack the skill and finesse of initials found in Insular manuscripts; nevertheless, ‘these letters stand at the head of a vigorous and lengthier tradition: their robust descendants [...] were the dominant form of book decoration during the first half of the tenth century, and continued in occasional use into the eleventh’ (Gameson, 2011a: 249). He also comments on the ubiquity of this type of decoration, pointing out that these initials were at times the main, if not sole, form of decoration found in even the highest status manuscripts, whether written in Latin or the vernacular (Gameson, 2011a: 250). By the mid-tenth century, continental influences had changed the house style of manuscripts produced at St Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury, and a different form of decorative initial was subsequently popularised: the Type II initial (Gameson, 2011a: 252). He notes as well other aspects of manuscript decoration, including frontispieces (Gameson, 2011a: 253), the use of decorative borders (Gameson,

2011a: 254), miniatures (Gameson, 2011a: 255), and the use of gold (Gameson, 2011a: 260); most of these, however, do not feature in the manuscripts under study here, other than a single full-page frontispiece illustration in MS E (fo. iir), and an image of Christ in a mandorla in MS U (p. 1).

Gameson argues that in this period many of the decorators of these manuscripts were likely scribes as well, and generally would have been ecclesiastics rather than professional illuminators or illustrators (Gameson, 2011a: 281). This is important to our understanding of these manuscripts: Gameson notes that in cases where a book has been written in one hand and decorated by a single artist, it is very likely that in fact the scribe and the artist were one and the same (Gameson, 2011a: 282). We also know from the surviving manuscript evidence that decoration was generally the final stage of production of a manuscript: texts were rarely left incomplete, but many manuscripts contain blank spaces left intentionally for enlarged initials or illustrations that were never added (Gameson, 2011a: 283–4). He argues that neither vernacular nor Latin homiliaries were regularly decorated to any extent in this period (Gameson, 2011a: 287), an assertion borne out by the manuscripts in this corpus: these First Series manuscripts are generally not elaborated upon aside from their decorated initials.

In an earlier work, Gameson (1991) focuses specifically on texts produced in the period of transition between pre-Conquest and early Anglo-Norman manuscript decoration, the period in which many of Ælfric's works were copied. Gameson states that a 'primary concern of eleventh-century scriptoria seems to have been the copying of homiletic texts, particularly the works of Ælfric' (1991: 71). He further observes that these works were rarely decorated (1991: 71). In this article, Gameson discusses all aspects of manuscript decoration, each given its own section; specifically relevant to Ælfrician manuscripts is his observation that Winchester remained the most important centre for the production of decorated books in the mid-eleventh century (as it was in the preceding one), followed by Christ Church and St Augustine's, Canterbury (Gameson, 1991: 67). Although only one of the Ælfrician manuscripts is thought to have been produced at Winchester—MS M, likely dating from the mid-eleventh century—several have been placed by scholars at either a Canterbury or a south-eastern scriptorium, including MS D, MS F, MS G, MS L, MS N, and MS U. Gameson also notes that '[t]he systematic use of fine decorated initials to adorn library texts had been a notable feature of the two Canterbury scriptoria during their attempts to

build book collections, but these were projects of the tenth and early eleventh centuries: decorated initials appear only sporadically in books of mid-eleventh-century date and they lack coherence of style' (Gameson, 1991: 71). As many of the Ælfrician manuscripts were produced in the mid-eleventh century or later, they are less finely decorated than either their predecessors or their successors; despite this lack of stylistic coherence, some later manuscripts in the First Series corpus do contain initials drawn with several colours of ink. Gameson cites these multi-coloured initials as the immediate ancestors of the more elaborate *arabesque* initials found later in the twelfth century (Gameson, 1991: 74). Notably, MS G, one of the latest Ælfrician manuscripts, makes extensive use of multiple colours: almost every single enlarged initial in the entire manuscript is drawn in one colour and decorated with at least one other. MS N and MS B also make frequent use of multiple colours of ink within the same initial throughout.

Finally, Gameson's remarks on how decoration from the tenth and early eleventh centuries sometimes served as direct exemplars to manuscripts later in the century are highly relevant to the current investigation. He notes two examples of this, one being the decorative frames of the Exeter Gospels (Cambridge UL MS li.2.11, likely copied from a late tenth-century model), and the other the evangelist portrait in the Wadham Gospels (Oxford, Wadham College, MS A.18.3) that may derive from the same exemplar as the Grimbold Gospels (BL, Add. MS 34890) of c. 1025 (Gameson, 1991: 76–77). Although there are neither any decorative frames nor portraits of this type in the First Series corpus (aside from the previously mentioned full-page illustration at the beginning of MS E), Gameson's identification of decorative exemplars is key to this thesis. These transmitted decorative frames, sitting in the conceptual space between illustrations and decorated initials, provides further evidence that all aspects of manuscript layout and decoration could be copied alongside the texts they accompanied. Gameson also discusses a single highly elaborate initial design, the **B** beginning Psalm I, first seen in BL, Harley 2904, which was then repeated by scribes and artists until the end of the eleventh century with only minor variation (Gameson, 1991: 81).

Martin Kauffmann (2011) focuses on a later period than Gameson, addressing the types of decoration found in manuscripts produced in England from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Despite Ælfric's works originating around the turn of the millennium, they continued to be copied for over a century after the Conquest, and six or seven

manuscripts containing Ælfrician works are believed to have been compiled during the twelfth century.¹ Kauffmann notes that despite the increase in book production in the twelfth century, fewer than ten percent of the books contained ‘extensive illustration’ (Kauffmann, 2011: 474). Despite this, the use of decorated initials alongside rubrics was commonplace: these decorative features were used by scribes as tools by which to ‘structure a text, aiding memorisation and cueing the process of recollection by means of which a reader engaged with a text’ (Kauffmann, 2011: 475). The use of a decorative hierarchy was thus also vital, meaning that size and elaboration of an initial could transmit information to the reader about textual divisions and the importance of a text (Kauffmann, 2011: 475).

M.B. Parkes discusses the use of decorative hierarchies within manuscripts, providing a brief summary of the styles and changes made to manuscript layout between c. 1100 and c. 1425 (Parkes, 2011). The key point throughout concerns how the layout of the text conveys information about its content: as Parkes summarises at the beginning of the chapter, ‘[t]he way in which a text was presented on the page had to be appropriate not only to the needs of these readers but also to the content of the text’ (Parkes, 2011: 55). There is no real variation in the layout of First Series Ælfrician texts: they are always single columns of long lines. Where the differences in the appearance of texts are most pronounced is in the use of enlarged and decorated initials, which, by the twelfth century, signalled a complex hierarchy of scripts that scribes used to mark textual divisions or the relative importance of the text, as mentioned above (Parkes, 2011: 64). Parkes also refers to the use of a large secondary display script following decorated initials to reinforce this hierarchical structure.

One final highly relevant chapter on early medieval English decorated initials is Catherine E. Karkov’s work that focuses specifically on initials from the later pre-Conquest period (Karkov, 2017: 45–63). Karkov’s thesis throughout the chapter is that these decorated initials should be seen neither as drawing nor as writing, but as both at once, as two aspects of a single inseparable event: ‘Though some details may be added later, both the “letter” and the “decorated” elements of the initials are the products of a single series of strokes. They are not just intermediary between text and image, they both are and are

¹ These later manuscripts are MS B, MS C, MS G, MS L, MS N, MS O, and MS S.

not text and image, the way in which we see them depending on the visual or conceptual lens through which we perceive and interpret them' (Karkov, 2017: 47). Similarly, Karkov uses the terms 'artist-scribe' or 'scribe-artist' throughout the chapter in order to emphasise that there was rarely a distinction between the two roles. She suggests that the term 'letter-drawing' may be more descriptive of these types of letters than 'decorative initial' because of the intersecting space which these characters occupy (Karkov, 2017: 48). She discusses the decorated initials in two manuscripts in detail, the Durham Collectar (Durham MS A IV 19) and Junius 11 (Bodleian Library MS Junius 11), in order to show how these initials bridge the gap in between text and visual aspects of these manuscripts (Karkov, 2017: 62). This conceptual overlap is highly useful for the current discussion of the manuscripts in the Ælfrician corpus, as most of these manuscripts contain no decorative elements aside from the 'letter-drawings' described by Karkov.

3.1.1 *PRODUCING THE MANUSCRIPT*

A manuscript may be written by a single scribe, or by any number of them. Within the Ælfrician corpus, the number of hands found in a single manuscript ranges from one (e.g. in MS D) to as many as four contemporary hands (e.g. in MS E). Similarly, a single person may have been responsible for all of the decoration in a manuscript, or, as is the case for the ambitious British Library MS Harley 603, as many as four different artists may have been responsible for the decorations in the book (Gameson, 2011a: 283). There are several types of evidence that indicate how many people may have worked on a manuscript, including the similarity of the hand and the decoration throughout the manuscript, the extent to which the decoration has been interwoven with the text itself, and the size of the scriptorium at which it was produced (Gameson, 2011a: 282). Although manuscripts with unfinished programmes of decoration are not uncommon, manuscripts where the texts have been left incomplete are very rare, indicating that almost always the decorations were produced following the completion of the body of the text (Gameson, 2011a: 285). Some Ælfrician works that reflect this incomplete stage of production include MS Xⁱ and MS X^g, two fragmentary manuscripts. These two manuscripts, each of which contains only brief sections of Ælfrician text, contain no enlarged text-beginning initials; rather, at the beginning of each text, empty spaces were left where a later scribe was clearly meant to draw in these letters, most likely in red ink.

3.1.2 *TYPES OF MANUSCRIPT DECORATION*

Many different forms of decoration are found in manuscripts: at the more deluxe end of the spectrum are full-page illustrations and frontispieces, with pen-work illustrations in full colour. Also associated with more luxurious productions are historiated initials, and miniatures set throughout the text to illustrate or complement the contents. The use of precious metals, sometimes silver, but more commonly gold, is also associated with high-status manuscripts. These deluxe types of decoration will not be discussed further, as they either do not appear in the First Series corpus, or appear so infrequently as to be unhelpful to the current study. Within the Ælfrician corpus, the types of decoration found are almost entirely limited in scope to enlarged and decorated initials, most commonly found at the beginnings of texts, the use of coloured inks, and rubrication.

Manuscripts containing texts by Ælfric are not especially elaborate productions, even compared to some other manuscripts produced in England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This is not, however, a feature unique to Ælfrician manuscripts, but rather a trend that holds across all homiliaries from the period: these Ælfrician manuscripts were meant for reading and active use, rather than public displays of wealth, and before the Conquest, neither Old English nor Latin books of this type tended to be decorated (Gameson, 2011a: 287). The Ælfrician manuscripts are therefore not especially *lacking* in decoration, but rather full of it compared to other vernacular homiliaries: the extent of decoration that exists in some First Series manuscripts is somewhat remarkable, given the genre and type of texts contained within.

3.1.3 DECORATION IN THE MANUSCRIPTS

The primary forms of decoration found within the Ælfrician manuscripts are rubrication, use of coloured inks, and decorated initials. As mentioned in the above section, MS E and MS U both contain illustrations; this is discussed in further detail below, in the chapter describing the First Series manuscripts (p. 58 and p. 84).

3.1.3.1.1 Rubrication

Rubrics are individual words or entire sections of text written with red ink. Rubrics are, as a rule, red, as is implied in the name: from the Latin *rubrica*, meaning red ochre (OED,

2020: *rubric*).² Ink based on red lead, or *minium*, in particular, appears to have been favoured by early English scribes: in an Old English gloss for *minium*, the colour is called *bocread*, or ‘book red’ (Gameson, 2011b: 82). Other red pigments include the use of vermilion, although it has not been certainly identified in a British manuscript prior to the twelfth century (Gameson, 2011b: 83); mineral reds, such as red ochre, were used on occasion, but were demonstrably less popular than red lead (Gameson, 2011b: 83).

3.1.3.1.2 Rubrication in Ælfrician Manuscripts

The use of rubrication is remarkably standard across the entire corpus. It is common practice throughout for scribes to begin each individual text with a brief, descriptive ‘heading’, both to indicate that a new text has begun as well as to describe the contents of the following text. These headings are employed similarly to modern titles, and are copied from manuscript to manuscript along with the texts. None of the manuscripts use any colour of ink for rubrics aside from red, despite the many other colours demonstrably available to the scribes. On occasion, a manuscript’s rubrics may appear as metallic grey or silver (such as in MS A, MS E, and MS Q), but this is due to colour degradation or oxidisation, and not a reflection of the original colour of ink. When possible, the rubrics appear on the same page as the text they correspond to, although on occasion matters of space have forced other arrangements, as on fos 56v and 57r in MS D2.³ The placement of the rubric in relation to the enlarged text-beginning initial varies: at times, the rubric is in a line wholly above the top of the enlarged letter, but often when a text-beginning initial contains an ascender or decorative feature that extends into the margin, the rubric is wrapped around the letter.⁴

In the corpus, rubrics are almost always written in a different script from the one used to write the body of the text. This is standard for multilingual manuscripts: Latin is frequently written in a different script from Old English, creating a visual distinction between the two languages within a single volume (Crick, 2011: 179). This separation of scripts used for the vernacular and Latin was solidified by c. 1010 (Crick, 2011: 179) and

² There are instances in this thesis where I refer to sections of text written in black ink as rubrics; this is because the rubrication in all other manuscripts is written in red, and the black ink used in the manuscript under discussion was likely an error by the scribe.

³ In this instance, the rubric appears at the end of one page, and the text begins on the top of the next.

⁴ An example of this can be seen in MS V, where the rubric is placed perpendicular to the stem of an **L** (p. 150).

continued for decades, ending in the early twelfth century likely as a result of the Conquest (Crick, 2011: 185). It is notable, then, that in several of the latest Ælfrician manuscripts—MS B, MS L, and MS G—the script used for the rubrics is not especially different from that used for the body of the text: in MS B and MS L, the forms in the rubrics and the bodies of the text are exceptionally similar, with some variation in letter-form and capitalisation, but in MS G, the rubrics and the bodies of the texts are all but identical, distinguished only through the use of red ink. This lack of distinction between the types of text is therefore an additional piece of evidence useful for dating later manuscripts.

3.1.3.1.3 Coloured Inks

A multitude of coloured inks were theoretically available to scribes and artists during this period; however, the actual use of extensive colour coincides strongly with periods of prosperity as the organisation necessary to obtain or create pigments required effort and resources (Gameson, 2011b: 74). The colours used in a manuscript reflected the ‘nature of the text, the projected function of the volume, and the prosperity, connections and scribal standards of the centre that produced it’ (Gameson, 2011b: 78). The most commonly used colour of ink was black or dark brown, used for not only the bodies of texts but display script and decoration as well (Gameson, 2011b: 80). Following black ink, red was the most widely used colour of ink, employed for rubrics, decoration, and highlighting, and ‘very occasionally it was used for longer sections of text’ (Gameson, 2011b: 82). Other common colours available to scribes of this period include yellow, green, blue, and purple; more rare were orange and white (Gameson, 2011b: 80–8). In addition to pigments, metals were also used for elaboration, most commonly gold. Gameson states that ‘[a]side from its aesthetic appeal, gold added both intrinsic and symbolic value to a book, conveying the worth of its words and the veneration with which it was regarded’ (Gameson, 2011b: 91). More uncommonly, silver was used as well, although not as a substitution for gold, but rather a ‘metallic counterpoint’ (Gameson, 2011b: 92).

3.1.3.1.4 Coloured Inks in the corpus

In addition to the black or dark brown ink used for the body of the text, every Ælfrician manuscript in the First Series corpus also uses red ink, making red far and away the most common colour used for decorative purposes. In addition to its use in rubrics, red ink is also frequently used for enlarged, text-beginning initials, as well as a style of simple

decoration sometimes referred to as in-filling, or ‘touching’ with a colour (Gameson, 2011b: 76), where letters written in black are filled or enhanced with areas of another colour. This can be seen regularly throughout MS K and MS L, in which almost all capital letters are treated in this way. This feature is also frequent in MS N, MS O, and MS V. Following red, the most frequently used colour of ink in the manuscripts is green, with sixteen of the manuscripts containing green ink in addition to red.⁵ Green ink is used in a much more limited capacity than red ink: when green appears, it is limited to text-beginning initials only, and is not used for in-filling in letters with ink or rubrics. The same holds for blue ink, rarer than green, used in seven manuscripts, and purple ink, the rarest of all, used in only three manuscripts—MS D, MS O, and MS T. This use of ink is in line with other manuscripts from this period: in earlier centuries yellow was favoured for highlighting letters in British manuscripts, but by the early ninth century red was greatly preferred for this purpose (Gameson, 2011b: 78).

3.1.3.1.5 Decorated Initials

In this thesis, the letters of interest will generally be referred to as text-beginning initials, but enlarged initials, *litterae notabiliores*, opening letters, and other various terms are all used interchangeably in other scholarship (the reasons for which are discussed in the following section). Different types of decorated initials reflect different hierarchies in the text (Parkes, 2011: 64), and aided the medieval reader in determining where textual divisions took place (Kauffmann, 2011: 475). A single folio may have multiple sizes and types of decorated initials, each slightly different from one another. Some styles of these decorated initials are associated with specific centres; for example, the offsetting of initials into the left-hand margin is associated with Rochester scriptoria (Treharne, 2000: 16).

3.1.3.1.6 Decorated Initials in Ælfrician Manuscripts

The style, size, and extent to which initials within the Ælfrician First Series corpus are decorated varies widely, and only a brief summary is provided here. There are multiple

⁵ The manuscripts that use green ink in addition to red are not especially closely related to one another in origin of period of production; rather, it seems that green ink was simply the second-most commonly available colour of ink.

ways in which an initial may be elaborated upon within the First Series manuscripts. The most common ways are as follows:

1. A letter is written larger than others in the manuscript, often taking up multiple lines in height. For the purposes of the current study, letters at least one full line tall, defined as a letter stretching from the very top of a single ruled space to the very bottom, are considered enlarged in this way; any less than this is more akin to a majuscule letter rather than an enlarged one. Every manuscript in the Ælfrician First Series corpus contains enlarged letters, almost always occurring at the beginning of new items of text. Enlarged letters in the corpus can be as small as a single line tall, up to as tall as 9.5 lines in height. Most often, much of the height of these exceptionally tall letters will be made up of a decorative ascender or descender. These enlarged letters are almost always written in ink that is not black or brown.



Figure 4: Enlarged, undecorated initial. MS C, p. 151

2. A letter is written in a colour of ink aside from black or brown, but is not especially enlarged. This is a feature most commonly associated with the highlighting of specific names within the bodies of the texts themselves. An example of this can be seen within the homily *ÆCHom* I, 33, a homily for the Seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost, which contains the phrase ‘Beda se trahtnere’ (‘Bede the commentator’): the letter **B** beginning this name is written with red ink in MS C, MS F, and possibly MS H.⁶ Conversely, the **B** in MS A, MS D, and MS Q is not coloured in this way.

⁶ The colour of the **B** in MS H is difficult to ascertain because of the damaged condition of the manuscript.

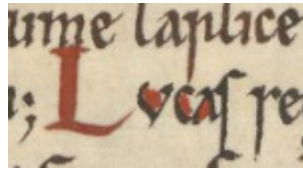


Figure 5: Non-enlarged, coloured initial.

3. A letter is elaborated upon in some way. As mentioned above, there are no illuminated or historiated initials in the corpus, and a limited palette of colours is utilised. Despite this, the text-beginning initials in these manuscripts display a wide array of decorative features. Some letters may be elaborated upon only very slightly: an example of this is a green **M** in MS E (fo. 128v), which is almost entirely undecorated aside from two small dots on the right stem of the letter. Another **M** in the same manuscript (fo. 350r) is highly similar in shape to the original **M**, but wholly undecorated.



Figure 6: MS E, fo. 128v; fo. 350r; fo. 132v

Yet another **M** (fo. 132v) sits closer to the other end of the spectrum: drawn in red ink, this letter is highly elaborate, with multiple spots along the stems, foliate terminals, spiralling designs, and parallel lines. Some manuscripts, like MS A and MS J, are less decorated overall; whilst some, like MS D, MS F, and MS B, are much more so.

Seven initials within MS D are remarkable within the First Series corpus, six of which occur in MS D2. These letters are either elaborated upon with biting beasts' heads or are composed entirely of beasts. The first letters of both MS D1 and MS D2 are each decorated with mostly-whole pen-work beasts in the style of a Type I initial, and two following initials in MS D2, an **S** (fo. 21r) and an **F** (fo. 57r), are drawn in the Type II style, using only beasts' and birds' heads to elaborate on the letter. Following these, there are three more initials with beasts' heads incorporated into them: two **Ds** (fo. 110v and fo. 127v) and a **U** (fo. 135r). These initials are different enough from the preceding ones, both in style and

quality of illustration, that it is possible that they were added later by another hand. Regardless of their provenance, they are still very uncommon within the corpus; none of the other manuscripts, many of which were supplemented and annotated over the centuries, have elaborations of this type. The only other Type I initial in the entire manuscript corpus is an **Æ** in MS L (fo. 61r). A bird's head adorns the top of the character, and a beast's head acts as a crossbar of the letter; something that could be additional zoomorphic decoration appears at the terminal of the right stem of the **Æ**, but appears to be unfinished or highly degraded.



Figure 7: MS D2, fo. 21r; MS L, fo. 61r

One final exceptional decorated initial worth noting is an **M** in MS N (fo. 131r), which contains two eyes, a small nose, and a mouth drawn within the left-hand bowl of the character. This decoration is different from not only all of the other decorations within MS N, but all of the decorated initials within the entire corpus. Its purpose here is unknown, as it does not seem to correspond with the content of the text (a homily on Easter). It is perhaps possible that the scribe intended the small human face to relate to the word itself: the word the letter begins, *Men*, means ‘people’.

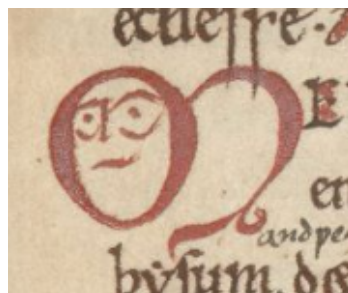


Figure 8: MS N, fo. 131r

The scribe writing the body of the text frequently left guide-initials for the later scribes who would add in text-beginning initials, as these were often inserted following the completion of the text. Most of the First Series manuscripts contain no surviving guide letters, but one, MS C, contains thirty-two guide letters visible throughout the manuscript. These guide letters are generally followed by the later scribe, but not always: on p. 99, p. 333, and p. 341, all three instances where an *æ* survives in the margin as a guide initial, the scribe has begun the text *Efter*.⁷ In another instance, the scribe of the body of the text has indicated that an enlarged *q* and an *s* should begin the text beginning on p. 211, but the decorating scribe has made an error, filling the entire available space with a large *Q* and leaving no room for the *S* that should have begun the Old English 'Se hælend'. Errors or inconsistencies such as this signal a breakdown of communication between the body scribe and the rubricator, making more likely the possibility that these two scribes were indeed different people.

3.2 THE PHYSICAL MANUSCRIPT AS A FOCUS OF STUDY

Physical aspects of individual manuscripts can also provide us with information and contexts for the texts within that would otherwise be unavailable to us. Stephen G. Nichols describes some of these aspects and their importance:

features as the ink and script of a given text; the quality and size of the material on which it is written; the layout in which it presents itself to the eye; the makeup of each individual volume, with its gathers, colophons, subscriptions, and binding; [...] all these features yield information, over and above that implied in the texts themselves, about the text's audience, its purpose, and even the intention an individual scribe may have had in producing this particular copy (Nichols, 1996: 3).

More specifically, aspects of a manuscript as a physical object that may provide valuable contexts about a given work are as follows:

⁷ This happens consistently throughout the manuscript and most probably reflects the Kentish dialect of the scribe who added the initials.

1. The layout of the page: whether it is laid out in long lines or columns, and if in columns, how many; the widths of the margins and use of empty space; and how the lines of writing are spaced on the page.
2. Any use of a non-standard black ink: rubrication, coloured initials, and any words or passages written in a colour of ink not used for the main body of the text.
3. Decorations: illustrations, either as items interspersed within the text or incorporated into illuminated initials, enlarged and decorated initials, use of precious pigments or metals, and marginalia.
4. The writing itself: the style or styles of hand used to write the main body of the text, which hand is used for which section, the number of different scribes who worked on the manuscript, the skill with which the manuscript was written, and any contemporary or later glosses.
5. Knowledge of author (or commentator, or compiler): while certainly rare in the early medieval period, there are instances in which we can be confident that the compilers or scribes of a given manuscript knew whose work they were including in their compilation, based on inclusions of authorial prefaces or in-text citations.

All of these features would have communicated authorial or scribal intent to the reader, and provided context that would shape the way a reader would approach the text. An audience would inevitably receive a lavishly decorated version of a text with wide margins differently from a more basic, undecorated, codex on low-grade parchment. Throughout the history of manuscript studies, different words and phrases have been chosen to encompass some or all of the above concepts: *ordinatio*, *mise-en-page*, page layout, codicology, paratext. Scholars often use these terms in different ways from one another, and on occasion treat them as interchangeable. In this section I summarise some of the most commonly used terms, show how they overlap or differ from one another, and discuss the appropriateness of each for this project.

3.3 *ORDINATIO*

Ordinatio refers to the structural organisation of the text on the page, specifically in a manner intended to elucidate the text for the reader (Parkes, 2011: 69). This word is more likely to be used in slightly older scholarship, especially when referring to Classical or non-vernacular texts (especially the Vulgate Bible). In his chapter on *ordinatio* and *compilatio* and their relationship to early books, M.B. Parkes (1991) tracks how the concepts developed in their manuscript contexts. He argues that the development of this new type of page organisation was concurrent with the development of new types of

books, reflecting new types of scholastic thought; rather than the monastic *lectio*, which was ‘a spiritual exercise which involved steady reading to oneself, interspersed by prayer, and pausing for rumination on the text as a basis for *meditatio*’ (Parkes, 1991: 35), these new books were geared towards a ‘scholastic *lectio*’, which was ‘a process of study which involved a more ratiocinative scrutiny of the text and consultation for reference purposes’ (Parkes, 1991: 35). New ways of presenting a text were developed for these different reading practices, and developments in scholastic method were bound up with the development of manuscript layout (Parkes, 1991: 35). Parkes argues that *ordinatio* developed due to two major aspects in scholastic thought in the medieval period: stabilised glosses of texts, especially the Bible, leading to standardised page layouts; and the development of a new method of analysing texts, whereby ‘[t]he application of scholastic method demanded closer scrutiny of the arguments, and the organisation of the material according to new topics produced the need for more ostensible guides to the new organisation to facilitate reference’ (Parkes, 1991: 37). From this developed a new method of textual organisation, where in order to facilitate understanding of complex lines of reasoning, complex systems of *ordinatio* were devised (Parkes, 1991: 37). These systems included the heavy use of marginal labelling and subheadings: primary arguments would be identified in a section of text, as well as secondary and tertiary ones, followed by any counter-arguments and responses, all of which would be labelled clearly for this new type of reader to both understand as well as easily refer back to at a later date (Parkes, 1991: 49). Aspects of textual elaboration were used too, with *litterae notabiliores*, coloured inks, and punctuation marks signalling new sections of text (Parkes, 1991: 52). Broadly, *ordinatio* was an attempt by the scribes to organise a complex medieval text in a manner whereby the structure of the text’s reasoning was reflected in the physical book.

There are some problems with the use of the term *ordinatio* in the discussion of Old English manuscripts. One limitation is that *ordinatio* frequently refers to a very specific use of headings, subheadings, and marginal notes, a system uncommon in manuscripts produced before around the thirteenth century, and in those written in the vernacular. There are certainly aspects of physical manuscripts that may convey meaning to the audience in these manuscripts, but *ordinatio* does not usually refer to these; the Ælfrian manuscripts are written primarily in the vernacular, and are older manuscripts that were produced far before the development of *ordinatio* as identified by Parkes. Furthermore, *ordinatio* also refers to only concrete aspects of the manuscript, and not, for example,

knowledge of the author, as discussed above. Therefore, this term is inappropriate for the present work, and is not used when discussing the manuscript corpus of interest here.

3.4 *MISE-EN-PAGE* AND PAGE LAYOUT

Mise-en-page means ‘the general layout and organization of the manuscript page’ (Peikola, 2009: 28). *Mise-en-page* can be translated into English as literally ‘placement on a page’, i.e. page layout, and these two terms are sometimes used interchangeably; however, some scholars use the two terms differently, arguing that the phrase *mise-en-page* promotes investigation into how page layout communicates something about the content of the text, while page layout is itself merely a descriptive term with no specific implications about the interactions between page layout and the text. Furthermore, *mise-en-page* may include aspects of the physical makeup of the manuscript that fall outside of what might be described as page layout, such as the choice of writing material (Schade, 2017: 62). Both *mise-en-page* and page layout are broader terms than *ordinatio*; instead of referring to a specific type of hierarchical organisation, these terms refer to any aspect of the physical makeup of a given page, such as the ruling pattern of pages or the number of columns used. Similarly to *ordinatio*, *mise-en-page* and page layout refer to physical, concrete features of a manuscript.

3.5 PARATEXT

The term paratext is primarily used when discussing modern publications, but can be useful in discussing certain aspects of medieval manuscripts. Defined most simply, the term refers to everything surrounding—both literally and metaphorically—a given text, which is not the text itself. The word was coined by Gérard Genette in 1987 in his book *Seuils*, translated into English a decade later as *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Genette, 1997); Genette further outlined his theory of paratext in his article ‘Introduction to the Paratext’ in 1991. Genette claims that while a literary work itself consists minimally of a *text*, this text almost never appears in its ‘naked state’ (Genette, 1997: 261), but is rather accompanied by certain pieces of information that shape how the reader or audience of the text receives and understands it. These pieces of information may either be physical, such as titles, illustrations, chapter headings, and so on; or they may be more abstract, such as knowledge of the author’s personal life, interviews with the author, or reviews of the text (Genette, 1991: 261–72). He defines the concept as ‘for us the means by which a text makes a book of itself and proposes itself to its readers, and

more generally to the public' (Genette, 1991: 262). The paratext itself is a threshold rather than a boundary: it includes those items that lie outside the ruled area of the page, or things that might encroach on that area; without vigorous boundaries, the paratext guides the reader in their interpretation and acts as a conduit between the reader and authorial intent (Genette, 1991: 262). More specifically, Genette narrows the scope of paratext to those items that are intended by the author (or, in our case, the scribes), and not that which he describes as *epitext*: for example, while the inclusion of an Ælfrician preface would be considered a part of the paratext, modern rebinding and reordering of manuscripts would not be (Genette, 1991: 262). Genette offers a series of questions that may be asked about an element of the paratext when attempting to define it as such:

To put this in a more concrete way: defining an element of the paratext consists in determining its position (the question *where?*), its date of appearance, and eventually of disappearance (*when?*), its mode of existence, verbal or other (*how?*), the characteristics of its communicating instance, addresser and addressee (*from whom? To whom?*), and the functions which give purpose to its message (*what is it good for?*) (Genette, 1991: 262).

He further points out the limits of the concept when studying items from the classical or medieval periods, arguing that texts 'frequently circulated in their almost raw state, in the form of manuscripts lacking any formula of presentation' (Genette, 1991: 263).⁸ He acknowledges that the very processes of transmission and materialisation of texts itself produce paratextual effects, but clarifies that these medieval or classical effects are limited in relation to similar effects associated with modern texts (Genette, 1991: 263). For scholars more familiar with manuscripts, however, it is clear that medieval manuscripts are just as enmeshed within paratextual features as modern publications, albeit different ones.

Paratext perhaps encompasses a larger number of concepts than any of the other terms discussed in this section, but is a controversial term for scholars of the medieval period. Many of the aspects of paratext that are relevant to this study are also (and perhaps more specifically) included within other terms more specific to the field. In this thesis, almost

⁸ A claim that many working in these fields would likely take issue with.

all of the aspects of manuscripts I investigate fall into the category of *mise-en-page*; furthermore, by using this term, I also define the scope of my study more specifically than I would than by using the term ‘paratext’. In this thesis, therefore, I prefer the terms *mise-en-page* and page layout when discussing non-textual aspects of Ælfrician manuscripts. There is perhaps one exception to this generalisation: the scribes who copied Ælfric’s texts on occasion had knowledge of Ælfric as the creator of the piece, either because they worked directly under him in the production of the manuscript, or through the compiler’s inclusion of his Latin prefaces, wherein he identifies himself. This knowledge may certainly have influenced the scribes and readers of these manuscripts, and is not covered under any of the terms defined above aside from paratext.

3.6 ‘COMPARATIVE’ MANUSCRIPT STUDIES

Investigations into aspects of manuscript *mise-en-page* are not uncommon, but scholars tend to focus their attentions on specific features rather than investigating *all* aspects of a manuscript’s *mise-en-page* or paratext. Furthermore, a tendency in the field is to conduct an in-depth investigation into a single manuscript, rather than taking a comparative approach to multiple volumes.

One scholar who has worked extensively on *mise-en-page* in Ælfrician manuscripts is Elaine Treharne. In her 2009 article on readers of Ælfric in the post-Conquest period, Treharne explores the multitude of ways these later readers of Ælfric both received and reinterpreted existing Ælfrician manuscripts. In this article, she points out that the so-called Tremulous Hand of Worcester, working in the first half of the thirteenth century, was not only aware of Ælfric as the author of specific texts, but also of ‘his status in the English church, and his role as writer and teacher’ (Treharne, 2009: 401). It is uncertain if the Tremulous Hand had an accurate impression of Ælfric and his status in the church, but he clearly considered him a figure of some significance. We know this partly because the Tremulous Hand wrote a short poem in which he discussed some of the great figures of English learning; in this poem, he lists Ælfric alongside luminaries such as Bede and Alcuin (Treharne, 2009: 402). The Tremulous Hand’s knowledge of and admiration for Ælfric would have shaped the way in which the Hand understood Ælfrician texts, and likely the way later readers of the Hand’s work did as well. Treharne also discusses how an investigation into the *mise-en-page* of a manuscript can provide information about how the manuscript may have been used, using as an example MS F, a manuscript discussed in

more detail below (pp. 59–61). She cites its generous interlinear space, relative lack of abbreviation and consistent capitalisation, and its fairly large size as evidence that this manuscript was intended by its creator to be used for reading aloud from a short distance, i.e. from a lectern (Treharne, 2009: 407). In this case, investigation of the physical manuscript provides information on its history and use. Treharne also discusses the production and script of five twelfth-century Ælfrician manuscripts (MS C, MS G, MS N, MS O, and MS S) in an earlier chapter, focusing on the physical features of these manuscripts (Treharne, 2000: 13). She specifically describes the chapter as ‘a preliminary codicological and palaeographical overview of some of the major vernacular manuscripts written from c. 1100–c. 1160’ (Treharne, 2000: 13), a period of manuscript production that has been understudied as discussed above. She first summarises the codicology and script of these manuscripts, using this information to analyse the evolution of English vernacular script in the twelfth century. In this chapter, Treharne uses the physical features of the manuscript in order to uncover new information about non-physical aspects of manuscript production. Treharne’s work has been invaluable to the current discussion about extra-textual aspects of Ælfrician manuscripts.

Further studies into the *mise-en-page* of a manuscript have provided valuable information about the texts within the volume. One example of a study of this type is Johanna Green’s unpublished doctoral thesis (2012). In this thesis, Green takes a multifaceted approach: in addition to a section of textual criticism that discusses the content and themes of a group of poems in the Exeter Book, she also examines textual divisions in the manuscript and the *litterae notabiliores* that help to signify these divisions. She concludes that the decoration and sizes of *litterae notabiliores* in the manuscript are not arbitrary choices, but rather consistently signal different types of textual division (Green, 2012: 161). Green uses the evidence provided by the Exeter Book’s *mise-en-page*, combined with textual evidence, to strengthen her argument that three poems, *Judgement Day I*, *Resignation A*, and *Resignation B*, are in fact meant to be read as a single conceptual unit (Green, 2012: 162). Green’s work is a relatively current example of how this sort of close manuscript study can complement more traditional scholarly techniques.

There are several further examples of this type of manuscript study that focus on later, post-Conquest items. Matti Peikola’s work on the Wycliffite Bible (2009) analyses aspects of the *mise-en-page* in certain manuscripts containing the Wycliffite Bible in order to

further scholarly understanding of those manuscripts, specifically the relationships between them. There exist more than 250 extant manuscripts containing at least part of the Wycliffite translation of the Bible, making it difficult to track the history and distribution of the text. Peikola analyses the *mise-en-page* of the manuscripts in order to suggest possible groupings that could prove fruitful for more detailed investigation (Peikola, 2009: 29). He cites the possibility that minutiae of *mise-en-page*, in this case ruling patterns, could indicate that one manuscript has served as the exemplar for another, and discusses the theoretical use of a comparative *mise-en-page* investigation as analogous to the comparison of textual evolution from manuscript to manuscript (Peikola, 2009: 28). Peikola argues that groups of manuscripts that share very similar ruling patterns may be identified as possibly originating from the same centres of production (Peikola, 2009: 49–51), using extra-textual features to argue for the existence of relationships between these manuscripts.

In his 1995 monograph, Murray J. Evans conducts a detailed analysis into a group of Middle English romances alongside the manuscripts that contain these texts. Evans uses a statistical analysis of the manuscripts' decoration to determine that romances are generally more decorated than other genres of text; following this conclusion, he claims that it is possible that if a text was under-decorated, the audience may not have realised the text should be read as a romance. Evans further demonstrates how this type of approach can help to answer other questions in manuscript studies: his analysis of the standard text divisions in the Auchinleck manuscript (National Library of Scotland, Adv MS 19.2.1) concludes based on salient text-ending and text-beginning features that *Guy of Warwick* is best read as two texts, rather than as one or three. Evans' use of genre to successfully address quantifiable aspects of a manuscript's *mise-en-page* is unusual, and acts as a valuable precursor to the current thesis. The scribes and decorators of these texts clearly had some conception of the type of texts they copied, which affected how they wrote and decorated the texts.

Another example of this analysis of extra-textual features in later manuscripts is Roger Dahood's article on coloured initials in early manuscripts of the *Ancrene Riwe* (1988). In this paper, he discusses six manuscripts that contain 'generally similar texts, [and] preserve the treatise apparently much as the author conceived it' (Dahood, 1988: 79). Not only does he discuss page layout and subordination of sections, he categorises the section-

beginning initials by line height. He shows that there are broadly two different approaches towards the layout of the text in these six manuscripts: one system renders all initials virtually the same size, while one uses a series of graduated initials to convey information about textual hierarchy (Dahood, 1988: 92). Most relevantly to the current study, he notes that this layout involving graduated initials is most likely intrinsically linked to the *Ancrene Riwe*'s genre as a study text, and that this series of initials, although more complicated for scribes to reproduce, was specifically designed to aid the readers in their grasp of both individual passages and the overall structure of the work (Dahood, 1988: 97).

Finally concerning how aspects of *mise-en-page* and the textual content of manuscripts interact with one another, Martha Rust discusses in her 2007 monograph how aspects of the physical manuscript frequently relate to or enhance the reader's understanding of the text it contains, creating a 'space' wherein readers may interact with and create interpretations of the manuscript (Rust, 2007: 5). She terms this space the 'manuscript matrix', using the word 'matrix' in its definition of network to emphasise the range of interactive processes she says may happen in this space (Rust, 2007: 7). The first example she gives of this interaction is how an illustration in the Beaufort of Beauchamp Hours reinforces the message of the accompanying text: the text, *Angelus ad virginem*, 'stresses the privacy of the meeting between Gabriel and the Virgin'; the image, an illustration of the scene, is set specifically within a recessed architectural niche on the page (Rust, 2000: 1). Throughout the book she emphasises the ways in which the physical manuscript and the texts interact with and inform one other.

3.7 CONCLUSION

In this section, I have outlined the methodology used in this thesis for categorising and describing the enlarged, text-beginning initials within Ælfrician First Series manuscripts. I have also summarised selected relevant scholarship concerning manuscript decoration in later Old English manuscripts, as well as previous work focused on the relationship between physical and textual aspects of the manuscript, and how this physical appearance may augment our understanding of the content within. This information provides the appropriate context for the following case studies on individual Ælfrician texts and clusters of manuscripts, and demonstrates how the current work fits into a wider field of research. I turn now to a summary of First Series scholarship, and to descriptions of the manuscripts used for this study.

4 RESEARCH CONTEXT AND THE ÆLFRICIAN FIRST SERIES CORPUS

This section contextualises my research within the broader field of Ælfrician scholarship, and is followed by an introduction to the manuscripts that I discuss in this thesis. All of the manuscripts used in the following case studies are those that contain a significant portion of Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies. As the First Series texts are the basis of this corpus, I also include here a scholarly summary of the First Series, as well as an overview of selected relevant scholarship. I follow with a brief section on the textual phases in these Ælfrician manuscripts as determined by Clemoes in his edition of the First Series (Clemon, 1997: 64–97), augmented with Kleist's more recent refinement of these phases (Kleist, 2019: 20–39). This information is useful both for understanding the dissemination of the texts as well as the relationships between individual manuscripts or manuscript clusters. I then introduce each manuscript in the corpus, with summary information about its date, provenance, and textual affiliation. Greater detail is provided for manuscripts that are the basis of case studies in later chapters; I also include sections on manuscript decoration and other relevant extra-textual elements. The manuscripts are discussed in order of the alphabetical sigla assigned to them by Clemon. Information about fragmentary manuscripts has not been included in this section, as these manuscripts fall outside the remit of the current study.⁹

4.1 ÆLFRIC AND HIS WORKS

Ælfric of Eynsham was a highly prolific translator and author, active in the years 989–1006 CE (Kleist, 2019: 7). He is known to have produced more than two hundred works over the course of his career, and is the single most well-represented author in the surviving Old English prose corpus. Furthermore, his uniquely humanising prefaces and correspondences paint a picture of a man beset by concerns: of orthodoxy, literacy and education, and the souls of his fellow countrymen. These two facets have made Ælfric and his texts a popular

⁹ For more information on why fragmentary manuscripts are not included, see p. 15.

area of study, in general focusing either on the man and his life¹⁰ or on the texts he produced.¹¹

A full discussion of Ælfric and his work is not necessary for the current project; I here focus on several pieces of scholarship most relevant to the First Series of Catholic Homilies, the texts under consideration here. Aaron Kleist has recently produced a summary of all available Ælfrician material, reassessing the chronology of Ælfric's life and the release of his major works, as well as potentially adding dozens of new texts to the canon (Kleist, 2019: 2). Kleist further clarifies the timeline of Ælfric's working life, as well as the posited history of each series of Catholic Homilies and their dissemination. He addresses the production and textual history of the First Series in his chapter on chronology, and follows with a series of tables that summarise all phases of the text (Kleist, 2019: 51–7).

Several key works describe how Ælfric produced his compositions; as the First Series was his earliest major undertaking, completed around 989 (Kleist, 2019: 7), we may assume that his process of reading and compiling from authoritative sources was refined during his work on the Series. Malcolm Godden discusses the resources that Ælfric most likely used when composing his texts, identifying these through a combination of textual similarities and Ælfric's own claims regarding his sources (Godden, 2011). Ælfric himself was careful to refer to his works not as new compositions but as translations (Lowe, 2015: 190), and probably relied on these sources heavily when creating his homilies and other texts. One of Ælfric's main sources is Smaragdus, the author of the *Expositio super regulam sancti Benedicti*; Joyce Hill (1992) discusses how exactly Ælfric's use of the *Expositio* carries broad implications for Ælfric's use of sources more generally (Hill, 1992). Hill argues that Smaragdus himself was a heavy borrower from sources including Paul the Deacon and St Augustine, which makes it difficult to identify the ultimate source Ælfric referred to while composing his texts (Hill, 1992: 208). Hill describes one possibility for Ælfric's process of composition: she argues that rather than working from one text or another, he most likely

¹⁰ Many scholars have produced excellent summaries of his life and career trajectory, too many of which exist to be discussed in detail here. The following articles and chapters all give general summaries of Ælfric's life and the timeline within which he worked: Peter Clemoes (1966: 176–209); Jonathan Wilcox (1994); Joyce Hill (2009: 35–65); Gneuss (2009).

¹¹ For studies on his works, see Clemoes (2000: 29–72); Pope (1967: 136–45), and most recently, Kleist (2019).

had multiple sources available at all times, and switched back and forth between them: '[t]his is a more practical process of composition than one which envisages faithfulness to one text, with occasional supplementation from elsewhere, particularly since it takes account of the freedom provided by the high level of intertextuality in Ælfric's Latin sources' (Hill, 1992: 212). She further notes that there is a high level of verbal overlap between Ælfric's cited sources, which further problematises the identification of a particular source (Hill, 1992: 222). Elsewhere Hill discusses Ælfric's use of etymologies when composing his texts, a popular technique at the time: authors 'frequently used etymologies as one of their techniques for penetrating the words of the Biblical text in order to arrive at their spiritual essence' (Hill, 1988: 35). Despite their popularity as a tool for exegesis, Ælfric's focus on etymologies was unusual compared with other vernacular homilists: the use of etymologies in his works is yet another aspect that sets Ælfric's homilies apart from contemporary authors (Hill, 1988: 42).

Ælfric was always careful to state that his homilies were not new compositions, but translations; he places himself within the tradition of translating not 'word for word', but 'sense for sense' (Hill, 2003: 243). Ælfric perhaps referred to two conceptual varieties of translation here: not only that he translated from his Latin sources to the vernacular, but that he also 'translated' complicated ideas into easily understandable stories more accessible to a lay audience. What differentiated him from other homilists at the time, in his eyes, was that even when simplifying a complicated theological concept, he remained strictly orthodox in the teachings he espoused (Hill, 2003: 244–5). Similarly to a modern scholar, Ælfric was careful to cite his sources; furthermore, he showed a marked preference for the most authoritative source available in order to complete a 'chain of authority' that stretched from antiquity to Ælfric's imagined audience (Hill, 2003: 255–7). Helen Gittos (2014) discusses this further, arguing that many of Ælfric's perceived hesitations concerning translation were not truly anxieties but rather rhetorical devices (Gittos, 2014: 259). Gittos argues that these rhetorical devices were partly employed for much the same reason as his heavy referencing and citation was: to minimise his own responsibility for any negative reactions to his work (Gittos, 2014: 262). This rhetorical device further solidifies his 'chain of authority', and places Ælfric's work within a long tradition of teaching and translation (Gittos, 2014: 263).

4.2 PHASES OF ÆLFRIC'S TEXTS AND TEXTUAL DISTRIBUTION

Ælfric's First Series of Homilies was never a finished work, but underwent 'extensive and prolonged revision and correction on the part of the author', visible in the surviving manuscripts containing these texts (Clemoes, 1997: 64). Twelve of the surviving manuscripts bear key witness to the six main phases of the First Series, the first three marked by 'revision and the second three mainly by supplementation and reorganization' (Clemoes 1997: 64).¹² These six phases are represented with Greek letters, with the first stage being the *α* phase, the second the *β* phase, and so on. In this section I refer to the First Series manuscripts using the sigla introduced in the previous chapter.¹³

The key manuscript that represents the first or *α* phase of the text is MS A. MS A is a unique witness of the earliest surviving stage of Ælfric's First Series, and contains revisions and marginal notes likely made by Ælfric himself, many of which were then authenticated through acceptance in later copies of the text (Clemoes, 1997: 65–6). Three other manuscripts, MS B, MS C, and MS D, contain items that Clemoes argues are associated with this *α* phase, but he does not posit a direct exemplar relationship between any of them and MS A; he does, however, argue for the possibility of an exemplar shared between MS D and MS C further in the past, partially based on the strong association both manuscripts have with Rochester (Clemoes, 1997: 136–7). MS A contains certain 'peculiarities' (Clemoes, 1997: 135) that are not represented in any other *α* phase manuscripts or any other copies of the text at all; Clemoes argues that this may be because two copies of this earliest stage were made, and the now-lost sister to MS A was the one used for further copying, while MS A was the author's own volume (Clemoes, 1997: 135).

The *β* phase of text is primarily represented by parts of MS D, MS E, and MS F; these manuscripts also contain authentic revisions, defined by Clemoes as 'readings which are part of the author's text at all subsequent stages as well as in these manuscripts', which are not present in MS A (Clemoes, 1997: 67). The manuscripts in this phase of text probably all took their First Series material from the copy of the First Series sent to Sigeric, Archbishop of Canterbury (Clemoes, 1997: 67). Another now-lost branch of the *β* phase likely descended from the copy of the First Series sent by Ælfric to his lay patron

¹² The twelve key manuscripts are as follows: MS A, MS B, MS D, MS E, MS F, MS H, MS K, MS M, MS N, MS O, MS Q, and MS U.

¹³ For more information on the manuscripts these sigla refer to, see pp. 48–88.

Æthelweard, the existence of which is confirmed in a note at the end of Ælfric's vernacular First Series preface (Kleist, 2019: 24). Based on these two branches, we may assume these versions of the texts (from both the First and Second Series) to be highly authoritative, and closely linked to manuscripts produced under Ælfric's supervision. Clemoes argues that MS B, MS C, MS G, and MS T also contain items associated with this phase of text; he identifies the texts from this group by their shared 'not only a common level of authentic revision but also a number of unauthorized deviations, including interpolations, peculiar to themselves as a group' (Clemoes, 1997: 137). Both MS D and MS F, as well as other manuscripts containing readings from this phase of the First Series, have strong associations with the south-east of England (Clemoes, 1997: 68).¹⁴

The single key witness for the γ phase of text is MS K. Clemoes says that '[w]e may think of this codex, with its highly pure and accurate text as representing the definitive type of the homiletic products of Ælfric's scriptorium' at the time it was produced: after a copy had been sent to Sigeric, but before any further homilies had been written, such as Ælfric's additional homilies or Lives of Saints (Clemoes 1997: 69). This is the earliest key manuscript that contains a comprehensive set of both Ælfric's First and Second Series of Catholic Homilies, each with their prefaces (Clemoes 1997: 69). Along with MS K, MS C, MS E, and MS H also contain items associated with this phase of text (Clemoes 1997: 98). Kleist argues that in fact the γ phase is best conceptualised as two phases, the first of which concerns the authorial revisions and emendations in MS H; he refers to this as phase γ^1 , 'Ha-type' (Kleist, 2019: 25).

The final three stages are those defined by Clemoes as being primarily concerned with supplementation and reorganisation: the manuscripts which represent the δ phase, MS M, MS N, and MS O, are organised significantly differently from MS K (Clemoes 1997: 149). That said, the individual texts in MS M share many similarities with the texts in MS K; conversely, MS N and MS O share many readings, including alterations and corruptions, that are neither authentic nor represented in any manuscripts aside from these two (Clemoes 1997: 69). Kleist divides the δ phase into two, the first of which is more closely associated with MS M and the second with MS N and MS O (Kleist, 2019: 33). Clemoes considers the textual distribution of the δ phase and the ϵ phase so intertwined as to

¹⁴ For the full list of manuscripts associated with the β phase, see Clemoes (1997: 102–5).

include them both in a single stemma (Clemoes, 1997: 153); MS B, MS C, MS Q, MS R, MS T, and MS Xⁱ all contain textual items associated with both the δ phase as well as the ϵ phase (Clemoes 1997: 83). MS Q is considered the single key witness for the ϵ phase, and contains ‘authentic material which does not occur in A, Ha, or K’ (Clemoes 1997: 83). Textual readings are insufficient for the dating of this phase relative to the other phases; Clemoes instead uses the composition of a new homily and its chronological relationship to Ælfric’s letters to Wulfstan to situate the ϵ phase as the penultimate of the six (Clemoes 1997: 84-5). Kleist divides the ϵ phase into four sub-phases, the first three of which took place between 1002-5, the last of which likely began in 1006 (Kleist, 2019: 33).

The final phase of First Series texts is the ζ phase, represented primarily by parts of MS B, MS H, and MS U (Clemoes 1997: 85). According to Kleist, Ælfric undertook the ζ phase while continuing to work on his ϵ^4 phase of texts (Kleist, 2019: 38). One key feature of the ζ phase is Ælfric’s attempt to fill any gaps previously left in the series: in this stage, Ælfric added seven additional homilies concerning various Sundays after Pentecost. Clemoes argues that this indicates Ælfric probably meant to fill other gaps in the church calendar as well, ‘for to do less than that would have been a haphazard undertaking which would have been out of his character’ (Clemoes 1997: 89). The end of this stage of revision most likely corresponded to Ælfric’s death (Clemoes 1997: 160). Kleist notes that at this point, Ælfric’s dedication to the First Series had spanned two decades and a great portion of his working life: to see this continued dedication to a body of work ‘is to witness a measure of dedication and perseverance that is decidedly impressive’ (Kleist, 2019: 39).

4.3 MANUSCRIPT INFORMATION

In this section, I describe all of the First Series manuscripts investigated in this thesis. I include relevant palaeographical and codicological information, as well as a brief summary of their contents.¹⁵ Where possible, I also include an image of a standard text opening from each manuscript. The sigla used are those designated by Clemoes and Godden (1997; 1979); following this chapter, these sigla will be the primary form of identification used in this thesis. The manuscripts that are the subject of focused case studies are discussed in more detail, including information about scribal stints. Other manuscripts are described

¹⁵ For a full discussion of these manuscripts and their contents, see Clemoes (1997), Gneuss and Lapidge (2012), Ker (1957), and Kleist (2019).

only briefly, with a table that contains a summary of relevant manuscript information. The number of lines per page and average words per line have been included as well, as this information becomes important when discussing the size of initials found within the manuscripts. By including all pertinent information about the manuscripts in one section, I hope to avoid repetition of this information in later chapters of the thesis.¹⁶

4.3.1 MS A: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ROYAL MS 7 C. XII

Siglum	MS A
Place of production	Cerne Abbas
Date of production	s.x ^{ex}
Dimensions of page	325 x 230mm
Dimensions of written space	235 x 145mm
Lines per page	25
Words per line	8-10
Number of scribes	3 (plus multiple hands that made small additions throughout the MS)
Average decoration level	1
Total number of texts	39
Number of Ælfrician texts	39

MS A is entirely laid out as a single column. The body of the text is written in black ink, with red Latin rubrication and enlarged initials that have now turned grey from oxidation. The only initials written in red ink in the manuscript are those beginning texts, none of which are at all decorated. The only variation between these text-beginning initials is their size, with the smallest initials only slightly enlarged at 1.5 lines tall, and the largest ones including a 6.5 line tall **P** (fo. 211r). All of the initials in the manuscript that are over 3.5 lines tall are letters with ascenders or descenders that make up much of the total letter size: the only letters over 3.5 lines tall are **P**, **p**, and **H** (written as an enlarged minuscule **h** in this manuscript). Discounting ascenders and descenders, the range of letter sizes in this manuscript is even narrower; the result of this uniformity of size and lack of decoration is that the manuscript has an exceptionally consistent aspect.

¹⁶ The primary sources of information in this section are Clemoes (1997), Gneuss and Lapidge (2012), and Ker (1957). I have also included references when appropriate from Kleist (2019), James (1912), Treharne (2000), Irvine (2000), Scragg (1998) and other articles concerning specific manuscripts. For information about edited editions and facsimiles, see the relevant entry in Gneuss and Lapidge (2012).

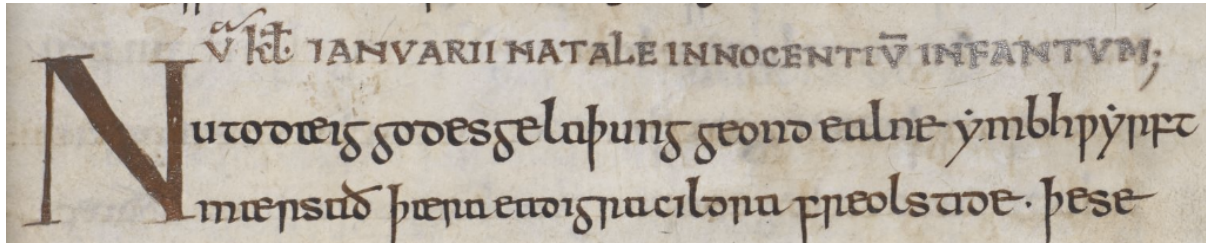


Figure 9: MS A, fo. 26r

The order of the texts in MS A follows the chronology of the church year, and is most probably arranged in the order that Ælfric intended for his First Series. The contents of this manuscript comprise one of the four surviving complete copies of the First Series; the other manuscripts are MS H, MS K, and MS Q (Kleist, 2019: 208). As this manuscript was likely produced under Ælfric's direct supervision, we may safely assume that many aspects of this manuscript are indeed authoritative (Clemoes, 1997: 134-5). Additionally, many of the emendations and corrections made to the text of MS A were subsequently accepted in later manuscripts.

4.3.2 MS B: OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, BODLEY MS 343

Siglum	MS B
Place of production	Unknown, poss. Worcester? ¹⁷
Date of production	s.xii ²
Dimensions of page	240-260 x 135-160mm
Dimensions of written space	Inconsistent
Lines per page	32-36
Words per line	15-19
Number of scribes	3
Average decoration level	2.19
Total number of texts	96
Number of Ælfrician texts	71

The body of the text in MS B is written in black, with enlarged initials drawn in red, black, or very occasionally green, which sometimes overlap the black ink used for the body text. The enlarged initials in this manuscript vary widely in size and style: some initials, like the **D** beginning Ælfric's text on the Lord's Prayer (fo. 21r), are 9.5 lines tall, and are intricately decorated with red and black lines, dots, and foliate decorations stretching well into the margins. Others, like the **O** beginning Ælfric's text for the Eleventh Sunday

¹⁷ Irvine argues a Worcester origin is likely due to textual connections (Irvine, 2000: 59).

after Pentecost (fo. 100v), are only two lines tall, written in green ink, and only slightly decorated with several dots on the interior body of the letter. In addition to the Ælfrician texts in MS B, this manuscript also contains musical notation, texts by Wulfstan, anonymous sermons, Latin dialogues, and the vernacular poem known as *The Grave* (Ker, 1957: 368). The varying types of text in this manuscript have resulted in a manuscript with a multitude of different layouts, at times switching back and forth between single and double columns, and even staves for musical notation. This variation makes this manuscript difficult to make generalisations about when analysing the levels and types of decoration, but overall, the parts of the manuscript that contain the Ælfrician texts are fairly standard.

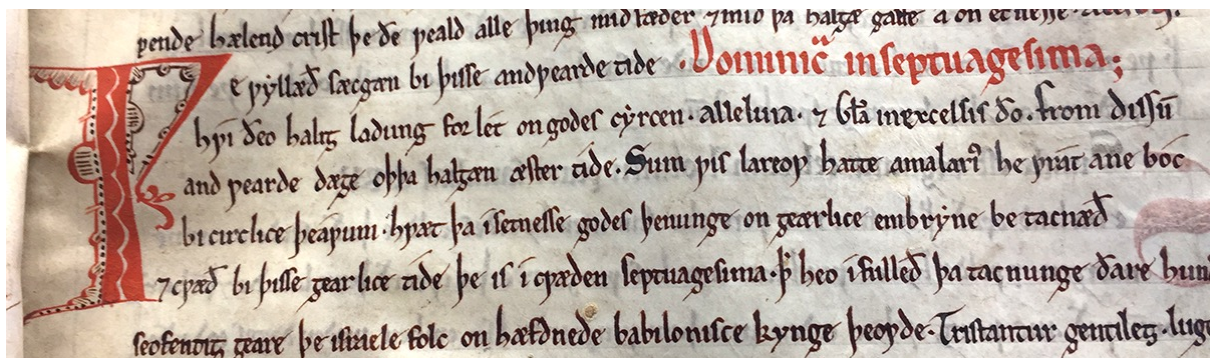


Figure 10: MS B, fo. 50r

The organisation of the texts in this manuscript is somewhat unusual: the compiler appears not to have prioritised the chronological order of the church year when arranging the texts; for example, six homilies with Latin titles that indicate they are for Sundays after Pentecost are placed *before* Ælfric's homily for Pentecost (*ÆCHom* I, 22) in the manuscript; and an anonymous homily for the first Sunday in Lent is placed directly after Ælfric's homily for Christmas Day (*ÆHomM* 1).¹⁸ The manuscript can be divided into seven main sections, 'each of which consists of a group of quires ending with a blank space before the next group begins with a new quire' (Irvine, 2000: 55). These different sections likely drew from separate exemplars, which may partially explain this unusual structure (Clemoes, 1997: 2).

4.3.3 MS C: CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 303

4.3.3.1.1 Contents

¹⁸ The short titles used in this thesis are those determined by Mitchell et. al. (1975).

This manuscript contains seventy-four items, sixty-three of which are by Ælfric. The remainder of the pieces are anonymous, the bulk of which are homilies, with several miscellaneous texts relating to religious subjects. The majority of the non-Ælfrician content appears in the second scribe's stint: seven of the eleven non-Ælfrician texts are found between pages 51 and 203. The non Ælfrician texts are not grouped together, and there is no visual indication in the manuscript that the texts come from different sources. The contents of this manuscript can be divided into five groups, based generally on the chronology of the church year, described by Clemoes thus:

The first four-fifths of the surviving contents are related to occasions in the church year in the following sequences: (Ca) Sundays and festivals other than saints' days beginning (imperfectly) at the second Sunday after Epiphany and ending at Easter; (Cb) saints' days from 3 May to 6 December; (Cc) the Common of Saints; (Cd) Sundays and festivals other than saints' days beginning at Rogationtide and ending at the twenty-first Sunday after Pentecost. Finally there are (Ce) some pieces on general and Old Testament themes (ending imperfectly) (1997: 5).

The texts within this manuscript are associated with a variety of lines of textual transmission, and encompass both First and Second Series homilies as well as items from Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (Clemoes, 1997: 6–7). This variety of textual content indicates that the compiler possibly drew upon multiple exemplars to produce this collection (Irvine, 2000: 46). Sections (Cc) and (Cd) draw almost exclusively on MS D (or on a descendant of it), but the possible exemplars for the other sections of the manuscript are more difficult to pinpoint (Irvine, 2000: 46). MS C comprises a collection of material most probably intended for public vernacular preaching, although the manuscript lacks any 'preachers' marks' that may indicate its regular use (Irvine, 2000: 48).¹⁹

4.3.3.1.2 Manuscript description

Siglum	MS C
Place of production	South-eastern England; poss. Rochester?
Date of production	s.xii ^{med}
Dimensions of page	260 x 196mm
Dimensions of written space	213-203 x 149-138mm

¹⁹ These preachers' marks do appear in eleventh-century Ælfrician manuscripts like MS D and MS F (Irvine, 2000: 48).

Lines per page	34-35
Words per line	14
Number of scribes	3
Average decoration level	1.12
Total number of texts	74
Number of Ælfrician texts	63

MS C was produced in the first half of the twelfth century, and is written in three hands, each completed in black ink. Two of the three hands completed major portions of the work, while the third hand completed the rubrication, along with some minor additions to the main text. The first hand is responsible for the stints of writing from pp. 1–50 and p. 203 to the end of the manuscript, and the second hand is responsible for the middle stint of writing (James, 1912: 96; Ker, 1957: 99–105). The red ink used for all the rubrication and enlarged initials often overlaps the black text. The pages of the manuscript are cramped in appearance, and the side margins of this manuscript are exceptionally narrow, likely original to its time of production. On many pages (p. 27, p. 30, and p. 43), guide initials are still visible on the edges of the page, indicating that if any of marginal area was lost in cropping it was a minor amount. Furthermore, there is little space left between lines of text and words in the manuscript, indicating that during its production the efficient use of parchment was of paramount importance. The manuscript currently has 184 leaves, with an old foliation dating to the fourteenth century indicating that forty-four leaves have been lost at the beginning of the manuscript, as well as an unknown number at the end (Clemons, 1997: 5).

The enlarged, text-beginning initials in this manuscript are slightly offset from the body of the text into the left margin of the page, a feature commonly found in manuscripts that were produced in Rochester and Canterbury in the first half of the twelfth century (Treharne, 2000: 15–6). In MS C, red ink is used for initials that begin texts, initials that begin notable names and titles, and occasional letter in-filling throughout the body of the text. The vast majority of the enlarged initials are completely undecorated, with only thirteen out of the over one hundred initials having any sort of embellishment at all. Despite this lack of decoration, this manuscript has clearly been produced with care, with consistent and neat writing throughout. It was likely produced for regular use, which would make clear writing and careful ruling more important than decoration. The individual texts in the manuscript generally begin with an enlarged initial and the text's Latin title, both written in red ink. Where space was not left for the rubricator to add the

title, it was added in the margins (as in on p. 202), which begins an anonymous homily entitled *De inclusis* which was probably included as a space filler at the end of a quire.

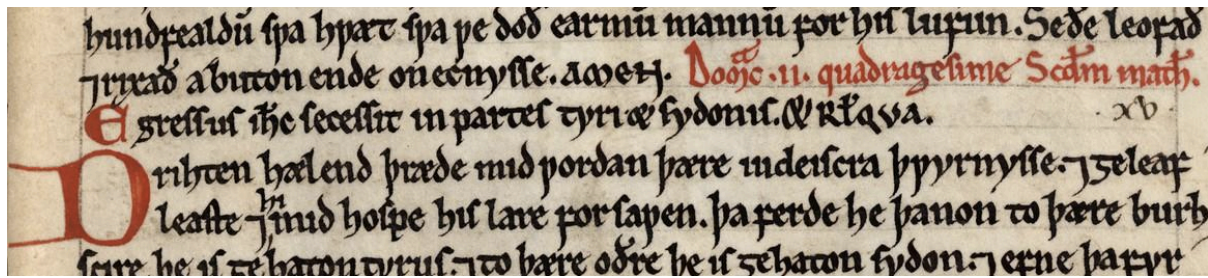


Figure 11: MS C, p. 27

This manuscript almost certainly originates from a south-eastern scriptorium; in addition to the offset initials, the script is of a type specifically used at Canterbury and Rochester at this period (Clemoes, 1997: 5). Textual evidence points to Rochester as a place of origin as well: the two volumes of MS D (discussed in more detail below) are known to have reached Rochester and undergone copying there at a very early date, and at least some of the textual content of MS C is based on the contents of MS D (Clemoes, 1997: 139). MS C was produced after the Conquest, at some point in the middle of the twelfth century (Irvine, 2000: 44): the scripts used in this manuscript are consistent with those used in other manuscripts dated to the twelfth century (Treharne, 2000: 16), and the manuscript includes several post-Conquest texts alongside the earlier Ælfrician homilies.²⁰ The inclusion of these contemporary items amongst older texts in the manuscript also indicates that this manuscript was produced for active, contemporary use: the owner of this manuscript likely had a genuine interest in texts written in Old English, either for preaching purposes or personal interest. The average decoration level of the manuscript as a whole is 1.12, and the average line height of enlarged initials is 2.78. There are approximately thirty-four lines to a page in this manuscript, so an initial three lines tall takes up just less than one twelfth of the written space available.

4.3.4 MS D: OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, BODLEY MSS 340 (D1) AND 342 (D2)

4.3.4.1.1 Contents

²⁰ The lives of Saints Giles and Nicholas are both included in the manuscript, edited by Treharne (1997). William Schipper argues that these texts in English are a wholly post-Conquest production, claiming that they ‘came into existence because the cults of these saints, introduced into England by the Normans after 1066, created a demand for vernacular versions of their lives’ (Schipper, 1986: 98).

These two manuscripts contain seventy-nine texts, all but twelve of which are Ælfrician (Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 444–9). The rest are anonymous pieces, included primarily to provide homilies for dates on which no Ælfrician homily existed (Clemoes, 1997: 8–9). Three of the anonymous homilies are for the days of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, dates which Ælfric deliberately avoided writing homilies for, due to his belief that there should be no preaching on those three days (Clemoes, 1997: 9). The non-Ælfrician texts do not appear in a single block, but are interspersed with Ælfrician items; however, because of the order in which the texts are laid out, the majority of the anonymous texts occur in the first manuscript, which contains the texts for Easter and its associated holy days. Clemoes describes the contents of the two volumes as such:

An orderly two-volume set of homilies for a whole year's Sundays and festivals, including saints' days, beginning at Christmas and ending with Advent. [...] The second volume begins with the Rogationtide homilies preceded by a *sermo communis*' (1997: 8).

The texts in MS D are associated almost entirely with the second phase of Ælfric's text, making this manuscript relatively unproblematic in terms of textual transmission. Furthermore, some of the revisions found in MS D are authentic: they appear in all subsequent stages of the text (Clemoes, 1997: 67). As such, the texts in these manuscripts are likely to be highly authoritative. Clemoes argues that texts from this phase probably derive material from the copy of his First Series of homilies that Ælfric sent to Sigeric, a copy that is now itself lost (Clemoes, 1997: 67).

4.3.4.1.2 Manuscript description

Siglum	MS D1
Place of production	Canterbury or Rochester
Date of production	s.xi ⁱⁿ
Dimensions of page	337 x 232mm
Dimensions of written space	258 x 155mm
Lines per page	26
Words per line	7-10
Number of scribes	1
Average decoration level	2.31
Total number of texts	79
Number of Ælfrician texts	67

Siglum	MS D2
Place of production	Canterbury or Rochester
Date of production	s.xi ⁱⁿ
Dimensions of page	321 x 232mm
Dimensions of written space	250 x 153mm
Lines per page	26
Words per line	7-10
Number of scribes	1
Average decoration level	2.25
Total number of texts	79
Number of Ælfrician texts	67

MS D comprises a set of two volumes, produced at the beginning of the eleventh century (Clemons, 1997: 8). Despite being two separate volumes, MS D1 and MS D2 are referred to under a single siglum because they are written in the same main hand and make up a single full homiliary, covering the entire church year (Sisam, 1931: 10). The two volumes are written primarily in black ink. The decorations in the volumes are generally done in red ink, with other colours of ink such as purple or green used occasionally for especially intricately decorated initials. MS D is described by Mary Richards as ‘written in a good hand of square Anglo-Saxon minuscule and decorated sufficiently, with titles in red, to highlight the individual pieces’ (1988: 87). This manuscript has a spacious and tidy aspect, with generous line and word spacing and a rounded, neat script. Each of the two manuscripts begins with an elaborately decorated initial: in MS D1 the initial is a seven-line tall H, drawn intricately in black, purple, and blue ink; in MS D2 the initial A is ten lines tall, and is drawn in purple and blue. That both MS D1 and MS D2 begin with an exceptionally enlarged initial indicates that these two manuscripts have always been two complementary volumes, rather than one single volume that was later split into two. Both of these manuscript-beginning initials are followed by either a single full line of majuscules in MS D1, or two full lines of majuscules in MS D2.

Aside from these volume-beginning initials, the text-beginning initials throughout the manuscripts range widely in level of decoration. Some are undecorated enlarged initials, emphasised through their size and colour of ink, while some are elaborately illustrated initials that are unique amongst the entire Ælfrician corpus, one of which is the illustration of two winged beasts that make up the shape of an S (fo. 21r). MS D2 contains more of these types of illustrations than does MS D1, indicating that an additional artist may have been available during the production of this second volume, or perhaps the

manuscript's original owner requested further decoration after receiving the completed first volume. This manuscript is relatively elaborately decorated for an Old English homiliary, especially one of this period; the producers of this manuscript clearly thought the contents valuable, or perhaps had more access to resources than did other producers of Ælfrician manuscripts. MS D1 contains an original table of contents at the beginning; MS D2 does not (Clemoes, 1997: 8).

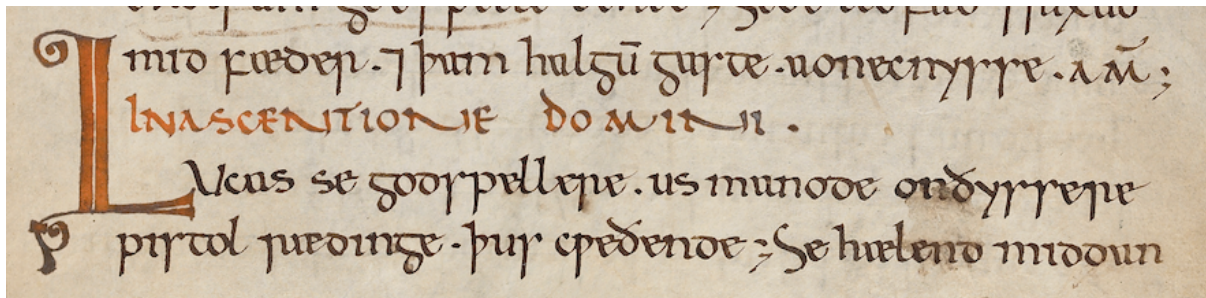


Figure 12: MS D2, fo. 50r

Scholars have determined that the origin of this manuscript is likely either Canterbury or Rochester (Sisam, 1931: 11), with several pieces of evidence indicating that if it was not produced at a Rochester scriptorium, it resided there very early in its history (Clemoes, 1997: 10): two Rochester catalogues, one from the first half of the twelfth century and one from 1202, contain reference to an item that describes what is almost certainly MS D (Clemoes, 1997: 10). Furthermore, later additions to MS D associate the manuscript with Rochester: the mid-eleventh century additions, one of which is an item on St Paulinus of York, the second bishop of Rochester, would probably have been introduced only in a Rochester scriptorium (Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 444). The item on St Paulinus is not written by Ælfric, and is unique, surviving in no other manuscript (Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 444). The text was thus possibly produced at the same scriptorium in which the addition was made to the manuscript, and Rochester would have been the only community at the time with reason to undertake such an endeavour. Another text added to the end of MS D2 is Ælfric's homily on St Andrew, the patron saint of Rochester, further localising the manuscript (Richards, 1988: 87). However, there is no concrete evidence to indicate that MS D was produced at Rochester, only that it resided there for some time: Sisam points out that pre-Conquest manuscripts from Rochester are exceptionally rare, and while all the evidence does allow for this manuscript's production at Rochester, none of it specifically rules out the manuscript's production at Canterbury (Sisam, 1931: 12). The average decoration level of MS D as a whole is 2.28, and the average line height of enlarged initials is 2.97. There are twenty-six lines to a page in this manuscript, so an initial three lines tall takes up just more than one eighth of the written space available.

4.3.5 MS E: CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 198

Siglum	MS E
Place of production	Canterbury or Rochester
Date of production	s.xi ¹
Dimensions of page	271 x 187mm
Dimensions of written space	215 x 135-107mm
Lines per page	26
Words per line	8-10
Number of scribes	4
Average decoration level	1.6
Total number of texts	65
Number of Ælfrician texts	51

The body of the text in MS E is written in black ink, with red metallic ink used for the Latin rubrics and the enlarged text-beginning initials. This red ink has often oxidised into a shiny grey, and leached into the parchment to an extent that renders the letters visible on the reverse side of the folio. There is one initial, an **M** (fo. 128v), written in green ink; aside from this single instance, red is the only colour used for decoration used throughout MS E. The enlarged initials in this manuscript are sometimes offset into the margins, but the degree to which they are offset varies: some of the initials, such as an **I** (fo. 47r), fit fully into the ruled area of the page; whilst some, like an **M** (fo. 44r), extend much more into the margins. However, when a letter in MS E is offset into the margin, it frequently appears to be at least partially because of a lack of sufficient space left by the scribe (fo. 104v and fo. 122v). Whenever there is adequate space within the ruled area of the page for the entire enlarged initial, the initial sits entirely within it. The initials in the manuscript vary widely in levels of decoration; **U** (fo. 104v) has a fair amount of foliate embellishment, whilst the **S** beginning the previous text (fo. 100r) is not decorated at all. The text-beginning initials also show variation in size, ranging from 1.5 lines in height to as tall as 6 or 6.5. Unusually for manuscripts in the Ælfrician corpus, at the beginning of this manuscript on fo. iir is a full-page illustration in black and red ink. The illustration is of six apostles in two rows of three (James, 1912: 475). In what is perhaps a self-referential touch by the artist, many of the men hold manuscripts, one of which is open and appears to show an illustration.

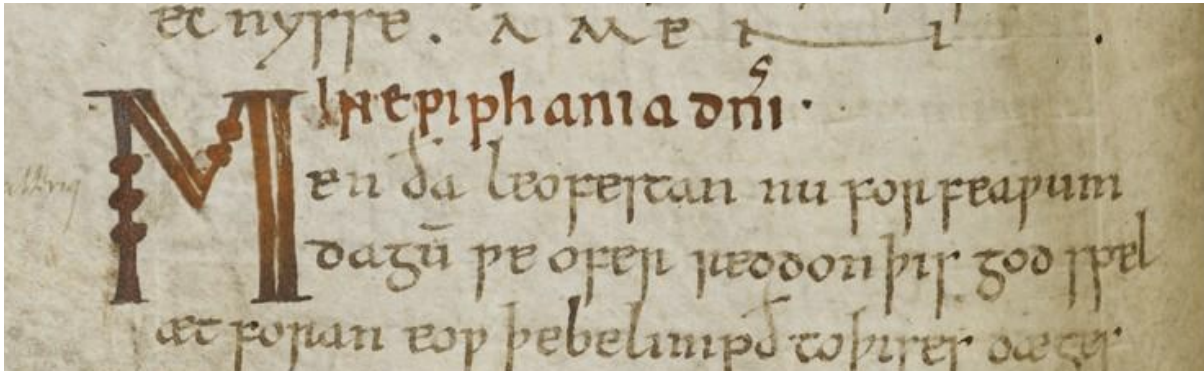


Figure 13: MS E, fo. 34v

The manuscript makes up a set of homilies presented generally in the order of the church year, beginning with an anonymous homily for Christmas and ending with an anonymous homily on Saint Andrew. Clemoes notes that an unusual level of care seems to have been taken with regards to the church year in this manuscript, and that additions to the texts made through the ‘nearly contemporary’ (Ker, 1957: 76) insertion of quires are done so in the proper chronological order (Clemoes, 1997: 11). The order of the texts in this manuscript corresponds very closely to that of MS D (Clemoes, 1997: 11); some of the Ælfrician texts in this manuscript are also linked to MS B, C, MS D, and MS F (Irvine, 2000: 55). The texts in this manuscript generally belong to Clemoes’ *B* phase of texts (Clemoes, 1997: 144).

4.3.6 MS F: CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 162

Siglum	MS F
Place of production	Canterbury, poss. St Augustine’s?
Date of production	s.xi ⁱⁿ
Dimensions of page	295 x 200mm
Dimensions of written space	242 x 129mm
Lines per page	23
Words per line	6-8
Number of scribes	1
Average decoration level	2.2
Total number of texts	58
Number of Ælfrician texts	45

The body of the text in MS F is written in black ink, with red (sometimes oxidised into a shiny grey) and green inks used for Latin rubrics and enlarged initials. The enlarged, text-beginning initials in this manuscript are not especially offset into the margins to any degree; in general, the scribe has left space within the ruled areas of the page for the

enlarged initials to be drawn, such as in an instance of an **M** (p. 79). Where these enlarged initials do extend into the margins it is only to a very slight extent, and it is often only an ascender, descender, or a decorative flourish that does so, while the body of the letter remains inside the ruled boundaries. The initials vary both in their level of decoration as well as the sizes of the initials themselves. In terms of text-beginning enlarged initials, some, such as another **M** (p. 468), are just barely two lines tall, while the **F** (p. 441) several pages before it is nearly nine lines tall. Decoration varies between the initials as well: the **S** beginning a homily (p. 17) is not decorated at all, but the **Æ** beginning the very next homily (p. 30) is exceptionally decorated, with foliate designs, curls, and dots trailing alongside an exaggerated descender. Clemoes notes that within the decorations there frequently exists a decorative motif resembling a *fleur-de-lys* which occurs in several pre- and post-Conquest manuscripts from St Augustine's, Canterbury (1997: 13). There are no illustrations original to MS F, although there are pencil sketches in the margins on several pages (p. 298 and p. 524); these look to be later additions.

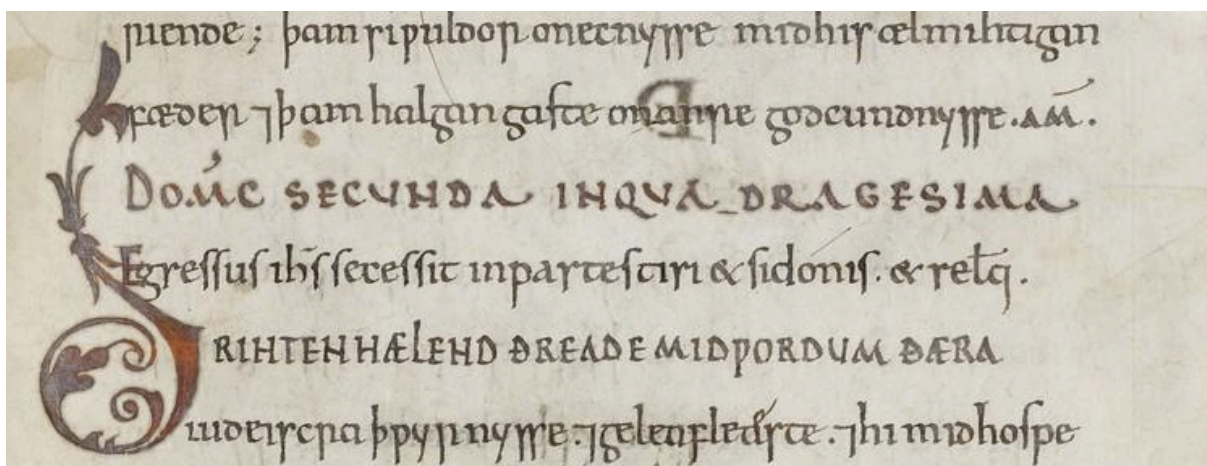


Figure 14: MS F, p. 237

The contents of MS F are fairly standard, and are organised generally in the order of the church year. Unlike some of the other Ælfrician manuscripts that follow the church year, this manuscript does not restrict itself to only one homily for each given feast day, and some days have multiple texts associated with them. Scragg has determined that MS F was likely produced in at least three independent blocks of writing, and possibly four (1998: 76), and that this manuscript has close textual links to MS D and MS E (1998: 78). According to Clemoes, texts in this manuscript belong solely to the *β* phase of texts (Clemoes, 1997: 144).

4.3.7 MS G: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON MS VESPASIAN D. XIV

4.3.7.1.1 Contents

This manuscript contains fifty-two items, primarily homiletic and religious in nature, nineteen of which were not composed by Ælfric (Clemoes, 1997: 16–8). It is likely that multiple sources went into the production of this manuscript: while the seventeen texts from the First Series all appear to be from the second phase of Ælfric’s text, two of the Second Series homilies show characteristics of Ælfric’s Second Recension of texts, a fairly distant line of transmission (Irvine, 2000: 49). MS G also contains post-Conquest compositions, indicating that this manuscript was designed and produced for active use (Irvine, 2000: 49). Irvine notes that the manuscript was assembled in five blocks of quires, all of which were probably copied from a single exemplar (2000, 49). The compiler did not appear to consider the church year of primary importance whilst organising the manuscript, as the homilies appear in a significantly different order than they do in many other Ælfrician manuscripts. Clemoes describes the content of the manuscript thus:

A miscellany, predominantly religious in content, made up of pieces ranging in time of composition from at least as early as Ælfric’s day to the twelfth century, the collection as a whole thus being an important witness to the continuity of the Old English prose tradition after the Conquest. As Professor Pope has remarked, most of the pieces not by Ælfric are not associated with his works in other manuscripts (1997, 16).

MS G has a relatively high percentage of non-Ælfrician content compared to other Ælfrician manuscripts. Furthermore, the texts that are not Ælfrician are not entirely anonymous, as these non-Ælfrician texts contain translations of works attributable to Ralph d’Escures and Alcuin (Clemoes, 1997: 18). The non-Ælfrician and Ælfrician texts are interspersed with each other.

4.3.7.1.2 Manuscript description

Siglum	MS G
Place of production	Canterbury or Rochester
Date of production	s.xii ^{med}
Dimensions of page	159 x 146mm
Dimensions of written space	147 x 93mm
Lines per page	24
Words per line	7-8
Number of scribes	3

Average decoration level	2.52
Total number of texts	52
Number of Ælfrician texts	33

MS G is primarily written in three hands, one of which was responsible for the main body of the text and two of which made lesser contributions (Clemoes, 1997: 13). Treharne points out that one of the hands complicates the dating of this manuscript, arguing that while the main scribe uses features consistent with mid-twelfth century manuscript production,

his or her colleagues, particularly the second scribe, appear to use features of the script which can be dated slightly later than mid-twelfth century; indeed, the latest stints might more accurately be dated to the second half of the century. This would mean that the third scribe must also be dated later than mid-twelfth century, even though there is little in his or her hand to reinforce such a dating (2000: 34).

The body of the text is written primarily in black ink with decoration in red, green, and black. MS G was rebound and likely cropped at least once, in the seventeenth century, and may have had wider margins prior to this. The manuscript was assembled in five blocks of quires, the final four of which were written first, and probably copied from a single exemplar (Irvine, 2000: 49). In this manuscript, enlarged text-beginning initials are often offset slightly into the left margin of the page, a feature mentioned above as associated with Rochester scriptoria. MS G uses enlarged or decorated initials with a level of frequency unusual in the corpus of Ælfrician manuscripts; in addition to enlarged and decorated text-beginning initials, letters throughout the bodies of the individual texts themselves are highlighted or in-filled in red. The use of coloured ink is extensive throughout this manuscript: MS G almost always uses more than one colour of ink in decorated and enlarged initials, and on occasion red, green, and black are all used to illustrate a single text-beginning initial. One example of this elaborate colourful decoration is an elaborate **p** (fo. 30r), which is primarily written in red, with green decorative lines and black dots surrounding the body of the letter. Perhaps the most striking example of this enthusiastic use of coloured inks by the decorating scribe is seen in the anonymous text *The Fifteen Days Before Judgement*, beginning on fo. 102r and ending on fo. 103v. This text describes the events that will occur on the fifteen days before Judgement, each description beginning with ‘On þan’. Every individual **O** that

begins these short descriptions of the days is enlarged and decorated, often with two or more colours of ink, generally in alternating colours. All of the text-beginning initials in MS G are decorated to a relatively similar extent, the main variable being the use of the available colours.

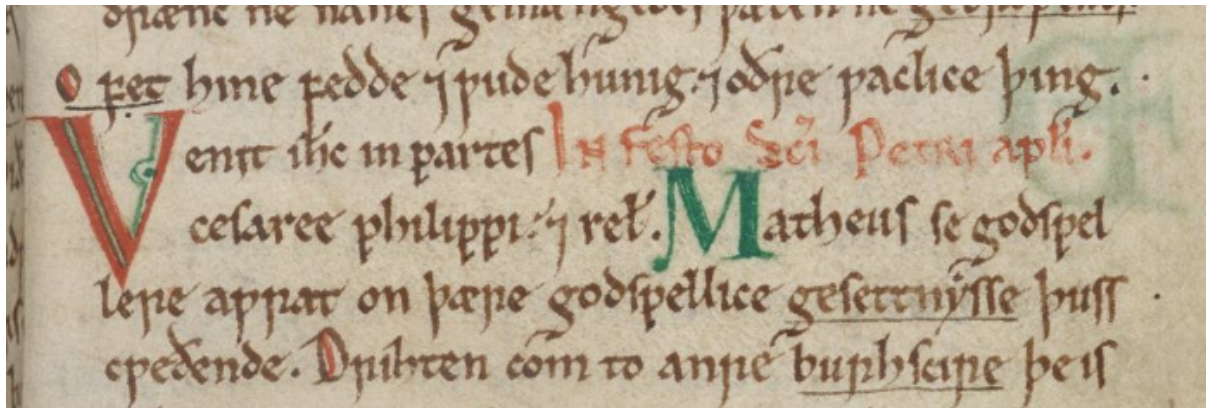


Figure 15: MS G, fo. 25r

The origin of this manuscript is likely to be south-eastern, and the linguistic forms and scripts used point more specifically to a Canterbury or Rochester scriptorium (Clemoes, 1997: 16). The inclusion in MS G of a Latin sermon by Ralph d'Escures, bishop of Rochester and archbishop of Canterbury, further increases the likelihood that this manuscript was produced in one of those two centres (Clemoes, 1997: 17). Treharne notes, however, that this manuscript is almost contemporary with MS C, which is itself likely a Rochester production; despite this, the two manuscripts share very little in common stylistically, complicating the production of this manuscript further (Treharne, 2000: 34). The average decoration level of the manuscript as a whole is 2.52, and the average line height of enlarged initials is 2.39. There are twenty-four lines to a page in this manuscript, so an initial three lines tall takes up approximately one eighth of the written space available.

4.3.8 MS H: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON MS VITELLIUS C V

Siglum	MS H
Place of production	South-west England
Date of production	s.xi/xii
Dimensions of page	Unknown due to damage
Dimensions of written space	Unknown due to damage
Lines per page	26
Words per line	6-9
Number of scribes	2
Average decoration level	1.21

Total number of texts	60
Number of Ælfrician texts	60

The body of this manuscript is written in black ink, with red, blue, or green ink used for decoration and elaboration. Red or blue ink is regularly used for enlarged, text-beginning initials, but there is only one surviving initial written in green ink, an **D** (fo. 172r). Red ink is also used for the text's Latin rubrics. The enlarged, text-beginning initials in this manuscript generally fit neatly into the ruled area of the page. Very often two enlarged initials will begin each text, one enlarged initial beginning the Latin incipit, and one beginning the Old English text; the enlarged initial beginning the Latin incipit is generally smaller than that beginning the Old English text. The sizes of these enlarged initials do not vary greatly; neither does their decoration levels, giving this manuscript a consistent appearance. The tallest initials in this manuscript are a seven-line tall **M** (fo. 200r) and a six-line tall **H** (fo. 64r), both of which make up much of their height in ascenders or descenders. The initials in MS H are all assigned a decoration level of either 1 or 2, making this an overall minimally decorated manuscript. Some of the text-beginning initials are wholly intact, such as an **M** (fo. 149r), while some are almost entirely missing. An example of the latter is the **F** that opens *ÆCHom* I, 22 (fo. 117v): all that remains of the letter are the very ends of the two prongs of the **F**, while the rest has been destroyed.

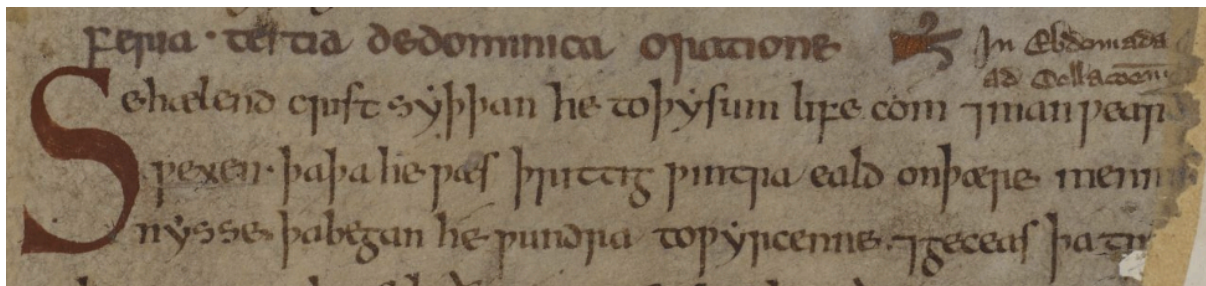


Figure 16: MS H, fo. 102r

The homilies in this manuscript generally follow the order of the church year. The majority of the contents of MS H are most associated with Ælfric's γ phase of text, with certain later additions being more associated with the ϵ and ζ phases (Clemoes, 1997: 148).

MS H was very badly damaged by fire in 1731, making it difficult to ascertain the original size of the manuscript leaves and how that compares to the written area of the page. In its current form, the leaves are now mounted separately, and occasionally out of order,

on individual sheets of binding. The damage to the leaves is quite extensive: the edges of each of the individual leaves are lost, and in some cases the greater part of the entire folio is lost as well, especially towards the end of the manuscript. Unfortunately, text-beginning initials and decoration often overlap into the lost margins, and best guesses must be made when determining probable size, colour, and other aspects of the text-beginning initials.

4.3.9 MS J: BRITISH LIBRARY COTTON MS CLEOPATRA B XIII (J1) AND LAMBETH PALACE MS 489 (J2)

Siglum	MS J1
Place of production	Exeter
Date of production	s.xi ^{3/4}
Dimensions of page	184 x 125 mm
Dimensions of written space	170 x 80 mm
Lines per page	19
Words per line	6-7
Number of scribes	3
Average decoration level	1
Total number of texts	10
Number of Ælfrician texts	5

Siglum	MS J2
Place of production	Exeter
Date of production	s.xi ^{3/4}
Dimensions of page	190 x 118 mm
Dimensions of written space	168 x 80-85 mm
Lines per page	19
Words per line	6-7
Number of scribes	2-5
Average decoration level	1
Total number of texts	8
Number of Ælfrician texts	4

The siglum MS J incorporates two different manuscripts under a single letter: MS J1 here refers to the British Library manuscript and MS J2 to the Lambeth Palace one. The two manuscripts that make up MS J are exceptionally similar, indicating that the volumes were likely part of a single codex at one point (Ker, 1957: 345). Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 421 also contains leaves that may also have been connected to these two manuscripts (Clemoes, 1997: 22). Clemoes claims that '[i]t seems likely that [with these

three manuscripts] we have parts of a once connected collection of homiletic material, the original arrangement of which cannot now be determined' (1997: 22).

The body of the text in both volumes is written in black ink, with rubrics in red. In MS J1, enlarged, text-beginning initials were written in either red or green ink, with occasional use of these colours to emphasise other prominent initials, and some inconsistent in-filling through certain portions of the manuscript. Somewhat unusually, the rubrics on fos 56r to 58v are not in coloured ink, and on fo. 58r there are spaces left for two enlarged coloured initials and one regularly sized coloured initial that were never written, perhaps indicating that this manuscript was completed hastily. MS J2 also uses red for its rubrics, and switches between green and red ink for its coloured initials. The enlarged, text-beginning initials in this manuscript are generally not offset into the margins, but fit within the ruled area of the page. The initials do not vary much in terms of either size or decoration level: the largest text-beginning initial in both manuscripts is only three lines tall, and none of the initials in either of the manuscript are decorated to any extent. Both of the manuscripts are quite short, each containing a total of fifty-eight folios, and the written area is quite small, so each manuscript has only eight or ten items in it. The result of this is that there are fewer initials to analyse than those found in larger Ælfrician manuscripts. There are no decorations or illustrations in either of the manuscripts.

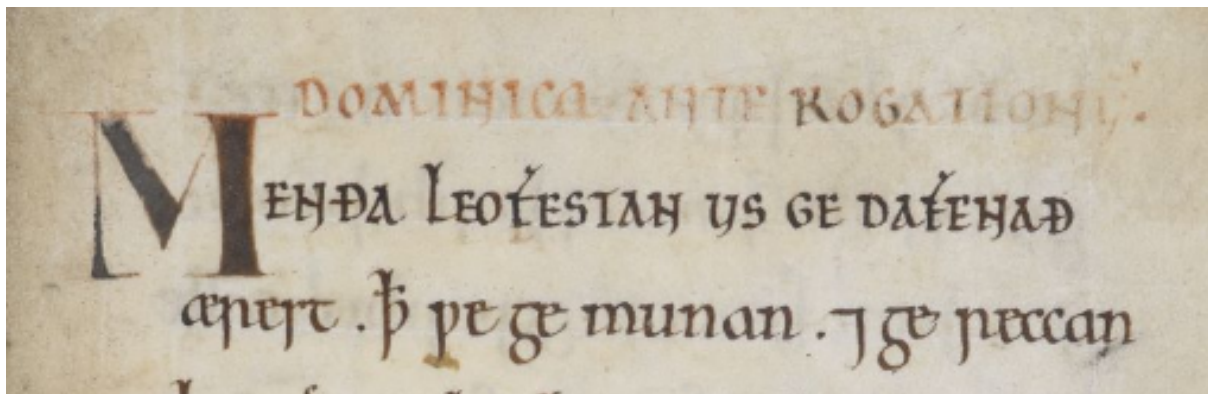


Figure 17: MS J1, fo. 44r

The sequence of the texts in MS J was disrupted in the modern period, and it is unknown what the original order was intended to have been. The majority of MS J belongs to Ælfric's *y* phase of text.

4.3.10 MS K: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS GG.3.28

Siglum	MS K
Place of production	Cerne Abbas
Date of production	s.x/xi
Dimensions of page	280 x 230mm
Dimensions of written space	205-10 x 162mm
Lines per page	30
Words per line	12-15
Number of scribes	1
Average decoration level	2.12
Total number of texts	89
Number of Ælfrician texts	89

In MS K, initials that begin new texts are not offset into the margins of the leaves, but generally fit entirely within the ruled area of the page. They are usually drawn with both red and black ink, often with a zig-zag of red running through the body of a black letter, as can be seen with C (fo. 50r). The rubricator of this manuscript also made extensive use of red ink throughout the bodies of the texts, touching various capital letters with red; on some pages (fo. 70v), as many as twenty-two capital letters are elaborated on in this way. Most of the text-beginning initials in MS K do not vary an exceptional amount in terms of decoration: all but five of the initials have a decoration level of two, with the remaining five given a decoration level of three. They do vary in terms of size, with some text-beginning initials, such as an I (fo. 66r), written as only one and a half lines tall, and others such as the F beginning the very next text (fo. 67v), written seven lines tall. Most of the decoration of these initials is of the zig-zag type, but some decoration is done with concentric bands of different coloured ink, like one O (fo. 47v). One initial stands out from all the others in the manuscript: the S beginning Ælfric's homily *Feria III de dominica oratione* (fo. 56v). Unlike every other text-beginning S throughout the manuscript, this one is drawn in an exceptionally angular fashion, resembling a modern Z more than an S. This initial is also one of the five in the manuscript with a decoration level of three. Aside from this variant, the rest of these initials are similar in appearance.

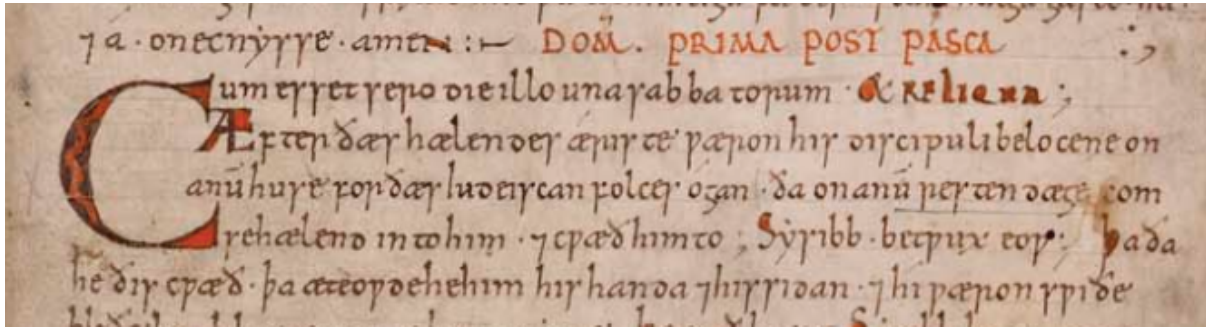


Figure 18: MS K, fo. 50r

MS K is most notable for being the only full set of Ælfric's Second Series of Catholic Homilies organised with respect to the church year. In addition to this Second Series, the manuscript contains a full set of First Series homilies as well; Ælfric's prefaces, in both Latin and English; and various other texts by Ælfric, including his translation of the Lord's Prayer, several prayers, and his first Pastoral Letter (Gneuss and Lapidge, 2012: 20). This manuscript is the key manuscript witness for Ælfric's *y* phase of texts (Clemoes, 1997: 68).

4.3.11 MS L: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS II. 1.33

Siglum	MS L
Place of production	Canterbury or Rochester
Date of production	s.xii ²
Dimensions of page	220 x 160mm
Dimensions of written space	160-80 x 110-20mm
Lines per page	21-24
Words per line	7-10
Number of scribes	Most likely 2, poss. 3 or 4
Average decoration level	1.83
Total number of texts	44
Number of Ælfrician texts	40

The body of the text in MS L is written in black ink, with red ink, and more rarely, green ink used for enlarged, text-beginning initials. The same red ink was also used for Latin rubrics and occasional in-filling of individual letters. Green ink is used only four times for enlarged, text-beginning initials: an **M** (fo. 214r), an **H** (fo. 215r), an **P** (fo. 217r), and a **V** (fo. 227r) are all drawn in green ink, while the rest are red. On one folio (fo. 227r) there are initials within the text touched with green ink, a decorative feature that appears nowhere else. It is noteworthy that all instances of green initials occur within thirteen folios of one another, indicating that perhaps green ink was only available during this stint. The enlarged, text-beginning initials in MS L are sometimes offset quite dramatically

into the margins, such as happens with a very large I (fo. 71r), but are sometimes situated mostly within the ruled area of the page, such as the S beginning the previous text (fo. 65v). The text-beginning initials in MS L vary greatly, both in terms of their sizes and their decoration levels. The S beginning Ælfric's homily on Saint Andrew (fo. 65v) is only three lines tall and very slightly decorated; the I beginning the following text, the Assumption of Saint John (fo. 71r), is nine lines tall, including a lengthy decorative descender. One text-beginning initial, an A (fo. 61r), stands apart from all of the other initials as the most elaborate in the entire manuscript: it is nine lines tall, including descenders and decorations, and is decorated with an illustration of a bird's head and a beast's head next to it. This initial unusually has decorations in both red and black ink; some of the decorative lines on the A are so strikingly untidy that they appear to have been added after the manuscript's initial production.

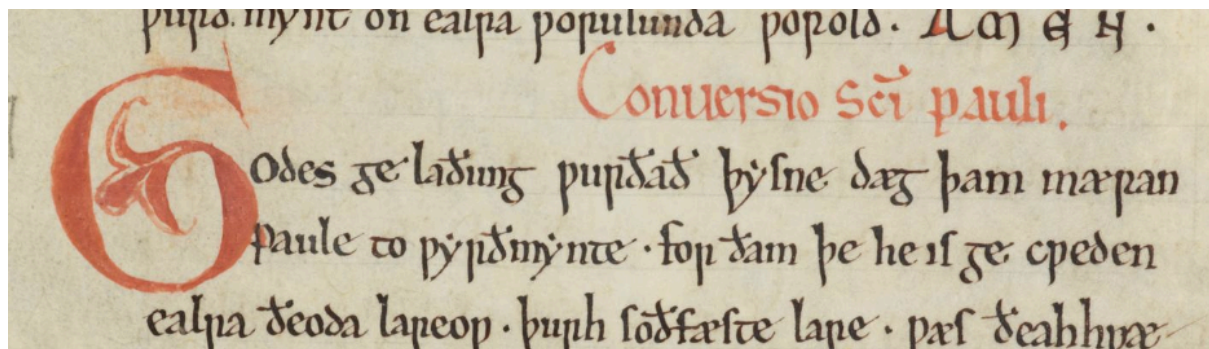


Figure 19: MS L, fo. 57v

The texts selected for the compilation of MS L primarily focus on saints, rather than on holy days and festivals, and as such are not ordered with particular respect to the church year. Several quires have been lost that may have contained additional saints' lives, which would explain the absence of such popularly venerated pre-Conquest English saints as Cuthbert, Swithin, and Martin (Clemoes, 1997: 25). Ker describes the contents of this manuscript as an unordered collection of texts relating to the *sanctorale* (Ker, 1957: 527). The texts in this manuscript belong to the y group of texts (Clemoes, 1997: 105).

4.3.12 MS M: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS II.4.6

Siglum	MS M
Place of production	Winchester
Date of production	s.xi ^{med}
Dimensions of page	261 x 150mm
Dimensions of written space	202 x 94mm
Lines per page	20

Words per line	4-6
Number of scribes	2
Average decoration level	1.35
Total number of texts	38 (begins imperf.)
Number of Ælfrician texts	36

The body of the text in MS M is written in black ink, with red ink occasionally used for coloured in-filling. Although blue ink is used within this manuscript, it occurs only rarely, on four leaves: fo. 22r, fo. 55v, fo. 83r, and fo. 117v. All of the instances of blue ink occur within the first scribe's stint (Clemoes, 1997: 29), indicating that perhaps only a single scribe had access to this rarer colour. The Latin rubrics are generally written in red ink, and are sometimes metallic, but there are instances throughout the manuscript where the rubrics are written in the same black ink as the body of the text. The enlarged, text-beginning initials make use of multiple colours, including red, green, blue, or some combination of two or more colours, such as the red and green both used for an F (fo. 264v). The initials in MS M are not offset into the margins to any significant degree; in fact, on several folios, ruling marks made specifically to help place these enlarged initials are visible within the written area of the page (fo. 171r). Like in other manuscripts described here, where parts of the letter exist outside of the ruled area of the page, this tends to be a decorative ascender or descender, such as occurs with an enlarged A (fo. 208v).

The initials throughout MS M are not highly decorated, with the majority of enlarged initials having a decoration level of one, and the three most decorated initials having a decoration level of only three. The initials do vary in size: some text-beginning initials are quite small, like a D (fo. 55v) that is only one and a half lines tall; some, however, like an F (fo. 264v) are quite a bit larger at six lines in height. The size of the initial does not seem to correlate directly with its decoration amount, as some of the largest initials in the manuscript have a decoration level of one, such as an I (fo. 276r), while one of the most decorated initials in the manuscript, an A (fo. 208v), is only 3.5 lines tall. Interestingly, two of the three six-line-tall initials in the entire manuscript both begin an Ælfrician homily on Pentecost; the F (fo. 264v), begins his first series homily for Pentecost, and the I (fo. 276r) immediately follows, beginning a later Ælfrician homily for Pentecost Sunday. The only other six-line-tall initial in the manuscript is the P beginning an Old English translation of the *Pater noster* (fo. 299v).

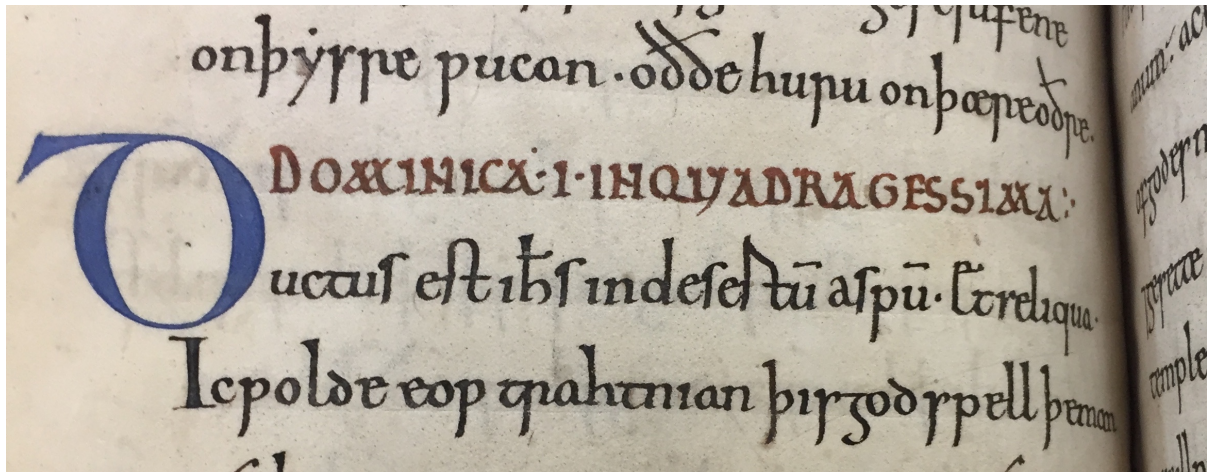


Figure 20: MS M, fo. 55v

The manuscript begins imperfectly, indicating a loss of an unknown number of homilies before the first complete text beginning on fo. 9v (Scragg, 1998: 78–9). All but two of the remaining full texts are authored by Ælfric; the two that are not are both anonymous and occur directly next to each other, from fos 228r to 238v. They are both homilies for free days during the week of the major litany (*Feria III in letania maiore* and *In letania maiore: feria quarta*). The texts that survive run in a sequence structured according to the church year. The items in MS M generally belong to Ælfric's δ and ϵ phases of text (Clemoes, 1997: 153).

4.3.13 MS N: LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON MS FAUSTINA A.IX

4.3.13.1.1 Contents

This manuscript contains thirty-eight items, all but five of which are texts attributed to Ælfric (Clemoes, 1997: 31). Included in these Ælfrician texts are homilies from his First and Second Series, texts from his Lives of Saints, and one of his letters. The anonymous texts include sequential homilies for the third, fourth, and fifth Sundays after Epiphany, and a number of them appear in only this manuscript and MS O. MS N does not restrict itself to a single text for each individual holy day, but often includes multiple texts for a single event, such as the inclusion of three different Ælfrician homilies meant to be preached on Easter. Clemoes describes the texts as a 'systematically arranged set of homilies for Sundays and festivals other than saints' days beginning imperfectly with the second Sunday after epiphany and ending at Pentecost' (Clemoes, 1997: 30). The texts in MS N belong to Ælfric's δ and ϵ phases of text (Clemoes, 1997: 153). The five anonymous texts occur in two sequences, three occurring from fos 21v–31v, and the other two on fos 116v–126r. Despite these anonymous texts appearing to be separated from Ælfrician ones,

the texts are not visually differentiated; the non-Ælfrician texts are decorated to the same extent as the Ælfrician ones.

4.3.13.1.2 Manuscript description

Siglum	MS N
Place of production	South-east England
Date of production	s.xii ¹
Dimensions of page	230 x 150mm
Dimensions of written space	187 x 111mm
Lines per page	24
Words per line	6-10
Number of scribes	1
Average decoration level	1.95
Total number of texts	38
Number of Ælfrician texts	33

This manuscript was produced in the first half or the first quarter of the twelfth century, probably at a south-eastern centre based on scribal and textual affiliations (Treharne, 2000: 23). MS N was written by what appears to be a single scribe (Clemoes, 1997: 30), although aspects of the script change quite significantly on fo. 92r (Clemoes, 1997: 30): on this page, the hand shifts from insular to Caroline minuscule before returning to its original, insular style. Treharne argues that the scribe had likely copied Latin in another manuscript immediately before his work on fo. 92r, which had an effect on his writing (2000: 22). Treharne describes the hand used throughout the manuscript as distinctive and similar in aspect to that used in MS O (2000: 22), while Ker describes it as ‘an untidy hand, lacking character’ (Ker, 1957: 193). The body of the text is written in black ink, with red or purple ink used for Latin rubrications and occasional in-filling.²¹ Enlarged initials appear in MS N both at the beginnings of texts and throughout them, such as an enlarged S (fo. 11r) that occurs several lines into a homily. These initials are written in either red or green ink, with the occasional use of both colours in decorative elements. The rubricating scribe also appeared to have had a preference for visual variation; in instances where two coloured initials appear in close proximity, the scribe generally draws one mostly in red and one mostly in green, such as on fo. 11r, fo. 58v, and fo. 182v. The margins of this

²¹ Ker describes the ink as red; the British Library describes the ink as a metallic purple; and in my own experience with the manuscript in person, I found that the colour of the ink varied along a red-purple continuum rather than being clearly one or the other. For the sake of simplicity, in the rest of this section the ink will be referred to as red, but readers are encouraged to access the British Library’s online facsimile to see the exact colours used.

manuscript are not especially wide, and the lines are spaced compactly, giving the manuscript a cramped yet orderly aspect. While the production of this manuscript was not an elaborate affair, the scribe has clearly put a great deal of time and effort into making all aspects of the texts legible and neat. There are twelfth-century alterations in this manuscript on fos 119v–130v, and fos 162v–164v (Ker, 1957: 190).

The text-beginning initials in MS N are somewhat offset into the left margins: most frequently, half of the initial fits within the ruled area of the page and half sits in the margin; two enlarged initials near the beginning of the manuscript (fo. 11r) are an illustrative example of this. The initials are often decorated, with foliate decorations, circles, and parallel lines used frequently throughout the manuscript. One initial, the **M** beginning Ælfric's Second Series homily for Easter (fo. 131r), contains a small illustration of a face within the left side of the letter. No other initials in MS N share this style of decoration. At one point (fo. 46r), space appears to have been left for enlarged initials that were never drawn in; almost certainly an **H**, based on the rest of the word, *[H]iericho*. The text-beginning initials in MS N vary both in terms of size and in terms of decoration. Some initials, like the **E** beginning Ælfric's homily for the Second Sunday in Quadragesima, are only two lines tall, whilst others, like the **P** beginning Ælfric's homily for Ascension, are seven lines tall, with decorative descenders extending far into the margins. The largest initial in the manuscript is an **M** (fo. 82v) at twelve lines tall, including both its decorative descender and ascender, a rare feature for capital **Ms** of this type. The level of decoration of the initials is varied throughout the manuscript as well: the **U** beginning Ælfric's letter to Sigeferth (fo. 17v), is intricately decorated with leaf-like pen dashes, spirals, and decorative parallel lines on the right-hand side of the letter. The **Æ** beginning Ælfric's homily on Moses, conversely, is not decorated at all. There are no illustrations in MS N, aside from the aforementioned human face on fo. 131r. The average decoration level of the manuscript as a whole is 1.95, and the average line height of enlarged initials is 2.8. There are twenty-four lines to a page in this manuscript, so an initial three lines tall takes up approximately one eighth of the written space available.

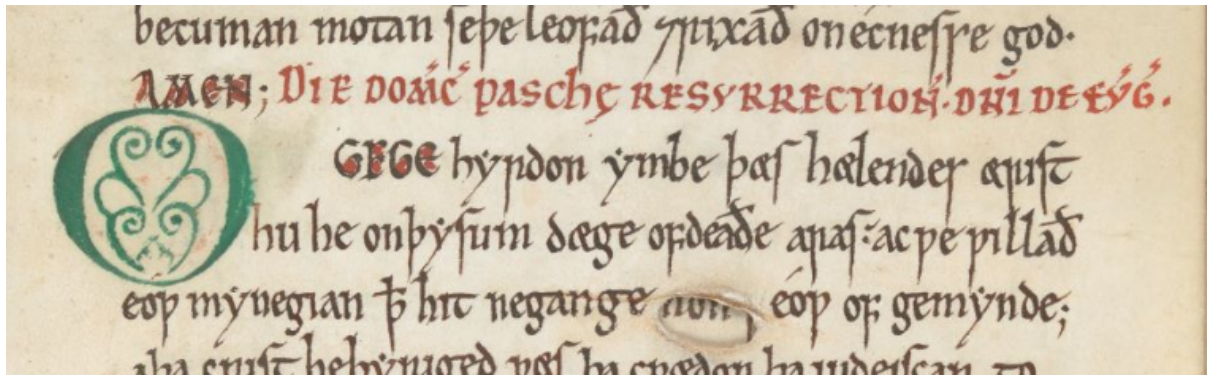


Figure 21: MS N, fo. 126r

4.3.14 MS O: CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 302

4.3.14.1.1 Contents

This manuscript contains thirty-four items, all but seven of which are written by Ælfric. Of the homilies not by Ælfric, six of them are anonymous homilies for various Sundays after Epiphany and days in Rogationtide, as well as a homily associated with the Thursday preceding Easter. The remaining homily is a text by Wulfstan concerning baptism. Aside from these, the contents of MS O are fairly standard and are laid out in an order coinciding with the church year. Clemoes describes the contents of MS O as a ‘systematically arranged set of homilies for Sundays as festivals other than saints’ days from the first Sunday in Advent to Tuesday in Rogationtide (breaking off imperfectly at the end of a quire)’ (1997: 33). Clemoes notes that MS O shares many items in common with MS N, which could indicate that these manuscripts derive from a common exemplar. The texts in this manuscript belong to the δ and ϵ phases of Ælfric’s text (Clemoes, 1997: 153), and the non-Ælfrician texts are interspersed throughout the Ælfrician ones.

4.3.14.1.2 Manuscript description

Siglum	MS O
Place of production	South-east England
Date of production	s.xi/xii
Dimensions of page	250 x 160mm
Dimensions of written space	200 x 120mm
Lines per page	31
Words per line	12-14
Number of scribes	2
Average decoration level	1.91
Total number of texts	34
Number of Ælfrician texts	27

This manuscript was produced either at the end of the eleventh century or in the beginning of the twelfth (Clemoes, 1997: 33), probably in south-eastern England (Gneuss and Lapidge, 2012: 99). MS O is written in one main hand with only very occasional input from a second hand (p. 29 and p. 97). M.R. James describes the main hand as ‘a clear upright rather close script’ (1912: 92). The body of the text is written in black ink, with green, red, and purple ink used to draw the enlarged initials throughout the manuscript. Beginning sentences of individual texts are sometimes in-filled with red ink, and all Latin rubrics are drawn in red. Based on the high number of both lines per page and words per line in MS O, we may conclude that the compiler and scribe of this manuscript wished to fit as much text as possible into as few sheets of parchment as they could. Despite this efficient use of space, the manuscript has an overall tidy and consistent aspect.

The text-beginning initials in this manuscript are sometimes offset into the left-hand margin, but not always: for example, an **S** (p. 26) is confined completely within the ruled area of the page, but an **I** (p. 112) exists almost entirely outside of it. Overall, however, these initials tend to be more within the ruled lines than outside. The initials beginning texts are generally the only enlarged or coloured initials throughout the manuscript, although there is a single instance of an **Æ** (p. 174) that does not appear at the beginning of a new text, but is nevertheless enlarged and drawn in purple ink. The text-beginning initials in MS O vary dramatically in both size and decoration level: the largest initials in MS O are ten and eleven lines tall, such as an **I** (p. 57) and an **P** (p. 198); while the **D** that begins the Old English section of Ælfric’s homily for the Fifth Sunday in Lent is barely a single line tall. There does not appear to be any correlation between the sizes of the letters and their positions in the manuscript. The **I** opening the manuscript is an exceptionally large and an exceptionally decorated letter, but it is by no means the largest letter nor the most decorated. Perhaps noteworthy is that all of the largest letters in the manuscript—those eight lines in height or taller—are either **p**, **I**, or **P**: all letters composed primarily of a main vertical pen-stroke and a descender or ascender. There are no very highly decorated letters in this manuscript, but foliate flourishes and decorative dots are used throughout. Like the scribe of MS N, the decorating scribe of MS O also preferred to use different colours when two enlarged initials appeared in close proximity. The average line height of an enlarged initial in MS O is 4.53. The overall decoration level of the manuscript is 1.91. There are thirty-one lines to a page in this manuscript, so an initial 4.5 lines tall takes up approximately one seventh of the written space of the page.

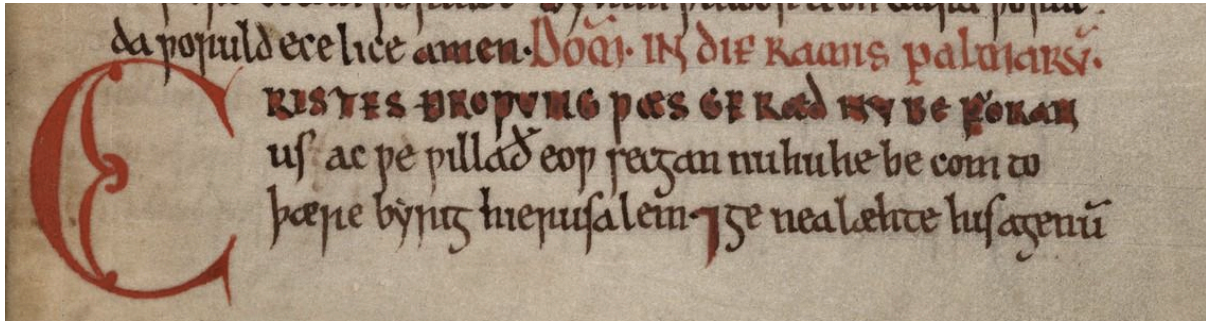


Figure 22: MS O, p. 155

4.3.15 MS P: OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, HATTON MS 115 AND KANSAS, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS Y 104

Siglum	MS P
Place of production	Unknown
Date of production	s.xi ²
Dimensions of page	248 x 160mm
Dimensions of written space	170-195 x 75-115mm
Lines per page	27
Words per line	6-8
Number of scribes	1
Average decoration level	Unknown ²²
Total number of texts	46
Number of Ælfrician texts	27

The body of the text in MS P is written in black ink, with red ink used for the Latin rubrics and occasional in-filling of letters throughout the manuscript. The first lines of texts are occasionally completely in-filled with red ink (fo. 61v), and the text-ending *amen* is often in-filled in this way as well. Decorated, enlarged initials that begin texts are drawn in either red or green ink. The enlarged, text-beginning initials in MS P are often offset into the margin, and on certain pages (fo. 61v), the initial sits entirely outside the ruled area of the body of the text. This offset style was not due to lack of space, but rather planned: whoever ruled the manuscript included a separate left-hand column specifically for these text-beginning initials to inhabit, which is visible on several folios, including fos 23r and 63r. I have not been able to establish the extent to which initials are decorated, or the extent to which their size varies, as a full facsimile of this manuscript is not currently

²² Due to limitations in facsimile availability, the exact decoration level of this manuscript is unknown; the overall decoration level, however, is very low, with less than ten initials in the entire manuscript being at all decorated, and most of them having a decoration level of only 1.

available online. The texts are arranged generally in the order prescribed by Ælfric, although these sequences are interspersed with anonymous prognostications and texts by Wulfstan.

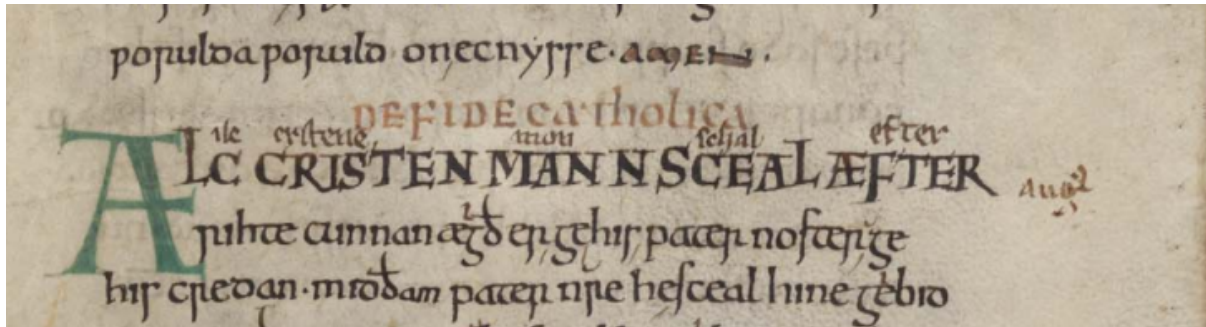


Figure 23: MS P, fo. 16r

MS P as it was originally produced has since been split into two different manuscripts. The majority of the manuscript resides at the Bodleian Library, but a single leaf was at some point removed, and inserted into another manuscript that is currently held at Kansas University Library. The siglum MS P refers to both the Bodleian manuscript and the single leaf in KUL Y 104. This manuscript may be divided into three booklets based on its quiring (Clemoes, 1997: 34). The provenance of MS P is Worcester, but its place of origin remains unknown (Gneuss and Lapidge, 2012: 489).

4.3.16 MS Q: CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS 188

Siglum	MS Q
Place of production	Hereford?
Date of production	s.xi ¹
Dimensions of page	280 x 170mm
Dimensions of written space	214 x 133mm
Lines per page	25
Words per line	8-9
Number of scribes	2
Average decoration level	1.27
Total number of texts	47
Number of Ælfrician texts	47

The main body of the text in MS Q was written in black ink, with blue and red inks also used throughout the manuscript for decoration and elaboration. All of the coloured inks are badly oxidised in this manuscript, making it difficult on occasion to ascertain which colour of ink was used in any one instance—the red ink, for example, has often darkened

to a colour very similar to the blue. As in many of the Ælfrician manuscripts, Latin rubrics are written in an ink that was likely at one point red, perhaps metallic, although now it is a metallic grey. Text-beginning, enlarged initials are drawn in either red, blue, or black ink. The enlarged, text-beginning initials in this manuscript are offset into the left margin to a significant degree, often appearing completely outside the ruled area of the body of the text, such as on p. 165, p. 189, and p. 215. The initials do not vary much in size throughout the manuscript: the largest text-beginning character is only 4.5 lines in height, which is substantially smaller than the largest letters in many other Ælfrician manuscripts. Furthermore, this largest text-beginning character is not a letter, but the **P**-and-stroke abbreviation of *pæt* at 4.5 lines tall (p. 73); the largest standard letter is a 4 line tall **P** (p. 414). As in many of these manuscripts, the largest letters are all either **P**, **p**, or **I**: all letters based around a large vertical line; the smallest text-beginning initials are only 1 or 1.5 lines tall. The letters in this manuscript are only very slightly decorated, with all but two initials having a decoration level of one or two, and the vast majority having a value of one. The two slightly more decorated initials are an **I** that begins Ælfric's homily for the Assumption of St John (p. 32), and the **D** (p. 394) that begins Ælfric's homily for the Twenty-First Sunday after Pentecost (*ÆCHom* I, 35). Both are decorated with decorative circles and fine lines. These two especially decorated initials are not surrounded by other decorated ones, nor do the texts appear to be of exceptional importance to the compiler of the manuscript in any other way than the increased level of decoration.

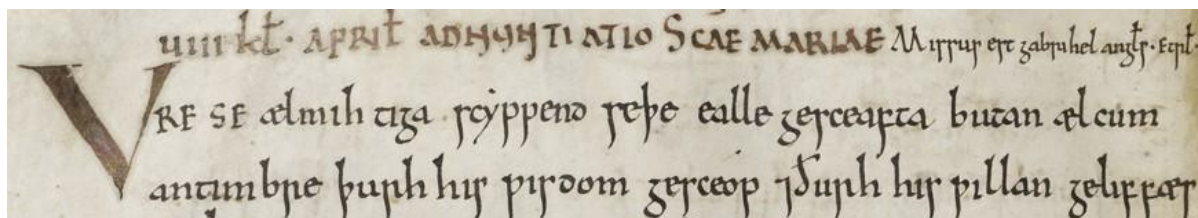


Figure 24: MS Q, p. 138

This manuscript contains entirely Ælfrician texts, mostly from the First Series with some supplementary pieces from the later work, and proceeds according to the church calendar. Texts in MS Q belong to the ϵ and ζ phases of Ælfric's text (Clemoes, 1997: 160).

4.3.17 MS R: CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS 178, PP. 1-270, AND CCC MS 162, PP. 139-60

Siglum	MS R
Place of production	Worcester?
Date of production	s.xi ¹

Dimensions of page	285 x 190mm
Dimensions of written space	225 x 130mm
Lines per page	27
Words per line	9-11
Number of scribes	2
Average decoration level	1.21
Total number of texts	30
Number of Ælfrician texts	26

The compilation of this manuscript is complex. MS R is the sister volume of MS F, discussed above, and as such the leaves taken from MS R that exist currently in MS F (pp. 139–160) are considered part of this volume (Clemoes, 1997: 37). In addition to its missing leaves, MS R has been bound to a copy of the Latin and Old English Benedictine Rule. The modern additions have not been included in the information below, as they are irrelevant to the current study.

The body of this manuscript is written in black, with only red used to decorate. This red is used for text-beginning initials and rubrications, as well as occasional letter in-filling. The enlarged, text-beginning initials in this manuscript are often offset somewhat into the left-hand margin, although generally there has been space left for the letter inside the ruled area of the page. An example of this can be seen with the **G** beginning Ælfric's homily on Purification (p. 201) which is centred on the border of the ruled area, with approximately half of the letter sitting in the margin and half sitting within the written area of the page. The largest letter in the manuscript is the **A** that opens the first text in the manuscript, Ælfric's *De initio creaturae*, which takes up approximately half of the space available in the written area of the page. Aside from this single exceptional letter and the majuscules that follow it, the text-beginning initials do not vary much in size in this manuscript: the other largest initials are two **ps** that are each five lines tall—a **p** and an **H** at four lines each—and from there all remaining initials are 3.5 lines in height or smaller. There is not a large amount of decoration in this manuscript, either: of the thirty-nine enlarged or coloured initials in the manuscript, only eight have a decoration level of two, and the rest have a decoration level of one. Among the letters that are slightly decorated are the **A** at the beginning of the manuscript, which has a single decorative dot added to its left side, and the **O** immediately following (p. 15), which has two dots added within the body of the letter. Aside from these eight letters, most of the initials are not decorated or elaborated upon at all. There are also no illustrations within this manuscript.

Viewing all aspects of the manuscript as a whole, the lack of decorative elements, limited inks, and somewhat cramped writing indicate that this manuscript was a relatively cost-effective production.

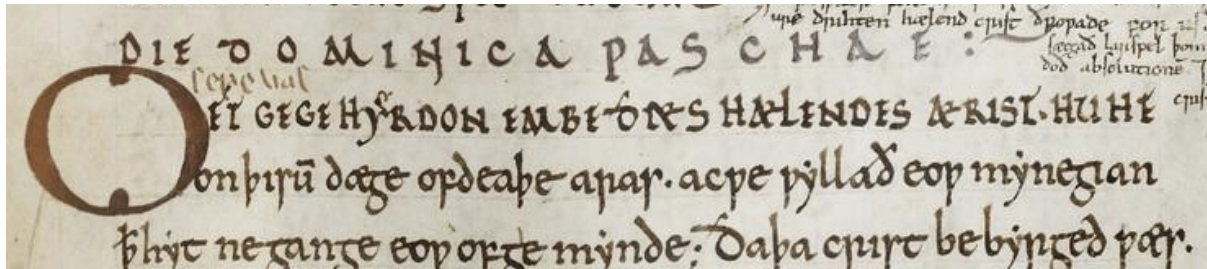


Figure 25: MS R, p. 229

This manuscript contains texts primarily from Ælfric's First Series, but contains a number of Second Series homilies as well. The contents are arranged generally in accordance with the church year, and the Ælfrician texts and non-Ælfrician texts are not separated in any way. The texts in MS R belong to Ælfric's ϵ and ζ phases of text (Clemoes, 1997: 160).

4.3.18 MS S: OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, HATTON MS 116

Siglum	MS S
Place of production	Worcester
Date of production	s.xii ¹
Dimensions of page	260 x 180mm
Dimensions of written space	203 x 135mm
Lines per page	20
Words per line	8-10
Number of scribes	1
Average decoration level	Between 1 and 2
Total number of texts	26
Number of Ælfrician texts	21

The body of the text in MS S is written in black ink, with red ink used for Latin rubrics and enlarged initials. The enlarged, text-beginning initials in this manuscript do vary somewhat in terms of size, although the largest letters tend to be those with ascenders or descenders. The largest initial in the manuscript is the **P** that begins the second part of Ælfric's homily for All Saints at 5.5 lines tall (p. 209); contrasting with this is the enlarged and coloured **V** that occurs on the same page directly above it, itself only half a line tall. The text-beginning initials in this manuscript do not extend into the left hand margin to any significant degree, but generally sit entirely within the ruled area of the page. The

scribe who wrote the body of the text of MS S left space within the ruled area for these enlarged, coloured letters; near the end of the manuscript (p. 382), the rubricating scribe has forgotten to add in an **M**, leaving an empty space where a later, less skilled **M** has been inserted by a different scribe. There is one exceptional **EA** ligature (p. 365): the **E** portion of the character is 1.5 lines tall, and a fairly standard shaped English vernacular minuscule capital. Within the **E**, however, a smaller **A** shares a cross-bar with it, and is encircled by the larger letter. This combination of letters drawn in this way is highly unusual within Ælfrician manuscripts. It is possible this is based upon an error on the part of the main scribe: the scribe left only enough room for a single enlarged letter, but incorrectly began the text '[Ea]la ge gebroðra' rather than '[E]ala ge gebroðra', perhaps forcing the rubricating scribe to improvise a solution. Aside from this instance, there are no other exceptional letters or illustrations found within this manuscript.

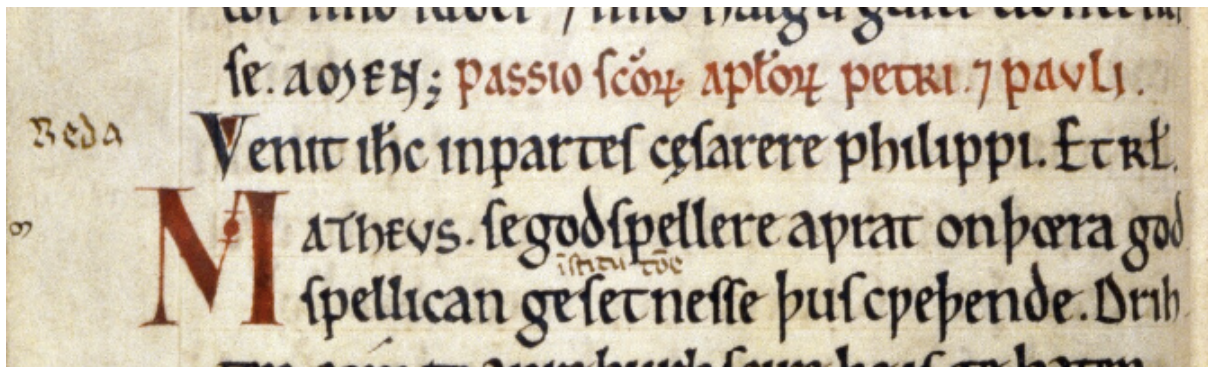


Figure 26: MS S, p. 34

The non-Ælfrician items are clustered at the beginning and end of the manuscript; following and preceding these anonymous texts, the Ælfrician homilies follow the order of the church year. Kleist claims that in fact, all of the texts aside from the very final one in MS S are arguably Ælfrician (Kleist, 2019: 230). The texts in MS S belong to Ælfric's ϵ and ζ phases of text (Clemoes, 1997: 160).

4.3.19 MS T: OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, JUNIUS MS 121 (T1) AND HATTON MSS 113 (T2) AND 114 (T3)

Siglum	MS T1
Place of production	Worcester
Date of production	s.xi ^{3/4}
Dimensions of page	265 x 155mm
Dimensions of written space	200 x 105mm
Lines per page	22
Words per line	6-8

Number of scribes	1 (plus additions)
Average decoration level	1.33
Total number of texts	36
Number of Ælfrician texts	8

Siglum	MS T2
Place of production	Worcester
Date of production	s.xi ^{3/4}
Dimensions of page	255 x 158mm
Dimensions of written space	200 x 95mm
Lines per page	23
Words per line	6-8
Number of scribes	1 (plus additions)
Average decoration level	1.1
Total number of texts	26
Number of Ælfrician texts	6

Siglum	MS T3
Place of production	Worcester
Date of production	s.xi ^{3/4}
Dimensions of page	267 x 160mm
Dimensions of written space	200 x 94mm
Lines per page	23
Words per line	6-8
Number of scribes	1 (plus additions)
Average decoration level	1.13
Total number of texts	48
Number of Ælfrician texts	34

The siglum MS T encompasses three volumes. These three volumes are listed under a single siglum because of the complementary nature of their contents, the same possible place of origin, and because the same hand is used in all three (Clemoes, 1997: 42). As a group, I refer to these volumes as MS T; individually, I refer to the Junius manuscript as MS T1, Hatton 113 as MS T2, and Hatton 114 as MS T3.

The main body of text in all of the volumes is written in black ink, with varying colours of inks used for decoration. Red ink is used for Latin rubrics, as well as for enlarged text-beginning initials, and occasionally entire first lines of a text. In MS T1 and MS T2, red, green, blue, and black ink are all used for enlarged, text-beginning initials; MS T3 uses red, green, blue, black, and purple ink. The text-beginning initials in these volumes are

slightly offset into the left-hand margin of the page, with each enlarged initial generally placed half within the body of the text, and half extending into the marginal space. An example of this can be seen in MS T3 (fo. 86r), where the **O** beginning ‘Oft ge gehyrdon’ sits almost exactly in the middle of the two areas of the page. The largest initials in any of the volumes are four lines tall: an **I** beginning Ælfric’s Letter to Wulfgeat (fo. 124v), and an **Æ** in MS T3 beginning *ÆCHom* I, 16 (fo. 92r). It is noteworthy that despite the high number of non-Ælfrician texts in all volumes, the two largest initials both begin Ælfrician texts. Following these four-line tall initials, the next largest letters are three 3.5-line tall letters, two of which begin Ælfrician texts (MS T1 fo. 101v; MS T2 fo. 130v) and one of which begins a homily by Wulfstan (MS T2 fo. 21v). None of the volumes is exceptionally highly decorated; of the three, MS T1 has a single letter with a decoration level of three, the **E** beginning Ælfric’s Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan (fo. 111r). All other enlarged or decorated initials in the three volumes have a decoration level of two or lower. The size of the coloured initials along with the overall low decoration level gives the impression that these manuscripts were produced for use and reading, rather than as decorative objects. Most scholarship tends to agree that these materials were assembled for Archbishop Wulfstan to use ‘in relation to his duties as a bishop’ (Clemoes, 1997: 42).

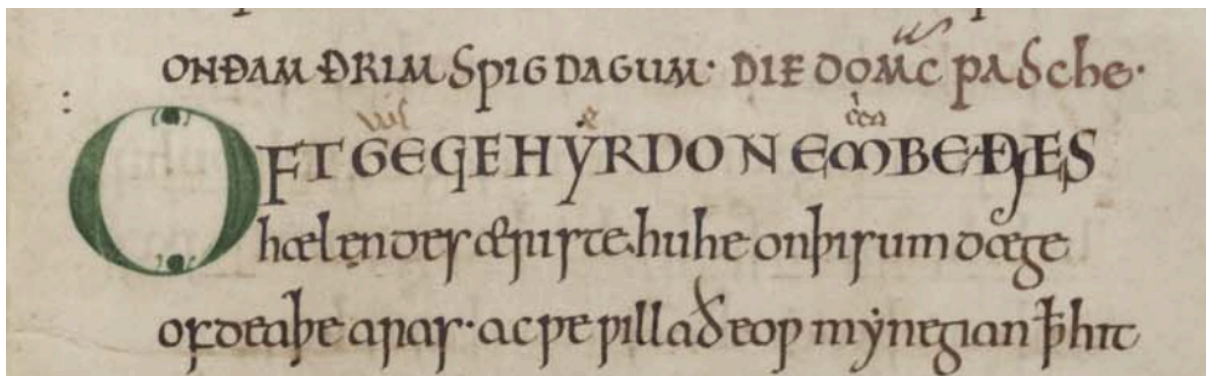


Figure 27: MS T3, fo. 86r

The Ælfrician material within the manuscripts is made up of First and Second Series texts, along with several additional homilies not associated with either. All of the manuscripts arrange the texts according to the church year. The majority of the texts in MS T belong to Ælfric’s ϵ and ζ phases of text (Clemoes, 1997: 160), but portions of the later additions are more closely associated with the δ and ϵ phases. The Ælfrician and non-Ælfrician texts are not visually distinguished from each other in any way, and are interspersed with each other throughout the three volumes.

4.3.20 MS U: CAMBRIDGE, TRINITY COLLEGE MS B.15.34

Siglum	MS U
Place of production	Canterbury
Date of production	s.xi ^{med}
Dimensions of page	247 x 165mm
Dimensions of written space	200 x 100mm
Lines per page	21
Words per line	5-7
Number of scribes	1
Average decoration level	1.11
Total number of texts	27
Number of Ælfrician texts	25

The body of the text of MS U is written in black ink, with red ink used for Latin rubrics and red and green ink used for enlarged, text-beginning, or decorated initials. MS U not only uses red ink for the letters that begin texts, but also for what appears to be the first letter of every sentence throughout the homilies. These letters are neither enlarged nor decorated, but they are majuscule characters, drawn with red ink, and occur generally three to six times on each page of the manuscript. The enlarged, text-beginning initials sometimes sit completely inside the ruled area of the page (p. 282), and sometimes protrude significantly into the left hand margin (p. 387). The majority of the time however, the text-beginning initials sit primarily inside the ruled area, and protrusion into the margins seems to be more to do with a lack of space within the ruled area than a conscious design choice. The size of the initials in this manuscript are highly uniform: all but two of the Old English enlarged initials are three lines tall, and all but one of the Latin initials are only a single line in height. The Old English initials that are not three lines tall are the *I* in Ælfric's text *De septiformi spiritu* (p. 245) and the *U* beginning Ælfric's text for the Third Sunday after Easter (p. 79). The single Latin enlarged initial more than a single line height tall is the *S* beginning the Latin portion of Ælfric's *De septiformi spiritu* (p. 244). The initials in MS U are also consistently undecorated, with every enlarged initial but five having a decoration level of one, and the remaining five having a decoration level of only two. All of the decoration that occurs within the manuscript is very simple, with a single foliate flourish or the use of parallel lines to draw what could be done with a single stroke. MS U contains a single illustration: on the first page of the manuscript there exists a full-page illustration of Christ, sitting inside a mandorla, drawn in black pen with certain sections highlighted with green ink.

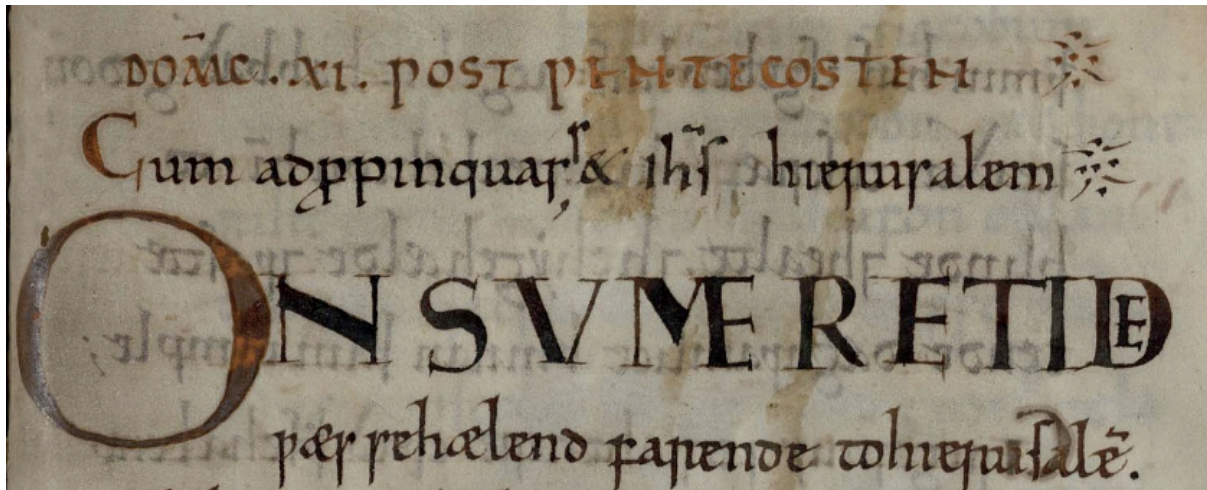


Figure 28: MS U, p. 415

This set of texts runs according to the order of the church year, beginning at Easter and ending imperfectly (Kleist, 2019: 232). The two anonymous homilies are not placed in proximity with each other, but rather are separated by Ælfrician texts. The Ælfrician texts in this manuscript belong to the δ and ε phases of text (Clemoes, 1997: 160).

4.3.21 MS V: CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MSS 419 (V1) AND 421 (V2)

Siglum	MS V1
Place of production	Canterbury
Date of production	s.xi ¹
Dimensions of page	205 x 125mm
Dimensions of written space	170 x 80mm
Lines per page	19
Words per line	5-6
Number of scribes	1
Average decoration level	2.07
Total number of texts	15
Number of Ælfrician texts	1

Siglum	MS V2
Place of production	Canterbury
Date of production	s.xi ¹
Dimensions of page	205 x 125mm
Dimensions of written space	170 x 80mm
Lines per page	19
Words per line	5-6
Number of scribes	1

Average decoration level	1.27
Total number of texts	15
Number of Ælfrician texts	10

The two manuscripts CCCC 419 and 421 are companion volumes, and together make up a single collection of homilies. The body of the texts in each of the manuscripts is written in black ink. In MS V1, the only coloured ink used is red, which is employed for both text-beginning enlarged initials as well as Latin rubrics. In MS V2, red ink is the only coloured ink available for the original portions of the manuscript, whilst the inserted Exeter sections also contain green and blue. Red ink is also used for occasionally in-filling of letters throughout the texts in both of the manuscripts, generally to signal semantic breaks or new sentences. The enlarged, text-beginning initials in MS V sit primarily inside of the ruled area, generally only protruding into the left-hand margin where a decorative flourish has been added, such as an L in MS V1 (p. 204), or an Æ in MS V2 (p. 287). The beginnings of homilies are laid out in a very similar way to MS U in MS V1, with an enlarged single letter, followed by a line of very large majuscules at the beginning of each Old English text. The beginnings of texts in MS V2 are more complicated, however, due to the large pieces of the manuscript that were written elsewhere and inserted into the manuscript. The ‘original’ parts of MS V2 (those that were written at approximately the same time as MS V1, at Canterbury) are uniform with the openings of texts in MS V1: most follow the same pattern of a full line of majuscules. The later insertions begin in a manner more similar to the beginnings of texts in other Ælfrician manuscripts: the text-beginning initial is enlarged, but any majuscules that follow it are the same size as the rest of the letters in the body of the homily, not the exceptionally large ones found elsewhere in MS V. Of the fifteen items in MS V2, eight are from the ‘original’ manuscript and share similarities with MS V1, and seven were inserted, and tend more towards styles found in other Ælfrician manuscripts. The enlarged, text-beginning initials in both MS V1 and MS V2 do not vary much in size; the largest initials in both of the manuscripts are four lines tall, and the only text-beginning initial in MS V1 that is less than two lines tall (an L on p. 235) has clearly been affected by cropping and was likely much taller in the manuscript’s original form. In the original parts of MS V2, the text-beginning initials are all between two and four lines in height; in the additions, initials are as small as 1.5 lines tall. The initials do vary in terms of their decoration levels, especially in MS V1. Some initials in MS V1, such as the L beginning a new section of Wulfstan’s Pastoral Letter (p. 235), are not decorated at all, while the enlarged L preceding it (p. 204) has a decoration level of three, and the enlarged M following it on p. 252 has a decoration level of two. The types

of decoration in this manuscript are restricted to decorative circles, foliate flourishes, or small perpendicular lines made across the strokes of the letter. MS V2 is overall less decorated than MS V1, as none of the letters that begin any of the texts that were inserted later are decorated. The most decorated initial in MS V2 is the **Æ** beginning *Ælfric's homily Feria III de dominica oratione*, the only initial in the manuscript to have a decoration level of three. MS V2 also contains a frontispiece drawing: an illustration of Christ at the crucifixion, drawn in pen and washed with red (Clemoes, 1997: 47). As mentioned above, this illustration was originally a part of MS V1.

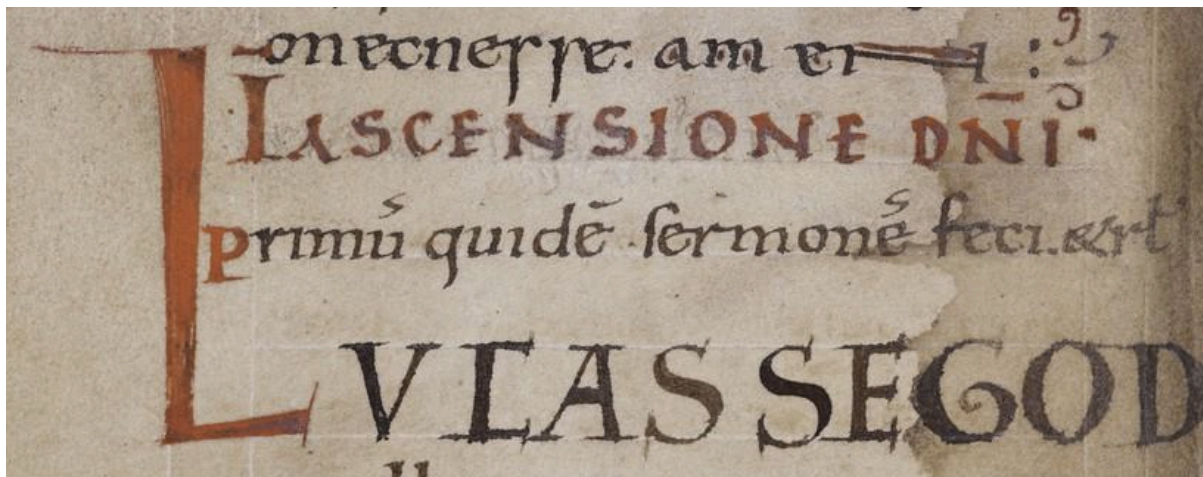


Figure 29: MS V, p. 324

The homilies of MS V make up a single collection of homilies with no overlap, not organised with regard to the church calendar. The items in MS V belong primarily to *Ælfric's* δ and ϵ phases of text (Clemoes, 1997: 160), but the later insertions made in MS V2 contain texts more associated with *Ælfric's* γ phase (Clemoes, 1997: 144). Based on textual similarities, it is possible that the insertions into MS V2 may have once been connected with MS J as a part of a once-existing collection (Kleist, 2019: 234). In MS V2, the volume with the majority of the *Ælfrician* texts, all non-*Ælfrician* texts occur in a sequence occurring on pp. 150–227.

4.3.22 MS X¹ - LONDON, LAMBETH PALACE MS 487

Siglum	MS X ¹
Place of production	West Midlands
Date of production	s.xii/xiii
Dimensions of page	189 x 121mm
Dimensions of written space	167 x 80-5mm
Lines per page	25

Words per line	8-10
Number of scribes	1
Average decoration level	N/A
Total number of texts	19
Number of Ælfrician texts	2 wholly, 3 more partially

The body of the text is written in black ink, with only occasional rubrication in red added later; there are no decorated or enlarged text-beginning initials in this manuscript, although the body scribe has left a space at the beginning of each new text clearly intending a large initial to be inserted later on. The texts contained within do not appear to be arranged in order of the church year, and the Ælfrician texts are interspersed with anonymous ones.

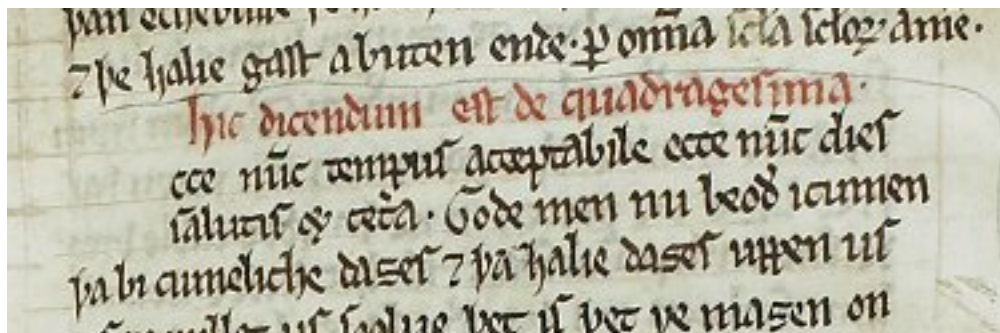


Figure 30: MS Xi, p. 9

4.4 CONCLUSIONS

In these previous two sections, I have provided the context that will allow for later reference throughout the thesis. I have also supplied a brief summary of the most relevant Ælfrician First Series scholarship, in order to describe both the body of work and the body of manuscripts that comprise the focus of this study. Following these two sections that provide the requisite background information, we may now progress to a discussion of the research itself.

CASE STUDIES: MANUSCRIPT CLUSTERS

In this section I present two case studies on text-beginning initials, each based on a set of linked manuscripts, or ‘clusters’. The manuscript clusters selected here were identified as such due to their proximity to each other within Clemons’ stemmata of textual transmission. I argue in this section that certain manuscripts share visual similarities, specifically in their text-beginning or section-beginning enlarged initials; these visual similarities often proliferate across the same groups of manuscripts previously posited to be closely related due to their textual content. By comparing these related manuscripts, I intend to provide evidence for my hypothesis that these initials, alongside other aspects of manuscript *mise-en-page*, were transmitted from one manuscript to another. In this section, I also demonstrate that certain cluster text-beginning initials are significantly similar to one another through a comparison of the same text-beginning initials in non-cluster manuscripts. I first discuss the manuscripts that make up these clusters, how they have been selected, and the limitations, if any, of these manuscripts as potential evidence for my claim. Following this is a discussion of the texts that occur within these manuscripts, as well as any groups of texts that are often associated across these manuscripts. Finally, I examine the enlarged initials in these manuscripts, beginning with a point-by-point comparison of all the initials that begin the texts that occur in all cluster manuscripts, followed by an analysis of any potential similarities or connections.

5 CLUSTER 1: MS C, MS D, AND MS G

5.1 THE MANUSCRIPTS AS A CLUSTER

The first manuscript cluster is made up of MS C, MS D, and MS G. I selected these three manuscripts as a potential cluster based on Clemoes' stemmata of textual dissemination: all three of these manuscripts contain tranches that fall within the *B* phase of textual transmission, and certain portions of the individual manuscripts may share even closer textual relationships. Eleven homilies appear in all three of these manuscripts, and a further twenty-six appear in two of the three. Furthermore, not only are these manuscripts associated with the same phases of text, but they are also close to one another on the stemma itself (Clemoes, 1997: 137). Here, I reproduce brief, simplified segments of the stemmata in order to demonstrate where these manuscripts fall along likely lines of distribution, with the sigla of the three manuscripts concerned highlighted in red. Dotted lines indicate transmission outside Ælfric's scriptorium; solid lines indicate transmission within his scriptorium.

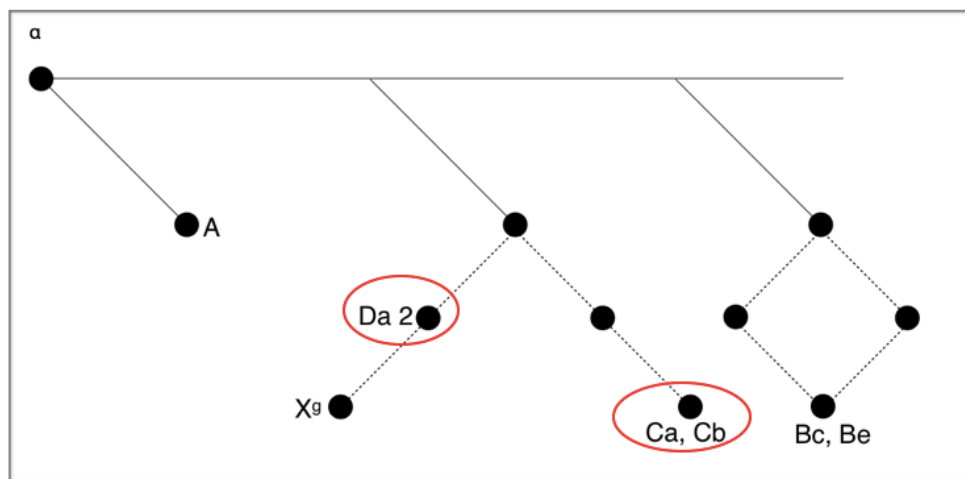


Figure 31: Alpha phase of the text, noting the position of manuscripts MS C and MS D.

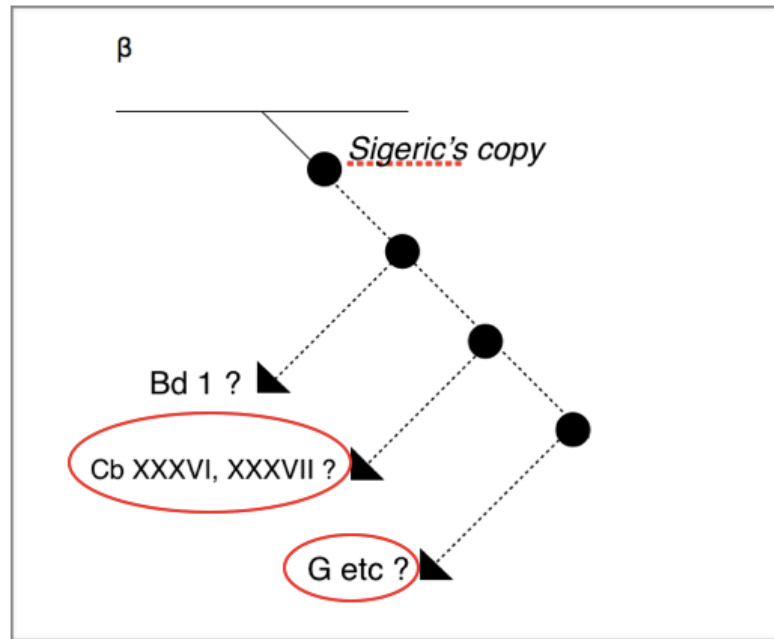


Figure 32: A segment of the B phase of the text, noting the relationship between MS C and MS G (Clemoes, 1997: 144).

MS C, MS D, and MS G are thus all relatively closely linked in terms of textual distribution: parts of MS G are believed to have directly descended from parts of MS C, and parts of MS D and MS C likely share an exemplar one or two generations removed from the surviving manuscripts.

5.1.1 MANUSCRIPT TEXTS

The texts that appear in all three of the cluster manuscripts are as follows:

	Title of Homily	Short Title	Cameron Number	Item no. in MS C	Item no. in MS D	Item no. in MS G
1	<i>Quinquagesima</i>	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 10	B1.1.11	4	D1: 17	51
2	Annunciation	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 13	B1.1.14	25	D1: 14	50
3	<i>In letania maiore</i>	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 18	B1.1.20	38	D2: 2	41
4	St John the Baptist	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 25	B1.1.27	17	D2: 14	11
5	Peter and Paul	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 26	B1.1.28	18	D2: 16	12
6	St Paul	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 27	B1.1.29	19	D2: 17	42

7	Eleventh Sunday after Pentecost	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 28	B1.1.30	51	D2: 20	16
8	<i>Dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Michaelis</i>	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 34	B1.1.36	26	D2: 33	24
9	All Saints	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 36	B1.1.38	27	D2: 34	31
10	St Clement	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 37	B1.1.39	28	D2: 35	40
11	Twelfth Sunday after Pentecost	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 33	B1.2.35	52	D2: 22	17

The following homilies are found in two of the manuscripts:

	Title of Homily	Short Title	Cameron Number	Item no. in MS C	Item no. in MS D	Item no. in MS G
1	<i>De initio creaturae</i>	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 1	B1.1.2	-	D2: 1	3
1	Third Sunday after Epiphany	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 8	B1.1.9	1	D1: 9	-
2	Easter Sunday	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 15	B1.1.17	14	D1: 27	-
3	Ascension	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 21	B1.1.23	44	D2: 9	-
4	Pentecost	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 22	B1.1.24	45	D2: 10	-
5	Second Sunday after Pentecost	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 23	B1.1.25	46	D2: 11	-
6	Fourth Sunday after Pentecost	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 24	B1.1.26	48	D2: 13	-
7	The Decollation of John the Baptist	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 32	B1.1.34	22	-	21
8	Seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 33	B1.1.35	55	D2: 25	-
9	Twenty-first Sunday after Pentecost	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 35	B1.1.37	56	D2: 26	-
10	St Andrew	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 38	B1.1.40	29	D2: 41	-
11	Second Sunday in Advent	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 40	B1.1.42	-	D2: 37	30
12	Septuagesima	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 5	B1.2.6	2	D1: 15	-
13	Sexagesima	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 6	B1.2.7	3	D1: 16	-
14	First Sunday in Lent	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 7	B1.2.8	5	D1: 18	-
15	<i>Feria III in letania maiore</i>	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 22	B1.2.25	-	D2: 5	39
16	<i>Alia visio</i>	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 23	B1.2.26	-	D2: 6	40

17	Eighth Sunday after Pentecost	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 29	B1.2.32	49	D2: 18	-
18	Ninth Sunday after Pentecost	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 30	B1.2.33	50	D2: 19	-
19	Sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 36.1	B1.2.38	53	D2: 23	-
20	Apostle	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 40	B1.2.44	31	D2: 28	-
21	Apostles	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 41	B1.2.45	32	D2: 29	-
22	Martyrs	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 42	B1.2.46	33	D2: 30	-
23	Confessor	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 43	B1.2.47	34	D2: 31	-
24	Memory of Saints	<i>ÆLS</i> (Memory of Saints)	B1.3.17	57	-	9-10
25	<i>Dominica III in quadragesima</i>	<i>ÆHom</i> 4	B1.4.4	7	-	22
26	<i>De duodecim abusivus</i>	<i>ÆAbus</i> (Warn)	B1.6.2.2	58	-	8

There are also several sequences of texts that appear in the same order across these manuscripts, although there are fewer sequences that appear in all three of them. One such tranche is *ÆCHom* I, 25 appearing near or next to *ÆCHom* I, 26 in all three manuscripts, which is then followed by *ÆCHom* I, 27 in MS C and MS D. In MS C and MS D, the homilies for varying Sundays after Pentecost appear in an almost uninterrupted string from *ÆCHom* II, 29 to *ÆCHom* I, 35 in both, with a homily concerning St James placed in between *ÆCHom* I, 28 and *ÆCHom* II, 33 in MS D. Both MS C and MS D contain the homilies *ÆCHom* II, 40, *ÆCHom* II, 41, *ÆCHom* II, 42, and *ÆCHom* II, 43 in an unbroken series. *ÆCHom* II, 22 followed by *ÆCHom* II, 23 appears in both MS D and MS G, and *ÆCHom* I, 36 precedes *ÆCHom* I, 37 in all three, either immediately as in MS C and MS D, or separated by several non-Ælfrician homilies, as in MS G.

5.2 OTHER RELATED MANUSCRIPTS

MS D shares many of the same texts with MS F and MS E, including both Ælfrician and anonymous content. Several scholars have noted these similarities and posited possible close relationships between the manuscripts; MS D and MS F in particular have attracted interest as a possible exemplar/descendant pair.²³ In addition to these common texts, MS E and MS F likely originate from some of the same centres of production as MS D, and were also produced in the beginning of the tenth century. MS E and MS F have not been included

²³ For more information on the relationship between the three manuscripts, more specifically MS D and MS F, see Treharne (2009: 408); Scragg (1998); Godden (1979); Lowe (2015); and Rae (forthcoming).

in this cluster because of the focus here on Clemoes' distribution stemmata, but the three manuscripts certainly share a level of textual and decorative similarity.²⁴

5.3 COMPARISON OF INITIALS

This section provides a comparison of the initials which begin the texts that appear in all three of the manuscripts. The illustrative images used in this section are displayed from MS C on the far left, followed by MS D, and ending with MS G on the right. For instances where there is more than one enlarged initial in these homilies, images from a single manuscript are positioned more closely to each other. Following the discussion of each set of initials are tables summarising all similarities between them. Photographic images are included wherever possible. I have included a table summarising all of the features of each initial; at the end of this section, a single large table includes all of the features of all of the individual instances of the text. A plus sign indicates the presence of a feature, while a minus sign indicates that the feature was not present or the categorisation is not applicable. Following the line heights, a number representing the percentage of written space on the page the letter takes up will be included; e.g., a six line initial on a twenty-four line page would be recorded as .25.

5.3.1 QUINQUAGESIMA — *ÆCHOM I, 10* (MS C pp. 16-21; MS D1 fo. 99v-104v; MS G fo. 169v-END OF MS)

5.3.1.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 33: *ÆCHom I, 10* in MS C, p. 16; MS D1, fo. 99v; MS G, fo. 169v

²⁴ For more information on the specific decorative similarities between MS D and MS F, see Rae (forthcoming).

This homily reflects a trend borne out across much of MS G: this manuscript is a later one, and highly non-standard in comparison to other manuscripts in the Ælfrician First Series corpus. Due to this variation, MS G often begins a text differently from the other First Series manuscripts. While MS C and MS D both begin with ‘Her is geræd’, MS G opens the homily ‘Se hælend cwæð’. MS G aside, there are many similarities between the appearance of the text in MS C and MS D: they each begin with the homily’s Latin title, written correctly in MS D as *Dominica in quinquagesima*, and incorrectly in MS C as *Dominica III in quinquagesima*; the red *III* was later crossed out with black ink. The red beginning of *quinquagesima* was also rubbed out, and *quinq* added in red ink over the spot of the erasure.

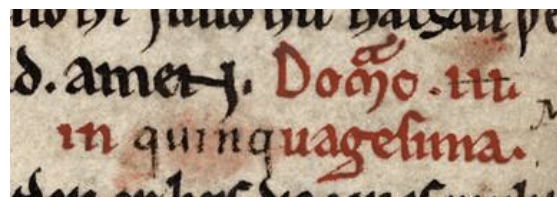


Figure 34: MS C, p. 16

Both MS C and MS D begin with the fairly standard opening of a Latin incipit concerning Jesus’ twelve disciples, begun with a slightly enlarged A sitting atop the Old English beginning of the text, which starts with an enlarged H; the version of the text found in MS G begins without this incipit. The H in MS C is five lines tall, and the H in MS D is 5.5 lines tall. Neither of the Hs is followed by any majuscules. The H in MS D is more decorated than that in MS C, in line with MS D’s higher level of decoration overall. Despite this, the overall impression of these two beginning sections is quite similar.

5.3.1.1.2 Summarising table

	MS C	MS D	MS G
Title present	+	+	-
Opening initial - Latin	A	A	-
Opening initial - OE	H	H	S
Line heights - Latin	1 (.03)	1 (.04)	-
Line height - OE	5 (.15)	5.5 (.19)	2.5 (.1)
Decoration level - Latin	1	1	-
Decoration level - OE	1	3	2

5.3.2 ANNUNCIATION — *ÆCHom I, 13* (MS C pp. 141-4; MS D1 fo. 81R-8R; MS G fo. 168V-9R)

5.3.2.1.1 Appearance of initials

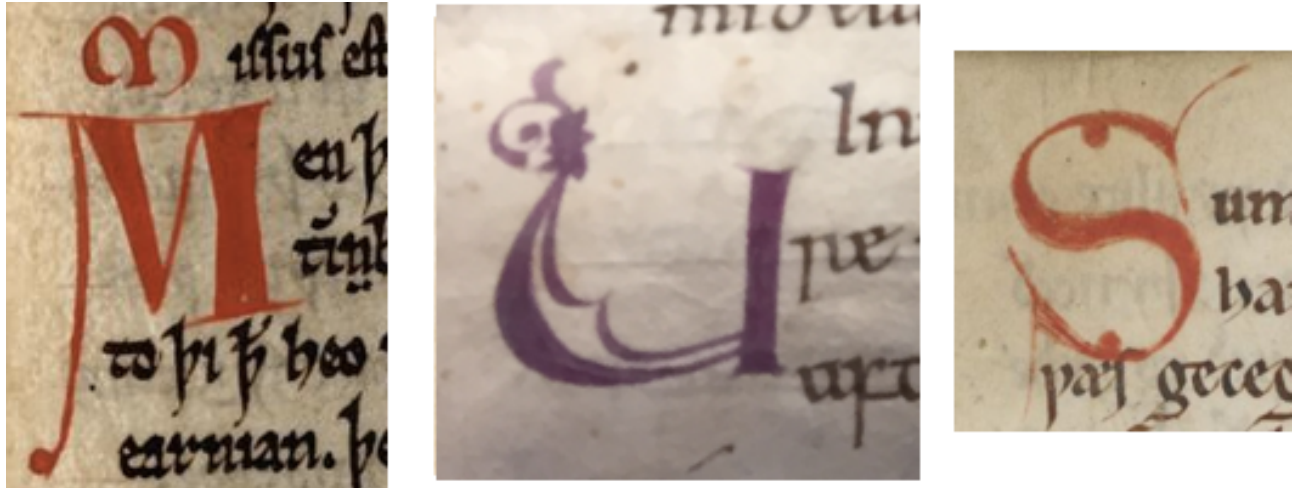


Figure 35: *ÆCHom I, 13* in MS C, p. 141; MS D1, fo. 81r; MS G, fo. 168v

ÆCHom I, 13 begins differently in all three of the cluster manuscripts, making comparison difficult. In MS G, the text is only a fragment, and begins without a title or a Latin rubrication; it begins ‘Sum æwfest godes þeign’, making the first text-beginning initial an enlarged S. The text in MS D begins ‘Ure se ælmihtiga scyppend’; this is the most standard opening of the homily given in authoritative manuscripts, like MS A. Despite this standard Old English opening, in MS D the text begins without the Latin incipit associated with the homily. In MS C, the text begins ‘Men þa leofestan ure se ælmihtiga’; as the scribe of MS C is elsewhere highly reluctant to diverge from their source materials, we may assume that the exemplar for this text also began in the same way. The text in MS C begins with both a title and a Latin incipit, each beginning with an enlarged initial. In MS C the M is 3.5 lines tall with a decoration level of 2; in MS D, the U is 2.5 lines tall with a decoration level of 2; and in MS G, the S is 3.5 lines tall with a decoration level of 2. None of these text-beginning letters are followed by any majuscules.

5.3.2.1.2 Summarising table

	MS C	MS D	MS G
Title present	+	+	-

Opening initial – Latin	M	-	-
Opening initial - OE	M	U	S
Line heights - Latin	1 (.03)	-	-
Line height - OE	3.5 (.1)	2.5 (.1)	3.5 (.15)
Decoration level - Latin	1	-	-
Decoration level - OE	2	2	2

5.3.3 IN LETANIA MAIORE — *ÆCHOM I, 18* (MS C PP. 211-15; MS D2 FO. 8V-14R; MS G FO. 136R-137R)

5.3.3.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 36: *ÆCHom I, 18* in MS C, p. 211; MS D, fo. 8v; MS G, fo. 136r

MS C and MS D both contain a title before the beginning of this homily, written in red ink. The text in MS G is once again an extract rather than the full homily, and has no title. All of the versions of this homily across the three manuscripts are different: the version of *ÆCHom I, 18* in MS C begins '[S]e hælend cwæð'; the version in MS D begins 'Ðas dagas'; and the version in MS G begins 'God spæc'. The Q in MS C is 2.5 lines tall, the D in MS D is 3 lines tall, and the G in MS G is only 2 lines tall. As can be seen above, the rubricator of MS C made an error while drawing the two initials that would generally begin homilies in this manuscript: the Q beginning the Latin section was drawn too large to accommodate a smaller S to begin 'Se hælend'. There are two guide initials on the margins of this page: a small Q and S on the far right-hand side, each written the same size, with no visual hierarchy to help the rubricator discern which was to be written where. Even disregarding this error, it is clear from the intended beginning of the text in MS C that the beginnings of this text in the three manuscripts were highly dissimilar, perhaps indicating different

lines of textual distribution. This marks a notable contrast with a homily discussed previously, *ÆCHom I*, 10, which indicated a close textual relationship between the versions found in MS C and MS D.

5.3.3.1.2 Summarising table

	MS C	MS D	MS G
Title present	+	+	-
Opening initial - Latin	Q	-	-
Opening initial - OE	-	Ð	G
Line heights - Latin	2.5 (.07)	-	-
Line height - OE	-	3 (.12)	2.5 (.1)
Decoration level - Latin	1	-	-
Decoration level - OE	-	2	4

5.3.4 *ST JOHN THE BAPTIST* — *ÆCHom I*, 25 (MS C pp. 82-7; MS D2 fo. 78R-85R; MS G fo. 23V-5R)

5.3.4.1.1 Appearance of initials

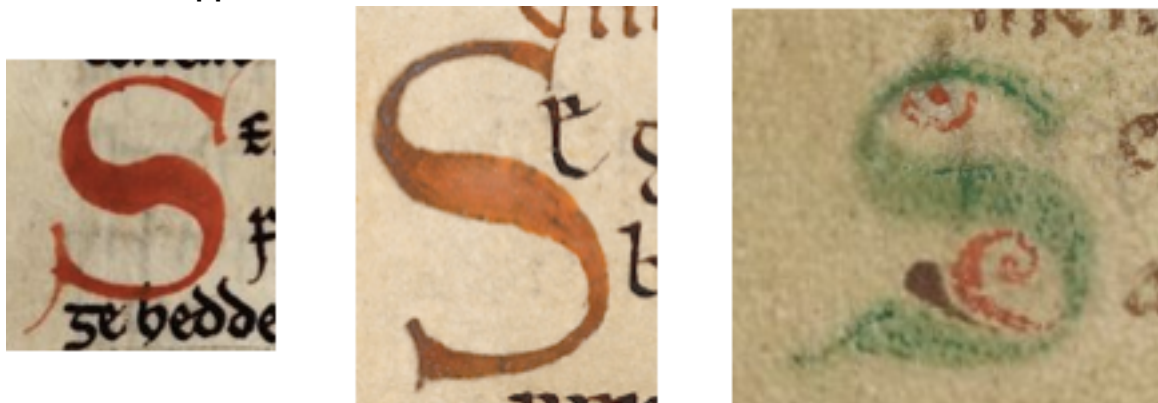


Figure 37: *ÆCHom I*, 25 in MS C, p. 82; MS D2, fo. 78r; MS G, fo. 23v

All three instances of this homily begin with the standard title of the piece, followed by ‘Se godspellere lucas’. The titles of these pieces, as well as the S that begins the text, are all written in red. All three initials are 2-2.5 lines tall, and the initials in MS D and MS G are slightly offset into the left margin in a similar fashion. Both of the Ss in MS C and MS D are not decorated at all; the S in MS G is somewhat decorated. The positioning of the S

within the body of the text along with the minimal decoration combine to give these appearance of texts a similar overall impression.

5.3.4.1.2 Summarising table

	MS C	MS D	MS G
Title present	+	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	-	-	-
Opening initial - OE	S	S	S
Line heights - Latin	-	-	-
Line height - OE	2.5 (.07)	2.5 (.01)	2.5 (.01)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-	-
Decoration level - OE	1	1	3

5.3.5 PETER AND PAUL — *ÆCHOM I*, 26 (MS C pp. 87-94; MS D2 fo. 91R-4R; MS G fo. 25R-25V)

5.3.5.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 38: *ÆCHOM I*, 26 in MS C, p. 87; MS D2, fo. 91r, fo. 91v; MS G, fo. 25r

Once again, the portion of the text from MS G is only a fragment; in this text, however, the extant portion of the homily opens at the beginning of the text and finishes imperfectly. All three texts begin with a title in red; the text in MS C also has a red Latin incipit followed by a red majuscule **M**. MS D has a red title and red **M**, with the **V** in the Latin incipit enlarged as well. MS G has a red rubric, with the Latin incipit's **V** drawn in red with green detailing, followed by a green **M**. In MS G, the Latin **V** is written larger and with a higher level of decoration than the Old English **M**. The two **Ms** in MS C and MS G are

also highly similar in decoration. Both of the **M**s in MS C and MS D are approximately 3.5 lines tall, whilst the **M** in MS G is smaller, at 1.5 lines. None of these initials are followed by any majuscules.

5.3.5.1.2 Summarising table

	MS C	MS D	MS G
Title present	+	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	O	V	V
Opening initial - OE	M	M	M
Line heights - Latin	1 (.03)	1 (.04)	2.5 (.1)
Line height - OE	4 (.12)	4 (.15)	1.5 (.06)
Decoration level - Latin	1	1	3
Decoration level - OE	1	3	1

5.3.6 *ST PAUL — ÆCHOM I, 27* (MS C pp. 94-9; MS D2 fo. 99v-106v; MS G fo. 137r-9r)

5.3.6.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 39: *ÆCHOM I, 27* in MS C, p.94; MS D2, fo. 99v; MS G, fo. 137r

In both MS C and MS D, the homily begins with a title, written in red, followed by the opening text ‘Godes gelaðung wurðað’. In MS G, the text begins with no title, and the

words ‘Soð is to secgene’. In MS C and MS D, the titles are each written in red, as well as the enlarged initial; in MS G, the S is written in primarily green, with red accents. Notable in MS C is that the title of this homily was originally written as *De sancto Jacobo apostolo*, which was scored out in red and replaced with the accurate title. The G beginning the text in MS C is similar to that beginning MS D: they are each written in red, each is two lines tall, and they both begin with a serif at their top point and finish in a spiral design. The difference between the two is that the G in MS D has an angular bowl, while the G in MS C maintains its curving shape, providing the impression of a single unbroken spiral. The similarity of the spiral forms in the two Gs is more striking, though, given the difference between the hands of MS C and MS D; these manuscripts were written approximately a century apart (if not more), and the style used for the two differs significantly. Even within the first word, *Godes*, the minuscule forms of d and s are clearly different: the D in MS C has a concave-up back, whilst the D in MS D has a concave-down back; furthermore, the S in MS C is a tall S, but the S in MS D is low. None of the initials is followed by any majuscules.

5.3.6.1.2 Summarising table

	MS C	MS D	MS G
Title present	+	+	-
Opening initial - Latin	-	-	-
Opening initial - OE	G	G	S
Line heights - Latin	-	-	-
Line height - OE	2.5 (.07)	2 (.08)	2.5 (.1)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-	-
Decoration level - OE	1	1	3

5.3.7 ELEVENTH SUNDAY AFTER PENTECOST – *ÆCHOM I*, 28 (MS C pp. 268-73; MS D2 fo. 114v-21v; MS G fo. 33r-40r)

5.3.7.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 40: ÆCHom I, 28 in MS C, p. 268; MS D2, fo. 114v; MS G, fo. 33r

All three of these homilies begin in the same way with the title, Latin incipit, and Old English text, beginning 'On sumere tide'. The title of this homily in MS C was originally written incorrectly, as *Ewangelum in dominicum*. All versions of the text begin with an enlarged red C, followed by an enlarged red O beginning the Old English text. In MS G the C and O occur on the same line, with the O appearing near the right margin of the page; in the other two manuscripts, the C is placed in a line before the O. The text-beginning initials in MS C and MS D present further similarities: in both MS C and MS D, the C is approximately a single line tall, and the O is either two or three lines in height. Furthermore, the relative positioning of both the C and O is highly similar: in both manuscripts, the C is placed just over the O, with each of the letters appearing on the left side of the page. In MS D, the Latin incipit is exactly the length of one ruled line, so the Old English text would logically begin on the following line; in MS C, however, after the Latin incipit, almost half of the line remains empty, yet O is again written on the following line, directly underneath C. We know from other examples, such as on p. 12, that the scribes of MS C felt no compunction about placing an enlarged initial in the middle of a line, but this practice was not adopted here. It seems possible that the positioning of these sets of initials is linked: that the scribe of MS C was either aware of MS D itself, or a manuscript copied from MS D that retained its letter positioning. As the layout of MS G is so different, with O occurring in the middle of a line, this arrangement of the two letters is not simply the standard way of writing this homily. In MS C and MS D, a single majuscule follows O; in MS C, there is also a single majuscule following C. There are no majuscules following any of the letters in MS G.

5.3.7.1.2 Summarising table

	MS C	MS D	MS G
Title present	+	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	C	C	C
Opening initial - OE	O	O	O
Line heights - Latin	1 (.03)	1 (.04)	2 (.08)
Line height - OE	2 (.06)	3 (.12)	1 (.04)
Decoration level - Latin	1	1	2
Decoration level - OE	1	4	2

5.3.8 DEDICATIO ECCLESIAE SANCTI MICHAELIS — *ÆCHOM I*, 34 (MS C pp. 144-50; MS D2 fo. 171v-9R; MS G fo. 70R-4V)

5.3.8.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 41: *ÆCHOM I*, 34 in MS C, p. 144; MS D2, fo. 171v; MS G, fo. 70r

Unusually, this homily has no Latin incipit in MS C or MS D, and no title in MS D, whilst the text in MS G has a title, a Latin incipit with enlarged initial, and the enlarged initial beginning the Old English text. This text-beginning **D** in MS G is different from the initial that begins the other two versions that begin with an **M**. Even the homilies that begin with an **M** begin differently, with MS C opening with ‘Manegum is cuð’ and MS D opening with ‘Men ða leofestan’. MS G begins with ‘Ðiss dægðerlice godspell’, perhaps a reference to the text’s title in the manuscript, which describes the time of year this text should be

preached.²⁵ Taken together, all three of these homilies appear to descend from different textual traditions. Both of the **Ms** beginning the text in MS C and MS D are red, but the **M** in C is a majuscule letter, whilst the **M** in D is an enlarged minuscule. The **A** that begins the Latin incipit in MS G is red with green and black detailing, a relatively uncommon use of all three available ink colours, and the **D** is green with red detailing. All of the initials here that begin this homily are quite different, making the visual aspect of the pages as disparate as the textual content is, and strengthening the probability that a different exemplar was used for these texts than for the one that was used for, for example, *ÆCHom I*, 36.

5.3.8.1.2 Summarising table

	MS C	MS D	MS G
Title present	+	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	-	-	A
Opening initial - OE	M	M	Ð
Line heights - Latin	-	-	3 (.13)
Line height - OE	4 (.12)	5 (.2)	2 (.08)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-	3
Decoration level - OE	1	3	4

5.3.9 ALL SAINTS — *ÆCHom I*, 36 (MS C pp. 150-57; MS D2 fo. 179R-87R; MS G fo. 82V-7R)²⁶

²⁵ The title of *ÆCHom I*, 34 here reads *In .iii. kalendas octobres*.

²⁶ This text, and the initials that begin it, are discussed in more detail in the chapter on the All Saints homily (pp. 220-251).

5.3.9.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 42: ÆCHom I, 36 in MS C, p. 154, p.150; MS D2, fo. 183r, fo. 179r; MS G, fo. 82v

In MS C and MS D, this homily appears in two parts; the first begins with a red Latin title, followed by a red H beginning the Old English text. The second part begins with another red Latin title, followed by a Latin incipit, beginning with a red V, and the Old English text, beginning with an enlarged red D. MS G does not contain both parts of this homily, beginning instead with the second part, with a red rubric, a green V, and a red D with black detailing. The two Hs that begin the first part of the homily in C and D are not especially similar. They are both red, and written in the uncial style with a single down-stroke and a rounded bowl, but the level of decoration, positioning of the initial, and the way the body text is shaped around it differ in each case. However, there are significant similarities between the beginnings of the second part of the homily in all three manuscripts. The V and D opening all three versions of this homily are positioned identically: each are placed at the left sides of the page, extending into the margins, and each has the V balancing atop the D, the bottom-most angle of the V either just touching

or a hair's breadth above it. There are visible guide initials in MS C, a small **V** and a small **Đ** in the left-hand margin; these guide initials do not differ visually from any of the other guide initials in this manuscript, offering no instruction to the rubricating scribe to position the letters in this way. There are no majuscules following the text-beginning initials in any of the three homilies.

5.3.9.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom I, 36 - part 1</i>			
	MS C	MS D	MS G
Title present	+	+	-
Opening initial - Latin	V	V	-
Opening initial - OE	H	H	-
Line heights - Latin	-	-	-
Line height - OE	3.5 (.1)	5 (.2)	-
Decoration level - Latin	-	-	-
Decoration level - OE	1	2	-

<i>ÆCHom I, 36 - part 2</i>			
	MS C	MS D	MS G
Title present	+	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	V	V	V
Opening initial - OE	Đ	Đ	Đ
Line heights - Latin	1.5 (.04)	1 (.04)	2 (.08)
Line height - OE	2.5 (.07)	3 (.12)	2.5 (.1)
Decoration level - Latin	1	1	2
Decoration level - OE	1	1	3

5.3.10 *ST CLEMENT — ÆCHOM I, 37 (MS C PP. 157-63; MS D2 FO. 187R-94V; MS G FO. 119R-V)*

5.3.10.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 43: *ÆCHom I*, 37 in MS C, p. 157, p. 160; MS D2, fo. 187r; MS G, fo. 119r

MS C and MS D both contain full versions of this text, and MS G contains a highly abbreviated version that begins approximately halfway through the text. This version in MS G begins with no Latin rubric or incipit, but with the Old English text ‘Oft hwonlice gelefde’, while the version in MS C and MS D each begin with ‘Men ða leofestan’. MS C also includes an enlarged **O** at the same point in the text at which MS G begins, indicating that this was an accepted divisional point in the text at the time. There is no equivalent enlarged initial in MS D, the significantly earlier manuscript. The **M** in MS C is written as a majuscule style letter, and differs from the **M** found in MS D; unusually for MS C, this **M** is slightly decorated, with perpendicular lines and dots across the two up-strokes of the **M**. All of the enlarged initials in this homily, in all three of the manuscripts, are red. The **M** in MS C is followed by two majuscules, making the full first word, *Men*, emphasised; the **M** in MS D is not followed by any majuscules.

5.3.10.1.2 Summarising table

	MS C	MS D	MS G
Title present	+	+	-
Opening initial - Latin	-	-	-
Opening initial - OE	M	M	O
Line heights - Latin	-	-	-
Line height - OE	2.5 (.07)	3.5 (.13)	2 (.08)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-	-

Decoration level - OE	2	2	3
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5.3.11 *TWELFTH SUNDAY AFTER PENTECOST — ÆCHOM II, 33 (MS C pp. 273-6; MS D2 fo. 127v-31v; MS G fo. 40r-8v)*

5.3.11.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 44: ÆCHom II, 33 in MS C, p. 273; MS D, fo. 127v; MS G, fo. 40r

All three of instances of ÆCHom II, 33 begin with the homily's title, a Latin incipit, and the Old English text beginning 'Drihten sæde'. This level of similarity is relatively uncommon amongst the initials we have looked at thus far in this cluster. The manuscripts here use varying styles of **D** to open the text: MS C uses a minuscule **D** for the slightly enlarged initial at the beginning of the Latin incipit (approximately a single line tall), then a majuscule **D** for the Old English text, at 2.5 lines tall; both are red. MS D uses the minuscule form for both of the red **D**s beginning this homily. MS D begins the Old English text with a four-line, unusually intricately decorated **D**, elaborating on the red base of the letter with black ink, and an illustration of the head of a bird (possibly added in at a later time). MS G uses a majuscule for the first **D** that opens the Latin incipit, and uses red ink with green detailing; the second **D** is minuscule, and green with red detailing. In both MS C and MS D the initial that opens the Latin incipit is smaller than the initial beginning the Old English text; in MS G, they are approximately the same size. None of these initials are followed by any majuscules.

5.3.11.1.2 Summarising table

	C	D	G
Title present	+	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	D	D	D
Opening initial - OE	D	D	D
Line heights - Latin	1 (.03)	1 (.04)	2.5 (.1)
Line height - OE	2.5 (.08)	3.5 (.13)	2 (.08)
Decoration level - Latin	1	1	4
Decoration level - OE	1	5	4

5.4 EVIDENCE FROM OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

The homilies that appear in these cluster manuscripts appear in other Ælfrician manuscripts as well. Here, I compare the opening initials displayed above with those in other manuscripts in order to demonstrate the significance of any similarities identified in the previous section. The evidence concerning the homily for All Saints' Day is not included here; for full discussion of this similarity see All Saints, below (219-251).

5.4.1 QUINQUAGESIMA — ÆCHom I, 10



Figure 45: ÆCHom I, 10 in MS E, fo. 122v; MS N, fo. 44v; MS O, p. 97

ÆCHom I, 10 is drawn in a variety of ways in the other First Series manuscripts. In most instances, the homily contains enlarged letters for both the Latin incipit and Old English opening, often appearing similarly to the versions found in this cluster. One exception is the homily in MS O, where a different style of H is used; this is more similar to the way contemporaneous non-Ælfrician manuscripts combined these two letters than the other corpus manuscripts.²⁷



Figure 46: *ÆCHom* I, 10 in MS F, p. 162; MS H, fo. 64r; MS Q, p. 73

Three other manuscripts in which the text also appears in both begin with an enlarged minuscule *h*, and a smaller *A* beginning the Latin incipit. This type of enlarged minuscule *H* is favoured within the Ælfrician corpus (over a majuscule type), so it is unsurprising that it appears throughout the instances of *ÆCHom* I, 10. Even in cases where the *H*s are highly similar, the exact positioning of the *A* that links MS C and MS D does not appear in the other corpus manuscripts.

5.4.2 *ST PAUL — ÆCHom* I, 27

²⁷ This is discussed in more detail in the control manuscripts section (254-271).

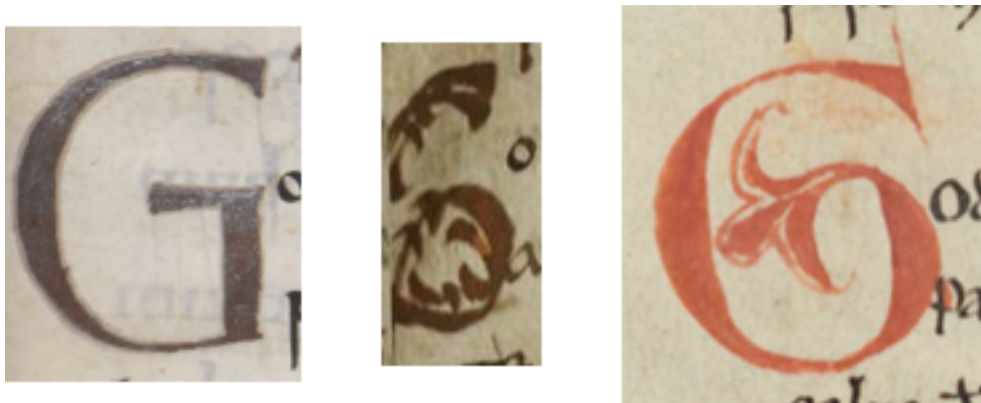


Figure 47: *ÆCHom I*, 27 in MS A, fo. 134r; MS E, fo. 286r; MS L, fo. 57v

There is some amount of variation in the appearance the letter **G** that begins *ÆCHom I*, 27 across the other manuscripts in the First Series corpus. As is clear from the **G** that begins the homilies in MS E and MS L, there are other instances of a spiral-shaped **G**, both more decorated than the simple spiral shape shared by the **G**s in MS C and MS D. Overall, this similarity appears several other times throughout the *Ælfrician* corpus, and should perhaps not be considered especially strong evidence of the connection between MS C and MS D.

5.4.3 ELEVENTH SUNDAY AFTER PENTECOST — *ÆCHOM I*, 28



Figure 48: *ÆCHom I*, 28 in MS F, p. 496; MS Q, p. 294; MS U, p. 415

There is one other instance in this corpus of the **C** appearing directly atop the **O** beginning this homily in MS F. Notably, MS F, along with the three cluster manuscripts, also falls into the phase of textual distribution; furthermore, parts of MS C and MS F are posited to share an exemplar in common several generations back.

5.4.4 ST CLEMENT - *ÆCH* I, 37

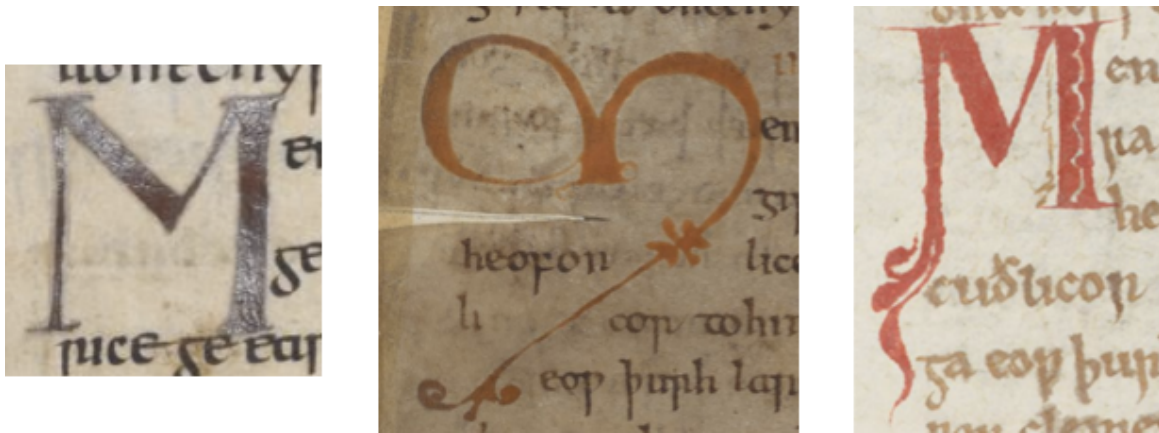


Figure 49: *ÆCHom* I, 37 in MS A, fo. 196v; MS H, fo. 219r; MS L, fo. 172r

The style of **M** used in the opening of this homily varies across the non-cluster manuscripts, but in none of the other manuscripts containing this text is the **O** beginning ‘Oft hwonlice gelefde’ enlarged other than in MS C and MS G above (p. 106).

5.5 ANALYSIS

As is clear from both the images included in this chapter as well as the comparative tables, some of the text-beginning initials in these three manuscripts are a great deal more visually similar than others. Several texts in the manuscripts show no visible similarity to any extent: *ÆCHom* I, 13, and *ÆCHom* I, 18, for instance, begin with different letters in all three cluster manuscripts. This dissimilarity between the three instances of *ÆCHom* I, 18 warrants further discussion: as mentioned in the introductory section of this chapter, portions of MS C are posited to descend from portions of MS D, a relationship not borne out in the appearance of these text-beginning initials. However, closer investigation into Clemoes’ tranches provides insight into this visual incongruity: the exact portion of MS C that *ÆCHom* I, 18 appears in, designated by Clemoes as Cd (Clemoes, 1997: 7), directly descends from the part of MS D referred to as Da 1. Da 1, however, does *not* contain *ÆCHom* I, 18 in MS D: rather, Da 2 contains this text, a section of the manuscript Clemoes places in the *a* phase of texts, relatively far from Cd (Clemoes, 1997: 137). Clemoes does not place the different sections of MS G into different stemmata, but rather subsumes them all into MS G (Clemoes, 1997: 144); based on the dissimilarity of not only the text-beginning initials but this instance of *ÆCHom* I, 18, which is made up of only an extract of the text, I argue that this portion of MS G should perhaps also be considered a slightly more distant relative of the other two manuscripts.

In instances where the text-beginning initials correspond in two of the manuscripts, they often differ in MS G, a late and non-standard manuscript which frequently contains incomplete versions of Ælfrician texts. Furthermore, in one instance, a similarity in layout between MS C and MS D at the beginning of *ÆCHom* I, 27 is not unique to these cluster manuscripts, but rather a result of stylistic choices made by many of the scribes within the First Series corpus. Despite these complications, there are instances of compelling similarities found between two or three of the manuscripts. One noteworthy pattern is the specific positioning of the **C** and **O** beginning *ÆCHom* I, 28 in the manuscripts; specifically how the **C** is positioned directly atop the **O** in both MS C and MS D. Comparing the opening of this homily in the cluster manuscripts to others from the First Series corpus it becomes apparent that this is not a standard layout used across the corpus, but does appear in one other manuscript: MS F, another manuscript relatively close to the cluster manuscripts within Clemoes' phases of textual distribution. The positioning of **C** and **O** in this way appears to be exclusive to those manuscripts belonging to the second phase of textual distribution; this therefore may give us an indication as to the appearance of the now-lost exemplar, delivered to Archbishop Sigeric, from which all *B* phase manuscripts are believed to have descended.

Another similarity shared between two of the manuscripts is the combination of **H** and **A** beginning *ÆCHom* I, 10 in MS C and MS D. The **Hs** in both MS C and MS D are slightly offset into the left margin, while the first letter of the Latin incipits, **A**, are not. These **As** are only one line tall and written in red ink, and are both positioned above the offset, larger **Hs**, with one leg of the **A** in MS C just touching the bowl of the **H**, and nearly touching it in MS D. Comparing this similarity to other manuscripts from within the First Series corpus, we see a variety of layouts, some of which are similar; none, however, are as similar as are the text-beginning initials in MS C and MS D. It is clearly standard practice to begin the text with an enlarged minuscule **h** with a smaller majuscule **A** above the bowl of the letter, but the specific positioning of the **A** and the style the **A** is written in are unique to MS C and MS D. Clemoes places *ÆCHom* I, 10 in MS C within Ca and within Da I in MS D (Clemones, 1997: 5–9); these two tranches are placed slightly farther apart from one another on the stemmata than would perhaps be expected by this initial similarity (see pp. 90–91); I therefore suggest that the position of one or both of these tranches should be reconsidered in order to reflect these similarities.

Perhaps the most striking similarity is found in the manner in which the three manuscripts begin *ÆCHom* I, 36. In each, the **V** is centred in position just above the **D**, the characters written in similar styles in all of the manuscripts. All of these manuscripts were written at different times and by different scribes, and throughout the rest of these manuscripts there are multiple extant layouts when positioning two enlarged initials close to each other: a smaller or similarly sized initial positioned directly on top of a larger one; two initials of the same size; one initial appearing at the left margin and the other appearing into the body of the text; the Latin initial larger, or the Old English one. Despite all of these variations, all three instances of *ÆCHom* I, 36 in the manuscripts renders this set of two enlarged initials in the same way. Furthermore, frequently in MS G, when both Old English and Latin enlarged initials begin the text, the Latin initial tends to be the larger of the two, taking visual precedence over the Old English one. Despite this tendency, here the Latin initial is the same size as the Old English (or even slightly smaller), perhaps in acknowledgement of this apparently preferred design for the opening of this homily. The scribe of the coloured initials in MS G displays an antipathy towards drawing two initials of the same colour back-to-back elsewhere in the manuscript; it is possible that were this not the case, the **V** in MS G would have been drawn in red as well as a further concession to the 'standard' design. This striking similarity is discussed in more detail in a later chapter of the thesis wholly dedicated to *ÆCHom* I, 36 (pp. 219–251); for our current purposes, it suffices to note that the appearance of the second part of the homily is so similar across the three manuscripts that we should perhaps consider these instances of the text more closely linked than previously posited.

Taking the text-beginning initials discussed in this chapter as a whole, it is readily apparent through visual comparison alone that MS G is a highly non-standard manuscript, an impression confirmed through its textual content. The unusual nature of this manuscript unfortunately proves problematic when attempting cross-manuscript comparison: despite MS G sharing several texts with MS C and MS D, many of the Ælfrician homilies within MS G exist in a fragmentary state, beginning at different parts of the text from the other two cluster manuscripts. As such, very frequently the enlarged, text-beginning initial in MS G is different from the two in MS C and MS D. However, this non-standard nature of MS G perhaps makes those homilies that do show striking similarities across all three even more remarkable, especially in instances such as the beginning of *ÆCHom* I, 36.

5.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have investigated the text-beginning initials in three related manuscripts in order to identify any visual similarities. By comparing all of the initials that occur in all three at a single time, it becomes easier to identify patterns and commonalities between the manuscripts that may otherwise have gone unnoticed. While not every text that appeared in all three manuscripts showed significant similarities, even these dissimilar initials allow us to reposition tranches of the *Ælfrician* manuscripts within the textual dissemination stemmata. Dissimilarity between text-beginning initials also allows us to reinforce our understanding of MS G as a highly non-standard manuscript, not only textually but visually as well. Conversely, the similar initials frequently did confirm previously posited relationships between manuscripts, either confirming or refining known manuscript relationships. This type of cross-manuscript analysis has so far shown instances of initial transference along textual lines of transmission, and I continue in the following chapter with a similar study on another cluster of manuscripts from elsewhere on the distribution stemmata.

6 CLUSTER 2 – MS N AND MS O

This chapter is the second and final case study on groupings of related manuscripts. The two manuscripts in the group are MS N and MS O. These manuscripts were identified as a potential cluster because of their proximity on Clemoes' stemmata of the δ and ϵ phases of the texts: not only are both manuscripts in the same phase of text, but the two are believed to share a common ancestor, several generations removed from MS N and MS O themselves (Clemoes, 1997: 151). Here I argue that these similarities along textual lines are reinforced through the appearance of text-beginning, enlarged initials in the two manuscripts. I provide a brief summary of the two core manuscripts that make up this cluster, as well as an additional manuscript, MS M, that shares links with these two. I also discuss the texts that occur within these manuscripts, with a focus on the groups of texts that appear across them. I conclude with an investigation of the enlarged initials in these two manuscripts, beginning with a comparison of all of the initials that begin the texts that occur in both manuscripts.

6.1 THE MANUSCRIPTS AS A CLUSTER

This cluster includes only two manuscripts, MS N and MS O. Based on scribal and textual affiliations, MS N is posited to have been produced in the south-east of England (Treharne, 2000: 11–40). As MS N and MS O are well-established as sharing many textual similarities, it is possible that MS O shares a south-eastern origin with MS N; however, there is no direct scribal or historical evidence to support this claim. Both are thought to have been produced in the beginning of the twelfth century, as discussed elsewhere in the thesis.²⁸ The two manuscripts are believed to share a common ancestor. While this ancestor manuscript likely did not come from Ælfric's scriptorium, the exemplar of this ancestor manuscript likely did (Clemoes, 1997: 151). This relationship is clarified in the following diagram, reproduced from Clemoes' stemmata of the manuscripts' textual relationships (Clemoes, 1997: 153). In this diagram, the dotted line indicates likely lines of transmission, and the unlabelled circles indicate manuscripts that likely existed at some point but are now lost. The circle highest in the diagram is therefore the oldest of the manuscripts, and in this case is the posited shared ancestor of MS N and MS O.

²⁸ For more information about the origins of these two manuscripts, see pp. 71–74.

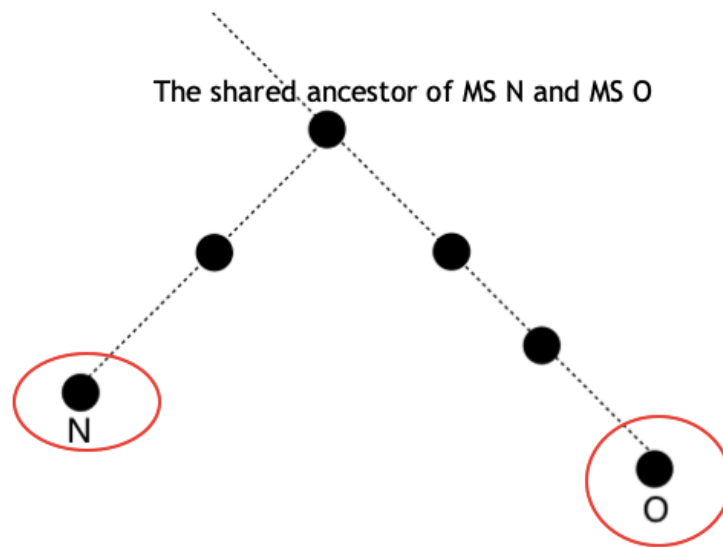


Figure 50: Section of stemma describing how MS N and MS O are related.

These two manuscripts are thus related via their ancestor manuscript; this connection is borne out in textual similarities found throughout the texts within them.

6.2 MANUSCRIPT TEXTS

Twenty homilies appear in both MS O and MS N, in mostly the same order: the order of texts only differs between the two with the insertion of additional texts in one or other manuscript.²⁹ Over half of each of the manuscripts is exceptionally similar in textual content, including the non-Ælfrician homilies as well as the Ælfrician ones. The texts that appear in both manuscripts are as follows:

Item	Title of Homily	Short title	Cameron no.	Item no. in MS N	Item no. in MS O
1	Letter to Sigeferth	<i>ÆLet</i> 5	B.1.8.5	3	9
2	Third Sunday after Epiphany [anon]	<i>HomS</i> 5	B.3.2.5	4	10
3	Fourth Sunday after Epiphany [anon]	<i>HomS</i> 6	B.3.2.6	5	11
4	Fifth Sunday after Epiphany [anon]	<i>HomS</i> 7	B.3.2.7	6	12

²⁹ The instances where the sequences of texts are not exactly the same are only in instances where one manuscript has inserted an additional homily or homilies that the other has not. For instance, in MS O, Ælfric's homily for Ash Wednesday appears between Ælfric's homily for Quinquagesima and Ælfric's homily for the First Sunday in Lent; in MS N, the Ash Wednesday homily does not appear.

5	<i>Septuagesima</i> (parts 1 and 2)	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 5	B.1.2.6	7	13
6	<i>Sexagesima</i>	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 6	B.1.2.7	8	14
7	<i>Quinquagesima</i>	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 10	B.1.1.11	9	15
8	First Sunday in Lent	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 11	B.1.1.12	10	17
9	First Sunday in Lent II	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 7	B.1.2.8	11	18
10	Second Sunday in Lent	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 8	B.1.2.9	12	19
11	<i>Dominica III in quadragesima</i>	<i>ÆHom</i> 4	B.1.4.4	13	20
12	Mid-Lent Sunday	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 12	B.1.1.13	15	21
13	Fifth Sunday in Lent	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 13	B.1.2.15	19	22
14	Friday after the Fifth Sunday in Lent	<i>ÆHomM</i> 4	B.1.5.4	20	23
15	Palm Sunday	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 14	B.1.1.15	21	24
16	Palm Sunday II	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 14	B.1.2.16	22	25
17	<i>In cena domini</i> [anon]	<i>HomS</i> 22	B.3.2.22	24	26
18	Easter II	<i>ÆCHom</i> II, 15	B.1.2.18	26	27
19	Second Sunday after Easter	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 18	B.1.1.19	30	28
20	<i>Feria III de fide catholica</i>	<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 20	B.1.1.22	34	33

Furthermore, many of these homilies appear in the same order over large tranches of the manuscript. The sequence beginning with Ælfric's letter to Sigeferth and ending with *ÆCHom* I, 10 appears identically in both; so does the section beginning *ÆCHom* II, 13 and ending with *ÆCHom* II, 14. Overall, both manuscripts follow the order of the church year, and include primarily Ælfrician homilies with many of the same anonymous additions. These two manuscripts, in fact, are the only two in the Ælfrician corpus in which the three anonymous homilies for Sundays after Epiphany appear. The manuscripts are certainly of a later recension than the earlier Ælfrician manuscripts, as they contain in multiple instances Ælfric's homilies from both his First and Second Series, such as the homilies for the First Sunday in Lent, and Palm Sunday. These two manuscripts are so

closely textually related that Clemoes lists the contents of the two jointly (Clemones, 1997: 32).

6.3 OTHER RELATED MANUSCRIPTS

The Ælfrian material in MS M is also textually related to the Ælfrian texts in MS N and MS O (Clemones, 1997: 31). This textual similarity, specifically between MS M and MS N, is likely primarily due to both manuscripts containing a majority of homilies from the same phases of Ælfric's texts, as Clemones does not place MS M especially close on the stemma to either MS N or MS O (Clemones, 1997: 153). MS M is also posited to have been produced in a different location and at a different time from MS N and MS O: in contrast to the cluster manuscripts, MS M was likely produced in the middle of the eleventh century (Clemones, 1997: 28), likely at Winchester (Clemones, 1997: 80). MS M has not been included in the cluster of manuscripts investigated here.

6.4 COMPARISON OF INITIALS

In this section I compare the initials of the texts found in both manuscripts, along with information about their positions in the manuscripts and any additional relevant details. Images from MS N are supplied on the left-hand side; from MS O on the right. On occasion the beginning of a text will be signalled with several enlarged, coloured initials; this is demonstrated by grouping the images from a single manuscript closely together. Following the discussion of each set of initials are tables summarising the features of these letters. A plus sign indicates the presence of a feature, while a minus sign indicates that the feature was not present or the categorisation is not applicable. Following the line heights, a number representing the percentage of written space on the page the letter takes up will be included; i.e., a six line initial on a twenty-four line page would be recorded as .25.

6.4.1 LETTER TO SIGEFERTH — *ÆLET 5* (MS N FOS 17v-21v; MS O pp. 66-71)

6.4.1.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 51: ÆLet 5 in MS N and MS O

These two homilies are the same adaptation of one of Ælfric's letters to Sigferth, titled 'Be þere halgan clænnesse' in both. The only difference in titling between the two is that in MS N, the rubric begins *Dominica IIII*, whilst in MS O it begins *Dominica II*. Despite the two titles associating the text with different Sundays in the liturgical calendar, the text in each is otherwise very similar, both beginning 'Ure hælend crist cydde'. The two opening letters have a similar aspect on the page, with the bowl of the U extending up into the left-hand margin. Additionally, each are drawn in primarily green ink, with similar curved and foliate lines decorating the inside of the letter. In both manuscripts, the letter is 5.5 lines tall. The decoration at the beginning of this text in the two manuscripts appears highly similar overall, with MS N perhaps representing a more elaborate version of the established layout taken from the exemplar.

6.4.1.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	-	-
Opening initial - OE	U	U
Line heights - Latin	-	-
Line height - OE	5.5 (.23)	5.5 (.18)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-
Decoration level - OE	3	3

6.4.2 THIRD SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY — HOMS 5 (MS N FOS 21V-23V; MS O pp. 71-73)

6.4.2.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 52: HomS 5 in MS N and MS O

The beginnings of these texts in MS N and MS O are less visually similar than that of the previous homily, although the texts themselves correspond closely. The rubric in each reads ‘*Et quando uolueris be heofonwarum & be[o] helwarum*’.³⁰ In MS N, this text is identified as being for the fourth Sunday in a sequence of days, and in MS O, as for the third. Both *M*s that begin the text are drawn with red ink, but that in MS N is an enlarged minuscule, while that in MS O is written as a majuscule. The *M* in MS N is 4 lines tall, as is the *M* in MS O. The decoration level and style of the letters is clearly very different, however; aside from height, these two initials do not appear to have much in common.

6.4.2.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	-	-
Opening initial - OE	M	M
Line heights - Latin	-	-
Line height - OE	4 (.17)	4 (.13)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-

³⁰ MS N has *beo*; MS O has only *be*.

Decoration level - OE	3	1
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6.4.3 FOURTH SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY — HOMES 6 (MS N FOS 23V-27V; MS O PP. 73-78)

6.4.3.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 53: HomS 6 in MS N and MS O

The beginnings of these two homilies are similar in overall appearance. The Ms that begin each are both written in a majuscule style, with green ink used to write both. While the letter in MS N is slightly more decorated than that in MS O, both letters employ decorative circles on the thin arms of the M for elaboration. The decoration of the M appears mirrored between the two, with the thicker strokes in MS N appearing on the left side of the letter, and on the right in MS O. Aside from this the two letters are similar in aspect and size on the page. The rubrics of these two texts again refer to different Sundays: in MS N, the text is titled *Dominica xi*; in MS O, *Dominica iiii*.

6.4.3.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	-	-
Opening initial - OE	M	M
Line heights - Latin	-	-
Line height - OE	3 (.13)	3 (.1)

Decoration level - Latin	-	-
Decoration level - OE	3	2

6.4.4 FIFTH SUNDAY AFTER EPIPHANY — *HOM*S 7 (MS N FOS 27v-31v; MS O pp. 78-83)

6.4.4.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 54: *Hom*S 7 in MS N and MS O

The beginning of this homily is exceptionally similar in appearance to the beginning of *Hom*S 5 above. The difference in specified Sundays continues in the rubrics of these two texts, and the use of majuscules is the same, with MS N using majuscule letters for *Men* only, and the scribe of MS O writing approximately half of the first line in a majuscule style. While both Ms were drawn primarily with red ink, the difference in style between the enlarged minuscule *M* in MS N and the majuscule one in MS O is visually striking. Despite this difference in style, the line heights of both letters are similar, at 4.5 and 4 respectively.

6.4.4.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	-	-
Opening initial - OE	M	M

Line heights - Latin	-	-
Line height - OE	4.5 (.19)	4 (.13)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-
Decoration level - OE	3	2

6.4.5 SEPTUAGESIMA (PART 1) – *ÆCHom II, 5* (MS N FOS 31V-37VR; MS O PP. 83-90)

6.4.5.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 55: *ÆCHom II, 5* (part 1) in MS N and MS O

Both homilies begin with the rubric *Dominica in septu[a]gesima*, and use majuscule letters for the entire word *Drihten*. The *D*s that begin the texts are somewhat similar: they are each drawn in primarily green ink, with some use of decorative circles in both, although used to a much greater extent in MS N. The appearance of these enlarged initials not directly at the beginning of the text is unusual. *ÆCHom II, 5* begins with a single line of Old English, ‘drihten sæde þis bispel his leorningcnihtum þus cweðende’, followed by a Latin passage beginning *simile est regnum*. Following this, the text returns to Old English, with ‘ðe/se hælend’, where it continues monolingual for the remainder of the text. Due to where the homily begins in MS N, there is room on the page for only the first Old English and Latin sections, and the enlarged *Ð* appears on the next folio, fo. 32v. In MS O,

there is enough space on the page for the Old English text to begin as well, with its enlarged **S** beginning ‘Se hælend’.

6.4.5.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	S	-
Opening initial - OE	D	D
Line heights - Latin	1 (.04)	-
Line height - OE	5 (.21)	4 (.13)
Decoration level - Latin	1	-
Decoration level - OE	3	2

	MS N	MS O
Opening initial - OE	Ð	S
Line height - OE	3 (.13)	2.5 (.08)
Decoration level - OE	3	2

6.4.6 SEPTUAGESIMA (PART 2) — *ÆCHOM II*, 5 (MS N FOS 37V-39R; MS O PP. 90-91)

6.4.6.1.1 Appearance of initials

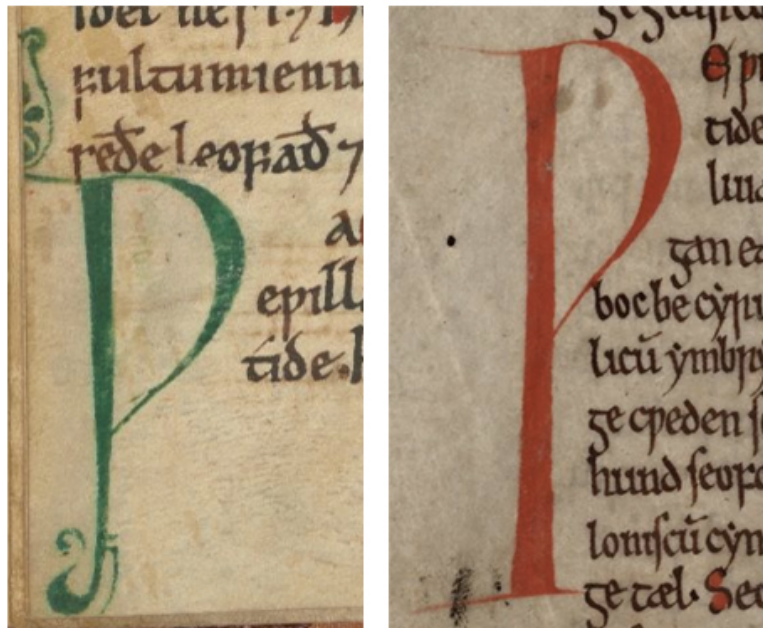


Figure 56: *ÆCHom II, 5 (part 2)* in MS N and MS O

The second part of this text in both manuscripts begins with an enlarged **p**, beginning the line ‘we willað eow secgan’. The rubric given for this text in both MS N and MS O is *de alleluia*. In MS N, none of the letters following the enlarged **p** are written in a majuscule style; in MS O, only the **e** immediately following the **p** is written as a majuscule. The scribes of both MS N and MS O almost always use more majuscules than this when beginning a new text. That so few were used following the enlarged **p** here indicates that the scribes of this manuscript were most likely aware that this was not an entirely new text, but rather a continuation of the one preceding it.

6.4.6.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	-	-
Opening initial - OE	p	p
Line heights - Latin	-	-
Line height - OE	8 (.33)	9 (.29)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-
Decoration level - OE	3	1

6.4.7 SEXAGESIMA — *ÆCHom II, 6* (MS N FOS 39R-44V; MS O pp. 91-97)

6.4.7.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 57: *ÆCHom II, 6* in MS N and O

In contrast to most of the *Ælfrician* texts discussed thus far in this chapter, this homily includes a Latin incipit preceding the Old English body of the text. In both manuscripts, the primary emphasis and elaboration is placed on the letter beginning the Latin incipit; in MS N, coloured ink and decoration are both used to draw attention to the Old English beginning of the text, while in MS O, the *O* is treated much the same as any other capital letter. In MS N, the same style of script is used to write the Latin incipit and the Old English text, while in MS O, the scribe has varied the style of script between the two.

6.4.7.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	C	C
Opening initial - OE	O	O
Line heights - Latin	2.5 (.1)	2.5 (.08)
Line height - OE	1.5 (.06)	1 (.03)
Decoration level - Latin	2	2
Decoration level - OE	2	1

6.4.8 QUINQUAGESIMA — *ÆCHom I, 10* (MS N FOS 44V-50V; MS O pp. 97-104)

6.4.8.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 58: *ÆCHom I, 10* in MS N and MS O

This homily also begins in both with a Latin incipit preceding the Old English opening of the text. The text begins quite differently in the two manuscripts, both in the style and placement of enlarged initials in the texts, and in the use of majuscules following these enlarged initials. The relative sizes of the A and the H beginning the Latin and Old English texts, respectively, have been reversed in the two manuscripts: in MS N the A beginning the Latin text is bigger, while in MS O, the H dwarfs the A. The style of A is somewhat similar between the two, although the body of the letter faces in different directions, but the Hs are very different. The beginning of *ÆCHom I, 10* in MS O looks much more similar to the beginning of the same text in MS B, on fo. 54v, and a non-Ælfrician manuscript, CCCC MS 201.³¹

6.4.8.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	A	A
Opening initial - OE	H	H
Line heights - Latin	5 (.21)	1.5 (.05)
Line height - OE	3 (.13)	6 (.19)

³¹ For further detail, see the section on control manuscripts below, pp. 254-271.

Decoration level - Latin	2	2
Decoration level - OE	2	2

6.4.9 FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT I – *ÆCHom I*, 11 (MS N FOS 51[?]-55R [BEGINS IMPERFECTLY]; MS O pp. 112-120)

6.4.9.1.1 Appearance of initials

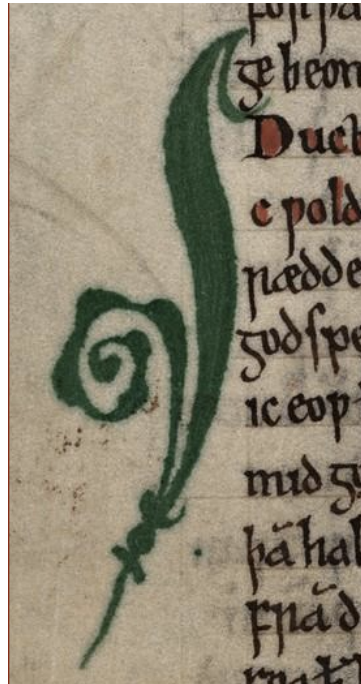


Figure 59: *ÆCHom I*, 11 in MS O

The opening of *ÆCHom I*, 11 has not been preserved in MS N, as the text begins imperfectly. It is possible that the homily would have been constructed similarly in the two manuscripts, due to their shared ancestor, but this is by no means a guarantee. The opening of this text in MS O is somewhat unusual for the manuscript: while there is a Latin incipit beginning this text, the initial **D** beginning *Ductus* is not enlarged or decorated at all, but rather written in black ink and touched with red like any capital letter within the body of a text. The scribe who wrote the body text also did not leave additional room for any enlarged letter besides the I, indicating that the exemplar the text was copied from also did not emphasise the Latin incipit.

6.4.9.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	-	+
Opening initial - Latin	-	D
Opening initial - OE	-	I
Line heights - Latin	-	1
Line height - OE	-	9.5 (.31)
Decoration level - Latin	-	1
Decoration level - OE	-	3

6.4.10 *FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT II – ÆCHom II, 7 (MS N FOS 55R-59V; MS O pp. 120-125)*

6.4.10.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 60: ÆCHom II, 7 in MS N and MS O

This homily is similar in appearance to *HomS 5* and *HomS 7*. The scribe of MS O clearly has a stronger preference for majuscule characters used to start texts in comparison to the scribe of MS N, who uses both available styles interchangeably. The two Ms do, however, share certain similarities. In both MS N and MS O the basic shape of the letter is elaborated on with decorative dots with small curved lines on either side of them. Some of these curved lines were added in green ink in MS N, while the letter in MS O is written entirely in red. In MS N, on fo. 58v, two additional decorative and enlarged letters occur that do not appear in MS O, a C and an Ð.



Figure 61: MS N, fo. 58v

This C begins a short portion of text from Matthew 25, followed by the Old English translation, beginning with the enlarged Ð. This Latin section does not occur in MS O.

6.4.10.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	-	-
Opening initial - OE	M	M
Line heights - Latin	-	-
Line height - OE	2.5 (.1)	4.5 (.15)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-
Decoration level - OE	3	3

	MS N	MS O
Title present	-	-
Opening initial - Latin	C	-
Opening initial - OE	-	-
Line heights - Latin	2.5 (.1)	-

Line height - OE	-	-
Decoration level - Latin	2	-
Decoration level - OE	-	-

	MS N	MS O
Title present	-	-
Opening initial - Latin	-	-
Opening initial - OE	Ð	-
Line heights - Latin	-	-
Line height - OE	3 (.13)	-
Decoration level - Latin	-	-
Decoration level - OE	3	-

6.4.11 SECOND SUNDAY IN LENT — *ÆCHom II, 8* (MS N FOS 59V-63R; MS O pp. 125-29)

6.4.11.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 62: *ÆCHom II, 8* in MS N and MS O

The layout of the beginning of this text differs substantially between the two manuscripts, but there are some similarities between the letter-shapes. While the **D** in MS N is much larger than the **D** in MS O, and the **E** in MS O is much larger than the **E** in MS N, both letters are written in similar styles of script: both **E**s are drawn as enlarged minuscule characters, and both **D**s are drawn as majuscule characters. That said, the scribes of each

have taken a different approach to the hierarchy of the Latin and Old English texts. In MS N, the two different languages are given equal footing: the initials are the same size, and decorated to a similar level. In MS O, conversely, the Latin incipit is prioritised over the Old English text, with the **E** taking up most of the allocated space and barely any left for the undecorated red **D**.

6.4.11.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	E	E
Opening initial - OE	D	D
Line heights - Latin	2 (.08)	4 (.13)
Line height - OE	2 (.08)	1 (.03)
Decoration level - Latin	3	1
Decoration level - OE	3	3

6.4.12 DOMINICA III IN QUADRAGESIMA — *ÆHom 4* (MS N fols 63r-69r; MS O pp. 129-137)

6.4.12.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 63: *ÆHom 4* in MS N and MS O

Despite the different in script style between the two Es, the overall aspect of the beginning of this text is similar in both manuscripts. In each, a smaller E sits just above the centre of a larger MS O beginning the Old English text. Furthermore, the segmented design of MS N is echoed in the circles-within-circles design seen in MS O; while the visual appearance of the page is not exactly the same, there are certainly similarities in the layouts and styles of the two texts.

6.4.12.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	E	E
Opening initial - OE	O	O
Line heights - Latin	2 (.08)	1 (.03)
Line height - OE	2.5 (.1)	4 (.13)
Decoration level - Latin	2	1
Decoration level - OE	3	3

6.4.13 MID-LENT SUNDAY — *ÆCHOM I*, 12 (MS N FOS 69R-73R; MS O pp. 137-142)

6.4.13.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 64: *ÆCHOM I*, 12 in MS N and MS O

This similarity in appearance between the beginning of *ÆCHom* I, 12 in MS N and MS O is the most compelling in the entire set of texts the two share. The way the two letters are interlaced within one another, where the shape of the S makes up a part of the A, is entirely unique within MS O. The letters also take up approximately the same amount of space on the page, as can be seen in the table below.

6.4.13.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	A	A
Opening initial - OE	S	S
Line heights - Latin	5 (.21)	7 (.23)
Line height - OE	3 (.13)	4.5 (.15)
Decoration level - Latin	3	2
Decoration level - OE	3	2

6.4.14 FIFTH SUNDAY IN LENT — *ÆCHom* II, 13 (MS N fols 91v-99v; MS O pp. 142-151)

6.4.14.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 65: *ÆCHom* II, 13 in MS N and MS O

All three of the letters that are enlarged at or near the beginning of *ÆCHom* II, 13 are relatively undecorated in both manuscripts. The only letter of the set of three that is at all decorated in both of the manuscripts is the **Q** beginning the short portion of Latin Biblical text, John 8:46 and 8:47. This decoration may act in both as a signal of the relative importance of the Biblical text. Although the decorations on the **Q** in MS O are spikier and more complicated than the simple decorative dots in MS N, in both manuscripts the decorations appear on the top and bottom of the letter. The general shape of the **Đs** found in both manuscripts are similar, but this is likely primarily because both letters are undecorated majuscule letters. The relationship between the sizes of the initials also differs between the two: in MS N, the **Q** and **Đ** are of equal size and appear one on top of the other on the left-hand side of the page, while in MS O, the second **Đ** is much smaller, and is not positioned on a new line, but rather placed on the right-hand side of the page.

6.4.14.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	-	-
Opening initial - OE	Đ	Đ
Line heights - Latin	-	-
Line height - OE	3 (.13)	4.5 (.15)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-
Decoration level - OE	1	1

	MS N	MS O
Opening initial - Latin	Q	Q
Opening initial - OE	Đ	Đ
Line heights - Latin	2.5 (.1)	2.5 (.08)
Line height - OE	2.5 (.1)	1 (.03)
Decoration level - Latin	2	2
Decoration level - OE	1	1

6.4.15 FRIDAY AFTER THE FIFTH SUNDAY IN LENT — *ÆHOMM 4* (MS N FOS 99v-102v; MS O pp. 151-155)

6.4.15.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 66: *ÆHomM 4* in MS N and MS O

The Latin incipit of this text begins with **C** in both manuscripts, and the Old English text with **P**; as is immediately visible, the scribe of MS O had some difficulties in realising this **P**, and clearly wrote it in and then scratched it out, perhaps intending to add a different letter back in at a later date. This letter was indeed originally a **P**, written in red, and shorter than the **C** beginning the Latin incipit. The **Ps** in both manuscripts were similar in both their colour and lack of decoration. The **Cs** in both MS N and MS O are green, drawn with slightly curved serifs, and some decoration, although the extent and type differs between the two: in MS N, the decoration is much more elaborate and in a different colour of ink. The way the two letters are positioned in the two manuscripts is different, especially concerning the size of the **P**, but based on the shape of the empty space left in MS N, it is likely that the body scribe intended the enlarged initial to sit entirely within the body of the text, more similarly to how it sits in MS O. It is also possible, based both on the erased **P** in MS O and the ill-fitting **P** in MS N, that the letter used in the exemplar was an **Ð**.

6.4.15.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+

Opening initial - Latin	C	C
Opening initial - OE	ƿ	*ƿ
Line heights - Latin	2.5 (.1)	4.5 (.15)
Line height - OE	5.5 (.23)	2.5 (.08)
Decoration level - Latin	3	2
Decoration level - OE	1	*1

6.4.16 *PALM SUNDAY – ÆCHom I, 14 (MS N FOS 102V-108R; MS O pp. 155-163)*

6.4.16.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 67: ÆCHom I, 14 in MS N and MS O

Unlike several preceding texts, *ÆCHom I, 14* does not have a Latin incipit, but begins immediately in Old English with ‘Cristes prowung’. In MS N, the name is misspelled as *Crites*; aside from this difference, the two texts begin very similarly. The decoration is of a similar style, compared to the decoration of some of the other Cs in the manuscripts. Both Cs are decorated with a line partitioning off a portion of the bowl of the letter with some additional elaborations. Despite their different line heights, both Cs take up a similar ratio of space on the page.

6.4.16.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+

Opening initial - Latin	-	-
Opening initial - OE	C	C
Line heights - Latin	-	-
Line height - OE	2.5 (.1)	3.5 (.11)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-
Decoration level - OE	2	2

6.4.17 *PALM SUNDAY II – ÆCHom II, 14 (MS N FOS 108R-116V; MS O pp. 163-173)*

6.4.17.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 68: ÆCHom II, 14 in MS N and MS O

Both of these Palm Sunday homilies begin in Old English with ‘Driht[e]nes þrowunge’, but the manuscripts realise this text-beginning **D** quite differently from one another. One **D** is written as a majuscule letter and one a minuscule; they are also decorated differently, with the **D** in MS O containing ‘segments’ similar to those seen in ÆHom 4. Perhaps this difference in appearance indicates that different exemplars were used for this Palm Sunday homily; the difference is especially noticeable compared to the similarities at the beginning of ÆCHom I, 14.

6.4.17.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+

Opening initial - Latin	-	-
Opening initial - OE	D	D
Line heights - Latin	-	-
Line height - OE	2.5 (.1)	3.5 (.11)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-
Decoration level - OE	2	2

6.4.18 IN CENA DOMINI — *HOM*S 22 (*MS N* FOS 119V-126R; *MS O* pp. 174-182)

6.4.18.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 69: *Hom*S 22 in *MS N* and *MS O*

The most striking aspect of the beginning of these texts is the similar, yet different, use of the enlarged **A** in *MS N* and the enlarged **Æ** in *O*. Near the beginning of the text, a short Biblical quotation from John 13 is inserted into the body of the Old English text. In *MS N*, this text, beginning *Ante diem festum*, is marked as separate from the Old English through the use of an enlarged, decorated **A**. After the Latin quotation, the text returns to Old English with a standard capitalised letter with no size increase or elaboration. Conversely, though this same Biblical quotation appears in *MS O*, the scribe has reversed this decision, beginning the Latin text with a normal capital letter, and marking the transition back to Old English with an enlarged, highly unusual ligature of an **Æ** and an **R**. This decision is somewhat of a mystery, compounded by the fact that another coloured letter was clearly written first and was scratched out and written over. It is possible that while rubricating, the scribe initially wrote in an **A**, following the exemplar of *MS N*, and then realised the

mistake and corrected it as best as possible, leaving the correct letter, but the wrong word, emphasised.

6.4.18.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	-	-
Opening initial - OE	S	S
Line heights - Latin	-	-
Line height - OE	3 (.13)	5 (.16)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-
Decoration level - OE	3	1

	MS N	MS O
Opening initial - Latin	A	-
Opening initial - OE	-	Æ
Line heights - Latin	3.5 (.15)	-
Line height - OE	-	1 (.03)
Decoration level - Latin	3	-
Decoration level - OE	-	1

6.4.19 *EASTER II – ÆCHOM II, 15 (MS N FOS 131R-139R; MS O pp. 182-188)*

6.4.19.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 70: ÆCHom II, 15 in MS N and MS O

The appearance of the beginning of these two texts differs quite significantly between MS N and MS O. In MS N, an enlarged minuscule *M* begins the text; in MS O, the letter is a majuscule. The *M* in MS O is decorated with the same sort of decorative circles that we see throughout the rest of the manuscript. In MS N, a face has been drawn into the left-hand side of the letter; this decorative aspect is unique amongst the Ælfrician manuscripts, and its appearance here is difficult to explain. It could be the work of a bored scribe.

6.4.19.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	-	-
Opening initial - OE	M	M
Line heights - Latin	-	-
Line height - OE	2.5 (.1)	4 (.13)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-
Decoration level - OE	3	2

6.4.20 SECOND SUNDAY AFTER EASTER — ÆCHOM I, 18 (MS N FOS 150v-159v; MS O pp. 189-198 [BEGINS IMPERFECTLY])

6.4.20.1.1 Appearance of initials

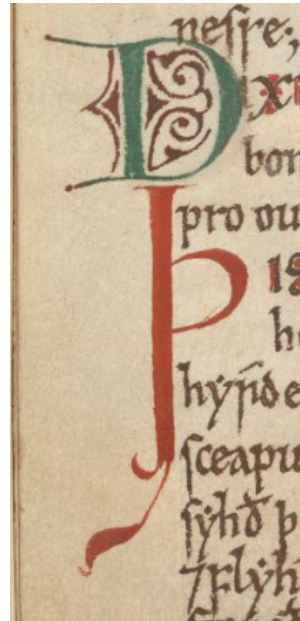


Figure 71: *ÆCHom I*, 18 in MS N

Unfortunately, *ÆCHom I*, 18 begins imperfectly in MS O due to the loss of leaves. Similarly to the discussion of *ÆCHom I*, 11 above, we may hypothesise that the beginning of this text in MS O looked somewhat similar to the text in MS N, but information about the use of decorations or the style of letters is lost.

6.4.20.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	-
Opening initial - Latin	D	-
Opening initial - OE	p	-
Line heights - Latin	2 (.08)	-
Line height - OE	6.5 (.27)	-
Decoration level - Latin	3	-
Decoration level - OE	2	-

6.4.21 FERIA III DE FIDE CATHOLICA — *ÆCHom I*, 20 (MS N fols 169v-176v; MS O pp. 230-232 [ENDS IMPERFECTLY])

6.4.21.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 72: *ÆCHom I*, 20 in MS N and MS O

As is discussed in more detail below (p. 261), there are multiple ways in which scribes working on the *Ælfrician* corpus were likely to write an enlarged *Æ*. Both of these text-beginning *Æ*s are the majuscule type, with the *E* making up the majority of the form of the letter and a line forming the *A* coming off of it to the left at an angle. The *Æ* in MS N is uncharacteristically plain, perhaps the result of a tiring scribe nearing the end of his task. The *Æ* in MS O is slightly more elaborate, with a spiralling terminal and a slightly decorative method of drawing the bowl of the *A*. Overall, however, these letters are dissimilar in appearance.

6.4.21.1.2 Summarising table

	MS N	MS O
Title present	+	+
Opening initial - Latin	-	-
Opening initial - OE	Æ	Æ
Line heights - Latin	-	-
Line height - OE	2.5 (.1)	6 (.19)
Decoration level - Latin	-	-
Decoration level - OE	1	2

6.5 EVIDENCE FROM OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

The homilies that appear in these cluster manuscripts appear in other Ælfrician manuscripts as well. Here, I compare the opening initials displayed above with those in other manuscripts in order to demonstrate the significance of any similarities identified in the previous section. The other manuscript evidence for *ÆCHom* I, 10 has not been included here, as it has been previously discussed in more detail in the chapter above.

6.5.1 MID-LENT SUNDAY — *ÆCHom* I, 12

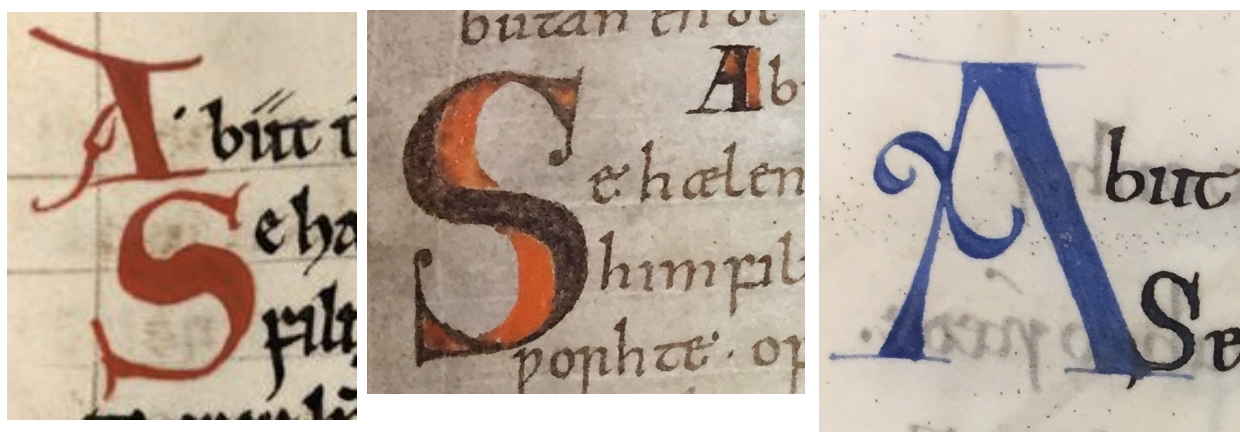


Figure 73: *ÆCHom* I, 12 in MS C, MS K, and MS M

ÆCHom I, 12 appears in several other corpus manuscripts, and the two letters that open the Latin and Old English portions of the text are rendered in various different layouts. However, none of them replicate the intertwined nature of the A and S in the way that occurs in MS N and MS O.

6.5.2 PALM SUNDAY — *ÆCHom* I, 14



Figure 74: *ÆCHom* I, 14 in MS A, MS B, and MS Q

While one other manuscript, MS B, includes a similar decorative flourish on the inside of the bowl of the **C**, the other manuscripts that contain *ÆCHom* I, 14 do not share any specific visual similarity with the text opening in MS N and MS O. Interestingly, in addition to the decorated **C**, the text in MS B shares the same spelling error as does MS N, rendering the opening word as *Crites*. This shared error along with decorative similarities perhaps points to a closer connection between MS B and MS N, at least concerning this text.

6.6 ANALYSIS

As was the case with the above chapter, certain texts that occur in both MS N and MS O are more similar than others. In two of the texts, *ÆCHom* I, 11 and *ÆCHom* I, 18, the text begins imperfectly in one of the manuscripts (MS N and MS O, respectively); because of this, I am unable to compare the beginnings of the texts across both manuscripts. Aside from these incomplete homilies, there are also several instances above where the texts begin with the same letter but render the letter in very different ways: in *HomS* 5, *HomS* 7, *ÆCHom* II, 7, and *ÆCHom* II, 15, MS N opens the text with an enlarged minuscule **m** while MS O uses an enlarged majuscule **M**. It is noteworthy that all minuscule text-beginning **Ms** in these texts occur in MS N, indicating a scribal preference borne out when looking further into text-beginning initials in MS O. Of all seven texts in MS O that begin with an enlarged **M**, only one is written as an enlarged minuscule (p. 205); this single instance of an enlarged minuscule **m** is also highly non-standard, appearing on the very last line of the page and descending into the bottom margin. This indicates that the scribe of MS O had a very strong preference for enlarged majuscule **Ms** and only diverged from this preference in exceptional circumstances. Conversely, the decorating scribe working in MS N has nearly alternated between the **M** and **m** type text-beginning letters, showing a strong preference for neither one nor the other. In one additional text that appears dissimilar in MS N and MS O, *ÆCHom* II, 14, the difference is once again primarily due to a minuscule/majuscule divide, indicating a consistent pattern of difference in these two manuscripts. The scribes of MS N and MS O clearly had different standards and preferences for majuscule and minuscule letters, preferences which were stronger than the desire to exactly copy decorated initials from manuscript to manuscript.

Despite this difference in preferences, there are several texts that show compelling similarities in appearance. In *ÆCHom* II, 5, the scribe of MS O has gone to great efforts to

maintain a similar impression of the beginning of the text despite an early error: the rubricating scribe of MS N has included all appropriate decorations, with the enlarged **D**, **S**, and **Ð** all appearing at their appropriate places within the text. Conversely, the scribe of MS O has missed the **S** in *simile*, instead filling the entire blank space left for the two letters with a single green **D**. The MS O scribe, however, has found a way to keep the overall impression of the page the same: by using an enlarged, red **S** in the phrase ‘se hælend’, they have managed to preserve a layout involving a large green **D** on the left side of the text and a smaller red **S** in the middle of the page. While the manuscripts enlarge different letters, the overall aspect of the page has remained similar between the two. Another text that begins similarly in the two manuscripts is *ÆCHom* II, 6: despite the **O** beginning the Old English text being enlarged and coloured in MS N, and left as a standard capital letter in MS O, the two **C**s share aspects of decoration and style. Both are rounded with sharp serifs at each end of the letter, with three decorative dots placed on the top, bottom, and left side of the letter. The **C** in MS N was then elaborated on further with an additional decorative line in green ink, a regular decorative feature in MS N. The two letters are also the same size, at 2.5 lines tall. Furthermore, the scribes of both texts left a similar amount of blank space for both of the letters—a rectangle wider than it is tall—which is only used in its entirety for the **C** in MS O. It is clear from these two examples that even in instances where one text-beginning initial is dissimilar between the two, other visual affinities may still occur.

The most striking resemblance between text-beginning initials in MS N and MS O is certainly that occurring at the beginning of *ÆCHom* I, 12. These two letters are each drawn in the same unusual, interlocking style, with the **S** that begins the Old English text curving around the **A**, which both have long decorative descenders trailing into the left margin. There is only one other instance in MS N (fo. 44v) where one letter slightly overlaps another:

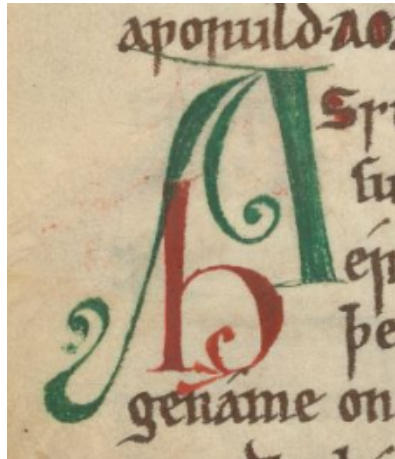


Figure 75: The single other similar text-beginning layout in MS N, fo. 44v

There are no other examples in the manuscript where the two are so intertwined, nor are there any instances of similar text-beginning initials in the rest of MS O. Furthermore, no other manuscripts in the First Series corpus render this combination of letters in a way resembling the layout seen here. Even in MS M, a manuscript very closely textually related to MS N, the beginning of the text is rendered in a completely different manner. This unusual method of writing the two letters in both manuscripts suggests strongly that both MS N and MS O were inspired by a design from their shared exemplar, perhaps closer in relationship to the two manuscripts than previously posited.

6.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have compiled images of all the text-beginning initials in items shared by both MS N and MS O. By comparing these initials as a group, I have uncovered exceptional similarities between certain texts as well as identified patterns in scribal preference within the two manuscripts. As with the above chapter, using this type of cross-manuscript comparison shows that these textually-related manuscripts do indeed share visual similarities, many of which do not appear in other First Series witnesses. In these two chapters, I have shown that there are a number of similarities in the style and type of decoration between closely textually-related manuscripts, and that when similarities fail to appear, there are often mitigating factors that may explain the discrepancy. Overall, this section has provided one type of evidence to answer the two research questions as set out in the introduction of this thesis. In a later section, I include a study comparing the textual content of two of the more visually similar texts from this cluster with two of the more dissimilar ones (p. 271); before these text-based studies, however, I first turn to a series of investigations into the initials beginning specific homilies within the corpus.

CASE STUDIES: HOMILY BASED

This section is made up of case studies that focus on individual homilies. The homilies selected for these case studies were chosen primarily because of their frequency of occurrence within the First Series corpus. In this section, through an investigation of the same text-beginning initial in all of the manuscripts it appears in, I intend to demonstrate how the appearance of a decorated initial may follow routes of textual dissemination. Commonalities in the appearance of these initials help to strengthen my hypothesis that these initials were frequently transmitted from one manuscript to another. In this section, I will also identify and discuss any exceptional similarities between specific instances of text-beginning initials. Each of the following chapters is laid out in a similar manner, beginning with an overview of the text and its particular significance for early medieval England. I follow with a brief discussion of some of the changes the text underwent throughout the history of its transmission. The main body of each chapter is a comparison of all instances of the initials in each of the manuscripts they appear in, aided with images and comparative tables. I close each chapter with an analysis of any unusual or striking similarities between individual instances of the text, as well as attempt to uncover the possible origins of these similarities.

7 THE PENTECOST GROUP

This chapter tracks *ÆCHom* I, 22 across the manuscripts in which the text appears.

ÆCHom I, 22, Ælfric's homily for the Holy Day of Pentecost, survives in sixteen different manuscripts, making it one of the two most frequently surviving homilies across both series of Catholic Homilies.³² Because of the high number of surviving instances of the text, I am able to trace the text-beginning initial of *ÆCHom* I, 22 across a large number of manuscripts that vary widely in origin and date of production. In the following section, I first outline the Biblical story of Pentecost and its significance for its contemporary audience. The majority of the chapter comprises a comparison between all instances of the opening initials in the various manuscripts, with a discussion of any noteworthy differences or similarities. Following this discussion, I include a table summarising all of the initial data and a discussion of the results, with a focus on any potential new connections I identify between manuscripts.

7.1 THE STORY OF PENTECOST

The Bible tells the story of Pentecost twice, once each in both the Old and New Testaments. In the Old Testament, Pentecost was a harvest feast celebrated by the Jewish people seven weeks from the Passover Sabbath, and given various names, including The Feast of the Harvest and the Feast of First Fruits (Power, 1965: 327). The feast was also known as the 'Feast of Weeks', and the calculations involved in dating the holiday led to the eventual adoption of the name *Pentecost*, from the Koine Greek *Pentekoste*, meaning 'fiftieth day' (Power, 1965: 328). This story is primarily a precursor to Christian celebration of Pentecost as recorded in the New Testament, Acts 1 and 2. The Pentecost miracle from the New Testament is the story of a gathering of devout men, along with the twelve apostles (Acts 1:13-26; Acts 2:1-6); while the apostles were at prayer, there was a great sound from heaven, and the Holy Spirit, manifesting as cloven tongues of fire, came down upon the apostles. The Holy Spirit allowed the apostles to speak in such a way that all gathered there could understand them, as if they spoke in the languages of those listening (Acts 2:1-12). Peter declared that this was the fulfilment of an earlier prophecy made by God (Acts 2:14-22), and all who were there were baptised on that day, as well as three thousand other men (Acts 2:41). The story of Pentecost is thus essentially the story

³² The only other homily that occurs in as many manuscripts is *Feria III de dominica oratione*, discussed below (p. 182–219).

of a new age: as directed by Christ, those on earth have waited for the empowerment of the Holy Spirit, and man is now no longer living under the old law, but under grace (Bedingfield, 2002: 210).

7.2 PENTECOST IN EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

Vernacular texts on Pentecost portray the day as a ‘celebration of unity with God, of full confirmation of the participants’ place in God’s plan and eventual place in Heaven’ (Bedingfield, 2002: 210). Not only was Pentecost seen as a fulfilment of Christ’s promise, it also, along with Easter, was one of the two festivals officially sanctioned for the baptism of new Christians in the West, making it an important holiday for early Christians in both spiritual and more practical terms (Bedingfield, 2002: 212). It is therefore not surprising that many medieval Christian authors created works that focus on Pentecost, including Bede, who highlights the similarity between the way the Holy Spirit is realised in the act of baptism and how it was realised in Acts 1 and 2 (Bedingfield, 2002: 213). Despite this link between Pentecost and baptism, by the later period of pre-Conquest England, baptism had shifted from a fixed event to a variable one, affecting popular perception of the day: the feast of Pentecost is mentioned in several major liturgical works from the period, but in only one of these is its connection with baptism made explicit (Bedingfield, 2002: 213). Despite the weakening of its association with baptism, the early English liturgical treatments of the miracle are fairly consistent:

All of the expected themes, based on Christ’s promises in John 14 and the events described in Acts 2, find resonance in the liturgical forms: the unity of the faithful, the fire and wind that accompanied the application of the Spirit the gift of tongues, the preaching of Peter, the conversion and baptism of the three thousand, and the subsequent expansion of the church. Also important in the extant forms is the idea that participation in the Pentecost liturgy is a means of purification from sin and entry into heaven (Bedingfield, 2002: 213).

Many of these themes are taken directly from the Bible, so it is unsurprising that they occur so frequently in the liturgy.

There are two major vernacular texts on Pentecost: Ælfric's homily, and an anonymous text in the Blickling Homilies (Princeton, Scheide Library MS 71); in addition to these texts, Wulfstan the homilist also makes brief mention of the day in one of his sermons. Each of these texts foregrounds a different aspect of the day, providing insight into which lessons the authors considered particularly important for their audiences. The Blickling text, *BlHom XII*, highlights the coming of the Holy Spirit as a consolation for the apostles: they are filled with grief at the ascension of Christ into Heaven, an event that had occurred ten days before Pentecost (Morris, 2000: 67). *BlHom XII* emphasises the connection between the holy spirit's appearance in the form of flames with the love for God that was 'burning perpetually' in the hearts of the apostles, foregrounding their unity (Morris, 2000: 68). It also contains a meditation on fire as a cleansing force, burning away the sins of the apostles and allowing the apostles to remove the sins of other men in the same way (Morris, 2000: 68-9). Strikingly, the homily makes no mention of the baptism of the three thousand or the miracle of understanding, a significant aspect of the Biblical treatment of Pentecost. Indeed, the author here seems to encourage his audience to identify with the apostles in the story rather than the men who were later baptised. Perhaps it was more valuable to this author to emphasise the sinless nature of the apostles rather than the fallible men. The Blickling homilies do not explicitly reveal their potential audience (Gatch, 1989: 115), but it is possible that this emphasis is specifically directed towards an already-baptised and devout reader.

In contrast to the treatment of Pentecost by the author of the Blickling Homilies, Wulfstan's approach is much more succinct: he does not mention the miracle of Pentecost at all, and in fact only briefly mentions Pentecost once in the context of a discussion about when a tithe on young animals is due to be paid (Smart, 2016: 31). As is not uncommon in his works, Wulfstan here shows a preference for concrete instruction over more abstract meditations on theology. There is no text concerning Pentecost in any of the other major codices from this period, and there are no texts on Pentecost from the early medieval English period written in the vernacular aside from Ælfric's homily.

7.3 ÆLFRIC'S TREATMENT OF PENTECOST

Due to Ælfric's passion for exegesis, Ælfric's homily on Pentecost is significantly more complex than the Blickling Homily. Ælfric's text goes into more detail on the miracle of Pentecost itself, as well as addressing several related topics including a discussion of the

Holy Spirit and a parable on the redistribution of wealth (Clemoes, 1997: 354-64). His homily covers four main topics: briefly, the Old Testament precursor to Pentecost; the miracle of Pentecost itself, and the foundation of the Church; the duality of forms the Holy Spirit may appear in (fire to sinful men; a dove to the immaculate Christ); and a meditation on the importance of giving one's property to the church for proper use and distribution, along with an example of what will happen to those who do not surrender all they have to the church.³³ Ælfric's discussion of the Holy Spirit touches upon the same conception of fire as the Blickling homily: the greatness of the Lord burns in the hearts of the apostles, their words burn away the sins in of men, and man's heart is then 'kindled to God's love, which before was cold through fleshly lusts' (Clemoes, 1997: 360, ll. 171-2). The association of fire and God was clearly a favoured piece of rhetoric for medieval Christians, and Ælfric is in this section likely paraphrasing directly from the works of Gregory the Great and the Vulgate Bible (Fontes Anglo-Saxonici, 1999: Cameron B.1.1.24).

ÆCHom I, 22 can be divided thematically into two halves: in the first, concepts and topics are introduced, and in the second, they are expounded upon. It is clearly important for Ælfric to here not only relate the story of Pentecost, but to contextualise it, both within the Old and New Testament, and to make certain that his lay audience understands the meaning behind these events. In the latter half of the homily, Ælfric includes explanations of the concepts he introduces in the first half, including a discussion of the Holy Spirit appearing as either fire or as a dove; the story of Babel, wherein God scattered overly-prideful workmen all across the world and gave them each a different language, and how this event made possible the New Testament miracle of Pentecost; and a brief segment on the Holy Trinity, wherein he compares the three thousand's unanimity in thought, heart, and soul to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit making up one Godhead (Clemoes, 1997: 354-64). Ælfric, ever a teacher, dedicates nearly as much space to explanation and exegesis as he does to the Biblical stories themselves. Rather than a text concerned primarily with holy men, or simply instruction for modern Christians, Ælfric has composed a text that deftly combines the two.

7.4 ÆLFRIC'S HOMILY FOR PENTECOST IN THE CORPUS

³³ Ælfric relates the story of Ananias and Sapphira, two members of the early church who lie about holding back wealth from the church; on discovery of the lie, Peter questions the couple, and they both die, presumably for the crime of lying to God (Acts 5:1-10).

As mentioned above, *ÆCHom* I, 22 survives in sixteen manuscripts, making it exceptionally well represented in the corpus.³⁴ It is impossible to determine whether this homily was considered especially important during the compilation of these manuscripts, or if it is only through happenstance that so many of the manuscripts that have survived contain the homily in question. One possible explanation for the text's frequency may be the association between Pentecost and baptism: as baptism is a major part of Christian life, it may have been important for the compilers of the First Series corpus to include a homily for the traditionally associated miracle of Pentecost. Alternatively, as the text tells the story of the foundation of the Christian church, it may have been seen as providing an ancient precedent for the modern activities of the Church, and thus an important tool of legitimisation for a secular audience—of baptism and of tithing.

The manuscripts that *ÆCHom* I, 22 survives in range widely both in terms of date of production and place of origin. *ÆCHom* I, 22 survives in the following manuscripts: MS A, MS B, MS C, MS D, MS E, MS F, MS H, MS K, MS M, MS N, MS Q, MS R, MS T, MS U, MS V, and MS Xⁱ.

7.4.1 DATING

Manuscripts containing that *ÆCHom* I, 22 range from the end of the tenth century to possibly the beginning of the thirteenth. *ÆCHom* I, 22 first appears in MS A, the earliest known copy of Ælfric's first series of Catholic Homilies, and appears in many of the latest manuscripts containing Ælfrician text. This text was therefore being actively copied into new manuscripts for nearly two centuries, including a period of time well after the Conquest.

7.5 TEXTUAL CHANGES IN *ÆCHom* I, 22

In his edition of *Catholic Homilies*, Clemoes includes two apparatuses alongside the main body of the text, and three additional appendices containing further information about the texts. These additional appendices comprise a section on passages cancelled in MS A, a section of passages cancelled in MS Q and other manuscripts, and a section for variant

³⁴ Of all of Ælfric's first and second series homilies, approximately half (twenty-five) survive in ten or more manuscripts, whilst twenty-nine appear in nine or fewer; six appear in three or fewer; and one, Ælfric's homily on St Stephen, survives in only a single manuscript, MS K.

readings in later manuscripts that Clemoes says likely ‘reflect only the late date of the manuscripts’ (Clemoes, 1997: 543). Clemoes dedicates a single apparatus to the changes he makes to his base text, including notes such as the deletion of an ungrammatical *i* at the end of *dægi* (ll. 3) or the addition of ‘*for*’ in the word *for dyde* (ll. 17) to make the text consistent with the versions found in other manuscripts. The second apparatus, and the one much greater in scope, describes how the text has changed throughout all the other manuscripts, amounting to hundreds of differences between each manuscript version, some of which appear intentional, and some of which probably result from scribal error. In this section, I will only be discussing differences between versions of the text that may indicate significant underlying causes; I do this specifically to identify possible groupings of textual variants to contribute to the creation of manuscript clusters, especially based on visual similarities. All line references are based on the text found in Clemoes’ *Catholic Homilies* (1997).

7.5.1 ADDITIONS

This homily contains several additions in early versions that have subsequently been incorporated into the main body of the text. One example of this very early on in the text’s history is a note made on fo. 114r of MS A, line 233, where a scribe has written ‘Ac se þe wyle to þysre gepincðe be’, ‘but he who wishes to [come to] this honour’ in the right-hand margin, immediately preceding the phrase ‘cuman he sceal gelyfan’, ‘shall come to believe’. Following the marginal note, there is a small punctuation mark consisting of three dots; this mark is also written at the beginning of the following line, indicating where the text should be inserted. The addition is accepted as part of the main text by Clemoes in his edition, and also appears as part of the main text in many later manuscripts, including MS C, MS D, and MS E.

There is one other instance of this type of addition: in MS R, on p. 264, line 12 of the edited text, a scribe has added ‘7 wolde hy ofslean. oððe to his þeowete’, ‘and he would kill [them], or have [them] in slavery’ in an exceptionally small hand in between two lines. Based on the hand and the aspect of the writing in the rest of the passage, this was probably added after the main text had been written, and by a different scribe than the one who wrote the body of the homily. This addition is then accepted by the scribe of MS T, who uniquely includes this clause as a part of the main body of the text on fo. 132r. That a marginal addition made in MS R is reflected in only MS T indicates that not only are

these two manuscripts closely textually related, but that MS R is possibly the direct exemplar for MS T, or at least for the parts of it that contain *ÆCHom* I, 22.

Finally, the text in MS Xⁱ is greatly non-standard compared to the text as it appears in the other First Series manuscripts. MS Xⁱ has uniquely large numbers of additions made to its text, ranging from single words most likely added to facilitate understanding (e.g. *pere* added in l. 34) to entire blocks of Latin text, such as the section in l. 41 that appears to supplement the Old English homily with several lines of Latin describing the miracle of Pentecost, taken directly from the Vulgate Bible. A similar phenomenon occurs in MS Xⁱ at l. 52 and l. 64, two other points at which a significant amount of Latin text has been added amongst the Old English. As MS Xⁱ is an anomalous manuscript within the corpus, it is possible that the scribe felt that a greater amount of Biblical Latin would help to contextualise this unfamiliar homily further.

7.5.2 GRAMMATICAL CHANGES

Grammatical changes are made throughout the manuscripts, most frequently concerning the case of words. One notable example of such a change is the blanket use of the dative case following prepositions: later in the Old English period, the use of a dative following a preposition became less strictly required, and many preposition-following dative case words were deemed ungrammatical by later scribes; some of these changes seem to have been initiated by Ælfric himself. In MS A alone, there are thirty-two notes made throughout the text that change a word from dative to the accusative; for context, there are only four instances of an accusative being changed to a dative in MS A, and zero instances of an accusative being changed to a dative at any later stage (Clemoes, 1997: 128). Other phases of the text continue this process: the *β* phase of the text updates even more grammatical endings than the first phase does (Clemoes, 1997: 129), and the process is most pronounced in the *γ* phase of the text, with well over a hundred instances of dative words being changed to accusative (Clemoes, 1997: 131). There are dozens of instances of this process throughout the text; a few examples of this change are the editing in line 60 from ‘ofer menniscum flæsce’ into ‘ofer mennisc flæsc’;³⁵ the change in line 171 from ‘purh flæsclicum lustum’ into ‘flæsclice lustas’;³⁶ and in line 218 from ‘on

³⁵ This change is made in MS B, MS K, MS M, MS N, MS R, MS T, MS V, MS U, and MS Xⁱ.

³⁶ This change is made in MS B, MS H, MS K, MS M, MS N, MS R, MS T, MS V, MS U, and MS Xⁱ.

his gingrum' into 'on his gingran'.³⁷ This ongoing process demonstrates a well-attested pattern in the evolution of English wherein the strict case system changed throughout the early English period.

Another related grammatical change is the loss of word-final -e throughout the later texts, one example of which can be found in line 183: the phrase 'sumum he forgifð mislice gereord', '[to] one he gives various languages', is changed to 'sumum he forgifð mislic gereord', changing the adjective *misclice* from plural to singular.³⁸ In contrast to this loss, in certain grammatical contexts particles are added: in line 16 of Clemoes' text the phrase 'for þan ðe god hi hredde wið heora feondum', 'because god frees them from their foes' occurs; in several manuscripts, *hredde* is rendered *ahredde*.³⁹ *Hreddan* on its own means to rid, take away, save, or liberate, whilst *a-hreddan* has a sense of more specifically liberation, to be set free, or to rescue (DOE, 2018: *hreddan*; *a-hreddan*); both words are technically appropriate, but it is possible that later scribes thought this slight emendation suited the meaning of the passage better, and made clearer Ælfric's message about God's liberating powers.

7.5.3 OTHER CHANGES

In addition to the broader categories of changes made to the text discussed above, there are several changes that do not occur frequently enough to be assigned a discrete category but are nevertheless noteworthy. One such change is the removal of the word *lare* in line 38 in the phrase 'gif we gemyndige beoð cristes bebodum 7 þæra apostola lare' in MS C, MS D, and MS E. This omission changes the meaning of the clause from 'if we be mindful of Christ's commandments, and the teaching of the apostles' to 'if we be mindful of Christ's commandments, and those of the apostles'. This omission is specific to those manuscripts heavily associated with the *B* phase of text; it is possible therefore that this emendation would also have existed in the now-lost copy of the homilies sent to Archbishop Sigeric. It is possible that the change originated from Ælfric's scriptorium, but if this is the case, we may question why this change only occurs in these three manuscripts, and no others. There are two possible causes for this omission: either it was originally made in error and was subsequently passed on to other closely related texts, or

³⁷ This change is made in MS B, MS C, MS D, MS E, MS K, MS Q, and MS U.

³⁸ This change is made in MS C, MS D, MS E, MS F, MS H, MS M, MS N, MS Q, MS T, MS U, and MS V.

³⁹ This change is made in MS B, MS C, MS D, MS E, MS F, MS M, MS N, MS R, MS T, MS U, and MS Xⁱ.

the original scribe of the text thought *lare* was redundant, and knowledge of both Christ's and the apostles' commandments was the meaning intended.

7.6 OTHER HOMILIES ASSOCIATED WITH *ÆCHom I, 22*

ÆCHom I, 22 is strongly associated with either Ælfric's homily for Ascension, as in the majority of these manuscripts, or an anonymous text meant for preaching on Ascension, as in MS U. In ten of the sixteen manuscripts, *ÆCHom I, 22* is positioned directly adjacent to *ÆCHom I, 21*; it is placed after an anonymous homily for Ascension Day in one manuscript (MS F); and in an additional three (MS M, MS N, and MS U) the only homily that separates *ÆCHom I, 22* from a homily for Ascension is Ælfric's homily for the Sunday after Ascension. This strong association is unsurprising, as these manuscripts are generally organised with regard to the church year, and Ascension occurs ten days before the miracle of Pentecost: a period of ten days between the two celebrations leaves a single Sunday therefore lacking a set preaching text, which Ælfric then filled. Of the sixteen manuscripts in the Pentecost corpus, only two contain *ÆCHom I, 22* but not *ÆCHom I, 21*. The two manuscripts that do not contain *ÆCHom I, 21* are MS V and MS Xⁱ. MS V is a two-volume collection of homilies, the first volume of which comprises mainly non-Ælfrician content, and the second volume of which begins with *ÆCHom I, 22* (thus allowing no space for a preceding homily relating to an earlier event). The second of these manuscripts is MS Xⁱ, a collection of homilies that is both late and incomplete, including only three Ælfrician texts alongside several post-Conquest compositions.

ÆCHom I, 22 is also strongly associated with Ælfric's homily for Easter Sunday, *ÆCHom I, 15*. Of the sixteen manuscripts that *ÆCHom I, 22* appears in, thirteen also contain *ÆCHom I, 15*. This is, again, unsurprising; as the date of Pentecost is calculated through its positioning after Easter Sunday, a celebration of Easter is a necessary precursor to a celebration of Pentecost. Furthermore, Easter and Pentecost were both important feast days for early English Christians, as well as each historically sharing an association with baptism (Bedingfield, 2002: 212). One manuscript, MS F, contains homilies for all of the days leading up to Easter, as well as Ælfric's homilies for the two Sundays following the day, but no homily for Easter itself. This is likely due to an error on the part of either the compiler or the scribe: on page 382, where the anonymous homily for Palm Sunday begins, the given title of the text is *In die sancto pasce*, indicating that the rubricator expected there to be a homily for Easter at this point in the manuscript. The remaining two

manuscripts that do not contain a homily for Easter are MS V and MS Xⁱ, the unusual natures of which are discussed above. This association between Easter and Pentecost appears to have been a strong one for the compilers of this manuscript, as of the fourteen manuscripts *ÆCHom* I, 15 appears in, all but one also contain *ÆCHom* I, 22.

ÆCHom I, 19, *Feria III de dominica oratione*, appears in twelve of the sixteen Pentecost manuscripts. *ÆCHom* I, 19, is an exegetical text on the Lord's Prayer, in which Ælfric discusses each of the lines of the Latin *Pater noster* and explains its meaning to his audience.⁴⁰ Because of the high number of manuscripts this homily appears in, it seems probable that the overlap of manuscripts is here a natural result of two frequently copied homilies rather than a specific association between the two texts.

Finally, *ÆCHom* I, 22 appears in manuscripts near all of the associated 'Pentecost' homilies. After Pentecost, the liturgy of the early medieval church slowed somewhat: the next major celebration was Advent, a winter festival that tended to mark the end of the religious year (Bedingfield, 2002: 217). Between Pentecost in late spring and Advent in the winter, there are many days not associated with any specific feast or celebration, a period during which Ælfric could expound upon whatever topics he wished. The manuscripts in this corpus often contain pieces on saints, martyrs, and general religious concepts in between *ÆCHom* I, 22 and Ælfric's homily for the first day of Advent; very often, too, they will contain homilies simply titled *Second Sunday after Pentecost*, *Fourth Sunday after Pentecost*, and so on. There are seventeen of these homilies that are titled in relation to Pentecost from Ælfric's First Series, Second Series, and Supplementary Homilies. The content of these homilies is not related to the feast of Pentecost; the titles appear to be nothing more than a method of organisation in a time of year without many fixed dates around which to organise a preaching schedule. In twelve of the sixteen corpus manuscripts, *ÆCHom* I, 22 is followed (either directly or separated by only one or two items) by at least one Pentecost-associated homily, most commonly *Second Sunday after Pentecost*, *ÆCHom* I, 23. Whilst some of the Pentecost-associated homilies were written after the completion of the First Series, five appear within Ælfric's First Series. These homilies appear alongside *ÆCHom* I, 22 in all of the corpus manuscripts except two: MS Xⁱ,

⁴⁰ For more on this text, see the chapter below (pp. 182–220).

which contains only three Ælfrician texts, one of which is Pentecost; and MS V, in which only approximately one third of the thirty-four texts are Ælfrician.⁴¹

7.7 COMPARISON OF INITIALS FROM *ÆCHom* I, 22

In this section, I compare the initial that begins *ÆCHom* I, 22 in all of the manuscripts in which it appears. Photographic images are provided wherever possible; in instances where a photograph is unavailable but a visual representation is necessary, I have provided diagrams. Following the images and a brief description of how the homily appears, I include a table summarising all relevant features; these tables are then compiled into a single table that compares all initials in all occurrences of the text. The terms and numerical values for decoration levels that were introduced earlier in the thesis are used in this section. Following the line height of a given initial, I include a number representing the percentage of written space on the page that a letter takes up; i.e., a six line initial on a page ruled for twenty-four lines of writing is recorded as .25.

7.7.1 MS A - ROYAL MS 7 C.XII (FOS 108V-114V; FOLLOWING *ÆCHom* I, 21 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHom* I, 23)

7.7.1.1.1 Appearance of initial

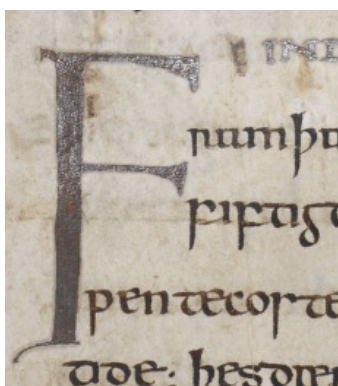


Figure 76: MS A, fo. 108v

This homily does not have a Latin incipit, but normally begins ‘Fram þam halgan easterlican dæge’. The Latin title is usually included alongside the text, written as *In die sancto pentecosten* with varying levels of abbreviation. In MS A, this title is written in full with no abbreviations. The F beginning the text is enlarged and written in a majuscule

⁴¹ Eleven texts in this manuscript are Ælfrician. Despite the relatively small number of Ælfrician texts in this manuscript, it contains *ÆCHom* I, 22, *ÆCHom* I, 21, and *ÆCHom* I, 19 as a set.

style in red ink, but is otherwise undecorated. There are no other enlarged or decorated letters in *ÆCHom* I, 22 in MS A.

7.7.1.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 22 in MS A	
Opening letter	F
Colour	Red (oxidisation has turned it grey)
Height	3.5 (.14)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

7.7.2 MS B - MS BODLEY 343 (FOS 83R-85R; FOLLOWING *ÆCHom* I, 21 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHom* I, 25)

7.7.2.1.1 Appearance of initial

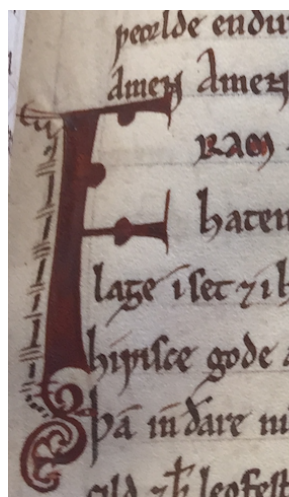


Figure 77: MS B, fo. 83r

The organisation of this manuscript is somewhat unusual: many of the texts for Sundays after Pentecost are placed before *ÆCHom* I, 22 itself, which occurs approximately halfway through the manuscript. In this manuscript the F is quite large, and decorated fairly

elaborately, with decorative dots and foliate terminals. Following the majuscule **F** the rest of the words ‘Fram ðam’ are also written in majuscule letters and touched in red; capital letters throughout the body of the text are touched in red as well. In MS B, the rubric is written in full, with no abbreviations.

7.7.2.1.2 Summarising table

ÆCHom I, 22 in MS B	
Opening letter	F
Colour	Red
Height	5.5 (.16)
Decoration level	3
Majuscules	Partial line (two words)
Abnormalities	None

7.7.3 MS C - CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE MS 303 (pp. 242-248; FOLLOWING ÆCHOM I, 21 AND PRECEDING ÆCHOM I, 25)

7.7.3.1.1 Appearance of initial

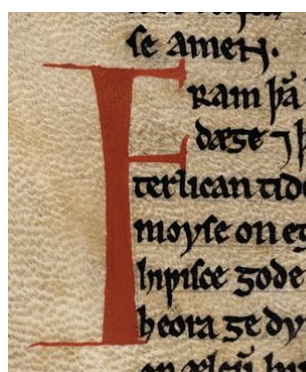


Figure 78: MS C, p. 242

In MS C the **F** beginning the text is again relatively large, at six lines tall, but wholly undecorated aside from the use of red ink. In this manuscript, the rubric is abbreviated to *sermo in die sancto*, even though there is visibly enough space on the page for the

unabbreviated *sancto*. Guide initials are visible in the margins of this page, and confirm that the scribe who wrote the body of the text intended an F to be inserted at a later stage.

7.7.3.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 22 in MS C	
Opening letter	F
Colour	Red
Height	6 (.18)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	Single letter
Abnormalities	None

7.7.4 MS D - MSS BODLEY 340 AND 342 (MS D2 FOS 56V-64R; FOLLOWING *ÆCHOM* I, 21 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHOM* I, 25)

7.7.4.1.1 Appearance of initial



Figure 79: MS D2, fo. 56v

The rubric beginning the text here is written at the very bottom of fo. 56v, and the body of the text begins on fo. 57r. This is the beginning of a new quire in MS D2, and perhaps explains why the **F** beginning the text is decorated in such an unusual and elaborate way: the **F** here comprises two winged beasts, one biting the other to form the cross-stroke of the letter, drawn with fine pen strokes in both black and red. This level of decoration is almost unprecedented in the Ælfrician manuscripts corpus, and almost all of the other occurrences of decoration to this extent occur in MS D2 as well. The elaborate **F** also appears to have been drawn over an erasure, perhaps a less-elaborate letter that was later decided insufficient.⁴²

7.7.4.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 22 in MS D	
Opening letter	F
Colour	Red and black
Height	7.5 (.29)
Decoration level	5
Majuscules	None
Abnormalities	Elaborate decoration.

7.7.5 MS E - CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS 198 (FOS 253v-259v; FOLLOWING *ÆCHom* I, 21 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHom* I, 25)

7.7.5.1.1 Appearance of initial

⁴² For more on this exceptional **F**, see p. 177, and Rae (forthcoming).

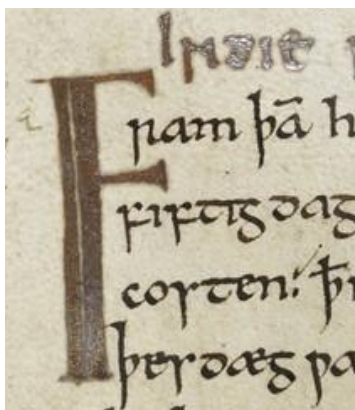


Figure 80: MS E, fo. 253v

In MS E, the rubric beginning *ÆCHom* I, 22 is abbreviated to *In die pentecosten*, unusually omitting *sancto* altogether. The F beginning the homily is somewhat, but not especially, enlarged, and is slightly decorated through the inclusion of a line of blank space down the centre of the letter. The letter was originally drawn in red ink, which has now degraded quite severely. The letter is similar in form to the F beginning the text in MS A, but this is likely due to its shape and aspect: this is a standard enlarged majuscule F.

7.7.5.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 22 in MS E	
Opening letter	F
Colour	Red (oxidisation has degraded the colour)
Height	4 (.15)
Decoration level	2
Majuscules	None
Abnormalities	None

7.7.6 MS F - CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS 162 (pp. 441-454;
FOLLOWING AN ANONYMOUS HOMILY FOR ASCENSION AND PRECEDING *ÆCHom* I,
25)

7.7.6.1.1 Appearance of initial

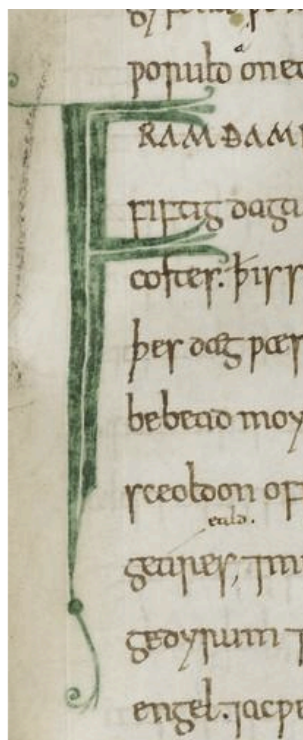


Figure 81: MS F, p. 441

The most remarkable aspect of the F beginning MS F is its size: at eight lines tall, it is the second largest initial in the entire manuscript, following only the manuscript's opening text, *ÆCHom* I, 1. The F beginning the text in this manuscript shares its uncommon size with the F in MS D, which also is outsized only by the manuscript-opening initial. Much of the height of this F in MS F is made up of a long decorative descender that trails down the left-hand margin. The letter is also followed by an entire row of majuscules, adding to the dramatic effect of the large F. The F is written in green ink and is decorated slightly, primarily with the use of negative space and decorative dots.

7.7.6.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 22 in MS F	
Opening letter	F
Colour	Green
Height	8 (.35)
Decoration level	2

Majuscules	Full line
Abnormalities	Exceptionally large.

7.7.7 MS H - COTTON MS VITELLIUS C.V (FOS 177V-123R; FOLLOWING *ÆCHom* I, 21 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHom* I, 25)

7.7.7.1.1 Appearance of initial

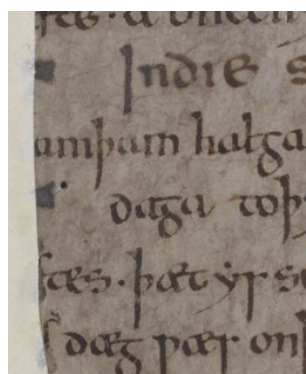


Figure 82: MS H, fo. 177v

Due to fire damage to the manuscript, the **F** beginning *ÆCHom* I, 22 in MS H is almost entirely missing. It is difficult to ascertain what colour this initial was drawn in, and impossible to be sure about its level of decoration or its height. Based on enlarged initials elsewhere in the manuscript, however, a few probabilities can be determined. First, this letter was likely to have been drawn in red, as red is overwhelmingly the colour most commonly used for stand-alone Old English initials in this volume. Second, the initial was probably between three and four lines tall based on the parts that remain visible. Finally, the **F** was probably not highly decorated, and had either slight or no decoration.

7.7.7.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 22 in MS H	
Opening letter	F
Colour	Red?
Height	3-4?

Decoration level	1?
Majuscules	None?
Abnormalities	Almost entirely absent.

7.7.8 MS K - CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY GG.3.28 (FOS 67V-71R; FOLLOWING ÆCHOM I, 21 AND PRECEDING ÆCHOM I, 25)

7.7.8.1.1 Appearance of initial



Figure 83: MS K, fo. 57v

The F beginning the text in MS is fairly large, and decorated with the use of a zig-zagging red line down the centre of the black letter. Throughout the text, capital letters are touched with red; aside from that, there are no other coloured or enlarged letters in this text. This style of decoration can be seen throughout MS K, but is unusual elsewhere in the corpus.

7.7.8.1.2 Summarising table

ÆCHom I, 22 in MS K	
Opening letter	F
Colour	Red and black

Height	7 (.23)
Decoration level	3
Majuscules	None
Abnormalities	The form of decoration, a red line zig-zagging through the black body of the letter, is quite unusual in this corpus.

**7.7.9 MS M - CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS II.4.6 (FOS 264v-276r;
FOLLOWING ÆHOM 9 AND PRECEDING ÆHOM 10)**

7.7.9.1.1 Appearance of initial



Figure 84: MS M, fo. 264v

The **F** beginning the text in MS M is, like many of the letters beginning *ÆCHom* I, 22, relatively large in comparison to the overall size of the page. The use of two colours here is notable: while the body of the **F** is drawn in red ink, it is elaborated on with a stroke of green down the body of the letter, and includes red decorative dots as well. Following this, the words ‘Fram þam’ are written entirely in large majuscule letters in green ink; these letters are so large, at approximately two line heights tall each, that these two words alone fill the entire rest of the line. The body text then begins *halgan* in the following line, and no other letters are coloured or emphasised throughout the rest of the text.

7.7.9.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 22 in MS M	
Opening letter	F
Colour	Red and green
Height	6 (.3)
Decoration level	2
Majuscules	Full line
Abnormalities	None

7.7.10 MS N - COTTON MS FAUSTINA A.IX (FOS 186R-192V; FOLLOWING *ÆHOM* 9 AND PRECEDING *ÆHOM* 10)

7.7.10.1.1 Appearance of initial

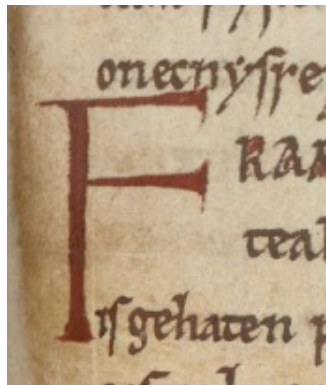


Figure 85: MS N, fo. 186r

The F beginning *ÆCHom* I, 22 in MS N is unusually small at only three lines tall. In almost all of the other manuscripts this text appears in, it is given much more visual significance on the page; here, not only is the letter small, but it is wholly undecorated and written entirely in red ink. The rest of the word *Fram* is written in majuscule letters following the F, in black ink touched with red; aside from this, the beginning of the text is undecorated.

7.7.10.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 22 in MS N	
Opening letter	F
Colour	Red
Height	3 (.13)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	Single word
Abnormalities	None

7.7.11 *MS Q - CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS 188 (PP. 211-213; FOLLOWING ÆCHOM I, 20 AND PRECEDING ÆHOM 11)*

7.7.11.1.1 **Appearance of initial**

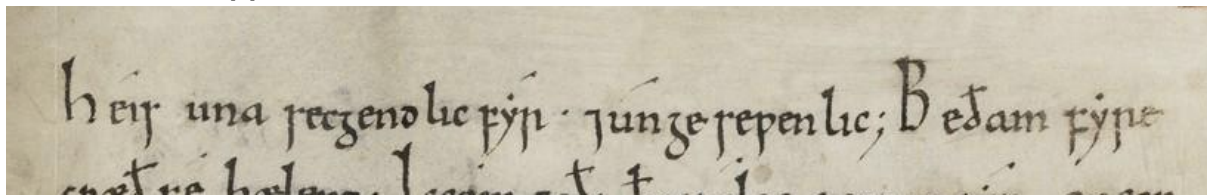


Figure 86: MS Q, p. 211

As *ÆCHom* I, 22 begins imperfectly in this manuscript, there is no enlarged initial. This is the second of the three manuscripts in the Pentecost corpus which, whilst containing *ÆCHom* I, 22, do not have an initial that can be analysed, the other two being MS H and MS Xⁱ. This manuscript is different from MS H and MS Xⁱ, however, in that this is the only manuscript where the loss of initial is due to an imperfect beginning rather than a later loss (as in MS H) or a lack of resources that lead to an incomplete production process (as in MS Xⁱ).

7.7.12 *MS R - CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS 178 (P. 263-270; FOLLOWING ÆCHOM I, 21 AND ENDS IMPERFECTLY DUE TO QUIRE LOSS)*

7.7.12.1.1 **Appearance of initial**



Figure 87: MS R, p. 263

This F is another of the smaller text-beginning letters in the *ÆCHom* I, 22 corpus. It is undecorated aside from the use of red ink; aside from this F, none of the letters are touched in red or otherwise elaborated upon further. A later hand added an L with a strike through it, perhaps an abbreviation for *lectio*, indicating the homily's association with a specific Biblical passage.

7.7.12.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 22 in MS R	
Opening letter	F
Colour	Red
Height	3.5 (.13)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	Single word
Abnormalities	Ends imperfectly.

7.7.13 MS T - MS JUNIUS 121; MSS HATTON 113 AND 114 (MS T2: FOS 131V-140R; FOLLOWING *ÆCHom* I, 21 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHom* II, 9)

7.7.13.1.1 Appearance of initial



Figure 88: MS T2, fo. 131v

The **F** beginning *ÆCHom* I, 22 is somewhat decorated in this manuscript, with a combination of decorative terminals and dots. A scribe has, either contemporaneously or at a later date, added an **M**, decorated in a similar manner, into the margin; this abbreviation may be related to the **L**-abbreviation in MS R above, as these manuscripts are textually very closely associated. Alternatively, this **M** may stand for ‘Men þa leofestan’, ‘beloved men’, a common homiletic opening.

7.7.13.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 22 in MS T	
Opening letter	F
Colour	Metallic red
Height	3 (.13)
Decoration level	2
Majuscules	Full line
Abnormalities	Similarly to MS R, this manuscript also contains an abbreviation.

7.7.14 *MS U - CAMBRIDGE TRINITY COLLEGE, MS B.15.34 (pp. 211-232; FOLLOWING ÆHOM 9 AND PRECEDING ÆHOM 10)*

7.7.14.1.1 1. Appearance of initial

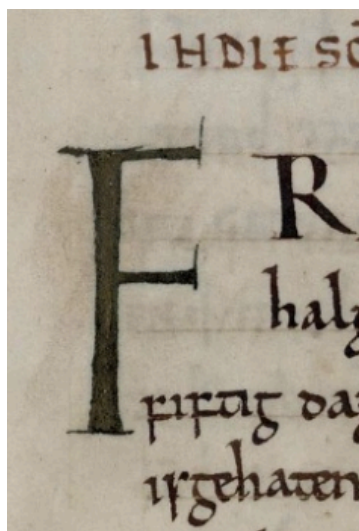


Figure 89: MS U, p. 211

The text-beginning **F** in MS U is fairly unremarkable in the corpus. It is neither especially large nor small; perhaps most unusual is that it is written in black ink rather than red or green, as most of the other **F**s are. The letter is undecorated, and is followed by an entire line of majuscules; similar to MS M, the letters are so large that this only fits the words ‘Fram ðam’.

7.7.14.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 22 in MS U	
Opening letter	F
Colour	Black
Height	3 (.14)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	Full line
Abnormalities	None

7.7.15 MS V - CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MSS 419 AND 421 (MS V2: pp. 3-25; FOLLOWING NOTHING AND PRECEDING ÆCHOM II, 35)

7.7.15.1.1 Appearance of initial

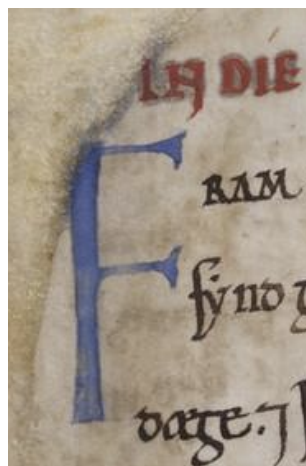


Figure 90: MS V, p. 3

Unusually for the First Series corpus, the F beginning ÆCHom I, 22 in MS V is written in blue ink, contrasting with the rubric in red ink immediately above it. This is the only ÆCHom I, 22 text-beginning F that is written in a colour of ink aside from red, green, or black. It is undecorated aside from this unusual colour. The letter is followed by a full row of majuscule characters, no larger than the minuscule characters immediately following it. There is no other decoration associated with this text.

7.7.15.1.2 Summarising table

ÆCHom I, 22 in MS V	
Opening letter	F
Colour	Blue
Height	2.5 (.1)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	Single word
Abnormalities	None

7.7.16 *MS Xⁱ - LAMBETH PALACE MS 487 (FOS 30v-47v; FOLLOWING AN ANONYMOUS HOMILY ON THE GOOD SAMARITAN AND PRECEDING ÆABUS)*

7.7.16.1.1 **Appearance of initial**

MS Xⁱ appears to have suffered from a lack of resources during its production, and despite spaces being left at the beginning of each new item for an enlarged or decorated initial, these initials were never drawn in. Thus, the text in this manuscript begins '[F]ram þam'. The space left for the F indicates that the initial would have been 2 or 2.5 lines tall, and rubrics and Latin were written in red, indicating that perhaps the F would have been red as well, and undecorated, but this is speculative.

7.7.17 *TABLE OF COMPARISON*

I include a comparison all text-beginning initials from *ÆCHom* I, 22 in a single table in order to draw comparisons across the entire set. Please see Appendix I (p. 290) for full table.

7.8 ANALYSIS OF INITIALS FROM *ÆCHom* I, 22

Several threads linking various strands of dissemination are apparent in the above tables and images. The first and perhaps most obvious trend concerns the use of colour: while a variety of colours of ink are used, the most common colour of ink used for these enlarged initials is red. This is not surprising: very often this letter would be drawn following its Latin title, or rubric, which was most commonly written in red ink. The rubricator would thus have had red ink readily available when he or she returned to the pages to rubricate and decorate, and much of the time it was probably easiest to simply write the necessary initial in the same red used for the title.

In almost all instances of *ÆCHom* I, 22, the homily begins with an enlarged text-beginning F. The two exceptions to this are MS Q, in which the homily starts imperfectly and thus has no opening initial, and MS Xⁱ, in which the enlarged initials were never added by a later scribe; however, based on the text following the space left for the initial, an F would almost certainly have been inserted. Therefore of the sixteen instances of the text occurring across all of the manuscripts, all complete versions of the text begin with an F. This uniformity, while not unusual, is by no means guaranteed: often the texts within the First Series corpus have been edited, or scribal error has resulted in a single text beginning with a variety of words. For example, for various reasons, *Ælfric's In letania*

maiore begins with an enlarged Q in MS C, an Ð in MS D, and a G in MS G (see images on p. 97). *ÆCHom* I, 22 seems to have survived the process of being copied and re-copied relatively unscathed, with no major changes made to the content or organisation of the text.

There is a large amount of variation in size between all of the initials, but all are at least a tenth of the height of the entire written area of the page (a size ratio of .1 or above). The smallest letter is 2.5 lines tall, or .1, in MS V, and the largest is eight lines tall, or .35, in MS F. For most of the manuscripts, the size of the initial of *ÆCHom* I, 22 is similar to or slightly larger than the size of the average decorated initial across the entire manuscript—for example, in MS A, the initial is 3.5 lines tall; the average initial height for all enlarged or coloured letters is 3.18. The exceptionally large Fs in MS D2 and MS F are unusual: the average initial height in MS F manuscript is 2.61, and in MS D2 2.9; and, as mentioned above, the only initials in both manuscripts larger than these are the opening letters of the first text of the manuscript.⁴³ That this opening initial is the largest in the manuscript is unsurprising, as the first page of a manuscript is frequently the most decorated and elaborate. What is notable then is the fact that the compilers and scribes of both MS D2 and MS F chose to treat *ÆCHom* I, 22 as such an important text, second in emphasis only to the manuscript-beginning piece on the creation of all things. In none of the other manuscripts in which *ÆCHom* I, 22 appears is the opening letter emphasised in such a way. The connections between the two continue in the style of decoration employed in the letters: the Fs beginning *ÆCHom* I, 22 in MS D2 and MS F both feature a decorative descender that trails into the left-hand margin of the manuscripts, while most of the Fs beginning the text in the corpus end with a serif at the bottom of the letter. The decoration of the F in MS D2 is of course unusual above and beyond this feature; as mentioned above, the style of pen-work illustration is virtually unique within the entire First Series corpus. In MS D2, this is partially explained by its positioning in the quiring of the manuscript: *ÆCHom* I, 22 begins at the start of a new quire, and perhaps represents a decorating scribe's new stint on the page, begun with exceptional enthusiasm. The text in MS F, however, does not begin at the start of a new quire, yet the compiler or scribe has placed similar emphasis on the beginning of the text. These manuscripts are already posited to be closely related, both through their co-occurrence in the *β* phase of Ælfric's text and through their textual similarities (Treharne, 2009; Scragg, 1998; Godden, 1979).

⁴³ In both manuscripts this opening text is *ÆCHom* I, 1.

As there is no other likely reason why the scribe of MS F enlarged the F to such an extent, it is thus possible that the scribe of MS F was inspired by the visual layout of the text in MS D2, either through viewing the manuscript directly or through the appearance of a now-lost intermediate exemplar.⁴⁴

A further similarity between MS F and MS E is the use of negative space for decorative effect. Both of the Fs beginning *ÆCHom* I, 22 in these two manuscripts employ a thin line of negative space down the main stroke of the letter as a major (or the only) decorative feature. These two manuscripts are also posited to be textually related, both through their occurrence in the in the β phase of text; MS D and MS E are in fact two of the key manuscripts that represent this phase (Clemoes, 1997: 67). In this instance, therefore, the visual similarity shared between the two text-beginning initials adds further evidence to the posited relationships between these manuscripts based on textual evidence.

There are also several similarities between the Fs in MS T, MS U, and MS V: the colours vary, but all three initials are either two or three lines tall; not at all, or only slightly decorated; and all three are followed by a full line of majuscules. Additionally, the titles of these three manuscripts are written in the same way: all read *In die sancto pentecosten*, with *sancto* abbreviated. All of these manuscripts are linked in terms of textual distribution—all are mostly or primarily associated with the ε and ζ phases of text, and MS U and MS V are posited as sharing a common exemplar. Appropriately, manuscripts linked in terms of textual phases share commonalities in the styles of enlarged initials used, even when the manuscripts have differing origins. More specifically, we can use the similarities between the closely-linked MS U and MS V to posit what *ÆCHom* I, 22 in this now-missing exemplar would have looked like, and possibly the openings of other homilies as well: the initial in the exemplar was probably either 2.5 or 3 lines tall, followed by a full line of majuscules, and the title of the text was likely abbreviated as *sancto*. The punctuation following the rubric in MS U is also unusual, with many more dots being drawn than the three found elsewhere in the manuscript, perhaps indicating that the punctuation in the exemplar was unusual as well. Alternatively, the punctuation could also simply signify some special importance the scribe of MS U attached to *ÆCHom* I, 22.

⁴⁴ For more on this connection, see my upcoming article on the two manuscripts (Rae, forthcoming).

Finally, it is worth noting that similarities based on textual relationships do not always appear as expected. Perhaps the most concerning instance of this lack of similarity is the appearance of the initials of *ÆCHom* I, 22 in MS R and MS T: despite their posited exemplar-descendent relationship, these text-beginning letters are not especially similar. Each F is red, and the sizes are similar, with the overall ratio on the page exactly the same, but they are quite differently decorated. While at first this dissimilarity may appear to present a serious issue concerning the overall argument of this thesis, there is a likely possible explanation. Clemoes himself notes that, despite his claim that Tc (the portion of MS T that *ÆCHom* I, 22 appears within) is likely a direct descendant from MS R, there are nevertheless several differences between the texts found in the two volumes (Clemoes, 1997: 160). Clemoes argues that these differences are most likely scribal errors, claiming that ‘R’s errors not reproduced by T could have been corrected by T’s scribe’ (Clemoes, 1997: 160). It is possible, however, that the differences that appear between the texts are more than scribal error, but point instead to an intermediary phase between the two manuscripts that is now lost. Indeed, a major piece of evidence for the direct relationship between the two manuscripts is the marginal addition made in line 12 of MS R that is subsequently adopted in MS T and appears in no other manuscripts (Clemoes, 1997: 354); however, nothing about this evidence necessitates that MS T was *directly* copied from MS R, just that it likely descended from this version of the text at some point. Based on this dissimilarity between the text-beginning initials in the two instances of *ÆCHom* I, 22, along with the known differences in textual content, I suggest that this tranche of MS T should not in fact be considered the direct descendent of MS R, but separated by at least one or more intermediary stages. An in-depth study of the text of *ÆCHom* I, 22 in MS R and MS T would likely prove useful, and offers an avenue for potential future research.

7.9 CONCLUSIONS

When all of the text-beginning Fs that begin *ÆCHom* I, 22 are presented in this way, several previously-unidentified similarities may be identified. By investigating the appearance of *ÆCHom* I, 22 in all sixteen of the manuscripts it occurs in, I have been able to both strengthen and refine previously posited connections, most notably in the appearance of an exceptional F in MS D and MS F; as well as suggest an additional potential lost manuscript within the *Ælfrician* textual tradition, based on the visual dissimilarity between MS R and MS T. The above analysis complements the more traditional textual approach taken by Clemoes and Godden, and reveals several new

connections that have previously gone unnoticed. This chapter partially confirms several instances of the thesis hypothesis: first of all, manuscripts that are closely textually related sometimes tend to be more visually similar, and conversely, when text-beginning initials are *not* similar, we may argue for the possibility of the manuscripts being more distantly related than previously posited; second, decorated and enlarged initials do appear to have been carried from one manuscript to another by the compilers and scribes who worked on them. In the following chapters, I carry out similar studies on two additional First Series homilies.

8 THE *FERIA III DE DOMINICA ORATIONE* GROUP

The homily discussed in this section is *Feria III de dominica oratione*, or *ÆCHom* I, 19, an Ælfrician homily intended for preaching on a free day unassigned to a specific feast or saint. This text functions as an in-depth reading and investigation into the Lord's Prayer: what it is, why Christians place such importance on it, and what each individual part of the prayer means for the church. The homily survives in sixteen manuscripts, either partially or in full, meaning that along with *ÆCHom* I, 22, this homily is one of the two most frequently surviving texts from Ælfric's entire series of Catholic Homilies. In the following section, I first discuss the importance of the Lord's Prayer to the contemporary audience, where the prayer survives in manuscript evidence from this period of time, and what these instances can tell us about the transmission and importance of the text. I follow this with a comparison of the text-beginning initials from this text in all manuscripts in which it appears in order to identify any patterns or connections between how the different manuscripts approach these initials. I finish with a summarising section on specific patterns or similarities between individual initials.

8.1 THE LORD'S PRAYER

In this text, Ælfric refers to the prayer itself as either the *Pater noster*, 'our Father', or, in the title of the homily, *Dominica oratione*. The Lord's Prayer is so titled because of its Biblical origins and purpose: Jesus Christ, in the Gospel of Matthew, instructs his disciples in how they must pray to the Lord. The passage is rendered in the Vulgate Bible in Matthew 6:9-13 as such:

Pater noster qui in caelis es sanctificetur nomen tuum
 veniat regnum tuum fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra
 panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie
 et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimisimus debitoribus nostris
 et ne inducas nos in temptationem sed libera nos a malo

The prayer is generally translated into modern English with an additional final line added to the text. From the King James Version of the Bible:

Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name.

Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.

Give us this day our daily bread.

And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.

And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil:

For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever.

Amen.

The history of the Lord's Prayer in English is long, with the prayer appearing in many different versions due to both linguistic and political motivations. A full investigation into the history of the prayer does not fall under the scope of this thesis, however, and I include only a brief summary of its context and its theological significance here.⁴⁵ In the Catechism of the Catholic Church, the Lord's Prayer is said to function as a summary of the whole gospel: contained in this prayer are all the other myriad prayers taught to the disciples and religious men throughout the rest of scripture. Brown emphasises the importance of the prayer by arguing that not only does the framing of the text centre the act of prayer as a vital part of Christianity, but that completing the prayer itself actually presupposes most of the main theological elements of the religion (Brown, 2000: 602).

8.2 THE LORD'S PRAYER IN EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

Unusually for texts from the period, and perhaps speaking to the text's vital importance for Christian practice, several different vernacular versions of the Lord's Prayer from early medieval England survive. While many of these are Old English translations or glosses of the prayer as given in Matthew or Luke, several of them are more accurately described as paraphrases, or even poetic commentaries. This gives us an uncommon level of insight into how a contemporary audience understood the prayer and the importance placed upon it. There are three poems concerning the Lord's Prayer in Old English verse, titled Lord's Prayer I (*LPr I*), Lord's Prayer II (*LPr II*), and Lord's Prayer III (*LPr III*). The first of the three poems appears in the Exeter Book and is the shortest of the three poetic versions at only fourteen lines long (Williamson, 2017: 562). This poem specifically emphasises the role of

⁴⁵ For a more in-depth discussion of the linguistic evolution of the Lord's Prayer, see Cook (1891). For further detail about the theology and finer points of the prayer, see Dobschütz (1914); for a discussion of the Lord's Prayer in specifically the 'primitive' Church, see Bahr (1965).

God as a helper of men ('helpend wera'), an epithet with no equivalent in the Latin version of the prayer (Muir, 2000: 24). The second of the two poems, *LPr* II, is the longest of the three, at 155 lines. Dobbie claims that it 'is ostensibly a verse paraphrase of the Latin text, but in view of its length it is perhaps better regarded as an original poem on the theme of the Lord's Prayer' (Dobbie, 1942: lxxiii). *LPr* II departs significantly from its Vulgate Bible exemplar, and incorporates materials and themes from other Old English religious poems (Williamson, 2017: 945). *LPr* III is one of the Office poems in MS Junius 121, and fifty-two lines long. Despite their similar structure (in each, a line from the prayer is first given in Latin, then elaborated upon in Old English), Dobbie argues that the two latter Lord's Prayer poems are not variations of one another, but rather separate translations (Dobbie, 1942: lxxiv). Dobbie also claims that *LPr* III is the best of the vernacular verse translations of Latin liturgy (Dobbie, 1942: lxxvii), although Keefer argues that *LPr* II is more sophisticated (Keefer, 2010: 72).

There are more prose versions of the Lord's Prayer in Old English than verse ones; Cook counts five different surviving examples of translations of the Matthew version of the prayer (two of which are in texts by Ælfric), and three of the version found in Luke (Cook, 1891: 59). All versions appear relatively late: the very earliest date for the manuscripts these texts come from is the latter half of the tenth century (Cook, 1891: 59). Christianity was widely adopted in England several centuries previous to the productions of these manuscripts; it is safe to assume therefore that at least some of these translations are older than the manuscripts, and these are only the latest surviving copies. There are essentially two types of prose concerning the prayer: close translations of the Latin text from the Vulgate Bible, and versions that incorporate translations of the Latin text among explanations and interpretations of the prayer. The texts in the former category are all relatively similar to one another, and the changes that do occur have no effect on the overall message of the work: there is some variation in word order, occasional grammatical differences, and some variation in word choices. However, Keefer argues that it is nevertheless important to keep in mind:

there is no standardised Old English version for the Lord's Prayer as we might have expected; instead, for the Anglo-Saxons it was a dynamic and living act of commitment, praise, and humble request, whose various translations allowed its spiritual immediacy to be accessible both to well-read monastic scholars and to illiterate members of the parish (Keefer, 2010: 25).

8.3 ÆLFRIC'S TREATMENT OF THE LORD'S PRAYER

Ælfric's text on the prayer intersperses lines of translation with explanatory text.

Somewhat unusually for an Ælfrician homily, this text solely focuses on the Lord's Prayer, without digression into other topics Ælfric considered relevant. The homily begins with a very brief contextualising summary of how the prayer was relayed by Jesus to his twelve apostles, then discusses the basic theology one must know to understand the prayer: God is the father of Christ, but we are all his adopted children; we are all thus brothers and sisters of Christ; and all are equal before God, implying that this is why we all must pray in the same way (Clemoes, 1997: 326-7; ll. 34-52). Ælfric then proceeds into a line-by-line translation and analysis of the Latin Lord's Prayer, beginning each section with the line of the prayer in Latin, his Old English translation, and some explanation of the meaning and intent behind each phrase.

Ælfric likely drew upon very few sources for this piece, with most drawn either straight from the Bible (mostly the book of Matthew) or a specific piece by Augustine of Hippo, his *De sermone domini in monte*. None of the explanations he provides are at all unorthodox (as is most frequently the case with Ælfrician texts), nor are they especially complicated: this work would likely be a highly valuable piece of exegesis for an uneducated lay-person in early medieval England, and Ælfric leaves no point open to misunderstanding. He ends the piece with a short analysis of the structure of the prayer: how there are seven prayers within the *Pater noster*, the first three of which are eternal and the other four 'belimpað to ðisum life, and mid þisum life geendiað', 'belong to this life, and with this life end.' Finally, he explains how Christ created this prayer with the specific intent that all of mankind's needs, both physical and spiritual, would be contained within those few lines, and therefore the words should be spoken universally by all Christians.

8.4 ÆLFRIC'S HOMILY ON THE LORD'S PRAYER IN THE CORPUS

As mentioned above, *ÆCHom* I, 19 survives in sixteen manuscripts, making it exceptionally well represented in the corpus. It is difficult to draw firm conclusions about why this particular text survives so frequently. It may be the case that the manuscripts *ÆCHom* I, 19 survives in happen to survive; however, comparing the number of surviving instances of

this text to others within the First and Second Series, this does appear to have been an especially widely-copied text.⁴⁶ As the subject of this homily is relevant to every Christian, and explains one of the most basic tenets of Christian faith, it is probable that this text would have been considered highly important for inclusion in any manuscript intended for preaching; furthermore, this importance combined with its flexibility in positioning likely contributed to the text's high rate of survival in the corpus. The manuscripts that *ÆCHom* I, 19 survives in cover a wide array of both date of production and place of origin. The homily occurs in the following manuscripts: MS A, MS B, MS D, MS F, MS G, MS H, MS J, MS K, MS M, MS O, MS P, MS Q, MS R, MS T, MS U, and MS V.

8.4.1 DATING

Like many of the other First Series homilies, manuscripts containing *ÆCHom* I, 19 range widely in date of production. The earliest manuscript this homily appears in is MS A, and the latest is MS G, a collection of homilies and educational material from almost two hundred years later.⁴⁷ That this text was reproduced for centuries, through and well after the Conquest, shows the importance attached to this text, and possibly Ælfric's homilies as a whole.

8.5 PHASES OF THE TEXT AND TEXTUAL DISTRIBUTION

Because of the wide range of manuscripts *ÆCHom* I, 19 appears in, the homily is represented in all six of the main stages of revision. More specifically, the text occurs in ten of the twelve manuscripts identified by Clemoes as key representatives of various stages; the text should therefore be witness to a level of change uncommon in a single text. I now move on to a brief section summarising some of the more significant textual variants found within the manuscript copies, drawn from Clemoes' comprehensive apparatus (Clemoes, 1997: 354-64).

8.6 TEXTUAL CHANGES IN *ÆCHom* I, 19

8.6.1 ADDITIONS

⁴⁶ Of all of Ælfric's first and second series homilies, approximately half (twenty-five) survive in ten or more manuscripts, whilst twenty-nine appear in nine or fewer; six appear in three or fewer; and one, Ælfric's homily on St Stephen, survives in only a single manuscript, MS K.

⁴⁷ For more information on the manuscripts within the First Series corpus, see pp 48-87.

As with many Ælfrician texts, there are no substantial passages in *ÆCHom* I, 19 that differ significantly from one witness to another; there are, however, multiple smaller additions to certain manuscripts in the corpus that are noteworthy. One relatively major addition to the text is the addition of roman numerals to each line of the Old English Lord's prayer, which appears in only one surviving manuscript, MS T. This was perhaps an effort by the scribe to further demonstrate the link between the Old English translation and the Latin version. Such a deviation from this manuscript's possible exemplar, MS R, was likely motivated by an outside force rather than the desire of the scribe, and probably indicates that other sources were used in the copying of this text aside from the version found in MS R. Shortly following this section, in line 23, MS T inserts *his* into the clause '7 mid þam [his] fæder', also a unique insertion found in no other manuscripts, albeit a less unusual one than the roman numerals. MS R and MS T do share other small additions, however, including in line 169, where 'þa ða he mihte', 'when he could', is amended to 'þa ða he eaðe mihte', 'when he *easily* could'.

In line 123 of the text, the word *ær* is inserted into the phrase 'swa swa we cwædon', changing it to 'swa swa we ær cwædon': 'as we said' compared to 'as we said before'. This addition appears in MS D, MS F, MS U, and MS V. While the insertion of the word itself perhaps does not especially change the meaning of the clause, the manuscripts the change appears in are two sets of manuscripts otherwise known to be related: MS D and MS F, and MS U and MS V. Despite these two sets of manuscripts belonging to different textual phases, this insertion appears in both, perhaps indicating a wider pattern amongst instances of the text that no longer survive. Another addition made in only MS D and MS F is in line 145, where 'swa swa agenne broðor' is changed to 'swa swa his agenne broðor': not a substantial change in meaning, but another small function word inserted perhaps to clarify the meaning of the clause.

8.6.2 GRAMMATICAL CHANGES

Similarly to other homilies, the most frequent type of grammatical change in *ÆCHom* I, 19 concerns the case endings of words. Throughout this homily there are changes that reflect later Old English grammatical trends, whereby prepositions no longer required a following word be in the dative case. Several instances of this are the change from 'purh godum

mannum’ to ‘þurh gode men’ in line 193,⁴⁸ ‘on þam heofonlicum’ changed to ‘on þam heofonlican/e’ in line 198,⁴⁹ and ‘wið deofles costnungum’ changed to ‘wið deofles costnunge/a’ in line 207.⁵⁰

Another frequently occurring grammatical change in this text is the loss or addition of prefixes. This variation is common throughout the texts and manuscripts, but there are several occasions within this homily where almost every instance of the text disagrees with the variation in MS A. Two examples of this are as follows: in line 25, *asende* is changed to *sende*;⁵¹ by the early Middle English period, *senden* was much more frequently attested than *asenden*, so this prefix loss likely reflects evolution of the language (MED, 2018: *senden*; *asenden*). In contrast to the loss of the <a>- prefix, in line 215, *sette* is changed to *gesette*;⁵² as both forms with and without the <ge>- / <i>- prefix are attested in the Middle English period (MED, 2018: *setten*, *isetten*) this change was likely caused by a desire for grammatical standardisation: just two lines previously (ll. 213), the text reads ‘Christ gesette þis gebed’. It appears that at some point a decision was made that the two instances of the verb should be brought into concordance with each other. One final type of grammatical change that appears regularly is the changing of grammatical suffixes, apart from the standard dative to non-dative shift. Two examples of this are in line 210, where ‘þær beoð geþwære sawul. 7 lichama’, ‘there soul and body are united’, is emended to ‘[...] 7 lichaman’ in MS D, MS F, and MS P, changing *lichama* from the nominative case to the accusative; and in line 141, where ‘oð ðæt ge habbon ealle eowre gyltas geprowode’, ‘until you have suffered [for] all your sins’, is emended to ‘habbað’, perhaps in order to emphasise the plurality of the ‘you’ who will suffer, in MS U and MS V.

8.6.3 OTHER CHANGES

⁴⁸ This change is made in MS H, MS K, MS J, MS O, MS P, MS Q, MS R, MS T, and MS U; in MS V, the text reads ‘gode mene’.

⁴⁹ The text reads *heofonlican* in MS F, MS K, MS J, MS M, MS R, and MS T; in MS B, the text reads *heofonlice*.

⁵⁰ The text reads *costnunge* in MS J, MS K, MS M, MS P, MS Q, MS R, MS T, MS U, and MS V; in MS B and MS O, the text reads *costnunga*.

⁵¹ This change is made in MS B, MS D, MS F, MS H, MS K, MS M, MS O, MS P, MS Q, MS R, MS T, MS U, and MS V.

⁵² This change is made in MS F, MS H, MS J, MS K, MS M, MS O, MS P, MS Q, MS R, MS T, MS U, and MS V. In MS K, the <ge>- is written in a hand apart from the main hand of the text.

Several other changes are made to certain occurrences of the text that cannot be subsumed into the above two categories, but are nevertheless worth note. Some include word variants that slightly emend the meaning of a clause, such as in line 158, where ‘he eft astande’, ‘he afterwards stands’, is changed to ‘he eft arise’ in MS F and MS G, ‘he afterwards arises’, perhaps slightly emphasising the non-literal meaning of the clause: here, the standing up is not literal, but rather a theological one. In line 191, the phrase ‘on þam ecan life bletsiað [...] Godes naman’, ‘in the eternal life bless [...] God’s name’, is written in several manuscripts ‘on þam ecan life *blissiað* [...] Godes naman’; the latter spelling is the only attested spelling from the mid-twelfth century (MED, 2018: *blissen*). This change appears in MS O, MS Q, MS R, MS T, MS U, and MS V, all manuscripts associated with later recensions. One final example of this type of change is the emendation in line 219, where ‘æfter godes gesetnysse’, ‘following God’s ordinance’ is changed to ‘æfter cristes gesetnysse’, ‘following Christ’s ordinance’ in MS R and MS T. This change possibly demonstrates an impulse on the part of the scribe to emphasise the oneness of God the Father and Christ the son, or is perhaps a conflation of the two into a single word that may be used for either.

8.7 OTHER HOMILIES ASSOCIATED WITH *ÆCHom* I, 19

There are several other Ælfrician texts that are associated with *ÆCHom* I, 19 in the First Series corpus. Unlike many of Ælfric’s other homilies, *ÆCHom* I, 19 is not linked to a specific date in either the *temporale* or *sanctorale* cycles of the church year, and as such its appearance in a manuscript does not logically require certain other texts to precede or follow it. Rather than requiring certain dates or holy feast days in order to place it within a programme of preaching, *ÆCHom* I, 19, a general meditation on the Lord’s Prayer, requires no such contextualising. Indeed, perhaps one of the advantages of *ÆCHom* I, 19 to manuscript compilers would have been that the text can be inserted essentially anywhere into a manuscript, with no accompanying homilies necessary.

One of the homilies that *ÆCHom* I, 19 is strongly associated with is *ÆCHom* I, 18, titled in Latin *In letania maiore*, or Homily on the Greater Litany. *ÆCHom* I, 18 appears directly before *ÆCHom* I, 19 in seven of the sixteen manuscripts *ÆCHom* I, 19 appears in, and the two are only separated by one homily in two additional manuscripts: an anonymous homily for Monday in Rogationtide in MS O, and a later Ælfrician homily also on the major litany in MS D (*ÆCHom* II, 22). Disregarding order and considering only co-occurrence, of the

sixteen manuscripts *ÆCHom* I, 19 occurs in, *ÆCHom* I, 18 also appears in thirteen of them. It is possible both of these homilies were meant as space-fillers: homilies meant to provide preaching on days not otherwise associated with specific dates in the church year, or homilies that could be preached whenever a free Sunday was available. If this is the case, then it is unsurprising that the two texts often occur concurrently in the surviving manuscript corpus.

Another homily associated with *ÆCHom* I, 19 is *ÆCHom* I, 20, *Feria IIII de fide catholica*, or Homily on the Catholic Faith. *ÆCHom* I, 20 appears directly following *ÆCHom* I, 19 in eight manuscripts, and the two are separated by only one or two homilies in an additional two. Disregarding proximity and including all instances of the texts, the two homilies co-occur in twelve manuscripts. Like *ÆCHom* I, 19, *ÆCHom* I, 20 was also specifically written for an otherwise un-assigned day in the church year; we know this based on its rubric, which begins *Feria*, used to denote any non-Sunday day of the week. Like the homily on the major litany above, these texts were likely not associated with specific days, but meant to fill the dates in between major religious dates, a project Ælfric worked on until the end of his life. It is unsurprising, then, that these three homilies tend to appear in similar places. Furthermore, *ÆCHom* I, 20 begins: ‘Ælc cristen man sceal æfter rihte cunnan ægðer ge his *pater noster* ge his credan’, ‘Every Christian man should correctly know both his *Pater noster* and his creed’, and ‘we habbað gesæd embe þæt pater noster’, ‘we have spoken about the *Pater noster*’, indicating that Ælfric clearly meant this homily to be preached only after the audience had been familiarised with the Lord’s Prayer and its subtleties. This textual connection would indicate that Ælfric likely intended this text to directly follow *ÆCHom* I, 19.

Finally, this homily (along with its associated texts) was likely specifically intended by Ælfric to fill dates not associated with specific liturgical events in the fifty days in between Easter and Pentecost. Ælfric’s homilies for those holy days also tend to appear near *ÆCHom* I, 19: *ÆCHom* I, 19 appears in manuscripts with *ÆCHom* I, 15 eleven times (out of the fourteen times the Easter homily appears in the corpus), and with the Pentecost homily twelve times (out of the sixteen times the Pentecost homily appears). However, the correlation between these texts may be because they are all common homilies, rather than because of any specific association on the parts of the compilers.

8.8 MANUSCRIPT LAYOUT OF *ÆCHom* I, 19

Ælfric quotes the entirety of the Old English Lord's Prayer near the beginning of this text, rather than his usual alternation of paraphrase and explanation (as seen in *ÆCHom* I, 36, for example). This is probably because of the importance of the text he quotes: as Ælfric says in the homily, these are the words on how to pray that Christ himself delivered to the apostles; he perhaps does not wish to dilute the strength of the message with interpolations. To highlight this text-within-a-text structure, many of the manuscripts enlarge, decorate, or in some way differentiate the first initial of the Prayer itself, as well as the opening initial(s) of the text as a whole. As a result, there are often two (or more, depending on whether the prayer is rubricated) enlarged initials in this homily. Ælfric also quotes the first few words of the Lord's Prayer in Latin: *Pater noster qui es in celis*. In the manuscript witnesses, this Latin is either written as a rubric alongside the enlarged initial, or sometimes written in a normal, non-display hand, but in a different script from that of the Old English text. This is perhaps to distinguish between the two languages, or to implement a visual hierarchy on the page to immediately signal to audiences that some sort of difference is present here. In the following section, I will note whether the manuscripts do or do not follow this convention, and provide images of all relevant initials. The Latin title is almost always included alongside this homily, with only the degree of abbreviation showing major variation.

8.9 COMPARISON OF INITIALS FROM *ÆCHom* I, 19

In this section, I compare the initials that begin *ÆCHom* I, 19 in all of the manuscripts it appears in. Photographic images are provided wherever possible. Following the images and a brief description of how the homily appears, I include a table summarising all relevant features; these tables are then compiled into a single table that compares all initials in all occurrences of the text. The terms and numerical values for decoration levels that were introduced earlier in the thesis are used in this section. Following the line height of a given initial, I include a number representing the percentage of written space on the page that a letter takes up; i.e., a six line initial on a page ruled for twenty-four lines of writing is recorded as .25.

8.9.1 MS A - ROYAL MS 7 C.XII (FOS 91R-96V; FOLLOWING *ÆCHom* I, 18 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHom* I, 20)

8.9.1.1.1 Appearance of initials

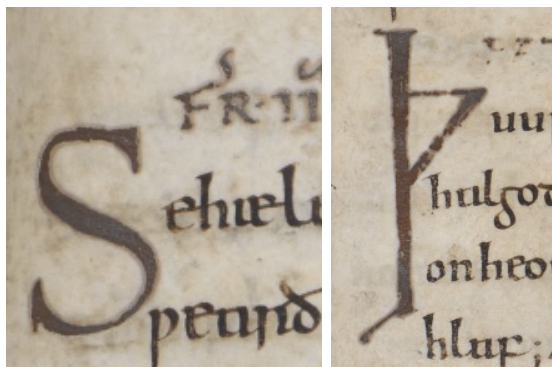


Figure 91: MS A, fo. 91r

The homily here begins with its Latin title, *F[e]r[ia] III de dominica oratione* written in a degraded red ink, followed by the Old English opening to the homily, ‘Se hælend crist syððan’. In this manuscript, the scribe draws attention to the beginning of the prayer through the use of an enlarged initial. No enlarged initials or any other type of demarcation mark the transition between where the prayer has ended and the text of the homily continues. Both initials are undecorated, and no majuscules follow either of the letters.

8.9.1.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in MS A</i>	
Letter	S
Colour	Red (oxidisation has turned it grey)
Height	2.5 (.1)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in MS A</i>	
Letter	p

Colour	Red (oxidisation has turned it grey)
Height	4.5 (.18)
Decoration level	1
Majuscles	No majuscles
Abnormalities	None

8.9.2 MS B - MS BODLEY 343 (FOS 21R-23V; FOLLOWING AN ANONYMOUS TEXT ON THE INVENTION OF THE CROSS AND PRECEDING ÆCHOM I, 29)

8.9.2.1.1 1. Appearance of initials



Figure 92: MS B, fo. 21r

Several aspects of the text in MS B differentiate it from the other versions. First, there is no Latin rubric giving the title of the piece. Second, the opening of the homily begins with <Ð> rather than <S>, making the opening words 'Ðe hælend' rather than 'Se hælend'. This use of <Ð> is possibly due to the later date of composition of this manuscript: by the late twelfth century, *se*-type determiners would have been increasingly uncommon, and

scribes perhaps believed *ðe* to be a more comprehensible variation.⁵³ Third, the **Ð** opening the homily is exceptionally large, and not only is the **P** beginning the *Pater noster* enlarged and decorated, the lower-case *ð* signalling that the Old English has begun again is also enlarged and rubricated. This text-beginning **Ð** is also exceptionally intricately decorated, combining multiple decorative aspects and colours of ink. Finally, the scribe or scribes have carefully written the line of Latin in a different style than the writing used for the Old English sections, something that involved no small amount of concentration and effort. A large amount of effort was clearly invested into this manuscript overall, and this homily seems to have been given particular attention.

8.9.2.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 19 in MS B	
Letter	Ð
Colour	Red with black
Height	9.5 (.28)
Decoration level	4
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	Very large and heavily decorated

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 19 in MS B	
Letter	P
Colour	Black with red
Height	3 (.09)
Decoration level	3
Majuscules	No majuscules

⁵³ Alternatively, the decision to use an <Ð> in this position may have been made in the exemplar or by a compiler, and not related to decisions made by the rubricating scribe at all.

Abnormalities	Different hand
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<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 19 in MS B	
Letter	ð
Colour	Red
Height	1 (.03)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

8.9.3 MS D - MSS BODLEY 340 AND 342 (MS D2: FOS 21R-27V, FOLLOWING *ÆCHOM* II, 29 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHOM* II, 22)

8.9.3.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 93: MS D2, fo. 21r

In this manuscript, the beginning of the Latin *Pater noster* is not emphasised in any way. In contrast to this, the S that begins the Old English text is one of the few initials in the corpus given a rating of 5 under the categories laid out above. The body of this S is composed entirely of two curving winged beasts that attach in the middle by the tail to form the shape of the letter. The drawing is made with a fine pen in black ink, with no

other colours involved in its production. No other initials are emphasised or decorated in the text.

8.9.3.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom I</i> , 19 in MS D	
Letter	S
Colour	Black
Height	3 (.12)
Decoration level	5
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	Illustrated

8.9.4 MS F - CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS 162 (PP. 17-30, FOLLOWING *ÆCHom I*, 1 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHom I*, 20)

8.9.4.1.1 1. Appearance of initials

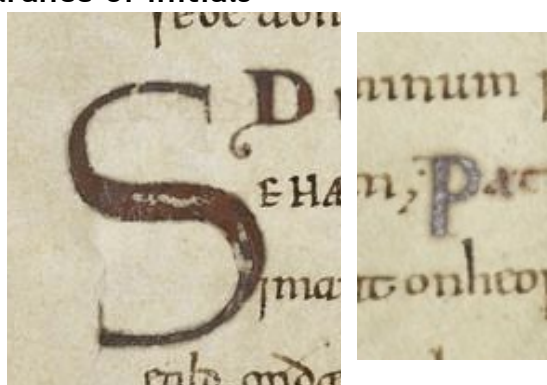


Figure 94: MS F, p. 17

Despite this manuscript having a high level of decoration overall, the initial beginning the Old English opening of this homily is very plain, written in simple red ink with no decoration or elaboration. The gaps in the letter appear to be due to ink loss rather than the remains of a decorative motif. This manuscript is one wherein the **P** beginning the *Pater noster* has been emphasised, albeit only slightly: the letter is written in coloured

ink, but not decorated in any way. However, as in MS B, the scribe of this section of MS F has used a different style of writing for the Latin part of the text.

8.9.4.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 19 in MS F	
Letter	S
Colour	Red
Height	3 (.13)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	Full line
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 19 in MS F	
Letter	P
Colour	Red
Height	1 (.04)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

8.9.5 MS G - COTTON MS VESPASIAN D.XIV (FOS 165R-6R; FOLLOWING A TEXT BY HONORIUS OF AUTUN AND PRECEDING AN ANONYMOUS HOMILY ON ST JOHN)

8.9.5.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 95: MS G, fo. 165r

ÆCHom I, 19 is deliberately imperfect in this manuscript, beginning differently from all other instances of the homily. The text opens ‘Ne becymð nan mann to godes rice’, a part of the homily that occurs near the end of the homily as a whole, wherein Ælfric is explaining the meaning of the sixth prayer within the Lord’s Prayer. The homily in this manuscript finishes at the end of this section as well, with ‘mid deofle on helle wite’. Perhaps a compiler of some manuscript thought that understanding this sixth prayer, concerning the nature of temptation, was the most important message to include, and the rest of the prayer was superfluous. What remains unknown is whether it was the compiler of MS G who made this decision, or if it was a decision carried over from MS G’s unknown exemplar. The N beginning the Old English text is drawn in red with green embellishments, and is followed by a single majuscule.

8.9.5.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 19 in MS G	
Letter	N
Colour	Red with green
Height	3 (.16)
Decoration level	3
Majuscules	Single majuscule
Abnormalities	Non-standard opening

8.9.6 MS H - COTTON MS VITELLIUS C.V (FOS 102R-7R; FOLLOWING *ÆCHOM I*, 18
AND PRECEDING *ÆCHOM I*, 20)

8.9.6.1.1 Appearance of initials



Figure 96: MS H, fo.102r-102v

Fortunately, the red S beginning the Old English text in this manuscript has not suffered any severe fire damage. The rubricated Latin beginning of the prayer survives too, although the punctuation following it seems to be lost. The *Ð* beginning the translation of the prayer into Old English survives as well, albeit with damage that makes it more difficult to determine line height.

8.9.6.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom I</i> , 19 in MS H	
Letter	S
Colour	Red
Height	3 (.12)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

ÆCHom I, 19 in MS H

Letter	P
Colour	Red?
Height	1 (.03)
Decoration level	1
Majuscles	No majuscles
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in MS H</i>	
Letter	Ð
Colour	Red
Height	3? (.12?)
Decoration level	1
Majuscles	No majuscles
Abnormalities	None

8.9.7 MS J - BRITISH LIBRARY, MS COTTON CLEOPATRA B.XIII; LAMBETH PALACE 489
 (MS J1: FOS 58R-V; FOLLOWING AN ANONYMOUS HOMILY FOR AN UNSPECIFIED
 OCCASION AND PRECEDING THE END OF THE MANUSCRIPT)

8.9.7.1.1 Appearance of initials

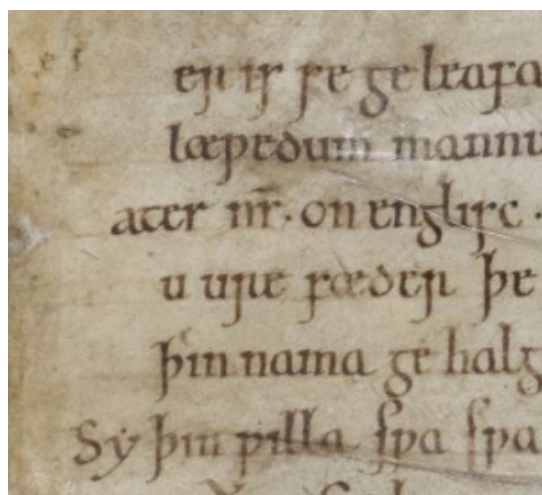


Figure 97: MS J1, fo. 58r

The text is highly corrupt in this manuscript, and comprises only a brief text on the Lord's Prayer with an Old English translation most likely indebted to the version found in *ÆCHom* I, 19. MS J presents an additional problem for the current analysis. While the scribe left space for enlarged initials, and these initials appear elsewhere in the manuscript, they were never written in at the beginning of this text. On the facing leaf (fo. 57v), an enlarged initial has been added, but it seems as though the rubricator stopped their stint here, and never continued on to fo. 58r. We may only guess as to what the letters may have looked like based on how much space was left, and their possible colours by the colours of ink used elsewhere in the manuscript.

The text begins without an opening letter, but can reasonably assumed based on the context surrounding the missing letter that the opening should read '[H]er is se geleafa'. Based on the size of the space left for the letter, we may also assume that the letter was to be at least two lines in height. Other enlarged initial letters in this manuscript are written in red or green ink; this one likely would have been as well. The second space left for an enlarged initial begins the phrase '[]u ure fæder', easily recognisable as the standard opening of the Old English Lord's Prayer. The letter was thus intended to be either <ð> or <þ>. Elsewhere in this manuscript, <ð> is preferred in word-final position, whilst <þ> is used elsewhere; therefore, the phrase was likely meant to have read 'Pu ure fæder'. The letter would likely have been between two and three lines in size, and written in red or green ink.

8.9.7.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom I</i> , 19 in MS J	
Letter	H
Colour	Red or green
Height	At least 2
Decoration level	-
Majuscles	No majuscles
Abnormalities	Missing

<i>ÆCHom I</i> , 19 in MS J	
Letter	p?
Colour	Red or green
Height	2-3
Decoration level	-
Majuscles	No majuscles
Abnormalities	Missing

8.9.8 MS K - CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY GG.3.28 (FOS 56V-60R; FOLLOWING *ÆCHom I*, 18 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHom I*, 20)

8.9.8.1.1 1. Appearance of initials



Figure 98: MS K, fo. 56v

The style of S that opens this manuscript is highly unusual. Unlike the other letters that begin this homily in other manuscripts, this S is exceptionally angular, appearing similar to a modern <Z>. It is difficult to determine why this letter was drawn in such a way: even elsewhere in the manuscript, enlarged Ss that begin homilies are drawn in a much more standard style (such as on fo. 71r or fo. 228r). This S is also unusually decorated compared to other text-beginning initials within MS K. It is possible that the scribe recognised this homily as being of especial importance. As in many of the other manuscripts, the **P** beginning the Lord's Prayer is enlarged, and here the entire line 'Ðat is on englisc' is rubricated.

8.9.8.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 19 in MS K	
Letter	S
Colour	Red and black
Height	4 (.13)
Decoration level	3
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	Unusual form of S

ÆCHom I, 19 in MS K

Letter	p
Colour	Black with red
Height	2.5 (.08)
Decoration level	1
Majuscles	No majuscles
Abnormalities	None

8.9.9 MS M - CAMBRIDGE, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, MS II.4.6 (FOS 299R-END OF THE MANUSCRIPT; FOLLOWING *ÆCHOM I*, 18 AND PRECEDING THE END OF THE MANUSCRIPT)

8.9.9.1.1 Appearance of initials

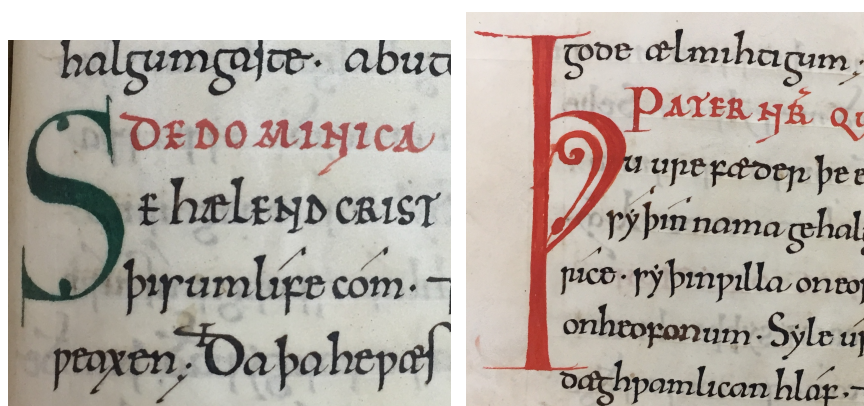


Figure 99: MS M, fo. 299r, fo. 299v

ÆCHOM I, 19 begins fairly standardly in MS M, using both green and red text in different contexts to create visual separation between the Old English beginning of the text and the Latin rubric. The S that begins the text is fairly simple in form, but elaborated upon with two decorative dots. There is a full line of majuscles following the S, reading ‘Se hælend crist syþpan he to’, and somewhat unusually the majuscule letters used for this text are of the same form as the display letters used for the Latin rubrication in the line above, here particularly visible in the style and shape of the Ns. The beginning of the Lord’s Prayer (fo. 299v) is emphasised with both a line of red for the Latin *Pater noster*, as well as an

exceptionally enlarged, decorated **P** that begins the prayer itself. This **P** is one of the largest letters in the entire manuscript; while there are several other letters that are six lines tall, there are none taller than this. There are no majuscules following this **P**, nor are there any other enlarged or decorated letters throughout the body of the text in MS M.

8.9.9.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in MS M</i>	
Letter	S
Colour	Green
Height	3 (.15)
Decoration level	2
Majuscules	Full line of majuscules
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in MS M</i>	
Letter	P
Colour	Red
Height	1 (.05)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	Full line of majuscules
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in MS M</i>	
Letter	p
Colour	Black with red

Height	6 (.3)
Decoration level	3
Majuscles	No majuscles
Abnormalities	None

8.9.10 MS O - CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS 302 (pp. 213-21;
 FOLLOWING AN ANONYMOUS HOMILY FOR MONDAY IN ROGATIONTIDE AND
 PRECEDING AN ANONYMOUS HOMILY FOR TUESDAY IN ROGATIONTIDE)

8.9.10.1.1 Appearance of initials

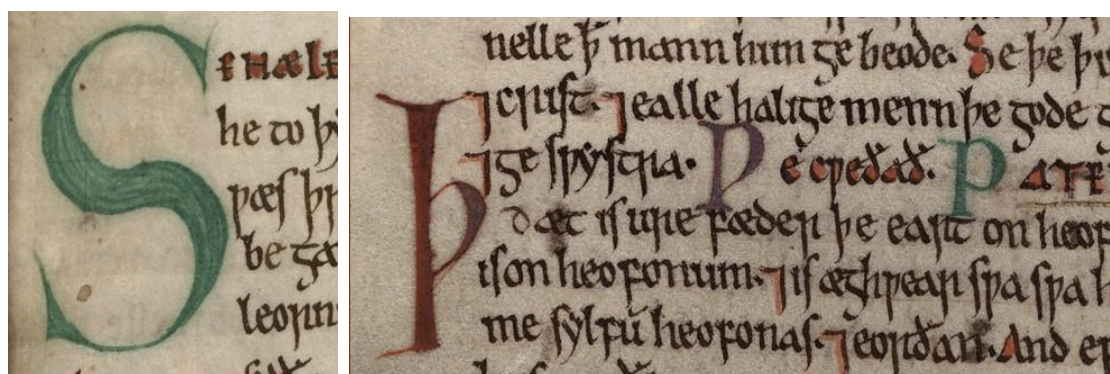


Figure 100: MS O, pp. 213-214

Majuscule letters and display scripts are employed quite liberally in *ÆCHom* I, 19 in MS O: several words following the enlarged initial *S* are written in majuscule-style letters, and more majuscles are used to signal the Latin quotation from the Lord's Prayer. The *S* opening the Old English is quite large, and written in green ink, but not decorated to any extent aside from this. This manuscript, however, enlarges an exceptional number of other initials: not only is the *P* beginning the *Pater noster* enlarged, so is the *W* in the preceding phrase 'We cweðað', as well as the *P* beginning the Old English translation of the Prayer. Letters are also touched with red in order to add an additional level of distinction from the body of the text, both for any capital letters as well as short portions of text such as 'We cweðað' (p. 214).

8.9.10.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in MS O</i>	
Letter	S
Colour	Green
Height	5 (.16)
Decoration level	1
Majuscles	Half a line of majuscles
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in MS O</i>	
Letter	p
Colour	Red
Height	5.5 (.18)
Decoration level	1
Majuscles	No majuscles
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in MS O</i>	
Letter	p
Colour	Purple
Height	1.5 (.05)
Decoration level	1
Majuscles	No majuscles
Abnormalities	Not usually enlarged

<i>ÆCHom I</i> , 19 in MS O	
Letter	P
Colour	Green
Height	1.5 (.05)
Decoration level	1
Majuscles	Half a line of majuscles
Abnormalities	None

8.9.11 MS P - BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS HATTON 115; KANSAS, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS Y 104 (FOS 10R-6R; FOLLOWING *ÆLFRIC'S HEXAMERON* AND PRECEDING *ÆCHOM I*, 20)

8.9.11.1.1 Appearance of initials

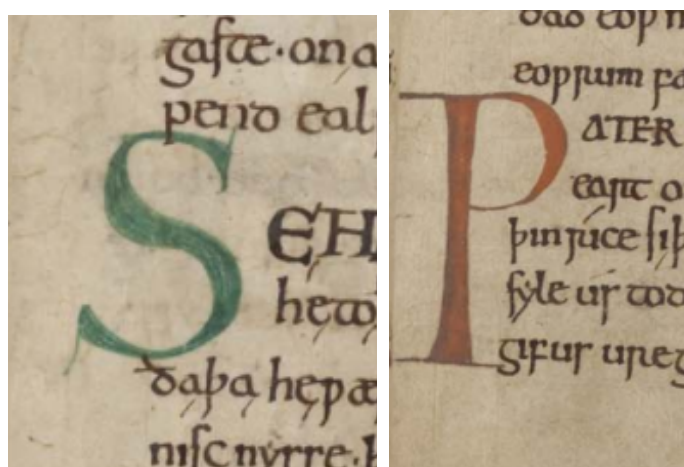


Figure 101: MS P, fo. 10r

The text is laid out in a standard way in MS P, with the Latin rubric in red followed by an enlarged S to signal the beginning of the Old English text. The combination of the undecorated green S with the red Latin rubric, along with the full of line of majuscule letters following the S, give the beginning of this text a similar overall aspect to *ÆCHom I*, 19 in MS M. It is clear by the space left before *de dominica oratione* that the body scribe intended the rubricating scribe to include *Feria III* in the rubrication, but the later scribe has perhaps misunderstood or erased this, drawing only the enlarged S and leaving out the

first part of the Latin title. The **P** beginning the *Pater noster* is also enlarged and coloured, followed by the entire Latin quotation written in majuscule characters; the **Ð** beginning the Old English Prayer is a capital and touched with ink, but not otherwise elaborated upon.

8.9.11.1.2 Summarising table

ÆCHom I, 19 in MS P	
Letter	S
Colour	Green
Height	4 (.15)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	Full line of majuscules
Abnormalities	None

ÆCHom I, 19 in MS P	
Letter	P
Colour	Green
Height	5 (.19)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	Half a line of majuscules
Abnormalities	None

8.9.12 MS Q - CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS 188 (pp. 199-210;
FOLLOWING ÆCHOM I, 18 AND PRECEDING ÆCHOM I, 20)

8.9.12.1.1 Appearance of initials

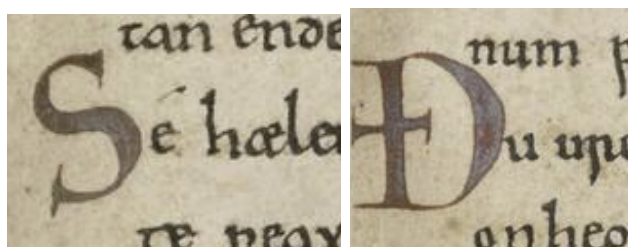


Figure 102: MS Q, p. 199

The **S** opening the homily in this manuscript is an especially small one: while still slightly enlarged, and written in coloured ink (now degraded), it is small not only compared with this text in other manuscripts, but compared with the openings of other texts in MS Q. Even the **D** that begins the Old English translation of the Lord's Prayer is very slightly larger than the **S** that begins the homily proper (although the sizes of both are rounded to 1.5 lines tall in this data set). Both initials are undecorated, and written in coloured ink. As in some of the other manuscripts, the entire line of Latin taken from the Lord's Prayer is written in a different style than the surrounding Old English text.

8.9.12.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in MS Q</i>	
Letter	S
Colour	Red
Height	1.5 (.06)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in MS Q</i>	
Letter	Ð
Colour	Red

Height	1.5 (.06)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

8.9.13 *R - CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS 178 (pp. 43-54;
FOLLOWING ÆCHOM I, 24 AND PRECEDING ÆLFRIC'S HOMILY ON THE OCTAVES
OF PENTECOST)*

8.9.13.1.1 Appearance of initials

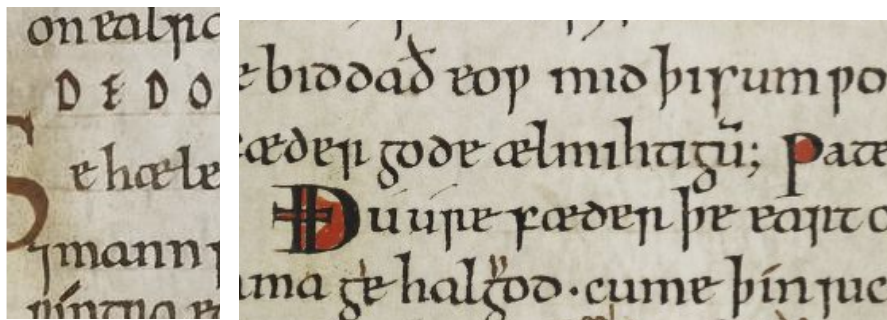


Figure 103: MS R, p. 43

Unfortunately, because of re-binding, many of the enlarged initials in this manuscript have been partly obscured by the gutter of *recto* pages. On the page where the homily begins, part, but not all of the **S** is still visible—enough to ascertain its colour and its height, but not to say with certainty the level to which the **S** was decorated. Most of the other enlarged initials in this manuscript have a decoration level of 1, so it is likely the **S** was not decorated at all; however, the **D** that opens the Old English translation of the Lord's Prayer is unexpectedly decorated to a slight extent, using parallel lines and in-filling. The **P** that begins the *Pater noster* is undecorated aside from being touched with red ink.

8.9.13.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom I</i> , 19 in MS R	
Letter	S

Colour	Red
Height	2 (.07)
Decoration level	1
Majuscles	No majuscles
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in R</i>	
Letter	Ð
Colour	Black with red
Height	1 (.04)
Decoration level	2
Majuscles	No majuscles
Abnormalities	None

8.9.14 *MS JUNIUS 121; MS T - MSS HATTON 113 AND 114 (T2: FOS 94V-102V; FOLLOWING WULFSTAN'S SERMO AD ANGLOS AND PRECEDING ÆLFRIC'S HOMILY ON THE OCTAVES OF PENTECOST)*

8.9.14.1.1 Appearance of initials

I was able to view MS T in person, but because of its delicate state I was unable to take any photographs. I describe the letter here without any illustration, as the letter was wholly undecorated or remarkable in any way. The **S** beginning the homily in MS T2 is wholly undecorated, and followed by no majuscles. It is 1.5 lines tall, and written in green ink. There are no other enlarged or decorated initials around the beginning of *ÆCHom I, 19* in MS T2.

8.9.14.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in MS T</i>	
Letter	S
Colour	Green
Height	1.5 (.07)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

8.9.15 *MS U - CAMBRIDGE TRINITY COLLEGE, MS B.15.34 (pp. 135-56;
FOLLOWING AN ANONYMOUS HOMILY ON THE MAJOR LITANY AND PRECEDING
ÆCHom I, 20)*

8.9.15.1.1 Appearance of initials

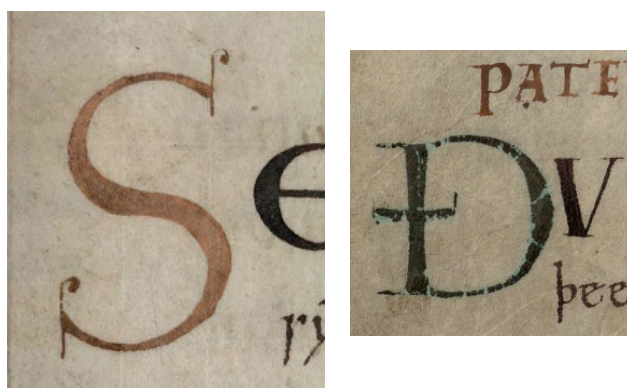


Figure 104: MS U, p. 136

This manuscript makes exceptionally regular use of initial-following majuscules. The *S* that opens the homily is followed by a full line of large majuscule letters, drawn so large that the scribe seems to have run out of room before remembering that *Crist* also must fit on the top line. As in many of the other manuscripts, the line of Latin is entirely rubricated and written in a capital style, and the *Ð* beginning the Old English translation of the Lord's Prayer is followed by a full line of majuscules as well. Neither of the initials are especially decorated, but they are drawn in different colours of ink.

8.9.15.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in MS U</i>	
Letter	S
Colour	Red
Height	3 (.14)
Decoration level	2
Majuscules	Full line of majuscules
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in U</i>	
Letter	P
Colour	Red
Height	1 (.05)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	Full line of majuscules
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I, 19 in U</i>	
Letter	Ð
Colour	Green
Height	3 (.14)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	Full line of majuscules
Abnormalities	None

8.9.16 MS V - CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MSS 419 AND 421 (MS V2: PP. 254-87; FOLLOWING *ÆCHOM* I, 18 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHOM* I, 20)

8.9.16.1.1 Appearance of initials

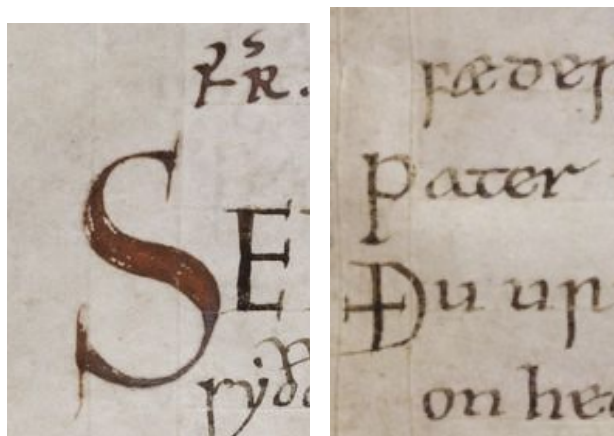


Figure 105: MS V2, p. 254

MS V employs majuscules following the enlarged **S** beginning this homily, although not a full line of them. The **S** is enlarged and written in red, but otherwise undecorated. Unlike many of the other manuscripts, the Latin quotation is not highlighted with red ink or a different style of script; nor are the **P** or the **D** written in coloured ink. The only distinction made between these latter two letters and the rest of the text is that they are offset into the left margin, and possibly very slightly enlarged compared to the rest of the text.

8.9.16.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 19 in MS V	
Letter	S
Colour	Red
Height	3 (.14)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	Partial line of majuscules

Abnormalities	None
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8.9.17 TABLE OF COMPARISON

I include a comparison all text-beginning initials from *ÆCHom* I, 19 in a single table in order to draw comparisons across the entire set. There are separate tables for each of the three opening initials that can be found in this homily: one for the letter opening the homily as a whole, one for the letter opening the Old English translation of the Lord's Prayer, and one for the initial beginning the Latin quotation. Please see Appendix II (p. 291) for full table.

8.10 ANALYSIS OF INITIALS FROM *ÆCHom* I, 19

There is exceptionally little variation in the opening initials used for this homily: in almost every single instance of the text, the homily begins with an <S>. There are only three instances where this is not the case. In two of the instances where the text does not begin with an <S>, in MS G, and MS J, the text is highly imperfect: the scribe of MS G begins the homily very late in the text, and in MS J the scribe has not actually filled in the space that was left for an enlarged initial.⁵⁴ The remaining manuscript where <S> has not been used is MS B, an exceptionally late *Ælfrician* manuscript. As mentioned above, the scribe possibly preferred the <Ð> over an <S> because of shifting grammar in the late twelfth century that rendered *se* archaic. Conversely, the decision may have been made in a previous exemplar, now-lost, or the change may have been completely unrelated to language change. Regardless of the reason for the change, the text in MS B is the only occurrence of *ÆCHom* I, 19 that open the text with <Ð>; in all other manuscripts that include the full version of the homily, all instances begin with an <S>. The beginning of *ÆCHom* I, 19 has therefore survived intact throughout all the stages of textual change the homily underwent.

There is a significant amount of variation in terms of size of initial: the smallest letters, in MS Q and MS T, are only 1.5 lines tall, while the largest, in MS B, is 9.5 lines in height. Most of the text-beginning initials are within one line of the average line height for enlarged and decorated initials within the manuscript; for example, the average height of

⁵⁴ The text is also highly imperfect in MS J, and most likely begins with an **H** rather than the standard S.

an enlarged initial in MS D is 3.02, and the initial beginning *ÆCHom* I, 19 in MS D is three lines tall. The major exception to this is MS B: here, the average height for enlarged initials is 3.31, but the **D** beginning this homily is the largest for this homily in the corpus, at 9.5 lines tall. This initial opening *ÆCHom* I, 19 in MS B is one of the largest initials in the entire manuscript, following only the initials opening *Ælfric's* Common of a Confessor, and *Ælfric's* homily on Matthew (12.5 and 10.5 lines tall, respectively). Two other initials in MS B, the **M** opening an anonymous homily for the first Sunday in Lent, and an **I** in *Ælfric's* homily for the Second Sunday after Epiphany, are also 9.5 lines tall; after this, the other 108 initials decline quite rapidly in size, with 94 of the enlarged initials being only five lines tall or smaller. Not only is this **D** exceptionally large, it is also highly decorated, with two colours used to create an intricate design that uses many different design elements including geometric motifs and foliate designs. The compiler or scribe of this manuscript then seems to have placed special emphasis on this homily: perhaps they knew the importance of the text, as a translation and interpretation of the Lord's Prayer, and thought to signal its importance even amongst other religious texts by beginning it with such an exceptionally large initial. It is also possible that this decision was made not by the compiler of MS B but by the scribes of the exemplar this text was copied from that is now lost. None of the other manuscripts make the text-beginning **S** of this homily quite as proportionally large.

The initial beginning the homily in MS D is exceptional in the corpus as well: rather than a standard **S** with decorations or elaborations added on to it, the **S** in MS D is composed entirely of an intricate line illustration. This type of illustrated initial is very rare in the *Ælfrician* corpus, and almost all of the other initials that are illustrated in this way occur in MS D, in which six of the initials are decorated in this style (to a varying extent).⁵⁵ In addition to its rarity, this **S** is also the only one of any of the *ÆCHom* I, 19-beginning initials to be elaborated upon in this way. Despite its high decoration level, this initial is not exceptionally large. It is possible that the scribes of this book recognised the importance of this text, but had only a limited space to work with, settling on an illustrated letter to convey this homily's significance. Both MS B and MS D, two manuscripts with exceptionally decorated or enlarged initials beginning this text, are primarily associated with the first or second phases of *Ælfric's* text. It may be a

⁵⁵ For more information on these decorated initials, see the above chapter on the MS C, MS D, and MS G manuscript cluster (pp. 90–115).

coincidence that these two manuscripts seemingly ascribe exceptional importance to the beginning of *ÆCHom* I, 19 in similar ways; alternatively, as MS D is a much earlier manuscript than MS B, perhaps MS B drew some inspiration from MS D's highlighting of the homily.

MS U and MS V are posited to be very closely related in Clemoes' stemma of the ϵ and ζ phases of the text, and the similarity between the initials beginning *ÆCHom* I, 19 in the two manuscripts strengthens this link: both of the Ss are red, three lines tall, and minimally decorated (the letter in MS U is decorated only very slightly; the letter in MS V is decorated not at all). Both of the manuscripts include a rubric of the Latin title of the text, written in Rustic capital letters, abbreviated in exactly the same way: *Feria III de dominica oratione*. The two manuscripts also both use majuscules in a similar way: the scribes of both MS U and MS V perhaps did not intend to include *Crist* amongst those capitalised words, with the scribe of MS U making a hasty attempt to correct this. The manuscripts do differ though in their treatment of the prayer itself; MS U highlights the Old English Lord's Prayer with another enlarged initial, while MS V uses only a capitalised letter offset very slightly into the left-hand margin. Despite this, the level of similarity between the beginning of the text in each manuscripts provides a clear instance of visual concordances further reinforcing posited textual relationships.

Finally worth revisiting is the S beginning the text in MS K, which is highly unusual in appearance. This angular, mirrored letter is unique not only within the <S>s that begin *ÆCHom* I, 19, but unique within the entire *Ælfrician First Series* corpus: no other <S> is written in this way. MS K contains several examples of letters like this: text-beginning initials that are elaborated on or decorated in a highly unusual way. Several other examples of this are a helical I (fo. 13r); a square C (fo. 44v); and a unique M (fo. 223r) that is shaped more like a double-arched doorway than a standard minuscule or majuscule character. This unusual S is therefore more likely to do with the programme of decoration of MS K, and less to do with any potential links to now-lost exemplars.

Aside from these similarities mentioned above, it must be noted that overall these text-beginning initials show fewer striking similarities than both the initials in *ÆCHom* I, 22 discussed above, or *ÆCHom* I, 36 discussed below. This is perhaps a function of how

frequently copied this text was: it is possible that in some of the lost manuscripts that contained this text, there were much more robust visual connections, and the surviving evidence, by happenstance, simply does not reflect these similarities that potentially existed.

8.11 CONCLUSIONS

The primary thread running through the analysis of the letters in *ÆCHom* I, 19 is the unusual extent of decoration found in several of the manuscripts: in MS B, MS D, and MS K, the letters are decorated unusually in some way. In MS K, this appears to be due to the unusual decoration programme undertaken by the rubricating scribe, while in MS B and MS D, this may be more because of either a similar level of importance placed onto the texts, or because of a level of connection between the two. Overall, this text does tend to be relatively highly decorated in the corpus, perhaps because of the importance of the text's subject; however, there appears to be less commonalities found between the text-beginning initials of this text than in *ÆCHom* I, 22 or *ÆCHom* I, 36. There is one major exception to this generalisation: the text-beginning initials in MS U and MS V, two manuscripts closely linked textually, do share similarities in appearance. This adds another piece of evidence indicating that aspects of these decorated initials were sometimes passed from manuscript to manuscript along with the texts they begin.

9 THE *NATALE OMNIUM SANCTORUM* GROUP

The homily investigated in this case study is Ælfric's homily *Natale omnium sanctorum*, *ÆCHom* I, 36. Ælfric intended this homily to be preached on All Saints' Day, the day in the church year traditionally designated for the veneration of all saints not otherwise assigned a day of worship. The homily is composed of two sections, with a division made roughly halfway through the text. The first half of this homily comprises a summary of the purpose of All Saints' Day and an explanation of saints; the second half of the homily includes a reference to Matthew 5, Christ's sermon on the mount, and a discussion of the eight beatitudes there delivered. Very frequently in these manuscripts the second half of the homily is marked with an enlarged initial, in a way very similar to that of the enlarged initial at the beginning of the text. This uncommon subdivision within the text is the primary reason why this homily was chosen for consideration here. I begin the chapter with a discussion of All Saints' Day for a contemporary audience as well as Ælfric's treatment of the day. I follow this with a comparison of the enlarged or decorated initials in *ÆCHom* I, 36 in each of the twelve manuscripts it appears in. I conclude the section with a discussion on how this homily is represented in the Ælfrician corpus, and identify patterns of similarity between manuscripts.

9.1 ALL SAINTS' DAY

In this chapter, I use the homily's short title, *ÆCHom* I, 36 to refer to the entire text, and *ÆCHom* I, 36.1 to refer to only the second portion beginning with a reference to Christ's sermon on the mount. In most of the manuscripts that contain *ÆCHom* I, 36, both sections are present.⁵⁶ The second section always begins with a brief excerpt from Matthew 5 from the Vulgate Bible, reading *Videns iesus turbas ascendit in montem et reliqua*, with some variation in abbreviations used, or the inclusion/exclusion of *et reliqua* at the end of the passage. This short section was most likely intended as a prompt to whomever was preaching the homily, signalling to the mass-priest that this was the time at which to deliver the relevant Biblical passages to their audience. This is further evidenced by the first line of Old English following the Latin text, which reads 'Ðæt halige godspel, þe nu lytle ær ætforen eow gerædd wæs': 'that holy gospel, that was read for you a little earlier' (Clemoes, 1997: 491, ll. 149-50). The structure of the text is therefore tripartite:

⁵⁶ The one exception to this is in MS G, which does not contain the first section of the homily, beginning imperfectly at *ÆCHom* I, 36.1.

a Biblical passage surrounded by two portions of Old English text, to contextualise and explain the Latin.

The feast day dedicated to the veneration to all canonical saints dates back to as early as the fourth century. It was established officially at Rome in the seventh century, when Pope Boniface IV dedicated the Pantheon in its honour (Godden, 2000: 298). All Saints' Day was originally kept on the first Sunday following Pentecost, and is still celebrated on that date in Eastern churches (Livingston, 2013: All Saints' Day), but the celebration was first changed to its current date of 1 November by Pope Gregory III in the eighth century, who dedicated a chapel on that day to 'All the Saints' (Livingston, 2013: All Saints' Day). The feast was well established as occurring on this day by the later early medieval period, as the feast day is listed on this date in the *Old English Martyrology* (Godden, 2000: 298). Matthew 5, the section of Biblical text referenced in Ælfric's homily, also appears to have been commonly associated with All Saints' Day for an early medieval English audience: in addition to the in-text reference to the passage, Matthew 5 is marked for preaching on the day in two manuscripts of the *Old English Gospels* (Godden, 2000: 298).

9.2 ÆLFRIC'S TREATMENT OF ALL SAINTS' DAY

Ælfric begins his homily on All Saints' Day by explaining the purpose of the day, noting that it celebrates not only known saints, but the unknown ones as well: he explains how according to John the Evangelist (Rev. 7:9), the true number of saints is innumerable and unknowable to man, but nevertheless all must be revered (Clemons, 1997: 486, ll. 8). Ælfric then includes a primer on the concept of a saint (Clemons, 1997: 486, ll. 19-20), who may be considered a saint (Clemons, 1997: 487: ll. 26), and finishes the section with a passage dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and states that unlike all other saints, she is raised above even the hosts of angels in exaltation (Clemons, 1997: 490, ll. 118-27). He concludes by stating that we celebrate this day in the church in order to be associated with all saints enumerated above, and use the day to make up for less perfect performance of exaltations throughout the rest of the year (Clemons, 1997: 143-6). This entire portion of the text is primarily based upon a single homily by Bede (*Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, 1999: Cameron B.1.1.38).

The second portion of the homily begins with the reference to Matthew 5, a passage that concerns Christ's Sermon on the Mount, beginning with the eight beatitudes wherein Christ lists eight states of blessedness (Matthew 5.1-11). In this section, Ælfric provides Old English translations of the eight beatitudes as well as explanatory paragraphs following each of them, characteristically taking time to make sure his audience has not only heard but understood the concepts important to their salvation. His commentary is highly indebted to the work of Augustine (Fontes Anglo-Saxonici, 1999: Cameron B.1.1.38), and Ælfric himself states as much twice in the text, mentioning that 'the wise Augustine commentated on this gospel' (Clemoes, 1997: 492, ll. 167), and later writing that his own interpretation of the text is based on that of Augustine (Clemoes, 1997: 495, ll. 283). Ælfric finishes the homily with a reminder to the audience of the purpose of the day and a brief blessing invoking the Trinity (Clemoes, 1997: 495, ll. 282). The first portion of the text is thus an exposition and discussion of the holy day itself and who it celebrates, while this second portion of the text is primarily instructional, focusing on how the audience may reach the eight states of blessedness enumerated above. As always, Ælfric places special importance on the souls of his audience, going to great lengths to ensure that the information is not only delivered, but understood as well.

9.3 *ÆCHom* I, 36 IN THE MANUSCRIPT CORPUS

ÆCHom I, 36 survives in eleven manuscripts and one fragment, making it relatively well represented within the corpus (although not as well represented as *ÆCHom* I, 22 and *ÆCHom* I, 19). The full list of manuscripts *ÆCHom* I, 36 appears in is as follows: MS A, MS B, MS C, MS D (MS D2), MS G, MS H, MS J, MS K, MS Q, MS S, and MS T (MS T2). The text also appears in the manuscript fragment MS f^e, which is not discussed here.⁵⁷

9.3.1 *DATING*

The manuscripts in which *ÆCHom* I, 36 survives were produced over a wide period of time. The earliest manuscript containing *ÆCHom* I, 36 is MS A, the earliest extant copy of Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies; the latest manuscript the homily survives in is MS B, a manuscript produced in the second half of the twelfth century. This homily was thus copied by scribes semi-regularly for nearly two centuries, both pre- and post-Conquest.

⁵⁷ For more on why fragments are not included in the current study, see p. 15.

9.4 PHASES OF THE TEXT AND TEXTUAL DISTRIBUTION

ÆCHom I, 36 is represented in only four of Clemoes' six stages of textual variation, and does not appear in the manuscripts that make up the δ and ζ phases.⁵⁸ Of the twelve key manuscripts that best represent these textual phases, *ÆCHom* I, 36 appears in four (MS A, MS D, MS K, and MS Q). Compared to the other homilies considered in this thesis, this homily is relatively unrepresented in these key manuscripts; however, the text still appears in many different manuscripts and can act as a witness to textual changes.⁵⁹

9.4.1 TEXTUAL CHANGES IN *ÆCHOM* I, 36

As mentioned in previous chapters, along with his edition of all First Series Catholic Homilies, Clemoes also includes two apparatuses and three additional appendices to provide further information and textual context on the homilies. The third appendix is a section including variant readings that Clemoes argues 'reflect only the late date of the manuscripts' (Clemoes, 1997: 543), and are thus not significant when determining textual relationships. In the following section only those more significant differences between versions of the text will be mentioned: those from earlier phases of text, and those that most demonstrate the evolution the text underwent. All line citations are based on Clemoes' editions.

9.4.1.1.1 Additions

This homily has been transmitted from manuscript to manuscript relatively unadulterated. This is noticeable especially when considering the lack of textual additions made to this homily: there are no significant insertions, and no marginal notes from one manuscript included in the body of the text of a later manuscript. Perhaps the most significant addition made to the text is found in MS H, on line 147, the beginning of the second portion of the text: unlike all other instances of this homily, the text introducing the gospel section reads *eodem die evangelium*, rather than a variation of *de evvangelio*. Aside from this, all other additions to the text are minor: two examples of this include the insertion of an <r> into *halige* to become *haligre* in MS Q (ll. 133), both of which are

⁵⁸ For more on these phases, see pp. 45–48.

⁵⁹ For a complete account of the variations between the surviving instances of the text, see Clemoes (1997: 486–96).

attested spelling variations of the same word (DOE, 2018: *hālig*); or the insertion of the word *wurðon* and altering the grammar of line 132 of MS D, changing the line from ‘to þam heofenlican brydguman criste geþeodende’, ‘attaching to the heavenly bridegroom Christ’, to ‘to þam heofenlican brydguman criste *wurðon geðeodde*’, ‘becoming attached to the heavenly bridegroom Christ’. Neither of these changes fundamentally alters the meaning of the clause, and are therefore likely due to either spelling or dialect preferences. All of the other additions are matters of changing word order or inserting single word-beginning or word-ending letters, especially -<e> or <a>-, perhaps to indicate a change in grammatical preference or simply scribal error.

9.4.1.1.2 Grammatical changes

Grammatical changes are much more common throughout the homily, the most frequent type of which concern the grammatical cases of words. As with the previous two homilies, this homily has also undergone changes in its dative case endings. Three examples of this include ‘ðurh micclum geþingþum’ in MS A changed to ‘micclume geþingþume’;⁶⁰ ‘ðurh sumum’ in MS A changed to *sume*;⁶¹ and ‘þurh mislicum tintregum’ in MS A changed to either ‘mislice tintregunga’⁶² or ‘misclice tintrega’.⁶³ There are several more changes of this type found throughout the text, a full list of which can be seen in Clemoes’ apparatus (Clemoes, 1997: 486-96).

In addition to changing use of datives, there are several other instances of a grammatical ending from MS A that is subsequently changed in most or all of the other manuscripts. One example of this is ‘mid weorce’, in line 214: in several manuscripts, *weorce* has been emended to *weorcum*,⁶⁴ and in MS G it has been changed to *weorcan*. It is worth noting that while emendations of this type are not as common as loss of the dative ending, changes of this type can still indicate the changing grammatical standards of Old English throughout the early medieval period. Conversely, this change may indicate only the

⁶⁰ This change is made in MS C, MS D, MS H, MS J, MS K, MS B, MS Q, MS S, MS T, and MS f^e, in line 36 of the homily.

⁶¹ This change is made in MS C, MS D, MS H, MS J, MS K, MS B, MS Q, MS S, and MS T, in line 31 of the homily.

⁶² This change is made in MS C, D, and H.

⁶³ This change is made in MS J, MS K, MS B, MS Q, MS S, and MS T, in line 72 of the homily.

⁶⁴ This change is made in MS C, MS D, MS H, MS K, MS B, MS Q, MS S, MS T, and MS f^e.

different preferences of the scribes who copied the texts; the different dialects of the scribes, for example, may have an effect on their choice of grammatical endings.

Finally, as also occurs in many other Ælfrician homilies, the loss of word final <e> occurs for various other reasons throughout this text. Two examples of this are ‘Cristes menniscnysse. [...] 7 æriste’ > ‘7 ærist’ in line 50, an example of the nominative subject of the clause losing its word-final e;⁶⁵ and ‘þurh martyrdome’ > ‘þurh martyrdom’ in line 73;⁶⁶ an additional instance of a word following a preposition being corrected into its non-dative form. In contrast, in line 213-4, ‘7 lustlicor mid weorce gefylð’, ‘and joyfully fulfils with work’ is emended to ‘[...] weorcum’⁶⁷ or ‘[...] weorcan’⁶⁸: in this case, scribes have made changes to the MS A text that turn the singular noun into a plural, perhaps to emphasise that there are multiple types of work to be undertaken by the holy man.

9.4.1.1.3 Other types of changes

There are several idiosyncratic changes made to the text that appear in only one or two manuscripts, but nevertheless make a significant difference to the content of the homily. One example of this is the word *ræddon* found in line 3, very near the beginning of the homily. In all but one of the instances of the text the scribe has copied *ræddon*, a word that appears frequently in the Middle English period (MED, 2018: *rēden*), but in MS B the word reads *sædon*, changing both the word-internal geminate consonant as well as the word-initial *r*. This may have been a theological point, changing the meaning of the sentence from the holy teachers advising something into the holy teachers simply stating it, but it may have also been due to scribal error: <r> and <s> can appear similar, especially to a later scribe perhaps unfamiliar with vernacular script.

Another noteworthy change occurs on line 66, in which *bindað* is emended in MS D to *biddað*, altering the meaning of the clause from ‘what they bind on earth’ to ‘what they command on earth’. This too affects the tone of the passage slightly, but once again it is difficult to determine whether this was indeed a philosophical point made by a scribe, or

⁶⁵ This change is made in MS B, MS C, MS D, MS H, MS J, MS K, MS Q, MS S, and MS T.

⁶⁶ This change is made in MS B, MS C, MS D, MS H, MS J, MS K, MS Q, MS S, and MS T.

⁶⁷ This change is made in MS B, MS C, MS D, MS H, MS K, MS Q, MS S, MS T, and MS f^c.

⁶⁸ This change is made in MS G.

an instance of error in copying the texts.⁶⁹ One final emendation worth noting is the addition in MS C to the clause ‘fulfremedan munecas’, ‘perfect monks’: the scribe has inserted ‘7 canonicas’ into the clause, making the full statement read ‘perfect *clerics and monks*’. Perhaps this scribe wished to emphasise that members of monastic orders, as well as any clerics who lived under canonical rule, were all perfect in their subservience to God.

9.5 OTHER HOMILIES ASSOCIATED WITH *ÆCHom* I, 36

Due to this homily’s association with 1 November, *ÆCHom* I, 36 does not require any specific contextualising texts: rather than a movable feast, such as Easter and Pentecost, the homily is set in place within the calendar. That said, the text does tend to appear near homilies associated with other, generally proximate celebration days. The clearest example of this is how in seven manuscripts, *ÆCHom* I, 36 is directly followed by a homily on Saint Clement, whose feast day is the 23 November.⁷⁰ Perhaps as a nod to the content of the homily Ælfric intended to be preached before this one, the homily on St Clement begins ‘your faith will be the firmer if you hear of God’s saints; how they earned the Heavenly kingdom’ (Clemoes, 1997: 497, ll. 4-5). This textual connection indicates that Ælfric probably intended these texts to be preached in conjunction with one another, and expected later compilers to understand this as well. A similar feature is seen in Ælfric’s transition between the beginning of *ÆCHom* I, 20 and the preceding text on the Lord’s Prayer, discussed in more detail above (pp.181-218).

In five manuscripts, *ÆCHom* I, 36 and the text on Saint Clement are followed directly by a homily on Saint Andrew, whose feast day is 30th November.⁷¹ These date-based associations are logical in manuscripts that generally attempt to follow the order of the church. It is perhaps worth noting that the two texts frequently immediately following *ÆCHom* I, 36 are both concerning specific saints, possibly to further emphasise the discussion in the All Saints homily; however, there are also homilies concerning individual

⁶⁹ There are additional examples of changes of this type that are perhaps more likely to be errors, such as *gefuldon* in line 145 becoming *gelyfdon* in MS S.

⁷⁰ The manuscripts that place these two texts adjacent are MS A, MS C, MS H, MS D, MS K, MS Q, and MS S.

⁷¹ The manuscripts that place these three texts in this order are MS A, MS C, MS K, MS Q, and MS S.

saints throughout the entire First Series, so Ælfric clearly did not feel the need to wait until he had explained the concept to introduce other important figures.

Finally, this homily often follows Ælfric's homily for the 21st Sunday after Pentecost, also likely due to the ordering of the church calendar: twenty-one weeks following Pentecost would generally occur around the end of October, making a text associated with 1 November a logical successor.

9.6 MANUSCRIPT LAYOUT OF *ÆCHom I, 36*

Because of its bipartite structure, the way this text is laid out in the First Series corpus is slightly different from many of the other homilies. The majority of the manuscripts that contain this text do include both parts of the text, although MS G begins imperfectly, as mentioned above. Generally, the manuscripts that contain *ÆCHom I, 36* maintain the distinction between the two sections through enlarged initials and rubrication. Most commonly in these manuscripts the *Hs* beginning the first section of the text are enlarged and decorated, as will the *Vs* and *Đs* beginning the second section; no other enlarged or decorated initials occur throughout the body of the text. Some exceptions and additional notes are as follows:

1. MS J enlarges the *G* in 'Godes halgan' (fo. 21r), a single leaf after the beginning of the text (fo. 20v); it does not subsequently enlarge either the letter introducing the gospel, nor that beginning the second section of the text. MS C enlarges this *G* as well (p. 151), but also enlarges the *V* and *Đ* (p. 154) in accordance with the other manuscripts. MS J and MS C are the only two manuscripts that enlarge this *G* in this manner.
2. All manuscripts apart from MS Q and MS S begin the second Old English section with an <Đ>. MS Q uses the <þ>-and-stroke abbreviation, and MS S, idiosyncratically, spells out the entire word as *þæt*. This is perhaps related to MS S being a newer manuscript, as it is posited to have been produced in the mid-twelfth century, at which time the *Đ* may have been falling out of fashion: according to the MED, there is only one attested spelling variation of *that* beginning with <ð>, but many instances beginning with <þ> (MED, 2018: *that*). This supposition is complicated, however, by MS C, MS G and MS B using an *Đ* to begin the text, all of which were produced in either the mid-twelfth or the second half of the twelfth century.

3. In all but one of the manuscripts that enlarge either the **V**, **Ð**, or both, the **Ð** is larger than the **V**. This is sometimes a very slight size difference, as in MS G, where the **V** is approximately half of a line shorter than the **Ð**, but is sometimes quite dramatic, such as in MS B, where the **V** is barely at enlarged at all and the **Ð** is three lines in height. The only manuscript in which the **V** is larger than the **Ð** is MS T2, where the **V** is two lines in height and the **Ð** is only one line tall.
4. The enlarged, text-beginning initials are visible in all of the manuscripts *ÆCHom I*, 36 appears in, except for in MS H, where fire has completely destroyed the parts of the leaves that contained the enlarged initials. Because of this loss, MS H cannot be used as a primary source of evidence in the following discussion.

9.7 COMPARISON OF INITIALS FROM *ÆCHom I*, 36

In this section, I compare the initials that begin both sections of *ÆCHom I*, 36 in all of the manuscripts it appears in. Photographic images are provided wherever possible; in instances where a photograph is unavailable but a visual representation is necessary, I have provided diagrams. Following the images and a brief description of how the homily appears, I include a table summarising all relevant features; these tables are then compiled into a single table that compares all initials in all occurrences of the text. The terms and numerical values for decoration levels that were introduced earlier in the thesis are used in this section. Following the line height of a given initial, I include a number representing the percentage of written space on the page that a letter takes up; i.e., a six line initial on a page ruled for twenty-four lines of writing is recorded as .25.

9.7.1 MS A - ROYAL MS 7 C.XII (FOS 190R-196V; FOLLOWING *ÆCHom I*, 35 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHom I*, 37)

9.7.1.1 Appearance of initials

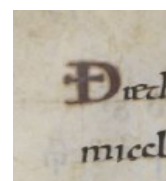
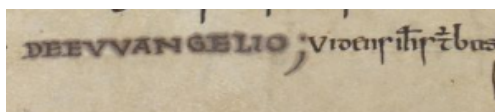
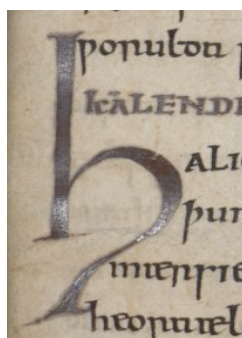


Figure 106: MS A, fo. 190r, fo. 193r, fo. 193v

In this manuscript, the rubrication mentions not only the content of the homily but also the time of year at which the homily should be preached: *kalende novembris natale omnium sanctorum*. Most of the manuscripts that *ÆCHom* I, 36 appears in include *kalende novembris* or some variation; MS B, MS C, and MS G do not.⁷² Following this rubric is the enlarged **H** beginning the Old English text of the homily. The first section of text ends in the last line of fo. 193r, followed by a small rubrication indicating the content of the next section; following this is the section of the Latin Vulgate Bible, written in an exceptionally small hand in order to fit in the remaining space on the page. Despite the size of writing, the entire Latin passage does not fit in the available space, and *montem et reliqua* is dropped into the far right-hand margin. The **V** beginning the Biblical text is not enlarged or decorated at all in this manuscript. On the top of the following page, fo. 193v, the **Ð** is slightly enlarged, and written in a red ink, but is only a single line height tall: much smaller than the **H** beginning the entire text.

9.7.1.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 36 in MS A	
Letter	H
Colour	Red (oxidisation has turned it grey)
Height	5.5 (.22)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	End of word
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 36.1 in MS A

⁷² MS B, MS C, and MS G are three of the latest manuscripts containing this text; it is possible this is relevant, or it may be due to the recension of the text contained within the manuscripts.

Letter	Ð
Colour	Red (oxidisation has turned it grey)
Height	1 (.04)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

9.7.2 MS B - MS BODLEY 343 (FOS 113R-116R; FOLLOWING ÆCHOM I, 30 AND PRECEDING ÆCHOM II, 25)

9.7.2.1 Appearance of initials

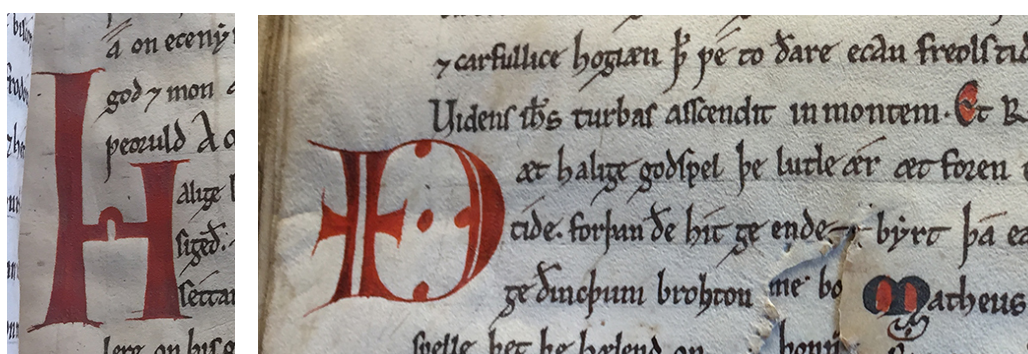


Figure 107: MS B, fo. 113r, fo. 114v

The rubrication beginning the text in MS B reads *festivitas omnium sanctorum*, and includes no mention of intended date of the holiday. The second part of the homily on fo. 114v also begins differently from the other instances of this homily in the corpus, with the Biblical fragment occurring on the same line as—and before—the rubrication, which reads *secundum matheum*. The V beginning the Latin text is not enlarged, nor is the Latin written in a different style of hand from the rest of the body text. The Ð beginning the Old English text is enlarged; in addition to this, the M beginning ‘Matheus þe godspellere’ is slightly enlarged and touched with red. However, a similar treatment is given to many capital letters throughout MS B, which may explain this emphasis.

9.7.2.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom I</i> , 36 in MS B	
Letter	H
Colour	Red
Height	5 (.15)
Decoration level	2
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I</i> , 36.1 in MS B	
Letter	Ð
Colour	Red
Height	3 (.09)
Decoration level	2
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

9.7.3 MS C - CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 303 (pp. 150-157;
 FOLLOWING *ÆCHom I*, 34 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHom I*, 37)

9.7.3.1 Appearance of initials

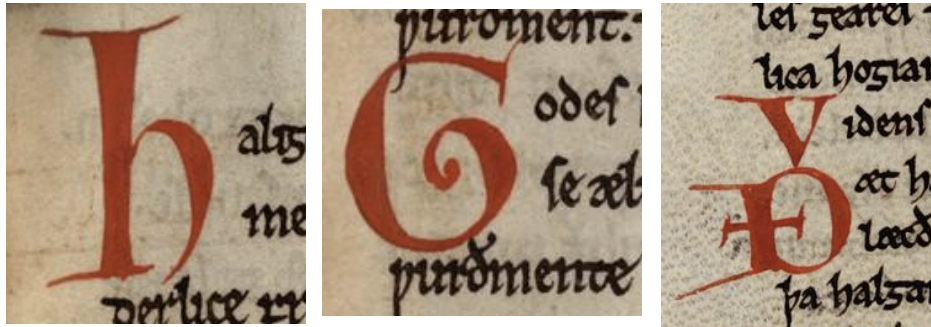


Figure 108: MS C, p. 150, p. 151, p. 154

Similarly to MS B, the rubrication of this homily reads *in festiuitate omnium sanctorum*, making no mention of November. The homily in MS C contains an additional enlarged letter that is not usually enlarged or decorated: on p. 151, the **G** in *Godes halgan* is enlarged and written in red ink. On the line just above the enlarged **G** is a rubric reading *sermo*. The placement of this enlarged initial coincides with the section of the homily that introduces all those categorised as saints, and occurs just following John the Evangelist's description of the throne of God. Following this enlarged **G**, the **V** and **Ð** are also both enlarged (p. 154). This is the first of several instances of an initial layout that appears several times throughout the manuscripts containing this homily: the **V** sits centred directly on top of the **Ð**, with the bottom tip of the **V** just touching the top of the bowl of the **Ð**.

9.7.3.2 Summarising table

ÆCHom I, 36 in MS C	
Letter	H
Colour	Red
Height	3.5 (.1)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I, 36 in MS C</i>	
Letter	G
Colour	Red
Height	2.5 (.07)
Decoration level	1
Majuscles	No majuscles
Abnormalities	Not usually enlarged

<i>ÆCHom I, 36.1 in MS C</i>	
Letter	V
Colour	Red
Height	1.5 (.04)
Decoration level	1
Majuscles	No majuscles
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I, 36.1 in MS C</i>	
Letter	Ð
Colour	Red
Height	2 (.06)
Decoration level	1
Majuscles	No majuscles
Abnormalities	None

9.7.4 MS D - MSS BODLEY 340 AND 342 (MS D2 FOS 179R-187R; FOLLOWING
ÆCHOM II, 40 AND PRECEDING ÆCHOM I, 37)

9.7.4.11. Appearance of initials



Figure 109: MS D2, fo. 179r, fo. 183r

The rubrication for this homily in MS D2 includes *kalende novembris*, keeping with the more common method of introducing the text throughout the First Series corpus. The Old English text begins with an H, and the bowl of the letter is threaded through the body of the text itself, indicating a close collaboration between the different scribes working on the text. The rubrication before the second part of the homily reads *de evvangelio*. The V sits atop the D on fo. 183r, this time set more to the left of the D rather than centred over it. In comparison to this layout as seen in MS C, the V here is much flatter on the bottom, and slightly further to the left side of the D.

9.7.4.2 Summarising table

ÆCHom I, 36 in MS D	
Letter	H
Colour	Red
Height	5 (.19)
Decoration level	3
Majuscules	No majuscules

Abnormalities	None
---------------	------

<i>ÆCHom I, 36.1 in MS D</i>	
Letter	V
Colour	Red
Height	1 (.04)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I, 36.1 in MS D</i>	
Letter	Ð
Colour	Red
Height	3 (.12)
Decoration level	2
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

**9.7.5 MS G - COTTON MS VESPASIAN D XIV (FOS 82V-86V; FOLLOWING *ÆCHom I*, 40
AND PRECEDING AN OLD ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF A PORTION OF THE GOSPEL)**

9.7.5.1 Position and manuscript context

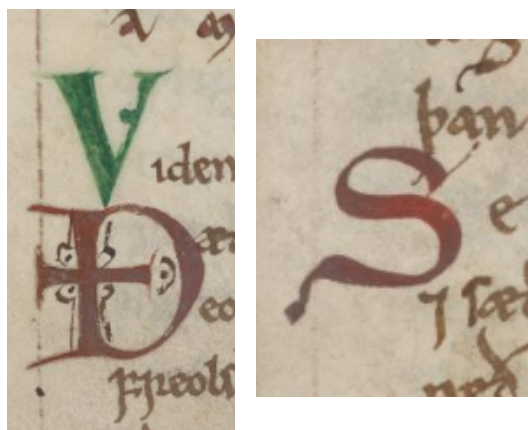


Figure 110: MS G, fo. 82v, fo. 83r

ÆCHom I, 36 in this manuscript is incomplete, and rather than including Ælfric's explanation of who and what the saints are, the text begins at the second section with Ælfric's reference to the Gospel and explanation of the eight beatitudes. In addition to the homily being incomplete in MS G, there are also changes in the physical layout of the edited text; the result of this is that MS G contains an additional enlarged initial that no other manuscripts share: an S (fo. 83r) beginning the phrase 'Se wise Augustinus'.

9.7.5.2 Appearance of initials

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 36.1 in MS G	
Letter	V
Colour	Green
Height	2 (.08)
Decoration level	2
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

ÆCHom I, 36.1 in MS G

Letter	Ð
Colour	Red
Height	2.5 (.1)
Decoration level	1 (the additional decoration appears to be by a later hand)
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I</i> , 36.1 in MS G	
Letter	S
Colour	Red
Height	2 (.08)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	Not usually enlarged

9.7.6 MS H - COTTON MS VITELLIUS C V (FOS 212V-219R; FOLLOWING *ÆCHom I*, 35 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHom I*, 37)

9.7.6.1 Appearance of initials

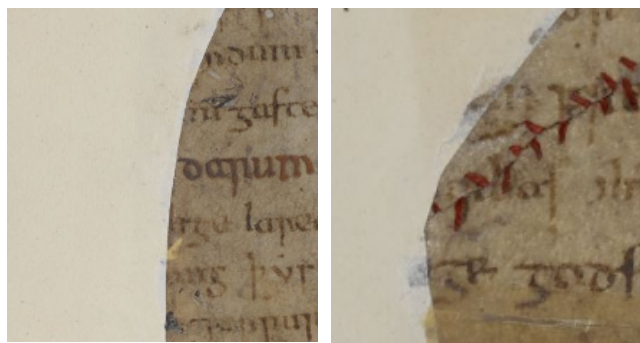


Figure 111: MS H, fo. 212v, fo. 215v

None of the enlarged initials from *ÆCHom* I, 36 have survived the fire damage. All that remains aside from the body of the text are the two rubrics, one beginning the entire homily, and one beginning the second section. Not only are the leaves that contain this homily damaged, but all remnants of any enlarged initials are completely destroyed, meaning that all information about the enlarged initials must be hypothesised. The images included above are of the areas of the pages where the initials would have been were they not lost.

9.7.6.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 36 in MS H	
Letter	H?
Colour	Likely red; possibly blue or green
Height	Unknown
Decoration level	Likely 1 or 2
Majuscles	Likely no majuscles
Abnormalities	Unknown

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 36.1 in MS H	
Letter	V?
Colour	Likely red; possibly blue or green
Height	Unknown
Decoration level	Likely 1 or 2
Majuscles	Likely no majuscles

Abnormalities	Unknown
---------------	---------

ÆCHom I, 36.1 in MS H	
Letter	Ð?
Colour	Likely red; possibly blue or green
Height	Unknown
Decoration level	Likely 1 or 2
Majuscules	Likely no majuscules
Abnormalities	Unknown

9.7.7 MS J - COTTON MS CLEO B XIII, LAMBETH PALACE MS 489 (MS J2 FOS 20v-25r; FOLLOWING ÆCHOM I, 15 AND PRECEDING AN ANONYMOUS HOMILY FOR AN UNSPECIFIED OCCASION)

9.7.7.1 Appearance of initials

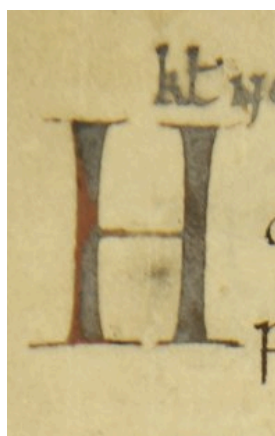


Figure 112: MS J2, fo. 20v

The homily in this manuscript is not divided into two separate parts, and as such has no enlarged **V** and **Ð** beginning the second section. The text in MS J2 shares an unusual feature with one other manuscript in the corpus: on fo. 21r, a **G** beginning *Godes halgan* is enlarged, similarly to p. 151 in MS C.

9.7.7.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom I</i> , 36 in MS J	
Letter	H
Colour	Red
Height	2 (.11)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I</i> , 36 in MS J	
Letter	G
Colour	Red
Height	1.5 (.08)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	Not usually enlarged

9.7.8 MS K - CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS GG.3.28 (FOS 116V-120R; PRECEDING *ÆCHom I*, 35 AND FOLLOWING *ÆCHom I*, 37)

9.7.8.1 Appearance of initial

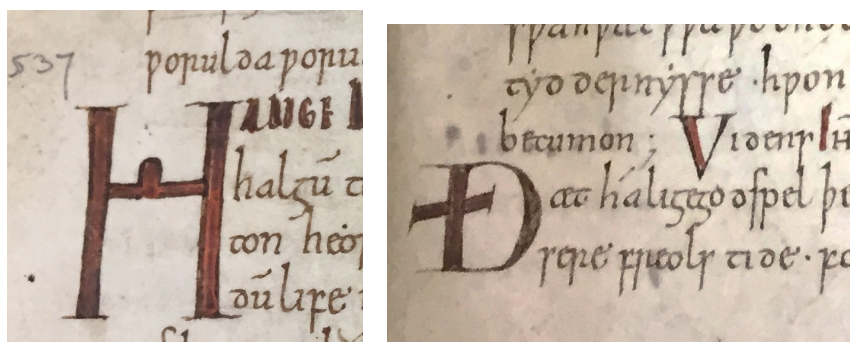


Figure 113: MS K fo. 116v, fo. 118r

ÆCHom I, 36 in MS K is highly standard within the corpus: the homilies it follows and precedes are in line with the intended order of *Ælfric's* First Series, and the rubrication before the Old English text includes *kalandes novembris*, as it does in many other manuscripts. One feature that differentiates this instance of the homily from many others is that on fo. 118r, the name *Maria* is written in capital letters, each of them touched with red ink for emphasis. Even though the name itself has not been written in red, the scribe clearly understood the importance of the name, and emphasised the beginning of this section describing the Virgin. This is in contrast to the scribe's treatment of other names (for example, *Augustines* on fo. 120r), which are not highlighted in this way.

9.7.8.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 36 in MS K	
Letter	H
Colour	Red
Height	3.5 (.12)
Decoration level	2
Majuscules	End of word
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I</i> , 36.1 in MS K	
Letter	V
Colour	Red
Height	1.5 (.05)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I</i> , 36.1 in MS K	
Letter	Ð
Colour	Red
Height	2 (.07)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

9.7.9 MS Q - CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 188 (pp. 406-434;
 FOLLOWING *ÆCHom I*, 35 AND PRECEDING *ÆCHom I*, 37)

9.7.9.1 Appearance of initials

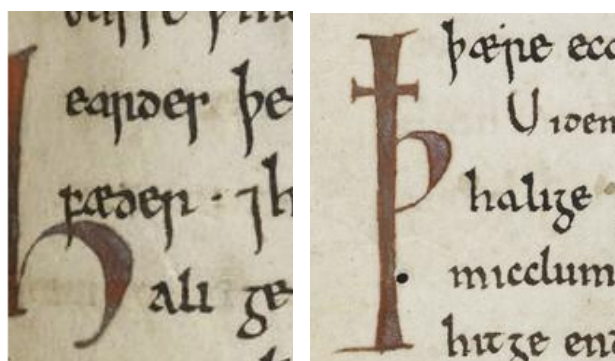


Figure 114: MS Q, p. 407, p. 414

MS Q is a standard manuscript that contains Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies with almost no changes or extraneous material. Like many other manuscripts, the rubrication beginning this manuscript includes *kalende novembris*; the second section of the homily begins with the rubric *tractus de evangelio*, more information than is usually given in this rubric. The letter that begins the second portion of this homily is quite dramatically different from all the other instances of this text: the second Old English section begins with an enlarged thorn with stroke abbreviation, and *videns* is wholly unornamented.

9.7.9.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom I</i> , 36 in MS Q	
Letter	H
Colour	Red
Height	3 (.12)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

ÆCHom I, 36.1 in MS Q

Letter	þ
Colour	Red
Height	4.5 (.18)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	Highly unusual to see this character in this position

9.7.10 *MS S - MSS HATTON 116 (PP. 198-219; FOLLOWING ÆCHOM I, 34 AND PRECEDING ÆCHOM I, 37)*

9.7.10.1 **Appearance of initials**

MS S is one of the two manuscripts in the All Saints corpus for which a facsimile has not been available, and unfortunately no image can be provided in this section. Information about the size of the initials was gauged from a monochromatic microfiche facsimile. The only colour of ink used in the manuscript, aside from black/brown, is red; this indicates that the initial was most likely red in colour. None of the initials beginning this homily are at all decorated. The treatment of *ÆCHom* I, 36 in this manuscript is generally in line with other manuscripts in the corpus; the only aspect that differentiates it from some others is the use of a <þ> rather than an <ð> to begin the Old English portion of the second section of the homily.

9.7.10.2 **Summarising table**

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 36 in MS S	
Letter	H
Colour	Red
Height	3 (.15)
Decoration level	1

Majuscules	End of word
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom I, 36.1 in MS S</i>	
Letter	V
Colour	Red
Height	.5 (.03)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	Exceptionally small

<i>ÆCHom I, 36.1 in MS S</i>	
Letter	p
Colour	Red
Height	5.5 (.28)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	No majuscules
Abnormalities	None

9.7.11 *MS T - JUNIUS MS 121 AND HATTON 113+114 (MS T2 FOS 221R-230R;
FOLLOWING ÆCHOM I, 34 AND PRECEDING AN ÆLFRICIAN HOMILY ON THE
COMMONS OF A CONFESSOR)*

9.7.11.1 **Appearance of initials**



Figure 115: MS T, fo. 221r

MS T is the second of the two manuscripts containing *ÆCHom* I, 36 for which no photographic evidence is available. Information from this section was gleaned by in-person examination of the manuscripts, during which I sketched an approximation of the initials that has been digitised here. In MS T2, the **V** beginning the brief section of Latin Biblical text is larger than the **D** beginning the second Old English section of the homily. In every other manuscript, the **D** is larger than the **V**; here, the sizes are reversed. In addition, the **V** is drawn in green in and decorated, whilst the **D** is in black, and unadorned. These choices perhaps indicate the priorities of the scribe who wrote MS T2, who may have considered the Latin text more important and thus more worthy of visual emphasis.

9.7.11.2 Summarising table

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 36 in MS T	
Letter	H
Colour	Green
Height	2.5 (.11)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	Full line
Abnormalities	None

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 36.1 in MS T	
Letter	V

Colour	Green
Height	2 (.09)
Decoration level	3
Majuscules	Full line
Abnormalities	Larger than following Ð

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, 36.1 in MS T	
Letter	Ð
Colour	Black
Height	1 (.04)
Decoration level	1
Majuscules	None
Abnormalities	Smaller than preceding V

9.7.12 TABLE OF COMPARISON

I include a comparison all text-beginning initials from *ÆCHom* I, 36 in a single table in order to draw comparisons across the entire set. There are separate tables for each of the enlarged initials that can be found in this homily: one for the **H** opening the first section of the homily, one for the **V** opening the Latin rubric of *ÆCHom* I, 36.1, and one for the **Ð** opening the Old English text in the second part of the homily. Please see Appendix III (p. 293) for full table.

9.8 ANALYSIS OF THE INITIALS

There is very little variation in the opening text, and therefore, very little variation in the opening initials in this homily: in every single instance of *ÆCHom* I, 36, the homily begins with *Halige*, and in almost every instance of *ÆCHom* I, 36.1, *Videns*, followed by *Ðæt*. The

one exception to this is in MS Q, where the thorn and stroke abbreviation is used in place of the word *ðæt*. Overall, the beginnings of both sections of this homily show a high level of standardisation throughout every manuscript that contains the homily.

There is relatively little variation in the size of the text-beginning initials in comparison found in other texts; the largest text-beginning H is 5.5 lines tall, and the smallest is 2.5 lines tall. Compared to the variation of other letters, e.g. the F beginning Pentecost, this is a narrow range of variation. The beginning of the second section of the homily shares a similar limited size range: the largest by far are the instances wherein the scribe uses a P instead of an D, while all of the D manuscripts vary very little in height. This is in line with the heights of letters in previous homilies and manuscripts, where frequently the tallest initials will be those that contain an ascender or descender. Based on the similarities in size of the Ds that begin the text, it seems that the scribes of this homily seem to have followed a standard layout in rubrication and decoration. That the text-beginning initials in *ÆCHom* I, 36 are mostly of middling height perhaps indicates that the scribes all agreed that this was a homily of only middling importance, in contrast to some other homilies with far larger opening initials.

The main difference in how the first section of *ÆCHom* I, 36 begins lies in whether the H is written as an enlarged minuscule character (as in MS A, MS C, MS D, and MS Q) or as a majuscule character (as in MS B, MS J, MS K, and MS T). The only two Hs that show especial similarities to one another are the letters that open *ÆCHom* I, 36 in MS B and MS K: each are written in majuscules and mostly undecorated, aside from a small ‘hump’ in the middle of the cross-bar of the letter. This method of decorating Hs, with a small hump protruding only above the cross-bar (as opposed to a dot motif placed across it) is found only elsewhere in MS B and in no other First Series manuscripts. In addition to this, this H, here on fo. 116v of MS K, is the only majuscule-type H in the entire manuscript—all others are enlarged minuscule capitals. It is difficult to determine why this style of letter was used for this H and no others: it is not uncommon for a single manuscript to contain variation between minuscule and majuscule initials, but generally this variation will be a more even distribution rather than only a single instance of one type. As mentioned in the section above on *ÆCHom* I, 19 (pp. 181-218), the rubricating scribe of MS K had an unusual programme of decoration; it is possible that this idiosyncratic H inspired, in some way, the same style of H found in MS B and nowhere else.

9.8.1 THE V AND Ð COMBINATION

In a chapter on the use of the cross as a graphic signifier, Cynthia Hahn discusses the *Vere dignum*, the traditional preface to the Latin mass (Hahn, 2017: 105). The two letters that begin these two words, **V** and **D**, were very frequently linked in early medieval liturgical books, often appearing without the rest of the preface itself: rather than beginning the preface, they *replace* it, prompting the priest to then recite the words from memory (Hahn 2017: 105). This is similar to how the scribes of these manuscripts used the brief liturgical passage as a prompt, rather than including the entire Biblical text. Furthermore, in addition to these two letters often appearing together as a single unit, the symbol often has a cross incorporated into it, used as a ‘binding element’ for the two characters (Hahn 2017: 105). Hahn argues that the cross is here used in such a way to link ‘text to image, carnal to spiritual, and visible to invisible, thereby setting the stage for transubstantiation’ (Hahn 2017: 107). For the purposes of this chapter, however, the incorporation of the cross into this symbol has a much more practical effect: by linking the two letters with a parallel line, the **D** appears highly similar to an Old English **Ð**. This means that scribes in the period of time in which the Ælfrician manuscripts were produced may already have had reason to mentally associate **V** and **Ð**, whether they consciously decided to combine the two or not.

It is immediately clear that there are striking similarities between certain manuscripts in how the **V** and **Ð** are arranged. In MS C, MS D, MS G, and MS T, the second section of the homily is begun in a very similar way: the **V** is positioned just over the **Ð**, with the bottom point of the **V** either nearly or just touching the very top of the **Ð**. In MS C, MS G, and MS T the bottom of this **V** is pointed, whilst in MS D it has a flat bottom; aside from this, the initials share an unusual level of similarity. The similarity found amongst these four instances of this homily is unseen in the entire rest of the Ælfrician corpus. Furthermore, based on the multitude of different ways this homily was laid out in the other manuscripts containing *ÆCHom* I, 36, contemporary scribes clearly considered there to be more than one acceptable layout for these enlarged letters. That four different scribes in four different manuscripts chose such visually similar ways to open the text indicates that there almost certainly existed some level of awareness of the other manuscripts, and perhaps even direct copying in some cases. After all, parts of MS C and MS D are posited to have descended from a single exemplar manuscript, and according to Clemoes, parts of MS G and MS C share a common ancestor as well—specifically, the parts containing *ÆCHom* I,

36. In many instances, Clemoes differentiates different sections of the texts within a single manuscript, to reflect the multiple lines of recension that may be represented in a single codex; MS T, being an especially complex, multi-volume manuscript, is divided into four main segments with multiple sub-sections, each of which contains different items and appears in a different place on his stemmata.⁷³ According to these stemmata, the portion of MS T that *ÆCHom* I, 36 occurs in, referred to by him as Td, belongs in the final ϵ and ζ phases of the text.⁷⁴ Conversely, a *different* portion of MS T, Tc 2, is situated in the β phase of texts, and is posited to share an exemplar two generations back with portions of MS D.

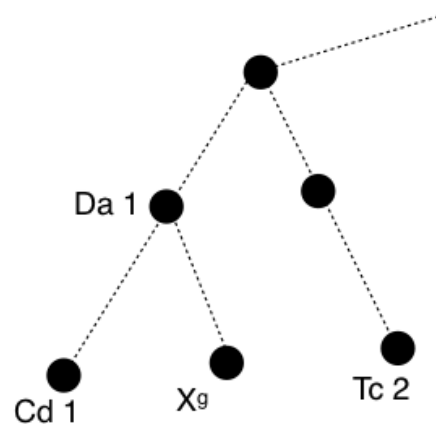


Figure 116: A recreation of the relevant portion of the stemma, including how Tc 2 purportedly relates to parts of MS D.

In addition to the striking similarities between the beginnings of this homily in all four manuscripts, there are several instances of textual concordance between the manuscripts. In line 169 the text reads ‘An god þeahhwæþere gesette þurh his halgan witegan þa læssan bebodu iudeiscre þeode’, ‘one God nevertheless appointed, through his holy prophets, the lesser commandments [to the] Jewish people’. In MS C, MS D, MS G, MS B, and MS T, the word *an* has been emended to *and*, changing the emphasis from the fact that there is only a single godhead in Christianity to the fact that it was *this* God who appointed the commandments to the Jewish people. In line 172–3, Clemoes’ edition of the text reads ‘he mid soþre lufe to alysenne com;’, ‘he came to redeem with true love’. MS

⁷³ For a full explanation of all the different sections of MS T, see Clemoes (1997: 43–5).

⁷⁴ Td contains the following texts, in order as listed by Clemoes (1997: 44): *ÆCHom* II, 9; *ÆCHom* II, 17; *ÆCHom* I, 25; *ÆCHom* I, 26; *ÆCHom* I, 27; *ÆCHom* I, 30; *ÆCHom* I, 31; two extracts from a non-Ælfrian work; Assmann’s homily X; *ÆCHom* I, 34; and *ÆCHom* I, 36.

C, MS D, and MS G all insert the word *mancynn* directly preceding *to*, changing the meaning of the clause to ‘he came to *mankind* to redeem with true love’. None of the other manuscripts contain this addition, indicating that the inclusion of this word is common to the textual recension shared by these three manuscripts. One final significant addition shared by only MS C, MS D, and MS G is found in line 248, where the edited text reads ‘selre us bið ðæt we ehtnyssse þolian þonne we riht forlæton’, ‘it is better for us that we suffer persecution than we forsake [that] right’.⁷⁵ Following *forlæton*, the three manuscripts insert the words ‘oððe forsuwian’, ‘or keep silent’. This addition has theological implications; by adding this, the scribe has made clear that keeping silent about one’s faith is akin to losing one’s righteousness, a point perhaps included to encourage an audience that may have been concerned about persecution from non-believers.

Based on the exceptional resemblance of the **V** and **Ð** combination beginning *ÆCHom* I, 36 in MS T to the other three manuscripts, combined with the textual evidence linking some or all of these four manuscripts, I posit that either the entire section or perhaps only this single text ought to be moved alongside Tc 2 in the stemma, joining MS C, MS D, and MS G in the *β* phase. This new positioning does not radically re-order Clemoes’ posited stemmata, but it would reflect the striking similarities of the letter combination in the four manuscripts. It seems highly unlikely that such a similarity in appearance could have occurred without scribes taking direct visual inspiration from an exemplar; a repositioning of this portion of the manuscript within the stemmata would productively explain this exceptional similarity.

9.9 CONCLUSIONS

When viewing all of the decorated initials in *ÆCHom* I, 36, it is clear that the text-beginning initials at the second part of the homily appear exceptionally similar in MS C, MS D, MS G, and MS T. This visual similarity, both striking and unseen elsewhere in the First Series corpus, would indicate that parts of these four manuscripts are closely linked, perhaps more so than has been previously posited. Because of this resemblance between the four manuscripts, I argue for a repositioning of a section of the textual stemmata. The

⁷⁵ ‘Right’ in this context meaning justice or righteousness.

conclusions from the visual similarity at the beginning of *ÆCHom* I, 36 in these four manuscripts thus exemplifies how this initial comparison is able to supplement other avenues of approach when drawing relationships between manuscripts.

HOMILY-BASED STUDIES CONCLUSION

In this section, I have approached the First Series corpus from the angle of individual homilies, specifically choosing three of the most commonly surviving texts from the Ælfrician First Series corpus. By doing so, I have identified similarities in appearance between different instances of a single homily that indicate the existence of some sort of text-beginning initial transmission alongside the texts. In *ÆCHom* I, 22, the appearance of two Fs—those in MS D and MS F, two manuscripts previously posited as textually closely related—are relatively similar in appearance, even more so when compared to the other text-beginning Fs in the corpus. The text-beginning initials of *ÆCHom* I, 19, another frequently copied text, do not reveal any dramatic new similarities, although manuscripts previously posited to be closely related do contain certain concordances. *ÆCHom* I, 36, more so than the previous two, shows a striking level of similarity first seen in the section on the C-D-G cluster and discussed in further detail here. The V and Ð that begin this text not only allow us to confirm textual relationships, but enable a repositioning of a part of the textual transmission stemma. Despite occasional inconclusive results, then, this section provides further evidence that visual and decorative elements, specifically text-beginning initials, accompanied the texts they began from manuscript to manuscript; furthermore, we have here determined that these visual similarities can be used to refine existing relational structures.

OTHER CASE STUDIES

This section of the thesis comprises several additional case studies that attempt to place the above chapters, focused as they are on Ælfrician manuscripts alone, within a wider manuscript context. I begin with a chapter on so-called ‘control manuscripts’, manuscripts from a similar period and place of origin as these Ælfrician ones, in order to determine the significance of some of the similarities discussed in the sections above. I then include a section comparing two texts from the MS N and MS O manuscripts, with a focus on how their visual similarity coincides with their textual similarity. I end with a chapter on the scribal use of <ð> versus <þ> in *ÆCHom* I, 22 in two sets of closely related manuscripts. Together, these three chapters demonstrate in different ways that many of the similarities found between letters in the Ælfrician corpus are neither coincidental nor a matter of course due to copying practices at the time. By bringing in studies that complement homily-focused and manuscript-focused case studies, I provide further evidence that manuscript relationships may be refined in a novel way through visual comparison of the text-beginning initials.

10 CONTROL MANUSCRIPTS

In this section, I discuss several additional manuscripts that share key similarities to the Ælfrician corpus. These manuscripts were selected to act as a point of comparison for the Ælfrician manuscripts, and are hereafter referred to as ‘control manuscripts’. The manuscripts share several features with those in the Ælfrician First Series corpus, most importantly place and date of production, as well as the language in which the manuscript is primarily written. By comparing the same letter or group of letters in both Ælfrician and non-Ælfrician manuscripts, I am able to draw conclusions about the varieties of letters that a scribe may have had available to them at the time; i.e., whether a scribe had in their repertoire more than one acceptable way to draw an enlarged H, or if only a single style was used for manuscripts written in the vernacular of this period. Alternatively, if contemporary non-Ælfrician manuscripts contain multiple styles of a single letter, especially if these styles are not found in Ælfrician manuscripts, this strengthens the connection between Ælfrician manuscripts as a corpus and provides further context about the manuscript context in which the scribes worked. I here investigate, through a comparison with these control manuscripts, whether Ælfrician scribes consciously tended towards homogeneity in letter-forms. I demonstrate here that the similarities between certain enlarged initials are likely not merely coincidental, but influenced heavily by their exemplars, thus suggesting relatively close connections within the manuscript corpus.

10.1 THE CRITERIA

The first criterion for selection of a control manuscript is that the manuscript must have been produced during the period in which the bulk of the Ælfrician copying programme was undertaken. While several Ælfrician manuscripts were produced as late as the end of the twelfth century, the majority of the manuscripts date from either the late tenth or early-to-mid eleventh centuries.⁷⁶ The control manuscripts should therefore be selected from the same period. The manuscripts should also have been produced at a location that likely also produced Ælfrician manuscripts, in order to determine if similarities between manuscripts are determined by a given house style rather than through a process of copying or conscious stylistic choices. The third requirement for these control manuscripts is that there should be minimal authorial overlap with the First Series corpus; manuscripts

⁷⁶ Not only do the majority of the Ælfrician manuscripts date from this period, these manuscripts are the more standard ones; the later the date in which the manuscript was produced, the more alternative texts and variations begin to appear. For more information about the Ælfrician corpus of manuscripts, see pp. 48–87.

comprising of Ælfric's Grammar or his Lives of Saints have therefore been excluded. These manuscripts, while helpfully close in date and place of origin, are so similar to the manuscripts in the Ælfrician First Series corpus that they would not act as an effective point of contrast: the texts, after all, are still Ælfrician, and many of them occur in First Series manuscripts; they may even have been copied by some of the same scribes. The final criterion for a control manuscript is that it must be primarily written in Old English. As different styles of script are used for Old English and Latin texts, comparing vernacular texts with Latin ones would be minimally helpful. Manuscripts that also contain short passages of Latin in addition to the Old English are ideal for comparative purposes, as First Series manuscripts too contain short Latin incipits, rubrics, and biblical quotations interspersed throughout the Old English bodies of texts. A manuscript that deploys both languages similarly is an ideal candidate for comparison.

10.2 THE MANUSCRIPTS

10.2.1 CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS 201 (CCCC 201)

CCCC 201 is a compilation of Old English religious and legal texts. The manuscript is made up of three sections, bound together in the modern era (Ker, 1957: 91); the oldest section is composed of pages 1–7 and 161–7. These pages contain a translation of a section of the *Regularis concordia*, and an Old English and Latin alliterative translation of Bede's *De die iudicii*. This section of the manuscript was written in the beginning of the eleventh century, and by a single hand (Ker, 1957: 82–3). The second section of the manuscript contains miscellaneous homilies, many of by Wulfstan, and several other assorted legal and penitential texts. This portion of the manuscript runs from pages 8–178 of the manuscript, and was written in the middle of the eleventh century in three different hands (Ker, 1957: 90). The final section of the manuscript, beginning on page 179, comprises a translation of Theodulf of Orleans' *Capitula* and a fragment of a martyrology. This section of the manuscript was also likely written in the middle of the eleventh century, in a single hand belonging to a scribe most likely working at Exeter (Ker, 1957: 90–1). T.A.M. Bishop has identified a scribe in the second section of the manuscript as possibly associated with the New Minster in Winchester; however, a Worcester or York association is also possible, as these were the main seats of Wulfstan, with whom the texts are closely linked (Bishop, 1971: 192–99). Several Ælfrician First Series manuscripts are associated with Worcester (MS E, MS R, and MS S), Winchester (MS M), or Exeter (MS V),

meaning this manuscript can potentially be associated with a scriptorium known to have produced an Ælfrician manuscript.

There are 366 enlarged or coloured initials in the entire manuscript. The average decoration level of the initials is low, at just 1.18, indicating that the vast majority of the enlarged letters are not decorated in any way. The average line height of the letters is 2.18, also relatively low. Taken in conjunction, these two values indicate that this manuscript is neither especially fine nor highly decorated; these values are lower than many of the averages for Ælfrician manuscripts.

10.2.2 CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, MS 322 (CCCC 322)

CCCC 322 consists entirely of a version of Wærferth of Worcester's Old English translation of Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* (Ker, 1957: 106). This manuscript exists today as a single text written in a single hand, and has not been bound together with any additional works (Ker, 1957: 107). While Wærferth's translation was originally composed around the late ninth or early tenth centuries, the manuscript itself dates from the second half of the eleventh century, most likely written at Worcester, where it also has later provenance (Yerkes, 1978: 245). As mentioned above, several Ælfrician manuscripts are associated with Worcester at around this time.

There are 155 enlarged or coloured initials in the manuscript. The average decoration level of these initials is slightly higher than the first control manuscript, at 1.29, but still does not indicate an especially decorated or luxurious manuscript. The average line height of the letters is 1.85. As this text is a dialogue, the scribe has used decoration to highlight the identities of the two important speakers: coloured initial letters appear throughout to begin the names of Petrus and Gregorius.

10.2.3 BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON MS TIBERIUS B. I (MS TIB B I)

Ms Tib B I is another composite volume, comprising two discrete sections. The first section, fos 3r–111v, contains King Alfred's Old English translation of Orosius' *Historia adversus paganos*, written in the early eleventh century. This portion of the manuscript is copied by four different hands, only one of which is described by Ker as being at all skilled

(Ker, 1957: 251–3). The second portion, beginning on fo. 112, contains the verse *Menologium*, *Maxims II*, and the C-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. This portion of the manuscript is written in two main hands, with as many as four additional hands, written in the mid-eleventh century (Ker, 1957: 253). These two separate sections were first bound together in the modern period, but as both parts of the manuscript are written primarily in Old English they are each useful as control manuscripts. The origins of both sections of this manuscript are unknown.

There are 150 enlarged or coloured initials in this manuscript. The average decoration level across both sections of the manuscript is 1.31, and the average line height of the initials is slightly taller than the previous manuscript, at 2.04.

10.2.4 BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON MS VESPASIAN D. XXI (MS VESP D XXI)

MS Vesp D XXI, the final control manuscript, is also a composite volume bound together in the modern era. This manuscript is composed of three parts, only one of which is relevant to the current study. From folios 18–40, the manuscript contains an Old English translation of Felix's *Vita sancti Guthlaci* and an imperfect version of the *Pater noster*, copied in the second quarter of the eleventh century in one main hand, with minor additions from two others (Ker 1957: 424). Although the origin of this manuscript is unknown, it was originally copied with parts of Ælfric's translation of the Pentateuch (Bodleian, Laud Misc. 509), indicating that the scribe who worked on this manuscript was aware of Ælfrician works, and likely other Ælfrician manuscripts (Ker 1957: 422).

There are only twenty-four enlarged or coloured initials in the relevant section of MS Vesp D XXI. These initials have a very low average decoration level: 1.04, the result of the only a single of the twenty-four initials being even slightly decorated. Conversely, the average line height is fairly tall, at 2.69.

10.3 FEATURES OF INTEREST

I here investigate several categories of letters that appear in both the control and Ælfrician manuscripts that best facilitate comparison. The first category of letters encompasses those that would not be found with any frequency in Latin manuscripts,

namely þ and ð. While these letters may have occurred occasionally in non-vernacular manuscripts, such as in place names or personal names, the frequency of them is low in comparison to the regularity with which they are used in the vernacular. The second type of letters are the exceptional letters within the Ælfrician manuscripts, chosen in order to facilitate comparison between the appearance of these with the same letters in the control manuscripts. The final type of letters are the most enlarged or elaborately decorated text-beginning initials found within the control manuscripts, and how these appear in the Ælfrician corpus.

10.3.1 LETTERS MORE COMMON IN OLD ENGLISH TEXTS

10.3.1.1 Ð

In addition to appearing more commonly in Old English texts, Ð also appears in several highly decorated instances in the Ælfrician corpus, the most striking example of which is the enlarged, highly-decorated Ð found in MS B (fo. 21r).



Figure 117: MS B, fo. 21r

Ð therefore functions as an example of both an exceptional Ælfrician letter and one primarily associated with Old English texts. In manuscripts of this period, there are two main ways in which the letter Ð is written when beginning texts: the character is either written as a minuscule ð, or a standard majuscule Ð, either of which may or may not be enlarged, decorated, or drawn with coloured ink.

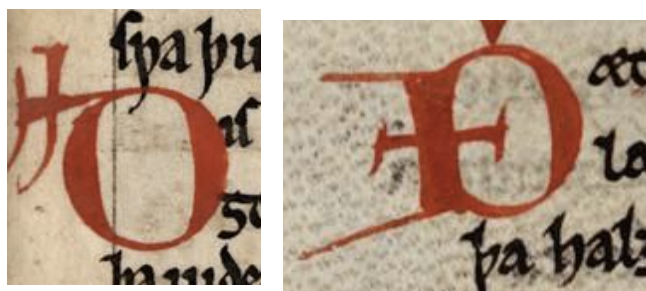


Figure 118: MS C, p. 27; MS C, p. 154

In the four control manuscripts, the enlarged or coloured **Đs** are wholly in the majuscule style: an enlarged minuscule **ð** is not used to signal the beginning of a new text in a single one of the manuscripts, despite the letter's frequent appearance throughout the bodies of the works themselves. The Ælfrician manuscripts show a similar pattern. In all but two of the First Series manuscripts, MS B and MS C, only majuscule **Đs** are employed.⁷⁷ All of the manuscripts appear to favour an enlarged majuscule **Đ** to begin a text.⁷⁸ The Ælfrician manuscripts and the control manuscripts are generally in agreement in this preference: in MS B, one of the only two times a minuscule **ð** begins a text occurs on the same page as a text beginning with a majuscule **Đ** (fo. 21r); in MS C, this also holds true for the single text-beginning **ð** (p. 27). This pattern of use indicates that the scribes of this period may have preferred to use a majuscule **Đ** to begin texts whenever possible, choosing a minuscule **ð** only on occasion in order to avoid visual repetition and confusion on the page. There are no instances in any of the control manuscripts in which a similar layout has resulted in this alternation; there is only ever a single enlarged **Đ** on any given leaf. However, based on the tendency of the scribe of MS Tib B I to alternate the style of enlarged **Hs** (a tendency discussed in more detail below (p. 266)), we may safely presume that were the situation to arise, the scribe would likely have followed the same pattern as the Ælfrician scribes, as they too show a marked distaste for visual repetition.

There are no especially enlarged or elaborately decorated **Đs** in any of the control manuscripts that show any similarities to the enlarged **Đ** in MS B (fo. 21r): in fact, none of the **Đs** in the control manuscripts are decorated at all. Aside from the occurrences of the enlarged minuscule **ð** in both MS B and MS C, the scribes of both the Ælfrician and control manuscripts seem to follow similar conventions in the use of text-beginning **Đs**. It appears that there was not an exceptional amount of variation in the ways a scribe would choose

⁷⁷ It should be noted that this is only if an <Đ> is used to begin a text at all, which is not always the case for Ælfrician manuscripts: some manuscripts (MS A, MS L, and MS P) choose to use <P> for all text-beginning dental fricatives.

⁷⁸ MS D, MS E, MS F, MS G, MS H, MS J, MS K, MS M, MS N, MS O, MS Q, MS R, MS U, and MS V use only majuscule **Đs**; MS B uses eight majuscule **Đs** and two minuscule **ðs**, while MS C uses three majuscule **Đs** and one minuscule one; and MS A, MS L, and MS P do not contain any texts that begin with an enlarged **Đ**. It is perhaps with noting as well that the two manuscripts that use enlarged minuscule **ðs** to open texts are both relatively late ones.

to write a text-beginning **Ð**, and scribes of this period were generally in broad accord in terms of how to approach the graph when beginning a text.

10.3.1.2 **Þ**

There are several instances of highly decorated **Þ**s in the Ælfrician corpus, such as those found in MS B (fo. 33v, fo. 65r), and the single text-beginning **Þ** in MS F (p. 298). There are two primary ways in which the scribes in the Ælfrician corpus draw enlarged **Þ**s when beginning texts: in the first style, the **Þ** is written as an enlarged minuscule letter with a rounded bowl. The degree to which the bowl is rounded varies: some **Þ** bowls are more flattened in shape, whilst some are more circular; however, the bowl remains rounded in all cases, with no pointed aspect to it. The other style used by the scribes is one in which the bowl of the **Þ** is much more angular, jutting out from the stem of the letter in the shape of a triangle; this will be referred to here as the pointed style, in contrast to the rounded one.

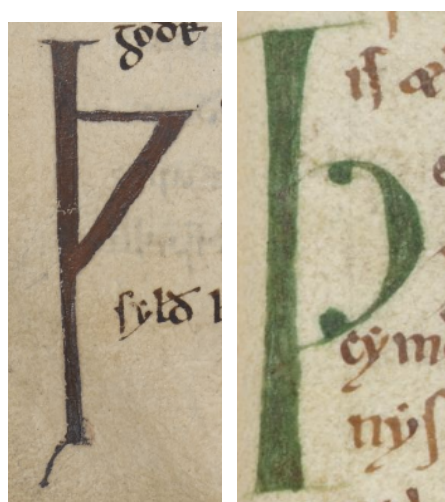


Figure 119: MS A, fo. 83v; MS L, fo. 217r

This style is much less common in the Ælfrician manuscripts: of the twelve manuscripts that enlarge or decorate any of the text-beginning **Þ**s,⁷⁹ ten use only the rounded type, and MS A and MS B are the only two to include any instance of the pointed **Þ** to begin a text.⁸⁰ MS B is the only manuscript that uses both pointed and rounded text-beginning **Þ**s:

⁷⁹ The twelve manuscripts that begin texts with, or enlarge any **Þ**s, are MS A, MS B, MS C, MS E, MS F, MS G, MS K, MS L, MS M, MS N, MS O, and MS Q.

⁸⁰ MS A uses the majuscule type of **Þ** in every instance of enlarged **Þ**, on fos 83v, 85v, 91r, and 211r. MS B uses the majuscule type only once, on fo. 33v.

in this manuscript, the first enlarged **P** is drawn in a pointed style, but the following five instances are all enlarged rounded **Ps**. Perhaps surprisingly, these two manuscripts that uniquely contain the pointed-style **P** represent extreme points on the timeline of Ælfrician manuscripts: MS A is the earliest surviving manuscript containing any of Ælfric's First Series, while MS B is one of the latest. Apart from these two outliers, it appears that in the Ælfrician manuscripts there is a marked scribal preference for the enlarged rounded **P** when beginning texts, which is used across all the remaining Ælfrician manuscripts. This preference also appears to exist in the control manuscripts. In all four of the control manuscripts, every instance of an enlarged or text-beginning **P** is written in the rounded style. Even where two enlarged **Ps** appear in close proximity, such as p. 166 of CCCC 201, the scribe has used two enlarged rounded **Ps** rather than using multiple styles.

There are no exceptionally decorated **Ps** in any of the control manuscripts that indicates any connection between the Ælfrician and non-Ælfrician manuscripts. Furthermore, there are only two **Ps** in any of the control manuscripts that are decorated at all (fo. 40v and fo. 90r in CCCC 322).

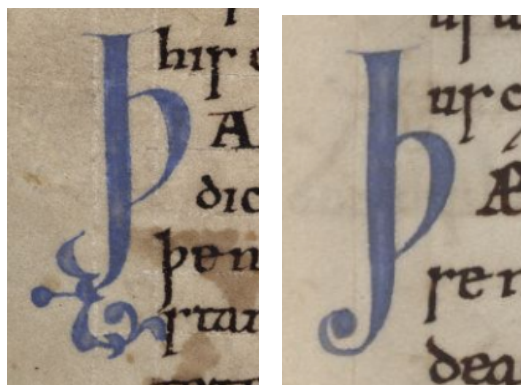


Figure 120: CCCC 322, fo. 40v, fo. 90r

The **P** on fo. 40v has a decoration level of 3, and the **P** on 90r has a decoration level of 2; this is somewhat unusual in this manuscript, which has an overall low level of decoration throughout. However, there does not appear to be any link between the **Ps** from the Ælfrician manuscripts and those from the control manuscripts: the **Ps** are decorated generically, with spiral terminals and foliate lines extending from the bottom of the letter. Ælfrician manuscripts contain a much greater variety of decorative styles when drawing enlarged **Ps**, several examples of which are shown below.



Figure 121: MS F, p. 298; MS K, fo. 52r; MS M, fo. 299v

As with the **D**s, the main area of similarity is the general stylistic preference demonstrated by scribes from this period.

10.3.2 EXCEPTIONAL LETTERS IN THE *ÆLFRICIAN FIRST SERIES CORPUS*

10.3.2.1 **Æ**

The **Æ**s found in the control and in the First Series manuscripts fall into one of two categories. The first is the majuscule **Æ**, in which the body of the letter is roughly trapezoidal with a flat top and bottom. There are some variations within type—some of the letters' crossbars are straight, whilst some are formed of more decorative, undulating pen-strokes—but in general, these letters all share the same boxy aspect, and are taller than they are wide, usually at a ratio of about 1.5:1. The other category of letters is the enlarged minuscule **Æ**. In this variation, the **E** portion of the letter comprises the majority of the character, crescent moon shaped, with only a small flourish or curl descending from the left-hand side to signify the narrow **A** portion of the letter. In contrast to the majuscule **Æ**s, these characters are much more square in aspect, and are sized closer to a 1:1 ratio, or in many cases slightly wider than they are tall.



Figure 122: MS D2, fo. 38r; MS A, fo. 96v

The two different types of enlarged **Æ**s are used interchangeably in the control manuscripts, often with both categories appearing on the same folio (fo. 103r of MS Tib B I), in a way likely intended to vary the appearance of the letters on the page. The difference in shape between the two categories of letters allows an additional level of distinction: it is possible to see several locations at which space has clearly been left for a taller, thinner majuscule, but the rubricating scribe has drawn in a minuscule **Æ** instead, leaving empty space above or below the letter.⁸¹ In some instances this may be due to a nearby un-enlarged **Æ** that has affected the scribe's decision, such as in MS Tib B I (fo. 103r), but on other occasions there are no clear reasons that would explain the scribe's decision to 'misuse' the space provided. Where there are these disconnects between the space left for a letter and the type of letter drawn, we may assume that either a different scribe was in charge of writing the bodies of the texts; or, as is likely the case in several of these control manuscripts that are written in a single hand, enough time had passed in between the two stages of manuscript production that the scribe forgot their original intention regarding the blank spaces. These manuscripts overall seem to prefer the minuscule type: where the manuscripts do not use a combination of the two, the minuscule **Æ** is used.

In contrast to the way in which **Æ** is used in the control manuscripts, the **Æ**lfrician First Series manuscripts tend to strongly prefer using only one type or the other, rather than mixing the two; in addition to this, the type that is chosen is almost always the majuscule **Æ** rather than the minuscule one. Of the seventeen manuscripts that contain an enlarged,

⁸¹ Several examples of this are in CCCC 322 on fo. 110v, MS Tib B I on fo. 22r, and MS Tib B I on fo. 103r.

text-beginning **Æ**,⁸² twelve use the majuscule type only,⁸³ three use the minuscule type only,⁸⁴ and only two use both.⁸⁵ Further complications arise on closer investigation into these manuscripts that use both: one of them, MS E, is of limited use as an example, as the manuscript contains only two examples of text-beginning **Æ**.⁸⁶ The other, MS F, contains three text-beginning **Æ**s, and alternates them, beginning and ending the pattern with a minuscule letter. Two of the three manuscripts that use only the minuscule type, MS U and MS V, are considered by Clemoes (1997: 160) to be very closely related, even likely descending from the same direct exemplar; perhaps, then, their concordance in this unusual variation is a cue taken from their shared parent manuscript. The sole use of the minuscule **Æ** in MS D, conversely, is more difficult to explain: its most closely-related surviving manuscripts uniformly use either the majuscule type only, or a mixture of the two. It is possible that this indicates the use of an additional different exemplar in the production of this two-volume set that has now been lost, and was different from that used when producing the manuscript's close relatives. It may also indicate that a scribe working on this manuscript had different stylistic preferences than others who worked on the *Ælfrician* corpus.

There are three enlarged, text-beginning **Æ**s in the *Ælfrician* First Series corpus that could reasonably be described as exceptional. The first is the **Æ** in MS L (fo. 61r), a nine-line tall red initial decorated with a large bird's head, with a beast making up the body of the crossbar. A decorative flourish descends into the left-hand margin, with what may be an additional bird at its terminal. The head of the large bird at the top of the letter is detailed, with feathers, a nostril, and an eye made up with multiple strokes, as contrasting to the *fermata*-shaped eye found in the other *Ælfrician* manuscripts that contain this type of illustration. The letter was further elaborated upon by a later scribe, with more decorative lines and curlicues added in faded brown ink.

⁸² There should be eighteen manuscripts in this category if not for a scribal disagreement: in one manuscript, MS C, **Æ** was left as guide letter in the margin; the rubricating scribe, however, chose to ignore this, and used an **E** in its stead.

⁸³ The twelve manuscripts that use only the majuscule **Æ** are MS A, MS B, MS G, MS H, MS K, MS L, MS M, MS N, MS O, MS P, MS Q, and MS R.

⁸⁴ The three manuscripts that use only the minuscule type are MS D, MS U, and MS V.

⁸⁵ The two manuscripts that use both are MS E and MS F.

⁸⁶ The two **Æ**s are somewhat odd, in addition to their rarity. The minuscule **Æ** on fo. 202r is heavily decorated, but the rubricating scribe has left approximately an entire line height of blank space below the bottom of the body of the letter in the space left for it, indicating the original scribe's wish for a majuscule character; conversely, the majuscule **Æ** on fo. 328r is not decorated at all, but there is less than half a line of blank space on the top and bottom of the character.



Figure 123: MS L, fo. 61r

The two **Æ**s found in MS B (fo. 133r) and in MS G (fo. 104r) are similar in their peculiarity: in both of these graphs, the **E** portion of the letter has been written in red ink and the **A** portion in green, with both halves intertwining to create a single bicolour whole. There are no other decorative elements like this, that emphasise the bipartite nature of the character, in any of the other **Æ**lfrician manuscripts. Furthermore, there are none in any of the control manuscripts, even in ones where the scribes demonstrably had access to multiple colours of ink.

Both sets of manuscripts, the **Æ**lfrician and the control manuscripts, would have been produced in approximately the same period of time, in similar conditions, with similar resources at hand to their scribes and compilers. Despite this, there are clear differences in how the sets of manuscripts treat this character: while both majuscule and minuscule types were accepted as appropriate for beginning texts, the First Series manuscripts strongly prefer the majuscule type, while the control manuscripts are much more ambivalent, even leaning towards the minuscule. In addition to this, there does not appear to be a tradition of unusually large or especially decorated **Æ**s in other vernacular manuscripts of the period that may have specifically inspired the **Æ**lfrician scribes. These scribes of **Æ**lfrician manuscripts seem to have been either basing their choices on another

source, unknown to us in the present day, or were producing these decorations themselves specifically for the Ælfrian texts they copied.

10.3.2.2 F

The second exceptional letter from the Ælfrian corpus is F, based on the highly decorated Fs in both MS D and MS F. The most decorated F in MS D occurs on fo. 57r, at the beginning of a new quire. The letter is 7.5 lines tall, and is a rare example from this corpus of a Wormald Type I initial (discussed above, p. 21). The body of the letter is composed entirely of a line drawing in black/brown ink, beginning with the head and body of a bird-like beast, with a decorative descender in the left-hand margin. The lower arm of the F is made up of another winged beast, biting the back of the letter. In MS D, the F beginning the same text is found later in the manuscript (p. 441). The letter is 8.5 lines tall, also with a decorative descender, ending in foliate terminals.⁸⁷ Unfortunately for our current aims, there are very few text-beginning Fs in the control manuscripts: the two Cotton manuscripts contain no text-beginning Fs, and the two Cambridge manuscripts contain only five instances of the letter between them both. Furthermore, those Fs that do exist in the control manuscripts look exceptionally similar to one another. In the Ælfrian corpus, there is variation in style within only the Fs that begin the same Ælfrian Pentecost homily: some have foliate terminals, some are tall and thin, some are shorter and wider, some have blank space employed as a decorative element. Conversely, in the control manuscripts, all Fs are all drawn with a single down stroke, two thin cross-bars, and serifs at the ends of the strokes. In CCCC 201 all the Fs are green, and in CCCC 322 they are all red; none of the letters is drawn with more than a single colour of ink. None of the letters are decorated to any extent, nor do they have a decorative descender like the Fs in MS D or MS F. Based only on the relatively small body of evidence in these control manuscripts regarding Fs, there does not appear to be any specific similarity between any of the Fs in the Ælfrian manuscripts and any found in the controls. Perhaps this lack of decoration itself is an indicator of a scribal tradition: scribes of this period likely considered one style as the standard way to write an F, which can be seen in both the Ælfrian First Series and the control manuscripts; the Ælfrian scribes were more free to deviate from this standard, while the scribes of the control manuscripts apparently were not.

⁸⁷ For images and further discussion of both of these letters, see above chapter on the Pentecost homily (151-180). For more information about these two Fs, see upcoming Rae (2021).

10.3.2.3 H

The text-beginning **H**s found within both the Ælfrician and control manuscripts can be divided into two categories. The **H** is written either as a majuscule letter, with a roughly rectangular shape, taller than it is wide, and made up of two parallel down strokes; or, it is an enlarged minuscule **h**, with a single straight down stroke connected to a curved bowl, also taller than it is wide. These two types are used interchangeably amongst the Ælfrician First Series manuscripts, although the minuscule **h** is used more frequently.⁸⁸

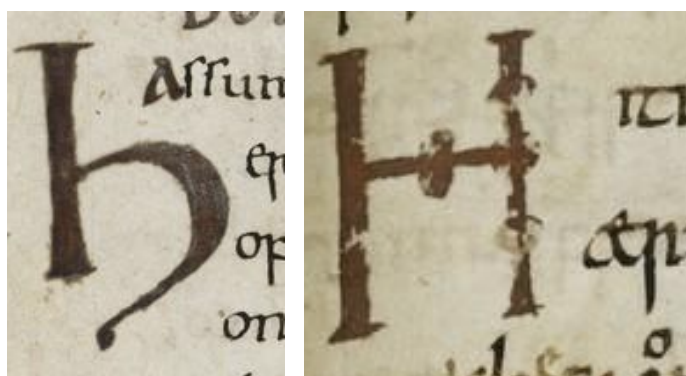


Figure 124: MS E, fo. 122v; MS E, fo. 226r

In the control manuscripts, however, there does not appear to be a preference: instead, the manuscripts allow for a much more equal distribution of the two types. In MS Tib B I for example, there are several sections of the manuscript that comprise single line texts, each beginning with an enlarged **H**, such as on fo. 83v. Within passages like this, the type of **H** used alternates on the page; this strict pattern of alternation indicates that the scribe had the ability to make choices based on stylistic concerns, rather than on strict situations in which one or the other type must be used.

The differing shape of these two categories affects their use as well. These two different styles of **H** take up different amounts of space, and more importantly, different types of space in the manuscript. An enlarged majuscule **H** requires a rectangle of empty space to inhabit, generally taken from the edge of the body text, moving the entire text block over for as many as seven or eight lines. Alternatively, the minuscule **H** requires much less

⁸⁸ MS A, MS C, MS D, MS H, MS N, MS N, MS Q, MS R, MS S, MS T, and MS U use only minuscule **hs**; MS E, MS F, MS G, MS K, and MS L use both, but more minuscule **hs** than majuscules **Hs**; MS V uses one of each; MS B uses both, with more majuscule **Hs** than minuscule **hs**; and MS J and MS O use only majuscule **Hs**.

space within the ruled area of the text: the bowl of the **H** sits within the body of the text, and the ascender is generally drawn up into the left-hand margin of the page. Because of this difference in space required at the ruling and planning stages, we may observe where the scribe has left space for one style of **H**, and the other has been drawn in. Where the main scribe has left space for a minuscule **H**, and the rubricating scribe prefers a majuscule one (whether or not these two scribes are different people, or one person working at two different times), the rubricator has two options: either force the majuscule **H** entirely into space left for the bowl, or extend the left stroke of the majuscule **H** up into the margin, functionally creating a majuscule character with a left-hand ascender. This majuscule-with-ascender type is found four times in the control manuscripts,⁸⁹ but in only two manuscripts in the First Series corpus, MS B and MS O. Two interesting occurrences of this are in MS O (p. 97) and MS B (fo. 54v), at the opening of *ÆCHom* I, 11.

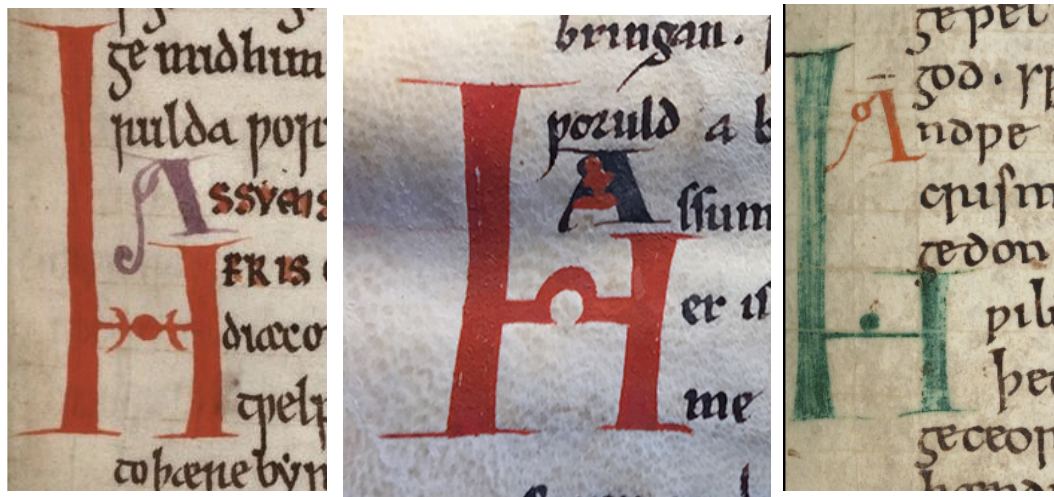


Figure 125: MS O, p. 97; MS B, fo. 54v; MS CCCC 201, p. 101

In the First Series corpus manuscripts, the beginning of *ÆCHom* I, 11 frequently follows a similar pattern. The text contains a Latin incipit, beginning with <A>; this **A** is generally drawn in coloured ink and placed just over the bowl of the enlarged minuscule **H** beginning the Old English body of the text. The opening of the homily is constructed in this way, and thus looks very similar in MS C, MS D, MS E, and MS H, half of all manuscripts that the text occurs in.⁹⁰ Additionally, all of the instances of this homily apart from in MS

⁸⁹ The four instances are in CCCC 322, fo. 69v; and CCCC 201, p. 64, p. 71, and p. 101.

⁹⁰ In MS C the homily begins on p. 16, in D1 on fo. 98v, in MS E on fo. 122v, and on MS H fo. 64r. In MS F, on p. 184, the homily looks as though it was intended to begin similarly to these four, but the rubricating scribe made a mistake and failed to leave room for the **A** when drawing in the decorated minuscule **H**.

B and MS O use an enlarged minuscule. In MS O, though, the homily looks very different: the **H** used is a majuscule-with-ascender, and has a decorative dot placed in the centre of the crossbar. The **A** beginning the Latin incipit is also elaborated upon, stylised in such a way that the centre of the character is a small, round shape. An exceptionally similar layout may be seen in CCCC 201, on p. 101: the style of **H** is the same in both, sharing the decorative dot; the smaller, enlarged **As** both utilise a decorative circular shape to form the letter (Figure 125: MS O, p. 97; MS B, fo. 54v; MS CCCC 201, p. 101). These two sections open two different texts; despite this, the scribes have drawn them in ways that are highly visually similar.

We may draw two conclusions from this resemblance. First, it is possible that the scribes of MS B or MS O had access to, or had seen, CCCC 201 before or during some point of the manuscript production process, and chose to adapt a layout from CCCC 201 into the text they were copying. The rubricator working from a specific exemplar would explain the scribes' choices to deviate so dramatically from every other Ælfrician manuscript's treatment of the text. Alternatively, as MS B is posited to have been produced in the West Midlands, it is possible that this type of **H** was the house style of the scriptorium at which these manuscripts were produced. This similarity perhaps allows us to narrow MS B's West Midlands provenance more specifically to Worcester. The second conclusion is that there does not appear to have been a single preferred way to open a text with an <H>, in combination with another letter or not: both minuscule and majuscule styles could begin a text, and there was variation allowed in how the additional letters could be placed. All but two of the Ælfrician First Series scribes chose to open *ÆCHom* I, 11 with a minuscule **H**; we can assume that while this was the preferred method for this text, likely due to the highly interconnected nature of the manuscripts, it was by no means the only acceptable style of letter to use.

10.3.3 *EXCEPTIONAL LETTERS IN THE CONTROL MANUSCRIPTS*

The majority of the text-beginning or enlarged initials in the control manuscripts are very plain. Only one of the control manuscripts, MS Tib B I, has any initials that are elaborate enough to warrant the label of exceptional, and thus a closer investigation of these specific letters. The three highly decorated letters in MS Tib B I are a **U** (fo. 7v), a **C** (fo. 112r), and an **E** (fo. 115v).



Figure 126: MS Tib B I, fo. 7v; MS Tib B I, fo. 112r; MS Tib B I, fo. 115v

The three letters share a similar motif and style of decoration. The **U** is drawn primarily in green ink, with red accents. The letter is six lines tall and is decorated with a combination of foliate designs and spiky knot-work. This **U** is the only one of these three letters drawn in coloured ink; the other two are drawn in black/brown ink alone. The body of the **E** is blocky in shape, with slightly widened terminal points at the ends of each crossbar. The letter is 3.5 lines tall, and, like the **U**, is decorated with foliate terminals, and the same spiky knot-work. The final letter, **C**, is four lines tall. In addition to the foliate designs and knot-work, the character is adorned with a bird, sitting perched on the bottom of the letter, drawn in profile with one wing folded in towards its body and the other outstretched towards the text.

These three initials are not only similar to one another, but also differ noticeably from the most decorated initials in the *Ælfrician* corpus. The eye of the bird is a single dot, unlike either the more elaborate eyes or the *fermata*-style eyes in the First Series manuscripts:



Figure 127: MS D2, fo. 21r. Fermata-style eyes.

Most strikingly, the knot-work in these three initials is unlike anything found in the Ælfrician manuscripts. These spiky, geometric knots, more reminiscent of Insular manuscript decoration than of other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts from this period, indicates that the rubricating scribe of MS Tib B I and those of the Ælfrician First Series manuscripts were working in very different decorative traditions. Even when both sets of manuscripts are more highly decorated, the control manuscripts differ from the Ælfrician ones at times drastically.

10.4 CONCLUSION

By comparing the enlarged and text-beginning initials from the control manuscripts to those found in the First Series, I have demonstrated that many of the similarities between decorative elements in the Ælfrician manuscripts are indeed significant, and not due to either coincidence or the existence of an overarching house style. The main exception to this is the arrangement of the H and A beginning *ÆCHom* I, 11 in MS B and MS O; a very similar configuration can be seen in MS Tib B I, indicating that this particular layout seems to be a standard one from the West Midlands area of England at the time. The remainder of the examples, however, show that the way letters are used in the Ælfrician manuscripts differs significantly at times from those in the non-Ælfrician ones, both in terms of the style that is preferred for a display letter and the extent to which that letter is decorated. Perhaps most notably, even in manuscripts that do have highly decorated letters, like MS Tib I, the style of decoration is highly different from that found in any of the Ælfrician manuscripts. Overall, the control manuscripts and the First Series manuscripts show more heterogeneity across the two groups than is found within the First Series corpus alone, even accounting for varying levels of decoration. By investigating these control manuscripts, I support claims made elsewhere in the thesis about the significance of the similarity between the decorated Ælfrician initials.

11 TEXTUAL COMPARISON FROM MS N AND MS O

In all of the above case studies, some homilies show a greater degree of visual similarity in their text-beginning initials than others; in this section, I conduct a brief textual analysis of two texts that appear in both MS N and MS O, two closely linked cluster manuscripts, in order to determine if these visual similarities correspond to higher degrees of textual similarity. I investigate here two texts specifically chosen because of the appearance of their text-beginning initials: *ÆCHom I, 12*, the first text, appears remarkably similar in the two cluster manuscripts; conversely, *ÆCHom II, 5* is not only dissimilar in appearance, but the scribes have chosen to enlarge or embellish different graphs in the two manuscripts.



Figure 128: *ÆCHom I, 12* in MS N and MS O



Figure 129: *ÆCHom II, 5 (part 1)* in MS N and MS O

In order to compare these homilies, I transcribed each of the above texts in the cluster manuscripts, and here compare each of these transcriptions with each other, as well as with the standard editions produced by Clemoes and Godden (Clemoes, 1997: 275–81; Godden, 1979: 41–51). I specifically focus on differences that may indicate different exemplars or active decision-making in the production of these manuscripts, rather than differences more likely due to scribal error; I therefore disregard minor changes between the two, such as variance in grammatical word-endings, prefixes, and minor spelling variations (i.e. *drihtnes* versus *drihtenes*, two equally widely attested spellings of the same word). I include differences in word order when a difference is significant enough to change the meaning of a clause or sentence, and variations which result in a different word. I discuss the major differences in each of the two texts in the following section.

11.1 DIFFERENCES IN *ÆCHom I, 12* IN MS N AND MS O

ÆCHom I, 12 appears in ten manuscripts, and is associated with manuscripts in all six phases of the text.⁹¹ Clemoes' edition of *ÆCHom I, 12* is 149 lines long; in these 149 lines, there are seven instances where the texts in MS N and MS O differ significantly from each other. These instances are as follows; all line numbers refer to Clemoes' edition:

⁹¹ The ten manuscripts this text appears in are MS A, MS C, MS F, MS H, MS K, MS M, MS N, MS O, MS Q, and MS T.

1. In lines 19-20, the text reads '7 todælde betwux þæm sittendum;', 'and divided between those [who were] sitting'. MS N shares this reading, but MS O reads '7 todælde betwux þam sittendum mannum', 'and divided between those sitting men'. No other manuscript containing this text inserts the word *mannum* in this location aside from MS O. The scribe of MS O apparently felt that without the inclusion of *mannum* the original statement was unclear; perhaps the scribe felt that the referent needed to be directly stated for the sentence to make grammatical sense.
2. In line 36, the standard text reads 'hwilon we beoð hale hwilon untrume; Nu bliðe 7 eft', 'sometimes we are hale, sometimes sick; now joyful, and then [...]'. MS N reads 'hwilon untrume; unbliðe eft' and MS O reads 'hwilon untrume; hwilon bliðe 7 eft'. All of the other manuscripts that contain this text read 'nu bliðe'; MS N and MS O are alone in this reading. It seems likely that the scribe of MS N's exemplar misread the minims, changing *nu* to *un*, as while *unbliðe* grammatically fits into the sentence, it does not fit the contrastive pattern of the rest of the passage. The scribe of MS O used the word *hwilon* in this position, creating continuity with the previous sentence, while retaining the meaning of the passage.
3. In line 74, the text reads 'moyses se heretoga sette', 'Moses the leader put'. In MS N shares this reading, while MS O reads 'moyses awrat', removing the description of Moses altogether. MS O is alone in this reading. This is possibly due to the word *heretoga*, which, while it is attested in manuscripts as late as the second half of the thirteenth century, is primarily an Old English word that was not common in later manuscripts (MED, 2018: *here-towa*). It is possible the scribe of MS O saw *heretoga* as an archaic word that no longer had a place in the text.
4. In lines 86-7, the text reads 'swa swa him crist sylf tæhte', 'as Christ himself taught'. MS N reads 'crist himsylf', whilst MS O removes 'sylf' entirely, reading only 'christ heom tæhte'. This omission and pronoun use changes the meaning of the passage to 'as Christ taught them'.
5. In line 103, the text reads 'an ðære gecyðde', 'one [of] these proclaimed'. The scribe of MS N has apparently misread this, and written '7 þære gecyðde' 'and this proclaimed', an ungrammatical phrase; MS O omits the words 'an ðære gecyðde' altogether. Based on the punctuation of the surrounding text in the two manuscripts, these three words would most likely have been surrounded by two *punctus* marks in the exemplar. In a section of text comprising many short portions of text surrounded by *punctus* marks, it would be easy for a tired scribe to miss

one. Perhaps more likely, however, is that the scribe may have eliminated this short clause because it was ungrammatical.

6. In line 146, the text reads '7 þæt he', 'and that he'. MS N shortens this to only '7 he', as does MS H. MS O, conversely, reads 'þæt he'. This is the only point in the homily at which MS N agrees with only a single other manuscript that is not MS O. For all other variations, if MS N and MS O agree with only a single other manuscript, it is with each other.

Six of the 149 lines contain an error, giving this text an 'error level' of .040. This error level is determined by dividing the number of errors by the number of lines in the text, to find a figure that represents average errors-per-line.

11.2 DIFFERENCES IN *ÆCHom* II, 5 IN MS N AND MS O

ÆCHom II, 5 is divided into two parts, a main portion of the text and a short addendum, which are generally demarcated in the manuscript by an enlarged initial. I focus here on the first, primary portion of the text, which is 233 lines long. This text appears in nine manuscripts, generally those associated with the first four phases of text.⁹² There are seventeen instances where MS N and MS O differ; all line numbers that follow refer to Godden's edition.

1. In line 3, the text begins 'Se hælend'. MS O shares this reading, while MS N reads 'Ðe hælend' with a levelled determiner. This variation is somewhat unexpected, as the *ðe* determiner is overall rare throughout the rest of the homily: it uses *ðe* instead of *se* only twice in the entire text. Conversely, MS O uses the *ðe* determiner ten times throughout the text, in many locations that MS N does not. This inconsistent use of determiners indicates that either the scribe of MS O modernised the determiner as a grammatical preference, or that they copied from an exemplar that had already changed some instances of *se* to *ðe*.
2. In line 6, the text reads 'ðam hyrigmannum', 'the hired servants'. MS N shares this reading, while MS O reads 'hyr mannum'. The reading in MS O is likely a simplified form of *hyrigmannum*, and indeed is an attested variation of the word (DOE, 2018:

⁹² The nine manuscripts this text appears in are MS B, MS C, MS D, MS E, MS F, MS K, MS M, MS N, and MS O.

hȳr-man). It is also possible that the scribe of MS O simply experienced eye-skip at this point in the copying, and missed the *-ig* suffix following *hȳr*.

3. In line 8, the text reads 'eode þæs wingearðes hlaforð ut. and gemette', 'the vineyard's lord went out, and found'. MS O shares this reading, while MS N omits the word *ut*, reading 'hlaforð. and'. It is possible that this is due to eye-skip, or perhaps the word *ut* was considered redundant.
4. In line 33, the text reads 'Fela sind gecigede'. MS N shares a similar reading: 'fela synd gecyged', 'many were called upon'. Conversely, MS O differs substantially and reads 'feala synd gelaðode.' This choice of an entirely different word perhaps indicates a difference in the exemplar used rather than a scribal error. MS O is the only manuscript in the corpus that uses *laðian*, a well-attested Old English word also meaning invite or summon. It is possible that when MS O was being copied, *cigan* was archaic, which may explain why the scribe chose to change it (DOE, 2018: *cīgan*): no variation of *cigan* appears in Middle English, so the word appears to have fallen out of use by the late twelfth century. Its use in MS N then is somewhat archaic, perhaps reflecting the preferences of an older scribe.
5. In line 39, the text reads 'is ure scyppend', 'is our lord'. MS O shares this reading, while MS N reads 'is ure driht'. MS N is the only manuscript that uses *driht* in this location. Both words are attested throughout the entire Old English period, but *scyppend* occurs later into the Middle English period than does *driht* (MED, 2018: *sheppende*), which is an Old English word that generally falls out of use by the turn of the 13th century (MED, 2018: *driht*; DOE, 2018: *dryht*). That MS N is the only manuscript that uses this word would normally indicate a decision by the scribe to update; however, the scribe is unlikely to update to a more archaic word. This is perhaps another indication of a difference in exemplar word choice.
6. In line 72, the text reads 'wæs untwylice ðises wingearðes wyrhta', 'was undoubtedly this vineyard's creator'. MS N shares a similar reading, with 'wæs untweonlice'. Conversely, MS O reads 'wæs untweo þises wineardes wyrhta', losing the *-lice* suffix altogether and changing the adverb to *untweo*, a noun. This change is both unusual and ungrammatical, perhaps indicating that the exemplar the scribe of MS O was copying from read *untweolice*, and the MS O scribe lost <lice> through scribal error.
7. In line 109, the text reads 'and behealde hwæðer he', 'and beheld whether he [...]'. MS N shares this reading, while MS O reads 'be ealde hwæðer', losing an <h>. This latter reading is shared by MS B and MS E.

8. In line 111, the text reads ‘binnon godes wingearde’, ‘within god’s vineyard’. MS N and MS O differ from this reading as well as from each other: MS N reads ‘binnon winearde’, while MS O reads ‘binnon þa winearde’. Neither include the word *godes*, unlike all other instances of this text. It is possible that the scribes of MS N and MS O thought *godes* was implied by the surrounding material.
9. In lines 113-4, the text reads ‘and rihtwisnysse fyrðrian’, ‘and promote righteousness’. MS N agrees with this reading, while MS O reads ‘and riht wisnesse friðrian’, ‘and preserve/defend righteousness’. This difference initially appears to be a spelling variation, but the loss of an <r> following the <ð> in the word is not attested as any variation of the same word by the DOE (DOE, 2018: *fyrþrian*, *fyrþran*).
10. In line 144, the text reads ‘under þære æ’, ‘under the law’. MS N shares this reading, while MS O reads ‘under þæt æ’. It is worth noting that despite the late date of both of these manuscripts, each uses *æ* for law instead of the Old Norse loan *lage*, which occurs in English from around the turn of the millennium and was adopted into wide use (MED, 2018: *laue*). This lack of modernisation would thus indicate that the scribes of both manuscripts were not especially intent on a programme of modernisation or correction while copying, and tended to accept words that would very likely have seemed archaic to them at the time.⁹³
11. In line 147, the text reads ‘and hi ða mid langsumere elcunge’, ‘and they then delayed for a long time’. MS N shares this reading, while MS O omits *ða*, reading ‘and hi mid’.
12. In line 165, the text reads ‘we ðonne buton yldinge underfoð. þæt þæt ða’, ‘we then without delay received [them]. Then when’. MS O shares this reading, while MS N omits one ‘þæt’, reading ‘underfoð þæt ða’. MS N is the only manuscript that displays this omission.
13. In line 176, the text reads ‘on langsumum ðeowdome’, ‘in [his] long-lasting service’. MS N shares this reading, while MS O reads ‘on his langsumum ðeowdome’. MS O is the only manuscript that inserts an additional ‘his’ at this point, again perhaps intending to improve comprehensibility.
14. In line 205, the text reads ‘carfullice scrutnian’, ‘to examine carefully’. MS N shares this reading, while MS O diverges quite significantly from all the other manuscripts with ‘carfullice truwan’, ‘to carefully confide in’. The scribe of MS O

⁹³ The Old English word appears in some early Middle English texts, all from around the turn of the thirteenth century, as *ē* or *æ* (MED, 2018: *ē*); this version of the word, however, is much more rare than *laue*, which is attested approximately 500 times as opposed to *ē*’s twenty-five.

may have made this change due to the word *truwige* that appears in line 206; however, none of the scribes of the other manuscripts the text occurs in make this mistake, and this would be quite a significant instance of eye-skip, even changing the grammatical ending of the word.

15. In lines 206-7 the text reads 'be his nextan ne ortruwige', 'through his proximity, do not despair'. MS N agrees with this reading, while MS O omits 'his', reading 'be nextan'.
16. In line 215, the text reads 'He gecigde drihten his andfenga', 'he called the Lord his defender'. Both MS N and MS O read 'Ne gecigde', completely changing the meaning of the sentence. The text of MS O was originally written as *ne*, while the scribe of MS N has corrected *he* to *ne*, indicating either scribal error (*n* and *h* are easily confused) or a difference of exemplar. More interestingly, compared to the word choice made by the scribe of MS O in point 4, the scribe of MS O has here retained the more archaic form of the word (DOE, 2018: *cīgan*). This would indicate that either the scribe is inconsistently modernising the word choices, or would point to the manuscript's exemplar as the originating point of these differences.
17. In line 232, the text reads 'nu and symle', 'now and always'. MS N agrees with this reading, while MS O omits 'and', reading 'nu symle', 'now always'. Many of the differences between MS N and MS O are due to the text in MS O omitting short words like this, especially those whose inclusion or exclusion does not greatly change the overall meaning of a sentence; a similar change can be seen in points 12 and 16.

Seventeen of the 233 lines contain an error, giving the text an error level of .073, more than 1.5 times as high than that of *ÆCHom* I, 12.

11.3 CONCLUSION

Both witnesses to these texts are highly similar to one another. This is unsurprising; according to Clemoes and Godden, and as was discussed above (pp. 116–117), the two manuscripts are very close to one another on their textual dissemination stemma, perhaps even sharing an exemplar at some point in their shared history. Furthermore, *Ælfrician* First Series texts overall tend to be transmitted from manuscript to manuscript faithfully, with minimal scribal interventions. That said, the differences that do appear do so

unevenly across the two texts: in *ÆCHom* II, 5, the text's average number of errors per line is more than 1.5 times higher than the average in *ÆCHom* I, 12. The visual appearance of the text-beginning initials in *ÆCHom* II, 5 display no obvious visual concordances, while the appearance of the initials in *ÆCHom* I, 12 are similar. It therefore appears that in this instance, a visual similarity or lack thereof is indeed also reflected in the texts themselves: the more similar the text-beginning initials appear in two manuscripts, the more similar the text is, as well. Of course, this chapter has focused on only two texts within one set of related manuscripts, and further studies of this type would certainly be beneficial; that said, the above analysis indicates that along with the decorative initials being transferred from manuscript to manuscript, similarity between these text-beginning initials sometimes corresponds to the similarity of the text. This further indicates that the similarity in appearance between text-beginning initials is an additional method of determining manuscript relationships and closeness within a stemma. In the following section I include one further complementary study on the textual side of the manuscripts: an investigation into a spelling variation within similarly linked manuscripts.

12 <P> AND <Ð> VARIATION IN THE PENTECOST HOMILY

In this section, I focus *ÆCHom* I, 22 in two pairs of manuscripts. I here investigate a spelling variant, specifically variation between <p> and <ð>, in the same text in pairs of manuscripts posited to be closely textually related. Theoretically, if a scribe copied a text faithfully, there should be similarity in how the exemplar and descendant use the two graphs. If this is the case, manuscripts previously posited as being closely linked based on textual evidence should share patterns in orthography; if it is not the case, it provides further evidence for the importance of visual comparison for a closer-grained analysis.

12.1 METHODOLOGY

The homily chosen for this investigation is *ÆCHom* I, 22, a frequently surviving text discussed in more detail above (150-160). The work done in this section is heavily indebted to work previously done by Kathryn Lowe in preparation for her 2015 article. Here, Lowe compares a sequence of homilies (including *ÆCHom* I, 22) alongside four anonymous texts in order to determine the level of scribal intervention found in four specific *Ælfrian* manuscripts. For this project, transcriptions of each of the surviving instances of the homily were undertaken by the project team (Lowe, 2015: 193). These transcriptions have been generously made available to me in order to facilitate the analysis conducted here. My work here differs from Lowe's in two key ways: first, rather than comparing seven different texts, including non-*Ælfrian* ones, I focus on a single *Ælfrian* homily; second, rather than comparing these texts across four specific manuscripts, I use the transcriptions provided to compare a single text across all the manuscripts it occurs in.

I begin here by comparing two closely related manuscripts, MS R and MS T. Clemoes identifies parts of MS T as being directly copied from MS R (Clemoes, 1997: 160); in a previous section, I argue that there is in fact likely an intermediary stage between the two (pp. 176-179). Regardless of the exact nature of the relationship, the two manuscripts are certainly closely linked in some way, and in-depth investigations into texts from the two should prove fruitful when assessing the similarity of given texts: the two texts should be fairly similar (aside from normal eye-skip, common scribal errors, and the expected level

of spelling variation).⁹⁴ If the use of <þ> and <ð> is not very similar across the two, this has wider repercussions for the rest of the analysis: if a significant amount of variation occurs within just these two instances of the text, the amount of variation that must be expected in more distantly related manuscripts is even larger. Previously, I have referred to the text being discussed as *ÆCHom* I, 22; in this section, I will refer to the version of *ÆCHom* I, 22 in MS R as R-22, and *ÆCHom* I, 22 in MS T as T-22. The same holds for U-22 and V-22.

12.2 MS R AND MS T

I created a spreadsheet comparing the text in MS R and MS T on a word-by-word basis. <ð> and <þ> were investigated in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final positions in each of the two manuscripts, and certain unusual spellings were investigated further in the Dictionary of Old English Corpus to determine their frequency.

12.2.1 RESULTS

The first set of tables show the number of words containing <ð> and <þ> in the two texts, both in comparison to the total number of words in the texts and the instances of the individual letters in the texts.

	MS R	MS T
Total words in text	1907	1948
Total words using <ð> or <þ>	373	377
Percentage of words containing <ð> or <þ>	19.56	19.35

	MS R	MS T
Total words using <ð> or <þ>	373	377
Total words containing <ð>	83	117
Total words containing <þ>	290	267
Words containing only <ð>	83	110
Words containing only <þ>	290	260
Words containing both <ð> and <þ>	0	7

⁹⁴ Of course, multiple factors affect the texts aside from error: as there was no fully developed standard language at the time, minor differences are to be expected.

	MS R	MS T
Percentage of <ð> or <þ> words containing only <ð>	22.25	29.18
Percentage of <ð> or <þ> words containing only <þ>	77.75	68.97
Percentage of <ð> or <þ> words containing both <ð> and <þ>	0	1.86

The following set of tables investigates the appearance of <ð> and <þ> in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final positions.

Total numbers		
	MS R	MS T
<ð> in word-initial position	36	37
<þ> in word-initial position	243	244
<ð> in word-medial position	27	41
<þ> in word-medial position	25	17
<ð> in word-final position	18	37
<þ> in word-final position	19	5

By percentage		
	MS R	MS T
<ð> in word-initial position	9.65	9.81
<þ> in word-initial position	65.15	64.72
<ð> in word-medial position	7.24	10.88
<þ> in word-medial position	6.7	4.51
<ð> in word-final position	4.86	9.81
<þ> in word-final position	5.1	1.33

Despite the close relationship between the two, the manuscripts use <ð> and <þ> in very different ways. The scribe of R-22 appears to have had a strong preference for <þ>, even in situations where <ð> would often be preferred, such as in a word-final position. One specific example of this in the homily is word 1926, *demp*, spelled as *demð* in T-22. There are only 15 instances total of *demp* in the Old English Corpus; conversely, *demð* appears 80 times. Another example of the R-scribe using þ in an exceptionally uncommon word-final position is word 1358: where the R-scribe uses *gewearþ*, which occurs only fifteen times in the OEC; the T-scribe spells it *gewearð*, which is much more common, appearing

197 times in the corpus.⁹⁵ The T-scribe changing certain word-final <þ>s to <ð>s appears to be an orthographic version of ‘constrained usage’, a situation arising ‘[w]hen two functional equivalents for a given item are of equal status in the dialect of the exemplar and a scribe’s dialect admits only one of the two variants, the copying scribe may well balk at reproducing the exotic variant and substitute its familiar equivalent in all contexts’ (Laing, 1988: 94). The phrasing of this concept is somewhat problematic in this context, as the use of neither <ð> nor <þ> is necessarily ‘exotic’ in any position for a scribe, and the distribution is not related to dialect so much as a preference in spelling. It remains relevant, however, in explaining the possible scribal motivations for this level of difference between the two versions of the text: while not dialectally distinctive, the scribes of MS T and MS R had clearly different proclivities regarding the use of <ð> and <þ>. The scribe of T-22, copying from R-22, appears to have found certain uses of <þ> so unacceptable that a more familiar spelling—in this case, *demð*—was substituted, despite this resulting in a minor divergence from the exemplar. The more familiar spelling was thus preferred over the unusual *dempþ*, in direct contrast to the use of the two characters by the scribe of R-22.

The scribes also vary in their preferences regarding <ð> and <þ> in the same word. Seven words in T-22 contain both, almost always in environments where, lacking this internal variation, a word would be written with two <þ>s or <ð>s sequentially. The T-22 scribe therefore appears to find the alternation of the characters acceptable, especially in situations that might otherwise result in visual confusion.⁹⁶ Conversely, the scribe of R-22 clearly does not find this acceptable, as not a single word containing both <þ> and <ð> is used in the text. As R-22 is posited to be the direct exemplar of T-22, yet contains no words with both <ð> and <þ>, the scribe of T-22 must have preferred the use of both to such an extent that they actively changed spelling from the exemplar to fit what they deemed correct.

12.3 MS U AND MS V

⁹⁵ It is worth noting that I have not investigated here other common variants in word spelling, but only the variation between the scribal use of <þ> and <ð>.

⁹⁶ Several examples of this can be seen in words 1405, 1854, and 2016: where MS R has *syþþan*, MS T has *syðþan*.

I conducted a similar study for two additional related manuscripts, MS U and MS V:⁹⁷

	U	V
Total words in text	2842	2850
Total words using <ð> or <þ>	558	551
Percentage of words containing <ð> or <þ>	19.63	19.33

	U	V
Total words using <ð> or <þ>	558	551
Total words containing <ð>	275	186
Total words containing <þ>	276	369
Words containing only <ð>	275	186
Words containing only <þ>	276	365
Words containing both <ð> and <þ>	0	4

	U	V
Percentage of <ð> or þ words containing only ð	49.28	33.76
Percentage of <ð> or þ words containing only <þ>	49.46	66.97
Percentage of <ð> or þ words containing both ð and <þ>	0	0.73

The following set of tables investigates the appearance of <ð> and <þ> in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final positions.

	U	V
<ð> in word-initial position	132	40
<þ> in word-initial position	269	360
<ð> in word-medial position	65	63
<þ> in word-medial position	7	8
<ð> in word-final position	78	80
<þ> in word-final position	0	0

By percentage	U	V
<ð> in word-initial position	23.65	07.26
<þ> in word-initial position	48.21	65.34

⁹⁷ Parts of MS V are posited to have descended from the same exemplar as MS U (Clemoes, 1997: 160).

<ð> in word-medial position	11.65	11.43
<þ> in word-medial position	01.25	01.45
<ð> in word-final position	13.98	14.52
<þ> in word-final position	0	0

These two manuscripts also show differences in the way the scribe has used <ð> and <þ>. MS U uses <ð> in a word-initial position much more than MS V does (23% versus 7%), while MS V shows a marked preference for <þ> in word-initial positions. Also like MS R and MS T, the scribe of MS V allows for use of both characters in a single word, while the scribe of MS U does not.

12.4 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the results of these two case studies, it appears that these orthographic features do not in fact propagate across even the most closely related manuscripts. This means that looking at these individual orthographic variants cannot necessarily allow us to refine further posited connections between manuscripts. Specifically with relevance to the thesis, a combination of this approach with the above textual comparison of two texts in MS R and MS T indicates that at least this single variant cannot be used to strengthen claims based on visual similarities; however, this also places more importance on a visual comparative analysis, as studies of orthographic features may not be fruitful when attempting to refine these relationships.

13 CONCLUSION

In the introduction to this thesis, I laid out the two primary research questions I wished to address. These questions were:

1. Were enlarged or decorated initials in *Ælfrician First Series* manuscripts transmitted from manuscript to manuscript in the same way texts, illustrations, and other aspects of *mise-en-page* were?
2. If so, can similarity between these initials reveal new information about the relationships between manuscripts and scriptoria that would not otherwise be available to us?

At this point, I may now attempt an answer to both: yes, on occasion; and yes, certainly. In this thesis I have identified several noteworthy similarities in the appearance of text-beginning initials; these similarities are so striking that they are unlikely to have been caused by house style or coincidence, but rather indicate that the initials are certainly related in some way. Using these similarities, I have argued for a closer and more specific relationship between two First Series manuscripts, and for a repositioning of one part of a manuscript on the textual distribution stemma proposed by Clemons.

13.1 SUMMARY OF THESIS SECTIONS

In the section on manuscript clusters, I used sets of textually-linked manuscripts as the basis for investigation of the initials within. In the C-D-G cluster, I noted several homilies that showed similarities between two or three of the manuscripts, perhaps most strikingly in *ÆCHom* I, 10 and *ÆCHom* I, 36. More specifically, the layout shared by two of the manuscripts that begins *ÆCHom* I, 10 also appears in several other *Ælfrician First Series* volumes, indicating that the scribes of these *Ælfrician* manuscripts had a ‘template’ for this design from which they worked. For *ÆCHom* I, 36, the similarities found in the text-beginning initials of second part of the homily sparked a further investigation later in the thesis. I found the inverse of the hypothesis to be true, as well: MS G, a very late *Ælfrician* manuscript with a relatively high number of textual differences from the rest of the First Series corpus, also differs in text-beginning initials or decorative appearance from other manuscripts. In the N-O cluster, the most compelling similarity was the positioning of the A and S beginning *ÆCHom* I, 12, which combined into a single interlocked character in a way otherwise unseen in the corpus. The similarity of this decorative feature in the two

manuscripts provides information about what the text exemplar of these two manuscripts, now lost, likely looked like. This section showed that in both sets of manuscripts, the manuscripts that were more closely textually related tended to show more similarities across their text-beginning initials as well.

In the following section I focused on individual texts from the First Series, investigating these texts within all of the manuscripts they survive in. These texts were selected due to their frequent occurrence within the corpus or their unusual structure. In the chapter on Ælfric's homily for Pentecost, *ÆCHom* I, 22, I noted previously unidentified similarities in two manuscripts, MS D and MS F. The appearance of the text-beginning **F** in MS D and MS F indicates a closer relationship between the two manuscripts than was previously posited, suggesting perhaps a direct exemplar-descendent relationship. Conversely, in Ælfric's homily on the Lord's Prayer, *ÆCHom* I, 19, there are fewer similarities of this type, although in some manuscripts posited as being more closely textually linked, such as MS U and MS V, the text begins more similarly in appearance than in others. Finally, in Ælfric's homily on All Saints' Day, *ÆCHom* I, 36, I discovered a striking similarity in the positioning of the **V** and **D** at the start of the second part of the homily. Because of the highly specific way the two letters are combined in MS C, MS D, MS G, and MS T, I have posited a repositioning of part of MS T on its transmission stemma. This section further confirmed the hypothesis that non-textual elements were transferred in these manuscripts, and demonstrated how an approach that centres these text-beginning initials allows us to expand and refine previous manuscript relationships.

In the section comprising other case studies, I introduced three alternative methods of investigating the thesis claims. In the chapter on control manuscripts, I discussed a series of four manuscripts similar to those in the Ælfrician First Series. By comparing text-beginning and decorated initials from these four manuscripts to those from the Ælfrician First Series corpus, I demonstrated that many of the similarities and styles of decoration within Ælfrician manuscripts differ quite significantly from the decorations found in contemporary non-Ælfrician ones. In the chapter comparing two homilies from MS N and MS O, I determined that the homily that appears more visually similar in the two manuscripts was also approximately 50% more textually similar than the other. Finally, in the chapter on <þ> and <ð> variation in *ÆCHom* I, 22, I found that regular distribution of these characters does not propagate across the most closely related manuscripts

containing this text, underscoring the importance of an additional level of analysis when determining manuscript relationships. This section provided several alternative types of evidence that determined that many of the similarities between Ælfrician manuscripts are more than coincidence; add further evidence to previously-existing manuscripts, while identifying novel ones; and provide an important additional avenue of investigation when more traditional ones have been exhausted.

13.2 ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION AND FURTHER RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

This thesis makes an original contribution to scholarship in several key ways. First, it suggests a new method of determining relationships between relatively undecorated manuscripts which may have previously been overlooked. Previous work has traced lines of manuscript transmission using more elaborate illuminated initials or full-page illustrations, but no scholarship has attempted to use this method of comparison with the comparatively plain text-beginning initials within earlier, vernacular manuscripts. The thesis also creates a system through which to categorise and organise these text-beginning or enlarged initials that relies not only on personal judgement but qualitative information; using this system, I created a data set recording the relevant features of all enlarged, coloured, or text-beginning initials throughout the entire Ælfrician First Series corpus. Finally, the thesis provides a new method of approach in the saturated field of Ælfrician studies; despite the ongoing interest in Ælfric and his works over the last five centuries, there is still information to be gleaned from these manuscripts and texts. Through initial comparison, I here suggest new connections between two Ælfrician manuscripts, MS D and MS F; refine the relationship between two manuscripts, MS R and MS T, previously posited to be very closely linked; demonstrate the transmission of an exceptional interlocking A and S ligature in MS N and MS O; and use the uncommon similarities between the beginnings of *ÆCHom* I, 36 in MS C, MS D, MS G, and MS T to suggest repositioning MS T elsewhere on Clemoes' textual distribution stemma.

In an undertaking of this scope, there are inevitably several limitations to the project as it was originally conceived. The first of which is the size of the corpus: I solely worked with manuscripts containing Ælfrician First Series texts, which necessarily means that the set of manuscripts I worked with was limited. Conversely, this limitation provides avenues for future research, with this thesis perhaps best partially conceived of as a pilot study for later works. Another limitation is the number of control manuscripts: I was able to work

with only a relatively small number of control manuscripts when comparing these Ælfrician manuscripts to non-Ælfrician ones, due both to the difficulty in accessing manuscripts written in the vernacular from a similar period of time, as well as the scope of the current project. In addition to a larger corpus of manuscripts comprising the focus of this study, a larger number of control manuscripts would be beneficial in future related work. One final limitation in the scope of the project is the amount of investigation into textual features that was possible. As this thesis is primarily focused on the decorative aspects, the majority of the work necessarily addresses these; a complementary study that focuses more on the type of homily-comparison seen in the section of other case studies could further confirm or deny if more visually-related works are also more textually-related, especially as these two studies both seem to confirm conclusions drawn based on visual similarities.

This project has additionally raised several possibilities for further research directions. It would likely prove beneficial to expand the manuscript corpus of this study to include all manuscripts containing Ælfrician content; an investigation including all Ælfrician manuscripts, including those that primarily contain his *Lives of Saints* and his other vernacular works, would provide additional context for the claims made here and doubtless reveal further insights into patterns in the Ælfrician corpus. Further to this point, there is no theoretical reason to remain limited to Ælfrician manuscripts: this approach could be fruitfully applied to all manuscripts that have previously been relegated to the category of ‘undecorated’. By focusing on Ælfrician manuscripts, this project has necessarily confined itself to prose works, but an inclusion of poetic vernacular manuscripts would likely yield interesting and perhaps different results. A study could additionally focus on Latin manuscripts from this period, which would most probably display different trends and patterns from those that emerge in the vernacular manuscripts. To the extent that this thesis functions as a proof of concept for this type of manuscript comparison, the corpus under investigation could be any type of manuscript that a hypothetical future researcher is interested in, as long as the manuscripts contain any level of decorated or enlarged initials.

In addition to the project methodology, while undertaking this thesis I compiled a large amount of data relating to the Ælfrician First Series manuscripts. This data on texts and decorated initials would likely prove useful to scholars working in complementary fields.

Making the images and information widely available, perhaps as an online database, would certainly be beneficial and a worthwhile undertaking. This database would parallel similar online resources such as The Digital Ælfric Project (Kleist, 2020) and The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220 (Da Rold et. al., 2010).

13.3 ENVOI

Any scholar who sets out to work on Old English will doubtless very quickly encounter Ælfric and his expansive body of work: Ælfrician texts, and those manuscripts that contain them, have long been a favourite area of study for those broadly interested in early medieval manuscripts or the Old English language, and have thus attracted a great deal of attention over the past few centuries. In this thesis, I have shown the benefits of treating these manuscripts as the dual-natured items that they are—both physical objects of art as well as ‘containers’ for texts. This decoration-focused approach has shown that despite how well-trodden the scholarly history of these manuscripts may be, there remain connections and patterns that are yet to be discovered. Modern advancements in technology that allow a wider range of scholars to view these manuscripts combined with new methods of inquiry shows us that despite our great distance from the period in which they were written, we may still discover new information about how these manuscripts were created, copied, and disseminated.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: TABLE OF COMPARISON FOR *ÆCHom* I, 22

Manuscript siglum	A	B	C	D	E	F	H	K	M	N	Q	R	S	U	V	X ⁱ
Opening letter	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	-	F	F	F	F	F*
Colour	Red	Red	Red	Black, red	Red	Green	Red?	Black, red	Red, green	?	-	Red	Red	Black	Blue	Red?
Height	3.5	5.5	6	7.5	4	8	3.5?	7	6	3	-	3.5	3	3	2.5	2?
Written space ratio	.14	.16	.18	.29	.15	.35	.15?	.23	.3	.13	-	.13	.13	.14	.1	.08?
Decoration	1	3	1	5	2	2	1?	3	2	1	-	1	2	1	1	-
Majuscules	None	Partial	Single	None	None	Full line	None	None	Full line	Partial	-	Partial	Full line	Full line	Partial	None

APPENDIX II: TABLES OF COMPARISON FOR *ÆCHom* I, 19

Manuscript siglum	A	B	D	F	G	H	J	K	M	O	P	Q	R	T	U	V
Opening letter	S	Ð	S	S	N	S	-	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Colour	Red	Red, black	Black	Red	Red, green	Red	-	Red, black	Green	Green	Green	Red	Red	Green	Red	Red
Height	2.5	9.5	3	3	3	3	2?	4	3	5	4	1.5	2	1.5	3	3
Written space ratio	.1	.28	.12	.13	.16	.12	.11?	.13	.15	.16	.15	.06	.07	.07	.14	.14
Decoration	1	4	5	1	3	1	-	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Majuscles	None	None	None	Full line	Partial	None	None	None	Full line	Partial	Full line	None	None	None	Full line	Partial

Manuscript siglum	A	B	D	F	G	H	J	K	M	O	P	Q	R	T	U	V
Opening letter	þ	ð	-	-	-	Ð	þ?	þ	þ	þ	-	Ð	Ð	-	Ð	-
Colour	Red	Red	-	-	-	Red	Red?	Black, red	Black, red	Red	-	Red	Black, red	-	Green	-
Height	4.5	1	-	-	-	3?	2?	2.5	6	5.5	-	1.5	1	-	3	-
Written space ratio	.18	.03	-	-	-	.12	.11?	.08	.3	.18	-	.06	.04	-	.14	-
Decoration	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	1	-	1	2	-	1	-
Majuscles	None	None	-	-	-	None	None	None	None	None	-	None	None	-	Full line	-

Manuscript siglum	A	B	D	F	G	H	J	K	M	O	P	Q	R	T	U	V
Opening letter	-	P	-	P	-	P	-	-	P	P	P	-	-	-	P	-
Colour	-	Black, red	-	Red	-	Red?	-	-	Red	Green	Green	-	-	-	Red	-
Height	-	3	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	1.5	5	-	-	-	1	-
Written space ratio	-	.09	-	.04	-	.03	-	-	.05	.05	.19	-	-	-	.05	-
Decoration	-	3	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-
Majuscules	-	None	-	None	-	None	-	-	Full line	Partial	Partial	-	-	-	Full line	-

APPENDIX III: TABLES OF COMPARISON FOR *ÆCHOM* I, 36

Manuscript siglum	A	B	C	D	G	H	J	K	Q	S	T
Opening letter	H	H	H	H	-	H?	H	H	H	H	H
Colour	Red	Red	Red	Red	-	Red?	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green
Height	5.5	5	3.5	5	-	-	2	3.5	3	3	2.5
Written space ratio	.22	.15	.1	.19	-	-	.11	.12	.12	.15	.11
Decoration	1	2	1	3	-	1?	1	2	1	1	1
Majuscules	Partial	None	None	None	-	None?	None	Partial	None	Partial	Full line

Manuscript siglum	A	B	C	D	G	H	J	K	Q	S	T
Opening letter	V	V	V	V	V	V	-	V	-	V	V
Colour	-	-	Red	Red	Green	Red?	-	Red	-	Red	Green
Height	-	-	1.5	1	2	-	-	1.5	-	.5	2
Written space ratio	-	-	.04	.04	.08	-	-	.05	-	.03	.09
Decoration	-	-	1	1	2	1?	-	1	-	1	3

Majuscules	-	-	None	None	None	None?	-	None	-	None	Full line
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Manuscript siglum	A	B	C	D	G	H	J	K	Q	S	T
Opening letter	Đ	Đ	Đ	Đ	Đ	H	-	Đ	Đ	Đ	Đ
Colour	Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Green	-	Red	Red	Red	Black
Height	1	3	2	3	2.5	8	-	2	4.5	5.5	1
Written space ratio	.04	.09	.06	.12	.1	.35	-	.07	.18	.28	.04
Decoration	1	2	1	2	1	2	-	1	1	1	1
Majuscules	None	None	None	None	None	Full line	-	None	None	None	None

APPENDIX IV: ALL FIRST SERIES HOMILIES AND THEIR OCCURRENCE IN THE CORPUS

Short title	Cameron no.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	X ¹
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, I	B1.1.2	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							✓					
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, II	B1.4.1	✓	✓						✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓	✓					
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, III	B1.1.3	✓			✓	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓		✓		✓			✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, IV	B1.1.5	✓			✓	✓			✓		✓	✓			✓		✓			✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, V	B1.1.6	✓			✓	✓			✓		✓	✓					✓			✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, VI	B1.1.7	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓		✓						✓	✓		✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, VII	B1.1.8	✓			✓	✓			✓		✓						✓			✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, VIII	B1.1.9	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓			✓						
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, IX	B1.1.10	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓		✓			✓				✓		✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, X	B1.1.11	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		✓			✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XI	B1.1.12	✓		✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓			✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XII	B1.1.13	✓		✓			✓		✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		✓			✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XIII	B1.1.14	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓	✓		✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XIV	B1.1.15	✓	✓	✓					✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓			✓
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XV	B1.1.17	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓		
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XVI	B1.1.18	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓		
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XVII	B1.1.19	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓				✓		
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XVIII	B1.1.20	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XIX	B1.1.21	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XX	B1.1.22	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXI	B1.1.23	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓		✓	✓				✓		✓	✓		
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXII	B1.1.24	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXIII	B1.1.25	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓						✓				✓		

<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXIV	B1.1.26	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓						✓	✓			✓		
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXV	B1.1.27	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓		✓	✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXVI	B1.1.28	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓					✓		✓	✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXVII	B1.1.29	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓					✓		✓	✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXVIII	B1.1.30	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓						✓				✓		
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXIX	B1.1.31	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓		✓	✓					✓		✓				
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXX	B1.1.32	✓	✓					✓	✓		✓						✓		✓	✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXXI	B1.1.33	✓	✓			✓			✓		✓	✓					✓		✓	✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXXII	B1.1.34	✓		✓				✓	✓		✓	✓					✓		✓				
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXXIII	B1.1.35	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓						✓						
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXXIV	B1.1.36	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓		✓						✓		✓	✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXXV	B1.1.37	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓						✓						
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXXVI	B1.1.38	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓		✓	✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXXVII	B1.1.39	✓		✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓					✓						
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXXVIII	B1.1.40	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓		✓	✓					✓		✓				
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XXXIV	B1.1.41	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓		✓				✓		✓			✓			
<i>ÆCHom</i> I, XL	B1.1.42	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		✓				✓		✓			✓			
Total First Series Homilies in MS		40	31	24	31	23	17	16	40	8	41	11	13	12	13	3	38	13	10	27	11	4	2

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