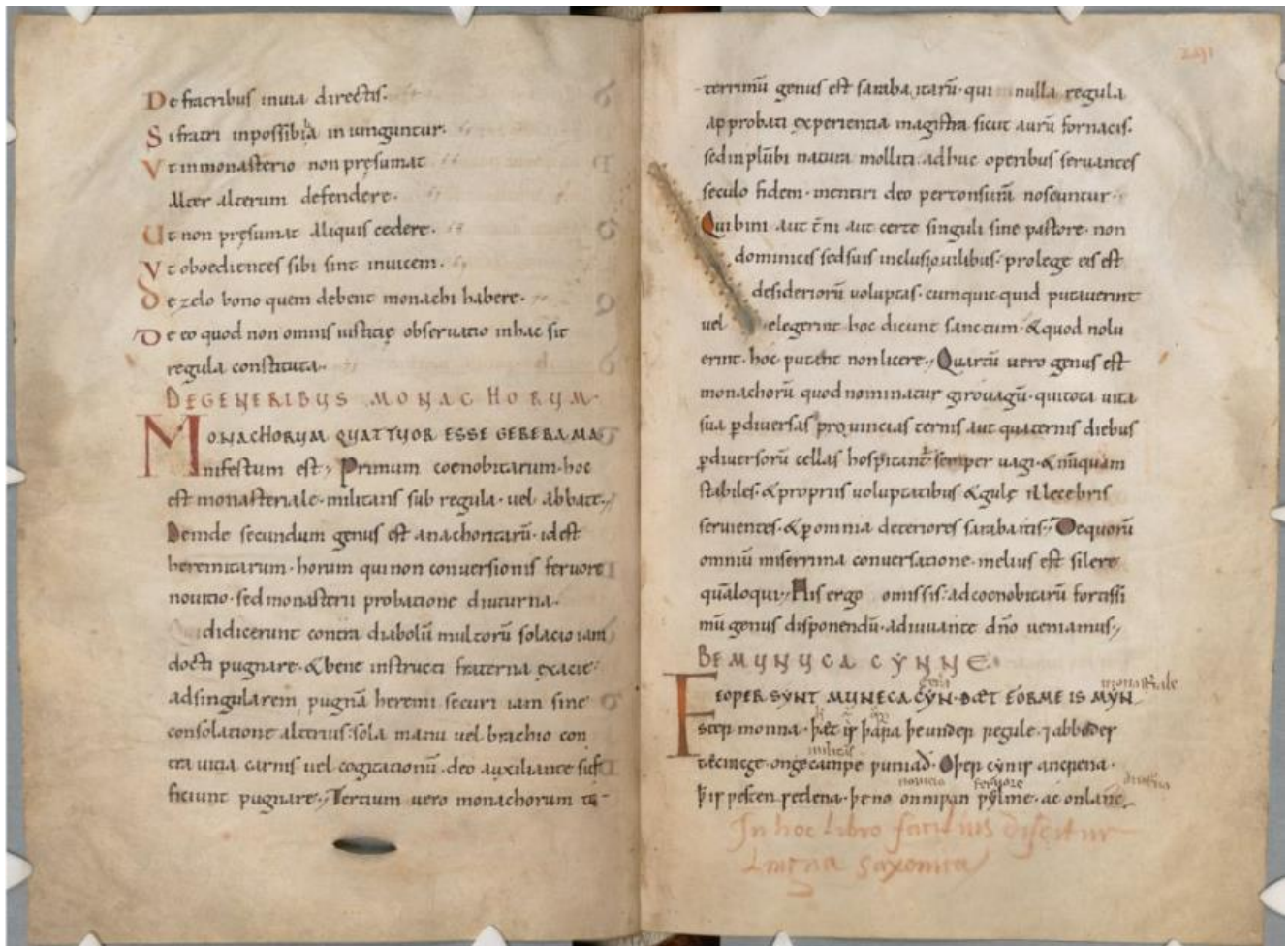


Transcription Exercise

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 178, part ii, p. 290-291, from 'DEGENERIBUS MONACHORUM' to 'non licere'¹



¹ Image source: Stanford Libraries, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 178: Old English Homilies. Benedictine Rule in Latin and Old English, <<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>>, [Accessed: 2nd December 2021]. The MS. is variously referred to as part ii or b; I have used ii.

The methodological approach taken towards this MS. focused on four objectives: to produce an accurate transcript; to highlight and discuss distinguishing features, including identifying the script used; to consider how and why it was produced; and to place it within its wider historical context and reflect on how it informs our understanding of the medieval period.

Description

CCCC 178, part ii is an early bilingual *Rule of St Benedict* (the *Rule*) comprising alternating chapters of Latin and Old English, the translation believed to be that of Æthelwold, c.970.² The section transcribed here is the beginning of the first chapter, in Latin.

The MS. material is vellum, with pages numbered 287-457.³ Quired mostly in eights, it measures 285mm x 190mm, with a written area of 225mm x 135mm. The first quire is missing, resulting in there being no Prologue to the *Rule*. There are twenty-two long lines per page, and the ruling appears to have been carried out using drypoint on the hair side, and up to a quire at a time.⁴ The ink is dark brown, nearly black, with rubrication in red. T. A. M. Bishop describes the headings as written in ‘mixed majuscules’ (mostly Rustic Capitals, with Uncial A, extended curved arches to *n* and *u*, and possibly Continental Caroline minuscule Q).⁵ Style III English

² For a detailed discussion of Æthelwold’s translation (and the evidence for its being the basis of CCCC 178’s text) see M. Gretsche, ‘Æthelwold’s translation of the “Regula Sancti Benedicti” and its Latin exemplar’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 3 (1974), pp. 125-151, (p. 125). Gretsche follows Tupper in assigning the translation to c.970, F. Tupper, ‘History and Texts of the Benedictine Reform of the Tenth Century’, *Modern Language Notes* 8(6) (1893), pp. 172-184, (p. 350).

³ This is Matthew Parker’s pagination, written in the red crayon associated with him, but most likely not in his own hand, C. E. Wright, ‘The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Beginnings of Anglo-Saxon Studies: Matthew Parker and his Circle: A Preliminary Study’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 1(3) (1951), pp. 208-237, (p. 228).

⁴ Stanford Libraries, T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 20.

⁵ Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, p. 20. On Capitalis see B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, (trans.) Ó Cróinín, D. and Ganz, D. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 58 and p. 64, and see M. P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 69, for an example of a similar Q.

Caroline minuscule is used for the Latin text and ‘late stage’ Anglo-Saxon minuscule for the Old English.⁶ Decoration is minimal and includes ‘slightly ornamented’ initials, for example the *M* of *Monachorum* (line two) where the initial is significantly larger and decorated with a round bead.⁷ Majuscules appearing after *punctus versus* in the text are typically also infilled or shaded in red (for example *D*, line five or *T*, line thirteen).⁸ The MS.’ binding is most likely twentieth-century and certainly not original.⁹

Dating CCCC 178 has proved difficult. Bishop suggested s. xi¹, but David Dumville has refined this to s. xiⁱⁿ on the basis of its script.¹⁰ Nor are the manuscript’s origins definitively determined. Paul Acker places it at Worcester by the mid-eleventh century and it was certainly there by the thirteenth (by which time it was bound with part i, a collection of Ælfric’s homilies) when it was extensively glossed by the Worcester ‘tremulous hand’.¹¹ The MS. was bequeathed to Corpus Christi by Matthew Parker (1504-1575), Archbishop of Canterbury (and Master of the college).¹²

⁶ Ibid, p. 20. F. Alvarez-Lopez, ‘Changing Scripts: a Case Study of the Use of Different Scripts in the Bilingual Text of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 178, Part B’, *Questio Insularis*, 8 (2007), pp. 19-35, (p. 27).

⁷ Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, p. 20.

⁸ The exception being *Q* in line eighteen, but there are signs of correction here.

⁹ On the binding of MSS. in Parker’s collection generally, see R. I. Page, ‘The Parker Register and Matthew Parker’s Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8(1) (1981), pp. 1-17, (p. 14).

¹⁰ For the dating conventions used here see Brown, *A Guide*, p. 2. On dating of this MS. see Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, p. 20 and D. N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: A.D. 950-1030* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993), p. 69.

¹¹ P. Acker, ‘Three Tables of Contents, One Old English Homiliary in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 178, in *Old English Literature in its Manuscript Context* (ed.) J. T. Lionarons (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2004), pp. 121-137, (p. 121, fn.1). For a comprehensive discussion of the tremulous hand glosses, including the fact that it is not universally accepted that the two parts were bound together at this stage, see C. Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: A Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2011), p. 18.

¹² The MS.’ location at Corpus Christi is certain, but on its confusion in the catalogues see Page, ‘The Parker Register’. On Parker’s motives see London, British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 8, f.190 and Wright, ‘The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries’.

1. DE GENERIBUS MONACHORUM.
2. MONACHORUM QUATTUOR ESSE †GERERA† MA
3. nifestum est; Primum coenobitarum . hoc
4. est monasteriale . militans sub regula . uel abbate;
5. Deinde secundum genus est anachoritaru(m) . id est
6. heremitarum . horum quoniam conuersionis feruore
7. nouitio . sed monasterii probatione diuturna.
8. [Qui] didicerunt contra diabolu(m) multoru(m) solacio iam
9. docti pugnare . (et) bene instructi fraterna exacie .’
10. ad singularem pugna(m) heremi securi iam sine
11. consolatione alterius .’ sola manu uel brachio con
12. tra uitia carnis uel cogitationu(m) . deo auxiliante suf
13. ficiunt pugnare; Tertium uero monachorum te –
14. – terrimu(m) genus est sarabaitaru(m) . qui [in] nulla regula
15. approbati experientia magistra sicut auru(m) fornacis .
16. sed in plu(m)bi natura molliti . adhuc operibus seruantes
17. seculo fidem . mentiri deo pertonsura(m) noscuntur .
18. Qui bini aut t(er)ni aut certe singuli sine pastore . non
19. dominicis sed suis inclusi ouilibus.’ prolege eis est
20. desiderioru(m) uoluptas . cum quicquid putauerint
21. uel elegerint . hoc dicunt sanctum . (et) quod nolu
22. erint . hoc putant non licere;

¹³ Abbreviation symbols used are those suggested by Brown, *A Guide*, p. 6. Word separation has been normalised, but medieval punctuation retained, as per R. Clemens and T. Graham *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2007), p. 75-6. See Appendix, Table I for the marks used here to represent medieval punctuation marks.

Commentary

CCCC 178 uses an interesting script for the Latin, sparsely described by Bishop as ‘outside the main categories of English Caroline’.¹⁴ Apparently ‘the exclusive property of a single scriptorium’, Dumville classified it as belonging to Style III (in continuation of Bishop’s nomenclature), written only at Worcester in the early part of the eleventh century, thus pointing to its origin there.¹⁵ Characteristic angular letters can be seen in *c*, *e*, and the bottom of *d*’s tail, and it has been described as having a hesitant or shaky aspect (although Dumville argues this is exaggerated by the surface of the membrane when magnified through photography).¹⁶

More traditional English Caroline characteristics do feature, for example the particularly noticeable feet on minims, tall *s* with a small shoulder on the left of the ascender, and generally flat-headed *t*.¹⁷ The scribe has maintained (with varying consistency) the customary convention of distinct scripts for each language; the difference can be seen in individual letters such as *g*, written with a Caroline rounded top and open descender in Latin, and an Insular Minuscule flat top and closed descender in Old English (although in both cases the letter has an angular aspect).¹⁸ Francisco Alvarez-Lopez argues that ‘the scribe is unable to free the forms of the Caroline section from an underlying Anglo-Saxon appearance’, but while Dumville agrees that

¹⁴ Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, p. 20.

¹⁵ Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, p. 70-75. Bishop had defined Style I as a ‘monumental’ Caroline without local influence, and Style II as having native/insular features. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, p. xxi-xxii. Ganz makes the interesting suggestion that as the *familia* of Worcester in about 1010 was probably only sixteen monks, independent scribes who might have been ‘freer in their writing style’ may have been employed, D Ganz., R. Rushforth, and T. Webber, ‘Latin Script in England c. 900-1100’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 1, (ed.) Gameson, R. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 187-224, (p. 192).

¹⁶ Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, p. 69, fn. 309.

¹⁷ Brown, *A Guide*, p. 59, p. 67.

¹⁸ Alvarez-Lopez, ‘Changing Scripts’, p. 26. For his detailed discussion of the varying forms of *g* in particular see p. 29.

the proportions of the Latin script move towards those of the vernacular, in fact the influence of each script can be found in the other, Caroline *y* appearing in the Old English (*cynne*, line eighteen, p.291) for example.¹⁹

The transcribed section is not heavily abbreviated, although the suspension of *m* marked by a tilde occurs throughout. Also used is the ampersand to represent *et* and occasional contractions such as the *m* of *plumbi* (line sixteen) and the commonly abbreviated *er* of *terni* (line eighteen). The latter case is worthy of note on account of the symbol used to mark the contraction. Rather than using one of the abbreviation marks listed by Capelli as indicating a missing *ur*, *tur* or, more rarely but as in this case, *er*, the mark used appears little different from the suspension tildes at the end of words, perhaps only a little smaller and less upturned to the right.²⁰ Ligatures appear frequently (perhaps more so than would be expected in Caroline minuscule), commonly *t* joined with *i* (*probatione*, line seven), tall *s* with *t* (*monasteriale*, line four), and *c* with *t* (*docti*, line nine, which in fact combines the *ct* ligature with the following *i* to create a three-letter glyph).

Other notable features of the script in this section include the use of *e* (with an extended cross-stroke, or *hasta*) rather than classical Latin *ae*, (*seculo*, line seventeen), and no use of *e-caudata*.²¹ Prefixes are often added without a space, for example *exacie*, line nine, and *adsingularem*, line ten. In fact, although the spacing between words is generally consistent there are instances where words other than prefixes are joined together, for example *cumquicquid*, line twenty, which should read *cum quicquid* (the latter an alternative spelling of

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 35. Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, p. 69.

²⁰ Capelli, A., *The elements of abbreviation in medieval Latin palaeography*, (trans.) Heimann, D. and Kay, R. (Kansas: University of Kansas Libraries, 1982), p. 13.

²¹ Clemens and Graham, *Introduction*, p. 75. By contrast, *æ* does appear in the Old English (for example *genæmned*, lines fifteen to sixteen, p. 292). *e-caudata* is not consistently absent, appearing for example in *culpæ*, line sixteen, page 293; it appears in two different forms on this page, one more stylised than the other.

quidquid). Use of the parchment is further maximised by splitting words across lines (*contra*, lines eleven to twelve) and pages (*teterrimum*, lines thirteen-fourteen), the latter indicated using hyphenation. *R* in line two is particularly interesting for its differing forms: in *Monachorum* there is a visible gap between the two feet of the letter, as in modern *R*; in *quattuor* the foot of the ascender is lightly extended to join the downward stroke, but still recognisably *R*; by the end of the line the two *Rs* in *gerera* are more heavily joined, with a less marked upturning stroke at the end of the letter. These look much more like a modern *B* (although noticeably different from the *B* in *Degeneribus*, line one); the difficulty in transcribing this is compounded by an apparent error on the part of the scribe, as the word should in fact be *genera*.²²

Whilst the *genera* error is not amended, there are signs of correction elsewhere on these pages. An erased but still legible *in* appears in line 14 and a possible further illegible and written over correction in *nulla* on the same line. *Qui* at the beginning of line eight appears to have been erased before *Q* was infilled, but there is no subsequent substitution. This light erasure, which leaves *Qui* clearly legible, was perhaps intended to remove a wrongly capitalised *Q*, but this raises questions around why the whole word would be erased and nothing inserted in its place. It is possible that the damage was accidental rather than a deliberate correction, but no surrounding text is impacted and this does not explain the lack of infilling.

Further possible corrections can be seen in the final *t* of *putauerint*, line twenty, which is noticeably different in form from elsewhere, with lighter ink and a head-stroke extending further to the right perhaps evidence of a different hand. The most obvious corrections are found in lines fourteen and nineteen: in the first of these, *saraba* and *itarum* are separated but

²² Treatment of this error in the secondary literature appears to be to print '*gerera* (!)'; I have not found it further discussed. For an example see M. P. James and L. Rogers, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts: in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), p. 417.

linked after the fact by a connecting line taking a rough v shape; nineteen shows an incorrect *inclusio uilibus*, with a mark similar to a modern-day comma inserted below the line after the *o* of *inclusio* to separate it, and a wavy line (interestingly different to the line used for the connection in line fourteen, suggesting different hands) connecting it to *uilibus*, rendering the correct reading of *includi ouilibus*.

Immediately following *ouilibus* is a possibly corrected *punctus elevatus*, the inverted comma appearing to the right of the *punctus* rather than more directly above it as it seems to elsewhere (for example, after *alterius*, line eleven); the two versions continue to appear throughout the MS. The scribe uses the *positurae* system of punctuation for both the Latin and Old English texts, the *punctus elevatus* used sparingly for major medial pauses, *punctus simplex* commonly used mid-sentence and *punctus versus* typically at the end of sentences. The punctuation in this transcript deserves further discussion than can be given here, with a number of points requiring clarification: two small dots above *contra* on line eight; a single dot underneath the final letter of a word before it is split across lines (the first *f* of *sufficiunt* in line twelve for example); and a possible punctuation mark or symbol above *hoc*, line twenty-two.²³

Aside from what we can infer from the text (both script and content), the MS. can tell us something of its purpose in its size and minimal decoration (there is no evidence that it was intended as a display copy, suggesting its function was more private) and its production. In places the scribe's preparation for writing can be seen in faintly visible lines under the text and around its outer edges (particularly clear under *monachorum*, line one, and *auxiliante*, line twelve). Also faintly visible are the initials of the previous page, a list of the Rule's chapters

²³ The use of a dot to indicate a break in the word is not applied universally, for example it is not present where *manifestum* is split in lines two to three.

showing a variety of *D* forms which continues onto page 290. Particularly interesting on p.291 is the visible tear towards the top-left of the page. A repair has been carried out, the oval shape of the small holes running along each side of the tear indicating the stitching was done whilst the skin was stretched on the parchment maker's frame.²⁴ The damage doesn't interfere with the text, supporting the argument that the tear was present before writing and the scribe worked around it.²⁵

Wider significance

As David Ganz rightly points out, 'texts were not copied by chance'. CCCC 178's existence allows us to better understand how and why a critical text was transmitted and used. As one of only two extant Old English *Rules* written before the middle of the eleventh century CCCC 178, when studied alongside similar MSS., allows us to conclude that the alternating Latin-English format (the divine, superior Latin taking precedence) was the preferred method of presentation for translations of the text at the centre of the Benedictine reform, and that such bilingual versions circulated widely.²⁶ Royal support for the reform movement is well-evidenced ('*Ædgarus rex et Alfreð dederunt sancto Æðelwoldo manerium...eo pact out ille regulam sancti Benedicti in anglicum idioma de Latino transferret*'),²⁷ the apparent aim of the translation being to allow novices, 'uneducated monolingual speakers of English' ('*þa*

²⁴ Clemens and Graham, *Introduction*, p. 13.

²⁵ J. J. G. Alexander suggests this was relatively common (a result of the cost of parchment), pointing to evidence in manuscripts where such flaws have been deliberately decorated by scribes, J. J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 36.

²⁶ Gretsche, 'Æthelwold's translation', p. 143. The other surviving MS., which has significant similarities with MS.178, is Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 197. F. Alvarez-Lopez, 'The Manuscripts of the Old English RSB: A Methodological Approach to the Study of English Benedictine Manuscripts', in *Weaving New Perspectives Together: Some Reflections on Literary Studies* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Publishers, 2002), pp. 2-18, (p. 7).

²⁷ Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, p. 9, 'King Edgar and Ælfthryth gave the manor to Saint Æðelwold...he agreed to translate the Rule of St Benedict into English from Latin', *Liber Eliensis*, Book II, chapter 37, (ed.) E. O. Blake (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1962), p. 111.

ungelæredan inlendisce')²⁸ to obey the precepts of the Rule; indeed Gretsch argues that Æthelwold sacrificed 'stylistic elegance' to prioritise 'understandability...through repetition and explanation'.²⁹ Rohini Jayatalika argues persuasively that the requirement for a translation applied to both men and women, and aberrations in some chapter headings in CCCC 178 (particularly chapter LX) suggest it may derive from a version of Æthelwold's translation which had been adapted for women.³⁰ Jayatalika's interesting conclusion is not only that at the beginning of the eleventh century there was a demand for copies of this bilingual text, but also that male communities such as Worcester were relying upon versions of the text which had been adapted for female communities, versions which were perhaps more readily available.³¹

As a text created to enable understanding of a document originally in Latin, it is interesting to find a final feature of these pages which illustrates its further use as a linguistic tool for the teaching of Old English. Matthew Parker's annotation at the bottom of page 291, '*In hoc libro facilius discitur Lingua Saxonica*' ('In this book the Saxon language is easily learnt'), demonstrates that the use of bilingual MSS. as teaching tools extended beyond the Middle Ages; perhaps Parker is echoing the feelings of the 'tremulous hand' who himself returned to CCCC 178 'again and again' to study the Old English language.³²

²⁸ F. Alvarez-Lopez, 'Bilingual Manuscripts in Late Anglo-Saxon England; the Bilingual Copies of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti*', in *Textual Reception and Cultural Debate in Medieval English Studies*, (ed.) M. J. E. Ramos and J. R. Prado-Perez (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), pp. 11-24, (p.14).

²⁹ Gretsch, 'Æthelwold's translation', p. 144. Gretsch is convinced, however, that Æthelwold only 'rarely altered the meaning', M. Gretsch, 'The Benedictine Rule in Old English: a Document of Bishop Æthelwold's Reform Politics', in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss* (ed.) M. Kohhammer (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), pp. 131-158.

³⁰ For a detailed study of the relevant MSS. in relation to their intended recipients see R. Jayatalika, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule: writing for men and women', *Anglo-Saxon England* 32 (2003), pp. 147-187, (particularly p. 157-8). See also Gretsch, 'The Benedictine Rule'.

³¹ Jayatalika, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule', p. 182-186.

³² Tally Lionarons (ed.), *Old English Literature*, p. 224. Alvarez-Lopez, 'The Manuscripts', p. 13. On the density of the tremulous hand's glosses in this MS. compared to others see W. Schipper, 'The Worcester Tremulous Scribe and the Ælfric Manuscripts', *Journal of English Linguistics* 25(3) (1997), pp. 183-201, (p. 189).

Appendix

Medieval punctuation	Representation
<i>punctus</i>	.
<i>punctus versus</i>	;
<i>punctus elevatus</i>	.'

Table I: Medieval punctuation and its representation in this transcript.

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