

**THE PRODUCTION AND USE OF
MS CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE 383
IN THE LATE ELEVENTH AND FIRST HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURIES**

Thomas John Gobbitt

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ABSTRACT

MS Cambridge Corpus Christi College 383 (CCCC 383) is a collection of Anglo-Saxon law-codes and related texts copied in Old English dated to the beginning of the twelfth century. The manuscript is written throughout by a single scribe in a clear, subtly decorated and easy to read English Vernacular Minuscule and decorated throughout with red pen-drawn initials. Rubrics have been supplied in the first half of the twelfth century, as well as numerous additions and emendations dating from the first half of the twelfth century through to the sixteenth century.

I have conducted an extensive codicological and contextual examination of the production and use of CCCC 383. I investigated a number of significant areas: the direct evidence for the materials and methods employed in the production of the manuscript and for its storage and use throughout the period; evidence for scribal behaviour and interaction with the manuscript in the writing, miniaturing, emendation and rubrication of the manuscript; analysis of the *mise-en-page* and the ways in which that can be used to assess the intentions of producers and users of the manuscript; and consideration of the continued roles of the Old English language and Anglo-Saxon law in the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth century.

I argue that the production of the manuscript represented a significant and meaningful endeavour on the part of its producers and users and indicates the continued applicability and of Old English and Anglo-Saxon law-codes in the historical context of the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Additional Item No.	Refers to an entry in Appendix G
AUL	Aberdeen University Library
BL	British Library
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
<i>Domboc</i>	<i>Ælfred-Ine Domboc</i>
<i>Frið</i>	<i>Frið of Ælfred and Guðrum</i>
Item No.	Refers to an entry in Appendix D
Miniaturing Item No.	Refers to an entry in Appendix F
Ps.-Edward	Ps.-Edward and Guðrum
<i>RSP</i>	<i>Rectitudines Singularum Personarum</i>
Rubrication Item No.	Refers to an entry in Appendix H
Text-Block Item No.	Refers to an entry in Appendix E
UV	Ultra-Violet light
VIS	Visible light
<i>Wifmannes</i>	<i>Wifmannes Bewedding</i>
WSG	West-Saxon Genealogy

INTRODUCTION

0.1 The thesis

Throughout this thesis I will undertake a close codicological examination of the production and use of a single manuscript of Anglo-Saxon law-codes in the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries. I will examine the interrelationship between the manuscript and the broader economic and legal contexts that it was embedded within. I will engage with a number of significant areas: the materials and methods employed in the production of the manuscript and for its storage and use throughout the period; evidence for scribal behaviour and interaction with the manuscript in the writing, miniaturing, emendation and rubrication of the manuscript; analysis of the *mise-en-page* and the ways in which that can be used to assess the intentions of producers and users of the manuscript; and consideration of the continued roles of the Old English language and Anglo-Saxon law in the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth century. This thesis contributes towards the agenda and interests of the AHRC funded project *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220*,¹ under whose auspices I have undertaken my PhD research.

0.2 The production and use of Old English in the twelfth century

A shift in scholarly attitudes to the copying of Old English in the twelfth century is currently gaining pace, in which scholars argue that the array of manuscripts and texts produced in this period deserve detailed examination in their own

¹ 'The Production and Use of English Manuscripts', in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220* < <http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/index.html> > [Accessed 10 November 2010].

right.² In much of the previous scholarship on the production and use of Old English in the twelfth century it has been assumed that the language suffered a rapid decline in use in the period following 1100,³ and that Old English texts were 'slowly slipping out of intelligibility' as 'the long continuity of Old English as a language finally broke'.⁴ A more convincing argument is that the impression of a decline in English literate culture is a product of scholars examining only newly composed texts rather than those which have been copied and re-worked throughout the period.⁵

If manuscripts containing copies of Old English texts produced and/or emended in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries are considered, then a much broader English literate culture can be seen.⁶ The predominant use of these post-1100 manuscripts by editors of Old English to date has been to collect variant versions of texts for comparative purposes or to supply texts that are

² Elaine Treharne, 'The Dates and Origins of Three Twelfth-Century Old English Manuscripts', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Treharne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 227-53 (p. 244); A. I. Doyle, 'Recent Directions in Medieval Manuscript Study', in *New Directions in Later Medieval Manuscript Studies: Essays from the 1998 Harvard Conference*, ed. by Derek Pearsall (York: York University Press, 2000), pp. 1-14 (pp. 6-7); Orietta Da Rold, 'English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220 and the Making of a Re-source', *Literature Compass*, 3 (2006), 750-66 (p. 750) revised and updated in Da Rold, 'EM in Context' in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220*, ed. by Swan and Treharne <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/culturalcontexts/2.htm>> [Accessed 14 November 2010].

³ For an overview see Linda Georgianna, 'Coming to Terms with the Norman Conquest: Nationalism and English Literary History', in *Literature and Nation*, ed. by Brook Thomas (Tübingen: Gulde-Druck, 1998), pp. 33-54 (p. 43).

⁴ Anna Lawrence, 'Reviewed Work: *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century* by Mary Swan: Elaine M. Treharne', *Modern Language Review*, 98 (2003), 417-18 (p. 418).

⁵ Georgianna, 'Coming to Terms with the Norman Conquest', p. 45.

⁶ 'List of Manuscripts', in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220*, ed. by Swan and Treharne <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/catalogue/mss.htm>> [Accessed 10 November 2010]; Neil Ripley Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957, rev edn 1990), pp. xviii-xix; David A. E. Pelteret, *Catalogue of English Post-Conquest Vernacular Documents* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), pp. 34-43; Mary Swan and Treharne, 'Introduction', *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Swan and Treharne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1-10 (pp. 1-4); Treharne, 'Dates and Origins', p. 228; R. M. Thomson, *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England: The Ending of 'Alter Orbis': The Lyell Lectures 2000-2001* (Walkern: Red Gull, 2006), pp. 1-5.

incomplete or are not present in the extant, earlier manuscripts.⁷ When post-1100 copies of texts are edited and discussed in the scholarship they are usually divorced from their manuscript contexts. Emphasis is usually on the texts as they were first composed or – lacking the original text – on a hypothetical, restored form, while subsequent emendations are marginalised.⁸

0.3 Codicology

The discipline of codicology, in its most encompassing sense as the study of manuscripts for whichever purpose, began in the early eighteenth century as an aspect of palaeography which was defined comprehensively to include the study of scripts, texts and the manuscripts that contained them.⁹ The argument that palaeography should refer only to the study of script and that the study of books, for their own sake or the texts they contained, should be codicology was first made in the middle of the twentieth century and the discipline has expanded steadily since then.¹⁰

J. P. Gumbert has suggested that the term ‘codicology’ be used to describe the study of books for the sake of the texts they contain and proposed that the term ‘material codicology’ be used for the study of books for their own sake as this aspect of codicology is often marginalised.¹¹ The study of books for

⁷ Treharne, ‘Dates and Origins’, p. 228.

⁸ Graham D. Caie, ‘The Manuscript Experience: What Medieval Vernacular Manuscripts tell us about Authors and Texts’, in *Medieval Texts in Context*, ed. by Denis Renevey and Caie (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 10-27 (p. 10).

⁹ J. P. Gumbert, ‘Fifty Years of Codicology’, *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schrifgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, 50 (2004), 505-26 (p. 505); The association between cataloguing, collectors and codicology is notable in the early twentieth century, see for example, Falconer Madan, ‘Treatment and Cataloguing of Manuscripts’, repr. in Armando Petrucci, *La Descrizione Del Manoscritto: Storia, Problemi Modelli* (Rome: Carocci Editore, 2nd edn 2001), pp. 188-202.

¹⁰ A. Dain, *Les Manuscrits* (Paris: Société d’Édition les Belles-Lettres, 1949; 2nd edn 1964), pp. 76-77; François Masai, ‘Paléographie et Codicologie’, *Scriptorium*, 4 (1950), 279-93 (pp. 289-93); Gumbert, ‘Fifty Years’, p. 506.

¹¹ Gumbert, ‘Fifty Years’, p. 507. A.I. Doyle has observed that many scholars have a general dissatisfaction with the use of specific terminology, but argues persuasively against this trend that – for the sake of clarity and to allow emphasis of concepts and things – specific terms are

their own sake, Gumbert argues, is not only a legitimate field of study, but is one of vital importance.¹² Gumbert's divisive approach for distinguishing the two aspects of codicology in which he suggests it be left 'to them if they want to distinguish themselves by adding another adjective',¹³ is not entirely helpful. This is confusing and implies, despite Gumbert's protestations,¹⁴ that the study of manuscripts for their own sake or as material artefacts is somehow subordinate to studying them for their texts' sake. I would argue, therefore, that the study of manuscripts for the sake of the texts should be named 'textual codicology' instead. Each manuscript can inform us about the 'intellectual endeavour and cultural background' in which the text and its subsequent copies were adapted, produced and used.¹⁵ The contextual element, found in the order of texts,¹⁶ the support and binding, the aspect of the script(s), layout, presentation, decoration and so forth supplies essential information which contributes to the understanding of the individual texts and provides clues as to how the text was understood, scribal behaviour, and the historical and cultural

needed. Doyle also observes that the same terminology need not be used by everybody, as long as the meaning can be identified and translated both within and between languages.

Doyle, 'Recent Directions', p. 6.

¹² Gumbert, 'Fifty Years', p. 508.

¹³ Gumbert, 'Fifty Years', pp. 507-08.

¹⁴ Gumbert, 'Fifty Years', p. 508.

¹⁵ Treharne, 'The Production and Script of Manuscripts Containing English Religious Texts in the First Half of the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Swan and Treharne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 11-40 (p. 11). A similar argument is made by Mildred Budny in an article addressed at conservators emphasising why it is important to conserve the physical aspects of the manuscript as it was produced and used, rather than simply the texts the manuscript contained, Mildred Budny, 'Physical Evidence and Manuscript Conservation: A Scholars Plea', in *Conservation and Preservation in Small Libraries*, ed. by Nicholas Hadgraft and Katherine Swift (Cambridge: Parker Library, 1994), pp. 29-46.

¹⁶ It should be observed here that Mary P. Richards has undertaken a comprehensive and valuable discussion of the changing manuscript contexts of six manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon law-codes, including CCC 383, which focuses primarily on the order and association of texts. Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts of the Old English Laws: Tradition and Innovation', in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach (New York: State University of New York Press, 1986), pp. 171-92.

circumstances of the books production.¹⁷ I would suggest referring to this third aspect that considers the relationship between texts, books and the broader contexts of production and use as 'contextual codicology'.

0.4 Archaeological approaches to codicology

François Masai defined codicology in a distinctly rhetorical fashion, stating that 'la codicologie est l'archaéologie des monuments les plus précieux d'une civilisation : de ses livres'.¹⁸ This definition of codicology as archaeology of the book is one that has persisted in the scholarship.¹⁹ It is used to draw an analogy between the systematic analysis of the past through archaeology and the systematic analysis of the manuscript as a means of reconstructing the original conditions of the manuscript's production and use. The metaphor has been extended by Gumbert, who refers to the phases of a manuscript's production as its stratigraphy.²⁰ Marilena Maniaci also conceptualises phases of the books production and emendation in terms of the 'stratification' of items.²¹

Archaeology provides theoretical models for constructing interpretive discourse on the manuscript as an artefact of material culture in its historical context. Archaeological methodology, as used for field excavation, provides a number of useful analytical tools that can be adapted to the codicological study

¹⁷ Caie, 'The Manuscript Experience', p. 11; M.B. Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes: The Lyell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1999* (Aldershot, Ashgate: 2008); Doyle, 'Recent Directions', p. 7; Albert Derolez, 'The Codicology of Italian Renaissance Manuscripts: Twenty Years After', *Manuscripta*, 50 (2006), 223-40; Marilena Maniaci, 'Words within Words: Layout Strategies in Some Glossed Manuscripts of the *Illiad*', *Manuscripta*, 50 (2006), 241-68; Denis Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire Codicologique: Répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits* (Paris: CEMI, 1985).

¹⁸ Masai, 'Paléographie et Codicologie', p. 293.

¹⁹ See, for example, Jacques Lemaire, *Introduction à la Codicologie* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique, 1989), pp. 3-6; Doyle, 'Recent Directions', p. 7; Gumbert, 'Fifty Years', p. 506.

²⁰ Gumbert, 'Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogenous Codex', *Segno e Testa*, 2 (2004), 17-42 (p. 18); Gumbert, 'Fifty Years', p. 511.

²¹ Maniaci, 'Words within Words', p. 242.

of manuscripts, in particular the context recording sheet,²² which I have adapted to create a proforma for recording codicological features of the manuscript, as will be discussed in Chapter 2. I have applied this approach to analysing and recording patterns of pricking and ruling, the hair and flesh side of the parchment, damage to the surfaces of the folios, ink and so forth.

Where two (or more) stratigraphic layers abut or overlap, a relative chronology can be constructed between them as, because each represents a discrete moment or phase and the later must affect the earlier, it is possible to determine which occurred first. The basis of this interpretation of relative chronology is the law of superposition, which states that under normal circumstances the further down a layer is the older it is.²³ This principle is equally applicable for recording and interpreting the relative chronology of the order of production of a manuscript, as various items and codicological features (analogous to stratigraphic layers) can be demonstrated to overlies each other. The identification of relative stratigraphy in manuscript production, of course, is already widely used; the presence of through-lines indicating that a bifolium was ruled before it was sewn into its quire is perhaps the most common example of such stratigraphy.²⁴ Where the ink of one item (such as a pen-drawn initial or an addition in the margins) physically overlies the ink of another item, the relative chronology can again be constructed. The law of superposition indicating for the manuscript that the item underlying is the older, and the one on top the more recent.

²² For an example and critical review of the context recording sheet see, Ian Hodder, *The Archaeological Process* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 98-104.

²³ Edward C. Harris, *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy* (London: Academic, 1979), pp. 3-14; Hodder, *The Archaeological Process*, pp. 39-42.

²⁴ Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology (1944)', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, 14 (2008), 246-50, (pp. 246-49).

The Harris Matrix is a form of flow-chart, widely used in archaeology as a means of recording and visually representing stratigraphic relationships.²⁵ Each stratigraphic layer is indicated in a box,²⁶ with the direct associations indicated by joining the boxes with lines. The Harris Matrix is read from the bottom upwards, graphically representing the law of superposition so that the items lower down are older and those higher up are more recent.²⁷ I would suggest that a full Harris Matrix for a manuscript should have the parchment (or perhaps even the source animals, as damage to the parchment such as veining or insect bites can also be represented as phases) at the lowest point and should extend through provenance markers and up to the modern day at the top. In this thesis, however, I use a Harris Matrix only to clarify the production of the text-block and subsequent amendment of a single, somewhat confusing page (fol. 11^r in Chapter 7) and therefore represent a narrower time span of the manuscript.

An ideal Harris Matrix forms a single column, with the stratigraphic relationship of each item clearly demonstrated. In practice there are often two or more items that can be demonstrated to post-date (or pre-date) a third, but for which a direct stratigraphic relationship between the pair cannot be proved. In these cases the Harris Matrix forks (or combines), so that the extent of the stratigraphic evidence is clearly represented.²⁸ Palaeographic and codicological dates for items and features are indicated where applicable, allowing the relative chronology to be refined with the absolute dates. By incorporating

²⁵ Harris, *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy*, pp. 81-99; Hodder, *The Archaeological Process*, pp. 66-116.

²⁶ in field archaeology different shaped boxes are used to represent different types of archaeological feature such as 'cuts' and 'fills', but I would argue that this is currently superfluous for recording codicological stratigraphy, although future work might identify ways in which it could be useful.

²⁷ To make the order of reading more apparent, I have opted to use arrows rather than plain lines to indicate the connections, as will be seen in Chapter 7.

²⁸ Harris, *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy*, pp. 86-91.

horizontal lines associating metadata with the items, such as items that were produced by the same scribal hand, the interaction of the producers and users with the manuscript and each other (through the order of their contributions) can be delineated.

Relatively recent developments in archaeological theory, referred to as post-Processualism, argue for a subject-oriented interpretation of the past, in which the re-construction of the past is produced through the interaction between researcher and material remnants of the past on the one hand, and between the material culture and its original producers and users on the other.²⁹ A core element of post-Processual theory is that objects are understood as being actively produced through human agency and used to create and change meaning and identities in the social context, rather than simply being passive by-products of human activity.³⁰ Such theoretical stances are inherently applicable to the codicological analysis of manuscripts, and will underlie the considerations in this study of production, emendation and use observable in CCCC 383 in the late eleventh century and throughout the first half of the twelfth century.

A further element of post-Processualism directly applicable to the study of the manuscript as historic artefact in context is phenomenology. The

²⁹ Post-Processual theory began as a major paradigm shift in the late 1970 in reaction to the positivistic, 'Processual', approaches to archaeology that had previously dominated the discipline. Since then, post-Processual theory has continued to be developed and subsequent phases have been labelled 'post-post-Processual' and even 'post-post-post-Processual'. Needless to say, these are cumbersome titles to use and I have chosen to compress all the ongoing phases of development under the name 'post-Processual' for the sake of clarity. Unfortunately, a full historiographical review of the development of the discipline of archaeology and archaeological theory cannot be presented here. However, informative critical discussions can be found in: Hodder, *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; 2nd edn 1991), pp. 1-181; Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley, *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 1987; 2nd edn 1992), pp. 103-15.

³⁰ Hodder, *Reading the Past*, pp. 121-81; Shanks and Tilley, *Re-Constructing Archaeology*, pp. 116-71; Shanks and Tilley, *Social Theory and Archaeology* (Oxford: Polity, 1987).

phenomenological approach to archaeology was first outlined by Christopher Tilley as a method of interpreting the interplay of cognitive and visual elements between individuals in the past (and present), material objects and the places they live in and move through.³¹ Central to the phenomenological approach is the recognition that space, on any scale from full landscape through to small objects, such as a manuscript or its support, is not abstracted from human experience. Space is not simply a passive, geometrical surface on which action occurs, but, as was argued for material culture in general, it is an active and human-centred medium in which events occur.³²

Archaeological and codicological investigation can be understood as analysis of the human significance embedded in the relationship between artefact and environment, object and context. Context, in archaeological terms, however, is not a straight-forward concept, but instead is used in multiple ways in the scholarship with meanings that are not always clear or consistent.³³ The main definition of 'context' that Ian Hodder proposes is the relationship between an object as 'a lower level entity (e.g. a feature) within a higher level entity (such as a site)'.³⁴ He then goes on to argue that this is not limited to a specific scale, and can equally refer to the individual attributes of an artefact in relation to the artefact itself.³⁵

In archaeological terms, however, 'context' is also used as a collective term for the archaeological objects, layers, features and associations found

³¹ Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), pp. 7-34.

³² Tilley, *Phenomenology*, pp. 7-11.

³³ For example, Hodder uses the term 'context' variously to refer to data sampling through excavation, the influence of developer funding and associated considerations on the form of excavation methodology used, the interpretation of data within a framework of reason, for describing academic disciplines, for referring to different interpretations of an object under different social circumstances and the interpretation of general categories in relation to particular instances. Hodder, *The Archaeological Process*, pp. 4-70.

³⁴ Hodder, *The Archaeological Process*, p. 84.

³⁵ Hodder, *The Archaeological Process*, p. 84.

within the site, which itself is also referred to as a 'context'.³⁶ In codicological terms, context in material terms equates therefore to features such as individual items – e.g. texts, emendations, additions, miniaturings, rubrics, paraphs, running-headings, quire marks and so forth – as well as elements such as prickmarks, ruling patterns, parchment, folios and bifolia, quires, stitching and binding. Beyond these, context can extend to describing the places where the manuscript was produced, stored and used – the scriptoria, library or book chest, institutions, settlements and countries. In addition to these material elements, non-physical contexts must also be considered – frameworks of society, religion, economics, literacy and, particularly in the case of manuscripts containing law-codes and related texts, law and administration.

0.5 The legal context of the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries

The legal context of the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries has been widely discussed and debated in scholarship on legal history. The period is loosely defined in the scholarship by two key events: the Norman Conquest of 1066 and the formation of the Common Law during the reign of Henry II (crowned 19 December 1154, died 6 July 1189). The scholarship has focused on Anglo-Saxon law, the origins of the Common Law or the degree and manner of continuity and/or revolution between the two types of law. The scholarly emphasis on the pre-1100 contexts of Anglo-Saxon law through the media of post-1100 manuscripts primarily occurs for editorial reasons,³⁷ as it was during

³⁶ Hodder, *The Archaeological Process*, pp. 84-128.

³⁷ See Treharne, 'Dates and Origins', p. 228.

this period that the majority of extant manuscript copies of Anglo-Saxon law-codes were produced.³⁸

The interpretation of the period prior to the formation of the Common Law has changed significantly from the nineteenth century to the modern day. Fredrick Maitland and Frederick Pollock argued that the formation of the Common Law originated entirely with Henry II and his advisors.³⁹ The period immediately following the Norman Conquest was viewed as one where two streams of law collided; the main stream being the continental, Norman and Frankish based Latinate law, ultimately derived from the Roman and Carolingian models, and the other stream, marginalised as being a 'rivulet': Anglo-Saxon law.⁴⁰

The nineteenth-century scholars viewed Anglo-Saxon law as an irrational conglomerate of traditional law-codes, rites and practices which were promulgated ad hoc, which was replaced completely by the rational and stratified codifications of the Common Law.⁴¹ The formation of the Common Law in the second half of the twelfth century, therefore, was understood as a revolution and complete innovation in the form of law. The evidence for the continued presence of Anglo-Saxon law throughout the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries was marginalised from the scholarship. Wormald

³⁸ In addition to the Old English versions of law-codes that are uniquely preserved in CCC 383, a similar array are only found in the twelfth-century *Textus Roffensis* while the Latin translations are in the various manuscripts of the *Quadripartitus*, also compiled in the twelfth century: Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell 1999), pp. 164-65; *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle: Numeyer, 1903-16) I, pp. xviii-xlii.

³⁹ John Hudson, *The Formation of the Common Law: Law and Society in England from the Norman Conquest to Magna Carta* (London: Longman, 1996), p. 19.

⁴⁰ Frederic W. Maitland, 'History of English Law', in *Selected Historical Essays of F. W. Maitland*, ed. by Helen M. Cam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), pp. 97-121 (pp. 97-102).

⁴¹ Frederick Pollock, 'Anglo-Saxon Law', *English Historical Review*, 8 (1893), 239-71 (pp. 239-42); Pollock and Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*, 2 vols (Washington DC: Lawyers Literary Club, 1895; 2nd edn 1959), I, 458-62.

argues that Maitland found it difficult to interpret what Anglo-Saxon laws were actually trying to do, and felt them to be better served as one narrow thread of the larger body of Germanic law, the *Volksrechte*, which had been heavily studied by German scholars throughout the nineteenth century.⁴² This marginalisation of the role of Anglo-Saxon law in the twelfth century contributed to the greater degree of influence and perception of a break in continuity that the Norman Conquest was perceived in the scholarship to have caused.⁴³ Wormald argues that Maitland deliberately and actively redefined Anglo-Saxon law as archaic and separate from the Common Law so as to make the study of it only suited for historical purposes and thereby prevent it from being made politically relevant and used in the courtroom.⁴⁴ John Hudson argues that the model of the formation of the Common Law proposed by Maitland had become the understood norm in the scholarship, and that most subsequent work well into the second half of the twentieth century had simply elaborated or qualified it.⁴⁵

A counter-trend emerged in the middle of the twentieth century which viewed the origins of the Common Law as a gradual evolution of Anglo-Saxon legal culture which occurred throughout the period between the Norman Conquest and the second half of the twelfth century.⁴⁶ H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles emphasise that there was a continuity of law from the earliest dated

⁴² Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 16-17.

⁴³ The formation of the Common Law is still viewed as part of the so-called twelfth-century renaissance in some modern scholarship, for example C. Warren Hollister, 'Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the 12th-Century Renaissance*, ed. by C. Warren Hollister (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 1-16 (p. 11).

⁴⁴ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 15-20.

⁴⁵ Hudson, *The Formation of the Common Law*, p. 19.

⁴⁶ T. A. M. Bishop and P. Chaplais, *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to AD 1100: Presented to Vivian Hunter Galbraith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. ix.

law-codes of Æðelberht of Kent through into the Common Law.⁴⁷ Kurt Von S.

Kynell emphasises how the nineteenth-century interpretation of ongoing continuity and development has remained current in more popular scholarship on the period. His argument centres on premise that the Common Law is simply too complete to have sprung into existence fully-formed and that it must therefore have been developed from legal antecedents.⁴⁸ Kynell uses an anachronistic approach to the study of the evolution of Anglo-Saxon law by seeking to identify the pre-Conquest antecedents of various aspects of the Common Law.⁴⁹ This anachronism de-contextualises Anglo-Saxon legal culture from its historical and cultural setting, as the interpretation seeks only to find the antecedents of Common Law. This imposes a teleological determinism onto the historical context, which turns each manuscript, person, moment, and law-code into little more than a stepping-stone towards the ultimate goal of becoming the Common Law. The legal and historical elements of Anglo-Saxon culture not present in the Common Law become, at best, quietly excised from scholarly notice or, at worst, actively vilified as inappropriate and excluded from the study of law. Polarisation in the interpretation of the legal culture of the period occurs depending on whether it is assumed that the Conquest had little or great effect on English society and culture, although often this is not made explicit in the scholarship. Recent interpretations of the transition between Anglo-Saxon legal culture in the eleventh century and the Common Law in the twelfth century have begun to identify a more intermediate route.

⁴⁷ H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *Law and Legislation: From Æthelberht to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966), p. 1.

⁴⁸ Kurt von S. Kynell, *Saxon and Medieval Antecedents of the English Common Law*, (Lampeter: Mellen, 2000), p. 1; this is also echoed by Wormald, 'Quadripartitus', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy*, ed. by George Garnett and Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 111-47 (p. 111).

⁴⁹ Kynell, *Saxon and Medieval Antecedents*, p. 17.

Wormald attributes great significance to the Norman Conquest in the changing production and use of manuscripts containing law-codes.⁵⁰ He subdivides the extant manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon law-codes, predominantly on typological grounds, into eight groups depending on their textual and manuscript contexts.⁵¹ Wormald's sixth category, the so-called 'legal encyclopaedia', is defined as 'post-conquest' collections consisting exclusively of law, which he argues were intended to aid Norman understanding and rule of their newly acquired and alien conquest.⁵²

0.6 Anglo-Saxon law-codes and Felix Liebermann's *Gesetze*

Felix Liebermann's *Die Gesetze Der Angelsachsen*, first published in the early twentieth century, remains the standard edition of the majority of the Anglo-Saxon law-codes.⁵³ The *Gesetze* is a highly valuable tool for research, which successfully utilises a complex but informative parallel column layout and different fonts employed to facilitate comparison between variant copies of each law-code.⁵⁴ However, numerous editorial problems have been identified with

⁵⁰ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 9; Hudson, *The Formation of the Common Law*, p. 20.

⁵¹ The eight categories are: 1. Laws and Gesta, 2. Laws on Loose Leaves, 3. Laws in Holy Books, 4. Law and Homily, 5. Law and Penance, 6. Legal Encyclopaedias, 7. Law as Pamphlet? and 8. Fragmentary or Lost Manuscripts, Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 162-263.

⁵² It should be observed here that the basis of Wormald's categories are not entirely consistent. The first five are defined by the textual contents of the manuscript context, the sixth, the legal encyclopaedias, includes this textual aspect but couples it with the post-Conquest element, while the seventh, 'law as pamphlet', is defined by the material form of the manuscript. Despite the changing basis of categorisation, the value of the divisions balances the confusion they introduce. However, the final category of 'fragmentary or lost manuscripts' does not reflect the contexts of manuscript production and legal use. Emphasising this difference therefore – rather than explicitly numbering it as category 8, and implying therefore that the fragmenting and loss constituted a context of medieval use – would have been more informative. Wormald, 'Chapter Four: The Manuscripts of Legislation', in *The Making of English Law*, pp. 162-263; A similar categorisation to Wormald's number VI 'Legal Encyclopaedias', which places the post-Conquest context as the defining feature of CCC 383 and the *Textus Roffensis*, can be found in Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', p. 181.

⁵³ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I.

⁵⁴ e.g. Richard Dammery, 'Editing the Anglo-Saxon Laws: Felix Liebermann and Beyond', in *The Editing of Old English: Papers from the 1990 Manchester Conference*, ed. by D. G. Scragg

Liebermann's *Gesetze*. These shortcomings impede accurate analysis of the production and use of Anglo-Saxon law-codes in their manuscript contexts. Wormald observes that, although 'it is probably wise to check his [Liebermann's] reading against the manuscript itself for any issue that really matters, [...] one's trust is soon such that one by no means always does'.⁵⁵ Although the words and orthography of the law-code as transcribed by Liebermann may be accurate, the user is silently subjected to his normalisation of punctuation and other editorial choices in formatting and dividing the law-codes. The editorial problems identified in Liebermann's *Gesetze* also include conceptual problems with his stemmata for the law-codes and his argument that many manuscripts have been lost.⁵⁶ The problem with the stemmata results from Liebermann's analysis of the law-codes on an individual basis. Richard Dammery argues that a collective analysis of the stemmata shows them to be overly convoluted and contradictory, and it is from this resulting tangle that Liebermann deduced the existence of more manuscripts.⁵⁷ Dammery unravelled the stemmata produced by Liebermann by analysing the law-codes in their manuscript contexts and has shown that the argument for a large number of missing manuscripts can be discounted.⁵⁸

and Szarmach (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 251-61 (p. 252); Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 22.

⁵⁵ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 22.

⁵⁶ Dammery, 'Editing the Anglo-Saxon Laws', p. 254; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. li, Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 260-62.

⁵⁷ Dammery, 'Editing the Anglo-Saxon Laws', p. 252.

⁵⁸ Dammery, 'Editing the Anglo-Saxon Laws', pp. 252-53; This has built on the arguments made by Kenneth Sisam that the manuscript sources for Lambarde's *Archaionomia* in the sixteenth century were few and are mostly extant rather than numerous and lost as Liebermann argued. See Sisam, 'The Authenticity of Certain Texts in Lambarde's *Archaionomia* 1568', in *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, ed. by Sisam (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 232-58; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. li.

The naming, classification and sub-division of the law-codes used by Liebermann has also been criticised.⁵⁹ The clause numeration is uninformative and misleading, ostensibly because he followed the protocols established by Rienhold Schmid in the nineteenth century.⁶⁰ Liebermann's edition resulted, in Wormald's words, in the 'division of codes into clauses for which there is no manuscript warrant whatsoever'.⁶¹ Two main reasons have been put forward in the scholarship for Liebermann's utilisation of a system he knew to be wrong: firstly, that he was 'congenitally modest',⁶² and secondly for the sake of maintaining consistency with the scholarship already published.⁶³ I have argued elsewhere that the sub-division of the law-codes following criteria other than those incorporated into the *mise-en-page* of the manuscripts by the scribes and amenders primarily serves to de-contextualise the law-codes and to obfuscate changes in the legal context and in their use.⁶⁴

Liebermann presented a static view of Anglo-Saxon law, with a nationalistic focus in which he sought to recover the common, proto-Germanic origins that underlay Anglo-Saxon and Germanic law.⁶⁵ This approach was not unique to Liebermann or to other German scholars but was prevalent in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; for instance, Pollock, in discussion of Anglo-Saxon legal culture, described it as 'our Germanic customary law' with a possessive tone rooted in a particular version of national identity and a sense of

⁵⁹ Dammery, 'Editing the Anglo-Saxon Laws', p. 252.

⁶⁰ *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Reinhold Schmid (Leipzig: Brodhaus, 1838; 2nd edn 1858); Dammery, 'Editing the Anglo-Saxon Laws', p. 254; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 22.

⁶¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 22.

⁶² Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 22.

⁶³ Dammery, 'Editing the Anglo-Saxon Laws', p. 260.

⁶⁴ Thomas Gobbitt, 'I Æthelred in Felix Liebermann's *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* and in the *Mise-en-Page* of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', in *English Law Before Magna Carta: Felix Liebermann and Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by Andrew Rabin, Elizabeth L. Oliver and Stefan Jurasinski (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 119-35

⁶⁵ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 24.

a shared, inherited, cultural past.⁶⁶ It was probably the influence of this interpretation that rendered Maitland unable to identify the areas of continuity between the Anglo-Saxon law and the Common Law.⁶⁷

A common approach in the scholarship is to edit law-codes in the chronological order in which they were promulgated, rather than in the contexts in which they were copied into manuscripts.⁶⁸ This chronological editing allows the development of Anglo-Saxon law to be observed at the instance the law-codes were first produced, but presents only a narrow perspective on Anglo-Saxon legal culture and one that does not foreground the interplay between law-codes or the material forms in which they were transmitted. Mary P. Richards argues convincingly that only by returning to the changing manuscript contexts of the law-codes will it be possible to observe how the 'traditional materials were renewed over a period of two centuries'.⁶⁹

0.7 Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon law-codes

Wormald describes three of the extant manuscripts containing Old English copies of Anglo-Saxon law-codes as legal encyclopaedia, post-Conquest collections that consist exclusively of law:⁷⁰ BL Cotton Nero A. i (A), CCC 383 and Rochester Cathedral A. 3. 5. BL Cotton Nero A. i (A) predates the period I am studying in this thesis, while the latter two have been dated in the scholarship to the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries.⁷¹ Wormald

⁶⁶ Pollock, 'The Expansion of the Common Law. IV. The Law of Reason', *Columbia Law Review*, 4 (1904), 171-94, (p. 174); Georgianna, 'Coming to Terms with the Norman Conquest', pp. 39-41.

⁶⁷ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 15-20.

⁶⁸ Christine Fell, 'Some Questions of Layout and Legal Manuscripts', in *'Lastworda Betst' Essays in Memory of Christine E. Fell with her Unpublished Writing*, ed. by Carole Hough and Kathryn Lowe (Donington: Tyas, 2002), pp. 229-41 (p. 234).

⁶⁹ Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', pp. 171-72.

⁷⁰ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 224.

⁷¹ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-443.

also includes the Latin translation of the Anglo-Saxon law-codes called the *Quadripartitus* in the legal encyclopaedia section, for which only the earliest of the surviving manuscripts, BL Cotton Domitian viii, dates to the first half of the twelfth century. A fifth manuscript, BL Burney 277, of which only a single bifolium survives, dates to the period I am studying in this thesis. In the following sections I will outline each of these five manuscripts in the approximate order in which they were first produced in:

- London, BL Cotton Nero A. i (A), s. xi^{med}
- London, BL Burney 277, s. xi²
- CCCC 383, s. xi/xii
- Rochester Cathedral A. 3. 5, '*Textus Roffensis*', s. xii¹
- London, BL Cotton Domitian viii, '*Quadripartitus*', s. xii^{2/4}

0.7.1 BL Cotton Nero A. i (A), s. xi^{med}

BL Cotton Nero A. i comprises two originally unrelated parts that were bound together in or before the sixteenth century.⁷² The second part, (B), is a collection of ecclesiastical institutes, laws and so forth and was produced s. xiⁱⁿ, and therefore predates the period in question here.⁷³ The focus of this discussion is the first part, (A), which consists entirely of law-codes and is dated by Ker on palaeographic grounds to s. xi^{med}.⁷⁴ The manuscript consists of 55

⁷² No. 164 in Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 211-15; J. E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, 'Source Identification and Manuscript Recovery: The British Library Wulfstan MS Cotton Nero A i, 131v-132r', *Scriptorium*, 50 (1996), 132-37 (p. 132); Cross, 'Missing Folios in Cotton MS Nero A. i', *British Library Journal*, 16 (1989), 99-100 (p. 99); Dorothy Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book', *Modern Language Association*, 57 (1942), 916-29; *A Wulfstan Manuscript*, ed. by Loyn, p. 13.

⁷³ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 211.

⁷⁴ The manuscript has been variously catalogued as G in *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, pp. xxv-xxvi; 163 in Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 210-11; and 340 in Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, AR: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), p. 64. The manuscript is reproduced in facsimile edition as *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*

folios in seven quires with quire 1 being a quire of ten while quires 2-7 are each quires of eight. The final three folios are now missing from quire 5.⁷⁵ The approximate dimensions of the manuscript are 165 mm x 105 mm, again indicating a small and potentially portable size.⁷⁶ The ruling grid is in hard-point, with 19 lines in a single column with single vertical bounding lines.⁷⁷

The text-block of Cotton Nero A. i (A) is written in two scribal hands. The first scribe copied I-II Cnut, and the second scribe copied II Edgar, III Edgar, the *Capitula* to the Ælfred-Ine *Domboc*, *Romscot*, *Judex*, and the Ælfred-Ine *Domboc* (henceforth *Domboc*).⁷⁸ The manuscript is damaged and breaks off part way through the *Domboc*,⁷⁹ and it is now uncertain whether the manuscript originally concluded at the end of the law-code or contained additional law-codes and/or other texts.⁸⁰

Richards observes that the law-codes are arranged approximately in reverse chronological order, and argues that this emphasises that later law-codes were not used independently but in conjunction with the earlier law-codes.⁸¹ The collation of multiple law-codes into a single manuscript, in a manner that was different from the earlier manuscript contexts of one or two law-codes distributed amongst manuscripts predominantly filled with other types of text,⁸² expresses a change in legal context and use of the manuscript. Wormald argued that the post-Conquest collation of numerous law-codes into single manuscripts was the response of a ruling elite unfamiliar with the

XVII: *A Wulfstan Manuscript: Containing Institutes, Laws and Homilies: British Museum Cotton Nero A.1*, ed. by Henry R. Loyn (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1971).

⁷⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 211.

⁷⁶ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 224-28; Nero A. i (A), ed. by Loyn.

⁷⁷ *A Wulfstan Manuscript*, ed. by Loyn

⁷⁸ *A Wulfstan Manuscript*, ed. by Loyn, p. 13-14.

⁷⁹ At the end of the clause edited by Liebermann as 49.3: *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 44.

⁸⁰ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 224-28.

⁸¹ Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', pp. 177-78.

⁸² Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 164-65; Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', pp. 172-81.

customs and laws of those they now ruled.⁸³ He explicitly describes the ‘strong family resemblance of all the legal encyclopaedias’ as ‘a physiognomy that one is not surprised to find showing itself in the circumstances that the Conquest had created’.⁸⁴ However, as Wormald concedes, Cotton Nero A. i (A) most probably predates the Norman Conquest;⁸⁵ the arguments that the legal encyclopaedia were produced as a means of assisting Norman administration in an unfamiliar legal context are therefore not applicable to this manuscript.⁸⁶

0.7.2 BL Burney 277, s. xi²

BL Burney 277 is a bifolium, dated by Ker on palaeographic grounds to s. xi².⁸⁷ Wormald argues – based on later additions to the manuscript – that it was disassembled and this bifolium then re-used as a wrapper during or after the late thirteenth century.⁸⁸ As the manuscript has been disassembled and only this individual bifolium is extant, it is impossible to reconstruct its original textual and manuscript contexts. The bifolium originally formed the centrefold of a quire and constitutes four continuous pages of writing with 25 long lines to the page and with each folio approximately 207 mm x 130 mm in size. It contains a part of the *Domboc*, edited by Liebermann as the final words of the prologue of the laws of Ine.⁸⁹

⁸³ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 224.

⁸⁴ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 224.

⁸⁵ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 224.

⁸⁶ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 224.

⁸⁷ Various catalogued as: Bu in *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, p. xx; 136 in Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 171-72; 307 in Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, p. 61; and 362 in Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066 to 1130)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 95; Swan, ‘London, British Library Burney 277, f. 42’, in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220*, ed. by Swan and Treharne <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.BL.Burn.277.htm>> [Accessed 14 November 2010]

⁸⁸ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 257.

⁸⁹ Edited by Liebermann as the end of clause 23 of Ine: *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 88-98.

Wormald argues on the basis of the size of script and ruled space that the entire law-code would not have fitted into a single quire, and that the beginning and ends were unlikely to have coincided with the start or end of their respective quires.⁹⁰ From this he suggests that this copy of the *Domboc* must originally have been produced in a manuscript context which contained other texts. While the type of texts copied could have been varied,⁹¹ he argues that the similarity in date, size and general appearance to BL Cotton Nero A. i (A) mean that it may have been another legal encyclopaedia.⁹²

0.7.3 CCCC 383, s. xi/xii

CCCC 383 is another so-called legal encyclopaedia copied in Old English dated on palaeographic grounds by Ker to s. xi/xii.⁹³ It has been argued that the manuscript was either produced at St Paul's Cathedral, London or else moved there soon after its production, on the basis of an additional text added in a hand of s. xii¹ to the final folio of the manuscript.⁹⁴ In its current form CCCC 383 has seven original quires and internal evidence for at least two quires, possibly more, that are no longer extant. The average dimensions of each folio are

⁹⁰ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 257-58.

⁹¹ See, for example, the various associations of law with other types of texts discussed by Wormald: *The Making of English Law*, pp. 162-224.

⁹² Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 258.

⁹³ Various catalogued as: B in *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, p. xix; 383 in Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), II, 230-31; 65 in Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-13; 102 in Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, p. 37; 85 in Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 64; and 55 in Peter J. Lucas, 'Cambridge Corpus Christi College 383', *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*, 11 (2003), 74-80 (p. 74); Gobbitt, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 383', in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220*, ed. by Swan and Trehearne <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.CCCC.383.htm>> [Accessed 10 November 2010]

⁹⁴ The [S]cipmen list, detailing a number of estates most of which belonged to St Paul's, Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 230-34; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 112; *Charters of St Pauls, London* ed. by Susan Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 192-201.

approximately 187 mm x 116 mm,⁹⁵ which makes the overall size of the manuscript small and potentially portable.

The manuscript is written throughout in a single hand in a clear, subtly decorated and easy to read English Vernacular Minuscule in a glossy dark-brown to black ink and decorated throughout with red pen-drawn initials. Rubrics have been supplied at some point in the first half of the twelfth century, as well as numerous additions and emendations dating from the first half of the twelfth century through to the sixteenth century.⁹⁶ The original contents of the manuscript copied by the main scribe consist of *Be Blaserum*, *Forfang*, *Hundred*, I Æðelred, two versions of the *Frið* of Ælfred and Guðrum (henceforth *Frið*), Ps.-Edward and Guðrum (henceforth Ps.-Edward), II Æðelstan, *Domboc*, I Cnut, II Cnut, I Edward, II Edward, I Edmund, II Edmund, *Swerian*, *Wif*, *Wergild*, a charm against cattle theft, *Hit Becwæð*, II Æðelred, *Dunsæte*, *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* (henceforth *RSP*) and *Gerefa*.⁹⁷ A list of sailors owing service to St Paul's Cathedral, London – usually referred to as the [S]cipmen list – and a copy of the West-Saxon Genealogy (henceforth WSG) on the final folio in a later hand of s. xii¹. The manuscript had two further quires of the sixteenth century added, the first supplying a copy of II Edgar and III Edgar and the second the missing portion of I Cnut.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', pp. 74-76.

⁹⁶ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-13.

⁹⁷ See Appendix D, Item Nos 1 to 24.

⁹⁸ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-11.

0.7.4 Rochester Cathedral A. 3. 5, 'Textus Roffensis', s.xii¹

The *Textus Roffensis* is another so-called legal-encyclopaedia, produced at Rochester Cathedral between 1115 and 1124.⁹⁹ The manuscript is bound and consists of two parts: the law-codes on fols. 1-118 followed by a copy of the Rochester cartulary on fols. 119-235.¹⁰⁰ The two parts appear to have been collated at a later date and may originally have been separate.¹⁰¹ The manuscript has been widely discussed in the scholarship, including a two part facsimile edition edited by Peter Sawyer,¹⁰² a palaeographic analysis of the compilation by Carole Hough,¹⁰³ another palaeographic discussion of the main hand by Malcolm Parkes,¹⁰⁴ a detailed discussion of the manuscript in relation to the Rochester Cathedral Library,¹⁰⁵ and numerous discussions of the legal contents and contexts.¹⁰⁶

The contents of the first part of the *Textus Roffensis*, excluding later additions into the text-block, consist of: Laws of Æðelbert, Laws of Hloðere and Eadric, Laws of Wihtræd, *Hadbot*, WSG, *Domboc*, *Be Blaserum*, *Forfang*, *Ordal*, *Walreaf*, II Æðelstan, V Æðelstan, IV Æðelstan, *Pax*, *Swerian*, *Mircna*

⁹⁹ Various catalogues as: H in *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, pp. xxvi-xxviii; 373 in Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 443; 815 in Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 147; The manuscript is reproduced in facsimile edition as *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile XI: Textus Roffensis*, ed. by Peter Sawyer, 2 vols (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1957-62); Treharne, 'Rochester, Cathedral Library', in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220*, ed. by Swan and Treharne <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.RCL.htm>> [Accessed 14 November 2010].

¹⁰⁰ It should be noted here that I use the term 'codex' to refer to a book containing two or more quires bound together, in contrast to an unbound quire or gathering.

¹⁰¹ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 443; Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), p. 20; *Textus Roffensis*, ed. by Sawyer; Richards, 'Texts and their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Priory', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, 78 (1988), i-xii + 1-129 (pp. 43-60).

¹⁰² *Textus Roffensis*, ed. by Sawyer.

¹⁰³ Carole Hough, 'Palaeographical Evidence for the Compilation of *Textus Roffensis*', *Scriptorium*, 55 (2001), 57-79.

¹⁰⁴ Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes*, pp. 95-97.

¹⁰⁵ Richards, 'Texts and their Traditions', pp. 43-60.

¹⁰⁶ For example, Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law*, pp. 20-25; Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', pp. 184-86; Wormald, 'Laga Eadwardi: The *Textus Roffensis* and its Context', *Anglo Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1994*, 17 (1995), 243-66; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 244-53.

Laga, Ps-Edward and Guðrum, *Wergild*, I Edward, II Edward, I Edmund, II Edmund, I Æðelred, William I 'on exculpation', III Æðelred, *Jud Dei* i-iii, William I articles, Ps-Isidor, VI Æðelstan, *Geðyncðo*, *Nordleod*, *Wifmannes Bewedding* (henceforth *Wifmannes*), a charm against cattle-theft, *Hit Becwæð*, Coronation Charter of Henry I, *Excommunicatio* viii, *Excommunicatio* ix, an OE text beginning 'Adam was se æresta man', a genealogy of English kings, a list of popes, emperors, patriachs and English archbishops and bishops, a list of names, a list of popes and, finally, a text beginning 'septem archangelorum'.¹⁰⁷

The eclectic contents of the *Textus Roffensis* emphasise the limitation of Wormald's classification of the 'legal-encyclopaedia' with its defining tenet that manuscripts in this group contain '*nothing but law*' [original emphasis].¹⁰⁸

0.7.5 BL Cotton Domitian A. viii, '*Quadripartitus*', s. xii^{2/4}

BL Cotton Domitian A. viii differs from the manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon law-codes discussed previously in that its Old English contents are translated into Latin as part of the twelfth-century compilation known as the *Quadripartitus*.¹⁰⁹ Numerous manuscript copies of the *Quadripartitus* are extant, produced from the twelfth through to the sixteenth centuries.¹¹⁰ BL Cotton Domitian viii is the earliest extant copy of the *Quadripartitus*.¹¹¹ It has been dated to s. xii^{2/4} and was produced in the West Midlands;¹¹² this emphasises the spread of the *Quadripartitus* text from its original West-Saxon location of

¹⁰⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 444-46; *Textus Roffensis*, ed. by Sawyer, pp. 15-18.

¹⁰⁸ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 224.

¹⁰⁹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 236-44; Wormald, '*Quadripartitus*', pp. 111-47; Richard Sharpe, 'The Prefaces of "*Quadripartitus*"', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy*, ed. by George Garnett and Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 148-72.

¹¹⁰ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 238-39.

¹¹¹ Wormald, '*Quadripartitus*', p. 114.

¹¹² Wormald, '*Quadripartitus*', pp. 114-15.

composition.¹¹³ The manuscript contains only a partial version of the *Quadripartitus*, including the dedication (which disparages the upholding of law under William II Rufus), *Argumentum* (which emphasises that Henry I has re-confirmed the Law of Edward), I-II Cnut, the *Domboc*, and the bilingual 'F' text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.¹¹⁴

It has been argued that the initial composition of the *Quadripartitus* text may have begun before 1100 and that the latest likely dates for its completion are 1106 to 1108.¹¹⁵ No manuscript copies predating BL Cotton Domitian A. viii, however, are still extant. A number of textual variants of the *Quadripartitus* survive, which Wormald argues are based on different emendations and re-workings of the text made by the original author.¹¹⁶ The different versions of the text exist in nine manuscripts dating from the first half of the twelfth century through to the fourteenth century. The emendations and re-structuring of the law-codes between the different versions of the *Quadripartitus* in these manuscripts emphasise the changing directions and perception of Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman and Angevin laws.

0.7.6 Manuscript contexts of Anglo-Saxon law in the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries

Wormald's argument that the collation of Anglo-Saxon law-codes and related texts into manuscripts containing '*nothing but law*' [original emphasis] occurs primarily as a response to circumstances produced by the Conquest,¹¹⁷ cannot be upheld. The earliest of the so-called legal encyclopaedia, BL Cotton Nero A.

¹¹³ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 236-44.

¹¹⁴ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 236-44; Wormald, '*Quadripartitus*', p. 114.

¹¹⁵ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 244.

¹¹⁶ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 237.

¹¹⁷ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 224-36.

i (A), almost certainly pre-dates the Conquest. It would appear instead that an evolving manuscript context in the production and use of manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon law-codes can be seen, spanning the second half of the eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries. Whether or not circumstances engendered by the Conquest directly accelerated the trend of producing and using collations of law-codes is beyond the scope of this thesis. Wormald's argument that the preservation of large swathes of Old English copies of law-codes occurred specifically because people competent in Old English were becoming 'thin on the ground',¹¹⁸ is also unsustainable. The continued prevalence of Old English throughout the twelfth century is becoming heavily attested in recent scholarship.¹¹⁹ Once the continued competency of scribes to produce and use Old English working in the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth century is acknowledged, the deliberate scribal agency of the manuscript contexts of these collections of Anglo-Saxon law-codes can be further examined to illustrate how they were produced and used.

0.8 CCCC 383 as the focus of this thesis

CCCC 383 has received some attention in the scholarship but has been largely marginalised in favour of other post-1100 manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon law-codes, in particular the *Textus Roffensis*, with which it shares many law-codes.¹²⁰ In other instances it has been used to access Anglo-Saxon law as it was promulgated,¹²¹ rather than in the manuscript and social contexts the law-codes were copied in. The emphasis on text over transmission and manuscript

¹¹⁸ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 236.

¹¹⁹ As discussed previously. For fuller details see Swan and Treharne, 'Introduction', pp. 1-10.

¹²⁰ For an example of its predominant position see Hough, 'Palaeographical Evidence', p. 57; Sawyer, *Textus Roffensis*, pp. 19-21.

¹²¹ For example, Fell, 'Some Questions of Layout', p. 234.

contexts arises in part because CCCC 383 is the only extant Old English manuscript witness for five of the law-codes it contains – *Hundred* (Item No. 3),¹²² *Dunsæte* (Item No. 22) and *RSP* (Item No. 23) both Old English versions of the *Frið* (Item Nos 5 and 16) and the only extant copy of *Gerefa* (Item No. 24) in any language.¹²³

The archaising approach to editing texts arises from a more general attitude in the scholarship, derived from a ‘print-culture mentality’ in which the original form of the text, the author and the moment of initial authorship are prioritised over the subsequent fluidity in the copying, emendation and adaption of texts as made manifest in the contexts of the manuscripts that the text was produced and used in.¹²⁴ In addition to this, the underlying attitude in the scholarship to the production of the manuscript has been negative, presenting the main scribe as being incompetent in Old English and Anglo-Saxon law – in Wormald’s words ‘his mistakes were not confined to an inability to tell when one code ended and another began. His errors would shame the most recalcitrant of those still subjected to compulsory Anglo-Saxon’. Similarly, Wormald argues that CCCC 383 was produced in a post-Conquest regime where people with understanding of Anglo-Saxon law were becoming ‘increasingly thin on the

¹²² I have given each of the extant texts in CCCC 383 an ‘Item No.’, which are presented in Appendix D (and also in Table 1.1) of this thesis. However, by an ‘item’ I also mean any discrete piece of text or decoration in the manuscript. Each of these sub-divisions and/or smaller items, such as rubrics, pen-drawn initials, emendations and additions, as well as paragraphs (so to speak) in the text-block are given a preceding adjective as appropriate to describe the type of item. ‘Text-block Items’ catalogued in Appendix E refers to the paragraph-style divisions of the text-block, ‘Miniaturings Items’ catalogued in Appendix F for the pen-drawn initials and related emendations supplied by the miniator, ‘Additional Items’ catalogued in Appendix G for the emendations and additions made to the manuscript in brown ink (and dating from the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries), and ‘Rubric Items’ catalogued in Appendix H for the rubrics. I will reintroduce these abbreviations the first time each is used in the thesis.

¹²³ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 126-455; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 387.

¹²⁴ For a discussion of print-culture mentality as opposed to the fluidity of texts see Swan and Treharne, ‘Introduction’, in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Swan and Treharne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1-10 (p. 7).

ground' and that the manuscript was, so to speak, making do in difficult circumstances.¹²⁵

The attitude in the scholarship is embedded in a model where the disruptive role of the Norman Conquest on the use of Old English and on Anglo-Saxon culture and law is assumed a priori and underlies the interpretation of the manuscript. This disparity is further emphasised by the focus of the scholarship on the context of the promulgation of the law-codes, in preference to the contexts of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries in which the manuscript was produced and used. The manuscript and the broader contexts it was produced and used in are therefore in great need of re-assessment – if only to confirm whether the disparaging attitudes are justified.

I will begin by discussing the previous scholarship on CCC 383, the basic form and contents of the manuscript and the evidence for its contexts of origin and use. In Chapters 2 and 3 I will examine the codicological evidence for the production of the materials of the manuscript with close attention given to the parchment, quires and inks. In Chapters 4 and 5 I will undertake a palaeographic analysis of the main hand, and examine the *mise-en-page* of the manuscript's original production, and the marking of divisions between the various law-codes copied in the text-block. In Chapters 6 and 7 I will undertake palaeographic analysis of the two emending hands dated to the first half of the twelfth century and a close analysis of the manner in which their re-working emended the manuscript. In Chapter 8 I will examine the emendation of the manuscript by the miniator in conjunction with the main scribe and the overall contexts for the production and use of the manuscript in the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries.

¹²⁵ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 236.

CHAPTER 1: CCCC 383

1.1 Previous descriptions of CCCC 383

CCCC 383 has been described in the scholarship on numerous occasions throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, although it has never received as much attention as the *Textus Roffensis*. This disparity in attention can be seen clearly in Liebermann's treatment of the two manuscripts in his *Gesetze* where, despite the large quantity of Anglo-Saxon law-codes that each contains, some not preserved elsewhere, the *Textus Roffensis* receives 176 lines of discussion while CCCC 383 receives only 29 lines.¹²⁶ Where Liebermann's discussion of the *Textus Roffensis* is full and detailed, his description of CCCC 383 is cursory in contrast. Liebermann proposes a date of 1125 to 1130 and suggests that it was produced at St Paul's, both without any further explanation, then mentions two of the marginal additions and the additional quires of the sixteenth century. Following this brief summary, Liebermann lists the contents of the manuscript's text-block,¹²⁷ and mentions where quires are out of order and parts of law-codes are no longer extant. Liebermann concludes with reference to the twelfth-century additions of the [S]cipman list and the WSG on fol. 69,¹²⁸ that a similarity can be drawn with the *Textus Roffensis* and, finally, summarises by describing CCCC 383 as an 'anthology'.¹²⁹

The focus of Liebermann's *Gesetze* is on the law-codes rather than on the manuscript, so the information on the manuscript is correspondingly concise. The disparity between the length of Liebermann's account of CCCC

¹²⁶ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, pp. xix–xxviii.

¹²⁷ He omits the thirteenth-century addition of the poem on fol. 12^r, ll. 21-26, (labelled as item 'Fr' in Appendix D of this thesis).

¹²⁸ Item Nos. 25 and 26 in Appendix D.

¹²⁹ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, p. xix.

383 and the *Textus Roffensis* is tempered further when the two- or three-line descriptions that many of the other manuscripts he studied is considered. In total he discusses over 180 manuscripts in the *Gesetze*, and limitations on space must have been an issue. The *Gesetze* includes editions of each of the law-codes copied in CCCC 383 and with further details on the manuscript contexts of each and commentary on the associated emendations and additions in footnotes.

Montague James provided a brief summary of the manuscript in his two-volume *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* published in 1912.¹³⁰ This description of CCCC 383 also refers to the previous catalogues from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and draws heavily on Liebermann for many details. The support is described as vellum, and the overall dimensions of the manuscript, the collation of quires and missing folios are detailed in the introduction. This is followed by a summary of the contents, with reference to Liebermann for the law-codes. More attention is given to the marginal additions,¹³¹ and the French poem on fol. 12^r, ll. 21-26, dated as s. xiii, is transcribed in full. The longer additional items in the margins, and the twelfth-century additions to the text-block on the final folio, are noted and have their incipits transcribed. Throughout the description of the manuscript comments are made with regard to the codicological and textual features, such as quire 1 being misplaced, and where folios have been cut away.¹³²

The *Parker Library on the Web* internet site includes an updated version of James' entry for CCCC 383 accompanied by digital images of each of the

¹³⁰ James, *Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, II, 230-31.

¹³¹ See Appendices F and G for a full description of these.

¹³² James, *Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, II, 230-31.

original and sixteenth-century folios of the manuscript.¹³³ The manuscript has been catalogued under James' original heading 'Leges Anglo-Saxonicae',¹³⁴ and under translation as 'Anglo-Saxon laws'. Although the date of production of the manuscript has been pushed back to the turn of the twelfth century by Ker,¹³⁵ *Parker on the Web* follows James' original catalogue, which in turn followed Liebermann, and states 1125 to 1130.¹³⁶ This date of the manuscript further into the twelfth century is still followed elsewhere in the scholarship,¹³⁷ showing that Liebermann's and James' descriptions of the manuscript still hold prominent positions.

Ker's *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* was published in 1957, and includes a comprehensive catalogue description of the manuscript.¹³⁸ He begins by quietly altering the date of initial production of CCC 383, on palaeographic grounds, from Liebermann's 1125-1130 to s. xi/xii. Ker also corrects Liebermann's palaeographic dating of a large swathe of the marginal additions and emendations from the sixteenth century to the twelfth. He summarises the manuscript's provenance and use as indicated by the sixteenth-century additional comments of Talbot, Joscelyn, Nowell and Lambarde.¹³⁹ Ker numbers and lists the contents of the manuscript and gives incipits for each text, but re-orders the texts to follow the original structure of the manuscript (with quire 1 following quire 3), rather than presenting the texts in their current manuscript order.¹⁴⁰ He includes the two twelfth-century additions

¹³³ '383', *Parker Library on the Web* <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=383> [Accessed 26 December 2009].

¹³⁴ James, *Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, II, 230.

¹³⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 110.

¹³⁶ '383', *Parker Library on the Web*.

¹³⁷ For example, *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, p. 61.

¹³⁸ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-13.

¹³⁹ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-11.

¹⁴⁰ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 111-13.

to the final folio, the [S]*cipmen* list and the copy of the WSG, and refers briefly to the additional French and Latin items. Ker's description includes an overview of the collation and codicological features of the manuscript, including: dimensions, a brief commentary on the ruling grid and a note that the manuscript was re-bound in the 1950s. He also describes palaeographic features of the main hand, and mentions that the rubrics and the miniaturings are both in red. Finally, he concludes that the manuscript was probably produced at St Paul's Cathedral, London and that it was donated to Corpus Christi College in 1575 by Archbishop Parker.¹⁴¹

An Inventory of Script and Spellings in Eleventh-Century English includes a summary of the contents of CCC 383 as well as a palaeographic description of the main hand that uses Ker's *Catalogue* as its base and with monochrome images of the graphs. The date of production for the manuscript has been pushed back slightly to s. xi^{ex}, to the end of the eleventh century, although no explanation is given for this change in date.¹⁴²

Richards discusses the changing contexts of six manuscripts predominantly containing Anglo-Saxon law, to illustrate changes in legal and manuscript contexts throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁴³ She attributes the production of CCC 383 as a direct product of circumstances arising from the Norman Conquest, and argues that both CCC 383 and the *Textus Roffensis* emphasise how the Normans adapted the Anglo-Saxon legal system already in place rather than replacing it completely.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113.

¹⁴² Donald Scragg and others, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', in *An Inventory of Scripts and Spellings in Eleventh-Century English*, <http://www.arts.manchester.ac.uk/mancass/C11database/data/text_details.php> [Accessed 26 December 2009]

¹⁴³ Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', pp. 181-84.

¹⁴⁴ Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', pp. 181-84.

Richards describes the manuscript as plain, seemingly for the purpose of reference, and its contents as copied from at least two exemplars on the basis of the two copies of the *Frið* (Item Nos 5 and 16) contained in it.¹⁴⁵ Richards also argues that the two copies of this *Frið*, coupled with the *Dunsæte* agreement between the Welsh and the English (Item No. 22) and the agreement II *Æðelred* between the Danes and the English (Item No. 21), emphasise the preoccupation in the manuscript with peace between hostile peoples forced into cohabitation.¹⁴⁶ The penultimate section outlines each of the law-codes in turn, usually with a brief comment on the law and, where appropriate, draws attention to details that can be observed in the manuscript or inferred about its exemplars. Finally, the contents of the manuscript are discussed collectively and in relation to the two additional texts on the final folio, the association with St Paul's Cathedral, London and, from there, a consideration of the manuscript in light of Maurice, former chancellor to William I and bishop of St Paul's from 1085 to 1107, when the manuscript was probably produced. Richards concludes with a comment that CCC 383 shows one way in which the Normans may have drawn on Anglo-Saxon law to develop a legal foundation for their rule and for insight into the governance of people of various nationalities and classes as well as being a means to learn the social customs of the English.¹⁴⁷

Wormald's *The Making of English Law*, published at the end of the twentieth century, engages with all of the previous scholarship to produce a detailed discussion of the development of Anglo-Saxon law, ostensibly from King *Ælfred* – although it includes the late sixth- or early seventh-century laws

¹⁴⁵ Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', p. 181.

¹⁴⁶ Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', pp. 182-83.

¹⁴⁷ Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', pp. 182-84.

of Æðelberht – through to the twelfth century.¹⁴⁸ Wormald's discussion of CCC 383 is detailed, and frequently queries the extent of the main scribe's familiarity with the Old English language and Anglo-Saxon law.¹⁴⁹ Wormald's comments on the manuscript are valuable, and they include a clear summary of the contents, a fuller discussion of the law-codes, the origins, provenance and legal and social context in which it was produced.¹⁵⁰ Wormald draws attention to the post-Conquest concern with the governance of hostile peoples and the potential role of Bishop Maurice in the manuscript's production and use. His discussion also includes numerous admonitions that it was because familiarity with Old English was rapidly fading that a person not competent to copy Anglo-Saxon law undertook to do so on such a large scale.¹⁵¹

Peter J. Lucas's catalogue entry to accompany the microfiche facsimile of CCC 383 published in 2003 is detailed and includes a strong emphasis on the codicological aspects of the manuscript.¹⁵² He begins with a brief summary of the origins and provenance of the manuscript in which he follows Ker's proposed date of c. 1100, draws attention to the St Paul's connection and makes mention of the emendations and additions made to the manuscript from the late thirteenth through to the sixteenth centuries.¹⁵³ He states that the rubrication and miniaturings were performed by the main scribe and notes that the binding dates to 1991.¹⁵⁴ Lucas describes the collation of the manuscript, lists the contents of the text-block by item but, as with Ker, re-orders the items to return quire 1 to its original position following quire 3. He concludes with a

¹⁴⁸ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 93-103.

¹⁴⁹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 231-36.

¹⁵⁰ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 228-36.

¹⁵¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 236.

¹⁵² Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', pp. 74-80.

¹⁵³ Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 74.

¹⁵⁴ Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', pp. 74-76.

commentary about the microfiche, noting in particular the details which have not reproduced well, and provides a brief bibliography of scholarship relevant to the manuscript.¹⁵⁵

One apparently small but actually very significant problem in Lucas' description of CCC 383 is that he divides the structure of the manuscript into a series of five booklets. These so-called booklets consist of the two groups of original quires (his booklets 'B' and 'D') interspersed between the sixteenth-century quires and the fly-sheets (his booklets 'A', 'C' and 'E').¹⁵⁶ While this is an accurate description of the divisions of the manuscript, the use of the term 'booklet' is inappropriate as it has specific codicological meanings that, at best, apply only to the sixteenth-century additional quires,¹⁵⁷ Lucas' booklets 'A' and 'C'.¹⁵⁸ The concept of the booklet was coined by P. R. Robinson to refer to self-contained manuscript versions of texts that circulated independently and were later incorporated and bound into other manuscripts.¹⁵⁹ It is therefore not appropriate to describe the original parts of CCC 383 as being booklets, as this ascribes a completely different context of production and use to the manuscript.¹⁶⁰ Although a subtle distinction, this point is far more than simply

¹⁵⁵ Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', pp. 76-80.

¹⁵⁶ Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', pp. 74-76.

¹⁵⁷ Wormald argues that the sixteenth century quire B, with the beginning of I-II Cnut, was adapted from a separate manuscript. This line of investigation, however, is beyond the temporal remit of this thesis. Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 230.

¹⁵⁸ Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', pp. 74-76.

¹⁵⁹ P. R. Robinson, 'The Booklet: A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts', *Codicologica*, 3, ed. by J. P. Gumbert (Leiden: Brill, 1980), pp. 46-69; Robinson, 'Self-Contained Units in Composite Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 7 (1978), 231-38 (p. 233), repr. in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. by Richards (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 25-35 (p. 27); Gobbitt, 'Audience and Amendment of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383 in the First Half of the Twelfth Century', *Skepsi*, 2 (2009), 6-22 (p. 13).

¹⁶⁰ In the terminology outlined by Gumbert, each of these collections of quires would be 'codicological units'. Further subdivision of the medieval parts is difficult. As each codicological unit now ends, in some cases artificially due to the subsequent loss of quires, at a quire boundary 'ceasuras' (divisions) are present in the codicological unit that coincide with quire boundaries. No sub-divisions of the codicological units are present within the original quires of CCC 383 that coincide with quire boundaries, therefore each codicological unit is not divided

pedantic. Wormald argues convincingly that in the Anglo-Saxon period written versions of law-codes in practical, legal use probably circulated as small, independent pamphlets and individual pieces of parchment.¹⁶¹ Describing CCC 383 as being made of booklets, therefore, is to infer that the manuscript was produced and used in a markedly different manner than the codicological evidence of the manuscript indicates.

For the description of CCC 383 in the online catalogue of *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220* project I have drawn heavily on the research presented throughout this thesis.¹⁶² The description includes an itemised list of the manuscripts contents and detailed descriptions of the manuscript's codicological make up and *mise-en-page*, and palaeographical descriptions of the four hands who produced or added items in Old English. It also outlines the origins, provenance and the other, later additions and alterations.

CCC 383 is also included in Richard Gameson's *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, which briefly summarises the contents as Old English law and notes that the manuscript was produced at the turn of the twelfth century.¹⁶³ No mention is made of the emendations and later additions to the manuscript or of the texts that are not generally considered to be law-codes. Another, similarly brief, description is that in Helmut Gneuss' *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, which states that the manuscript was probably produced at

into blocks. However, the contents of each codicological unit have sub-divisions which do not align with quire boundaries, termed 'sections' by Gumbert. The two original parts of CCC 383 can therefore be described, in Gumbert's terminology, as 'homogenous codicological units', while the entire manuscript can be described as an 'articulated codicological unit' made from two 'blocks' of s. xi/xii quires interspersed with s. xvi quires. See Gumbert, 'Codicological Units', p. 40.

¹⁶¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 478-79.

¹⁶² Gobbitt, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 383'.

¹⁶³ Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 64.

St Paul's Cathedral, London, and lists all of the Old English items in the manuscript. However, Gneuss' summary does not identify that the [*S*]cipmen list and the WSG (Item Nos 25 and 26), on fol. 69, are later additions from the first half of the twelfth century, and collates them all under the original production date of the turn of the twelfth century.¹⁶⁴

1.2 Quires of CCCC 383

The extant parts of CCCC 383 that date from the turn of the twelfth century constitute 53 folios. The average dimensions of the original folios of are 186 mm high by 116 mm high,¹⁶⁵ although the size varies somewhat throughout the manuscript. Of the 53 original folios 5 are half-sheets, or single leaves, and the remaining 48 folios form the two halves of 24 bifolia. Each bifolium is a single sheet of parchment, folded in the middle to form two separate leaves. The bifolia and half sheets are assembled together into 7 quires, of which quire 1 has 3 bifolia (6 folios), quire 2 has 3 bifolia and a half-sheet (7 folios), quires 3 to 5 have 4 bifolia each (8 folios) and quires 6 and 7 have 3 bifolia and two half-sheets each (8 folios). Two additional quires were added in the sixteenth century, quire A (9 folios) preceding quire 1, and quire B (7 folios) positioned between quires 3 and 4. A diagram of the quires and foliation of CCCC 383 is shown in Figure 1.1.

¹⁶⁴ Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, p. 37.

¹⁶⁵ These dimensions are from my own measurement but are also given as 187 x 115 mm by Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113; as 185 x 115 mm by Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 74; and as 7⁴/₅ x 4³/₅ inches by James, *Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, II, 230. It should also be noted here that the majority of folios have been trimmed, with the possible exception of those from quire 7, and so are now smaller than when they were originally produced, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

	A ⁸	1 ⁶	2 ⁸ lacks 6	3 ⁸	B ¹⁰ lacks 8-10	4 ⁸	5 ⁸	6 ⁸ 3 & 6 are half-sheets	7 ⁸ 3 & 6 are half-sheets	
fol 1	fols 2-9	fols 10-15	fols 16-22	fols 23-30	fols 31-37	fols 38-45	fols 46-53	fols 54-61	fols 62-69	
i flyleaf	ix	21			7	32				ii flyleaves

Figure 1.1 Quires and foliation of CCCC 383 in its current form.

From the continuation of law-codes across quire boundaries, it can be seen that quire 1 originally followed on from quire 3; the first seven lines of the code *Be Blaserum* (Item No. 1) are now at the end of fol. 30^v, while the final three lines are now on fol. 10^r. From law-codes that are now incomplete, it can be argued that at least one quire, possibly more, should precede quire 2 and another one or more quires should follow the original location of quire 1 and precede quire 4. The missing folio in quire 2 is the result of later damage rather than the original construction of the quire, as can be deduced from a corresponding gap in the text of the *Domboc*. The reconstructed quire structure is presented in Figure 1.2.

At least one quire, possibly more, now missing.	2 ⁸	3 ⁸	1 ⁶	At least one quire, possibly more, now missing.	4 ⁸	5 ⁸	6 ⁸ 3 & 6 are half-sheets	7 ⁸ 3 & 6 are half-sheets	one or more quires now missing?
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Figure 1.2 Re-construction of original quire order (s. xi/xii).

1.3 Contents of CCCC 383

The text-block of the seven extant original quires of CCCC 383 contains some 24 law-codes and related texts copied by the main scribe. In addition to these,

the text-block includes two further Old English texts copied in hand 2, dated as

s. xii¹, to the final folio, and a French poem copied in a hand of s. xiii.¹⁶⁶

No	Item	Location	Quire	Length
9	<i>Domboc</i>	16 ^r , l. 1 - 30 ^v , l. 19.	2-3	825
1	<i>Be Blaserum</i>	30 ^v , ll. 20-26. & 10 ^r , ll. 1-3.	3, 1	10
2	<i>Forfang</i>	10 ^r , ll. 3-19.	1	19
3	<i>Hundred</i>	10 ^r , l. 19 - 11 ^r , l. 9.	1	43
4	I <i>Æðelred</i>	11 ^r , l. 10 - 12 ^r , l. 20.	1	63
Fr	[French poem], (s. xiii)	12 ^r , ll. 21-26.	1	6
-	[1 line originally blank]	12 ^r , l. 1	1	1
5	<i>Frið</i> , v. 1	12 ^r , ll. 2-26.	1	25
6	Ps.-Edward	13 ^r , l. 1 - 14 ^v , l. 24.	1	102
7	II <i>Æðelstan</i>	14 ^v , l. 25 - 15 ^v , l. 26.	1	54
9	I Cnut	38 ^r , l. 1 - 40 ^r , l. 21.	4	125
10	II Cnut	40 ^r , l. 22 - 52 ^v , l. 1.	4-5	630
-	[7 lines originally blank]	52 ^v , ll. 2-8	5	7
11	I Edward	52 ^v , l. 9 - 53 ^v , l. 2.	5	35
12	II Edward	53 ^v , l. 3 - 54 ^v , l. 2.	5-6	52
-	[1 line originally left blank]	54 ^v , l. 3	6	1
13	I Edmund	54 ^v , l. 4 - 55 ^r , l. 6.	6	29
14	II Edmund	55 ^r , l. 7 - 56 ^r , l. 11.	6	57
15	<i>Swerian</i>	56 ^r , l. 12 - 57 ^r , l. 14.	6	54
-	[2 lines originally left blank]	57 ^r , ll. 15-16	6	2
16	<i>Frið</i> , v. 2	57 ^r , l. 17 - 57 ^v , l. 23.	6	33
17	<i>Wifmannes</i>	57 ^v , l. 24 - 58 ^v , l. 4.	6	33
-	[1 line originally left blank]	58 ^v , l. 5	6	1
18	<i>Wergild</i>	58 ^v , l. 6 - 59 ^r , l. 6.	6	12
19	[Cattle charm]	59 ^r , ll. 6-20.	6	15
20	<i>Hit Becwæð</i>	59 ^r , l. 21 - 59 ^v , l. 16.	6	22
21	II <i>Æðelræd</i>	59 ^v , l. 17 - 62 ^r , l. 2.	6-7	116
22	<i>Dunsæte</i>	62 ^r , l. 3 - 63 ^r , l. 26.	7	76
23	<i>RSP</i>	63 ^v , l. 1 - 66 ^v , l. 23.	7	179
24	<i>Gerefa</i>	66 ^v , l. 24 - 69 ^r , l. 14.	7	121
25	[S] <i>cipmen</i> , (hand 2, s. xii ¹)	69 ^r , l. 15 - 69 ^v , l. 2.	7	14
26	WSG, (hand 2, s. xii ¹)	69 ^v , l. 3-26.	7	24

Table 1.1 Items copied in the text-block of the original quires of CCCC 383.

Table 1.1 is a numbered list of the 'Items' in the text-block of CCCC 383, duplicated in Appendix D,¹⁶⁷ using the names they are most commonly edited

¹⁶⁶ James, *Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, II, 230-31; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 112-13. A palaeographic description of the main hand is undertaken in chapter 4 and of hand 2 in chapter 6 of this thesis.

¹⁶⁷ References throughout the thesis to items in Appendix D will be in the form of 'Item No.'. The distinction between these and the *mise-en-page* items in Appendix E – referenced to as 'Text-Block Item No' – must be noted.

under in the scholarship.¹⁶⁸ The items have been arranged in the original order of the manuscript, with quire 1 following quire 3, but with the Old English items enumerated to indicate their position as the manuscript is currently bound. The French poem added to the text-block in a thirteenth-century hand has been labelled 'Fr'. Where one or more lines were originally left blank this is denoted in the table by square brackets, except where subsequent texts were added. For these later additions the hand and/or date of the item is included in brackets after the name or description. Table 1.1 also includes the 'Location', by folio as well as first and final line number, the 'Quire' in which the text is copied, and the total 'Length' in lines of the item.

The contents of CCC 383 are presented in Table 1.1 as if the exact number of law-codes and related texts copied in the manuscript was clear and unproblematic. This, however, is an artefact of modern editorial practices and in the *mise-en-page* of the manuscript the divisions are sometimes unclear. As a consequence of this and the existence of multiple manuscript witnesses for some of the texts, different scholars have divided or collated law-codes in accordance with different editorial conventions. A clear example of this confusion can be seen with the *Domboc* (Item No. 8) (and its apparent appendices which are now known as the anonymous law-codes *Be Blaserum* (Item No. 1), *Forfang* (Item No. 2), *Hundred* (Item No. 3) and, arguably, the law-code I Æðelred (Item No. 4) as well.¹⁶⁹

In CCC 383 the *Domboc* and the so-called appendices were originally presented as one larger law-code, as discussed in Chapter 5. However, in

¹⁶⁸ Gesetze, ed. by Liebermann, I, pp. ix-xiii; James, *Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, II, 230-31; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-13; Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', pp. 77-79. Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. xv-xviii.

¹⁶⁹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 367-79; Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', p. 182.

Liebermann's edition they are divided into six separate law-codes; with the laws of Ælfred and the laws of Ine edited as two distinct parts. The appendices are then distributed throughout the *Gesetze* in the approximate chronological order they were promulgated in, with *Be Blaserum* and *Forfang* more than 250 pages after the end of the Laws of Ine, then *Hundred* some 200 pages before them and, finally, I Æðelred 25 pages after the end of *Hundred*.¹⁷⁰

Fell argues that in an edition of Anglo-Saxon law-codes the chronological order that the law-codes were promulgated in should supersede the order in which they were copied and produced in their manuscript contexts. Her arguments are particularly aimed at editions of the *Domboc* where the position of the laws of Ine following those of Ælfred is maintained.¹⁷¹ By separating the *Domboc* into two separate law-codes the number of items in the manuscript is effectively increased. Conversely, as the apparently separate law-codes *Be Blaserum*, *Forfang*, *Hundred* and I Æðelred were originally run into each other in CCC 383 as an undifferentiated continuation of the *Domboc*, it is equally possible to argue for a lower count of law-codes in the manuscript. Depending on which approach to identifying items in the manuscript is adopted, the *Domboc* and its associated appendices can be enumerated as anywhere between one and six law-codes inclusive.

A similar problem is seen with the *RSP* (Item No. 23) and *Gerefa* (Item No. 24) in the final quire of CCC 383. *Gerefa* has alternately been treated as a companion piece to *RSP* due to the shared interests represented in their contents,¹⁷² as the final section of the *RSP* tract,¹⁷³ as a separate tract that has

¹⁷⁰ See *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, vol. 1.

¹⁷¹ Fell, 'Some Questions of Layout', pp. 229-34.

¹⁷² Liebermann, 'Gerefa', *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, 9 (1886), 251-66; H. R. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow: Longman, 1962), p. 193.

been reworked to unite it with *RSP*,¹⁷⁴ or, as an entirely distinct piece only related to *RSP* by circumstance.¹⁷⁵ P. D. A. Harvey demonstrates that the two began as separate items and were re-worked in the exemplar of CCC 383 to become a single piece,¹⁷⁶ and then copied with a *mise-en-page* to reflect this association.¹⁷⁷ The treatment of *RSP* and *Gerefa* as two separate items is perhaps not surprising; CCC 383 contains the only extant copy of *Gerefa*, but numerous copies of *RSP* survive, in part due to its inclusion in the *Quadripartitus* collection. The treatment of the item as two separate pieces, however, appears to be at odds with the manuscript contexts of its production in CCC 383. Enumeration of the contents of CCC 383 is again unclear as this (or these) item(s) can be counted as either one or two pieces depending on how they are interpreted and edited.

Other law-codes in CCC 383 that can cause confusion in the enumeration include I Cnut (Item No. 9) and II Cnut (Item No. 10), which have traditionally been edited as two separate items,¹⁷⁸ but which are now understood as one longer piece which has been described as Cnut's 'great code', and is now usually referred to as I-II Cnut to show the collation of the two parts.¹⁷⁹ The division between the two (parts of the) law-code(s) is given some prominence in CCC 383, on fol. 40^r, l. 22, which implies that the main scribe may have viewed the two items as separate pieces. However, as the quire with

¹⁷³ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, III, 246; Frank. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1943; 3rd edn 1971), p. 475; Peter Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956; 3rd edn 2003), p. 264.

¹⁷⁴ P. D. A. Harvey, 'Rectitudines Singularum Personarum and Gerefa', *English Historical Review*, 426 (1993), 1-22 (pp. 3-4).

¹⁷⁵ R. I. Page, 'Gerefa: Some Problems of Meaning', in *Problems of Old English Lexicography: Studies in Memory of Angus Cameron*, ed. by Alfred Bammesberger (Regensburg: Pustet, 1985), pp. 211-28 (p. 214).

¹⁷⁶ Harvey, 'Rectitudines', pp. 3-4.

¹⁷⁷ Liebermann, 'Gerefa', p. 252; Page, 'Gerefa', p. 214; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 387-89.

¹⁷⁸ For example, *Gesetze*, ed. by Lieberman, I, 278-371.

¹⁷⁹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 345-66.

the beginning of I Cnut is no longer extant, it is impossible to compare directly the *mise-en-page* of the two. Nevertheless, the enumeration of I-II Cnut as one or two law-codes in the contents of CCCC 383 is also problematic.

The transition between *Wergild* (Item No. 18) and the charm against cattle theft (Item No. 19) on fol. 59^r, l. 6 is, similar to the so-called appendices of the *Domboc*, without emphasis in the *mise-en-page*. In the scholarship, however, *Wergild* and the charm against cattle theft are edited as distinct items and the charm is not usually considered as law at all.¹⁸⁰ Conversely, *Hit Becwæð* (Item No. 20), the item which follows the charm against cattle theft, is separated in the *mise-en-page* of CCCC 383 but has sometimes been edited and discussed as a continuation of the charm.¹⁸¹ Enumeration here, therefore, allows anywhere between one and three (inclusive) items in the manuscript.

The total number of law-codes and related texts in CCCC 383 can be given as anywhere between fifteen and twenty-four inclusive, in accordance with which editorial practice is followed. Where possible, it would be preferable to follow the practice as implemented in CCCC 383. The emendations made to the visual structure of the manuscript throughout the first half of the twelfth century, however, have caused the division of items to be re-worked so a definitive distribution of texts in the manuscript cannot always be identified.

Susan Irvine notes that the compilation of numerous Old English texts with closely related themes into a single book is a predominantly twelfth-century approach in manuscript culture.¹⁸² The compilation of multiple law-codes in

¹⁸⁰ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232.

¹⁸¹ Stephanie Hollis, 'Old English "Cattle-Theft Charms": Manuscript Contexts and Social Uses', *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, 115 (1997), 139-64 (pp. 155-59); Lea Olsen, 'The Inscription of Charms in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', *Oral Tradition*, 14 (1999), 401-19.

¹⁸² Susan Irvine, 'The Compilation and Use of Manuscripts Containing Old English in the Twelfth Century', in *Re-Writing Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Mary Swan and Elaine M. Trehearne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 41-61 (p. 43).

CCCC 383, however, does not seem to have been a single event but instead must have happened in a number of phases. Wormald argues convincingly, primarily on the basis of the grouping of law-codes also transmitted in other manuscripts, that CCCC 383 was compiled from at least three separate exemplars, each a 'mini-collection' of law-codes in itself.¹⁸³ These groups consist of:

- *Domboc, Be Blaserum, Forfang, Hundred* and I Æðelred
- I Edward, II Edward, I Edmund, II Edmund, *Frið* (version 2), *Swerian, Wifmannes, Wergild*, the charm against cattle-theft and *Hit Becwæð*.
- II Æðelred, *Dunsæte, RSP* and *Gerefa*.

Wormald does not mention four of the law-codes copied by the main hand: the *Frið* (version 1), Ps.-Edward, II Æðelstan and I-II Cnut, nor the exemplars for the hand 2 additional items the [S]cipmen list and the WSG. Whether some or all of these law-codes were also transmitted in association with each other is uncertain. In the *Textus Roffensis* the Ps.-Edward is not preceded by a copy of the *Frið*, II Æðelstan is copied in association with the law-code *Walreaf* and other legislation of Æðelstan while I-II Cnut is not included at all.¹⁸⁴ BL Cotton Nero A. i, produced some half a century before CCCC 383, includes I-II Cnut but this is then followed by II Edgar and III Edgar.¹⁸⁵ Thus it cannot be determined from comparison with the other manuscripts of law-codes and related texts whether this group of four law-codes

¹⁸³ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 232-33; A similar occurrence can be argued for the *Textus Roffensis*, for which it has also been argued that multiple exemplars each containing multiple law-codes were employed, Hough, 'Palaeographic Evidence', p. 58; Wormald, '*Laga Eadward*', pp. 243-66; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 248-29.

¹⁸⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 443-47; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 246-47; Whether this shows the *Textus Roffensis* scribe using a different exemplar (or exemplars) here or else selecting, re-structuring and/or excising the law-codes he or she was copying is beyond the scope of this study.

¹⁸⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 210-11; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 224-28.

travelled as a mini-collection (or collections if I-II Cnut was separate) similar to the others copied in CCCC 383.

The compilation of law-codes and related texts into a single manuscript is not a unique event but part of an extended process in which manuscript producers and users were gradually aggregating increasing numbers of law-codes into single locations. This can be seen from the use of the three, perhaps four, mini-collections as exemplars for the production of CCCC 383. Wormald's emphasis on the manuscripts as so-called 'legal encyclopaedia' leads to his assumption that the final texts, *RSP* and *Gerefa* (Item Nos 23 and 24) were included but not deemed entirely applicable to the manuscript's context of use. He underlines this argument with reference to the *Quadripartitus* scribe's decision to copy only *RSP* and to excise *Gerefa*.¹⁸⁶ I, however, have suggested that a notably different interpretation of the manuscript as a guide for a reeve can be made by considering the law-codes at the beginning of the manuscript in light of the *Gerefa* text.¹⁸⁷

Rather than containing law directly, the *Gerefa* text begins by stating that a competent reeve should know the lord's 'land riht' and the 'folces ge rihtu' which of 'ealddagū pitan geræddan' (fol. 66^v, ll. 24-26) before continuing to list the myriad other duties of the reeve.¹⁸⁸ I would argue, then, that the numerous law-codes copied in CCCC 383 supply the knowledge of the law that the competent reeve requires. The degree to which written law was actually employed and whether written legislation had legal force have been widely debated in the scholarship.¹⁸⁹ It must be noted that, even if the written

¹⁸⁶ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 232-33.

¹⁸⁷ Gobbitt, 'Audience and Amendment', pp. 18-21.

¹⁸⁸ Harvey, 'Rectitudines', p. 3; Gobbitt, 'Audience and Amendment', pp. 18-21.

¹⁸⁹ Wormald argues, due to the lack of citation of law-codes in the legal cases for which records remain, that it appears unlikely that the law was literate and suggests instead that the

legislation was only a record made by literate ecclesiastics at the time the law was promulgated as Wormald argues,¹⁹⁰ it does not mean that the law-codes were not subsequently employed as written law. I Edward instructs reeves to make their judgements in accordance with the *Domboc*,¹⁹¹ which while potentially rhetorical, indicates that the text was in circulation or at least that later legislators were aware of the text as an ideal for law. The contents of CCC 383 imply a manuscript intended for the use of a reeve (or perhaps the supervision of a reeve), and embedded in a literate context.

1.4 Origins and provenance of CCC 383

It has been argued that CCC 383 was produced either at St Paul's Cathedral, London or else that it was moved there soon after its initial production.¹⁹² From numerous additions and emendations, discussed in detail in the scholarship, details of the manuscript's provenance, or, at least, use in the period subsequent to the focus of this thesis can be deduced. The late twelfth- and/or thirteenth-century Latin and French additions made to fol. 12^r, ll. 21-26 and in the lower margins of fols 48-52 have been used by Wormald to argue that the

production of written law-codes was instead record of legal promulgations made by literate ecclesiastics and that the law was primarily verbal, C. P. Wormald, 'The Uses of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England and Its Neighbours', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 27 (1977), 95-114 (p. 104); Wormald, 'Lex Scripta and Verbum Regis: Legislation and Germanic Kingship, from Euric to Cnut', in *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. by P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (Leeds: Leeds University Press, 1977), pp. 105-38 (pp. 118-20); Conversely, Keynes argues that there is much indirect evidence for the complete permeation of written law in the administration of late Anglo-Saxon England, Keynes, 'Royal Government and the Written Word in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediæval Europe*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 226-57; Finally, and most convincingly, Catherine Cubitt has argued for a synthesis of these two extremes, arguing that written law-codes must have permeated semi-literate 'textual communities' in which a few individuals could directly access the written texts and then disseminate them orally to others, Cubitt, "'As the Lawbook Teaches": Reeves, Lawbooks and Urban Life in the Anonymous Old English Legend of the Seven Sleepers', *English Historical Review*, 124 (2009), 1021-49 (pp. 1046-47).

¹⁹⁰ Wormald, 'Lex Scripta', pp. 115-35.

¹⁹¹ Cubitt, 'Reeves, Lawbooks and Urban Life', p. 1033; Gobbitt, 'Audience and Amendment', p. 21; Keynes, 'Royal Government', pp. 232-33; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 379.

¹⁹² *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, p. xix.

manuscript had left the ecclesiastical community that originally housed it.¹⁹³

However, no compelling reason exists to argue that the French poem (Item Fr) on fol. 12^r could not have been added by a member of the chapter when in the ownership of an ecclesiastical community, so this poem may not actually represent a terminus ante quem for the change in CCCC 383's ownership. An item in the lower right margin of fol. 24^r connects the manuscript with Matilda, sister of master Robert of Abingdon, which may imply it had left the ecclesiastical community by, at least, this point in the thirteenth century.¹⁹⁴

Numerous emendations dated to the sixteenth century can also be identified, and are discussed in some detail by Wormald and Ker; in summary CCCC 383 was used by John Joscelyn, Lawrence Nowell, William Lambarde and Robert Talbot, before it reached Archbishop Matthew Parker.¹⁹⁵ Parker paginated the original quires of the manuscript in his red ochre crayon, and this pagination omits the two quires that were supplied in the sixteenth century, but reflects the current order of the quires and the loss of the folio between fols 20 and 21.¹⁹⁶ Finally, CCCC 383 was bequeathed to Corpus Christi College on Parker's death in 1575, and has remained there ever since.¹⁹⁷ The manuscript was re-bound in 1950 and 1991, each time the post-sixteenth-century quire order was preserved with quire 1 preceding quire 2 rather than being returned to its originally intended position following quire 3.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ James, *Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, II, 231; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 229-30; Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 74.

¹⁹⁴ James, *Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, II, 230-31; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-13; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 230; Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 74.

¹⁹⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 210-11; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 230.

¹⁹⁶ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 230; Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 74.

¹⁹⁷ Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 74.

¹⁹⁸ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113; Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 75.

1.5 CCCC 383 and St Paul's Cathedral, London

Two tracts were added to the final folio of CCCC 383 in a hand dated to the first half of the twelfth century.¹⁹⁹ The first of these additional tracts, the [*S*]cipmen list (Item No. 25), lists a number of estates belonging to St Paul's Cathedral, London, and details the number of people who owed service from each.²⁰⁰ Wormald observes that the scribe that added the [*S*]cipmen list also corrected copying errors in the law-codes. He argues that the emending scribe must also have had access to the exemplars used for the law-codes and that this indicates that both scribes, and the exemplars they used, were based at St. Paul's.²⁰¹ This argument assumes that a copy of the [*S*]cipmen list would not have been produced, used or be of interest at any location other than at St. Paul's cathedral.²⁰² The initial composition of the [*S*]cipmen list has been dated to the turn of the eleventh century,²⁰³ while the version in CCCC 383 was copied over a hundred years later in the first half of the twelfth century.²⁰⁴ The exemplar that the [*S*]cipmen list was copied from could easily have been moved from St Paul's and CCCC 383 may have been produced at any location. No definitive reason exists to prove that the original production of CCCC 383 or the subsequent addition of the [*S*]cipmen list happened at St Paul's cathedral.

¹⁹⁹ Hand 2, as described in Chapter 6 of this thesis. Ker dates this hand as s. xii¹, *Catalogue*, p. 113; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 230; *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, pp. 97-106.

²⁰⁰ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, p. xix; Liebermann, 'Matrosenstellung aus Landgütern der Kirche London, um 1000', *Archiv für das Studium der Neuren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 104 (1900), 17-24 (p. 23); *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, pp. 192-201; A sixteenth century note added on CCCC 383 in the right margin of fol. 69^r also draws attention to the St Paul's connection, which Wormald identifies as being produced by Talbot, Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 230, footnote 268.

²⁰¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

²⁰² Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 230.

²⁰³ The text has been dated on the basis that some of the estates had not been acquired by the cathedral before that date while others had left cathedral ownership soon after, Liebermann, 'Matrosenstellung', p. 17; *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, pp. 192-94.

²⁰⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113.

On the assumption that CCCC 383 was produced and/or used at St Paul's in the first half of the twelfth century, aspects of the historical contexts related to its production can be explored. The turn of the twelfth century date for CCCC 383 places its production in either the reign of William Rufus, crowned 1087, died 1100, or in the reign of Henry I, crowned 1100, died 1135.²⁰⁵ Henry I was crowned by Maurice, the former chaplain and chancellor to William I, who was consecrated as Bishop of London in 1085 and died in 1107.²⁰⁶ Wormald argues, somebody 'like Maurice should, to say no more, have been interested in a book like [CCCC 383]'.²⁰⁷ I have argued elsewhere that Maurice's successor, Richard Beaumais (consecrated 1108, died 1127), a former royal reeve to Henry I would equally have been interested in the manuscript, especially considering the preponderance of law-codes and other texts relating to the duties of the reeve.²⁰⁸ Following Richard's death, the bishopric was taken by Gilbert Universalis, (consecrated 1128, died 1134) – a man of extensive experience in a variety of fields including legal training and who had advocated as a lawyer for the king. Gilbert instilled a scholarly atmosphere of legal and theological study in the cathedral community.²⁰⁹ After Gilbert's death in 1134 the bishopric remained empty for several years before being granted to Robert De Sigillo (consecrated 1141, died 1150), a former Keeper of the King's Seal.²¹⁰ If Maurice would have been interested in the manuscript then so equally would his

²⁰⁵ C. R. Cheney, *A Handbook of Dates: For Students of British History*, rev. by Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945; rev. edn 2000), p. 32.

²⁰⁶ Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1066-1154* (London: Longman, 1979), pp. 64-76; Stephanie Mooers Christelow, 'Chancellors and Curial Bishops: Ecclesiastical Promotions and Power in Anglo-Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 22 (1999), 49-69 (p. 56).

²⁰⁷ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 236.

²⁰⁸ Gobbitt, 'Audience and Amendment', pp. 18-21.

²⁰⁹ Barlow, *The English Church*, pp. 86-89; Derek Keene, 'From Conquest to Capital: St Paul's c. 1100-1300', in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*, ed. by Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 17-32 (p. 27).

²¹⁰ Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 89.

successors with their royal connections and assorted administrative and legal backgrounds.

The Anglo-Saxon cathedral of St Paul's was razed in the great fire of London in 1087 along with large parts of the surrounding city. The construction of Old St Paul's, the Anglo-Norman cathedral, was begun under Maurice soon after,²¹¹ at a site slightly to the north of its predecessor.²¹² The scale of the cathedral was increased and, at the time that it was begun, it was the second largest structure to have been built in Christian Europe since the fourth century.²¹³ St Paul's cathedral would have been a major focal point in the city of London with a population that was probably over 20,000 at the end of the eleventh century.²¹⁴ The reconstruction of the cathedral continued in the twelfth century – including the translation of St Erkenwald's relics in 1148 – and throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.²¹⁵ Bishop Maurice was also responsible for the reorganisation of the chapter and its property and he saw part of the communal lands split into thirty prebends while the remainder was retained as a common fund. During his bishopric the first dean of the chapter was appointed and numerous other offices were created.²¹⁶ Under Richard de Beaumis the surrounding streets were closed and private houses were purchased to restructure the immediate surroundings of the cathedral and to produce an enclosed precinct, although this did not become walled and gated until the late thirteenth century.²¹⁷ This reconstruction of St Paul's cathedral at a

²¹¹ Keene, 'From Conquest to Capital', p. 17; *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, p. 46.

²¹² However, no archaeological trace of the original, Anglo-Saxon cathedral remains, *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, p. 3.

²¹³ The largest building in the late eleventh century being Winchester cathedral which was begun eight years prior to St Paul's; Keene, 'From Conquest to Capital', p. 17.

²¹⁴ Keene, 'From Conquest to Capital', p. 17.

²¹⁵ Keene, 'From Conquest to Capital', p. 20.

²¹⁶ *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, pp. 46-47.

²¹⁷ Keene, 'From Conquest to Capital', pp. 20-31.

far grander scale displays a mentality of reform and monumentalism that forms a significant context underlying the production or acquisition of CCCC 383 and its subsequent use.

In consideration of the degree of damage that the city suffered it is quite plausible that many of the cathedral's earlier manuscripts were destroyed in the great fire of 1087,²¹⁸ and again in the great fire of 1666.²¹⁹ Ker notes that there seem to have been relatively few early books at St Paul's compared to the cathedral collections at Exeter, Hereford, Lincoln and Salisbury.²²⁰ Kelly observes that the number of pre-Conquest documents from St Paul's that still survive is 'relatively small',²²¹ but the fact that copies of documents, whose composition dates back to the seventh century, survived the numerous fires, implies that enough of the archive must have survived to allow them to be copied.²²² Most of these documents now survive only as antiquarian copies produced in the seventeenth century, and the majority of the records and manuscripts have been lost since 1650.²²³

²¹⁸ The only surviving pre-conquest manuscript that might have been produced at St. Paul's is BL Cotton Otho B. ii, although this is highly uncertain, *Charters of St. Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, p. 46; However, it is not possible to correlate the lack of pre-Conquest manuscripts with their loss by the fire of 1087 or the fire in the 1130s.

²¹⁹ Ker suggests that if it had not been for the fire of 1666 then there would currently be a collection of over 200 manuscripts similar to that of Salisbury Cathedral. The majority of these would have been later manuscripts, constituted primarily of the, at least, 160 books donated to the cathedral library in 1313. Ker, 'Books at St. Paul's Cathedral Before 1315', in *Studies In London History: Presented to Phillip Edmund Jones*, ed. by A. E. J. Hollaender and William Kellaway (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), pp. 43-72, repr. in *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. by Andrew G. Watson (London: Hambledon, 1985), pp. 209-42 (pp. 209-10). Elsewhere, Ker states that the 1313 donation was only 126 books, and also notes that the St Paul's books lost in the great fire of 1666 were those that had been moved to Sion College. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1941; 2nd edn 1964), p. 120.

²²⁰ Ker, 'Books at St Paul's', pp. 209-10.

²²¹ Relative, presumably, to surviving copies of pre-Conquest documents from other ecclesiastical institutions, although Kelly does not make this explicit.

²²² *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, pp. 50-52.

²²³ *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, p. 50; However, of course, the need for such copies to be 'scrutinised very closely' along with the general caution that Sisam argues for when dealing with copies of law-codes that survive only in antiquarian copies is equally applicable here, Sisam, 'Authenticity of Certain Texts', pp. 257-58.

Information relating to the St Paul's community changes from being 'horribly obscure in the Anglo-Saxon period' to incredibly well documented after the Conquest.²²⁴ Kelly argues that this transition should be understood as a consequence of Maurice's 'massive' reorganisations of the cathedral, chapter and record keeping.²²⁵ She argues that the bishop wished to increase the financial revenue from the chapter and the canons produced their first cartularies as a part of their struggle for autonomy.²²⁶ Kelly also speculates that, as the only pre-Conquest title deeds are for estates controlled by the bishop, that this lack may have inspired the canons to produce appropriate charters to support their goals.²²⁷ The selection (or fabrication) of pre-Conquest documents for copying reflects the adaption and use of the past by the chapter in relation to the changing circumstances of St Paul's.

The post-Conquest vernacular documents produced at St Paul's in or before the first half of the twelfth century contribute to the growing sense of monumentalism created by the bishop and the cathedral community.²²⁸ In all of these documents, both pre- and post-Conquest, the connection between the contemporary cathedral and the past rights and laws that governed it – whether actual or imagined – is clearly apparent and most record the confirmation of the previous rights and privileges held by the cathedral under preceding kings.²²⁹

Ker, in his *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, identifies only twenty-seven manuscripts, including CCC 383, as having (probably) belonged to St

²²⁴ *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, pp. 46.

²²⁵ Kelly argues that, following the restructuring, the Anglo-Saxon documents may have ceased to be relevant to the community resulting in the archive being updated to suit contemporary requirements in what she describes as a 'spate of forgery', *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, pp. 46-47.

²²⁶ *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, p. 49.

²²⁷ *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, pp. 50-52.

²²⁸ David Pelteret identifies six documents relating to St Paul's, numbered in his catalogue as 8, 27, 36, 37, 39 and 43, Pelteret, *Catalogue*, pp. 47-72.

²²⁹ Pelteret, *Catalogue*, pp. 47-72.

Paul's.²³⁰ Of these manuscripts, twenty-two date to the middle of the twelfth century or later. The remaining four (not including CCC 383) late eleventh-century or early twelfth-century manuscripts are Aberdeen University Library 1 (henceforth AUL), AUL 4, AUL 5 and AUL 9.²³¹ These four contemporary manuscripts provide a potential context and point of comparison for the production, use and scripts of CCC 383,²³² by representing the broader collection of manuscripts owned by and produced for the cathedral.

1.5.1 AUL 1, s. xiiⁱⁿ

AUL 1, a copy of Gregory's *Moralium* books 23 to 35, was produced s. xiiⁱⁿ.²³³

The manuscript has been heavily trimmed to overall folio dimensions of 254 mm x 380 mm, as can be seen from the truncated marginal additions in the upper left corner of fol. 1^v and the lack of prickmarks on the upper, outer and lower margins, and collated as 224 folios, distributed between 28 quires of 8 folios.²³⁴

The material is parchment with a pale-cream coloured hair side and a whiter coloured flesh side although it is positioned so that the facing folios in each opening are of different colouring.

²³⁰ Ker, 'Books at St Paul's', pp. 209-11.

²³¹ These were acquired by Thomas Reid from St Pauls and given to Marischal College in 1624, James, *Manuscripts in the University Library, Aberdeen*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), pp. ix-xii.

²³² Treharne observes that the comparison of twelfth-century Latin and Vernacular scripts can be informative sources of dating criteria as Old English scribes incorporated numerous features, and 'specific features of handwriting are evident in both languages'. Where applicable I will identify features in the descriptions of the Latin scripts that Treharne identifies as significant for dating vernacular scripts, as her description of palaeographic features and changes observable through the first half of the twelfth century is comprehensive. Treharne, 'Production and Script', pp. 17-18; The descriptions of palaeographic features for vernacular letter forms given by Ker are equally applicable and form the starting point for any analysis of twelfth-century script produced in England, Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. xxv-xxxiii.

²³³ James, *Manuscripts in the University Library Aberdeen*, p. 1; Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 120.

²³⁴ James, *Manuscripts in the University Library, Aberdeen*, pp. 1-2.

No prickmarks are present in the inner margins, common practice up until the middle of the twelfth century,²³⁵ indicating that each bifolium was ruled whilst open and before being sewn into quire form. This is confirmed by the extension of the first, third, antepenultimate and final lines through the spine of the quire, indicating a production date in or before the first half of the twelfth century.²³⁶ The ruling is in lead, and has been performed on both the hair side and flesh sides of the parchment. Each folio is ruled in two columns with thirty-eight horizontal lines and single vertical bounding lines that run the entire height of the folio.²³⁷ The first and third ruled lines only extend to the outer margins and across the space between the columns, again indicating a date of the first half of the twelfth century or before.²³⁸

The main text-block is written in a dark brown-black ink that rests on the parchment rather than having bitten in to the support. The writing begins above the top line, indicating a date of the early twelfth century or before.²³⁹ Headings in red are written into the text block in the main hand as part of a single scribal stint. Pen-drawn initials of three lines in height in alternating red and blue are indented into the text-block as well as larger historiated initials of varying sizes in mixed palettes of red, blue, green and white.

The main scribe uses a Late Caroline Minuscule script. The hand is rounded, positioned above the ruled line and with short ascenders and descenders. The < a > has a high, pronounced head and a relatively small bowl

²³⁵ Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology (1944)', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, 14 (2008), 246-50 (p. 246)

²³⁶ Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-47.

²³⁷ Although not common before the thirteenth century, single vertical bounding lines can occasionally be found early in the twelfth century and before, so this feature is not diagnostic of a date, Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-48.

²³⁸ Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-47.

²³⁹ Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-47; Ker, 'From "Above Top Line" to "Below Top Line": A Change in Scribal Practice', *Celtica*, 5 (1960), 13-16.

in comparison with other graphs. The < g > is '8' shaped with closed upper and lower bowls.²⁴⁰ The upper bowl is rounded while the lower is angular and diamond shaped, and ends in a very thin pen-flick. The ascender of the < s > is short, with a sharply angular head. Only a few types of ligature are used, however, the < st > ligature is frequently employed throughout the manuscript, indicating a production date in or before the first half of the twelfth century.²⁴¹ A range of abbreviation graphs, such as < p >, < & >, and macrons are present. The punctuation is by medial punctus. No reason to modify the date of s. xiiⁱⁿ ascribed by James and followed by Ker presents itself.²⁴²

1.5.2 AUL 4, s. xiiⁱⁿ

AUL 4, a copy of Augustine's commentary on psalms one to fifty, has been dated palaeographically by James as s. xii¹,²⁴³ and further refined by Ker to s. xiiⁱⁿ.²⁴⁴ From the lack of prickmarks in the upper, outer and lower margins it would appear that the manuscript has been heavily trimmed, reducing the folios to their current size of approximately 254 mm x 337 mm. The manuscript is collated as 204 folios, with quires 1 to 19 having ten folios a piece, quire 20 having eight folios and quire 21, the final quire, having six folios.²⁴⁵ The material is parchment with a pale-cream coloured hair side and a whiter coloured flesh side although it is positioned so that the facing folios in each opening are of different colouring.

²⁴⁰ In vernacular scripts the closed lower bowl for caroline < g > is indicative of a later date of s. xi or s. xii, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

²⁴¹ Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 37; Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 52-66.

²⁴² James, *Manuscripts in the University Library Aberdeen*, p. 1; Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 120.

²⁴³ James, *Manuscripts in the University Library, Aberdeen*, p. 5.

²⁴⁴ Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 121.

²⁴⁵ James, *Manuscripts in the University Library, Aberdeen*, p. 5.

No prickmarks are present in the inner margins,²⁴⁶ indicating that each bifolium was ruled whilst open and before being sewn into quire form. This is further confirmed by the extension of the first ruled line through the spine of the quire. The ruling is in hard-point and, as the clarity of the ruling grid varies between folios, it is likely that multiple bifolia were stacked on top of each other and ruled simultaneously. Each folio is ruled in two columns with forty-two horizontal lines and double vertical bounding lines in the outer and inner margins, and three vertical bounding lines in the central space between the columns. Each of the five vertical bounding lines extends the full height of the folio while only the first horizontal line extends to the outer edge of the folio and across the central space between the columns.²⁴⁷ The ruling grid indicates a date in or before the first half of the twelfth century.²⁴⁸

The main text-block is written in a dark brown ink that bites into the parchment and has faded or been abraded into a dark reddish-brown colour in places. The writing begins above the top line, again indicating a date earlier in the twelfth century or before.²⁴⁹ Headings in red are written into the text block by the main scribe as part of a single stint. Pen-drawn initials of four lines height are indented directly into the text-block and produced in either red or green or a combination of the two. Smaller initials are set into the space between the bounding lines to the left of each column in a combination of red and a metallic ink that may have originally been green, but is now quite faded.

The main scribe uses a Late Caroline Minuscule script. The hand is quite pointed and positioned above the ruled line, with angular pen flicks at the bases

²⁴⁶ Pricking in the inner margin is associated with the introduction of lead ruling, and becomes common later into the twelfth century, Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', p. 246.

²⁴⁷ This ruling pattern is indicative of a date in or before the first half of the twelfth century, Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-48.

²⁴⁸ Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', p. 246.

²⁴⁹ Ker, 'From 'Above Top Line'', pp. 13-16.

of minims and descenders while the bowls are elongated and arched at the top. The shafts of ascenders and minims are upright and short with wedged or notched heads, while the descenders are deep. The < a > has a short head-stroke and vertical shaft, with a narrow and angular bowl. The < g > is '8' shaped, but with neither the upper nor lower bowls closed.²⁵⁰ The upper bowl is rounded but with a pointed arch, while the lower bowl is angular, flat at the base and ends in a thin, angular pen-flick. The < s > has a sharp angular head and the base of the shaft is flourished with a pen-flick. Only the < st > ligature is used, again indicating a production date in or before the first half of the twelfth century.²⁵¹ A number of abbreviations are employed including < & > and macrons throughout the manuscript. The punctuation is by medial punctus. In all, no reason presents itself to object to Ker's production date of s. xiiⁱⁿ.²⁵²

1.5.3 AUL 5, s. xiiⁱⁿ

AUL 5, a copy of Augustine's commentary on psalms 101 to 150, was produced s. xiiⁱⁿ.²⁵³ From the lack of prickmarks in the upper, outer and lower margins it would appear that the manuscript has been heavily trimmed, reducing the folios to their current size of approximately 238 mm x 350 mm. The manuscript is collated as 353 folios, with quires 1 to 44 being quires of eight folios and quire 45 being a quire of six folios. The first folio is now missing from quire 1 and the fifth folio from quire 22.²⁵⁴ The material is parchment with a pale-cream coloured

²⁵⁰ Following Ker this would indicate a relatively earlier date, *Catalogue*, p. xxix; Treharne observes that in the first half of the twelfth century the bowl of insular < g > is often open, 'Production and Script', p. 35.

²⁵¹ Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 37; Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 52-66.

²⁵² Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 121.

²⁵³ James, *Manuscripts in the University Library, Aberdeen*, p. 6; Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 121.

²⁵⁴ James, *Manuscripts in the University Library, Aberdeen*, p. 6.

hair side and a greyish-white coloured flesh side although it is positioned so that the facing folios in each opening are of different colouring.

No prickmarks are present on the inner margin,²⁵⁵ indicating that each bifolium was ruled whilst open and before being sewn into quire form. This is confirmed by the extension of the first, third, antepenultimate and final ruled lines through the spine of the quire.²⁵⁶ The ruling is in hard-point and, as the clarity of the ruling grid varies between folios, it is likely that multiple bifolia were stacked on top of each other and ruled simultaneously. Each folio is ruled in two columns with thirty-six horizontal lines and double vertical bounding lines in the outer and inner margins, and three vertical bounding lines in the central space between the columns. Each of the five vertical bounding lines extends the full height of the folio and the first, third, antepenultimate and final horizontal lines extend to the outer edge of the folio and across the central space between the columns. The ruling grid indicates a date in or before the first half of the twelfth century.²⁵⁷

The main text-block is written in a dark brown-black ink that has diffused at the edges into the surrounding parchment. The writing begins above the top line, again indicating a date earlier in the twelfth century or before.²⁵⁸ Headings in red are written into the text block by the main scribe as part of a single stint. Most initials are written in black ink - that appears to be in the same hand and in the same ink as used for the main text-block – between the vertical bounding lines to the left of each column. Larger pen-drawn initials of five lines in height

²⁵⁵ Pricking in the inner margin is associated with the introduction of lead ruling, and becomes common later into the twelfth century, Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', p. 246.

²⁵⁶ This ruling pattern is indicative of a date in or before the first half of the twelfth century, Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-48.

²⁵⁷ Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', p. 246.

²⁵⁸ Ker, 'From 'Above Top Line'', pp. 13-16.

are indented into the text-block and produced in a combination of red, blue and green.

The main scribe uses a Late Caroline Minuscule script. The hand is rounded, positioned above the ruled line and with short, upright ascenders and descenders. The heads of the ascenders and minims are usually wedge-shaped, and the bases of minims and descenders seriffed with a decorative pen-flick. The < a > has a long and distinctly curved head-stroke, an upright shaft and a small bowl. The < g > is formed in an '8' shape with the upper bowl circular and a flat head-stroke biting onto the following graph. The lower bowl of the < g > is open and shaped like a backwards 'c' and ending in a thin pen-flick.²⁵⁹ The < s > has a heavy head, produced by rotating the angle of the nib to keep the thickness of the stroke. A variety of abbreviations including < p > and < & > as well as macrons are employed. Only the < st > ligature is used, again indicating a production date in or before the first half of the twelfth century.²⁶⁰ Punctuation is by medial punctus. There does not seem to be any reason to modify the date of s. xiiⁱⁿ proposed by Ker.²⁶¹

1.5.4 AUL 9, s. xiiⁱⁿ

AUL 9, a collection of Augustinian texts, has been dated palaeographically by James as either s. xi or early s. xii,²⁶² and by Ker as s. xiiⁱⁿ.²⁶³ The approximate dimensions of each folio are 240 mm x 320 mm and the manuscript is collated as 137 original folios (and one later addition) distributed between eighteen

²⁵⁹ Following Ker this would indicate a relatively earlier date, *Catalogue*, p. xxix; Treharne observes that in the first half of the twelfth century the bowl of insular < g > is often open, 'Production and Script', p. 35.

²⁶⁰ Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 37; Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 52-66.

²⁶¹ Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 121.

²⁶² James, *Manuscripts in the University Library, Aberdeen*, pp. 12-13.

²⁶³ Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 121.

quires of eight folios. The fourth and sixth folios were removed from quire 2 either before or during production, and the final three folios are missing from the final quire, quire 18.²⁶⁴ The material is parchment with a pale-cream coloured hair side and a white coloured flesh side although it is positioned so that the facing folios in each opening are of different colouring. The texture and thickness of the parchment varies notably and has undergone numerous phases of damage and repair. As the writing repeatedly respects holes in the parchment, it was already somewhat damaged when the manuscript was first produced and written.

All of the prickmarks in the outer, upper and lower margins for each of the ruled lines are still extant and most are positioned between 5 and 15 mm from the edge. No prickmarks are present on the inner margins of the folios, indicating a date in or before the first half of the twelfth century.²⁶⁵ The edge of the parchment is quite uneven – which could be due to the various types of damage the material has suffered over the years. The lack of truncation of any of the marginal additions and comments indicates that the parchment has not been trimmed at any point. The ruling grid is in hard-point and consists of thirty-three horizontal lines with the first, second, penultimate and final lines extended through the central spine of the quire,²⁶⁶ indicating that the ruling was performed with each bifolium open and before being sewn into quire form. This is corroborated by the lack of prickmarks on the inner margin. The single column of the text-block has double, vertical bounding lines that extend the entire height of the folio.

²⁶⁴ James, *Manuscripts in the University Library, Aberdeen*, p. 13.

²⁶⁵ Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246.

²⁶⁶ Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-47.

The main text-block is written in a dark brown/black ink by the same scribe throughout the manuscript. The writing begins above the top line, and the end of each line normally overruns both of the vertical bounding lines and continues into the right margin. Space is left in the text-block, possibly intended for rubrics, although the majority of these were not supplied and the anticipated *mise-en-page* was altered during production. Rubrics and the majority of initials in the text-block are produced by the main scribe using the same brown/black ink for producing the main text-block and then subsequently highlighted in red. Additional pen-drawn initials, alternating between red and blue, are set in the margin to the left of the column, positioned between the double vertical bounding lines. A small number of indented red and blue pen-drawn initials of five lines in height are indented into the text-block.

The main scribe uses a Late Caroline Minuscule script but with both caroline and insular < d >.²⁶⁷ The hand is rounded and regular in form, with the base-line of the writing positioned on the ruled line. The shafts lean slightly to the right, the ascenders are tall with a rounded top, and the descenders deep and ending with a pen-flick. In some instances – but not consistently by graph or line position – the base of the descender is turned slightly to the left before the pen-flick. The top of the minims are wedge-shaped and the bases curved to the right and ending in a thin pen-flick. The < a > has a long, curving head-stroke and a relatively small bowl. The insular < d > has a high, sinuous ascender that rises at a low angle of around 45°. The caroline < d > is mostly, but not exclusively, used for the < ð > abbreviation. The < g > is '8' shaped with the upper bowl circular in form. The lower bowl is open and shaped like a

²⁶⁷ The interchangeable use of insular and caroline < d > is a common feature throughout the twelfth century, Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 60.

backwards, flaring 'c' and ending in a pen-flick.²⁶⁸ The two parts of the < g > are formed as visibly separate strokes, with the lower bowl sometimes only just touching the upper. A variety of abbreviations including < p̄ >, < d̄ >, < & > and macrons are employed. Only the < st > ligature is used in the manuscript, again indicating a production date in or before the first half of the twelfth century.²⁶⁹ Punctuation is by medial punctus. There does not seem to be any reason to modify the date of s. xiiⁱⁿ proposed by Ker.²⁷⁰

1.5.5 Manuscripts produced at St Paul's Cathedral, London

The four manuscripts outlined above are patristic texts, described by Ker as being the 'chief glory' of the cathedral libraries acquired in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁷¹ This in itself contrasts with CCC 383, a collection of law-codes and related texts although, of course, ecclesiastical interest can be seen in the I-II Cnut law-code, I and II Æðelred and Ps.-Edward written by Archbishop Wulfstan of York.²⁷² Some similarities can be drawn on palaeographic grounds between CCC 383 and AUL 1, 4, 5 and 9, however, the underlying production of CCC 383 seems notably different. Variations in the production techniques and visual structure between CCC 383 and the other manuscripts may arise from the different contents and contexts of each manuscript.

²⁶⁸ Following Ker this would indicate a relatively earlier date, *Catalogue*, p. xxix; Treharne observes that in the first half of the twelfth century the bowl of insular < g > is often open, 'Production and Script', p. 35.

²⁶⁹ Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 37; Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 52-66.

²⁷⁰ Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 121.

²⁷¹ Ker, 'Books at St Paul's', p. 210.

²⁷² Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 330-66; Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the Laws of Cnut', *English Historical Review*, 249 (1948), 433-52; Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the So-Called Laws of Edward and Guthrum', *English Historical Review*, 221 (1941), 1-21.

The most distinctive feature shared by the four St Paul's manuscripts is the consistent appearance of each opening, set so that each of the facing folios is of a different colour, but so that the pattern continues throughout the manuscript. When the two sides of a piece of parchment are different colours, the paler side of a piece of parchment is usually the flesh-side, and the darker side the hair-side.²⁷³ At first perusal it appears that the bifolia have been positioned so that the flesh-side of one bifolium faces the hair-side of the adjacent bifolium.²⁷⁴ Closer codicological examination of the quire structures of each of the manuscripts disproves this, as the unmatched colouration of the verso and recto also happens on the central opening of each quire. As the central opening in each quire is produced from a single bifolium, it is physically impossible for one side to be hair-side and the other flesh-side. In the few occasions where follicles remain and clearly indicate the hair-side of the parchment, it can be seen that the hair and flesh sides of the parchment do not correspond to the variations in colour. Instead, it would appear that the surface of the parchment was cosmetically altered to create the two tone colour of the facing folios in each opening. As this pattern is implemented in all four of the surviving St. Paul's manuscripts produced at the turn of the twelfth century, it would appear to be the preferred practice at the cathedral. CCC 383 does not use this two-tone pattern but instead the colouring is even across each opening. I would argue that this implies that CCC 383 was either not produced at St Paul's or it was produced by a different group of book-producers in/for the cathedral community.

²⁷³ R. Reed, *Ancient Skins, Parchments and Leathers* (London: Seminar, 1972), pp. 55-129.

²⁷⁴ This would be the opposite of the usual approach for the period, as it is more usual for an even colouration to be made across each opening by positioning the bifolia so that hair-side faces hair-side and flesh-side faces flesh-side between adjacent folios. *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 33-34.

The main hand of CCCC 383 appears reasonably similar to the main hand of AUL 9. Notable similarities can be seen in the formation of the caroline < s > in the few areas of CCCC 383 where the main scribe wrote in Latin,²⁷⁵ the treatment of minims, ascenders and descenders as well as the angle of the nib, and overall proportions of the graphs and line-spacing. The anticipation of the decoration produced in the *mise-en-page* by the scribes of the two manuscripts is also similar. While there is no possibility that the two manuscripts were produced by the same person, these similarities between the hands are interesting. I would argue that the most likely interpretation is that the two hands were either taught to write by the same person, or else one of the hands taught the other to write. While this could be taken to suggest that the two manuscripts were produced at the same place, the fact that scribes – and teachers – can move between institutions and locations should not be forgotten. The evidence from the codicology and palaeography is inconclusive as to whether or not CCCC 383 was produced at St. Paul's Cathedral.

²⁷⁵ This is the four lines of Latin for the charm against cattle theft (Item No. 19) on fol. 59^r, ll. 13-16.

CHAPTER 2: PARCHMENT AND QUIRES OF CCCC 383

2.1 Parchment

The vast majority of medieval manuscripts used parchment or vellum – the processed skins of various animals – as the writing support. While cow, sheep and goat were used the most in North-Western Europe, the skins of a far wider range of animals, birds and even fish were also used.²⁷⁶ The term ‘vellum’ is sometimes used to refer to any high quality, thin and strong processed skin, although the terms ‘parchment’ and ‘vellum’ are often used interchangeably.²⁷⁷ The term ‘vellum’ traditionally refers only to prepared calf skin, while ‘parchment’ is used for all other animals or when the species of the animal is unknown.²⁷⁸ The distinction between goat and sheep can sometimes be very unclear.²⁷⁹ In consideration of the ambiguity in terminology, ‘parchment’ will be used throughout this thesis regardless of the species or production techniques employed.

Parchment is made by unhairing the animal skin through soaking, in water or tannin solution, and then scraping the skin while still wet, before drying the unhaired pelt at ordinary temperatures while it is stretched taut.²⁸⁰ Each piece of parchment has two faces: the hair side, which originally faced outward

²⁷⁶ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, p. 13.

²⁷⁷ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, p. 126.

²⁷⁸ Christopher De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen: Scribes and Illuminators* (London: British Museum, 1992), p. 8; Reed, *Ancient Skins*, p. 126; Christopher Clarkson, ‘Rediscovering Parchment: The Nature of the Beast’, in *Conservation and Preservation in Small*, ed. by Hadgraft and Swift (Cambridge: Parker Library, 1994), pp. 75-96 (p. 75); Michelle P. Brown, ‘The Triumph of the Codex: The Manuscript Book Before 1100’, in *The History of the Book*, ed. by Simon Eliot and Jonathon Rose (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 179-93 (p. 179); Some scholars have preferred to use ‘membrane’ to avoid the confusion in terms, Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Cornell, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), p. 9.

²⁷⁹ Simon Davis, *The Archaeology of Animals* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 32-33; Reed, *Ancient Skins*, p. 127.

²⁸⁰ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, pp. 119-38; Clarkson, ‘Rediscovering Parchment’, p. 75; Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 8-9.

from the animal, and the flesh side, which faced inwards.²⁸¹ Although the colour of the animal's wool will affect the colour of the parchment,²⁸² most variations in appearance and texture derive from the species, sex, age, colouring, diet, health and season and manner of slaughter of the animal.²⁸³ It is difficult to identify the species of animal used as the source for a given parchment, although developments in scientific techniques and the experiences of modern artisan and experimental producers of parchments can be informative.²⁸⁴ A number of general features can be deduced from the scholarship and used as the basis for reasoned speculation. Goat skin tends towards being white on the flesh side and grey on the hair side while lamb skin tends to be yellow on both sides and calf skin tends to be creamier in colour.²⁸⁵ Christopher Clarkson argues that goat skin also differs from the skins of sheep and calf by being softer and more flexible due to differences in the size and network of the dermal fibres.²⁸⁶ The age of the animal also affects the colour of the parchment, with mature sheep having a paler flesh side while mature goats tend to have grey-black regions on the surface.²⁸⁷ Similarly, older animals have more established vein and artery networks and are more likely to have injuries, which will affect the parchment's texture.²⁸⁸

²⁸¹ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, pp. 52-54.

²⁸² 'Materials and Techniques of Manuscript Production', in *Medieval Manuscript Manual* <<http://web.ceu.hu/medstud/manual/MMM/parchment.html>> [Accessed 16 January 2010].

²⁸³ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, pp. 120-27.

²⁸⁴ Doyle, 'Recent Developments', p. 8.

²⁸⁵ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, pp. 129-30; Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, p. 9.

²⁸⁶ Clarkson, 'Rediscovering Parchment', p. 75.

²⁸⁷ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, p. 129.

²⁸⁸ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, p. 127.

2.2 Parchment of CCCC 383

The parchment of CCCC 383 is yellow in colour and with a paler flesh side. In my opinion the colour of the parchment indicates that it is probably sheep skin or, perhaps, calf skin. Other species, such as deer, should not be excluded from consideration. The parchment of CCCC 383 has no discernable veining or dark patches, which are often caused by the action of tannin on blood remnants in the pelt during production.²⁸⁹ I would argue, therefore, that the animals were deliberately selected and slaughtered with the intention of producing parchment, rather than the producer(s) using skins obtained as by-products from hunting or meat-production. The lack of veining also indicates that relatively younger animals were used as the source for the skins.²⁹⁰ The overall texture of the parchment is smooth, emphasising the careful consideration given to the selection of quality materials and the skill of the artisan or artisans producing it.

On fol. 55 a linear cut extends from the upper margin to l. 4, as shown in Figure 2.1, which is the only instance of damage to the parchment that occurred prior to the manuscript being written.²⁹¹ The damage to the parchment must predate the writing of the manuscript as the main scribe positioned the words deliberately to avoid the line of the cut. Whether this damage occurred when the parchment was produced, or simply before the manuscript was written, is unclear. The straightness of the edge implies that the damage occurred after

²⁸⁹ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, p. 127; Clarkson, 'Rediscovering Parchment', p. 81; Jack C. Thompson, *Manuscript Inks: Being a Personal Exploration of the Materials and Modes of Production* (Portland, OR: Caber, 1996), pp. 1-8.

²⁹⁰ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, p. 127.

²⁹¹ It is difficult to ascertain if the misshaped edges at the lower edges of fols 57 and 60 happened before, during or after production of CCCC 383, although it appears that Fol. 60 removes part of the ruling grid implying a relatively later date in the production process. The cuts appear to be made by human agency as they have straight edges, rather than reflecting the contours of the animal skin. I would argue that Clemens and Graham's proposal that the producers of a manuscript would be less careful in their selection of parchment towards the end of production may not be applicable here. Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, p. 12.

the parchment had been stretched and dried, as otherwise the line of the cut would be warped.

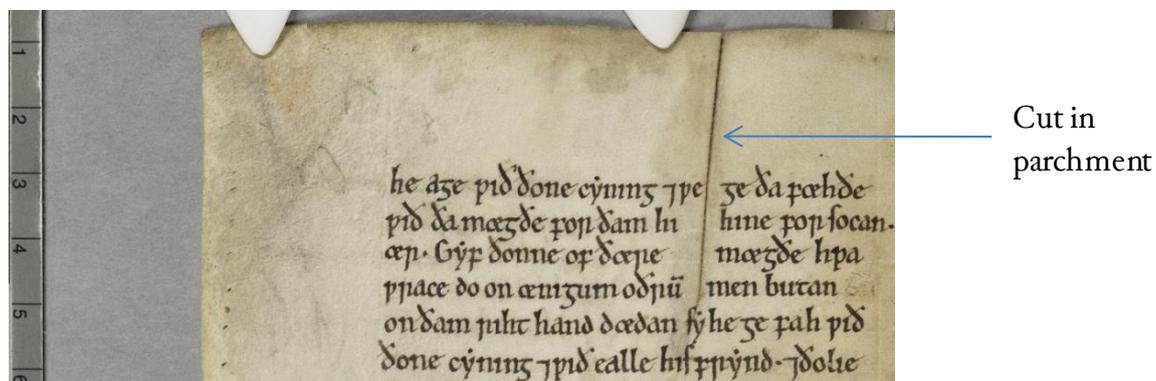


Figure 2.1 Cut in parchment (indicated with blue arrow), fol. 55^v, ll. 1-7.

The careful control of the materials used emphasises the importance of the manuscript to its producers and users, and the relative extent of resources that were invested into it. Wild animals, such as deer, are less likely to have been used for the supply of skins, as it would be difficult to regulate their slaughter, and implies that the producer had access to a larger, domesticated herd. The quality and range of resources employed in the production of CCCC 383 emphasise the broader agricultural and economic context in which the manuscript was produced.

2.3 Bifolia, half-sheets and quires in CCCC 383

Fifty-three original folios of CCCC 383 are extant. Forty-eight of these folios are paired to form the twenty-four bifolia which are distributed between the seven quires.²⁹² The five remaining folios are half-sheets, single folios sewn into their

²⁹² A bifolium is a single larger sheet, folded in half at the spine to form two folios. Gumbert describes the bifolia as the 'real constituents of the book' as each is a discrete piece of the manuscript. Gumbert, 'Skins, Sheets and Quires', in *New Directions in Later Medieval*

respective quires, with a slight stub protruding through the centrefold. The dimensions of the bifolia are given in Table 2.1; the relationship between the bifolia and half-sheets with their respective quires and folios is shown in Figure 2.2.

Quire	Folios	Width (mm)	Height (mm)
1	12 : 13	230	186*
	11 : 14	231	186
	10 : 15	233	186
2	19 : 20	231	185*
	18 : x	115*	182
	17 : 21	231	186
	16 : 22	232	186
3	26 : 27	229	186*
	25 : 28	230	186
	24 : 29	232	186
	23 : 30	232	186
4	41 : 42	227	187
	40 : 43	227	187
	39 : 44	228	187
	38 : 45	227	186
5	49 : 50	232	187*
	48 : 51	231	187
	47 : 52	232	186*
	46 : 53	233	185
6	57 : 58	253	186
	x : 59	116*	188
	56 : x	116*	187
	55 : 60	233	187*
	54 : 61	232	187
7	65 : 66	238	188*
	64 : x	117*	188*
	x : 67	117*	188
	63 : 68	240	188*
	62 : 69	239	188

Table 2.1 Dimensions of bifolia and folios by quire (* indicates where folios are damaged and measurement is uncertain).

The dimensions of the bifolia throughout CCCC 383 are broadly similar across the seven quires, with an average height of 186 mm and average width of 230 mm.²⁹³ As the bifolia and half-sheets are bound into codex form, it is difficult to make exact width measurements without unbinding the manuscript.

Manuscript Studies: Essays from the 1998 Harvard Conference, ed. by Pearsall, (York: York University Press, 2000), pp. 81-90 (p. 81).

²⁹³ This equates to being amongst the smallest of the dimensions for 'smaller books' outlined by Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 40-41.

The truncation of additional items added into the margins of numerous folios throughout the manuscript indicates that the bifolia and half-sheets are smaller than their original size as each has been trimmed. The original dimensions of these bifolia and half-sheets prior to trimming cannot be deduced.

The positions of the fifty-three folios, and their relative arrangement in the seven quires of CCCC 383 are shown in the diagram of quires, Figure 2.2 (duplicated in Appendix A). Each box represents a folio of the manuscript with the foliation in Arabic numerals following the modern numeration written in pencil on the upper right margin of each folio. Folios that are no longer extant are marked with an 'x'. The hair and flesh sides of each piece of parchment are marked with 'h' and 'f', respectively, with the recto of the folio in the lower left half of the box and the verso in the lower right. The two folios of each bifolium are indicated with a solid line running between the two beneath the foliation row for each quire. Half-sheets produced through the loss of a folio from the bifolium are indicated with a dotted line. The positions of the bifolia and half-sheets in the quire are read vertically from the relative positions of the connecting lines. If the quire was laid flat and opened at the centrefold, then the uppermost connecting line is the top bifolium, the lowermost connecting line the bottom bifolium.

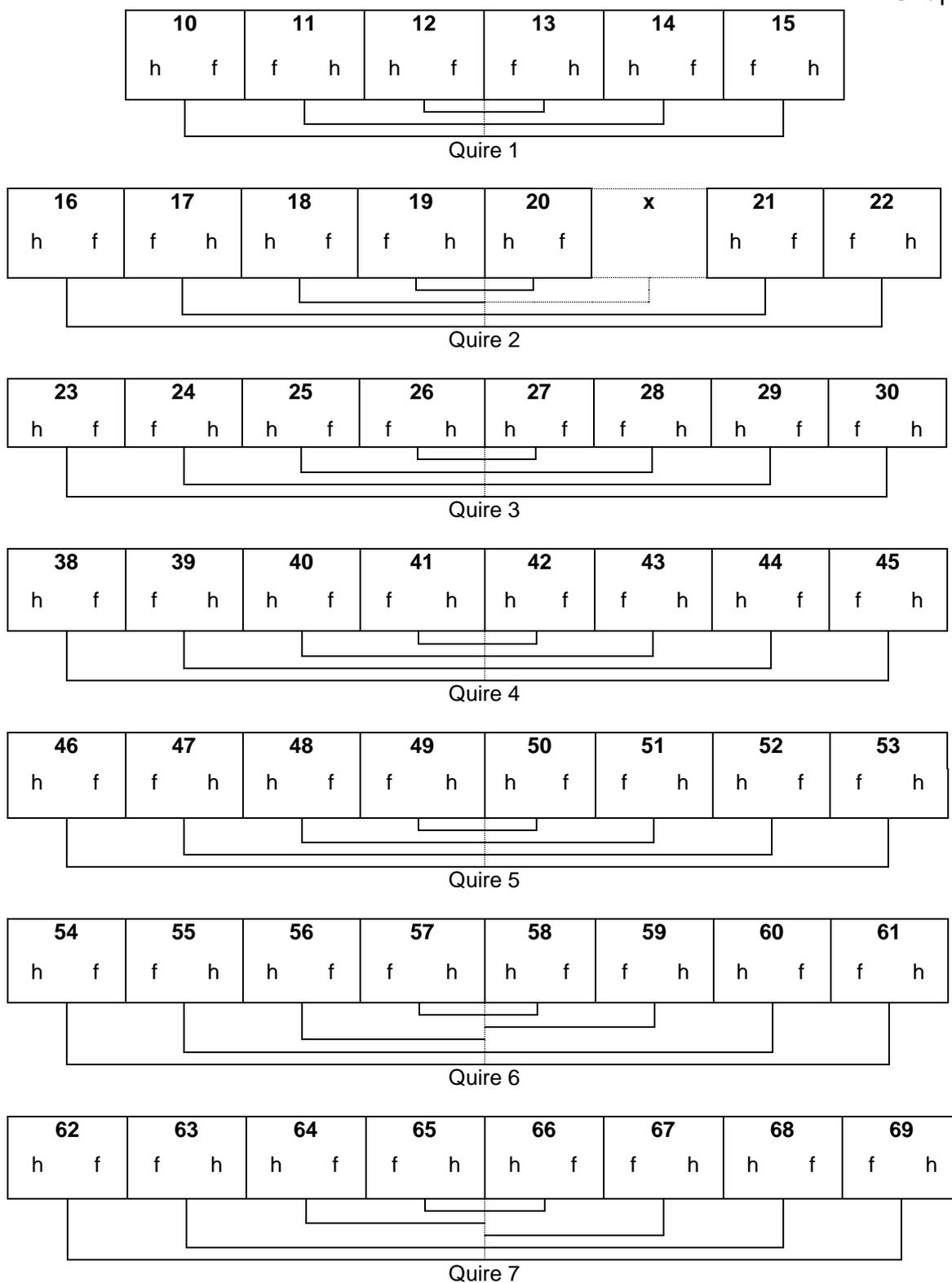


Figure 2.2 Diagram of quires in CCCC 383. Foliation follows modern numeration written on the manuscript, with 'x' indicating where an original folio is now lost. Hair and flesh sides of the parchment are identified with 'h' and 'f', respectively.

The positioning of the bifolia and half-sheets follows the so-called Rule of Gregory consistently throughout the manuscript, in that the hair side of one

piece of parchment faces the hair side of the adjacent piece while the flesh side faces flesh.²⁹⁴ In quire 2, between fols 20^v and 21^r the alignment is flesh facing hair indicating the original position of the lost folio.²⁹⁵ The outer faces of each quire are consistently the hair side of the parchment so the Rule of Gregory is followed between quires as well as within them.²⁹⁶ The practice of making the outside of a quire the hair side is observed strictly until the twelfth century at which point the practice reverses to having the flesh side outermost.²⁹⁷ I would argue, therefore, for a terminus post quem of the twelfth century for the production of the manuscript on codicological grounds. A date in the eleventh or twelfth century is also suggested by the clearly apparent hair and flesh sides of the parchment, as thicker parchment was used for earlier Insular manuscripts with similarly coloured hair and flesh sides produced by roughening the surface with pumice.²⁹⁸

2.4 Quire structures in CCCC 383

I have identified three distinct quire structures in the production of CCCC 383. The predominant type a quire of eight folios made from four bifolia, which is used for quires 2 through to 5. The second type is used only for quire 1, which was produced as a quire of six folios made from three bifolia. The third type is a quire of eight folios made from three bifolia and with folios 3 and 6 being half-sheets, as was used for quires 6 and 7 of CCCC 383.

²⁹⁴ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 33; Léon Gilissen, *Prolégomènes à la Codicologie* (Gand: Story-Scientia, 1977), pp. 14-20; Brown, 'The Manuscript Book Before 1100', p. 186.

²⁹⁵ While this is suggestive, the jump in the contents of the text-block between the preceding and following folios is conclusive, and will be returned to below.

²⁹⁶ Ker identifies this as the regular practice in England from early in the eleventh century. Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p. 40; Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', p. 246.

²⁹⁷ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 33; Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-47.

²⁹⁸ Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, pp. 9-10.

2.4.1 Quire structure I

The predominant form of quire structure used in CCCC 383 has eight folios produced from four bifolia. This structure is used for each of quires 2 to 5, as illustrated in Figure 2.2 (Appendix A). This quire structure is commonly used throughout the medieval period,²⁹⁹ and it has been argued that the consistent alignment of hair-facing-hair and flesh-facing-flesh may have resulted from a single, larger sheet of parchment being folded on itself three times to create a quire of eight leaves.³⁰⁰ The starting piece of parchment was roughly rectangular – the shape of a spread-out animal skin trimmed to have approximately straight edges and right-angle corners. Each of the three consecutive folds bifurcates the sheet of parchment along its length into two smaller but equally proportioned rectangles. The first fold places either flesh against flesh or hair against hair. The two subsequent folds continue this alignment, dividing the parchment sheet into eight folios of similar size and proportions. If one of the two longer edges of the folded parchment is kept as the spine of the gathering and the joins along the other three edges are then severed, a quire of eight folios or four bifolia is produced with the alignment of hair to hair and flesh to flesh retained. As long as each quire is consistently produced with the flesh side of the parchment sheet facing inwards on the first fold, then the outer faces of the quire will always be the hair side of the parchment.³⁰¹

²⁹⁹ Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p. 40; Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-47.

³⁰⁰ De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen*, p. 19; De Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* (Bury St Edmunds: Brewer, 1984), p. 28; Gumbert, 'Skins, Sheets and Quires', p. 84; Gumbert, 'Fifty Years', p. 513; Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', p. 246; Gilissen, *Prolégomènes à la Codicologie*, pp. 14-35; Doyle, 'Recent Directions', p. 8; Brown, 'The Manuscript Book Before 1100', p. 186; Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, pp. 14-15.

³⁰¹ De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen*, pp. 18-20; Gumbert, 'Fifty Years', p. 513; Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', p. 246; Gilissen, *Prolégomènes à la Codicologie*, pp. 14-35;

Quire 2 of CCCC 383 originally had eight folios, but has since been reduced to seven through the loss of a folio, and the quire is now formed from three bifolia and with fol. 18 a half-sheet, as shown in Appendix A. The stub holding the folio in place is located between fols 20 and 21. That fol. 18 was originally part of a single bifolium that was subsequently lost can be deduced from the gap in the textual contents of the *Domboc* (Item No. 8). At the end of fol. 20, the law-code ends abruptly at the beginning of Liebermann's clause Af 41, and recommences on fol. 21 in the middle of Liebermann's clause Af 43.³⁰² It is impossible to determine an exact date for when the folio was lost. The earliest possible date would be immediately following the manuscript's production in the late eleventh or early twelfth century. The latest possible date for the loss would be in the sixteenth century before Archbishop Parker paginated the manuscript, as his number sequence is unaffected by the missing folio.³⁰³

2.4.2 Quire structure II

The structure of quire 1 consisting of six folios rather than eight folios is unique in CCCC 383, as shown in Figure 2.2 (Appendix A). If quire 1 was originally produced using the method detailed for quire structure I by folding and cutting a single larger sheet of parchment then presumably a bifolium was discarded along the way. This quire was deliberately produced as a quire of six, as it has

However, Gumbert also argues that the evidence for the folding and cutting of skins as an approach to quire production is far from conclusive, and that whether or not it was employed, the implementing of the Rule of Gregory in medieval parchment production was not an accident but the result of a deliberate choice. Gumbert, 'Skins, Sheets and Quires', p. 87.

³⁰² 'Af' being Liebermann's abbreviation for the laws of Ælfred, it should be noted here that Liebermann separates the *Domboc* into the two law-codes and catalogues the laws of Ine as 'Ine', *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 75-78.

³⁰³ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 230; James, *Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, II, 230; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113; Lucas, '55. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 74.

no gaps in any of the law-codes it contains. The law-code *Be Blaserum* (Item No. 1) at the beginning of the quire continues directly from the preceding text at the end of quire 3. The final law-code, II *Æðelstan* (Item No. 7), is truncated part way through due to the loss of the following quire. I would argue that the inner bifolium was removed so that flesh faces flesh in the central opening of quire 1.

The quire could have been produced from three individual bifolia, each cut from a different piece of parchment. The consistency in appearance and texture of the parchment throughout this quire, however, suggests that it may have been produced from a single animal skin. The parchments used for all seven quires have a very similar appearance and texture throughout CCCC 383, implying that they were produced from animals of the same species and of similar age, gender and so forth.

2.4.3 Quire Structure III

The sixth and seventh quires consist of eight folios each made from three bifolia and two half-sheets, as shown in Figure 2.2 (Appendix A). The half-sheets are the third and sixth folio of the quire. In quire 6 the stub of fol. 56 is between fols 59 and 60, while the stub of fol. 59 is between fols 56 and 57. In quire 7 the stub of fol. 64 is between fols 66 and 67, while the stub of fol. 67 is between fols 63 and 64. The use of half-sheets must have been a deliberate production choice as there are no gaps in any of the texts surrounding the missing folios. The Rule of Gregory is followed in the positioning of the half-sheets in both quires.³⁰⁴

A red ink line is visible on the stub of fol. 56, roughly parallel with lines 20-21 of fol. 60^r, as shown in Figure 2.3. Unless the red ink mark was made

³⁰⁴ De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen*, pp. 18-20; Gumbert, 'Fifty Years', p. 513; Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-49; Gilissen, *Prolégomènes à la Codicologie*, pp. 14-35.

directly onto the stub the bifolium was used for another purpose prior to being cut into a half-sheet.³⁰⁵ The line is upright and parallel to the centrefold of the bifolium. It is impossible to determine through the stratigraphy of the manuscript if the trimming of the stub predates the mark or vice versa. The ink used to produce the red line is thinner and scratchier than that used for the miniaturing and rubrication throughout CCCC 383.

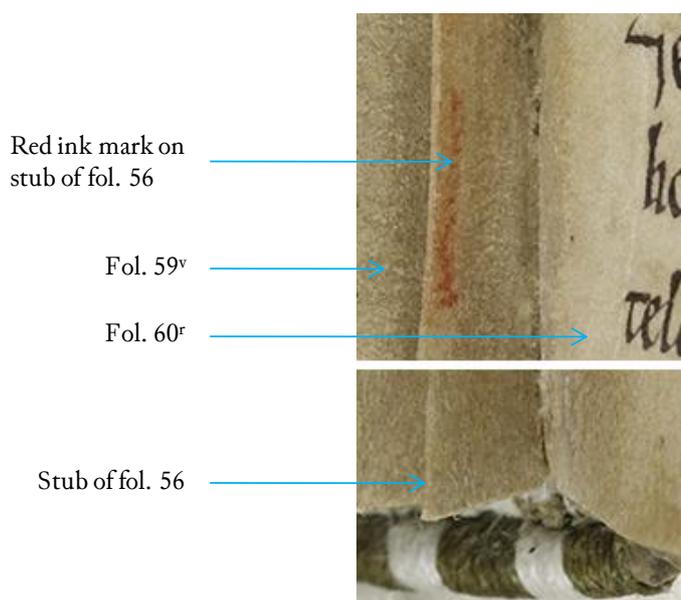


Figure 2.3 Red ink mark on the stub of fol. 56.

It is interesting to note that the offsetting of the red ink from the stub onto the facing folio does not occur, which implies that the ink was dry before the two folios were pressed against each other when the quire was closed. If the ink mark was produced after the quire was assembled, then the lack of offsetting may simply reflect the rapid drying of the single, thin layer of ink. Alternatively, the ink may have been applied to the bifolium before it was inserted into the

³⁰⁵ Speculation on the other items that may also have been being produced cannot be pursued here, beyond the discussion of the extant texts and manuscripts of St. Paul's Cathedral undertaken in Chapter 1. It should be noted, however, that the probable re-use of parchment from another manuscript book, charter or similar here emphasises that the production of CCCC 383 was not an isolated event but part of a broader context of manuscript production.

quire. The bifolium may have been part of the original quire structure that was trimmed down, or a separate piece of parchment that was adapted to fit into quire 5. If the change in production style was not purely aesthetic, it may be due to a different person producing the final two quires or because only smaller and/or older pieces of parchment were available.³⁰⁶ It is difficult to prove either of these hypotheses, however, in light of the available evidence.

2.5 Quire formation

A hypothetical reconstruction of the size of parchment sheets used for CCCC 383 can be undertaken, following the suggestion that a larger sheet was folded and cut, a *pliage*, to produce each quire.³⁰⁷ The locations of eight hypothetical folios, if produced from a *pliage* are shown in Figure 2.4. Folded lines at the centre of each bifolium are marked with dots, and solid lines are used for the points where the parchment would be cut.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁶ Clemens and Graham argue that this type of quire construction happens more frequently at the end of manuscripts, reflecting a decrease in care in the production and selection of materials and the use (or re-use) of whatever was available. Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, p. 14.

³⁰⁷ De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen*, pp. 18-20; Gumbert, 'Fifty Years', p. 513; Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', p. 246; Gilissen, *Prolégomènes à la Codicologie*, pp. 14-35; Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, pp. 14-15.

³⁰⁸ Léon Gilissen proposes two other methods of folding a single large sheet of parchment to produce a quire of eight folios. The starting size of the parchment, however, remains the same. Gilissen, *Prolégomènes à la Codicologie*, pp. 29-31. Monique Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda also discusses this process in relation to the folding of paper into quartos, which is to say quires of eight folios, which provides useful methodological parallels for codicological investigation, Monique Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda, *Les Papiers Filigranés Médiévaux Essai de Méthodologie Descriptive* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), pp. 49-54.

4 ^r	5 ^v	6 ^r	3 ^v
1 ^v	8 ^r	7 ^v	2 ^r

Figure 2.4 Hypothetical model of folio positions in a quire of 8 produced by folding a single sheet of parchment.

The maximum number of animals required to produce the manuscript is one per quire and the size of animal skin required to produce each parchment sheet can be estimated, as shown in Table 2.2.³⁰⁹ The minimum height requirement for a single sheet of parchment to use as a *pliage* for CCCC 383 is approximately 370 mm to 375 mm. The minimum width requirement ranges from 455 mm to 479 mm. The required width for quire 7 is at least 14 mm wider than for the other quires, and 24 mm wider than the requirements for quire 4. The relatively smaller size of the parchment for 1 to 6 may be due to heavier trimming of the folios. Trimming of folios usually occurred after the manuscript was bound into codex form.³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ Gumbert astutely points out that larger skins could (although he stresses it is an opinion not fact) just as easily have been cut flat into bifolia and then assembled. Gumbert, 'Skins, Sheets and Quires', pp. 85-87. While this would rule out the process of folding, the arguments for each quire being produced from a single skin, however, still stand.

³¹⁰ De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen*, p. 25.

Quire	Minimum Height (mm)	Minimum Width (mm)
1	372	464
2	371	463
3	371	463
4	374	455
5	373	465
6	373	465
7	376	479

Table 2.2 Predicted minimum dimensions of parchment sheets if used as *pliages* in the production of CCCC 383.

The codicological evidence implies that quire 7 was never trimmed or may have been trimmed roughly. The edges of the folios in quire 7 are sinuous in shape in comparison to the straighter edges of the folios in the preceding quires. All of the prickmarks in quire 7 are present on every folio and are at a clear distance from the edge of the folio. In the other quires the prickmarks are less consistent, with many at the edges of the folio or else having been trimmed away entirely. Only a few marginal additions have been made in quire 7, all of which can be found on fols 68^v and 69^r, none have been truncated by trimming. This suggests that the final quire was not trimmed subsequent to its production. It is probable that the original dimensions of the bifolia in the other quires would have been similar to those in quire 7. The original bifolia may have been approximately 138 mm x 239 mm when first produced.

These dimensions can be compared briefly against comments made by Reed regarding the cutting areas of different animals.³¹¹ Unfortunately, Reed does not consistently give sizes for the cutting area of each species of animal and when young and mature. Spring lambs of around 2 months' age have a cutting area of approximately 300 mm x 600 mm.³¹² The potential minimum dimensions for the height of the bifolia are 70 mm larger than this cutting area,

³¹¹ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, p. 129.

³¹² Reed, *Ancient Skins*, p. 129.

although the width would easily be accommodated. If the support was parchment made from sheep, it would therefore have been from an older and larger animal. The other dimensions that Reed gives are for mature goat, with a cutting area of roughly 600 mm x 900 mm.³¹³ Considering that sheep, goats and calves are of similar size, and mature cows and bulls are significantly larger, the dimensions do not help to narrow down species. They do, however, confirm that the core of each quire of CCCC 383 could have been produced from a single, mature sheep or goat or similar sized animal. Another two to four skins would have been required for the half-sheets.

Léon Gilissen outlines a method for identifying whether a quire was formed as a *pliage*, by comparing various cuts, patches of skin-discolouration and so forth between the edges of bifolia. By analysing the alignment of features that crossed between two, or more, bifolia Gilissen has been able to prove conclusively that various bifolia in quires had come from a single, original animal skin and to identify the manner in which the skin was folded.³¹⁴ Gumbert refers to these features that cross between bifolia as 'bridge marks' and discusses a similar approach to identifying the original location and orientation of the parchment on the animal.³¹⁵ Gumbert proposes that the 'marginal textures', the locations on the parchment that correspond to the armpits and groin of the animal, can be identified as the material is notably softer and more flexible.³¹⁶

Clarkson provides numerous annotated illustrations of the appearance of parchment where different aspects of the animal, features of the production

³¹³ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, p. 130.

³¹⁴ Gilissen, *Prolegomènes à la Codicologie*, pp. 14-122.

³¹⁵ Gumbert, 'Fifty Years', p. 513; Gumbert, 'Skins, Sheets and Quires', p. 82.

³¹⁶ Gumbert, 'Skins, Sheets and Quires', pp. 82-83.

process and subsequent damage to the materials are identifiable.³¹⁷ I have used these for comparative purposes when examining CCCC 383 to try and discern the original locations of the bifolia in relation to the skin and to see if bridge marks can be identified at any point in the manuscript. CCCC 383, however, does not lend itself to such proof as the majority of discolouration and damage to the manuscript, with the exception of the cut on fol. 55, discussed above, are the result of subsequent water damage or abrasion and the edges of most folios have been trimmed. The darker and thinner material at the upper and lower corners of many of the folios, which may correspond to the spine of the animal,³¹⁸ or may be abrasion caused through turning of the pages. The absence of bridge marks cannot be used as evidence that the quires were not formed from single skins. The initial animal skins used may have been larger and the majority of marginal textures removed during production. The uniformity of colour and the undamaged condition of the parchment when CCCC 383 was produced emphasise the careful selection of animal skins for the production of the parchment, the quality of the materials employed and, therefore, the overall importance of the manuscript.

2.6 Pricking and ruling

The ruling grid is produced to delineate the areas where the text-block will be on the folio, and to create horizontal guide lines for each line of writing. The ruling grid also serves an aesthetic function as numerous additional lines are usually included, such as the through-lines that run across the centrefold of the bifolium or the lines that extend to the edge of the parchment.³¹⁹ The materials and

³¹⁷ Clarkson, 'Rediscovering Parchment', pp.78-96

³¹⁸ Treharne, (pers. com., 17 December 2009)

³¹⁹ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 37-39.

methods used to create ruling grids vary widely throughout the medieval period.

An awl, knife-tip or similar sharp object was used to puncture a series of prickmarks into the parchment, to guide the position of the ruled lines.³²⁰ A consistent layout between sheets is produced, by pricking a number of folios simultaneously. A straight edge is then aligned to the holes, and used to guide the production of the ruled line.³²¹ In the twelfth century the practice of using lead ruling became more popular, replacing the earlier method of hard-point ruling in which a solid point was used to score a line into the surface of the parchment.³²²

Various methods have been developed to record and display the patterns of pricking and ruling in medieval manuscripts.³²³ Methods for the geometric analysis of the proportions and dimensions of various ruling grids have been outlined in particular by Gilissen,³²⁴ but this approach has not been widely accepted in the scholarship.³²⁵ A more systematic approach has been outlined by Denis Muzerelle in which a series of letters and numbers are employed to describe the various types of lines present in the ruling grid.³²⁶

³²⁰ Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, pp. 15-16; De Hamel, *Glossed Books*, p. 29; De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen*, pp. 23-25; Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-49; Leslie Webber-Jones, 'Pricking Manuscripts: The Instruments and their Significance', *Speculum*, 21 (1946), 389-403.

³²¹ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 35; Ker, *English Manuscripts*, pp. 42-43; Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-49.

³²² Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 34-35; Ker argues that this was the normal approach up until c. 1170 when the use of lead ruling instead becomes prevalent, Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-49; Ker, *English Manuscripts*, pp. 41-42.

³²³ For brief overviews see Doyle, 'Recent Developments', p. 8; Gumbert, 'Fifty Years', pp. 515-16; Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 37-39; These approaches contrast with, for example, Ker where the focus is on general descriptions or the relationship between the ruling grid and the top line written by the scribe as dating features, Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-49; Ker, 'From "Above Top Line"', pp. 13-16.

³²⁴ Gilissen, *Prolégomènes à la Codicologie*, pp. 125-45.

³²⁵ Gumbert argues in particular that the list of, apparently significant proportions identified by Gilissen is so long that it is almost impossible 'even for a very bad craftsman' to design a page in which two or three of them cannot be found', Gumbert, 'Fifty Years', p. 516.

³²⁶ Denis Muzerelle, 'Pour Décrire les Schémas de Réglure: Une Méthode de Notation Symbolique Applicable aux Manuscrits Latins (et Autres)', *Quinio*, 1 (1999), 123-70.

Muzerelle's method is best suited for the quantitative comparison of a larger collection of manuscript copies of an individual text, as has been demonstrated by Matti Peikola.³²⁷ The ability of scribes to adapt ruling grids from their original form in the exemplar to produce different *mise-en-page* and manuscript contexts has been discussed in the scholarship, especially for later medieval manuscripts with complicated rubrics and glosses.³²⁸ Maniaci argues that a purely formal study of layout cannot provide enough information and that an in depth analysis is required instead for which she uses a quantitative approach.³²⁹ The *Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220* project combines formal descriptions of ruling grids with stylistic, graphic representations which allows for overall comparison and representation as well as facilitating in depth qualitative comparison.³³⁰ As an inherently visual medium for scribal expression and textual content, it is my belief that quantitative analysis can be informative but the reductive approach may obfuscate details of the appearance and effect of the ruling grid. I would argue therefore that comparison and description of the ruling grid is best served by detailed qualitative and visual analysis.

³²⁷ I would argue, however, that this approach is less applicable for the close analysis of the production of an individual manuscript and is better suited for the comparison of multiple manuscript witnesses of the same text. Matti Peikola, 'Aspects of *Mise-en-page* in Manuscripts of the *Wycliffite Bible*', in *Medieval Texts in Context*, ed. by Renevey and Caie (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 28-67.

³²⁸ See for example, Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel, 'Expanding Rubrics for the Sake of a Layout: *Mise-en-Page* as Evidence for a Particular Scribe', in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*, ed. by Linda L. Brownrigg (Walkern: Red Gull, 1990), pp. 117-31 (pp. 117-22); Maniaci, 'Words Within Words', pp. 241-68.

³²⁹ Maniaci, 'Words Within Words', p. 242.

³³⁰ 'Principles of Description', in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220* <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/catalogue/principles.htm>> [Accessed 10 November 2010].

2.6.1 Recording grids for pricking and ruling

The use of systematic proformas is not usually overtly discussed as a method for recording codicological features of manuscripts. It is my impression, however, that the underlying attitude to pre-produced forms for codicology amongst scholars is that they are primarily for educational purposes to train aspirant codicologists in the basics rather than as a suitable method for the close analysis and description of a given manuscript.³³¹ Many codicologists seem to have produced their own recording forms, distributed as guides to students (and perhaps intended also for personal use) but these have not been published or subjected to scholarly debate.³³² A more commonly employed approach in the scholarship is the production of annotated lists of significant features which the codicologist should look for and record when examining a manuscript.³³³

I have developed and used a systematic recording grid as a part of my research into the production and use of CCCC 383 for this thesis, a copy of which is shown in Figure 2.5.³³⁴ The underlying principle was that a recording

³³¹ Michael Gullick has dismissed the approach as 'hard-core codicology'. He argues that, by having a definitive list of things to look for, significant features of the manuscript omitted from the list may also be omitted from the analysis as the codicologist either fails to observe them or excises them from their record as extraneous details. Michael Gullick, (pers. com., 27 April 2010).

³³² I would like to thank Dr Aiden Conti for bringing to my attention a number of tutorial recording grids that he has collected from various academics working in the field. Aiden Conti, Pers Com. 14 May 2010.

³³³ Ker identified the need for such a book in 1944. His notes of distinctive dating features have been recently published, Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-50 with an introduction and brief commentary, Doyle, 'Introduction to Neil Ker's Elements of Medieval English Codicology', *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700*, 14 (2008), 244-45; Alexander Rumble has also published a list of codicological and palaeographical features to note when examining a manuscript, structured as a guide for students and taken originally from lecture handouts, Rumble, Alexander R. Rumble, 'Using Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. by Richards (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 3-24.

³³⁴ I have adapted this method of systematically recording codicological information from the so-called 'context sheet' used widely in field archaeology (for a discussion of the role of context sheet see Hodder, *The Archaeological Process*, pp. 80-104). I have found this to be an invaluable tool and believe that, with some development and adaption, it will prove equally useful in the analysis of other manuscripts.

grid should allow comprehensive recording of the bifolium or half-sheet to be rapidly undertaken. An essential feature of the recording grid was incorporating a visual representation of the ruling pattern and salient features of the parchment. The production of the recording grid was a reflexive process as it was first necessary to know the approximate pattern used throughout CCCC 383 to create the pattern of potential lines and prickmarks: 26 long lines per folio with single, vertical bounding lines to define the edges of the text-block.³³⁵ In some instances the lines are extended to the outer margins of the folio or across the centrefold of the bifolium. To produce the ruling grid I assumed that each line could have extended the entire length or width of the parchment and would require a prickmark at each end and that the horizontal lines on the two folios could have been ruled separately with prickmarks in the gutter of the bifolium. The potential locations for lines are marked on the recording grid using double, parallel lines and the potential locations of prickmarks with empty circles.

³³⁵ The underlying pattern was produced from initial observations of the manuscript and facsimiles, and using catalogue descriptions in the scholarship. Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-13; James, *Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, II, 230-31. This particular recording grid would not be usable for any manuscript that does not have an underlying ruling grid of a single column with 26 horizontal lines.

pattern and prickmarks can be undertaken. I also recorded dimension of the bifolium or half-sheet, hair and flesh side of the parchment, which side of the folio the pricking and ruling were undertaken from and noted damage to the parchment or items,³³⁷ with the relative location marked on the diagram and the damage or feature described. One copy of the recording grid was completed for each bifolium and half-sheet in the seven original quires of the manuscript. Through analysis of the spine of CCCC 383 and by using the quire diagrams in Appendix A, the two folios of each bifolium were identified. Each bifolium is labelled according to the folio numbers it is made from, for example quire 1 consists of bifolia 10:15, 11:14 and 12:13. The recto of the first folio in order of sequence through the manuscript was recorded on the left hand side of the recording, and the verso of the matching folio on the right.

2.6.2 Pricking pattern in CCCC 383

The pricking pattern used to lay out the ruling in CCCC 383 appears to be the same across all of the bifolia. The top and lower edges each have 4 prickmarks to guide the vertical bounding lines. Two rows of 26 prickmarks run down the outer edge of each bifolia and no prickmarks are evident on the inner margins close to the centrefold.³³⁸ This is also true of the half-sheets, and indicates that each was originally produced as a bifolium and was subsequently cut down.

³³⁷ Muzerelle proposes a simple and informative system for indicating which side of the parchment a prickmark or ruling line was made from, using > to indicate from the recto and < to indicate from the verso. Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire Codicologique*, p. 104. It is a system that I would be willing to adopt in principle, except that the recto of one folio is the verso of the other in each bifolium, which could potentially cause confusion. I am also already employing angle brackets for identifying graphs in palaeographic discussion – which could add further confusion. I have chosen, therefore, to treat all prickmarks and all ruling lines by folio so the recto and verso are more readily apparent to the user.

³³⁸ The lack of pricking on the inner margin indicates that each bifolium must have been pricked and ruled before it was sewn into the quire, Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, pp. 15-16; Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', pp. 246-49.

No bifolium in CCCC 383 has had every single prickmark trimmed away, but most, with the exceptions of fols 56-59 and 62-29, have lost at least one. Only one prickmark is missing from each of bifolia 54-61 and 55-60. These appear to have been lost when the lower, outer corners of both fol. 60 and fol. 61 were cut away, rather than as a result of shaping the vertical edges of the folios. If these trimmed corners are ignored, it would appear that a lesser quantity of quire 6 to that of the other quires was trimmed away. This may have been because the sheet of parchment was originally smaller, and the prickmarks were thus closer to the centrefold. An alternative explanation may be that the parchment may originally have been the same approximate size as in the other quires and the prickmarks were simply positioned relatively further from the original edge of the parchment. When the pages of the entire manuscript were trimmed into alignment with each other, the prickmarks were thus somewhat protected. Human variations in the manuscript, introduced in the production process, are therefore apparent.

Aside from quire 7, all the other quires have been trimmed to varying degrees, as can be seen from the partial truncation of prickmarks. However, close examination of the prickmarks absent from each folio shows that each of the bifolia and half-sheets in quire 7 are missing no prickmarks, while those in quires 1 through 5 are often missing more than half the prickmarks.

Throughout CCCC 383 the pricking has been performed from the recto of each folio. On each bifolium the prickmarks on one folio are made from the hair side and on the other folio from the flesh side. The person pricking the parchment may have had the bifolium flat open in front of them, and after pricking one half of the parchment then flipped it over to prick the reverse side. The regular spacing of the ruled lines across the folio imply, however, that both

sets of prickmarks were completed simultaneously. I would argue that the bifolium was first folded and then both folios pricked simultaneously to produce parallel ruled lines with the pricking performed from the recto of each folio.

If each quire was produced from a *pliage*, then the pricking of multiple sheets could be undertaken simultaneously. As well as saving time, pricking the entire quire in one run would also cause the ruling pattern to be aligned throughout the quire, not just on each bifolium. As each of the openings in the quire, apart from the centrefold, are made from folios from two different bifolia, producing the pricking as one set would mean that the ruling lines would be identical across each opening. All of the openings, therefore, would be symmetrical, not just the central opening of the quire, as can be seen in each opening throughout CCCC 383. The shape of the prickmarks on CCCC 383 are consistently linear in form, implying that they were produced with the tip of a blade, such as that of a knife.³³⁹

2.6.3 Ruling patterns in CCCC 383

The gutter of many of the folios has been damaged and has undergone conservation, which can also make identification of the ruling pattern somewhat problematic in places.³⁴⁰ Six variant ruling patterns are present in CCCC 383, which I have labelled alphabetically following the order of their appearance in the manuscript, from A through to F. The variations between the ruling grids are subtle, and the underlying pattern of 26 horizontal ruled lines with single vertical bounding lines is duplicated in each. Ruling pattern A (Figure 2.6) is

³³⁹ As the blades of eleventh- and twelfth-century penknives are generally tapered, different lengths of prickmark would be expected on different bifolia depending on how deeply the blade had been pushed in. For illustrations of eleventh and twelfth century knife-blades see Michael Finlay, *Western Writing Implements in the Age of the Quill Pen* (Carlisle: Plains, 1990), p. 15.

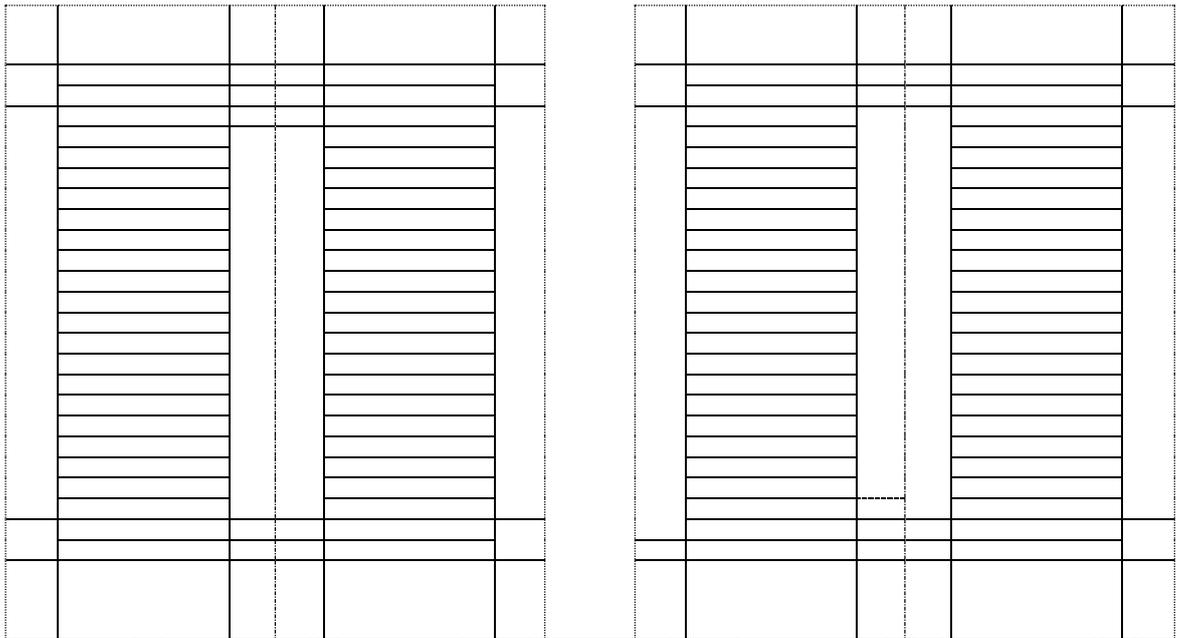
³⁴⁰ Paul, (pers. com., 21 July 2009).

predominant in the first three quires and used for six of the ten bifolia and on the extant folio of the half-sheet.³⁴¹ On the ruling pattern, the first, third, antepenultimate and final horizontal lines are extended to the outer margins, and the first three and the final three horizontal lines extend across the centrefold of the bifolia. Ruling pattern B (Figure 2.7) is used exclusively on all of the bifolia and the extant parts of the four half-sheets present in quires 4 through to 7.³⁴² In this ruling pattern only the first, third, antepenultimate and final horizontal lines are extended to the outer margin and across the centrefold of the bifolium. Ruling patterns C through to F (Figure 2.8) are subtle variations in which different horizontal lines are extended to the outer margin or across the centrefold of the bifolium.³⁴³

³⁴¹ Bifolia Nos 10:15, 11:14, 18, 19:20, 24:29, 25:28 and 26:27.

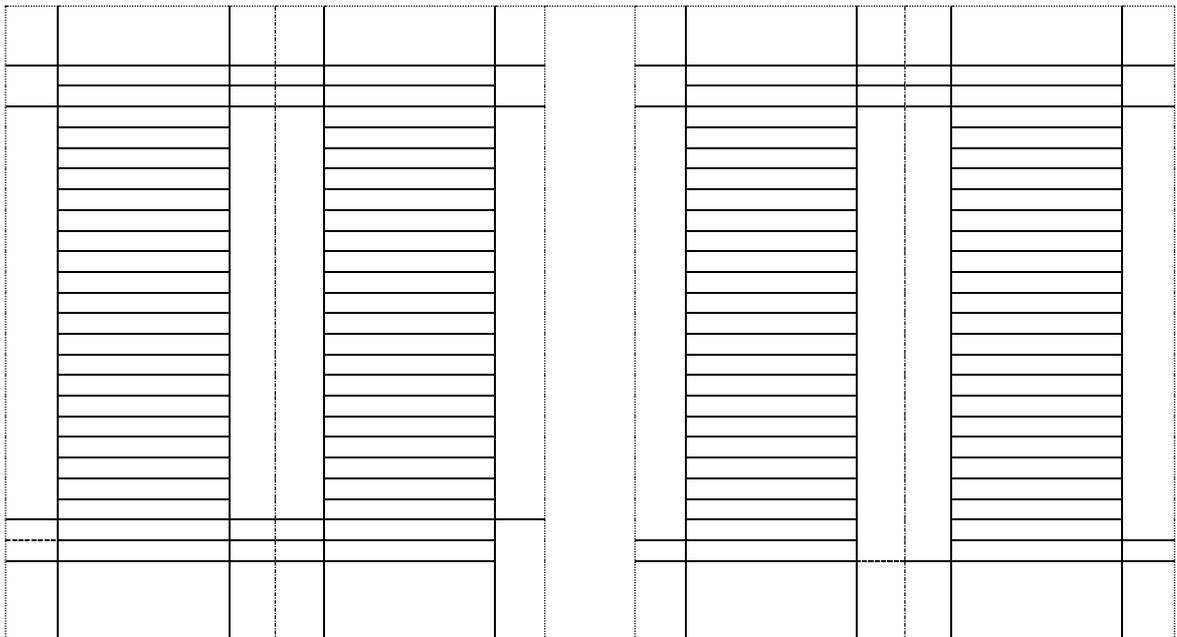
³⁴² Nos 38:45, 39:44, 40:43, 41:42, 46:53, 47:52*, 48:51, 49:50*, 54:61*, 55:60, 56, 57:58, 59,62:69*, 63:68*, 64, 65:66, 67*. The asterisk indicates where the inner margin is damaged and makes the ruling grid unclear.

³⁴³ Ruling pattern C on bifolia 12:13, D on 16:22, E on 17:21 and F on 23:30.



Ruling Pattern C 12:13

Ruling Pattern D16:22



Ruling Pattern E 17:21

Ruling Pattern F 23:30

Figure 2.8 Ruling patterns C to F in CCCC 383.

Throughout CCCC 383, the ruling was performed from the hair side of each bifolium. As a hard point was used consistently for the ruling, this means that the line on the hair side of the parchment is indented while the line on the flesh side is raised. This is in agreement with the standard method used

throughout this period, and indicates a terminus ante quem of the mid to late twelfth century.³⁴⁴

The extension of ruled lines across the centrefold of the bifolia implies that the pattern of each was laid out with the bifolium folded, possibly still in the full quire. As the ruling extends unbroken across the entire bifolium, each must either have been removed from the quire structure and unfolded before the ruling was performed or else the hard-point was used to score through multiple pieces of parchment simultaneously.³⁴⁵ The unique ruling patterns C through to F, however, imply that each bifolium was ruled individually rather than multiple bifolia being ruled simultaneously.

The relatively consistent form of the ruling grid used throughout CCCC 383 has significant implication when taken in conjunction with Wormald's argument that the manuscript was compiled from at least three separate exemplars.³⁴⁶ It has been suggested in the scholarship that the complete *mise-en-page* of an exemplar – including the form of its ruling grid – may be copied by a manuscripts' producer(s) as well as copying the text itself.³⁴⁷ I would argue that the chances are remote that all four exemplars had identical ruling grids that the main scribe of CCCC 383 (or whoever pricked and ruled the quires) slavishly copied each of them. The ruling grid was produced to be consistent throughout the entire manuscript, and to thereby underlie a consistent *mise-en-page* that the various law-codes and similar texts in each of the exemplars were emended to fit. The compilation of related texts in the manuscript homogenised

³⁴⁴ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 35; Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', p. 246; Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, p. 16.

³⁴⁵ See Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, p. 16.

³⁴⁶ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232.

³⁴⁷ The argument being that developing a consistent and structured method of quantitatively describing ruling grids will allow for comparison, diagnostic identification of variant forms and the compilation of stemmata for their transmission, Peikola, 'Aspects of *Mise-en-page*', pp. 28-34.

into a consistent *mise-en-page* reflects the intentions of the manuscript's producers for how it was to be used.

2.7 Patterns of damage in CCCC 383

CCCC 383 has undergone numerous changes over the centuries between its initial production and the modern day. The physical form of the manuscript at a given point in time determines the types of damage and alteration that it can undergo. Through analysis of the patterns of damage – such as that caused by trimming, water, abrasion and so forth – some aspects of the manuscript's form in the first half of the twelfth century can be hypothetically re-constructed. Much of the damage, such as abrasion on the surface of the folios, has accumulated gradually over the centuries between initial production and the modern day. Other forms of damage, such as corners being cut away, must have occurred as individual events in time. In many cases it is not possible to put a specific date to a piece of damage although a relative chronology can often be produced by locating specific damage in the overall stratigraphy of the manuscript.³⁴⁸

The patterns of water damage on CCCC 383 are varied in shape and form. A larger spread of water damage can be seen in the inner margins of quires 1 to 7, with quires 3 and 4 being the worst affected. The sixteenth-century additional quire B shows no sign of the water damage, implying that the damage must have occurred before it was added to the manuscript. A large water patch is present in the middle of the text-block throughout quire 5. Other quires in the manuscript do not have this large spread of water damage, implying that the manuscript was unbound and quire 5 separate at the time the

³⁴⁸ The most obvious examples being palaeographically dated items that have been trimmed or damaged.

damage occurred. The manuscript has definitely been bound into codex form since the sixteenth century, and has been rebound at least twice; in 1950 and in 1991.³⁴⁹ No record of damage to the manuscript during the re-binding processes has been reported and it seems probable that this water damage also predates the sixteenth century. The third type of water damage to the manuscript is far smaller, and impossible to date. Throughout the manuscript occasional water marks where droplets have landed on the exposed surface can be seen, possibly raindrops which would imply that the manuscript had been used outdoors at some point. Water damage to the inks has also proved useful for determining if an ink is water soluble or not, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

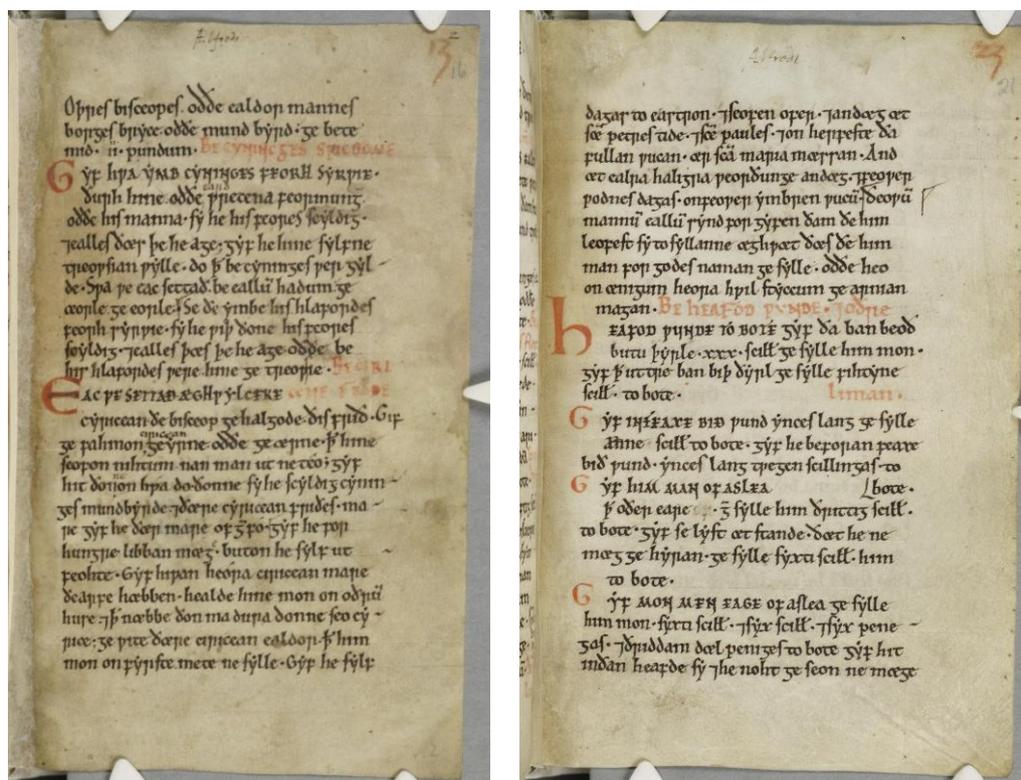


Figure 2.9 Comparison of damage between outer face (left, fol. 16') and inner face (right, fol. 21') in quire 2.

³⁴⁹ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113; Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 75.

The parchment has suffered a significant quantity of abrasion, evident from the discolouration, thinning and roughened surfaces. The lower corner on the outer edge of most of the folios is noticeably thinner than the rest of the folio, as discussed previously. In some cases the thinned corner is also discoloured. Examples of this can be seen in the lower, outer corners illustrated in Figure 2.9.

The variation in abrasion can be seen by comparing a damaged folio, such as fol. 16^r, with a relatively undamaged folio, such as fol. 21^r, adjacent to each other, as shown in Figure 2.9. The image of the undamaged folio has been chosen so that both examples are the hair side of the parchment and from the same quire. The differences in colour and surface therefore must be due to relative differences in exposure and damage. Throughout CCC 383 fourteen instances of this heavy degree of damage are identifiable: on fols 10^r, 15^v, 16^r, 22^v, 23^r, 30^v, 38^r, 45^v, 46^r, 53^v, 54^r, 61^v, 62^r and 69^v. When this damage is mapped against the quire diagram, Figure 2.2 (Appendix A), it can be seen that each relatively heavily damaged surface is the outer face of a quire. The only way that the outside faces of the quire could have been more heavily damaged than the internal folios was if the manuscript remained unbound for an extended period of time. This abrasion to the unbound manuscript must, therefore, have occurred at some point before the sixteenth century.

The edges of the folios have been trimmed in two main ways. On a few occasions the lower outer corners of folios have been cut away completely. This occurs seven times in total in fols 12, 19, 50, 60, 63, 65 and 66. In addition to these, the lower outer corner of fol. 27 has been ripped away. A semi-circular section from the bottom edge of fol. 57 has also been removed. Presumably these edges were trimmed to neaten the corners and edge, and remove areas

of more severe abrasion such as described previously. The outer edges of the folios have also been trimmed and straightened so that the edges of the quires are broadly identical. As was discussed previously, the different folios and quires have been trimmed to differing extents, and it is possible that quire 7 was not trimmed at all. The trimming of the folios and quires would usually occur as part of the binding process to create a codex of uniform size and appearance. Throughout quires 1 to 5 of CCCC 383 at least ten items added in the margins have definitely been trimmed, and a further five may have been trimmed.³⁵⁰ Although three of the items are currently undated, the remaining items range from the first half of the twelfth century at the earliest, through to a single marginal addition of the sixteenth century made by Talbot on fol. 55^r.³⁵¹

While it is possible that the pages could have been trimmed on multiple occasions, no direct evidence exists to prove this. The folios may have only been trimmed once as after the first trimming they would have been uniform in their size and shape. Unless the quires were rebound into new positions that were misaligned from each other, the quires would not need to have been re-trimmed. Additional corroborative evidence that the quires were not re-trimmed can be found in evidence from the prickmarks on the folios. A large number of the prickmarks are visible on many of the folios whether trimmed or otherwise. Where the folios appear not to have been trimmed, as in quire 7, the prickmarks are very close to the edge of the leaf. As each subsequent trimming would remove more of the parchment edges, and consequently the prickmarks, it seems likely that the manuscript was trimmed fewer times rather than more. While it cannot be proved with certainty that the manuscript was not re-trimmed,

³⁵⁰ Gobbitt, 'Audience and Amendment', pp. 10-11.

³⁵¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 230.

on balance it seems most likely that the first trimming was after Talbot's annotation in the sixteenth century.³⁵²

³⁵² Gobbitt, 'Audience and Amendment', pp. 10-11.

CHAPTER 3: THE INK OF CCCC 383**3.1 Medieval inks**

A wide variety of recipes and methods, employing numerous ingredients, were used in the medieval period to produce inks of different colours used for writing and decorating manuscripts. Inks for writing the main text-block of a manuscript are usually brown or black in hue and can be broadly divided into two main types based on the pigment employed: carbon inks and gallo-tannic inks. Various ingredients were also incorporated into the ink to modify the viscosity for writing and to assist the adhesion of the ink to the parchment.³⁵³ A number of scholarly studies of medieval ink recipes have been undertaken including Tony Hunt's analysis of a collection of Anglo-Norman recipes and Mark Clarke's discussion of the textual evidence for Anglo-Saxon inks.³⁵⁴ Analytical investigations into the constituents of various inks have also been undertaken; in particular, Clarke's detailed investigation of Anglo-Saxon manuscript pigments,³⁵⁵ and Katherine Brown and Robin Clark's analyses of a small number of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts using Raman Microscopy.³⁵⁶ These studies provide a useful cultural and chemical background for the contextual

³⁵³ See, for example: Bat-Yehouda, 'La Fabrication des Encres Noires d'après les Textes', *Codicologica*, 5 (1980), 52-58; Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, pp. 3-25; Rumble, 'Using Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', p. 12.

³⁵⁴ Tony Hunt, 'Early Anglo-Norman Receipts for Colours', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 58 (1995), 203-09; Other useful studies and discussions include Charles C. Pines, 'The Story of Ink', *American Journal of Police Science*, 2 (1931), 290-301 (pp. 292-93); Mark Clarke, 'Contemporary Textual Evidence for the use of Pigments in Anglo-Saxon England in the Absence of Technical Descriptions', *ICOM Committee for Conservation*, 1 (2008), 3-9; Theophilus, *On Divers Arts*, trans. and ed. by John G. Hawthorne and Cyril Stanley Smith (New York: Dover, 1963).

³⁵⁵ Mark Clarke, 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Pigments', *Studies in Conservation*, 49 (2004), 1-14.

³⁵⁶ Katherine L. Brown and Robin J. H. Clark, 'The Lindisfarne Gospels and Two Other 8th Century Anglo-Saxon/Insular Manuscripts: Pigment Identification by Raman Microscopy', *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy*, 35 (2004), 4-12; Brown and Clark, 'Analysis of Key Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts (8-11th Centuries) in the British Library: Pigment Identification by Raman Microscopy', *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy*, 35 (2004), 181-89.

interpretation of the inks of manuscripts which have not been subjected to chemical analysis, such as CCCC 383.

Carbon inks are produced from soot and are, stereotypically at least, very dark brown or black in colour, glossy in aspect, chemically inert and usually appear to rest on top of the parchment rather than biting into the surface.³⁵⁷

Gallo-tannic inks – also known as iron-gall inks – are produced from the chemical reaction of a variety of metal compounds (typically copperas, but also potassium alum, copper sulphate and copper acetate) with tannic acid produced from soaking oak galls or bark.³⁵⁸ Gallo-tannic inks can be used to produce a wide range of colours, depending on the various constituents used to make them, and, because of their acidity, adhere to the parchment by biting into it.³⁵⁹

The distinction between carbon and gallo-tannic inks is not always clear – despite the general tendencies in colour, aspect and method of adhesion to the support – and many inks can best be described as ‘mixed’.³⁶⁰ Iron and other metals can be included in inks that are not based on the chemical reaction with tannic acid,³⁶¹ while carbon can be added as another ingredient to further darken gallo-tannic inks.³⁶² An even wider range of mineral pigments and

³⁵⁷ Bat-Yehouda, ‘La Fabrication des Encres Noires’, pp. 52-54; De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen*, p. 32.

³⁵⁸ Bat-Yahouda, ‘La Fabrication des Encres Noires’, pp. 57-58; De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen*, pp. 32-33; A detailed discussion of modern experimental production of medieval inks, with significant emphasis on variant components, can be found in Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, pp. 1-19; Oak galls are tumour-like growths on oak trees formed where the tree has protected itself from a wound where a wasp has laid its eggs. Consequently, being a part of the wasp’s reproductive cycle, the growth of oak-galls is seasonal, and predominantly occurs during the summer and late spring, ‘Oak Galls’, in *Royal Horticultural Society*, <http://www.rhs.org.uk/advice/profiles0900/oak_galls.asp> [accessed 19 February 2010].

³⁵⁹ If the acidity of the ink is too great then the parchment can be eroded away completely, Elmer Eusman, ‘Iron Gall Ink’, in *The Ink Corrosion Website*, <<http://www.knaw.nl/ecpa/ink/ink.html>> [Accessed 18 February 2010]; Clarkson, ‘Rediscovering Parchment’, p. 91.

³⁶⁰ Bat-Yahouda, ‘La Fabrication des Encres Noires’, pp. 57-58.

³⁶¹ Marina Bichechieri and others, ‘All that is Iron-Ink is not Always Iron-Gall!’, *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy*, 39 (2008), 1074-78.

³⁶² Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, pp. 5-11.

organic dyes were employed to produce different coloured inks, such as the red inks used for the miniaturing and rubrication of CCCC 383.

Some general dating observations can be drawn from the type of ink used, although these cannot provide close dating criteria. The consensus in the scholarship is that gallo-tannic inks were used in the Roman period, were abandoned in favour of carbon-based ink in late antiquity, and then, in the late medieval period, gallo-tannic inks became current once more.³⁶³ Scholarship from earlier in the twentieth century argued that the medieval transition to using gallo-tannic inks occurred between the tenth and twelfth centuries.³⁶⁴ More recent evidence obtained from chemical analysis of manuscripts has shown that gallo-tannic inks were in use in the eighth, ninth and eleventh centuries,³⁶⁵ while sixteenth-century recipes imply that carbon-based inks continued to be in use long past the twelfth century.³⁶⁶

3.2 Speculative identification of black ink pigments in CCCC 383

A number of black and brown inks are used in CCCC 383. The vast majority of these are used by the later scribes that added to and emended the manuscript from the thirteenth century and onwards. The following discussion will consider the inks used by the main scribe, and the other identified scribes that emended the manuscript through the first half of the twelfth century.³⁶⁷ From the various analytical studies of manuscripts and modern experimental reconstructions of medieval ink recipes discussed above, the identified pigments can be correlated

³⁶³ Eusman, 'Introduction', in *The Ink Corrosion Website*, <<http://www.knaw.nl/ecpa/ink/intro.html>> [Accessed 18 February 2010].

³⁶⁴ Pines, 'The Story of Ink', p. 292.

³⁶⁵ Brown and Clark, 'The Lindisfarne Gospels', p. 6; Brown and Clark, 'Analysis of Key Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', pp. 185-87.

³⁶⁶ Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, p. 25.

³⁶⁷ Palaeographic analysis and discussion of the identifying features of these hands will be undertaken in Chapters 4 and 6. With the exception of the red ink used by Archbishop Parker for his pagination of the manuscript, the other, later inks will not be further considered here.

with the ink colours as described in the scholarship, as shown in Table 3.1, and used for comparison with the inks of CCCC 383.³⁶⁸

Component	Colour	Reference
carbon	Blue-Black, Black	³⁶⁹
carbon, copperas, tannin, potassium alum	Black	³⁷⁰
copperas, tannin (pyrogallol)	Brown, Grey to Blue-Black	³⁷¹
copperas, tannin (catechol)	Brown, Grey to Green-Black	³⁷²
copperas, tannin, potassium alum	Dark-Grey	³⁷³
carbon, tar	Brown	³⁷⁴
tannin, potassium alum	Reddish-Brown	³⁷⁵
tannin, copper acetate	Reddish-Brown	³⁷⁶
tannin	Light Brown	³⁷⁷

Table 3.1 Typical components and pigments used in writing inks.

The first observation that should be drawn from this is that the degree of overlap between colours is quite noticeable. This is particularly significant when comparing the carbon-based ink with the gallo-tannic ink produced from copperas and pyrogallol type tannin (obtained from oak galls and oak bark), as both are described as 'blue-black'.³⁷⁸ Close observation of the way in which the ink adheres to the parchment is also necessary. Speculative identification of general ink type can be augmented by the general observation that carbon based inks tend to be water-soluble while the gallo-tannic inks are not.³⁷⁹ If a

³⁶⁸ Caution has been urged in the scholarship to resist assuming that deductions based on visual observations are definitive; Cheryl Porter, 'Some Considerations in Regard to the Need for Pigment Identification and Some Methods Suggested', in *Conservation and Preservation in Small Libraries*, ed. by Nicholas Hadgraft and Katherine Swift (Cambridge: Parker Library, 1994), pp. 97-100 (p. 98); Bat-Yahouda, 'La Fabrication des Encres Noires', p. 52.

³⁶⁹ Bat-Yahouda, 'La Fabrication des Encres Noires', p. 52.

³⁷⁰ Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, p. 10.

³⁷¹ Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, pp. 4-6.

³⁷² Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, pp. 4-6.

³⁷³ Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, pp. 10-11.

³⁷⁴ Eusman, 'Iron Gall Ink'.

³⁷⁵ Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, p. 10.

³⁷⁶ Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, p. 4.

³⁷⁷ Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, p. 10.

³⁷⁸ Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, pp. 5-6; Bat-Yahouda, 'La Fabrication des Encres Noires', p. 52.

³⁷⁹ Bat-Yahouda, 'La Fabrication des Encres Noires', pp. 52-58; Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, pp. 5-11.

written area of the manuscript has already been water-damaged then deductions can be made from close observations of the condition of the ink and lettering, presence of tide-marks and so forth.

3.2.1 The ink used by the hand 1 scribe

An illustration of the ink used by the main scribe of CCCC 383 for the text-block throughout the manuscript can be seen in Figure 3.1.³⁸⁰ This sample is taken from the *Domboc* (Item No. 8) on fol. 19^v, ll. 5-10 (Text-Block Item No. 36). The ink is dark to the point of being black in colour, has a glossy aspect and appears to rest on the parchment, rather than to have bitten into the support. I have chosen the image used to illustrate this ink as an area of water damage is clearly visible on the left-hand side of the text-block, which extends to a depth of one to seven letters width into the text-block. As such, it can be argued that the ink is definitely water-soluble. Taking all these features together, I would argue that the ink is most probably carbon-based due to the water-solubility of the ink, the vivid aspect and the dark-black hue. From the quantity of writing undertaken by the hand 1 scribe it must be assumed that numerous batches of ink were employed. The close similarity in the appearance of the inks used by the main scribe to produce CCCC 383 must indicate that a similar recipe was used throughout and that the consistency of appearance was a deliberate choice by the scribe or somebody with supervisory control over his or her work.

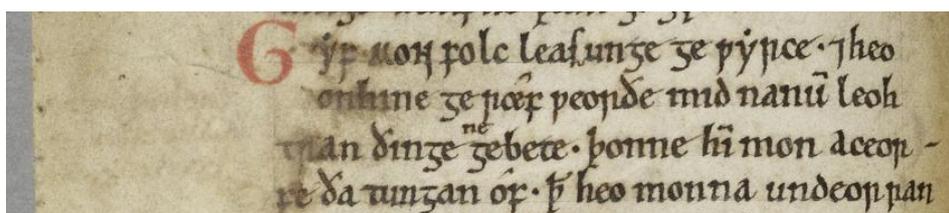


Figure 3.1 Hand 1, fol. 19^v, ll. 5-8 (Text-Block Item No. 36).

³⁸⁰ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-13; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

3.2.2 The ink used by the hand 2 scribe

An illustration of the ink used by the hand 2 scribe of CCCC 383 is given in Figure 3.2. This scribe of s. xii¹ provided two additional texts to the final folio, fol. 69 (Item Nos 25 and 26), as well as numerous marginal additions and emendations to the text-block throughout the manuscript.³⁸¹ The ink is a pale brown grey in colour and bites into the parchment rather than resting on top of it. Water damage to the parchment and overlapping the text can be seen in the image, extending from the left-hand edge of folio to a depth of some 9 to 11 letters width. Although the parchment is discoloured by the water damage, the ink has remained unaffected and is therefore not water soluble. Taking these features together I would argue that this ink is gallo-tannic based as the ink does not rest on top of the parchment but has bitten into it, and is not water soluble and is a pale brown-grey in colour.³⁸²

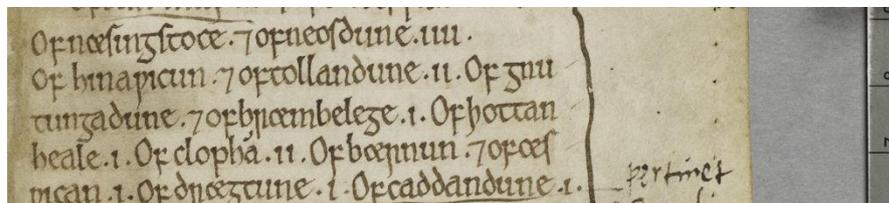


Figure 3.2 Hand 2, fol. 69^r, ll. 17-21 (Item No. 25).

3.2.3 The brown ink used by the hand 3 scribe

An illustration of the brown ink used by the hand 3 scribe of CCCC 383, dated as s. xii¹, can be seen in Figure 3.3.³⁸³ The ink of this scribe is pale-brown in colour here, but varies from pale brown to dark-brown throughout the

³⁸¹ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-13; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

³⁸² There is a possibility that the ink is pure tannin. However, I would argue that this is less likely as the colour is a darker and greyer hue than the pale-brown inks produced from pure tannin described by Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, p. 10.

³⁸³ As well as providing a small number of emendations and additions in this dark-brown ink, this scribe also supplied the rubrics throughout the manuscript. I discuss the red ink used by the hand 3 scribe for the rubrication separately below. Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-13; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

manuscript. The sample shown here was chosen because it is in an area of water damage although no tide-line is visible as the entire item is in the water damaged area. The edge of the letters appears to be slightly blurred which may show that the ink is water soluble. This blurring is most probably the result of the black ink used by the hand 1 scribe spreading over the writing as the edges of the letters are less affected by the water further to the right of the item and away from the text-block. I would argue from close inspection that this ink is not water soluble. As the ink has bitten into the parchment, the varied hues are generally pale and brown in colour and the aspect is not usually glossy I would argue that the ink is most probably gallo-tannic based. The generally scratchy and unprepared quality of the quill indicates that the scribe was most-probably emending the manuscript as the requirements arose when he or she was using it, rather than undergoing a dedicated scribal stint of emendation and correction. If the various emendations the hand 3 scribe made were somewhat opportunistic and impromptu, then his or her production or acquisition of ink may also have been opportunistic— especially in consideration of the extended timescales required to produce gallo-tannic inks.³⁸⁴ I would suggest, therefore, that numerous batches – and possibly also recipes – of ink may be represented in the emendations made by the hand 3 scribe.

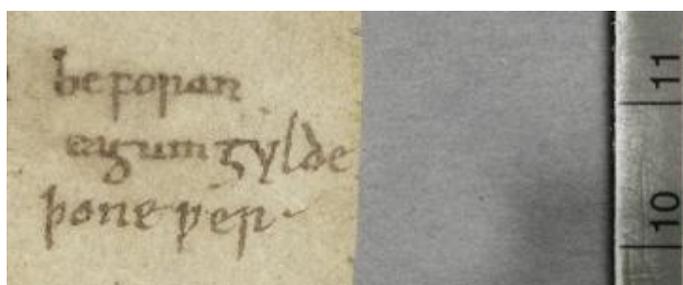


Figure 3.3 Hand 3, fol. 20^r, right margin (Additional Item No 119).

³⁸⁴ Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, pp. 1-38.

3.2.4 The brown ink used by the hand 4 scribe

Relatively few emendations to CCCC 383 are made by the hand 4 scribe,³⁸⁵ the largest of which is the erasure and emendation made on fol. 11^r, l. 10 (Additional Item No. 9), as shown in Figure 3.4. The ink is dark-black in colour with a glossy aspect. The first 6 letters on the left-hand edge of the item are in an area of water damage, and it can be seen that the edges of the graphs have been somewhat affected and it appears therefore that this dark-black ink is water soluble. As the majority of the emendation is written over an erasure, the surface of the parchment is coarse and it is difficult to observe clearly whether the ink rests on the surface or has bitten into the material. I would argue, however, that resting on the support seems the more likely of the two. Taking all the features of the ink together, I would argue that this ink is probably carbon based. I would argue that the close similarity between this ink and that used by the hand 1 scribe indicates that the ink was deliberately produced and used to maintain consistency between the emendations and the original text-block.

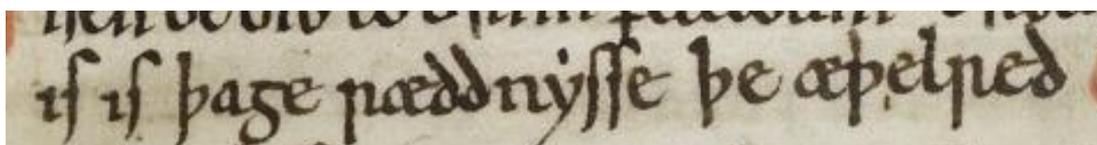


Figure 3.4 Hand 4, fol. 11^r, l. 10 (Additional Item No. 9).

3.3 Red inks

Red inks are predominantly used in CCCC 383 for the miniaturing of the pen-drawn initials in association with the production of the original text-block and for the later addition of the rubrics by the hand 3 scribe in the first half of the twelfth

³⁸⁵ The identification of this emending hand has been disputed in the scholarship, with Wormald arguing that it was the main scribe returning to correct his or her mistakes and Richards suggesting that it is a separate scribe. I undertake a palaeographic description and analysis of the hand in Chapter 6. Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232; Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', p. 182.

century.³⁸⁶ Red ink is also used on fol. 59^r to strike through the charm against cattle-theft (Item No. 19, the strike-through is Miniaturing Item No. 322) and by Archbishop Parker for the sixteenth-century pagination of the manuscript.³⁸⁷

A variety of recipes was used to produce red inks in the Anglo-Saxon period and into the twelfth century. Pigments employed include gypsum, minium (red lead), vermilion or cinnabar and red ochre as well as organic dyes made from brazilwood, madder and folium.³⁸⁸ Theophilus, writing and working on the continent later in the twelfth century, provides instructions for producing both cinnabar and minium, as well as instructions on tempering a number of pigments, including minium, for use in a book.³⁸⁹ Other references are more incidental, such as a ninth-century Anglo-Saxon medical recipe that indirectly refers to the production of red ink, as it instructs the producer to grind the component in the same manner as would be done for teafor.³⁹⁰ The translation of technical terms for different pigments in Anglo-Saxon England is not always straightforward, but 'teafor' is Old English for either minium or vermilion.³⁹¹ The collection of Anglo-Norman ink recipes discussed by Hunt includes instructions for making red-inks from both vermilion and from brazilwood.³⁹²

In addition to the textual sources, a number of red pigments have been identified in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts through chemical analysis by Brown and Clark and by Clarke. The pigments they identified include gypsum, minium, red

³⁸⁶ A palaeographic description and analysis of hand 3 is undertaken in Chapter 6 where I suggest a closer date of s. xii^{2/4}. For the dating of the hand to the first half of the twelfth century see Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 111; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

³⁸⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-13; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

³⁸⁸ Hunt, 'Early Anglo-Norman Receipts', pp. 205-09; Theophilus, *On Divers Arts*, trans. and ed. by, Hawthorne and Smith, pp. 38-42; Clarke, 'Contemporary Textual Evidence', pp. 5-6.

³⁸⁹ Theophilus, *On Divers Arts*, trans. and ed. by, Hawthorne and Smith, pp. 38-42.

³⁹⁰ The recipe is included in Bald's *Leechbook*, BL, Royal 12 D xvii, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 332-33; Clarke, 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Pigments', p. 3; Clarke, 'Contemporary Textual Evidence', p. 5.

³⁹¹ Clarke, 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Pigments', p. 3; Clarke, 'Contemporary Textual Evidence', pp. 5-6.

³⁹² Hunt, 'Early Anglo-Norman Receipts', pp. 206-09.

ochre and vermillion, as well as two inks that could not be identified.³⁹³ It should be noted, however, that these studies only cover some twenty Anglo-Saxon manuscripts; while they are useful for showing instances when a pigment was definitely used, lack of evidence for a pigment in a given time period does not mean it was not used in the production of other contemporary manuscripts.

3.4 Identifying pigments for red inks on CCCC 383

Throughout CCCC 383 the red inks used for the miniaturing and rubrication vary noticeably in colour and hue, ranging from almost fluorescent orange to dark brown-red in colour, as illustrated in Figure 3.5. The hues produced by most of the pigments identified through chemical analysis are described in the scholarship simply as being red; only minium is given a broader range of hues ranging from oranges to deep reddish brown-black, as red ochre tends towards the darker hues and cinnabar produces colours that are consistently more vivid.³⁹⁴ From the historical contexts identified in the chemical analysis of the various Anglo-Saxon manuscripts discussed previously, it can be argued that minium appears to be the most frequently used pigment while cinnabar is not used until later into the twelfth century.³⁹⁵

Identifying a pigment used for red ink solely on the basis of colour and appearance for CCCC 383 is not feasible. Close observation of the inks on the parchment, however, still forms an important element of describing the materials used in the production of the manuscript. While identification of the

³⁹³ Brown and Clark, 'The Lindisfarne Gospels', pp. 6-11; Brown and Clark, 'Analysis of Key Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', pp. 182-88; Clarke, 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Pigments', pp. 8-9.

³⁹⁴ Brown and Clark, 'The Lindisfarne Gospels', pp. 4-12; Brown and Clark, 'Analysis of Key Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', pp. 181-89; Clarke, 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Pigments', pp. 8-9; Keune and Boon, 'Analytical Imaging Studies', p. 4750.

³⁹⁵ Brown and Clark, 'The Lindisfarne Gospels', pp. 4-12; Brown and Clark, 'Analysis of Key Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', pp. 181-89; Clarke, 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Pigments', pp. 8-9.

pigments may be uncertain at best, features that allow different batches or recipes employed in the production of the inks may be observed. These similarities and differences are invaluable for re-constructing phases in the production and use of CCCC 383.

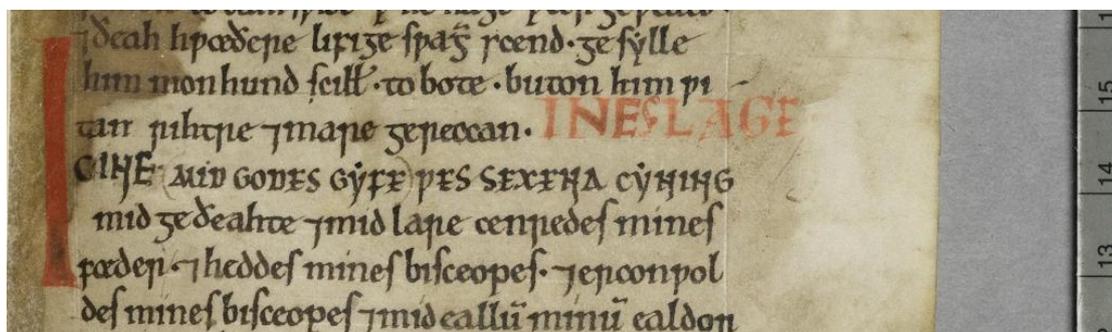


Figure 3.5 Miniaturing and rubrication from fol. 23^r, ll. 3-9
(Miniaturing Item No. 88, Rubrication Item No. 45).

Some of the variety in ink hues can clearly be seen in the pen-drawn initial and rubrics added to the introduction of Ine's law in the *Domboc* on fol. 23^r (Item No. 8, Miniaturing Item No. 88, Rubrication Item No. 45). From the hue and aspect of each, it can clearly be seen that the two inks are distinctly different. Presumably, therefore, each was produced using different batches, or perhaps even recipes, of ink and were not therefore part of the same phase of manuscript production. Water damage to fol. 23^r overlies the pen-drawn < I >, leaving a tide-line cutting across the graph parallel to line 7 of the text-block. As the ink of the graph is unaffected by the water, and the discolouration from the main black ink of the text-block overlies it, it can be seen that the red ink used for miniaturing the manuscript is not water soluble.

Elsewhere in CCCC 383 the rubrics tend towards a bright orange colour, as shown with the beginning of II *Æðelstan* (Item No. 7, Miniaturing Item No.6, Rubrication Item No. 6), illustrated in Figure 3.6. While the rubrics tend towards being oranger in hue, the miniaturing of the pen-drawn initials tends to a darker,

fuller red accompanied by darker brown-red patches as can be seen in both Figures 3.5 and 3.6.

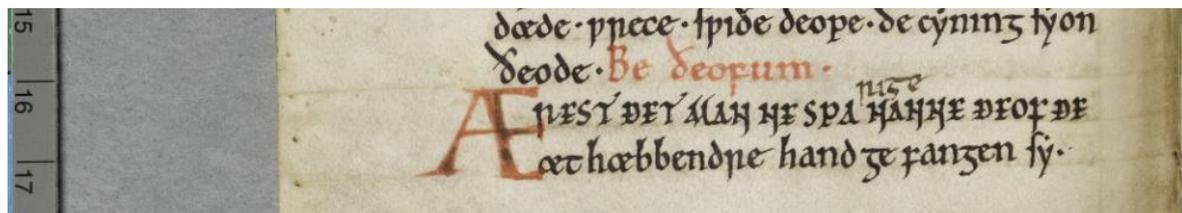


Figure 3.6 Miniaturing and rubrication from fol. 14^v, ll. 24-26 (Miniaturing Item No. 6, Rubrication Item No. 6).

From the historical contexts for pigments and dyes outlined previously, the most likely materials available and used to produce these hues of orange-red are either organic dyes, red ochre or minium.³⁹⁶ Examination of the manuscript under ultra-violet light shows that none of the red inks fluoresces significantly, as would be expected if they were organic based. The sixteenth-century pagination attributed to Archbishop Parker (or somebody associated with him) in in a red-ochre crayon.³⁹⁷ By comparing the pigment with the ink used for the rubric (and that for the miniaturing) notable differences can be seen. These differences between the inks become more apparent when observed under ultra-violet light. Taking the various forms of evidence into account, it seems unlikely that the pigment used for the miniaturing and rubrication was organic, red ochre or cinnabar. I would tentatively suggest, therefore, that the pigment used for both the miniaturing and the rubrication was minium.

³⁹⁶ Hunt, 'Early Anglo-Norman Receipts', pp. 205-09; Theophilus, *On Divers Arts*, trans. and ed. by, Hawthorne and Smith, pp. 38-42; Brown and Clark, 'The Lindisfarne Gospels', pp. 4-12; Brown and Clark, 'Analysis of Key Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', pp. 181-89; Clarke, 'Contemporary Textual Evidence', pp. 5-6; Clarke, 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Pigments', pp. 8-9.

³⁹⁷ Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 74.

3.5 Ultra-violet light study of inks in CCCC 383

I have examined a number of samples of inks in each hand or phase of production, dating from between the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries under ultra-violet (UV) and visible (VIS) light. I also examined Archbishop Parker's sixteenth-century pagination for comparative purposes. Wherever possible I examined multiple items produced by each, including ten folios in the main hand, six rubrics and fourteen pen-drawn initials. I examined the inks using UV/VIS light and described their colour, fluorescence, texture, specks/anomalies, transparency, homogeneity, and diffusion/separation. I found that there were no specks/anomalies and diffusion/separation features distinguishable in any of the inks and, therefore, I have not included these in the following summaries to save space and to clarify the presentation of the data.

3.5.1 Black inks, main scribe and the hand 4 scribe

As can be seen from Table 3.2 (Appendix B), the black ink used by the main scribe and by the emending scribe who edited the text-block on fol. 11^r, l. 10 (Additional Item No. 9) appear to be the same. Certainly, the evidence provides no reason to suspect they are separate inks from either the visual or the ultra-violet analyses. From this it would appear either that variations in the batches or recipe for these, presumably carbon-based, inks are not discernible under UV or visible light. While this may be due to the narrower range of hues that can be produced when using carbon as a pigment, I would suggest that it may reflect the deliberate matching of the ink colour used by the hand 4 scribe with that of the main text-block. I will return to the imitation of the main hand and *mise-en-page* by the hand 4 scribe in more detail in Chapter 7.

Item Type		Hand 1	Hand 4
Colour	VIS	Very dark-brown/black	Very dark-brown/black
	UV	Very dark-brown/black	Very dark-brown/black
Fluorescence	VIS	Dark, slightly glossy	Dark, slightly glossy
	UV	Dark	Dark
Texture	VIS	Smooth	Smooth
	UV	Slightly Granular	Slightly Granular
Transparency	VIS	Opaque	Opaque
	UV	Opaque	Opaque
Homogeneity	VIS	Constant	Constant
	UV	Constant	Constant

Table 3.2 UV/VIS study of the main (hand 1) and hand 4 scribe's inks.

3.5.2 Brown inks, hand 2 and hand 3

Although the brown inks used by the hand 2 and 3 scribes are similar in aspect a few subtle differences between them are apparent, as shown in Table 3.3 (Appendix B). The ink used by the hand 2 scribe is predominantly light brown but can vary to being a moderate brown in colour while the hand 3 scribe's ink tends towards being a darker brown in colour. These distinctions are not absolute and the colour of both inks varies somewhat on the parchment, and in many instances distinguishing between the hands is relatively easier on palaeographic grounds than by ink colour when viewed under visible light. Under UV light the differences between the two inks become more pronounced as, although both inks still appear to have a dark-brown underlying colour, the ink used in hand 3 items tends towards being black while that in hand 2 items is notably greyer.

The variations in the hand 3 scribe's ink discernible under visible light become notably less pronounced under UV. This homogenisation of the inks appearance may suggest that similar pigments and recipes were present in the inks used by the hand 3 scribe. The variations in colour may have arisen from different batches being used without the hand 3 scribe (or whoever produced

the ink) being concerned to create a consistent ink colour across the emendations and additions he or she supplied. Alternatively, the changes in ink colour may reflect how the ink has aged differently throughout the manuscript, although Thompson argues that, despite popular conceptions and excepting unusual circumstances, the colour of medieval inks is unlikely to have changed between when the manuscript was first produced and the present day.³⁹⁸

Item Type		Hand 2	Hand 3
Colour	VIS	Light-brown to brown	Brown
	UV	Dark-brown/grey	Dark-brown/black
Fluorescence	VIS	Moderate	Dark
	UV	Dark	Dark
Texture	VIS	Slightly granular	Slightly granular
	UV	Smooth	Smooth
Transparency	VIS	Partial	Partial
	UV	Partial	Partial
Homogeneity	VIS	Constant	Constant
	UV	Constant	Constant

Table 3.3 UV/VIS study of the hand 2 and hand 3 scribe's inks.

3.5.3 Red inks (main)

Under visible light a wide range of hues can be observed in the red inks used for the miniaturing and in those used for the rubrication, as shown in Table 3.4 (Appendix B). I would suggest that, despite the overlap in colour ranges, the red ink used for the miniaturing tends to be a deeper and darker red, while that used for the rubrication tends to be a brighter orange-red. When viewed under UV light the differences between the two inks become much more apparent as I found each ink differed in colour, fluorescence and homogeneity.

³⁹⁸ Thompson, *Manuscript Inks*, p. 10.

Item Type		Miniaturing	Rubrics	Pagination
Colour	VIS	Orange-red to deep red	Faded orange to red	Ruddy-brown
	UV	Dark-brown, red hint	Orange	Grey, slightly brown
Fluorescence	VIS	Strong to bright	Bright	Moderate
	UV	Dark	Dull	Dull
Texture	VIS	Smooth	Granular	Reasonably smooth
	UV	Smooth	More Granular	Course
Transparency	VIS	Partial	Very	Partial
	UV	Opaque	Opaque	Partial
Homogeneity	VIS	Darker patches	Darker patches	Constant
	UV	Constant	Darker patches	Constant

Table 3.4 UV/VIS study of red inks used for miniaturing, rubrics and s. xvi pagination.

Despite the differences between the two twelfth-century inks, I was also able to observe general similarities between them. These similarities became particularly apparent when the inks were compared with the pagination supplied by Archbishop Parker. While the inks used for the rubrics and miniaturing have red and/or orange tones present, the pagination appears to be a completely monochrome colour with dull fluorescence. My underlying impression from this study, therefore, is that the same pigment was probably used for both the miniaturing and rubrics, although the inks were made from different recipes or batches of materials. This, of course, does not indicate that the two types of decoration were necessarily performed by different people. It does, however, indicate that the two were conceptually separate phases which probably occurred at different times in the manuscript's production. If the two phases were undertaken by the same person and at the same time, which I would argue seems unlikely, then he or she must have had two separate sources of red ink available.

The other twelfth-century emendations made to CCCC 383 in red inks can be analysed and compared to see if they represent a third ink type or can be correlated with the inks already present. These emendations occur in three

main forms, the addition of paraphs into the text-block, the highlighting of majuscules produced by the main scribe and the striking through of the charm against cattle theft on fol. 59^r (Item No. 19, Miniaturing Item No. 322). Results from the UV/VIS analysis of these additional emendations are presented in Table 3.5 (Appendix B).

Item Type		Paraphs	Highlighting	Strike-through
Colour	VIS	Orange-red to deep red	Orange-red to deep red	Orange-red to deep red
	UV	Dark-brown, red hint	Dark-brown, red hint	Dark-brown, red hint
Fluorescence	VIS	Strong to bright	Strong to bright	Strong to bright
	UV	Dark	Dark	Dark
Texture	VIS	Smooth	Smooth	Smooth
	UV	Smooth	Smooth	Smooth
Transparency	VIS	Partial	Partial	Partial
	UV	Opaque	Opaque	Opaque
Homogeneity	VIS	Darker patches	Darker patches	Darker patches
	UV	Constant	Constant	Constant

Table 3.5 UV/VIS study of red inks used for emendations.

The first point to be observed from the analysis of the emendations is that they all appear to have been produced using the same red-ink, or using different batches of a red ink produced using a very similar recipe. Contrasting the results from this analysis with the inks used for the miniaturing and rubrication (as well as that used for the sixteenth-century pagination) in Table 3.4, it can be clearly seen that the ink equates with that used by the miniator. This is particularly interesting in the case of the striking through of the charm against cattle theft, as it has been suggested in the scholarship that this was most probably performed by the rubricator.³⁹⁹ The implication of this study, conversely, is that the striking through was performed either by the miniator or

³⁹⁹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232.

by somebody with access to the same ink that the miniator was using for his or her additions to the manuscript.⁴⁰⁰

3.6 Offsetting of red inks

At numerous points throughout CCCC 383 the various red inks used for the miniating, rubrication and other items have left an imprint, or offset, on the facing folio. Many of the red-ink offsets are quite faint and can be difficult to see on the photographs, unfortunately, and the manuscript must therefore be examined in person to see the full extent of the offsetting pattern. An example of offsetting of the rubric from the inner margin of fol. 26^v (Rubrication Item No. 80) is shown in Figure 3.7. The offset of the orange-red ink from the rubric onto the facing page, fol. 27^r, immediately to the left of the miniated < Ð > (Miniating Item No. 130), from the rubric can be seen in the area marked by a circle.

The offsetting of the red ink items occurs frequently but not consistently throughout the manuscript. This inconsistency is important as a number of significant patterns can be identified with implications for the materials used in the production of the manuscript and for reconstructing the contexts of the manuscript's use. Whether or not the ink is in an area of water damage in the manuscript makes no difference to the off-setting. As demonstrated previously, neither of the red inks used for miniating or rubrication are water soluble, so I would argue that the offsetting must have occurred when the inks were first applied and were still wet rather than at some point subsequent to initial production.

⁴⁰⁰ Gobbitt, 'Audience and Amendment', p. 17.

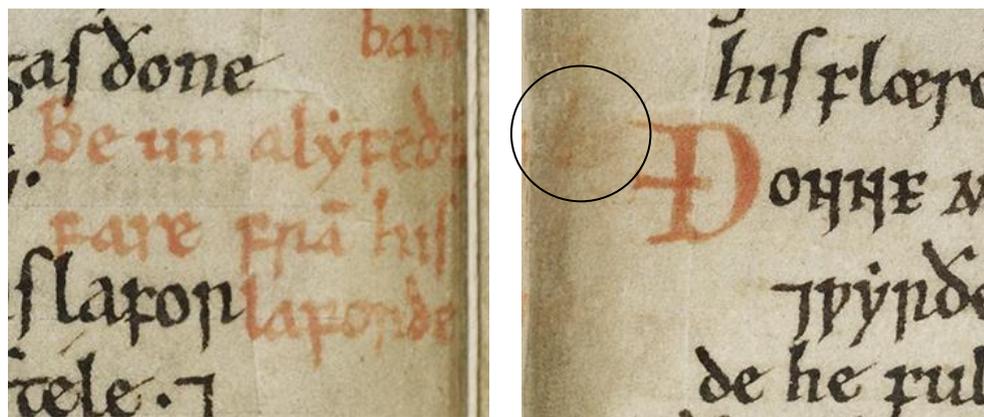


Figure 3.7 Offsetting of red ink from fol. 26^v (left) onto fol. 27^r (right), indicated in circle.

The offset marks are always aligned directly with their sources, implying that the relationship between the folio they have imprinted from and the folio they imprinted onto was secured. The positions of the two surfaces were fixed in relation to each other indicating that the bifolia had, at the very least been folded together into quire form. The evidence here is not clear enough to determine whether or not the bifolia had been physically sewn together at this point, or if they were only stacked. I would suggest that it seems more likely to me that the bifolia were sewn into quires when the offsetting occurred, as otherwise there would have been numerous opportunities for at least one of the bifolia to have slipped and cause an offset to be misaligned.

The only inks that are offset across the quire divisions – from the outer leaf of one quire onto the outer leaf of the following or preceding quire – are those used for pagination by Archbishop Parker. The red inks used by both the miniator and the rubricator are never transferred between quires. I would argue, therefore, that the quires must have been unbound when the manuscript was miniatured and rubricated.

3.7 CCCC 383 in the first half of the twelfth century

It is highly likely that the miniaturing was added to CCCC 383 either during or soon after the initial production of the text-block by the main scribe, dated palaeographically by Ker to the turn of the twelfth century.⁴⁰¹ The rubrication of the manuscript, however, seems to be part of a conceptually later phase in the manuscript's production. The rubrics were supplied by the hand 3 scribe, who has been identified palaeographically by Wormald with one of the slightly later amenders of the text-block whose works date to some point in the first half of the twelfth century.⁴⁰² While there is some potential for overlap in these dates, the underlying impression at this point is that the production and use of the manuscript occurred over an extended period from the late eleventh century and throughout the first half of the twelfth century. That the same pattern of ink offsetting occurred with the rubrics as with the miniaturing means that the quires must have remained unbound throughout these two distinct production phases. The implication is that the manuscript was being used and emended – even while it was still being produced – as a collection of related quires rather than as a bound codex.

In light of this offsetting pattern it seems very likely that the abrasion damage to the outer faces of each quire – discussed in the previous chapter – happened in the period immediately following the manuscript's production rather than later when the two additional sixteenth-century quires were added. Without unbinding the manuscript and examining the spines of the quires, however, it is impossible to determine for certain how many times the manuscript has actually been bound. Nevertheless, from the evidence supplied from the patterns of

⁴⁰¹ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 110.

⁴⁰² Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234, footnote 285.

damage on the manuscript it seems very unlikely that CCCC 383 was bound prior to the sixteenth century, and certainly not during the first half of the twelfth-century.⁴⁰³

The context of a manuscript being used as a series of unbound quires rather than in codex form is not unheard of, despite logical assumptions on the behalf of a modern observer that the start and ends of texts should align with quire boundaries if the manuscript were to be used in such a fashion. I would argue that the expectation for texts to be held in discrete codicological units is rooted in a print-culture mentality, in which complete texts arrive as fully formed homogenous entities.⁴⁰⁴ G. D. Hobson observes ‘that unbound manuscripts often reposed for years on the shelves of medieval libraries; and that, in consequence, a medieval binding may be ten, twenty, fifty, a hundred years or more later than the manuscript’.⁴⁰⁵

While it is rare for a manuscript to have survived unbound into the modern day, medieval catalogues often refer to manuscripts stored ‘in quaterno’, which is to say unbound and wrapped in parchment.⁴⁰⁶ Robinson’s often misused term for a codicological unit, the so-called ‘booklet’, is founded on the concept of an independently produced text, or texts, copied in one or more quires and subsequently bound together into another manuscript.⁴⁰⁷ In a discussion of this process, for example, Gumbert identifies a composite manuscript, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 191 B, which contains four

⁴⁰³ Gobbitt, ‘Audience and Amendment’, pp. 10-20.

⁴⁰⁴ For a parallel discussion see Swan and Treharne, ‘Introduction’, p. 7.

⁴⁰⁵ G. D. Hobson, *English Binding Before 1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), p. 56. An example of this which still remains unbound is the manuscript Durham, Cathedral A. iv 34, which was produced in the first half of the twelfth century and consists of eight quires of eight folios and one quire of four folios, R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 57; Robinson, ‘The Booklet’, p. 52.

⁴⁰⁶ Hobson, *English Binding*, p. 56; Robinson, ‘The Booklet’, p. 52.

⁴⁰⁷ Robinson, ‘The Booklet’, p. 47; Robinson, ‘Self-Contained Units in Composite Manuscripts’, p. 27.

separate sections ranging in date from the eleventh through to the thirteenth century but not actually bound until early in the fifteenth century.⁴⁰⁸ He suggests that the 'scribe produces, in the course of the years, a number of small units, which are meant to be bound up eventually, but which remain, unbound, in a cupboard until the scribe is satisfied with their number'.⁴⁰⁹

The form of CCCC 383 throughout, at least, the first half of the twelfth century as a collection of separate quires increases the portability of the parts of the manuscript and emphasises that the line between production and use of a manuscript is, at best, tenuous. The copying of texts is a fluid process in which each is updated and adapted into a new context, and it is an ongoing process which occurs over an extended period of time. The production of the book, however, need not be completed into a final, bound form before the individual parts can be used. Assuming that the manuscript was not being used where it was stored and produced, a given user would have been able to take as few or as many of the quires as he or she required, and multiple users would have been able to use different quires simultaneously. Where and how the quires were stored and used remains uncertain, although Michael Lapidge's suggestion of *arca libraria*, or 'book boxes' as the usual mode of storage in the Anglo-Saxon period is compelling.⁴¹⁰ If the quires existed as a series of related but unattached entities, then their storage in consecutive order would have been useful – especially as many of the law-codes cross quire boundaries – but far from essential in every potential case of their use.

⁴⁰⁸ Gumbert, 'Codicological Units', p. 26.

⁴⁰⁹ Gumbert, 'Codicological Units', pp. 27-28.

⁴¹⁰ Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 61-62.

CHAPTER 4: ORIGINAL VISUAL STRUCTURE OF CCCC 383

4.1 Palaeographic description of hand 1

The original text-block of CCCC 383 is written throughout by a single hand, whom I refer to as either hand 1 or the main hand. The script used for the hand 1 items can be categorised as an English Vernacular Minuscule, following the guidelines laid out by the *Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220* project.⁴¹¹ The script is written with a set ductus, in which individual graphs are usually constructed from multiple pen-strokes. This careful production of the written text-block indicates that the manuscript was produced with some degree of display, or at least clarity of text, intended by the main scribe or by somebody with supervisory control over his or her work.

Throughout the manuscript the main scribe consistently uses the dark brown-black ink described previously in Table 3.1 (Appendix B). The dark, glossy ink colour is further emphasised by the contrast made with the pale hue of both the flesh and hair sides of the consistently high quality parchment. Taken together the script and materials contribute to the legibility and visual impact of the manuscript.

The main hand of CCCC 383 is dated by Ker to s. xi/xii,⁴¹² although an earlier date of s. xi^{ex} has been suggested by Scragg,⁴¹³ and a somewhat later

⁴¹¹ The scholarship has produced no consensus as to what this script should be called, and it has been variously identified as 'late caroline', 'post caroline', 'praegothic', 'primitive gothic', 'protogothic', and so forth. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 57; The term 'English Vernacular Minuscule' has been adopted following the conventions established in 'Principles of Description', in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220* <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/catalogue/principles.htm>> [Accessed 18 August 2009].

⁴¹² Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 110.

⁴¹³ Scragg and others, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383'.

date of s. xiiⁱⁿ has been argued convincingly by Treharne.⁴¹⁴ The script is quite regular, rounded and upright in aspect with descenders that are turned to the left, and numerous flourishes particularly on the feet of the minims and on cross strokes. The tops of the ascenders and minims are usually wedge-shaped, although occasionally the separation between the two-strokes is further emphasised so as to be notched. The script uses insular minuscule < d >,⁴¹⁵ < f >, < g >, < h > and < r > as well as using caroline, insular and round < s >, both < ð > and < þ >, the *tironian nota* and the < p > graph. A sample alphabet of graphs produced from images of the main hand is given in Figure 4.1.



Figure 4.1: Sample alphabet images of hand 1 (s. xiiⁱⁿ) minuscule, from fols 10^r, 19^v and 69^r.⁴¹⁶

The < a > is caroline. The ascender of the < d > extends to just above the head line, to reach a similar position to the dot above the < y > which is occasionally present. The bowl of the < d > is notably smaller than the bowls of other hand 1 graphs, such as the < a >, < c >, < e > and < o > but is similar in size to that of the < ð >.⁴¹⁷ The cross-stroke of the < e > and in the < æ > is usually extended a notable distance to the right and often bites into the following letter.⁴¹⁸ The tail of the insular < g > is s-shaped, rounded and open,⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁴ Treharne, (pers. com., 17 December 2009), although she has previously followed Ker's date, Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 20.

⁴¹⁵ One of the letter forms that came to be used only for Old English in the tenth and eleventh centuries and its use persisted into the twelfth century, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

⁴¹⁶ Note that while I have made some attempt to choose graphs representative of the majority form employed by the main scribe the selection is ultimately arbitrary, as is the spacing between the individual graphs. This figure, along with alphabet images of the other scribal hands, is duplicated in Appendix C.

⁴¹⁷ The bowl size is indicative of a date in the twelfth century, while the lower angle of the ascender implies a date of the eleventh century, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

⁴¹⁸ The lack of a horn on the top left of the graph implies a twelfth-century date, as horned < e > had been a specific graph form used for Old English in the eleventh century that faded out of

the cross-stroke usually bites into the following letter. Caroline < s > is used predominantly throughout the manuscript, with the hook at the top of the ascender curling over, and sometimes biting into, the following graph. Occasional use of insular < s > and – rarer still – round < s > are also present.⁴²⁰



Figure 4.2 Comparison of hand 1 caroline < s > forms for Old English (left) and Latin (right) from fol. 59^r, ll. 11 and 14, respectively.

The main scribe wrote four lines in Latin throughout CCC 383, the *Crux Christi* formula in the charm against cattle theft (Item No. 19) on fol. 59^r, ll. 13-16. Although the aspect of the script is similar, the main scribe consistently modifies the production of the caroline < s > from the form employed for the Old English items. A comparison of the two forms of caroline < s > are given in Figure 4.2. The shaft of the Old English caroline < s > is produced using a single pen stroke, with the head of the ascender clearly rounded in form, and the tail of the descender being swept to the left at the base line. In contrast, the shaft and head for the Latin caroline < s > are produced as two separate strokes. The head is angular rather than rounded, moves away from the shaft at a shallower angle and tends to extend further to the right. The top of the shaft

use by the twelfth century. The addition of a projection to the cross-stroke of the < e > becomes a distinctive feature of the graph when used for vernacular scripts, although this distinction diminishes notably in the twelfth century, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

⁴¹⁹ Although a closed lower bowl predominates in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, an open bowl can often be found throughout the first half of the twelfth century, Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 35.

⁴²⁰ All three forms are commonly present in manuscripts throughout the twelfth century, Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 36.

where the two strokes meet is a clearly pronounced inverted triangle. The base of the descender for the Latin < s > graph finishes just above the base line, and has a serif similar to that used for the minims. The consistent use of distinct graphs to distinguish between Latin and Old English indicates that the scribe was experienced at writing in both languages, and in changing fluently between them, rather than a scribe who previously worked exclusively in Latin and, as Wormald suggested, was unfamiliar with Old English.⁴²¹

The shaft of the < t > never cuts through the cross-stroke. The left leg of the < x > ends in a curled flourish, and usually extends back beneath the preceding letter. < ð > is used preferentially over < þ >, and is similar in form and size to < d >, but more often with a longer ascender reaching to the same height or greater as the caroline < s > and the < þ̅ > graph used for the abbreviation of < þæt >.

The presence of caroline < a > and the predominant use of insular letter forms only allow the script to be dated to either the late eleventh or, more likely, the twelfth century. The relatively low angle of the ascender and the small size of the bowl of the < d > and < ð > imply a production date in either the late eleventh century or, more likely, the twelfth century.⁴²² The open tail of the insular < g > likewise supports this dating.⁴²³ The dating can be more closely refined by features of other graphs. The thin, seriffed upstrokes at the feet of the minims imply that, if earlier than the twelfth century then only a date at the very end of the eleventh century is feasible.⁴²⁴ The very slight curve of the head-

⁴²¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 233-36.

⁴²² Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

⁴²³ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix; Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 35.

⁴²⁴ The feet of the < i > and other minims in Anglo-Saxon script at the end of the eleventh century turned to the right, almost horizontally in a sharp, heavy stroke causing the base-line of the writing to appear as a 'continuous bar of ink', while the Norman script was more distinctly

stroke of the *tironian nota* < 7 > coupled with the almost straight descender that reaches down to the ruled base line imply a date early in the twelfth century.⁴²⁵

Overall, then, Treharne's refinement of the date of the hand to s. xiiⁱⁿ seems feasible.

4.2 Abbreviations and orthographic preferences of hand 1

The main scribe employs a small number of abbreviations with some regularity throughout CCC 383 and also displays a clear pattern of orthographic preference in the choice of graph forms where multiple forms are possible. The most frequently employed abbreviations by the main scribe are the *tironian nota* < 7 > for < ond > and the use of the graph < ꝥ > for < þæt >. The main scribe also makes regular, but not absolute, use of macrons to indicate truncated endings, particularly the abbreviation of a, usually final, < m > such as < guðrū > for < gudrum >, but also in other instances such as < þon̄ > for < þone > and < ġ > for < ge >, etc. In addition to these regularly used abbreviations, a number of other abbreviations are frequently employed by the main scribe, including < scift > for variant forms of < scillinga > or < scillingas >.⁴²⁶ Individual instances of other abbreviations can also be found occasionally throughout the manuscript, for example the abbreviation of < octoꝥ > for < october > in the law-code *Gerefa* (Item No. 24) on fol. 67^v, l. 26. An example in the preceding line, < septēꝥ > for < september > combines two abbreviations in one word and emphasises that the macron is not used only for final letters.

serifed with a sharper and thinner stroke turned upwards to the right. By the end of the eleventh century, the Anglo-Saxon scripts had adopted this Norman feature, Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p. 23.

⁴²⁵ Treharne, 'Production and Script', pp. 36-37.

⁴²⁶ Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law*, pp. 55-56

The main instances in which orthographic preferences are identifiable are firstly in the use of the long or caroline s < ƿ >, insular s < ʀ > or round s < s >, secondly, the choice between either < ð > or < þ > and, thirdly, between the use of < y > or < i >. The percentage distributions of each form for the entirety of CCCC 383 and divided by quire, with quire 1 positioned after quire 3 as previously discussed, are given in Table 4.1. In the case of the distribution of < y > and < i > distribution, the orthographic preference is given only for the word < gyf / gif >, rather than by tracking every instance.

Quire	< ƿ >	< ʀ >	< s >	< ð >	< þ >	< gyf >	< gif >
2	95	5	~	82	18	98	2
3	93	6	0.3	93	7	100	0
1	93	7	~	95	5	100	0
4	95	4	1	97	3	100	0
5	96	3	1	97	3	88	12
6	99	1	0.3	98	2	41	59
7	99	1	~	99	1	57	43
TOTAL	96	4	0.3	95	5	94	6

Table 4.1 Hand 1 orthographic preferences between < ƿ / ʀ / s >, < ð / þ > and < gyf / gif > by quire and in total for CCCC 383.

From the distributions throughout the manuscript it can be seen that the main scribe shows a distinct orthographic preference. In all, a 96% preference for the use of < ƿ >, 95% preference for the use of < ð > and a 94% preference for the use of < gyf > can be seen. Examination of the distribution of preferences for graph forms by quire shows that the situation is more complex. The use of round < s > remains very slight throughout CCCC 383, with the majority of instances being in quires 4 and 5, which contain the law-code I-II Cnut (Item Nos 9 and 10) as well as isolated usage in quire 3 in the *Domboc* (Item No. 8) and in quire 6 in the law-codes *Wifmannes* (Item No. 17) and *Hit*

Becwæð (Item No. 20). Although the progression is not completely consistent throughout CCC 383, the general tendency is for the percentage of insular < ʃ > to decrease with each subsequent quire and the percentage of < ʒ > to rise accordingly. Thus, the initial three quires of CCC 383 range between a 93 to 95% preference for < ʒ > which increases to 99% by the final two quires. The same pattern, but even more consistently executed, is discernible with the choice between < ð > and < þ >. In quire 2, the earliest of the extant quires, the preference for the use of < ð > is around 82%, which then increases 93% for quire 3 and then steadily increases throughout the manuscript until it reaches 99% by the final quire. Finally, the increase in preference for < gif > in relation to < gyf > is more erratic and, with the exception of 2% < gif > spelling in quire 2, is confined to quires 5 to 7. In quire 5 only 12% of the orthographic preference is for the spelling < gif >, and fully half of these are on the final folio in the law-code I Edward (Item No. 11).

A number of explanations can be posited for the gradual changes in the consistency of use of specific orthographic forms throughout CCC 383. The small percentage of variant forms may be artefacts transferred directly from the exemplar, showing moments where the scribe's concentration has perhaps lapsed and he or she directly copied the original graph form rather than altering and updating it to the preferred < ʃ > or < ð > form he or she usually employed in CCC 383. The exact opposite is equally possible, and lapses in scribal concentration may have resulted in the scribe updating the graph form to his or her usual preference rather than directly copying the form from the exemplar. A third, but I think less likely, option is that the main scribe produced a perfect, graph for graph copy of his or her exemplar in every instance and the orthographic variation is copied directly from the exemplar.

Two factors that may have influenced the copying or updating of orthographic preferences should be considered. Firstly, some of the variations in orthographic preference are associated with specific law-codes or sets of law-codes. It has been established in the scholarship that CCCC 383 was compiled from multiple exemplars,⁴²⁷ and the variation in some of these artefacts in orthography may reflect changes in practice between the different exemplars. This, however, does not allow for a decision to be made between either accidental scribal updating or vice versa. Secondly, I would argue that the consistent increase in the orthographic preference for given forms suggests that the main scribe was updating the orthography of the exemplars to suit the requirements of the manuscript. These four, or more, exemplars must have had some variation in his or her script and orthography which the main scribe has normalised into one relatively consistent form in the production of CCCC 383. As a part of the context of manuscript production, the gradual variation in orthographic preference shows important elements of scribal behaviour and his or her improvement in the production of the specific requirements of CCCC 383 and implementing the visual structure of the manuscript.

4.3 Layout of items and law-codes in CCCC 383

The main scribe of CCCC 383 divided the law-codes and related texts using a system of text-block 'items', similar to modern paragraphs in layout. The manuscript was originally produced with 210 text-block items of varying lengths and *mise-en-page*, as shown in Appendix E.⁴²⁸ The beginning of each of the text-block items varies somewhat in execution, but two features are consistent

⁴²⁷ e.g. Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 231-36.

⁴²⁸ As discussed previously, all references to entries in Appendix E are given in this thesis as reference to the 'Text-block Item No', rather than 'Item No.' which refers to the entries in Appendix D.

throughout CCCC 383. Firstly, each new item begins on a new line. Secondly, each new item has the initial letter of the text omitted by the main scribe, which was then – usually, at least – supplied by the miniator.

Although these text-block divisions are clearly identifiable in the manuscript they do not always coincide with modern identification of the texts or the editorial conventions by which they are sub-divided. Of the twenty-four items copied into CCCC 383 by the main scribe, nine are self-contained in single text-block items: *Frið* (version 1, Item No. 5, Text-Block Item No. 4), Ps.-Edward (Item No. 6, Text-Block Item No. 5), I Edward (Item No. 11, Text-Block Item No. 156),⁴²⁹ I Edmund (Item No. 13, Text-Block Item No. 159),⁴³⁰ *Frið* (version 2, Item No. 16, Text-Block Item No. 173), *Wifmannes* (Item No. 17, Text-Block Item No. 174), *Hit Becwæð* (Item No. 20, Text-Block Item No. 178), II Æðelred (Item No. 21, Text-Block Item No. 179) and *Dunsæte* (Item No. 22, Text-Block Item No. 180). In addition to these, the remaining part of the I Cnut law-code is also contained in a single text-block item (Item No. 9, Text-Block Item No. 130).⁴³¹ However, as Wormald has argued convincingly that the missing part of I-II Cnut would have comprised approximately 189 lines of CCCC 383,⁴³² the beginning of the law-code may have been further sub-divided. Of the remaining fourteen law-codes, seven are made from multiple text-block items and with each beginning with a new text-block item and ending at the end of one. These items comprise II Æðelstan (Item No. 7, Text-Block Item Nos 6-10), II Cnut (Item No. 10, Text-Block Item Nos 131-55), II Edward (Item No. 12, Text-Block

⁴²⁹ It should be noted, however, that in modern editorial conventions I Edward and II Edward are now treated as a single extended code. The full I-II Edward law-code comprises Text Block Item Nos 156-58.

⁴³⁰ In modern editorial conventions I Edmund and II Edmund are now treated as a single extended code. The full I-II Edmund law-code comprises Text Block Item Nos 159-62.

⁴³¹ Modern editorial conventions also treat I Cnut and II Cnut as separate parts of the same law-code, and the surviving parts comprise Text-Block Item Nos. 130-55.

⁴³² Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 231.

Item Nos 157-58), II Edmund (Item No. 14, Text-Block Item Nos 160-62), *Swerian* (Item No. 15, Text-Block Item Nos 163-72), *RSP* (Item No. 23, Text-Block Item Nos 181-201) and *Gerefa* (Item No. 24, Text-Block Item Nos 202-10). The beginning of the *Domboc* (Item No. 8) is no longer extant, so whether the item originally began with a new text-block item is uncertain. The remaining six items either begin or end or both part way through a text-block item. These items are *Be Blaserum* (Item No. 1), *Forfang* (Item No. 2), *Hundred* (Item No. 3), I Æðelred (Item No. 4), *Wergild* (Item No. 18) and the Charm against Cattle-Theft (Item No. 19).

4.3.1 The use of ruled space on the support to define text-block items

The basic structure of each text-block item is defined by the ruling grid.⁴³³

Despite variations in which lines are extended into the margins and across the centrefolds, each ruling grid pattern divides the page into 26 long lines contained within single vertical bounding lines. The written space of each page, therefore, remains consistent throughout the manuscript within a ruled space of approximately 137 mm x 78 mm.⁴³⁴

The text-block in CCC 383 is neatly aligned to the left vertical bounding line throughout the manuscript, with the exception of the deliberate indentation at the beginning of each item discussed below. The line formed by the end of each horizontal line of writing is more sinuous in form as, in most instances, the spacing between words and letters is not stretched or compressed; instead most words finish just before or after the ruled line. The extent of over- or under-

⁴³³ The predominant form used is ruling grid A, as discussed previously in Chapter 2.

⁴³⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113.

hang at the end of lines is further mitigated as words are often hyphenated and split over two lines by the main scribe.⁴³⁵ A second hyphen in the left margin of the following line is sometimes inserted by the main scribe, although this practice is not employed consistently throughout the manuscript. This careful use of hyphenation indicates that the scribe was fully aware of where and how he or she was dividing words in the manuscript.

On the basis of this careful control of the *mise-en-page* and copying of the language apparent in the main scribe's production of the manuscript, Wormald's accusation of scribal unfamiliarity with Old English on the basis of his or her 'inconsistent word division' should be discounted completely.⁴³⁶ Where the main scribe divided or joined words without marking it in the text-block but in a manner that does not meet the expectations of, to quote Wormald, 'those [modern readers of the manuscript who were] still subjected to compulsory Anglo-Saxon',⁴³⁷ an explanation other than the scribe's inability to understand and use Old English must be sought. The most convincing explanation, and one which is consistent with a phenomenological interpretation of the manuscript, is that the choices made are the deliberate results of scribal agency, and reflect contemporary language and the embedding of the texts in *mise-en-page* and manuscript context in the first half of the twelfth century.

The predominant practice in CCC 383, with the sole exception of fol. 12^v, is to begin writing above the top ruled line,⁴³⁸ so the first line of each page

⁴³⁵ The ink used for the hyphens is indistinguishable from that used for producing the main text-block. Similarly, the nib appears to be identical to that used for the main text-block. No reason exists, therefore, to doubt that the hyphenation was produced by the main scribe. It should also be noted that at no point in the scholarship has it been suggested that the hyphenation is by any other than the main scribe, see, for example, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113.

⁴³⁶ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 233-34.

⁴³⁷ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 233.

⁴³⁸ Throughout the twelfth century the normal practice changed from beginning the writing above the top line to below, Ker, 'From "Above Top Line"', pp. 13-16.

is unbounded and effectively written in the upper margin. In seven instances in the manuscript a new item begins on the first line of a page, not including the artificial beginnings of the *Domboc* (Item No. 8) and I Cnut (Item No. 9) where preceding quires are no longer extant, as can be seen with Text-Block Item Nos 5, 71, 81, 91, 145, 181 and 208. Two of these equate with the beginning of a new law-code: Text-Block Item No. 5, marking the start of Ps.-Edward (Item No. 6) and Text-Block Item No. 181, which is the beginning of *RSP* (Item No. 23). With the exception of Ps.-Edward, which will be discussed in Chapter 5, the association between new text-block items and new pages appear to be dictated solely by chance as the preceding item ended on the final line of the preceding page. This is emphasised by the fact that the spacing of the final lines of the preceding items are not compressed, stretched or otherwise manipulated (such as through the use of multiple abbreviations) to make the text-block item. The usual *mise-en-page* therefore is of a continuous book of (usually) sub-divided law-codes and related texts. In only a few instances are the beginnings and endings of the text-block items specifically aligned to the overall ruling grid and foliation, rather than to each other.

4.3.2 Empty lines preceding items in CCCC 383

On five separate occasions throughout CCCC 383 one or more lines is left blank preceding the beginning of the law-code.⁴³⁹ These are, in order of appearance in the manuscript, 1 line immediately before and 6 empty lines on the page preceding the start of version 1 of the *Frið* (Item No. 5), 8 lines before I Edward (Item No. 11), 1 line before I Edmund (Item No. 13), 2 lines before the

⁴³⁹ The blank line preceding item 203 is between the first and second items of *Gerefa*, rather than before it. Consequently, it has not been discussed here but is returned to below.

second version of the *Frið* (Item No. 16) and, finally, 1 line before *Wergild* (Item No. 18). A single blank line is also present within the *Gerefa* tract (Item No. 24) positioned between two of the text-block items (Nos 202 and 203). Whether the *Domboc* (Item No. 8) and I Cnut (Item No. 9) were originally included amongst these is, unfortunately, no longer ascertainable.

As the quires were stored and used separately throughout the first half of the twelfth century,⁴⁴⁰ it is possible that they were also produced in non-linear order by the main scribe. Rather than the manuscript being written quire by quire in the reading order from start to end, the items may have been copied as discrete units as exemplars became available. From this interpretation space could easily have been left in the quires preceding or following law-codes for the scribe to return and add more texts into, thus bridging the gaps and contiguously producing an apparently contiguous collection of texts. The blank space preceding items, therefore, may reflect locations where the law-code(s) that were subsequently added took up marginally less space than had been anticipated.

The six lines originally left empty following I Æðelred (item No. 4) correspond with the end of one of the mini-collections of law-codes identified by Wormald, but the other blank spaces present in the manuscript are located within these collections.⁴⁴¹ The empty line within the *Gerefa* tract (Item No. 24) also indicates that the additional space is not a result of misjudging requirements when contiguously copying law-codes. I would argue that the most likely interpretation of the empty lines in the text-block is that the space was originally intended for the provision of decoration. With the possible

⁴⁴⁰ Gobbitt, 'Audience and Amendment', pp. 10-20.

⁴⁴¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 232-33.

exceptions of the first version of the *Frið* (Item No. 5) and *Wergild* (Item No. 18), where the hand 3 scribe made use of the preceding empty line to supply a rubric, however, none of the anticipated decoration was supplied. The empty line left between two text-block items in *Gerefa* is a result of the production of the *mise-en-page* by the main scribe, used to set each text-block item clearly and visibly into the structure of the page.

4.3.3 Transitions between text-block items

As each new text-block item begins on a new line, the final line at the end of the preceding text-block item often has a quantity of empty space associated with it. In the majority of text-block items (150 out of 210, or ~71%) this empty space is the remainder of the line, presumably formed through the intuitive procedure of the hand 1 scribe finishing copying one item and then beginning the next on a new line. As the first line is shorter it results in a quantity of blank space being left in the text-block, an example of this is illustrated in Figure 4.3, where it can be seen on the line preceding and on the final line of text-block Item No. 35.

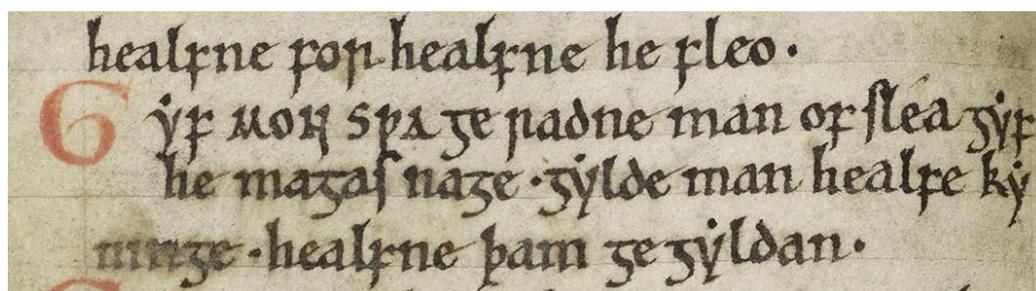


Figure 4.2 Transition between text Text-Block Item Nos 34 and 35, *Domboc*, fol. 19^v, ll. 1-4.

In some instances the final words at end of the preceding text-block item took up all, or almost all, of the final line. The main scribe then used alternate methods of creating blank space in the *mise-en-page* to emphasise the

transition to the next text-block item. The most common method used by the main scribe was simply to write a shorter first line for the text-block item. This method of beginning a text-block item occurs in 46 of the 210 text-block items, or ~22%. In the transition illustrated in Figure 4.4, the final line of Text-Block Item No. 37 ends only a letter's width short of the vertical bounding line. On the first line of the following item the main scribe originally left a blank space some ten letter's wide. This method for inserting space into the text-block following a final full line of a text-block item is the one most commonly employed by the main scribe.

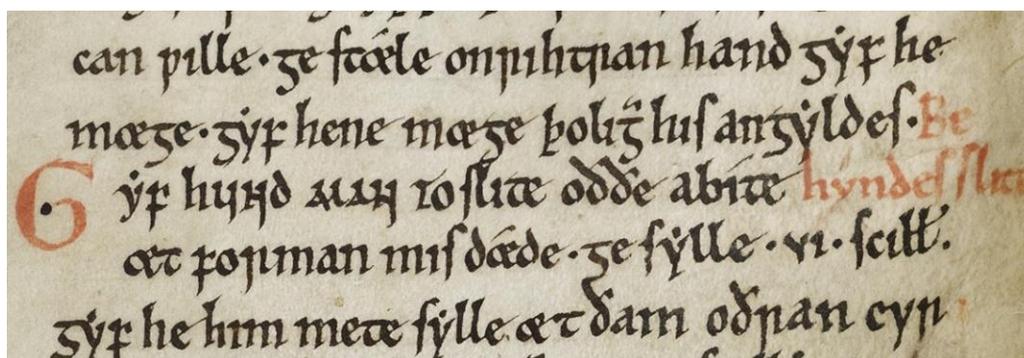


Figure 4.4 Transition between Text-Block Item Nos 37 and 38, *Domboc*, fol. 19^v, ll. 16-19.

The empty line left between two text-block items (Nos 202 and 203) in the *Gerefa* tract (Item No. 24), illustrated in Figure 4.5, is unique in the *mise-en-page* of CCC 383. As the final line of the preceding text-block item reaches almost to the right vertical bounding line, it would appear that this empty line is primarily a variant method for introducing space into the text-block to signal the start of the new text-block item.

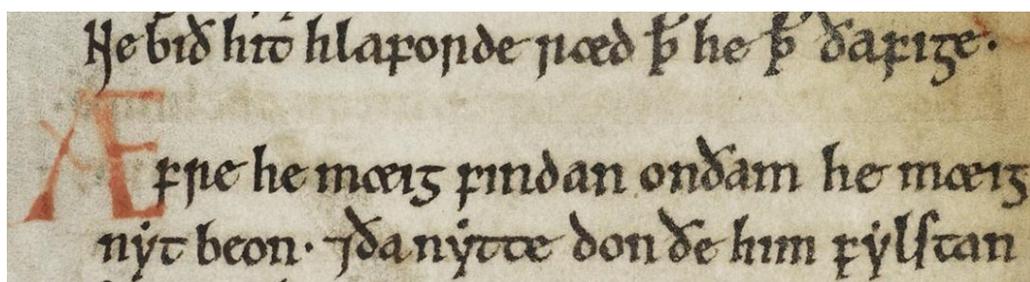


Figure 4.5 Transition between Text-Block Item Nos 202 and 203, *Gerefa*, fol. 67^v, ll. 12-15.

The general approach employed in the *mise-en-page*, however, seems to be a preference to not leave lines in the middle of law-codes entirely, or even almost entirely, blank. The final line of some text-block items occasionally constitutes only a few graphs or words. In thirteen instances (or for ~6% of the total number of text-block items), these final words are written adjacent to the right, vertical bounding line rather than beginning on the left. The following text-block item begins on the left-hand third of the same line. The central area of the ruled line is then left blank, thus signalling the transition between the text-block items. This *mise-en-page* is illustrated in Figure 4.6. Aside from Text-Block Item Nos 140 and 148, in the law-code II Cnut (Item No. 10) on fol. 51^r, ll. 5-7 and fol. 51^v, ll. 13-16, all of the other ten examples of this form of transition are in the *Domboc* (Item No. 8, Text-Block Item Nos 33, 34, 41, 48, 59, 64, 66, 79, 115 and 118).

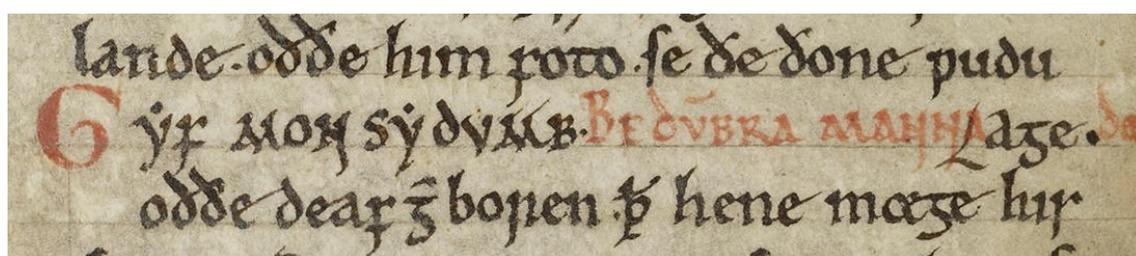


Figure 4.6 Transition between Text-Block Item Nos 20 and 21, *Domboc*, fol. 17^v, ll. 17-19.

4.3.4 Indentations in the first line(s) of text-block items

Further introduction to each item in the visual structure is created through the use of red pen-drawn initials. These initials were anticipated at the start of the text-block items by the main scribe; the opening letter of the item was omitted and indented space was positioned in the opening line or lines of the text-block to accommodate the miniaturing. The indented space in the text-block is usually around three to five graphs width, although a few are notably narrower. Of the 210 text-block items produced by the main scribe, 173 have the first two lines of the item indented (83%), 33 have only the first line indented (16%), and only 1 has the first three lines indented.⁴⁴² Illustrations of one- and two-line indentations can be seen in Figure 4.7.

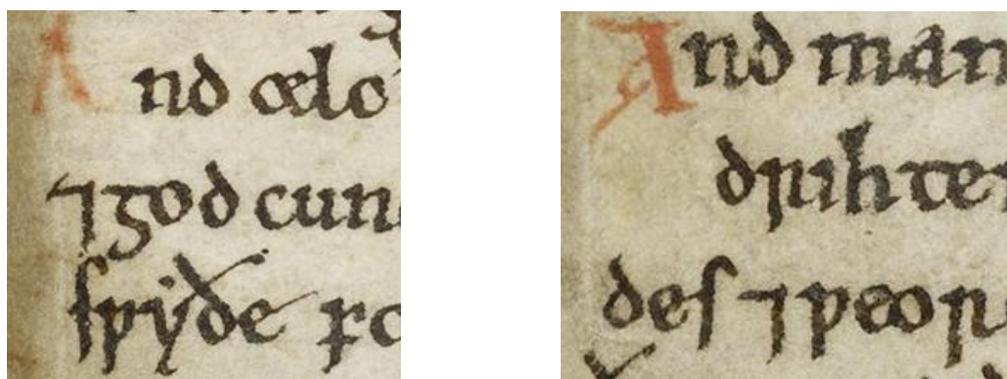


Figure 4.7 One and two line indentations introducing Text-Block Item No. 153, fol. 52^r, ll. 17-19 (left), and Text-Block Item No. 154, fol. 52^r, ll. 20-22 (right).

Of the thirty-three text-block items introduced with only the first line indented, six are for text-block items that are only a single line in length (Text-Block Item Nos 107-11 and 119), four begin on the first line of the page (Text-Block Item Nos 71, 81, 145 and 208), two are in the text-block but have the preceding line left empty (Text-Block Item Nos 175 and 203), and the remaining

⁴⁴² The beginnings of the remaining three text-block items, 11, 45 and 130, are no-longer extant. Items 157 and 176 each had two lines indented for miniaturing but the pen-drawn initial was not supplied.

twenty-one introduce regular, so to speak, text-block items which run for at least two lines and for which the line preceding is a written part of the text-block.

The use of a single-line indent in the instances where the text-block item is only a single line in length seems self-explanatory; with only one line of writing, two lines cannot be indented. In no instances in CCCC 383 is the line preceding a text-block item of only one line length indented, which adds further weight to this interpretation. A four-line text-block item (No. 46) on fol. 21^r, ll. 11-14, has the preceding line indented as well as the first two, which produces the only three-line indent in the manuscript. Five of the six items that are only one line in length are positioned consecutively to each other, (Text-Block Item Nos 107-11) in the *Domboc* on fol. 29^r; as these are only a single line in length the preceding line could not have been indented to accommodate a larger pen-drawn initial.

In four instances in CCCC 383 a text-block item with only one line indented begins at the top of a page, and a further three text-block items begin at the top of the page with two lines indented. In the text-block items with a single line indent, it is possible that the main scribe intended the miniator to use the empty space above the line to place the pen-drawn initial. Certainly this is the approach employed by the miniator, or somebody with close supervisory control over his or her work. In addition to the use of the blank space above the text-block for the miniaturing, in two instances a single line only has been indented for the initial but the entire preceding line in the text-block has been left blank: Text-Block Item No. 175 in *Wergild* (Item No. 18) which begins on fol. 58^v, l. 6, and Text-Block Item 203 in *Gerefa* (Item No. 24), which begins on fol. 67^v, l. 14 as discussed previously. Again the miniator used this blank space to provide the pen-drawn initial.

In three instances the first two lines of text-block items beginning at the top of the page were indented. In a further four instances a two-line indent is left at the beginning of the item following one or more empty preceding lines. It can be inferred that the main scribe was deliberately, but not always consistently, adapting the visual structure to suit the length of the text-block items and their location in the *mise-en-page* of the folio and the text-block.

4.3.5 Extended use of majuscules at the beginning of hand 1 text-block items

In a significant number of the text-block items the main scribe begins with a number of majuscules in his or her own hand, in addition to the space left for the anticipated pen-drawn initial. Of the 210 text-block items, 108 begin without any majuscules (~51%) and 90 begin with one or more majuscules (~48%).⁴⁴³ In twenty examples of these, the entire first line of the item is written in majuscules, while the remaining 80 begin with anywhere between one and twenty-three majuscules, most commonly ten to twelve, before reverting to the use of minuscules. The use of an extended run of majuscules coincides loosely, but not consistently, with the beginning of new texts. The opening line of II *Æðelstan* (Item No. 7), the laws of Ine in the *Domboc* (Item No. 8) and of II Edward (Item No. 12) begin with an entire line of majuscules, while both versions of the *Frið* (Item Nos 5 and 16), Ps.-Edward (Item No. 6), II Cnut (Item No. 10), I Edward (Item No. 11), I Edmund (Item No. 13), II Edmund (Item No. 14), II *Æðelred* (Item No. 21), *Dunsæte* (Item No. 22), *RSP* (Item No. 23) and *Gerefa* (Item No. 24) each began with a partial line of majuscules. Therefore, with the exception of the *Domboc* and I Cnut (Item No. 9) whose beginnings are

⁴⁴³ The remaining 1% is from the three items whose beginnings are no longer extant.

missing, only eight law-codes begin without majuscules written in the main hand: *Forfang*, (Item No. 2) *Hundred* (Item No. 3), I *Æðelred* (Item No. 4), *Swerian* (Item No. 15), *Wifmannes* (Item No. 17), *Wergild* (Item No. 18), the Cattle Charm (Item No. 19), and *Hit Becwæð* (Item No. 20).

Apart from the two examples at the beginning of II *Æðelstan* and II *Edward*, all of the remaining eighteen text-block items that begin with the entire first line in majuscules are in the *Domboc*. In some ways this may appear unsurprising as 118 of the 210 text-block items in CCC 383 (56%) are part of the *Domboc*. Other law-codes in the manuscript, however, are also relatively extensive. II *Cnut* is divided into 25 text-block items, *Swerian* into 10 text-block items, *RSP* into 21 text-block items and *Gerefa* into 9 text-block items. II *Cnut* begins with 23 majuscules, which is almost the full line, on text-block item 131, is followed by 9 majuscules on text-block item 132 and then 4 majuscules at the start of text-block item 135. The remaining 22 text-block items in II *Cnut* have no majuscules whatsoever. *RSP* has two items with a series of majuscules, the opening text-block item 181, as well as item 185 while the remaining 19 all begin without emphasis. Similarly, *Gerefa* has a series of four majuscules at the beginning of the opening item, number 202, while the remaining eight items begin entirely in minuscules. The law-code *Swerian* has no majuscules at the beginning of any of its items, which puts its visual structure into a similar hierarchical level as *Forfang/Hundred* (Text-Block Item No. 2), *Hundred/I Æðelred* (Text-Block Item No. 3), II *Edmund* (Text-Block Item Nos 160-62), *Wifmannes* (Text-Block Item No. 174), *Wergild* (Text-Block Item Nos 175-76), the Cattle Charm (Text-Block Item Nos 176-77) and *Hit Becwæð* (Text-Block Item No. 178).

4.3.6 Spacing inserted into the text-block

In four instances in CCCC 383, the main scribe further divided the text-block items through the insertion of blank space in the middle of a line.⁴⁴⁴ In three of these instances the empty space added into the line has been left blank: once on fol. 12^r, as shown in Figure 4.8 (upper), and twice more on fol. 59^r. In the final instance, on fol. 55^v, the miniator subsequently drew attention to the break in the visual structure of the law-code by supplying a paraph mark, as shown in Figure 4.7 (lower).

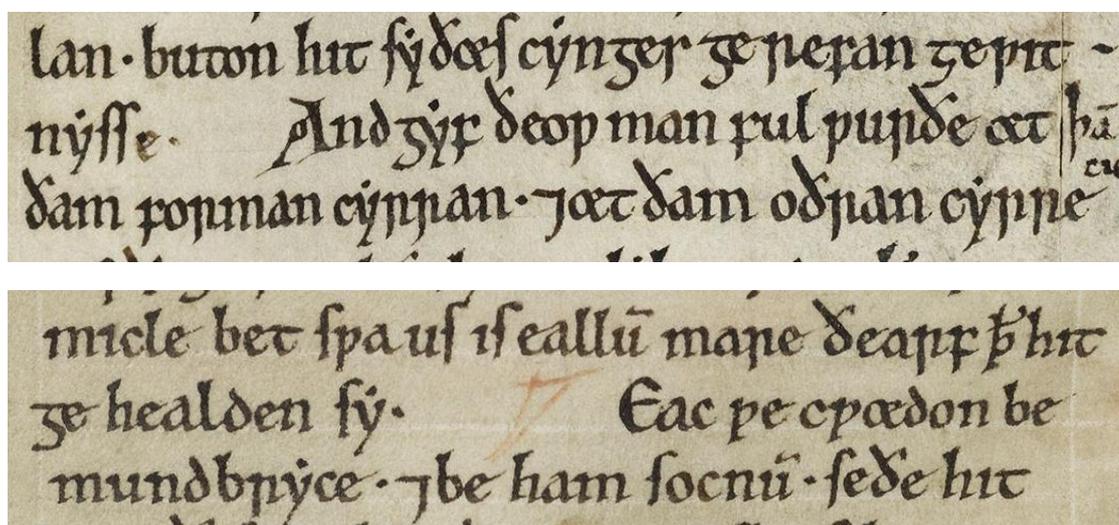


Figure 4.8 Empty space left in text-block by the hand 1 scribe. fol. 12^r, ll. 3-5 (upper, Text-Block Item No 3) and with subsequent addition of a paraph by the miniator, fol. 55^v, ll. 21-23 (lower, Text-Block Item No. 161, Miniaturing Item No. 303).

4.4 Pen-drawn initials

Some disparity can be identified between the space anticipated for the miniaturing and the execution of the pen-drawn initials as undertaken by the miniator. 205 of the 210 text-block items begin with miniaturing. Of the

⁴⁴⁴ In a few instances the main scribe anticipated the insertion of a pen-drawn initial into the middle of a text-block item by omitting the first graph of the following clause and providing space in the line. These anticipated initials and their associated context of production will be returned to in detail in Chapter 8 of this thesis.

remainder, three are missing their beginnings due to the loss of quires or an individual folio (Text-Block Item Nos 11, 45 and 130) and two were left without decoration (Text-Block Item Nos 158 and 177). Details of all the pen-drawn initials in CCCC 383 are given in Appendix F.⁴⁴⁵

It is not immediately clear on examination of CCCC 383 whether the main scribe and the miniator were the same person or different people. P. R. Robinson argues that it was customary in the twelfth century for the scribe of a manuscript also to undertake the rubrication and decoration.⁴⁴⁶ De Hamel observes that many medieval images of scribes at work contain two ink pots, probably one for red and one for black, implying that the same individual wrote and decorated the manuscript.⁴⁴⁷ De Hamel, however, does not offer a date range for this practice and Robinson does not make it explicit whether the limitation to the twelfth century was due to the focus of her article or if it represented a change in scribal practice at that time.⁴⁴⁸ If the writing and decoration of the manuscript by the same individual became a normal method of production in the twelfth century, then the initial production of CCCC 383 – dated to the turn of the twelfth century – may predate this transition.

Establishing whether the manuscript was written and decorated by the same person or different people can be used to position CCCC 383 in the broader context of late eleventh- and early twelfth-century manuscript production. It is necessary therefore to examine the miniaturing for evidence regarding its manner of production, and to determine whether or not it was

⁴⁴⁵ All references made to entries in Appendix F will be given as 'Miniaturing Item No.'. In addition to the anticipated miniaturing, the appendix also details those that were provided as emendations by the miniator.

⁴⁴⁶ Robinson, 'A Twelfth-Century *Sciptrix* from Nunnaminster', in *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers: Essays Presented to M. B. Parkes*, ed. by Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot: Scolar, 1997), pp. 73-93 (p. 76).

⁴⁴⁷ De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen*, p. 33.

⁴⁴⁸ Robinson, 'A Twelfth-Century *Sciptrix*', p. 76.

produced by the main scribe. Three main methods for determining this can be employed: by comparing palaeographically the letter forms of the pen-drawn initials with the majuscules of the main hand, by examining how the execution of the miniaturing fulfilled the *mise-en-page* as anticipated by the main scribe, and by examining the manner in which the miniator emended the anticipated *mise-en-page*.

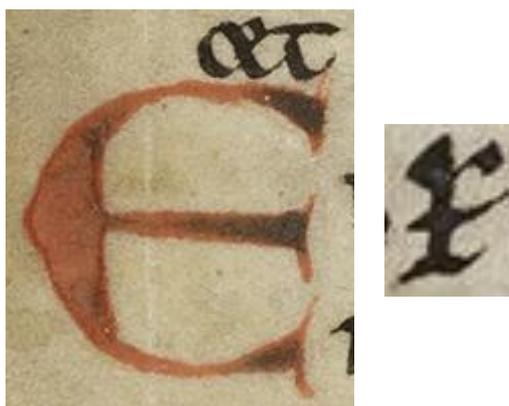


Figure 4.9 Pen-drawn < E > (Miniaturing Item No. 1) left and hand 1 majuscule < E >, fol. 13^r, l. 1 (right).

Palaeographic comparison of the letter forms is the least certain method for determining if the miniaturing was produced by the main scribe, as the miniaturized graphs are produced in a different manner to how the writing is produced. The miniaturing is usually constructed as a series of strokes to create an outline and the enclosed areas then filled through painting. This is a notably different method compared to writing, even if the written graph is produced with a set ductus and involves numerous pen-lifts as illustrated in Figure 4.9 which compares a miniaturized < E > (Miniaturing Item No. 1) with a majuscule < E > of the main hand (from fol. 13^r, l. 1). The outline of the miniaturized < E > is a different colour to the centre of the graph, and differences in the darkening of the ink are also apparent. The main hand < E >, conversely, has been produced as a series of individual strokes. It would appear that the miniaturized graph was

formed by first producing the outline of the graph in red ink and then filling in the inside space. As well as the differences in production, the different shapes of the graph may reflect different majuscule scripts being employed for each rather than variations between the hands.

The size of the pen-drawn initials that were anticipated varies greatly, as can be seen in the dimensions of their height and width given in Appendix E. The variation can also be seen clearly in the approximate heights in terms of numbers of lines in the text-block that the pen-drawn initial occupies. The vast majority of the pen-drawn initials are only 1 line in height, while in the majority of cases the indentation left for them is the first two lines of the item, as shown in Figure 4.10.

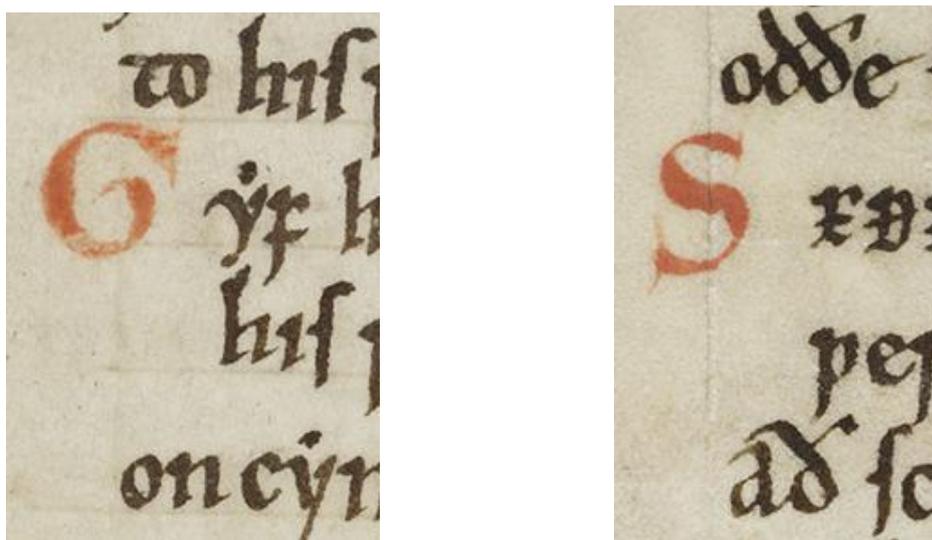


Figure 4.10 Miniatured initials notably smaller than anticipated space, < G > (Miniaturing Item No. 14), fol. 16^v, l. 17 (left) and < S > (Miniaturing Item No. 103), fol. 24^v, l. 6 (right).

A number of larger pen-drawn initials are also present in CCCC 383, as shown in Appendix F. These three-line high miniatured initials consist of: Miniaturing Item No. 4, marking the beginning of the first version of the *Frið* (Item No. 5); Miniaturing Item No. 48 part way through the *Domboc* (Item No. 8), 286 part way through *II Cnut* (Item No. 10); Miniaturing Item No. 296 at the

beginning of I Edward (Item No. 13); Miniaturing Item No. 316 at the beginning of the second version of the *Frið* (Item No. 16); Miniaturing Item No. 318 marking the beginning of *Wergild* (Item No. 18); Miniaturing Item No. 323 introducing *Hit Becwæð* (Item No. 20); and Miniaturing Item No. 328 part way through *RSP* (Item No. 23). From the miniator's strong tendency to emphasise the beginning of law-codes and to use relatively smaller initials for sub-divisions within the items, I would argue that, even when apparently completing the anticipated *mise-en-page*, he or she was in fact subtly re-structuring the visual structure of CCCC 383.

CHAPTER 5: UNCLEAR DIVISIONS BETWEEN LAW-CODES

5.1 Unclear transitions between law-codes

Wormald describes the main scribe of CCC 383 as a simple copyist, unable to understand the meaning of the law-codes he was copying, unfamiliar with Old English beyond perhaps having heard it spoken and unable to differentiate between one law-code and the next.⁴⁴⁹ Wormald argues that

The Corpus scribe fell victim to a transmission where the Alfred-Ine *Domboc* led on to statements of the law on arson, murder and cattle-theft. [...and that they] ran *Hundred* into the first code of Æthelred.⁴⁵⁰

Wormald explains this by suggesting that ‘some sort of (not instantly evident) break marked the transition in the exemplar’ and that ‘this exemplar had supplied copies of Ælfred-Ine, *Be Blaserum*, *Forfang*, *Hundred* and I Æthelred in fairly indiscriminated succession’.⁴⁵¹ Wormald argues that the CCC 383 scribe was unable to distinguish the divisions in his or her exemplar, but does not consider the implications for the competence of the scribe who produced the exemplar and who put the law-codes into ‘undiscriminated succession’ in the first place.⁴⁵² Either both scribes were responsible for producing and copying the unclear divisions or neither was – but I would argue that it is not helpful to simply dismiss the producer of CCC 383 out of hand, by presenting the intricacies and agency of his or her work as a catalogue of errors produced as a linguistic and legal consequence of the ‘post-Conquest regime’ he or she was operating within.⁴⁵³ A close case study to reassess the

⁴⁴⁹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 232-36.

⁴⁵⁰ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232.

⁴⁵¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232. The law-codes identified are item Nos 8 and 1-4, respectively, in Appendix D.

⁴⁵² Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232.

⁴⁵³ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 236.

manuscript evidence and scribal evidence for these blurred transitions between certain of the law-codes is therefore essential.

5.2 *Domboc* and appendices in CCCC 383

I would argue that Wormald's discussion of the apparently unmarked continuation of law-codes in the *mise-en-page* of CCCC 383 both provides the answer for why they were merged and compounds the problem in the explanation. I will unpack his argument and my interpretation of the situation here. Wormald's discussion of the *Domboc* in the *Making of English Law* runs from pages 265 to 285, with only the briefest of references to what he calls the 'Be Blaserum appendix'.⁴⁵⁴ The three law-codes immediately following in CCCC 383 have been moved in his discussion to the section 'Anonymous Codes' with *Be Blaserum* on pages 367 to 368, *Forfang* on pages 369 to 370 and *Hundred* on pages 378 to 379. I Æðelred, meanwhile, is positioned between them on pages 320 to 322.

Wormald's discussion, therefore, is predicated on the assumption that the law-codes are inherently separate from each other in a way that does not take their manuscript contexts into account. This is another example of the 'print-culture mentality',⁴⁵⁵ which occludes the fluid transmission of texts in favour of their original, authored forms. Wormald emphasises the origins of the law-codes, hypothetically tracing them back to possible sources and positing original forms. He suggests strongly that *Be Blaserum* may originally have been royal legislation promulgated by Æðelstan that became divorced from its textual context over time.⁴⁵⁶ While the code became divorced from its (probable) royal

⁴⁵⁴ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 266.

⁴⁵⁵ Swan and Treharne, 'Introduction', p. 7.

⁴⁵⁶ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 367.

origins on the one hand, it became attached in the trinity of law-codes *Be Blaserum*, *Forfang* and *Hundred* that were themselves effectively appendices attached to the end of the *Domboc*, not only in CCC 383 but in the other twelfth-century manuscripts of law as well to some extent.⁴⁵⁷

The copies of the *Be Blaserum*, *Forfang* and *Hundred* trinity appended to the end of the *Domboc* in the *Textus Roffensis* and *Quadripartitus* are cut off at the end of the *Forfang* prologue.⁴⁵⁸ As appendices to the *Domboc*, they had become intrinsically incorporated into the *Domboc*. Seeking to separate the trinity of codes from each other is, at best, an anachronistic interpretation of CCC 383 and the late eleventh- and early twelfth-century legal and social contexts in which the manuscript was embedded. Rather than blaming the scribe for not implementing clear divisions between law-codes they (apparently) did not view as distinct, it will be more fruitful to consider the visual structure that they did produce.

The transition between the *Domboc* and *Be Blaserum* occurs on fol. 30^v, l. 20, while the transitions between *Be Blaserum* and *Forfang* and between *Forfang* and *Hundred* occur on fol. 10^r, l. 3 (Text-Block Item No. 1) and l. 19 (Text-Block Item No. 2), respectively. The transition between *Hundred* and I Æðelred, on fol. 11^r, l. 10 (Text-Block Item No. 9), will not be discussed in detail here as it was subjected to a heavy erasure and emendation that means the original visual structure can only be speculated on rather than analysed directly.

⁴⁵⁷ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 379.

⁴⁵⁸ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 388.

5.2.1 *Be Blaserum*

The transition between the *Domboc* and *Be Blaserum* is the most clearly marked of the three appendices in the visual structure. The law-code begins as a new text-block item in quire 3 on fol. 30^v, l. 20, as shown in Figure 5.1. The preceding text-block item ends at the right bounding line, so the main scribe shortened the first line (l. 20) of the *Be Blaserum* law-code by approximately 10 letters width. The blank space at the end of the line was subsequently used by the rubricator, hand 3, to supply the rubric (Rubrication Item No. 114). The indent left for the miniaturing by the main scribe is two lines in height and approximately two letters width. Following the pen-drawn initial, the main scribe continued on with an extended row of twelve majuscules < **ƷE CƷEDON BE ÐAM** >, before returning to minuscule text for the remainder of the item.

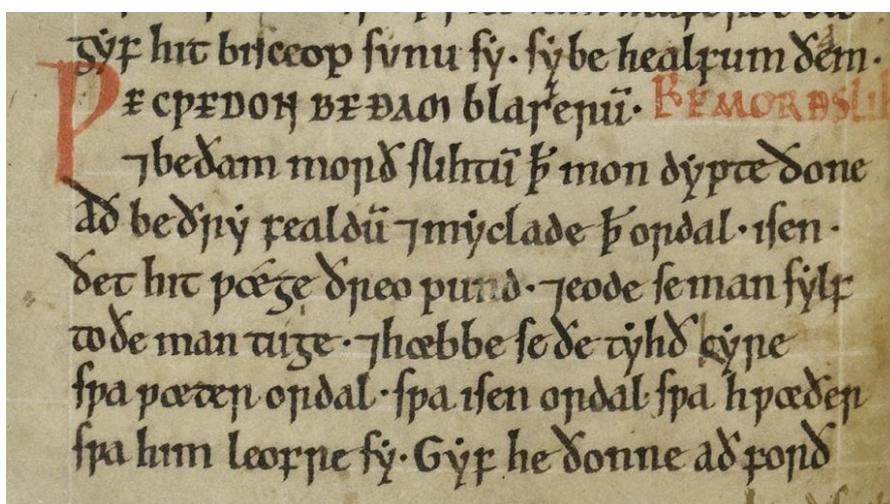


Figure 5.1 Introduction of *Be Blaserum*, fol. 30^v, ll. 19-26, (Item No. 1, Miniaturing Item No. 168, Rubrication Item No. 114).

The pen-drawn initial (Miniaturing Item No. 168), is approximately two lines tall and measures 13 mm x 8 mm. As shown in Figure 5.1, the miniator carefully aligned the shaft of the < **Ʒ** > so the right edge runs along the left-side vertical bounding line, which shows the miniator using the ruling line to create

the visual structure rather than only using the space provided by the main scribe. It is clear that the pen-drawn initial was added in a subsequent phase to the writing of the text-block item as the bottom of the shaft of the miniaturated < p > cuts the main hand < a > on the third line of the law-code, on l. 22.

Unlike the method of miniaturizing discussed previously, no outlining to the letter < p > is present. Instead, at the top of the shaft three angular points can be seen, as illustrated in Figure 5.2. The same lines can be seen at the base of the shaft, showing that it was produced with three overlapping, vertical strokes made with a quill nib angled at ~45°. The top left point of the bowl begins with an angled nib, at a slightly shallower angle of 50° to 60°. At least two methods of producing miniaturized initials can be identified in CCCC 383.



Figure 5.2 Initial < p > from *Be Blaserum* (Miniaturizing Item No. 168), fol. 30^v, ll. 20-21.

The transition between the *Domboc* and *Be Blaserum* is quite clearly differentiated in the text-block. While a number of law-codes have apparently greater degrees of introduction – such as the preceding empty lines discussed earlier – other law-codes later in the manuscript begin with a similar degree of introduction as was used for *Be Blaserum*. II Edward (Item No. 12) also begins

with a two line indented initial and a row of 13 majuscules. II *Æðelred* (Item No. 21), *Dunsæte* (Item No. 22) and *RSP* (Item No. 23) are also introduced with indented initials of two lines' height and a row of 12, 15 and 10 majuscules, respectively. Numerous law-codes are also less distinguished in the visual structure, such as *Swerian* (Item No. 15), *Wifmannes* (Item No. 17) and *Wergild* (Item No. 18) which are introduced with a two-line indent for the pen-drawn initial but have no majuscules at the start of the item.

The changes in the visual structure introducing the different items discussed here may have been copied in part from the various exemplars used for each. The underlying similarities across all of the manuscript, as detailed above, imply that the exemplars were being adapted into a reasonably unified form, but also that the main scribe had scope for adaption and variety. It may therefore be more informative to compare the transition between *Domboc* and *Be Blaserum* with the transitions between other items in the *Domboc*. In total, 73 text-block items begin with a similar *mise-en-page* as produced by the main scribe. The other text-block items in the *Domboc* with a two line indent, similar sized initial and with an extended row of majuscules at the beginning, are Text-Block Item Nos. 12, 13, 16 to 24, 26, 27, 30 to 38, 40, 42 to 44, 47 to 51, 54 to 58, 63 to 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73 to 80, 83 to 87, 89 to 93, 95, 96, 98 to 103, 113, 116, 123 and 128. The miniator, however, tended to produce pen-drawn initials of only one line in height, and the pen-drawn initials of two lines in height are limited to twenty-two occurrences, associated with Text-Block Item Nos. 13, 30, 36, 38, 40, 67, 72, 73, 74, 78, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 94, 95, 100, 104, 113, 117 and 123. As eighteen of these appear in both forms of the visual structure,⁴⁵⁹ I would

⁴⁵⁹ The exceptions are Text-Block Item Nos 72, 94, 104 and 117.

argue that the main scribe and the miniator understood the *Be Blaserum* clause to be an integral but significant sub-division of the *Domboc*.

Wormald presents this as an example of the confused transition by stressing that the main scribe was unable to tell where one law-code ended and the next began. To emphasise this he draws attention to the six-line pen-drawn initial (Miniaturing Item No. 88) that marks the beginning of the Laws of Ine in the *Domboc* (Text-Block Item No. 50, Miniaturing Item No. 88) on fol. 23^r.⁴⁶⁰ While Wormald emphasises the scribe's inability to identify the transition between two different law-codes that were compiled into one in the *Domboc*, he omits to mention that the visual structure of that transition is a later emendation.⁴⁶¹ From what can still be seen beneath the erasure and emendation, the initial transition was much the same as between the other text-block items in the *Domboc*. Rather than accepting the view that the law-codes are accidentally melded or otherwise undifferentiated in CCCC 383, I would argue that the evidence of the *mise-en-page* and the textual context for the deliberate association of the so-called appendices into being part of the *Domboc* should be given far greater prominence.

5.2.2 *Forfang*

The transition between *Be Blaserum* and *Forfang* is only marked in the visual structure of CCCC 383 with a majuscule < F > in the main hand. The transition occurs on fol. 10^r, l. 3, part way through Text-Block Item No. 1, as illustrated in Figure 5.3 with a blue line to mark the boundary between the two law-codes. On

⁴⁶⁰ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 231.

⁴⁶¹ This may be one of the emendations that Wormald refers to indirectly as a correction made by the main scribe, Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234. From close palaeographical analysis, it is my belief that the emendation was provided by a separate scribe, which I will return to in Chapter 7.

initial examination it is difficult to discern why the transition is given so little emphasis by the main scribe, and Wormald's conclusion that it was due to an inability to distinguish one law-code from another seems to have some weight. However, the arguments outlined above that *Forfang* is the second of three appendices to the *Domboc* should also be considered here.⁴⁶² The main scribe merged two law-codes into a single text-block item at two further locations in CCC 383: between *Forfang* and *Hundred* on fol. 10^r, and between *Wergild* (Item No. 18) and the charm against cattle-theft (Item No. 19), on fol. 59^r. I would argue that, as the main scribe produced this type of division on three separate occasions throughout the manuscript, this was either not considered problematic enough to require emending or, must have been an intentional scribal choice for the production of the *mise-en-page*.⁴⁶³ In consideration of the plethora of apparently small corrections and emendations made throughout the manuscript, the argument for this being a deliberately produced feature of the *mise-en-page* seems the more likely.

The parts of *Forfang* on the final four lines of text-block item 1 are a summary that was added to the law-code at some point after its initial promulgation and before the exemplars for CCC 383 and *Textus Roffensis* were produced.⁴⁶⁴ In the case of the *Textus Roffensis*, only this summary has been copied, and the actual contents of the law-code, and *Hundred* which otherwise follows, are excised.⁴⁶⁵ The large, pen-drawn initial < E > (Miniaturizing Item No. 1) at the beginning of Text-Block Item No. 2, therefore represents the beginning of the original law-code, as shown in Figure 5.3. The emphasis given

⁴⁶² Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 266; Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', p. 182.

⁴⁶³ The fact that none of the subsequent emending scribes or the miniator modified the *mise-en-page* here either, despite a series of intensive re-working elsewhere in the manuscript also implies that the division was deemed acceptable to the manuscript's subsequent users.

⁴⁶⁴ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 370.

⁴⁶⁵ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 370.

to the beginning of that part of the code by the miniator, with a large two line initial of 15 mm in height also emphasises the prominence and acceptance of this division of the code.

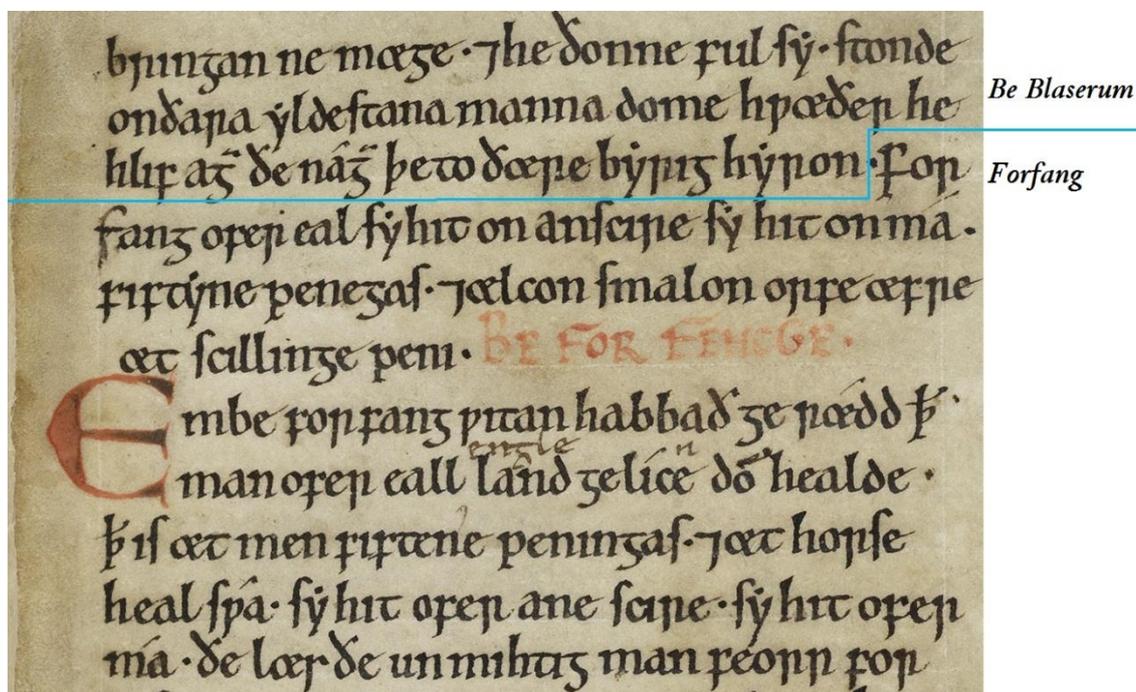


Figure 5.3 Transition between *Be Blaserum* and *Forfang* (shown in blue), in Text-Block Item No. 1, fol. 10^r, ll. 1-11.

5.2.3 *Hundred*

The transition between *Forfang* and *Hundred* also occurs in the middle of Text-Block Item No. 2, on fol. 10^r, l. 19 is shown in Figure 5.4. Additional confusion is introduced to the opening of *Hundred* through an eye-skip on the second line of the law-code (fol. 10^r, l. 20). The missing part of the law-code has been supplied by the hand 3 scribe in the right margin (Additional Item No. 3), adjacent to the main text-block of the law-code and the rubric (Rubrication Item No. 2). The visual structure of the transition between the two law-codes remains unaltered.

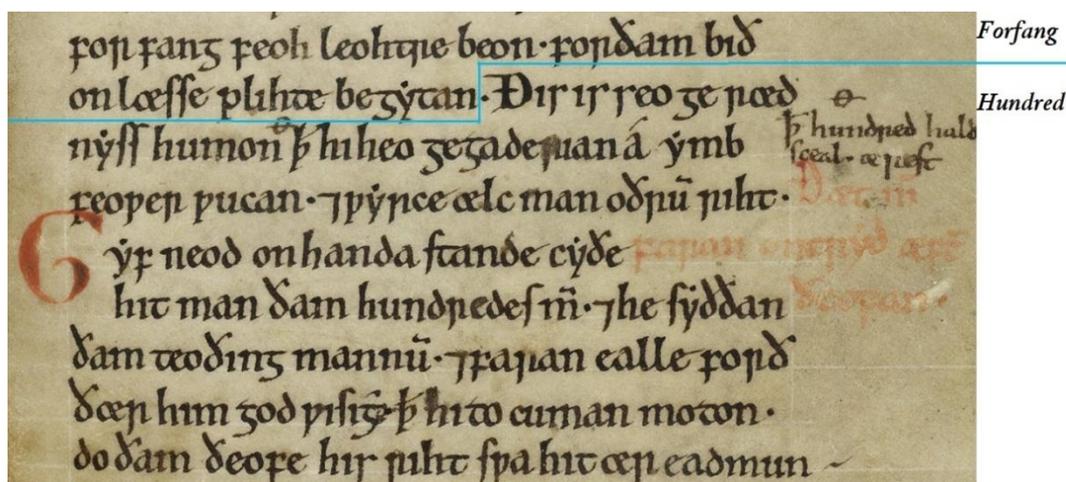


Figure 5.4 Transition between *Forfang* and *Hundred* (indicated with blue line), in Text-Block Item No. 2, fol. 10^r, ll. 18-26.

The initial majuscule < Ð > produced by the main scribe is noticeably darker and heavier than the surrounding writing. This emphasis is not accidental, but is a deliberate part of the production by the main scribe. A detailed image of the < Ð > is given in Figure 5.5 (upper). The apparent darkness of the graph in comparison with the surrounding writing is caused by the relatively thicker shaft and bowl of the graph, created by the main scribe using two overlapping strokes to produce the vertical shaft, and a further two overlapping strokes to produce the wider part of the body of the bowl. Although this formation of the < Ð > is unique in the main scribe's repertoire for the manuscript, the graph has been described in the scholarship as the normal form of majuscule < Ð > used by the main scribe.⁴⁶⁶ Examination of the < Ð >, in Figure 5.5 (upper), shows that this form is distinctly emphasised in comparison with the, more commonly used, versions produced by the main scribe, Figure 5.5 (lower).

⁴⁶⁶ Scragg and others, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383'.



Figure 5.5: Main hand majuscule $\langle \text{Ð} \rangle$ introducing *Hundred* on fol. 10^r, l. 19 (upper) and three examples of the hand 1 majuscule $\langle \text{Ð} \rangle$ from CCCC 383.

5.3 The context of the *Domboc* and appendices in CCCC 383

The evidence of the visual structure of *Hundred*, as with *Be Blaserum* and *Forfang* preceding it, implies deliberate positioning in the text-block by the main scribe. The *Domboc* and the following three law-codes were accepted as a composite unity by the manuscript's subsequent users and amenders. I Æðelred (Item No. 4) was initially included in this progressive continuation of the *Domboc* and, in as much as the original visual structure can be reconstructed, the transition must have originally occurred in the middle of fol. 11^r, l. 11. Whether the main scribe initially signalled the transition with a majuscule formed in his or her usual manner, as was used to introduce *Forfang*, or with more emphasis – as they did for *Hundred* – is beyond the scope of reasonable deduction. What can be concluded is that the miniator, or somebody supervising his or her emendation of CCCC 383, did not accept I Æðelred being so closely entwined with the preceding law-code *Hundred*.

Wormald's argument that the manuscript was produced from a number of exemplars, each containing a number of law-codes,⁴⁶⁷ seems feasible.

However, it is quite possible that in the manuscripts being used as exemplars the *mise-en-page*, and by extension the users, saw the collection of appendices as a fuller version of the *Domboc*. The emphasis of the so-called appendices on specific laws against murder and arson, the return of stolen cattle and the instructions for organising the hundred court, written from the ground level of those organising proceedings rather than as a royal decree,⁴⁶⁸ add to the sense of a number of law-codes being successively appended into a working text of the law. The production of such a book, with its emphasis on the knowledge and practical requirements for working law, resonates with the arguments made in Chapter 1 regarding the link between CCCC 383 and the administrative duties of the reeve.

5.4 The two versions of the *Frið* in CCCC 383

CCCC 383 contains two versions of the *Frið* (Item Nos 5 and 16), the only extant Old English copies of the law-code,⁴⁶⁹ which provides a valuable opportunity to examine the production of the *mise-en-page* by the main scribe by comparing variations between the two versions in detail. The fact that two versions of the *Frið* were included in CCCC 383 has been used in the scholarship as support for the argument that CCCC 383 was produced from at least two exemplars, if not more, containing multiple law-codes each.⁴⁷⁰ It has

⁴⁶⁷ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 232-33.

⁴⁶⁸ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 367-80.

⁴⁶⁹ With the exception of London, BL Royal 11 B.ii, which was produced in the third quarter of the twelfth century, the various manuscript versions of the *Quadripartitus* each contain a Latin translation of the *Frið* and also follow the tract with an Appendix of which no surviving Old English version exists, Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 237-41.

⁴⁷⁰ Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', p. 182; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232.

also been used by Wormald to argue that the scribe was working on ‘autopilot’ and didn’t realise he or she had copied two, almost identical, copies of the same law-code.⁴⁷¹

Both versions of the *Frið* were written as single items in the text-block of CCCC 383, although they have significantly differing *mise-en-page* and have received a differing quantity of emendation and commentary; both on the folio and in modern scholarship. The first version in CCCC 383, which I have labelled as version ‘1’,⁴⁷² is in quire 1, on fol. 12^v with a rubric on l. 1 (Rubrication Item No. 4) and the text of the code runs for 25 lines from line 2 to 26. The second version in CCCC 383, which I have denoted as version ‘2’,⁴⁷³ is in quire 6 and runs from fol. 57^r, l. 17 for 33 lines to fol. 57^v, l. 23. The second version is not rubricated, although the main scribe did leave the two preceding lines blank which I would argue implies that a rubric, or some other form of decoration, was originally anticipated.

Although the *Frið* has been widely discussed, little in the scholarship considers the versions of the tract in their manuscript context(s). As a general rule, attention has focused on version 2.⁴⁷⁴ Most of this scholarship seeks to establish the date of the treaty outlined in the *Frið*, the frontier between Wessex, Mercia and the Danelaw, or else a combination of the two. Although no evidence exists that the initial, and no longer extant, version of the tract was composed at the same time that the real-world treaty between Ælfred and Guðrum was forged, dating of the *Frið* generally assumes that the two occurred

⁴⁷¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232.

⁴⁷² Labelled as ‘B2’ in *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 126-129.

⁴⁷³ Labelled as ‘B’ in *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 126-129.

⁴⁷⁴ For example, Whitelock publishes only version 2, *English Historical Documents: c. 500-1042*, trans. and ed. by Whitelock, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1955), pp. 380-381; similarly, David Dumville mentions in passing the other Old English and Latin versions, but works only form version 2, Dumville, ‘The Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum’, in *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar*, ed. by Dumville (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 1-23 (p. 13).

simultaneously. A significant concern in the scholarship that seeks to date the *Frið*, therefore, is the identification of which of the various peace agreements between Ælfred and the so-called Viking armies mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the *Frið* actually represents.⁴⁷⁵ Liebermann originally proposed a date of 880-90 for the tract,⁴⁷⁶ but later emended it to 880-89.⁴⁷⁷ Subsequent scholarship on the date of the treaty has split into two groups, either arguing for 886-890 after Frank Stenton,⁴⁷⁸ or else arguing for an earlier date of 878 after Dumville.⁴⁷⁹

A third approach in the scholarship considers the *Frið* as a piece of legislation, this is exemplified by Wormald, who argues that it predates the composition of the *Domboc* and is evidence that Ælfred could legislate in a complex fashion when the need arose.⁴⁸⁰ Wormald also observes that the *Frið* is intricately connected with the law-code Ps.-Edward (Item No. 6), which follows immediately after version 1 in CCCC 383, and in the *Quadripartitus* versions where both texts appear, although without a second copy of Ps.-Edward following version 2 in CCCC 383.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁵ Dumville, 'The Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum', p. 13.

⁴⁷⁶ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 126-29.

⁴⁷⁷ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, III, 83.

⁴⁷⁸ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 260-61; R. H. C. Davis, 'Alfred and Guthrum's Frontier', *English Historical Review*, 97 (1982), 803-10 (p. 803); Paul Kershaw, 'The Alfred Guthrum Treaty: Scripting Accommodation and Interaction in Viking Age England', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 43-64 (p. 46).

⁴⁷⁹ Dumville, 'The Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum', pp. 14-15; Thomas Charles-Edwards, 'Alliances, Godfathers, Treaties and Boundaries', in *Kings Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. by Mark A. S. Blackburn and Dumville (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), pp. 47-62, (pp. 54-55).

⁴⁸⁰ Wormald argues that the archaic tone of the *Domboc*, which purports only to gather old laws not promulgate new ones, is therefore deliberately rhetorical. Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 285-86. I would suggest that the accruing of other law-codes as appendices to the *Domboc* discussed previously, emphasises the extension and fluid development of these textual and manuscript contexts. Full exploration of this theme, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

⁴⁸¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 240-86.

The textual connection between the *Frið* and Ps.-Edward is made particularly explicit in their respective introductions; the former begins ‘ÐIS IS þæt frið ðæt ælfred cyng 7 guðrūm | cing · 7 ealles angel cynnes pitan’,⁴⁸² while the latter begins ‘AND ÐIS IS SEO GE rædnys · eac | ðe ælfred cyng · 7 guðrūm cyng · 7 eft | eadpard cyng · 7 gyprum cyng’.⁴⁸³ The echoing of the *Frið* in the opening words of Ps.-Edward is immediately apparent. The *Frið* names the two kings and then continues on to mention the inclusion of the ‘angel cynnes pitan’ in a manner which presumably legitimises and reinforces the *Frið* by identifying those who were involved in its production. Ps.-Edward names the same two kings, Ælfred and Guðrum, and then replaces the ‘pitan’, as referred to in the original *Frið*, with King Edward, and a further treaty with Gyðrum. As Guðrum died in 890 CE, and Edward the Elder did not ascend to the throne until 899 CE, the contents of Ps.-Edward, as a renegotiation of terms between Edward and Guðrum, have been treated as historically spurious.⁴⁸⁴ In the wording of the law-codes and in the *mise-en-page* of CCCC 383, however, the two items are clearly interconnected.

5.5 Lieberman’s clause divisions of the *Frið*

Following the discussion of Liebermann’s editorial practice in the Introduction of this thesis, I will contrast the *mise-en-page* of the two versions of the *Frið* with their representation in *Gesetze*.⁴⁸⁵ Each version of the *Frið* is copied in CCCC 383 as a single item in the text-block, as defined previously. Liebermann

⁴⁸² CCCC 383, fol. 12^v, ll. 2-3.

⁴⁸³ CCCC 383, fol. 13^r, ll. 1-3.

⁴⁸⁴ Whitelock, ‘Wulfstan and the So-called Laws of Edward and Guthrum’, *English Historical Review*, 221 (1941), 1-21 (pp. 1-2).

⁴⁸⁵ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 126-29.

recorded the rubric for version 1 and noted its absence from version 2 by observing that there was a free line for it.⁴⁸⁶ Liebermann chose to sub-divide each of the tracts into a prologue and five clauses, emphasising the variation between the two versions.⁴⁸⁷ In version 1 the fourth clause is missing entirely, and most of the other clauses are notably shorter. As will be discussed in detail below, the text-block and margins of version 1 have been emended some thirteen times, including the corrections made to the tract by the hand 3 scribe of s. xii¹ as well as those of s. xvi and three instances of underlining. Liebermann identified most, but not all, of these emendations in footnotes detailing their location and contents. Liebermann misdated the emending hand as being of s. xvi; subsequent palaeographic assessment by Ker has re-dated the emendations to s. xii¹,⁴⁸⁸ and this has been accepted in modern scholarship.⁴⁸⁹

The six points of division identified by Liebermann in the *Frið* do not align with the *mise-en-page* of the law-codes as produced in CCCC 383. The start of the prologue, being the beginning of the *Frið*, is aligned in both versions, and each ends with a punctus. Clause 1, immediately following the prologue, begins with a capital < Æ > in the hand of the main scribe in both versions. Aside from the opening words of the *Frið* which begin with a miniated capital in both versions, and are then followed by a number of capitals in the main hand (four in version 1 and sixteen in version two), this is the only capital within the text-block of version 1. Version 2 has another capital on fol. 57^v, l. 1 coinciding with the beginning of Liebermann's clause 2.

⁴⁸⁶ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 126, footnote 1.

⁴⁸⁷ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 126-29.

⁴⁸⁸ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 111.

⁴⁸⁹ For example, Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234, footnote 285.

As can be seen, the other points where Liebermann inserts clause divisions into the two versions of the *Frið* are lacking capitals in the main hand. The remainder of Liebermann's clauses are, therefore, far less distinct in the *mise-en-page* of CCC 383. In version 1 of the *Frið*, Liebermann's clauses 2 and 5 both follow a punctus and begin with the *tironian nota*, < 7 >, as do clauses 3, 4 and 5 in version 2 of the *Frið*. The use of < 7 > following a punctus occurs in eight instances in version 1 and six instances in version 2 of the *Frið*, none of which were singled out by Liebermann for use as clause divisions. The only remaining division made by Liebermann to discuss is the beginning of clause 3 in version 1 of the *Frið* which also begins with a < 7 >. As this follows immediately on from a significant erasure and emendation of s. xii¹ on fol. 12^v, l. 14, it is difficult to determine whether the original writing preceding it ended in a punctus.

Throughout both versions of the *Frið* the < 7 > are of a consistent size and form, whether following on from a punctus or when written between words. It does not seem possible, therefore, that those represented at the beginning of the edited clauses are intended to be majuscule versions, and Liebermann therefore chose to subdivide the tract at these points for reasons not determined by the manuscript context. Elsewhere in the text-block of CCC 383, but not consistently, the main scribe has written a capital when following a punctus and < 7 >. While it is difficult to infer the intentions of the scribe, it seems safest to assume that his or her choice to either use or not use a majuscule was deliberate.

Liebermann's clause division does not match the *mise-en-page* of either version of the *Frið*, although the discrepancies are nowhere near as pronounced as in other tracts in CCC 383. Due to the number of Liebermann's

clauses that begin with < 7 >, his normally ubiquitous capitalization and normalisation of the beginning of each of clause is far less pronounced. Indeed, in each of the versions of the *Frið*, it is only the reduction of all the capitals, bar the pen-drawn initial, at the outset of the tract into lowercase that emphasises the disparity between the use of majuscules in the *mise-en-page* of CCCC 383 and in Liebermann's edition at all.⁴⁹⁰

5.6 The visual structure of the two versions of the *Frið* in CCCC 383

The visual structure of version 1 of *Frið* is strongly dependent on its position within quire 1; it is fitted in its entirety onto fol. 12^v, with the first line originally left blank and subsequently rubricated by the hand 3 scribe, and the associated law-code Ps.-Edward beginning on the first line of the facing page, fol. 13^r, as illustrated in Figure 5.6. In addition to being the two facing pages of an opening, the production of quire 1 with six folios, rather than eight as is usual in the rest of CCCC 383, means that this opening is also the centrefold of the quire.

The positioning of version 1 of the *Frið* in quire 1 therefore appears to be staged, and this impression is heightened if considered in conjunction with the argument that the manuscript was originally used as a series of individual quires, rather than as a bound codex, throughout at least the first half of the twelfth century and probably until the sixteenth century, as discussed in Chapter 3. From this perspective, the centrefold of a quire is not a feature that is hidden from all but those conducting codicological examination of the binding and spine; instead it is the central spread at which the quire naturally opens.

⁴⁹⁰ Gesetze, ed. by Liebermann, I, 126-29.

If CCCC 383 was not written in the same order that it was to be read, then the *Frið* may have been copied into the quire first, and the preceding space and the end of I Æðelred (and the preceding texts back into the *Domboc*) supplied later. Whether or not the items were copied in reading order, however, does not undermine the effect created through the deliberate positioning of the law-code to take advantage of the quire structure. If the hypothesis of copying the law-codes in a non-consecutive order is accepted, the six lines of empty space at the end of the preceding folio would simply imply that the *Domboc* and its run of appendices took slightly less space than was at first anticipated and allocated in the quire.

From the careful positioning of the first version of the *Frið* in the manuscript by the main scribe, the structure of quire 1 can be re-evaluated. The norm for CCCC 383 is a quire of eight folios while quire 1 has only six. As quire 1 has no gaps in its contents it can be seen that no folios are missing. The quire structure of six folios was, therefore, deliberately produced either before, or during, the writing of the quire. The outer faces of quire 1 is the hair side of the bifolium, as is consistent for each quire in CCCC 383 and the norm before the twelfth century, and, similarly, that the Rule of Gregory is observed throughout with hair-facing-hair and flesh-facing-flesh.⁴⁹² The implication for this is that, if quire 1 was produced as an ordinary quire of eight, made from four bifolia, and subsequently had a bifolium removed, the bifolium must have been taken from the centre of the quire. The most likely explanation for this is that the quire was deliberately manipulated to create the visual structure for the display and

⁴⁹² See Figure 2.4 and Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 33; Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', p. 246.

positioning of and the consequent interrelationship between the *Frið* and the law-code Ps.-Edward.⁴⁹³

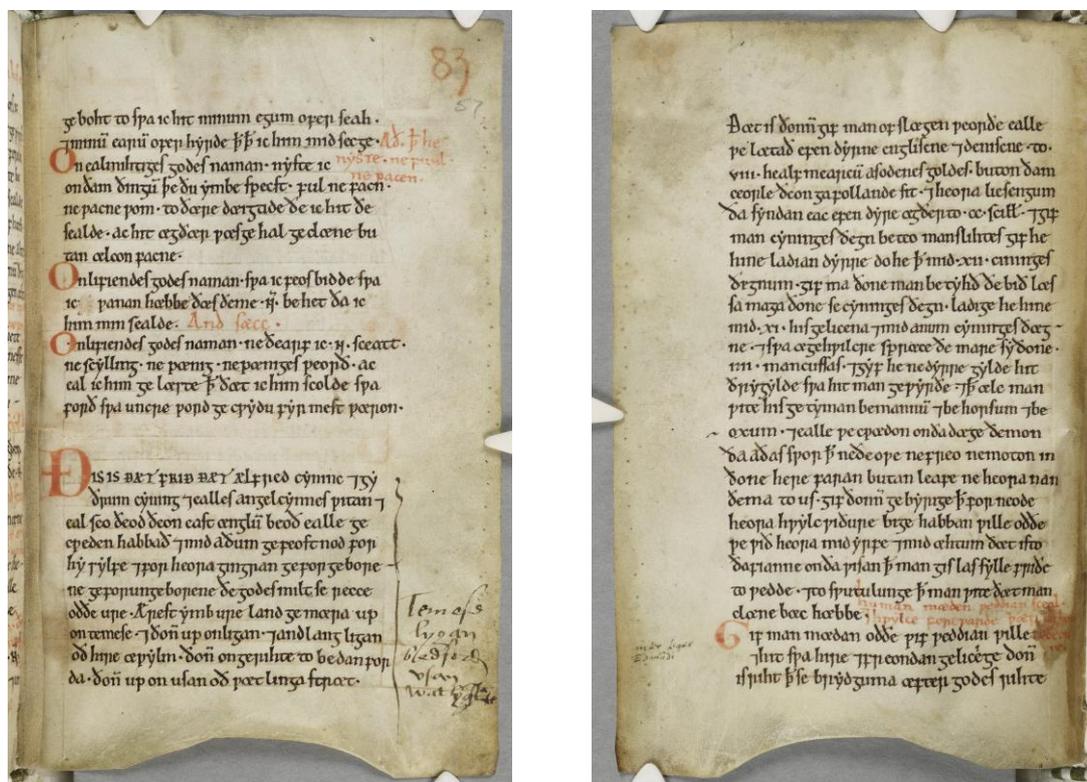


Figure 5.7 Version 2 of the *Frið*, fol. 57^r, ll. 17-26 (left) and fol. 57^v, ll. 1-23 (right).

The positioning of version 2 of the *Frið*, however, does not incorporate the same degree of obvious positioning in the visual structure of the manuscript, as can be seen in Figure 5.7. The law-code begins midway down fol. 57^r, on l. 17, rather than being given a fresh start on a fresh page as happened with version 1. The two lines preceding version 2 were left blank by the main scribe, presumably for a rubric which was never supplied. It is an interesting irony of the *Frið* that, in modern scholarship, version 1 is ignored in favour of version 2,

⁴⁹³ A possibility remains that the central bifolium contained one (or more) law-codes that were originally positioned between the *Frið* and Pseudo-Edward and Guðrum. From the contexts in other manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon law, the only law-code that would be feasible for this would be the so-called Appendix to Ælfred and Guðrum, only included in the *Quadripartitus* and always positioned between the *Frið* and Ps.-Edward. See Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 240-41; Gesetze, ed. by Liebermann, I, 394-95. However, this is a relatively short law-code and, in the main scribe's hand, would not fill up one page of CCC 383 let alone four.

but in the emendations, rubrics and comments from the first half of the twelfth century through to the sixteenth century, almost exactly the opposite is true: version 1 is heavily annotated while version 2 remains almost untouched.

CHAPTER 6: ALTERATIONS TO CCCC 383 DATING TO THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

6.1 Emending hands datable to the first half of the twelfth century

Liebermann dated all the additions to CCCC 383 to the sixteenth century, with the exception of the two additional text-block items on fol. 69 which he (correctly) assigned to the twelfth century.⁴⁹⁴ Ker identifies a number of sixteenth-century hands, but revises Liebermann's dating of a majority of the additional emendations on palaeographic grounds to earlier ranges of s. xi/xii and s. xii¹.⁴⁹⁵ He also notes that the rubrics use a combination of rustic capitals and the same script as used for the main text-block and that they appear to be a later addition to the manuscript.⁴⁹⁶ Lucas's description of the emendations focuses primarily on the later emendations of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Apart from mentioning that the items on the final folio are by a hand dating to the first half of the twelfth century, he makes no detailed mention of the twelfth-century emendations.⁴⁹⁷

Wormald's discussion of the manuscript gives a full a detailed discussion of the contributions made by the emending scribes. He identifies emendations made in at least two additional hands, possibly more, dated by him as being of the first half of the twelfth century.⁴⁹⁸ He also refers to a number of emendations made by the main scribe.⁴⁹⁹ The hand 2 scribe, who supplied the two additional items on fol. 69 and corrected CCCC 383, 'writes in an angular mode with a

⁴⁹⁴ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, p. xix; James also followed Liebermann's dating, *Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, II, pp. 230-31; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 111.

⁴⁹⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 111.

⁴⁹⁶ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113.

⁴⁹⁷ Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 74.

⁴⁹⁸ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

⁴⁹⁹ Wormald does not specifically identify alterations by hand, with the exception of attributing the reworking of the transition between *Hundred* and *I Æðelred* to the main scribe.

notably scratchy quill'.⁵⁰⁰ Wormald voices caution here, arguing that it is not absolutely certain that the corrections to the main text-block and the additional items on the final folio were made by the same person. The hand 3 scribe supplied corrections and additions as well as the rubrics, and Wormald describes his or her writing simply as being 'small and neat'.⁵⁰¹ The fullest catalogue of the alterations and emendations to CCCC 383 has been published by Powell as part of the *Inventory of Script and Spellings in Eleventh-Century English* project.⁵⁰² The description lists the twelfth-century rubrics and emendations made to CCCC 383, gives transcriptions and locations in the manuscript and identifies the hands. Powell labels the hand 2 scribe as 'scipmen', the hand 3 scribe as 'rubricator' and other items are labelled with palaeographic descriptions as appropriate.

6.2 Hand 2

The hand 2 scribe uses an English Vernacular Minuscule script and is responsible for the addition of the [S]*cipmen* list and the WSG on the final folio of CCCC 383 (Item Nos 25 and 26) and a number of comments and emendations throughout the manuscript. The hand has been dated by Ker as s. xii¹,⁵⁰³ and further refined by Treharne to s. xii^{2/4}.⁵⁰⁴ Ker observes that the scribe who supplied the [S]*cipmen* list and WSG (Item Nos 25 and 26) uses insular forms for < f >, < g >, < r > and < s > alongside caroline < a >.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰⁰ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

⁵⁰¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

⁵⁰² Kathryn Powell, 'CCCC 383', in *An Inventory of Scripts and Spellings in Eleventh-Century English* <<http://www.arts.manchester.ac.uk/mancass/C11database/data/annotations/annotation-m285-1.pdf>> [Accessed 17 June 2010]

⁵⁰³ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 110.

⁵⁰⁴ Treharne, (pers. com., 17 December 2009).

⁵⁰⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113.

As with the main hand, the script is written with a set ductus, and individual graphs are usually constructed from multiple pen strokes. For the additions on the text-block of the final folio the scribe aimed to produce the same *mise-en-page* as the main scribe. The first letter of each item was omitted, and the first two lines indented to a depth of about 3 graphs' width, as illustrated in Figure 6.1. Although the space was intended for a pen-drawn initial, the miniaturing was not supplied. A distinct variation between the visual structure of the original text block and the additions made by the hand 2 scribe can be seen in the colour of ink used; the hand 2 scribe uses a paler grey-brown ink, as described previously (Appendix B).

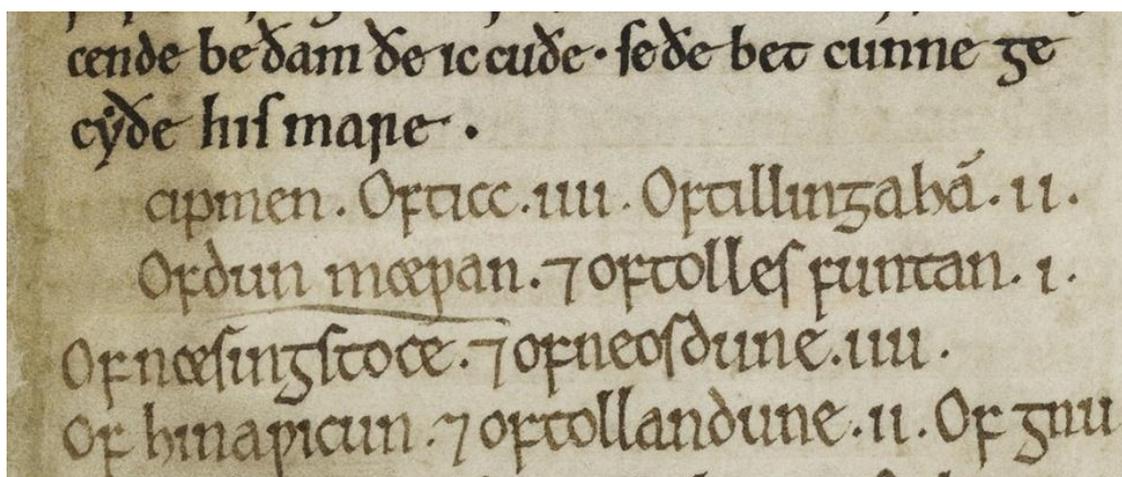


Figure 6.1 Visual structure produced by the hand 2 scribe, [S]*cipmen* list (Item No. 25), fol. 69^v, ll. 13-18.

The hand is reasonably regular in appearance, with large, rounded forms and a slight lean to the left noticeable in ascenders and descenders. The descenders are either straight or turned to the left although a small number end in a serif. The tops of the ascenders are usually notched in form, while the minims are wedge shaped. The script uses insular < d >, < f >, < g >, < h > and < r > as well as caroline < s >, the < þ > graph is employed predominantly rather

than < ð >, and the scribe also uses the *tironian nota* < 7 > and the < p > graph.

A sample alphabet of hand 2 graphs is given in Figure 6.2.



Figure 6.2: Sample alphabet images of hand 2 (s. xii^{2/4}) minuscule forms, from fol. 69.⁵⁰⁶

The < a > is caroline with a clear head stroke that sometimes curls back down towards the bowl. The ascender of the < d > is quite high, and reaches to the height of the other ascenders in the script such as the < b >, < h > and caroline < s >. The bowl of the < d > is as large as the bowls of other letters such as the < a >, < c >, < e > and < o >.⁵⁰⁷ The cross-stroke of the < e > extends beyond the graph, but proportionately less than in hand 1, and not usually biting the following letter.⁵⁰⁸ The cross-stroke on the < æ > is notably shorter. The tail of the insular < g > is s-shaped, although the end is flicked back upwards to almost close the lower bowl.⁵⁰⁹ The mid-point in the < h > is arched and the right leg has an angular bend in the middle before sweeping left to a point sometimes underneath the graph and sometimes on the ruled base-line. Only caroline < s > is used. The top of the shaft of the < t > usually, but not

⁵⁰⁶ Note that, as previously, while I have made some attempt to choose graphs representative of the majority form employed by the main scribe, the selection is ultimately arbitrary, as is the spacing between the individual graphs. This figure, along with alphabet images of the other scribal hands, is duplicated in Appendix C.

⁵⁰⁷ the ascender is usually more upright in manuscripts of s. xi compared to those of s. x and s. xii. In the latter of these centuries, the bowl of the < d > becomes smaller and more similar in size to the < ð >, which would indicate an earlier date rather than further into the twelfth century, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

⁵⁰⁸ The addition of a projection to the cross-stroke of the < e > becomes a distinctive feature of the graph when used for vernacular scripts, although this distinction diminishes notably in the twelfth century, indicating the relatively later date of the hand 2 scribe compared to the main scribe. Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

⁵⁰⁹ The open tailed form of insular < g > dominates in vernacular scripts of the eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries, and then becomes a closed loop. The almost closed lower bowl, therefore, may indicate a date later into the first half of the twelfth-century, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix; Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 35.

always, cuts through the top of the cross-stroke.⁵¹⁰ The cross-stroke of the *tironian nota* is sometimes an undulating line, and the bottom of the shaft extends below the ruled line before flicking back upwards towards the base line.⁵¹¹

In the two additional items added to the final folio of CCCC 383, the hand 2 scribe shows clear orthographic preferences for letters where multiple forms are possible. As discussed in regard to the main hand in the previous chapter, this occurs in two circumstances: the choice between < þ > and < ð > on the one hand, and between caroline, round or insular < s > on the other.

The hand 2 scribe shows a 75% preference in his or her orthographic choice for the use of < þ >, which he or she uses 24 times, over < ð > which is used in 8 instances over the thirty-eight lines on fol. 69. No obvious pattern is discernible in the instances where the hand 2 scribe chooses to use < ð > that can explain the distribution. The orthographic preference between different forms of < s > is exclusively in favour of the long, caroline < ſ >, and out of approximately fifty instances in the additions to fol. 69 no examples of round < s > or insular < ʃ > are used. Again, as with the < ð > and < þ > orthographic preference, the sample sizes are greatly different. Nevertheless, it seems justifiable to infer scribal preference from the exclusive use of < ſ >.

The hand 2 scribe does not display as wide a range of abbreviations as the main scribe. Many of the words abbreviated by the main scribe, however,

⁵¹⁰ A feature described as common for later into the first half of the twelfth century, Treharne, (pers. com., 17 December 2009).

⁵¹¹ Later into the twelfth century the head-stroke of the *tironian nota* becomes wavy or 'cup-shaped' and with the curve to the left becoming more prominent. By the middle of the twelfth century, the descender of the < 7 > rises to be above the ruled base line. Taken together these indicate a date in the second quarter of the twelfth century, Treharne, 'Production and Script', pp. 36-37.

such as < scitt > for < scillinga > or < scillingas >,⁵¹² do not appear in either of the additional texts added to fol. 69. Absence of evidence cannot be used here to infer that the abbreviation was not in the broader repertoire of the hand 2 scribe. The abbreviations that are used by the hand 2 scribe are all used elsewhere in the manuscript by the main scribe. These are all quite commonly occurring abbreviations and consist of the use of the *tironian nota* < 7 > for < ond >, < ꝥ > for < þæt >, as well as using a macron above vowels at the end of words to indicate an abbreviated ending, such as < Of tillingahā > for < Of tillingaham > on fol. 69^r, l. 15.

The use of caroline < a > coupled with the predominant use of insular letter forms imply a date of the late eleventh or twelfth century for hand 2. From the stratigraphy of the manuscript, the hand 2 items must post-date those of hand 1 as they emend and add to the main text-block, and in some places strokes are in superposition over writing produced by the main scribe. No example of < ð > by the hand 2 scribe is present in the manuscript, so the shape of the < d > cannot be compared with it. The < d > has a shallower angle on the ascender than that made by the main scribe, implying a date slightly later into the twelfth century. The large bowl of the < d > is a typical feature of the eleventh century and before, but this is not applicable as the production postdates the main scribe.

Rather than having a sharp serif to the right, the feet of the minims are swept in a curve to the right, although the thin angularity of the stroke is retained. This again implies a date further into the twelfth century, although not

⁵¹² Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law*, pp. 55-56.

significantly later as the feet still protrude below the ruled line.⁵¹³ The head of the caroline < s > is somewhat flattened, which may reflect a date approaching the middle of the twelfth century, if it is assumed that the feature developed gradually rather than being implemented suddenly. The distinctly wavy form of the head-stroke on the *tironian nota* < 7 > is a clear indicator of the later date of the hand, although the descender is straight, not curved, and descends slightly below the ruled base-line. I would argue, therefore, that the date of s. xii^{2/4}, as proposed by Treharne, can be upheld.⁵¹⁴

6.3 Hand 3

The hand 3 scribe provided emendations to the text-block and marginal additions in an English Vernacular Minuscule script written with a grey-black ink, and added the rubrics in a combination of Rustic Capitals and English Vernacular Minuscule written in a red ink.⁵¹⁵ Identification of the scribal hand has not been unanimous as Lucas argues that the rubrics are produced by the main scribe,⁵¹⁶ while Ker, Wormald, Treharne and myself argue that they are the product of a separate, slightly later scribe, dated as s. xii¹.⁵¹⁷

The hand is often quite irregular in aspect as the items, especially the rubrics, are compressed to fit into the available space associated with the change of text-block item. The quill is quite scratchy throughout – for the rubrics and the marginal additions – implying that the scribe might not have prepared

⁵¹³ The Norman script was more distinctly serified with a sharper and thinner stroke turned upwards to the right. By the end of the eleventh century, the Anglo-Saxon scripts had adopted this Norman feature. In earlier scripts the foot of the < l > descends below the base line, but rises to end on the base line in later manuscripts. Taken together, this indicates a date for the script in the late eleventh or first half of the twelfth centuries, Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p. 23; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxx.

⁵¹⁴ Treharne, (pers. com., 17 December 2009).

⁵¹⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

⁵¹⁶ Lucas, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 76.

⁵¹⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 111-13; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 228-36; Treharne, (pers. com., 17 December 2009).

for extended stints of writing or with display in mind, although the rubrics occasionally have flourished elements such as the pronounced cross-stroke on the < e > and the pen-flicks on the feet of the minims. Overall the letter forms are small and rounded, with straight, upright ascenders and descenders. The tops of the minims and ascenders are wedge-shaped, and the descenders usually end in a sharp point, although for < f >, < p > and < þ > they sometimes turn to the left. The script uses insular forms of < d >, < f >, < g >, < h > and < r > as well as using caroline < s >, both < ð > and < þ >, the *tironian nota* and the < p > graph. Sample alphabets of hand 3 graphs for emendations (upper) and rubrics (lower) are given in Figure 6.3.

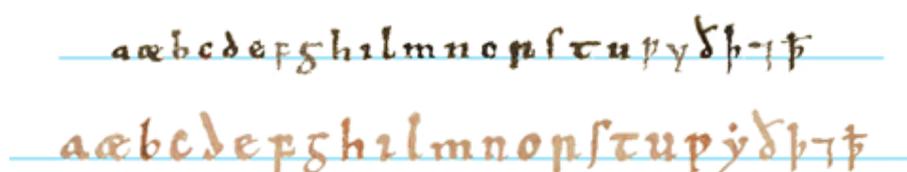


Figure 6.3: Sample alphabet images of hand 3 additions (above) and rubrics (below).⁵¹⁸

The < a > is headless and rounded with a steep upstroke that does not extend above the top of the bowl. A similar < a > is used in the < æ > graph, but with an upstroke that leans further to the left. The cross-stroke of the < e > extends a short distance beyond the edge of the bowl on the marginal additions but is far more pronounced for the rubrics. This flourish is extended on the cross-stroke used for the < æ > in rubrics but not in the marginal additions.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁸ Note that, as previously, while I have made some attempt to choose graphs representative of the majority form employed by the main scribe the selection is ultimately arbitrary, as is the spacing between the individual graphs. This figure, along with alphabet images of the other scribal hands, is duplicated in Appendix C.

⁵¹⁹ The addition of a projection to the cross-stroke of the < e > becomes a distinctive feature of the graph when used for vernacular scripts, although this distinction diminishes notably in the twelfth century. The notable cross-stroke therefore indicates a date earlier in the twelfth century. Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix. I would argue that the lack of cross-stroke on the marginal additions may indicate that the hand 3 scribe was trying to draw less attention to his or her additions in the *mise-en-page* of the manuscript. This lack of disruption of the visual aesthetics

The ascender of the < d > is quite straight and reaches as high as the other ascenders, although the bowl is comparatively smaller than in other graphs in the hand, apart from that of the < ð >.⁵²⁰ The < g > is insular, with an s-shaped descender that begins to the far left of the cross-stroke and has a completely closed lower bowl.⁵²¹ Caroline < s > is used consistently in hand 3 in both the rubrics and the marginal additions. The left branch of the < y > curves downwards, but the curve is notably more pronounced on the rubrics. On the rubrics the descender of the < y > extends further and curves to the left, while on the marginal additions the shorter descender ends with a serif to the right. Finally, only the < y > for the rubrics is dotted. The scribe makes use of both < ð > and < þ >, although with a 76% preference for the former when all the rubrics and marginal additions are taken together. The < ð > is of a similar size to the < d >, although the bowl is sometimes smaller and the ascender higher and, rather than being straight, has a more sinuous wave in comparison.

As with the main scribe and the hand 2 scribe, the orthographic preferences between < ð > and < þ > as well as between round < s >, insular < ʃ > and caroline < ʃ > of the hand 3 scribe can be described. The hand 3 scribe displays a 76% preference for the use of < ð > when the sum of all the rubrics and emendations are combined, as compared with the 95% preference evinced by the main scribe. If the rubrics are excluded from the survey, the hand 3 scribe makes exclusive use of the < þ > graph in emendations. A 100%

of the manuscript by the hand 3 scribe can also be seen in his or her decision to use a paler colour ink.

⁵²⁰ The ascender indicates a late eleventh to early twelfth century date, while the bowl is more securely twelfth century, and these combine to suggest a date in the first half of the twelfth century, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

⁵²¹ The completely closed lower bowl usually indicates a date in either the eleventh century or the second half of the twelfth century, although closed lower bowls can also be found occasionally in the first half of the twelfth century, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix; Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 35.

tendency for the use of caroline < f > can be found throughout the hand 3 rubrics and emendations. The variant orthographic forms may be scribal preference or artefacts transferred from the exemplars from which the emendations and rubrics were supplied.

A number of abbreviations are used throughout the items in hand 3. Primarily, these consist of the use of macrons above final vowels to indicate missing endings, including the use of < ~ū > for < ~um >, the use of the < ƿ > graph for < þæt >, the *tironian nota* < 7 > for < ond >, as well as the occasional use of < m̄ > for < man > and, on one occasion, < sciff > for < scilling >.

The use of headless insular < a > is common in both the early part and the second half of the twelfth century, which would imply that the hand 3 scribe supplied marginal additions, emendations and rubrics either soon after the manuscript was produced by the main scribe or else later into the twelfth century. The steep angle of the < d > and the < ð > imply the earlier date, while the smaller bowls of each implies the later one. A later date in the twelfth century seems more feasible due to the pronounced tagging on the cross-stroke of the < ð > and the completely closed lower bowl of the insular < g >. The head of the caroline < s > is not flattened, implying that the hand is not as late as the second half of the twelfth century. The *tironian nota* < 7 > has only a slight wave to the head-stroke and a similarly formed descender. The descender appears to reach the base line, although this is difficult to confirm as none of the examples in CCC 383 are on ruled lines.⁵²² Formal analysis of the script is difficult due to the cramped locations of the hand 3 additions and rubrics in the *mise-en-page*.

⁵²² Later into the twelfth century the head-stroke becomes wavy or 'cup-shaped' and the descender rises to be above the ruled base line middle of the twelfth century suggesting a date earlier in the first half of the twelfth century, Treharne, 'Production and Script', pp. 36-37.

Consequently, the date of production on palaeographic grounds must stand as s. xii¹.

6.4 Types of emendations made to CCCC 383 in the first half of the twelfth century

The early twelfth-century emendations and additions in the manuscript can be categorised into textual corrections and alterations, textual additions, and, re-workings of the visual structure. The majority of the textual corrections, alterations and additions are made by the hand 2 and 3 scribes although a small number may have been supplied by the main scribe, while the re-working of the visual structure is usually the product of the miniator or another scribe that is either the main scribe or whose hand appears very similar to the main hand. A number of the emendations and additions are either undated or undatable and for many it is not possible to attribute their production to a scribal hand. These unattributable additions and emendations predominantly include erasures, the addition of individual strokes, graphs, underlining and so forth. In some cases it is possible to infer a probable hand from the manuscript context of the item, such as through association with diagnostically identifiable items, or similarities in ink when examined under UV and visible light. A full catalogue of the s. xii¹ and undated emendations and additions made in CCCC 383 using the various brown and black inks is given in Appendix G.⁵²³

⁵²³ All references to entries in Appendix G are given as 'Additional Item No.'. Red ink additions and emendations made by the miniator are given in Appendix F and by the rubricator in Appendix H.

6.5 Corrections and alterations

The type of emendations that have been classified as corrections and alterations are varied in form, as can be seen from Appendix G. Most are quite small in length, ranging from an individual letter or stroke through to a few words. As well as the addition of strokes (particularly diacritics and punctuation), graphs and words, these emendations also include the erasure of letters and words from the main text-block where the original writing has been actively removed through physically scraping the support. On a small number of occasions larger blocks of writing are added as marginal additions. These longer additions usually serve the purpose of supplying parts of law-codes that were originally omitted by the main scribe through eye-skip.⁵²⁴ An example of this can be seen in *Hundred* (Item No. 3), where the omitted text of an eye-skip was subsequently supplied in a marginal addition (Additional Item No. 3), as shown in Figure 6.4.

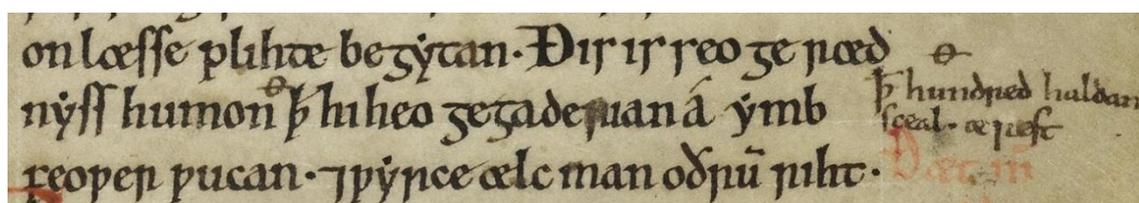


Figure 6.4 Additional Item No. 3 (hand 3), supplying text omitted through eye-skip in *Hundred*, fol. 10^r, ll. 19-21.

The exact location in the text-block to which the marginal addition relates is identified with a pair of Θ graphs by the emending scribe; one at the beginning of the marginal addition, and the other as an interlinear addition to line 20. The cause of the eye-skip is quite apparent as a þ abbreviation

⁵²⁴ Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, p. 35.

graph is present in the main law-code just before the omitted part of the text and at the end of the omission. The first presumably represents a point the main scribe read up to in the exemplar, copied onto CCCC 383 and then, when he or she returned to the exemplar for the next quantity of text to be copied, he or she returned to the second < ꝥ > abbreviation graph instead of the first. Therefore, the five words in between the two < ꝥ > abbreviation graphs were omitted.

These missing words, and another < ꝥ > abbreviation graph, were subsequently supplied by the emender in the right margin.

Wormald argues that the emendations made by the hand 2 scribe serve the purpose of bringing the contents of the text-block of CCCC 383 'into line with *variations* in other manuscripts' [original emphasis], in particular with the alternation made to the *Textus Roffensis* and the later editions of the *Quadripartitus*.⁵²⁵ He describes the interlinear and marginal additions as 'glosses', which engage with the text-block to 'clarify its meaning or alter its legalistic purport'.⁵²⁶ Although Wormald does not directly state which scribe these additional items and emendations were performed by, comparison of the palaeographic description and proportions of each hand with the examples he refers to on the manuscript show that the vast majority are by the hand 3 scribe.

Identification of the hands and dates of production for some of the emendations and additions is particularly difficult. The main example of this is the addition of diacritics to the long vowels, as shown in Figure 6.5 (upper), which happens predominantly in I-II Cnut (Item Nos 9-10), but also on a few instances in the *Domboc* (Item No. 8). A further example of these difficult-to-date and difficult-to-attribute emendations is the alteration of the punctuation to

⁵²⁵ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

⁵²⁶ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

turn the original main hand punctus, a single point, usually raised above the ruled baseline < · >, into a punctus versus, < ; > by adding the lower stroke, as shown in Figure 6.5 (lower), which occurs sporadically throughout the *Domboc* and I-II Cnut. Although it is difficult to identify the hand or to ascribe a date for both of these types of emendation, the dark brown colour of the ink is similar to that used by both the hand 2 and 3 scribes. The use of the punctus versus is attested throughout the Anglo-Saxon period and beyond,⁵²⁷ so the form of punctuation cannot be used to date the emendation.

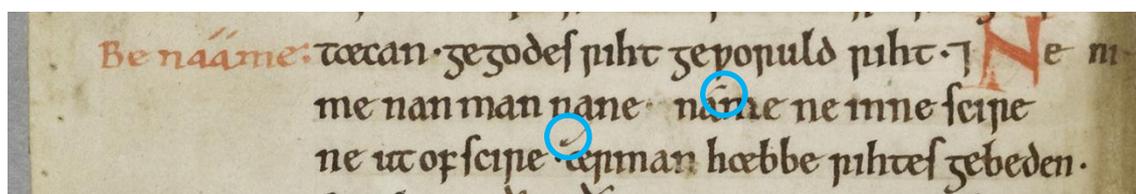


Figure 6.5 Emendation of text-block with diacritics to show long vowels, Additional Item Nos. 332 and 333, from II Cnut, fol. 42^v, ll. 17-19 (upper) and conversion of main hand punctus to punctus versus, Additional Item No. 43, from *Domboc*, fol. 16^r, l. 25 (lower).

The use of diacritics on vowels in the rubrics can also be seen, for example on the rubric added to the left margin of fol. 42^v shown in Figure 6.5 (upper). When viewed under UV and visible light the ink used for the diacritics and the main rubric appears to be the same, as do the angle and size of nib, so

⁵²⁷ Peter Clemons, 'History of the Manuscript and Punctuation', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, ed. by Richards, pp. 345-64 (p. 362); Bruce Mitchell, 'The Dangers of Disguise: Old English Texts in Modern Punctuation', *Review of English Studies*, 31 (1980), 385-413 (p. 390).

it seems unlikely that the diacritics were added to the rubric later. This process of emending the text-block to update the spelling and add in the diacritics involves two phases, with the original text-block being modified from < name > to < náme >, and the addition of the rubric effectively changing the spelling to < nááme > (Rubrication Item No. 124). The order in which these two emendations were made to CCCC 383, however, is uncertain. The shape of the diacritics on the rubrics and as added to the text-block are notably different; a ~45° linear stroke on the former, and a curving tick with a thick head and a thin tail on the latter. It remains uncertain if the addition of diacritics to the text-block was performed by the hand 3 scribe, despite the apparent similarity in ink.

The original punctuation used by the main scribe consisted only of a medial punctus. A later scribe working in a brown-grey ink, similar to that used by both the hand 2 and 3 scribes, added a diagonal stroke to convert some of these medial punctus into punctus versus. As with the hand 3 diacritics, no items in CCCC 383 in which the punctus versus is used are diagnostically hand 2 or hand 3, with the possible exception of the rubric on 42^v which ends < : >, shown in Figure 6.5 (upper). Despite this, definite assignation of a hand is not possible although, in light of the rubric mentioned previously, the hand 3 scribe seems more likely than the hand 2 scribe.

6.6 The hand 2 [S]cipmen list and WSG

The [S]cipmen list (Item No. 25) and the WSG (Item No. 26) were added into the blank space at the end of fol. 69, following the conclusion of the original text-block produced by the main scribe, with the former running from fol. 69^r, l.

15 – 69^v, I. 2 and the latter from fol. 69^v, II. 3-26.⁵²⁸ The first interpretation of the addition of each into CCC 383 is that they simply represent the scribe taking advantage of available space to preserve texts that needed copying. This interpretation would fit well with Wormald's argument that CCC 383 is a 'legal encyclopaedia', and that the non-legal texts were included erroneously by the main scribe.⁵²⁹ Wormald's treatment of the hand 2 additions is cursory; each is briefly described in his overview of the contents of CCC 383 and marked in square parenthesis to emphasise its status as separate from the main text-block.⁵³⁰ The [S]*cipmen* list gets a brief comment, as Wormald observes that the estates listed in it belonged to St Paul's Cathedral, London and that the manuscript was therefore either originally made there or at least procured by the cathedral soon after its production.

Wormald treats the [S]*cipmen* list and WSG texts as being distinctly separate from the legal content of the main manuscript.⁵³¹ The truncation of the WSG implies that the scribe either copied the remainder of the text into another manuscript or quire that is no longer extant, or else left the text half-copied at the end of fol. 69 when he or she ran out of space. I would argue that a close examination of the visual structure of the two items provides strong reasons to reassess the role of these texts as an integral part of the manuscript. The hand 2 scribe imitated the *mise-en-page* of the main manuscript. Each of these texts respects both the horizontal and vertical lines of the ruling grid, and each follows the practice of omitting the first letter of the item and indenting the first two lines to provide space for the miniator to supply a pen-drawn initial. If the

⁵²⁸ The [S]*cipmen* list is discussed in detail in Liebermann, 'Matrosenstellung'; *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, pp. 192-201.

⁵²⁹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 231-36.

⁵³⁰ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 231.

⁵³¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 231-36.

hand 2 scribe was simply adding texts onto available space, then he or she could easily have extended the writing into the margin and omitted anticipating the miniator turning his or her work into a display piece.

The fact that the hand 2 scribe chose not to extend his or her written block over the ruled lines and into the margin shows that he or she was respecting the visual structure dictated by the ruling grid and the main scribe.⁵³² An additional quire that is no longer extant may have originally followed – or been intended to follow – quire 7. No codicological reason exists to argue that the blank space at the end of quire 7 represents the end of the manuscript, as it is feasible that enough space was left at the end of the quire and the beginning of the following hypothetical quire to accommodate one or more texts for which the exemplar was not yet available.

A manuscript need not necessarily be produced in the intended reading order of its contents as a continuous sequence from start to finish. It has been argued that the final item copied by the main scribe, the *RSP* (Item No. 23) and *Gerefa* (Item No. 24) texts, marks a movement away from the strictly legal focus present throughout the rest of the manuscript.⁵³³ This interpretation implies that the manuscript had reached its natural conclusion as a ‘legal encyclopaedia’. As I suggested in Chapter 1, CCC 383 can also be interpreted from the perspective of the *Gerefa* tract as a manuscript supplying the required information for being or overseeing a competent reeve. The manuscript may originally have been intended to continue beyond what now appears to be its end with additional administrative and informative texts relating to the needs of

⁵³² Unlike the scribe of s. xiii who added the Anglo-Norman poem on 12^r, l. 21-26, where the horizontal ruled lines are used but the writing extends into the right margin almost to the edge of the folio.

⁵³³ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 233.

the community that produced it. The two parts of the *Textus Roffensis* are a suggestive parallel for the interpretation of CCCC 383; one part contains law-codes and the other contains a cartulary of Rochester Cathedral.⁵³⁴ The *Textus Roffensis* also contains a number of lists, including Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies, popes, bishops and similar lists.⁵³⁵

The similarity between the texts added to the end of CCCC 383 and those included in the *Textus Roffensis* – such as the copy of the WSG in each manuscript and the [S]cipmen list as a charter of St Paul’s in CCCC 383 and the Cartulary in the *Textus Roffensis* – should be considered alongside Wormald’s argument that the emendations to the main text-block by the hand 2 scribe, discussed previously, served the purpose of bringing CCCC 383 into alignment with variations in the *Textus Roffensis*.⁵³⁶ These additions and emendations, therefore, can be interpreted as a part of this overall scheme of updating CCCC 383, rather than just being corrections of original mistakes and the addition of apparently random texts.

6.7 Rubrics

The rubrics are not evenly distributed throughout CCCC 383. While some of the law-codes are heavily rubricated, others have been omitted completely, as can be seen in Appendix H.⁵³⁷ The second copy of the *Frið* (Item No. 16) was not rubricated, which may suggest that the rubricator realised a copy of the law-code had already been included in CCCC 383 on fol. 12^v. However, none of I Edward (Item No. 11), II Edward (Item No. 12), I Edmund (Item No. 13), II Edmund (Item No. 14), the cattle-charm (Item No. 19), the *Frið* (version 2), *Hit*

⁵³⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 443-47; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 245.

⁵³⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 446; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 247.

⁵³⁶ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

⁵³⁷ All references to entries in Appendix H are given as ‘Rubrication Item No.’.

Becwæð (Item No. 20), II *Æðelred* (Item No. 21) or *Dunsæte* (Item No. 22) have been rubricated either. Nine of the twenty-five law-codes and related texts produced by the main scribe are without rubrics, which is approximately one third of the manuscript contents. It is interesting that the un-rubricated law-codes all occur between the final folios of quire 5, following I-II Cnut (Item Nos 9 and 10), and the beginning folios of quire 7, before *RSP* (Item No. 23). However, no quire is completely without rubrics, as quire 6 contains ten rubrics on the fifty-four line long law-code *Swerian* (Item No. 15), as well as an initial rubric on *Wifmannes* (Item No. 17) and *Wergild* (Item No. 18).

The majority of the rubrics are associated with the longer law-codes, with the *Domboc* having 106 rubrics (Rubrication Item Nos 8 to 113), and I-II Cnut having 51 (Rubrication Item Nos 115 to 166). Two of the shorter law-codes are heavily rubricated: *Swerian*, as already mentioned, has ten rubrics (Rubrication Item Nos 167 to 176) and *RSP* has 19 rubrics (Rubrication Item Nos 179 to 197). With the exception of II *Æðelstan*, which has two rubrics (Rubrication Item Nos 6 and 7), the remaining nine law-codes have a single rubric each at the beginning.

Although Lucas argues that the rubrics were produced by the main scribe rather than by a subsequent emender, he also adds that they were ‘presumably a later addition’, because of the disparity between the *mise-en-page* of the text-block as produced by the main scribe, and the positioning of the rubrics.⁵³⁸ The same observation has also been made in other descriptions of CCC 383.⁵³⁹ Wormald merges both possibilities, suggesting that the main scribe anticipated the rubrication of the items, but that their execution was in a different manner to

⁵³⁸ Lucas, ‘Corpus Christi College 383’, p. 76.

⁵³⁹ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113; Gobbitt, ‘Audience and Amendment’, p. 15.

the original plan.⁵⁴⁰ This may be a valid argument for the *Domboc*, but is not applicable for the other law-codes in CCCC 383, as the earlier versions of the *Domboc* have an initial rubric list numbering each clause, which Wormald argues had been omitted from the version in CCCC 383 so the rubrics could be included at the beginning of each item in the text-block.⁵⁴¹ For Wormald, then, the half-line left blank in the text-block at the beginning of each item was intended for the rubric numeral to be added.⁵⁴² The cramped positioning of the rubrics as executed would therefore be explained by the rubricator (or somebody with supervisory control over his or her work) inserting the full rubric instead of just the number, and using the available line space and the margins as necessary.⁵⁴³

Most of the other law-codes and text-block items in CCCC 383 begin with an indented half-line in exactly the same manner as used in the *Domboc*. In these law-codes no textual tradition of rubrication via numerals exists, so the space cannot have been intended for the subsequent supply of numerical rubrics. A more feasible interpretation of the spacing at the beginning of the items is that the main scribe was simply emphasising the beginning of each new item in the visual structure as he or she wrote, and the rubricator took advantage of that space later. That the rubrication was opportunistic, rather than planned, can be easily seen in CCCC 383, as illustrated in Figure 6.6. While the example on the left (Rubrication Item No. 167) is more typical of the manuscript, it is not the only way in which rubrics overspill the space. The confusion created in the visual structure is particularly apparent with Rubrication

⁵⁴⁰ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 230-35.

⁵⁴¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, 231.

⁵⁴² Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 231.

⁵⁴³ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 231.

Item No. 70 (on the right). The rubric begins in the interlinear space above the gap where Text-block Item No. 78 changes to No. 79 on fol. 25^v, l. 18, extends into the margin, returns to the empty space in the middle of the line and then jumps to finish in the right margin once more. This arrangement is rare in the manuscript but far from unique.

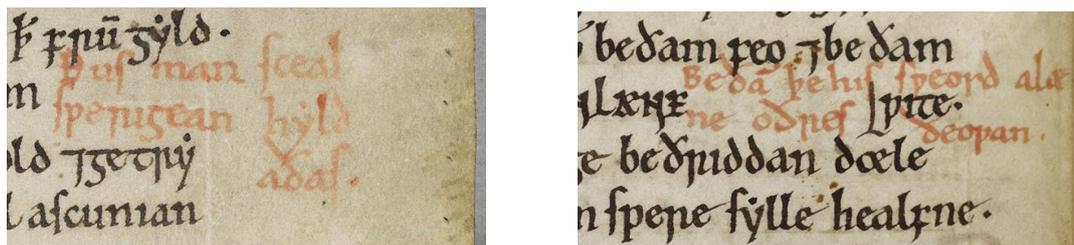


Figure 6.6 Opportunistic fitting of rubrics into available space: Rubrication Item No. 167, fol. 56^r (left) and Rubrication Item No. 70, fol. 25^v (right).

Rubrics positioned entirely in the margins are also quite common, usually in places midway through text-block items where no blank space was available. This occurs particularly frequently in I-II Cnut, for which the bulk of the beginning is written as notably longer items. Examples of the positioning of rubrics entirely in the margins are illustrated in Figure 6.7. As can be seen, the text-block has no areas of blank space produced by the main scribe in anticipation of the subsequent supply of rubrics. The red paraphs inserted into the text-block to mark the change in clauses will be returned to in detail in the following section.

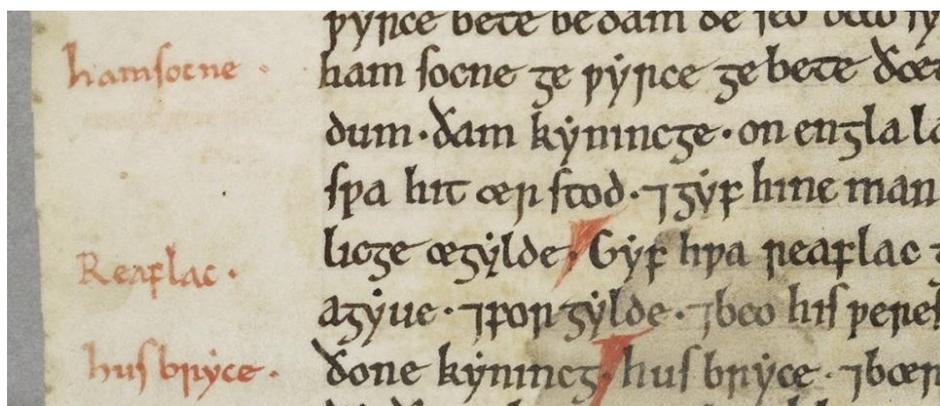


Figure 6.7 Rubrication Item Nos 151-53 in left margin, fol. 48^v,
unanticipated by the main scribe

Wormald attributes this pattern of rubrication to part of a general process involving the further sub-division of Old English laws into clauses, that can be seen in a number of other law-codes and in the other manuscripts of the *Textus Roffensis* and the *Quadripartitus*.⁵⁴⁴ In CCC 383 the rubricator contributes only a part of this, and the miniator, whom Lucas argues was the same person, is also responsible for implementing this sub-division.⁵⁴⁵ Wormald overlooks the involvement of two (or more) amenders altering the visual structure with red ink, as he tentatively assigns these emendations to the rubricator.⁵⁴⁶ This process of emendation will be returned to in the following section.

While the rubrication is an opportunistic use of space left available in the manuscript by the main scribe, this is not to say that it is random or unconsidered. The rubrication forms one phase in the updating of the manuscript while the additions and emendations outlined previously constitute other interrelated phases. As well as updating and altering the legal context of the law-codes, Wormald argues this also served to align the contents of CCC

⁵⁴⁴ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 235.

⁵⁴⁵ Lucas, 'Corpus Christi College 383', p. 76.

⁵⁴⁶ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 232-35.

383 with the other twelfth-century manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon law-codes.⁵⁴⁷ By

marking the divisions between many of the items, and signalling grammatical and legal units within each, internal sub-divisions of the law are identified or created. The effect of these changes was not completion of the originally anticipated form of the manuscript; instead, the emendations converted the contents and structure of CCCC 383. This process updated the original texts and *mise-en-page* of the manuscript into concordance with changes in the legal context of the manuscript's use throughout the first half of the twelfth century.

6.8 Stratigraphy of emendations made to CCCC 383 in the first half of the twelfth century

The rubrics, pen-drawn initials, additions and emendations often show the relative stratigraphy of the manuscript's production by indirectly respecting or directly cutting the main text-block. Instances where items supplied by the hand 2 scribe, the hand 3 scribe and/or the miniator cut or respect one another, however, are rarer. A hand 3 rubric (Rubrication Item No. 155) cuts an addition made by the hand 2 scribe (Additional Item No. 452) in the left margin of fol. 48^v (shown in Figure 6.8), indicating that the hand 2 addition must predate the rubrication of the page. On 48^f the hand 2 Additional Item No. 444 respects the hand 3 Rubrication Item No. 147, indicating that the order of production was reversed, and in this instance the work of the hand 2 scribe post-dated that of the hand 3 scribe.

⁵⁴⁷ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

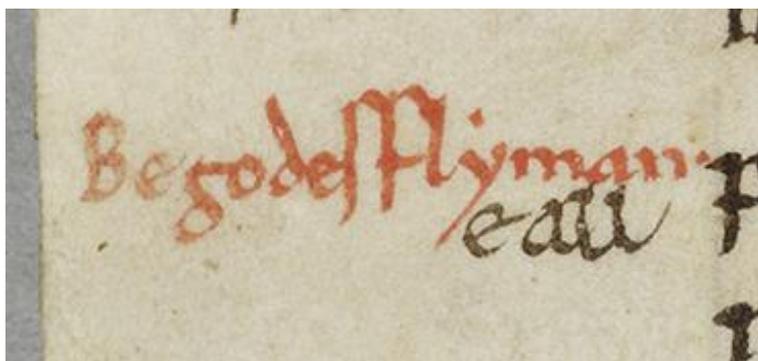


Figure 6.8 Hand 2 addition (Additional Item No. 452) cut by hand 3 rubric (Rubrication Item No. 155), fol. 48^v.⁵⁴⁸

The relative stratigraphy of the hand 3 additions and rubrics can be further complicated, as a rubric (Rubrication Item No. 2) cuts a hand 3 additional item (Additional Item No. 3) on fol. 10^r, While in two other instances hand 3 additional items respect rubrics: Additional Item No. 10 respects Rubrication Item No. 3 on fol. 11^r and Additional Item No.133 respects Rubrication Item No. 42 on fol. 20^v.

From this stratigraphic analysis it can be seen that the emendation of the manuscript by the hand 3 scribe was not a single phase that either post- or predated his or her supply of the rubrics. Instead, the emendation and rubrication of the manuscript by the hand 3 scribe were an on going process and reflects the user working from CCCC 383 with a (scratchy and presumably therefore somewhat impromptu) quill and ink ready to emend, correct and sign-post the law-codes and related texts as required. The relative positioning of the hand 2 emendations, being both before and after those of the hand 3 scribe, indicate that the two scribes were working with the manuscript throughout the same extended time period. The current impression of CCCC 383 is of a manuscript

⁵⁴⁸ Although difficult to discern in the image, the red ink of the rubric overlies the hand 2 addition, indicating the relative stratigraphy. As hand 2 has been dated to s. xii^{2/4}, this provides a terminus ante quem for hand 3 which has otherwise only been dated by Wormald to s. xii¹, *The Making of English Law*, p. 229.

that was initially produced by a single scribe of s. xiiⁱⁿ and with anticipated pen-drawn initials, presumably, supplied soon after. Two scribes at some point later in the first half of the twelfth century, one dated only as s. xii¹ but the other more closely as s. xii^{2/4}, worked contemporarily with each other on emending and updating the manuscript in a number of scribal stints.

CHAPTER 7: RE-WORKED OPENINGS OF LAW-CODES AND HAND 4

7.1 Palaeographic description of hand 4

The openings of two law-codes are re-worked in the text-block of CCC 383 through erasure and re-writing of text in new positions in the text-block and margins and through the incorporation of miniaturized pen-drawn initials. The first of these is the transition from *Hundred* to I Æðelred on fol. 11^r (Additional Item No. 9) and the second is the transition from the laws of Ælfred to the laws of Ine in the *Domboc* on 23^r (Additional Item No. 160). Due to the brevity of the emendations coupled with the use of minuscules for the re-working of I Æðelred and majuscules for the *Domboc*, it is difficult to determine on palaeographic grounds if the two alterations were the product of the same scribe.

Wormald attributes the emendation of I Æðelred to the main scribe, arguing that it represents the scribe recognising ‘the error of his ways’, and then going back to emend the mistake.⁵⁴⁹ Richards, in her discussion of CCC 383, however, argued that the emendation was produced by a hand other than the main scribe,⁵⁵⁰ an argument which I have also made elsewhere.⁵⁵¹ The scribe responsible for the emendation of the *Domboc* has not been directly addressed in the scholarship, presumably for the reasons just outlined, although I would propose that the general likelihood is that they were both the product of the same scribe.⁵⁵² I will refer to this scribal hand as hand 4, to increase clarity in the following palaeographic description and comparison with the other identified emending hands of CCC 383 active in the first half of the twelfth century.

⁵⁴⁹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232.

⁵⁵⁰ Richards, ‘The Manuscript Contexts’, p. 182.

⁵⁵¹ Gobbitt, ‘I Æthelred’.

⁵⁵² I suggest this based on the overall *mise-en-page* produced for each of the emendations and the fact that in each instance the emendation was made before the miniator supplied the pen-drawn initials, as will be discussed below.

The hand 4 scribe uses a dark brown-black ink which appears quite similar under both UV and visible light to that used by the main scribe, as shown in Appendix B. As with the main hand, the emendation to I Æðelred is written in an English Vernacular Minuscule script. The hand is quite rounded in form, although there are notable variations in the regularity of the height and widths of the graphs. Overall, the aspect is upright, although some of the graphs lean slightly to the left or right, emphasising the underlying irregularity of the hand. The ascenders are tall at almost double the minim height. The tops of the ascenders and minims are wedged in shape. The descenders are either straight, ending in a point set at the angle of the nib, or else are swept to the left, as in the case of the caroline < s > and the < þ >. The script uses insular < d >, < g > and < r >, caroline < s > and, on all three occasions shows an orthographic preference for < þ > rather than < ð >. A sample minuscule alphabet of the hand is given in Figure 7.1; due to the brevity of the emending item it is possible to show only a limited range of graphs.



Figure 7.1 Sample alphabet images of hand 4 (s. xii¹) minuscule forms, from fol. 11^r.⁵⁵³

The < a > is headless with an upright shaft and a smaller bowl than that used for the < c > and < e >. The bowl of the 'a' part of the < æ > is comparatively larger than that of the < a > graph. The ascender of the < d > is quite tall and reaches to a similar height as the other ascenders. The bowl of

⁵⁵³ Note that, as previously, while I have made some attempt to choose graphs representative of the majority form employed by the main scribe the selection is ultimately arbitrary, as is the spacing between the individual graphs. This figure, along with alphabet images of the other scribal hands, is duplicated in Appendix C.

the < d > is smaller than that of the < æ >, < c > and < e >, but closer in size to that of the < a >.⁵⁵⁴ The top stroke of the bowl of the < e > ends at a sharp, distinctive angle that emphasises the short protrusion of the cross-stroke.⁵⁵⁵ The 'e' part of the < æ > is formed in the same fashion. The descender of the < g > begins to the left of the head-stroke, and is formed as a rounded 's'. The lower bowl of the descender is very rounded and almost completely closed, although the fine stroke at the end does not quite touch the shaft. The two strokes forming the top of the ascender on the < l > are separate enough from each other at the top to create a distinctive notch. The top of the caroline < s > is curved, bulbous at the end but with a slightly flattened upper edge where it joins onto the shaft of the ascender. The descender is much shorter than those of other graphs, such as the < p > and < r >, and ends with a sweep to the left. The head of the < þ > is produced from two overlapping strokes but is bulbous, rather than notched like the < l >. The descender is longer than that of the caroline < s > but ends in a sweep to the left rather than straight like the < p > or with a serif like the < r >.

The angle of the ascender on the < d > implies a date early in the twelfth century rather than in the eleventh century, which is supported by the relatively small size of the bowl compared to that on other graphs.⁵⁵⁶ The treatment of the feet of the minims indicates only a date of the end of the eleventh century or later.⁵⁵⁷ However, the slightly open lower bowl of the < g > suggests a date further into the first half of the twelfth century.⁵⁵⁸ Although insular < r >

⁵⁵⁴ The upright ascender and smaller bowl indicate a date in the earlier part of the twelfth century, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

⁵⁵⁵ The shorter protrusion on the cross-stroke indicates a date further into the twelfth century, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

⁵⁵⁶ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxvix.

⁵⁵⁷ Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p. 23.

⁵⁵⁸ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix; Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 35.

continues to be used throughout the twelfth century, it becomes much rarer in the second quarter of the twelfth century and onwards.⁵⁵⁹ Taken together, the features of the script imply a date in the first half of the twelfth century. There is, however, some disparity as some features suggest a date closer to s. xiiⁱⁿ, while other features seem to imply a date in s. xii^{2/4}.

7.2 Palaeographic comparison of hand 4 with hands 1, 2 and 3

The hand 4 scribe must either be a completely different individual to those already discussed,⁵⁶⁰ the main scribe emending his or her previous work as Wormald suggested,⁵⁶¹ or else the product of the miniator or one of the other two emending scribes.⁵⁶² From close examination of the ink used by the hand 4 scribe under UV and visible light (as discussed in Chapter 3) it can be seen that the ink appears very similar to that used by the main scribe and notably different from that used by the hand 2 and 3 scribes for their additions and emendations. I will return to this following the palaeographic comparison of the hands. A five-line detail of the original text-block and the emendation is given in Figure 7.2. Four distinctive graphs, the < a >, < d >, < g > and caroline < s >, as produced by each of the scribes are also presented in Figure 7.3 to enable direct comparison of the hands and graphs.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁹ Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 36.

⁵⁶⁰ Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', p. 182.

⁵⁶¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232.

⁵⁶² Comparison on palaeographic grounds between the pen-drawn initials produced by the miniator and the graph forms produced by the hand 4 scribe (or, indeed, any of the other scribes) is not possible due to the different scripts and production techniques employed.

⁵⁶³ In addition to these, Appendix C contains duplicate copies of the sample alphabets of hand 1 (originally in Chapter 4), hands 2 and 3 (originally in Chapter 6) and hand 4.

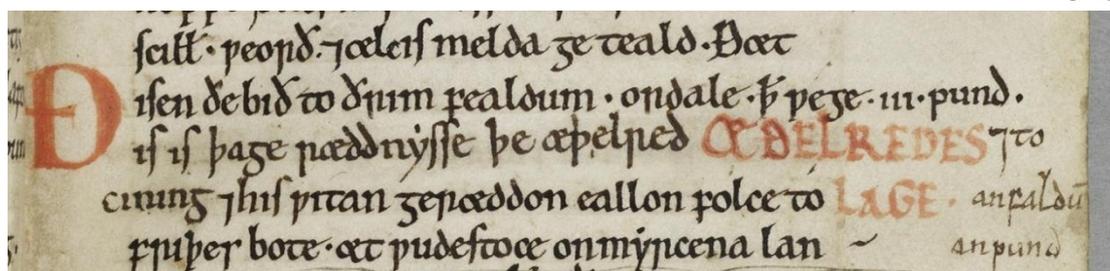


Figure 7.2 Re-worked introduction to I Æðelred, fol. 11^r, ll. 8-12. (Additional Item No. 9, Miniaturing Item No. 3, Rubrication Item No 3 and Additional Item No. 10)

The graph forms of hand 4 and hand 2 are notably different, as can be seen from even a cursory analysis of Figures 7.2 and 7.3 and Appendix C. I would argue, therefore, that it seems very unlikely that the hand 2 scribe produced the hand 4 emendations. The < a > of hand 4 is headless like that of hand 3, but the shaft is upright, making it far more similar to that of hand 1. The hand 4 < d > has a long ascender of similar proportions to that of hand 3, although the angle of the hand 4 ascender is slightly lower than that of hand 3 but not quite as low as that of hand 1. The smaller bowl of the hand 4 < d > is entirely consistent with hand 3.

	Hand 1	Hand 2	Hand 3	Hand 4
< a >				
< d >				
< g >				
< s >				

Figure 7.3 Comparison of < a >, < d >, < g > and caroline < s > graphs

The hand 4 < g > is the most informative of the graphs, although again similarities can be drawn with both hand 1 and hand 3. The lower bowl of the

< g > is not closed, but ends in a sharp, heavy pen flick that is notably similar to that of hand 1. The lower bowl produced by the hand 4 scribe lacks the angular changes of stroke-direction as produced by the main scribe, and instead has the identical curving shape produced by the hand 3 scribe. Likewise, the beginning of the hand 4 descender from the cross-stroke begins further to the left than that of hand 1, but in an identical position to that produced by the hand 3 scribe. Finally, the hand 4 caroline < s > is produced in a very similar form to that of the hand 3 scribe, with a similar proportion of ascender height and descender depth and the sweep to the left at the foot of the descender is the same for hand 3 and hand 4. However, the hand 4 caroline < s > includes a short cross-stroke, that is not used in hand 3 but is in hand 1.

The range of similarities and differences between the hands could be taken as evidence that hand 4 was the work of a separate individual. Taking the sum of the palaeographic features and the overall aspects of the hands into consideration together, however, I would argue that hand 4 is in fact the hand 3 scribe imitating the aspect of hand 1. The imitation of hand 1 by the hand 3 scribe was extended to using a very similar ink to that which scribe 1 wrote the initial text-block with, rather than the usual, paler ink with which the hand 3 scribe supplied his or her various interlinear and marginal additions and emendations. I will refer to hand 4 as hand 3b from here onwards, and refer to the hand as 3a in reference to the brown ink emendations and additions and the red ink rubrication. The activity of the hand 3b scribe has far-reaching implications for the production and use of CCCC 383 in the first half of the twelfth century which I will now make explicit through the analysis of the emendations he or she supplied.

7.3 Re-working of the transition between *Hundred* and I Æðelred

The transition between *Hundred* (Item No. 3) and I Æðelred (Item No. 4) originally occurred in the middle of fol. 11^r, l. 10. To what degree it was emphasised by the main scribe is uncertain as the erasure and emendation has obliterated the original evidence.⁵⁶⁴ The law-code may have originally commenced in a similar style to *Hundred*, which also begins in the middle of a text-block item, with a more pronounced majuscule < Ð > made by overlapping two vertical strokes for the shaft and again for the bowl, as was discussed in Chapter 3. Conversely, the transition could have been marked with a majuscule formed in the scribe's usual manner – as at the beginning of *Forfang* (Item No. 2) which also occurs in the middle of a text-block item – assuming that a majuscule was used at all.

The re-working of the text-block by the hand 3b scribe has produced a similar *mise-en-page* to that originally created by the main scribe elsewhere in the manuscript, as shown previously in Figure 7.2. The circumstances of production, however, led to some small differences: the pen-drawn initial is positioned entirely in the left margin and some of the original text from line 10 has been repositioned in the margin to the right of line 9 and the left of line 11.

While the stratigraphy of the production and emendation of the *Hundred* to I Æðelred transition may appear muddled at first sight, under closer analysis it becomes relatively straightforward. The erasure cuts the original text-block of fol. 11^r, l. 10. The hand 3b emendation (Additional Item No. 9) into line 10 cuts the erasure, while the parts added into the right margin of line 9 and left margin of line 11 each respects the original text-block. The rubric added by the hand 3a

⁵⁶⁴ The scraping is thorough and I have not been able to discern any remnants of the original text-block under magnification or UV light.

scribe (Rubrication Item No. 3) cuts the erasure and respects the hand 3b addition. The hand 3a addition in the right margin (Additional Item No. 10) respects this rubric. The supply of the pen-drawn initial (Miniaturing No. 3) respects the hand 3b emendation, but no relative association between it and the rubrication or hand 2 emendation can be made. I have illustrated these phases in Figure 7.4, using a Harris Matrix, which I have adapted from the methodology employed in archaeological excavation and recording. The connecting lines represent the sequence in which each event occurred in the production and emendation of the manuscript.⁵⁶⁵

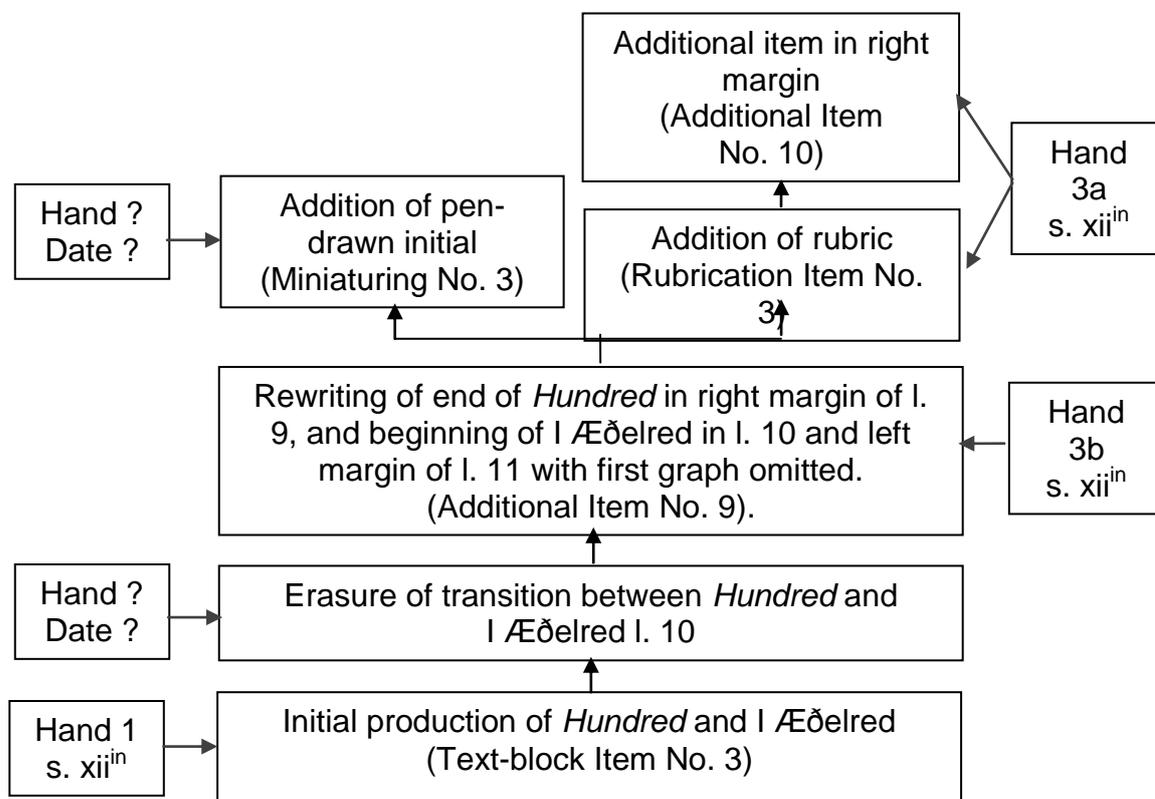


Figure 7.4 Harris Matrix showing stratigraphic order of production and emendation of *Hundred* and *I Æðelred* on fol. 11^r.

⁵⁶⁵ For fully detailed discussions of the development and use of Harris Matrix in archaeological terms, see Harris, *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy*, pp. 86-99 and Hodder, *The Archaeological Process*, pp. 108-12.

7.4 Implications for the production of CCCC 383

The emendation of the transition between *Hundred* and I Æðelred by the hand 3b scribe emphasised that the two were now to be read as separate law-codes rather than as a part of the *Domboc*, as was argued in Chapter 5.⁵⁶⁶ The legal and manuscript contexts that were initially implemented in CCCC 383 are markedly different to those produced by the emendations of scribe 3b. Although palaeographic dating can only ever be approximate, the dating of these hands would imply a gap of some twenty to thirty years between the two phases. The emendation of the law-code occurred in conjunction with the supply of pen-drawn initials by the miniator.

From the UV/VIS analysis of the red ink used for the pen-drawn initial (Miniatur No. 3) of the emendation I have shown that it was the same ink as used for the other pen-drawn initials supplied by the miniator throughout CCCC 383 (see Chapter 3 and Appendix B). Consequently, the emendation of the transition between *Hundred* and I Æðelred cannot have been performed at a later date by a separate scribe and, instead, the miniator is either the hand 3b scribe or one is working under the supervision of the other.

The stratigraphy of the manuscript in conjunction with the palaeographic dating appears to suggest that the initial text-block was produced by the main scribe and the project was then abandoned for approximately a quarter of a century until the decoration and emendation of the manuscript was undertaken. Alternatively, the hand 1 scribe may have been relatively older than the other emending scribes, trained in the early years of the twelfth century who then co-

⁵⁶⁶ Richards also makes this suggestion, describing the I Æðelred as a 'fourth supplementary item' to the *Domboc*, Richards, 'Manuscript Contexts', p. 182.

produced the manuscript with the other more recently trained scribes in the second quarter of the twelfth century.

CHAPTER 8: COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE HAND 1 SCRIBE AND THE MINIATOR

8.1 The miniator as emender

The miniator (or somebody working in association with them) sub-divided text-block items through a process of erasure and emendation that effectively added sub-clause divisions into law-codes that were originally written as extended blocks of prose. This alteration of the visual structure is produced in one of three main ways: by erasing the beginning of the writing and subsequently supplying a pen-drawn initial, by highlighting the graph in red ink, or by inserting a paraph mark into the text-block. These emendations are not evenly distributed throughout CCCC 383, but are predominantly clustered in the law-code I-II Cnut (Item Nos 9 and 10). The main exceptions to these are a dense collection of red (and also some grey-brown) paraphs in the *Domboc* (Miniaturing Item Nos. 52-87 and Additional Item Nos 147, 148, 150, 152 and 157), added onto fols 21^v to 22^v which was originally written as one extended text-block item (Text-Block Item No. 49, which runs in total from fol. 21^r, l. 23 to fol. 23^r, l. 5). The few remaining occurrences are in the law-codes II Edmund (Item No. 14) and in *Wergild* (Item No. 18). The erasure of the text-block and rewriting of pen-drawn initials as well as the highlighting of the main hand graphs, however, occur only in I-II Cnut.

8.2 Types of emendation made by miniator

The erasure of the original writing by the main scribe and subsequent replacement with a pen-drawn initial is relatively easy to identify in the manuscript. In a small number of instances the emendation is made at the far left edge of the line, and consequently can at first be mistaken for an original,

anticipated pen-drawn initial and item break. The majority of these emendations occur midway through a line, and the support now appears rougher and tends to be darker in colour, where the original writing has been erased, as illustrated in Figure 8.1.



Figure 8.1 Pen-drawn initial < D > produced as an erasure and emendation, fol. 43^r, l. 11 (Miniaturing Item No. 193).



Figure 8.2 Erased hand 1 writing visible beneath pen-drawn initial < 7 >, fol. 45^r, l. 16 (Miniaturing Item No. 202).

The form of the original writing prior to erasure can still be seen on the support in many instances. The emended pen-drawn initial < 7 > on fol. 45^r, l. 16 (Miniaturing Item No. 202) this is particularly noticeable, see Figure 8.2. It is also interesting to see that in this case the main scribe had originally written < And >, which had been erased in its entirety and replaced with the *tironian nota*. The abbreviation was presumably used as a convenient method of

creating more space in the text-block for the pen-drawn initial to be positioned and to create a greater visual impact.

The highlighting of graphs with one or more strokes of red ink emends the original letter form and visual structure of the manuscript without first erasing the original graph. With the exceptions of fol. 39^r, l. 6 which a < V > is highlighted (Miniaturing Item No. 175) and the < O > on fol. 42^r, l. 9 (Miniaturing Item No. 188), every other example is of a < G > (Miniaturing Item Nos 217, 219, 222, 223, 225, 227, 229, 231, 233, 237, 239 and 254). In each case the red ink is applied to the enclosed area of the graph, rather than around the outside, and the original black ink acts as a border while remaining easily legible, as illustrated in Figure 8.3. The presence of numerous examples of miniator emending the < G > in the other fashions previously outlined in this section indicates that the use of highlighting on the bowl is not a specific response to the form of the graphs.

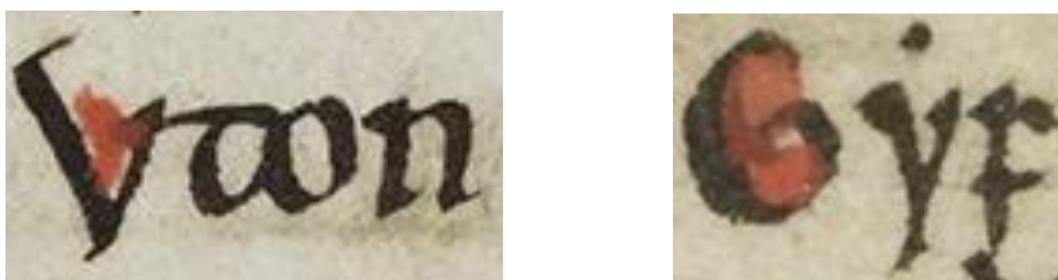


Figure 8.3 Red ink highlighting on < V >, fol. 39^r, l. 6 (left, Miniaturing Item No. 175) and < G >, fol. 47^v, l. 2 (right, Miniaturing Item No. 217).

The third type of emendation made by the miniator to the graphs, the paraph, comes in two distinctly differently constructed forms with different degrees of visual impact on the page. The smaller and more commonly used type I will refer to as the 'small paraph', and the more pronounced form as the 'large paraph'. Both types resemble an inverted 'L' written before the beginning

of the text-block. While the small paraph is produced from only two strokes, the shaft on the large paraph is thickened through multiple strokes into a wide triangular form, as illustrated in Figure 8.4.

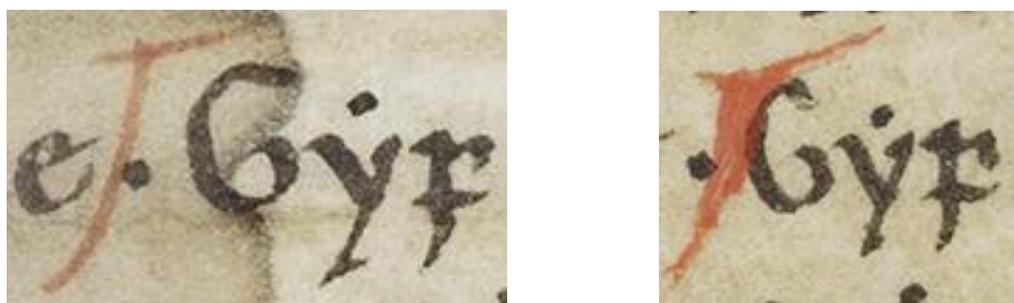


Figure 8.4 Small paraph, fol. 47^r, l. 11 (left, Miniaturing Item No. 216) and large paraph fol. 48^v, l. 19 (right, Miniaturing Item No. 245).

8.3 Pattern of miniaturing emendations in I-II Cnut

The distribution of the various types of emendations made by the miniator in I-II Cnut is not consistent throughout the law-code: some areas are more densely emended than others and a pattern in the style of these emendations is clearly discernible. The distribution can be divided into four distinct phases, labelled with roman numerals in capital, as shown in Table 7.1.⁵⁶⁷

Phase	Fols	Emended Initials	Anticipated Initials	Highlights on Graphs	Paraphs (small)	Paraphs (large)	Total
I	38 ^r –47 ^r	35	0	3	4	1	43
II	47 ^v –48 ^r	0	0	11	11	0	22
III	48 ^v	0	0	0	0	8	8
IV	49 ^r –52 ^r	2	11	1	3	0	17

Table 8.1 Phases of emendation by miniator of I-II Cnut (Item Nos 9 and 10), with number of emendations and type per phase.

⁵⁶⁷ Note that the 'Anticipated Initials' only include those that were inserted into the middle of text-block items, not those that mark the beginning of each text-block item (as outlined in Appendix E).

8.3.1 Emendation of I-II Cnut - phase I

In the initial phase, which runs from approximately fol. 38^r through to fol. 46^v, the majority of emendations (35 out of a total of 42) were made by erasing part of the original text-block and by the miniator then supplying the pen-drawn initial into the created space. Each of the other types of emendation are also represented, with highlighting on three graphs, four small paraphs and one large paraph. The phases reflect the majority practice followed by the miniator rather than being absolute and exclusive categories. It is quite possible, but impossible to prove, that the other types of emendation made to the text-block in this phase represent separate scribal stints of emendation of the text-block performed at a later date.

8.3.2 Emendation of I-II Cnut - phase II

The second phase extends over two pages, fols 47^v and 48^r and comprises twenty two miniaturing items in total. Eleven are small paraphs and eleven are highlighting, applied to graphs in these two pages (Miniaturing Item Nos 217-39). In ten of these instances, however, the paraph and the highlighting are on the same graph, as illustrated in Figure 8.5.

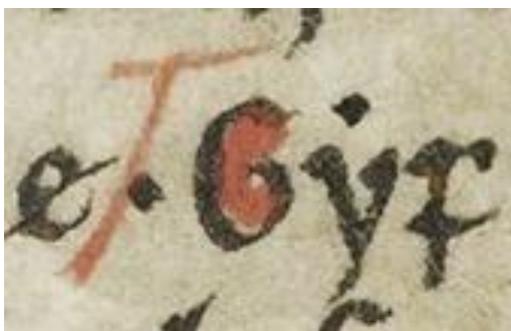


Figure 8.5 Graph emended with highlighting and small paraph, fol. 47^v, l. 22 (Miniaturing Item Nos 224 and 225).

The remaining small paragraph and highlighted graph represent two further points of emendation on the text-block. The total number of points in the text-block where emendations were made by the miniator, then, is twelve rather than twenty-two. The preceding page, fol. 47^r, may also belong in this phase, as it has only a single small paragraph and, unlike phase I, has no erasure and emendation style miniaturing. Text-Block Item No. 133 begins on fol. 47^r, l. 2 and concludes on fol. 49^r, l. 19, so it incorporates all of the Phase II type of emendation (as well as Phase III and the beginning of Phase IV).

No other form of emendation is employed in this phase. Whether the two emendations were performed at the same time or whether they represent two phases of emendation of the law-code is uncertain. At first glance, especially in the digital photography, the ink used for the small paragraph appears to be a lighter hue of orange than that used for the highlighting. Close inspection under UV light, however, reveals that they are most likely the same ink (Appendix B).

8.3.3 Emendation of I-II Cnut - phase III

The third phase of emendation only extends to a single page, fol. 48^v. The large paragraph is used for all eight instances of emendation made by the miniator (Miniaturing Item Nos 240-47). As with Phase II, all of the Phase III emendations are contained in the same, single text-block item (No. 133).

8.3.4 Emendation of I-II Cnut - phase IV

The final phase of emendations in I-II Cnut runs for the remainder of the item, from fol. 49^r to fol. 52^v. In this area a marked change in the visual structure is apparent. The miniator makes six emendations, two of which are the erasures of part of the original text-block and supply of a pen-drawn initial, one is

highlighting a graph, and the other three are small paraphs. In the other eleven instances where a division is marked by the miniator in a text-block item, it was already anticipated by the main scribe who left blank space and omitted the first graph of the following text accordingly, as illustrated in Figure 8.6. In addition to leaving space the main scribe also began the following writing in majuscules, emphasising the significance of the new sub-clause.

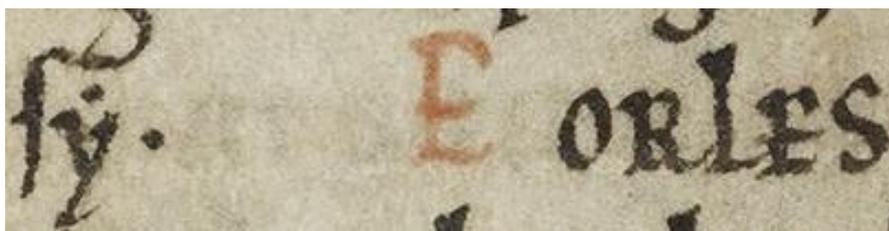


Figure 8.6 Space for miniaturing in Text-Block Item No. 137 anticipated by the main scribe, fol. 49^v, l. 16 (Miniaturing Item No 253).

8.4 Implications of the miniator's emendations in I-II Cnut

The four phases of emendation made by the miniator discernible in I-II Cnut are highly suggestive. The fact that the miniator is emending the law-code, and thus changing the visual structure, particularly in the first three phases, emphasises the editorial control he or she had on the way in which the manuscript was being produced and used. The transition evinced in Phase IV allows for an even greater insight into the production of CCCC 383.

An average of 2.9 emendations per page are made throughout Phases I to III, while in Phase IV this is reduced to an average of 0.8 emendations per page. This is also associated with a notable rise in the number of sub-divisions in the text-block items anticipated by the main scribe. Comparison of the phases with the positions of the text-block items in CCCC 383, as given in Appendix E, shows that, while the eleven folios containing Phases I to III are split between four text-block items (Nos. 130-33), the final four folios contain twenty-two text-block items (Nos. 133-55). As well as indicating a change in the miniator's

emendation of the law-code, the main scribe's method of producing the *mise-en-page* of the manuscript was also altered.

The most likely interpretation of this change of practice on the main scribe's behalf is that the methods of emending the law-code employed by the miniator caused the main scribe to reassess his or her own procedure. This must mean that the scribal stints when the main scribe was writing the text-block coincided with the scribal stints when the miniator was emending the text-block. At some point when the main scribe was producing, or was just about to start producing, fol. 49^r he or she must have communicated with the miniator. Whether this means that the miniator and main scribe were working in the same room is uncertain, but what can be said is that he or she discussed the production of the manuscript. It is also not possible to know whether the suggestions were adopted under mutual agreement or imposed under the supervisory authority of the miniator or that of another individual overseeing the production. The outcome was that the production of CCCC 383 changed, and a different visual structure was introduced that reduced notably (but not completely) the number of emendations that were made by the miniator.

8.5 Eradication of the cattle charm from CCCC 383

The charm for recovering stolen cattle on fol. 59^r, ll. 6-20 (Item No. 19) has been the subject of some speculation in the scholarship on CCCC 383. At some point the charm was scored out in red ink, as can be seen in Figure 8.7.

Wormald argues that this was because the charm was not actually a legal text, despite the similarities of interest between it and the laws against theft, and

therefore did not belong in a so-called legal encyclopaedia.⁵⁶⁸ Wormald observes that the red ink is definitely not that of Archbishop Parker, and suggests that it was probably performed by the rubricator.⁵⁶⁹

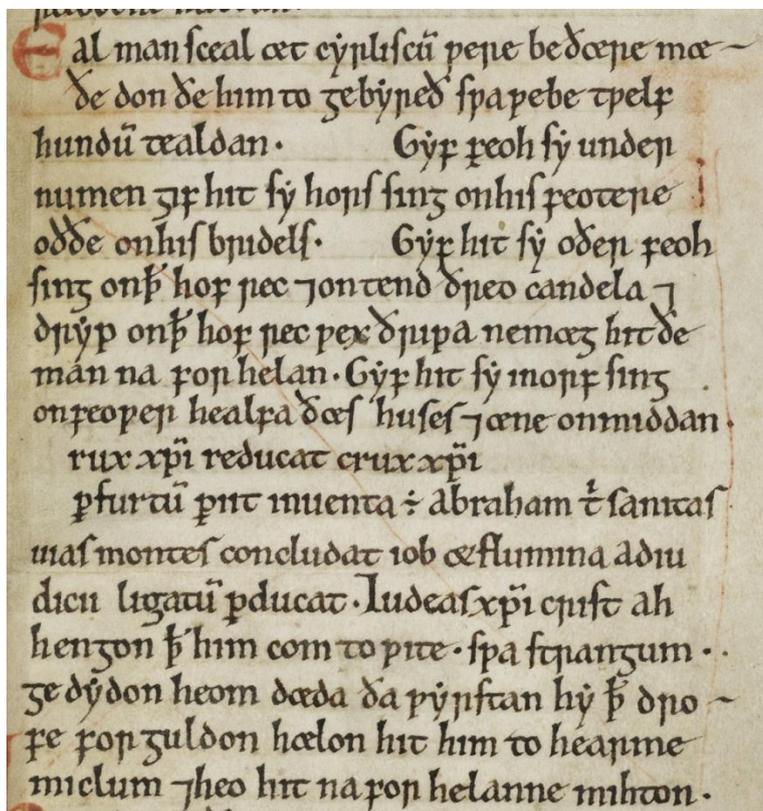


Figure 8.7 Cattle charm scored out (Item No. 19, Miniaturing Item No 322) and without pen-drawn initials, fol. 59^r, ll. 4-20.

I would argue that the manuscript evidence indicates that it was the miniator who struck out the charm against cattle theft. The ink appears to be the same as that used by the miniator rather than the red ink used by the hand 3a scribe for the rubrics, as shown in Appendix B. The miniator's lack of interest in the item (or recognition that it was inappropriate to the manuscript's context and intended use) is revealed through the absence of pen-drawn initials on the item itself. The main scribe began the cattle charm (following *Wergild* (Item No. 18) on fol. 59^r, l. 6 in the middle of Text-Block Item No. 176) with a blank space in

⁵⁶⁸ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232.

⁵⁶⁹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232.

the text-block of approximately seven graphs' width, followed with a majuscule < G > in his or her own hand. Another similar division in the text, two lines later and also unmarked, can also be seen (l. 8), as well as the indented area for the pen-drawn initial (ll. 13-14) marking the beginning of Text-Block Item No. 177.

In consideration of the close attention to adding in extra pen-drawn initials displayed by the miniator displayed in I-II Cnut, the omission of a pen-drawn initial from the beginning of Text-Block Item No. 177 is most likely to have been a deliberate choice in the production of the manuscript. If the striking through of the text had been performed by the rubricator, who was working subsequent to the initial production and decoration of CCCC 383,⁵⁷⁰ then it must be assumed that the miniaturing would have been included. The ink used elsewhere by the miniator is very similar to the ink used to strike through the cattle charm. I would argue, therefore, that it was the miniator who excised the cattle charm.⁵⁷¹

8.6 Implications of the miniaturing for the production and use of CCCC 383

The supply of pen-work initials to the beginning of each text-block item indicates, unsurprisingly, that the miniator completed the *mise-en-page* as originally anticipated by the main scribe. For the majority of text-block items it is unclear whether the miniaturing was supplied contemporary to the text-block being written or whether it was supplied at some, distinctly later point. It has been argued in the scholarship of manuscript production that usual practice was for the main scribe to both write the manuscript and supply the decoration.⁵⁷²

⁵⁷⁰ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 111-13.

⁵⁷¹ Gobbitt, 'Audience and Amendment', pp. 15-17.

⁵⁷² Robinson, 'A Twelfth-Century *Sciptrix*', p. 76; De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen*, p. 33.

Palaeographic comparison between the majuscules used by the main scribe and the pen-drawn miniaturing is not possible due to the use of different scripts and production techniques for each.⁵⁷³ I have argued that the miniator and the main scribe were separate people, as is evident from the stratigraphy of the miniaturing in relation to the production and use of CCCC 383. That the two producers were different people is also implied by the presence of guide letters still present in the margins of fol. 68^v; the erasure and re-writing of the openings of text-block items by the hand 3b scribe prior to the miniaturing items being supplied; and the emendation of the text-block to insert additional sub-divisions into the text-block. Each of these examples could hypothetically have resulted if the main scribe first produced the text-block, and then returned to decorate the manuscript at a notably later date.

The change of *mise-en-page* in the I-II Cnut law-code on fol. 49^f, however, indicates that the main scribe and miniator were working on the manuscript at the same time and were in communication with each other. The sudden change in production style by the main scribe causes the *mise-en-page* of the law-code which begins with extended text-block items, with numerous erasures and emendations made by the miniator (fols 38^f to 48^v) and changes to a series of shorter text-block items, each with anticipated space for miniaturing (fols 49^f to 52^f). I have argued that this change could only have occurred in response to the miniator instructing (or negotiating with) the main scribe to alter his or her production technique, or for a third individual with supervisory authority over the two producers to demand the change be

⁵⁷³ The use of different inks by the miniator and by the hand 3a scribe for the rubrics indicates that these were two distinct phases in the manuscripts production. Whether or not they were performed by the same person using different inks is beyond reasonable conjecture, especially as the hand 3b scribe, the rubricator working in black ink, emended the text-block in anticipation of miniaturing which they could easily also have supplied.

implemented. In addition to accommodating shorter text-block items and the associated miniaturing, the change in production technique also increased the homogeneity of *mise-en-page* throughout the manuscript, in particular between I-II Cnut and the *Domboc* and its appendices which between them fill almost five of the seven extant quires of CCC 383.

The omission of the cattle-theft charm seems to reflect the changing recognition of its position in the legal context. A charm against cattle-theft was also included in the *Textus Roffensis* and its function in Anglo-Saxon law as a formal means of declaring that a theft has occurred has been widely discussed in the scholarship.⁵⁷⁴ The exclusion of the charm against cattle theft from CCC 383 by the miniator aligns the contents of the manuscript with the Latin translation contained in the various *Quadripartitus* manuscripts.⁵⁷⁵ *Gerefa* (Item No. 24), on the other hand, is fully decorated by the miniator in CCC 383 but was also excluded from the *Quadripartitus*, presumably also for being deemed inappropriate in a legal collection.⁵⁷⁶ The inclusion of *Gerefa* indicates, therefore, that either the miniator (or the person with supervisory authority over his or her work) felt that it was an appropriate inclusion in a manuscript of law-codes, or that the contents of the manuscript were deliberately intended to be broader and more encompassing.

⁵⁷⁴ Hollis, 'Old English "Cattle-Theft Charms"', pp. 155-59; Olsen, 'The Inscription of Charms', pp. 401-19; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 232.

⁵⁷⁵ The change in interpretation of the charm against cattle-theft to being a non-legal text has had repercussions throughout legal history and in modern scholarship. It is the only text copied by the main scribe in CCC 383 that Liebermann deemed extraneous to the remit of his *Gesetze* and, as a consequence, he chose not to include it in his edition. *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 232-42.

⁵⁷⁶ Liebermann's inclusion of *Gerefa* in his *Gesetze* may be the result of personal pride as much as a recognition of its legal import, as it was he who returned the text from obscurity to scholarly notice in 1886. *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, p. 252; Liebermann, 'Gerefa', pp. 251-66; Harvey, 'Rectitudines', pp. 3-4; Page, 'Gerefa', p. 214; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 387-89.

The omission of miniaturing on the additional items by the hand 2 scribe on the final surviving folio of CCCC 383 probably does not reflect their deliberate exclusion by the miniator. Unlike the charm against cattle theft, which is without pen-drawn initials and crossed through in red, neither the [*S*]cipmen list nor the WSG (Item Nos 25 and 26) have been crossed through. The most likely interpretation therefore is that the additional texts were added subsequent to the miniaturing of the hand 1 items. This potentially provides a terminus ante quem of s. xii^{2/4} on palaeographic grounds for the decoration of the manuscript. This must be tempered, however, in relation to the point on fol. 48^v where a hand 3a item postdates a hand 2 addition and the emendation on fol. 11^r where a hand 3b item predates the miniaturing. As with the combined additions and emendations by the hand 3 scribe, the work of the miniator is interwoven through the stratigraphy of CCCC 383, and he or she contributed in various forms through the production and use of the manuscript in the first half of the twelfth century. The main implication of the miniator's contribution to the manuscript, therefore, is that rather than being the output of a single individual, the production of CCCC 383 was through the efforts of a small group working in association with each other, updating his or her work to suit changing contexts of use yet striving to maintain the manuscript's underlying structure.

CONCLUSION

9.1 The need for a revised description of CCCC 383

The close codicological analysis that I have undertaken in this thesis has illuminated many aspects of the production and use of CCCC 383 in the first half of the twelfth century. My findings modify, update or overtly alter interpretations of the manuscript made in earlier scholarship and catalogue descriptions. I have critically questioned the assumption in the scholarship that CCCC 383 was primarily produced as a response to the specific legal and linguistic circumstances produced by the Norman Conquest of 1066.⁵⁷⁷ I have refuted Wormald's definition of the manuscript as a 'legal encyclopaedia',⁵⁷⁸ and suggested that the final two items copied by the main scribe, *RSP* and *Gerefa* (Item Nos 23 and 24), and the two additional items copied by the hand 2 scribe, [*S*]cipmen list and WSG (Item Nos 25 and 26) do not represent the manuscript context shifting from its predominantly legal theme. I have argued instead that these final four items are actively integrated into the *mise-en-page*,⁵⁷⁹ and thereby reflect the broader administrative focus of the manuscript: information required to be, or to oversee, a competent reeve.⁵⁸⁰

I have proposed narrower date ranges on palaeographic grounds for the main scribe and the hand 2 scribe than those currently accepted in the scholarship,⁵⁸¹ arguing that the main hand dates to s. xiiⁱⁿ and hand 2 to s. xii^{2/4}.

⁵⁷⁷ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 233-36; Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', pp. 181-87.

⁵⁷⁸ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 224-36.

⁵⁷⁹ Caie, 'The Manuscript Experience', p. 11; Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes*; Doyle, 'Recent Directions', p. 7; Derolez, 'The Codicology of Italian Renaissance Manuscripts', pp. 223-40; Maniaci, 'Words within Words: Layout Strategies', pp. 241-68.

⁵⁸⁰ Gobbitt, 'Audience and Amendment', pp. 18-21.

⁵⁸¹ Gesetze, ed. by Liebermann, I, p. xix; James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, II, 230; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 110-13; Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, p. 37; Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman*

I have also shown on palaeographic grounds that the previously unidentified emending scribe who altered the transition between *Hundred* and I Æðelred on fol. 11^r, ll. 9-11 (Item Nos. 3 and 4) is almost certainly that of the rubricator, the hand 3a scribe. I have identified one clear instance in CCCC 383 where two individuals, the main scribe and the miniator, directly communicated with each other and the main scribe changed the *mise-en-page* and production methods of the manuscript in response, on fol. 48^v in the II Cnut law-code (Item No. 10). I have demonstrated that the Old English phases of the manuscript's production dated throughout the first half of the twelfth century are entwined in the stratigraphy of the manuscripts production, as different items in specific hands can be shown to both predate and postdate items produced by other scribes. I have shown from the codicological evidence that CCCC 383 was produced by a small group of individuals working in conjunction with other.⁵⁸²

I have also argued on codicological grounds that CCCC 383 remained unbound throughout the first half of the twelfth-century. That the manuscript has existed as a series of unbound quires at some point can be deduced as the outer faces of each quire are notably more abraded than the inner faces – indicating that they had undergone a greater degree of exposure. That this period when the manuscript was unbound coincided with the first half of the twelfth century can be inferred from the red-inks used for the miniating and

England, p. 64; Lucas, '55. Cambridge Corpus Christi College 383', p. 74. I would once again like to acknowledge Elaine Treharne's invaluable guidance with the palaeographic dating of hands 1 and 3 of CCCC 383 (17 December 2009).

⁵⁸² This further demonstrates the validity of Maniaci's argument for the importance of codicological analysis of manuscripts as a means of arbitrating between theoretical hypotheses in light of the material possibilities of the manuscript evidence. Maniaci, 'Words within Words', p. 268. Without the stratigraphic evidence for the production of CCCC 383, the palaeographic dating of the hands would indicate only that the manuscript was produced in three distinct phases: by the main scribe in the first decade of the twelfth century, the hand 2 scribe's additions and emendations in the second quarter of the twelfth century and the hand 3 scribe's rubrication, additions and emendation at some point in the first half of the twelfth century.

the rubrication, and the patterns in which these inks offset onto facing pages.

The red inks are frequently offset between facing pages within a quire, but never between separate quires.⁵⁸³ The red ink does not appear to be water soluble, as it shows no sign of leaching in areas where the manuscript has suffered water damage,⁵⁸⁴ indicating that the offsetting can only have occurred when the ink was wet from first being applied. Although a feasible order of production could have been writing the text-block and addition of pen-drawn initials in each quire before binding the quires together, the rubrics are a relatively later addition to the manuscript but follow the same offsetting pattern. The manuscript remained unbound until, at the earliest, the point when all the rubrics had been added. However, as there are sixteenth-century additions in the margins that have been trimmed, it is quite feasible that the manuscript remained unbound until the sixteenth century.⁵⁸⁵

I have argued in this thesis that the use of CCCC 383 as a series of unbound quires is not indicative of an abnormal production technique, but is in accord with practices identified in the scholarship.⁵⁸⁶ Although CCCC 383 remained unbound throughout at least the first half of the twelfth century, I do not wish to suggest that that was the form in which the manuscript was intended to be used. The almost identical ruling grid and *mise-en-page* employed throughout the manuscript, coupled with the fact that the start or end of none of the items coincide with the divisions between quires lead me to argue that the

⁵⁸³ Gobbitt, 'Audience and Amendment', pp. 11-14.

⁵⁸⁴ The pigments of water soluble inks, such as the black ink used by the main scribe, run when exposed to water and leave a visible tide-line, as demonstrated in Chapter 3.

⁵⁸⁵ Gobbitt, 'Audience and Amendment', pp. 11-14.

⁵⁸⁶ Hobson, *English Binding*, p. 56; Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, p. 57; Robinson, 'The Booklet', p. 52; Gumbert, 'Codicological Units', pp. 26-28.

collection of law-codes and related texts were intended as a single unit from the outset.

I have concluded that the evidence for the production of CCCC 383 at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, which has changed from being a hypothetical suggestion to an accepted fact in the scholarship over the course of the last century,⁵⁸⁷ is tenuous at best. A distinct codicological difference between CCCC 383 and the regular pattern shared by each of the surviving St. Paul's manuscripts produced at the turn of the twelfth century, AUL 1, AUL 4, AUL 5 and AUL 9. Although palaeographic similarities can be drawn between the main hand of CCCC 383 and the main hand of AUL 9, the evidence is not compelling enough to argue that the scribes of the two manuscripts were trained and continued to work together. The addition of the [S]*cipmen* list to the final folio of CCCC 383 is suggestive of a connection between the manuscript and St Paul's cathedral. By the time the [S]*cipmen* list was added in to CCCC 383 some of the properties in it had already passed out of St Paul's ownership,⁵⁸⁸ so it cannot have been copied primarily for the direct administration of the estates it names.

The underlying framework within which I have produced this thesis has been that of the *Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220* project, which has clearly demonstrated the continued cultural relevance of Old English throughout the (long) twelfth century.⁵⁸⁹ From that perspective and from

⁵⁸⁷ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 230-34; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 112; *Charters of St Pauls, London* ed. by Kelly, pp. 192-201; *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, p. xix; James, *Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, II, 230-31; Lucas, 'Cambridge Corpus Christi College 383', p. 74.

⁵⁸⁸ Liebermann, 'Matrosenstellung', p. 17; *Charters of St Paul's*, ed. by Kelly, pp. 192-94.

⁵⁸⁹ 'The Production and Use of English Manuscripts', in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220* <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/index.html>> [Accessed 10 November 2010]; see also *Rewriting Old English*, ed. by Swan and Treharne.

close analysis of the *mise-en-page* of CCCC 383,⁵⁹⁰ I have identified numerous instances of scribal agency and competency in the production and use of the Old English law-codes and related texts in the manuscript. I have drawn heavily on the various published catalogues and analyses of the manuscript and have found them to be invaluable research tools in the production of this thesis. I believe, nevertheless, that it is important to collate my findings and interpretations of CCCC 383 and present here an updated and concise revised description of the manuscript.⁵⁹¹

9.1.1 A revised description of CCCC 383

CCCC 383 is a collection of Anglo-Saxon law-codes and related texts produced by a collective of at least three individuals working throughout the first half of the twelfth century. The text-block is written in a dark brown-black ink with red pen-drawn initials. The rubrics were not originally anticipated in the *mise-en-page* of the main text-block, but were subsequently added by the hand 3a scribe into the margins and empty line space.⁵⁹² The hand 3a scribe also provided a number of emendations and additions throughout the manuscript, using a notably scratchy quill. Numerous scribes from the twelfth century through to the nineteenth have also added additional items in Anglo-Norman and Latin. Identifying the exact number of items in the manuscript is problematic, as modern editorial practices divide the texts differently to the *mise-en-page* produced by the main scribe, which in turn differs to the divisions introduced by the hand 3a scribe's

⁵⁹⁰ Caie, 'The Manuscript Experience', p. 11; Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes*, pp. 127-45; Maniaci, 'Words within Words', pp. 241-68.

⁵⁹¹ See also my catalogue description of the manuscript for the *Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220* project, accessible through the 'List of Manuscripts', ed. by Swan and Treharne.

⁵⁹² This contrasts with Wormald's argument that most of the rubrics were anticipated, if not in the form they were actually produced, Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 235.

emendations and those of the miniator. Following modern editorial practices the texts are: II-III Edgar,⁵⁹³ *Be Blaserum*,⁵⁹⁴ *Forfang*, *Hundred*, I Æðelred, an Anglo-Norman poem,⁵⁹⁵ *Frið* (version 1), Ps.-Edward, II Æðelstan, *Domboc*,⁵⁹⁶ I-II Cnut,⁵⁹⁷ I-II Edward, I-II Edmund, *Swerian*, *Frið* (version 2), *Wifmannes*, *Wergild*, a charm against cattle-theft,⁵⁹⁸ *Hit Becwæð*, II Æðelred, *Dunsæte*, *RSP*, *Gerefa*, [S]cipmen list and WSG.⁵⁹⁹ From the estates listed in the [S]cipmen list, the manuscript may have been produced at St Paul's Cathedral, London, although the connection is tenuous at best. The *mise-en-page* and production of CCC 383 differ notably from other surviving manuscripts (AUL 1, AUL 4, AUL 5 and AUL 9) produced at the cathedral at about the same time.⁶⁰⁰

In its current form, the manuscript consists of seven original quires (Arabic numerals) bound together with two additional quires of the sixteenth century (labelled as 'A' and 'B'). A⁸, 1⁶, 2⁸ (wants 6), 3⁸, B¹⁰ (wants 8-10), 4⁸, 5⁸, 6⁸ (3 and 6 are half-sheets), 7⁸ (3 and 6 are half-sheets). CCC 383 is collated as i flyleaf + viii + 21 + vii + 32 + iii membranes. On the basis of textual contents, quire 1 originally followed quire 3 and at least one quire – possibly

⁵⁹³ In an additional quire dated palaeographically to the second half of the sixteenth century, Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 229.

⁵⁹⁴ This is the end of the item, it begins at the end of quire 3, following the *Domboc*.

⁵⁹⁵ This poem is added by a hand of s. xiii into space that was originally left empty in the text-block, James, *Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, II, 230.

⁵⁹⁶ The beginning of this item is no longer extant.

⁵⁹⁷ The beginning of I Cnut is in an additional quire dated palaeographically to the second half of the sixteenth century, Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 229.

⁵⁹⁸ This item has been scored through in a red ink that appears identical to that used by the miniator.

⁵⁹⁹ The final two items were added by the hand 2 scribe, dated palaeographically as s. xii^{2/4}. The *mise-en-page* implemented by the hand 2 scribe is identical to that used by the main scribe for the preceding items. Although space was left in the text-block for pen-drawn initials to be added, the miniaturing has not been supplied for either the [S]cipmen list or WSG, implying that the hand 2 scribe may have copied the items subject to the supply of pen-drawn initials to the manuscript.

⁶⁰⁰ James, *Manuscripts in the University Library Aberdeen*, pp. 1-13; Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 120; Ker, 'Books at St Paul's', pp. 209-11.

more – missing from each of: before quire 2; between quires 1 and 4 and; probably, following quire 7.

The writing support is parchment, probably from sheep.⁶⁰¹ The parchment has been carefully selected, with only a few discernible instances of damage predating the writing of the manuscript, such as the slit in the upper margin of fol. 55. Each of the original quires 1-5 appears to have been folded from a single larger sheet of parchment, while at least one of the half-sheets in both quires 6 and 7 must have come from a separate source.⁶⁰² The positioning of the bifolia in the quires respects the so-called rule of Gregory so that hair faces hair and vice versa in each opening,⁶⁰³ and the outer faces of each quire are the hair-side of the parchment.

The ruling grid throughout CCCC 383 consists of 26 long lines with single vertical bounding lines. The ruled area of the text-block is approximately 137 mm x 78 mm on each folio.⁶⁰⁴ Some variation is discernible in the lines that extend beyond the edges of the ruled space, presumably added for decorative purposes as they do not serve necessary, technical functions in the manuscript's production.⁶⁰⁵ The predominant pattern of extended ruling lines is for the first, third, antepenultimate and final lines to extend to the outer margins whilst the first, second third, antepenultimate, penultimate and final lines extend across the centrefold in quires 1 to 3 and only the first, third, antepenultimate and final lines in quires 4 to 7. As unique patterns of ruled lines that extend to

⁶⁰¹ Reed, *Ancient Skins*, pp. 129-30; Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, p. 9.

⁶⁰² De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen*, pp. 18-20; Gumbert, 'Fifty Years', p. 513; Ker, 'Elements of Medieval English Codicology', p. 246; Gilissen, *Prolégomènes à la Codicologie*, pp. 14-35; Gumbert, 'Skins, Sheets and Quires', p. 87.

⁶⁰³ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 33; Gilissen, *Prolégomènes à la Codicologie*, pp. 14-20; Brown, 'The Manuscript Book Before 1100', p. 186.

⁶⁰⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113.

⁶⁰⁵ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, pp. 37-39.

the margins or across the centrefold of the bifolium are found throughout the manuscript it can be demonstrated that each bifolium was ruled individually rather than multiple sheets being stacked atop each other and ruled simultaneously. While many prickmarks have been trimmed away throughout the manuscript, all those surviving are at the outer edges of the bifolia. The pricking is from the recto of each folio, indicating that each folio was pricked while folded in two, and it was undertaken with a tapered blade such as that of a knife.⁶⁰⁶ The ruling is consistently from the hair-side of the parchment throughout the manuscript, and must have been performed with each bifolium spread open. Pricking and ruling occurred before the quires were assembled. The manuscript contains no evidence that it was bound in the first half of the twelfth century and it was probably not first bound and trimmed until the sixteenth century. The manuscript was rebound in 1950.⁶⁰⁷ The current binding is white leather (alum-tawed pigskin from the Cambridge workshop of Desmond Shaw) and dates to 1991.⁶⁰⁸

The majority of the items in the text-block were copied by the main scribe (hand 1), dated on palaeographic grounds to s. xiiⁱⁿ. The script of the main scribe of CCC 383 can be categorised as English Vernacular Minuscule. The script is written with a set ductus, indicating that the manuscript was produced with display, or at least clarity of text, in mind. The script is quite regular, rounded and upright in aspect with descenders that are turned to the left, and numerous flourishes, particularly on the feet of the minims and on cross

⁶⁰⁶ Finlay, *Western Writing Implements*, p. 15.

⁶⁰⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113.

⁶⁰⁸ Lucas, '55. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383', p. 75,

strokes.⁶⁰⁹ The tops of the ascenders and minims are usually wedge-shaped, although occasionally the separation between the two strokes is further emphasised so as to be notched. The script uses insular minuscule < d >, < f >, < g >, < h > and < r > as well as using caroline, insular and round < s >, both < ð > and < þ >, the *tironian nota* and the < p > graph.

The < a > is caroline. The ascender of the < d > is much shorter and only just extends above the head line, to reach a similar position to the dot above the < y > which is occasionally present. The bowl of the < d > is notably smaller than the bowls of other hand 1 graphs, such as the < a >, < c >, < e > and < o > but is similar in size to that of the < ð >.⁶¹⁰ The cross-stroke of the < e > and in the < æ > is usually extended a notable distance to the right and often bites into the following letter.⁶¹¹ The tail of the insular < g > is s-shaped, rounded and open, the cross-stroke usually bites into the following letter.⁶¹² Caroline < s > is used predominantly throughout the manuscript, with the hook at the top of the ascender curling over, and sometimes biting into, the following graph. Occasional use of insular < s > and – rarer still – round < s > are also present. The shaft of the < t > never cuts through the cross-stroke. The left leg of the < x > ends in a curled flourish, and usually extends back beneath the preceding letter. < ð > is used preferentially over < þ >, and is similar in form and size to

⁶⁰⁹ The treatment of the feet of the minims indicates a date in the late eleventh century or later, Ker, *English Manuscripts*, p. 23.

⁶¹⁰ The use of the insular or round-backed < d > was used as a special letter form for vernacular scripts from the end of the tenth century and remains common in vernacular scripts throughout the tenth to twelfth centuries, although the ascender is usually more upright in manuscripts of s. xi compared to those of s. x and s. xii. In the latter of these centuries, the bowl of the < d > becomes smaller and more similar in size to the < ð >, indicating a date for the script in the eleventh or early twelfth centuries, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

⁶¹¹ The addition of a projection to the cross-stroke of the < e > becomes a distinctive feature of the graph when used for vernacular scripts, although this distinction diminishes notably in the twelfth century, indicating that the hand dates to the eleventh or early twelfth century, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

⁶¹² The open tailed form of insular < g > dominates in vernacular scripts of the eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries, and then becomes a closed loop, indicating a date in the first half of the twelfth century, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix; Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 35..

< d >, but more often with a longer ascender reaching to the same height or greater as the caroline < s > and the < þ > graph used for the abbreviation of < þæt >. The cross-stroke of the *tironian nota* is straight, and the shaft descends below the ruled line and tapers with a slight turn to the left at the end.⁶¹³

The main scribe wrote four lines in Latin throughout CCCC 383: the *Crux Christi* formula in the charm against cattle theft (Item No. 19) on fol. 59^r, ll. 13-16. Although the aspect of the script is similar, the main scribe consistently modified the production of the caroline < s > from the form he or she employed for the Old English. The consistent use of distinct graphs to distinguish between Latin and Old English indicates that the scribe was experienced at writing in both languages and at moving between them.

The hand 2 scribe uses an English Vernacular Minuscule script dated palaeographically to s. xii^{2/4}. As with the main hand, the script is written with a set ductus, and individual graphs are usually constructed from multiple pen strokes. The hand is reasonably regular in appearance, with large, rounded forms and a slight lean to the left noticeable in ascenders and descenders. The descenders are either straight or turned to the left although a small number end in a serif. The tops of the ascenders are usually notched in form, while the minims are wedge shaped. The script uses insular < d >, < f >, < g >, < h > and < r > as well as caroline < s >, the < þ > graph is employed predominantly rather than < ð >, and the scribe also uses the *tironian nota* < 7 > and the < p > graph.

⁶¹³ Early in the century the head-stroke is straight and the descender to the left slightly. Later into the century the head-stroke becomes wavy or 'cup-shaped' and with the curve to the left becoming more prominent. Finally, by the middle of the twelfth century, the descender rises to be above the ruled base line. This indicates that the hand is from early in the twelfth century, and is one of the most compelling diagnostic features due to the notable changes the graph undergoes throughout the century, Treharne, 'Production and Script', pp. 36-37; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxxii.

The < a > is caroline with a clear head stroke that sometimes curls back down towards the bowl. The ascender of the < d > is quite high, reaching to the height of the other ascenders in the script such as the < b >, < h > and caroline < s >. The bowl of the < d > is as large as the bowls of other letters such as the < a >, < c >, < e > and < o >. ⁶¹⁴ The cross-stroke of the < e > extends beyond the graph, but proportionately less far than in the main hand, and not usually biting the following letter. ⁶¹⁵ The cross-stroke on the < æ > is notably shorter. The tail of the insular < g > is s-shaped, although the end is flicked back upwards to almost close the lower bowl. ⁶¹⁶ The mid-point in the < h > is arched and the right shaft has an angular bend in the middle before sweeping left to a point sometimes underneath the graph and sometimes on the ruled base-line. Only caroline < s > is used. The top of the shaft of the < t > usually, but not always, cuts through the top of the cross-stroke. The cross-stroke of the *tironian nota* is sometimes an undulating line, and the bottom of the shaft extends below the ruled line before flicking back upwards towards the base line. ⁶¹⁷

The hand 2 scribe replicated the original *mise-en-page* used by the main scribe when adding the [S]*cipmen* list and the WSG to the final folio of CCCC 383. The hand 2 scribe, or somebody with supervisory control over his or her work, appears therefore to have understood these additions conceptually as being part of the same book – rather than simply being the opportunistic use of

⁶¹⁴ The bowl size and relatively upright aspect of the ascender would usually indicate an eleventh century rather than twelfth century date, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

⁶¹⁵ The less-pronounced protrusion on the cross-shaft indicates a date further into the twelfth century, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

⁶¹⁶ The closed bowl usually indicates a date in the second half of the twelfth century rather than the first although this trend is not exclusive, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix; Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 35.

⁶¹⁷ The cross-stroke indicates a date further into the twelfth century, while the shaft descending below the line indicates the first half of the twelfth century, taken together these indicate a date of around the second quarter of the twelfth century, Treharne, 'Production and Script', pp. 36-37.

available space. The fact that the WSG ends abruptly at the end of the final quire, implies that the hand 2 scribe may have intended to extend the manuscript further. The contents of the two additional texts strengthen the parallels between CCCC 383 and the *Textus Roffensis* which was produced at Rochester Cathedral at a similar date.⁶¹⁸ CCCC 383 may have (at least been intended to have) included a further collection of similar texts.

The hand 3a scribe provided emendations to the text-block and marginal additions in an English Vernacular Minuscule script and supplied the red-ink rubrics in a combination of Rustic Capitals and English Vernacular Minuscule. In the two instances, on fol. 11^r, l. 10 and on fol. 23^r, l. 6 where parts of the original text-block were erased and then rewritten by the hand 3b scribe, he or she attempted to mimic the aspect of the main hand and thereby produced a hybrid script form. Palaeographic analysis of the hand is hampered due to the compression of the items to fit into the available space, and the hand cannot be dated any more precisely than s. xii¹. The quill the hand 3a scribe used is quite scratchy throughout the manuscript – for the rubrics and especially for the marginal additions – implying that the scribe might not have prepared for extended stints of writing or with display in mind. The rubrics, however, do have occasional flourished elements such as the pronounced cross-stroke on the < e > and the pen-flicks on the feet of the minims. The hand 3a letter forms are small and rounded, with straight, upright ascenders and descenders. The tops of the minims and ascenders are wedge-shaped, and the descenders usually end in a sharp point, although for < f >, < p > and < b > they sometimes turn to the left. The script uses insular forms of < d >, < f >, < g >, < h > and < r > as

⁶¹⁸ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, pp. xxvi-xxviii; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 443; Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 147.

well as using caroline < s >, both < ð > and < þ >, the *tironian nota* and the < p > graph.

The < a > is headless and rounded with a steep upstroke that does not extend above the top of the bowl. A similar < a > is used in the < æ > graph, but with an upstroke that leans further to the left. The cross-stroke of the < e > extends a short distance beyond the edge of the bowl on the marginal additions but is far more pronounced for the rubrics.⁶¹⁹ This flourish is extended in the rubrics of the < æ > but not in the marginal additions. The ascender of the < d > is quite straight and reaches as high as the other ascenders, although the bowl is smaller than other graphs by the hand, apart from the < ð >.⁶²⁰ The < g > is insular, with an s-shaped descender that begins to the far left of the cross-stroke and has a completely closed lower bowl. Caroline < s > is used consistently by the hand 3a scribe in both the rubrics and the marginal additions. The left branch of the < y > curves downwards, but the curve is notably more pronounced on the rubrics. On the rubrics the descender of the < y > extends further and curves to the left, while on the marginal additions the shorter descender ends with a serif to the right. Finally, only the < y > for the rubrics is dotted. The scribe makes use of both < ð > and < þ >, although with a notable preference for the former when all the rubrics and marginal additions are taken together. The < ð > is of a similar size to the < d >, although the bowl is sometimes smaller and the ascender higher and, rather than being straight, has a more sinuous wave in comparison.

⁶¹⁹ The less-pronounced protrusion on the cross-shaft indicates a date further into the twelfth century, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

⁶²⁰ This is indicative of a twelfth century date, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix.

In stratigraphic terms the emendations and additions produced by the hand 3a scribe interweave the items produced by the other scribes and the miniator. The text-block emendations where the hand 3b scribe imitated the main hand clearly predate the miniaturing of the manuscript. A rubric in the left margin of fol. 48^v physically overlies a marginal addition made by the hand 2 scribe. As the change in *mise-en-page* that can be seen in the I-II Cnut law-code must have resulted from communication between the main scribe and the miniator it can be clearly demonstrated that the decoration of the manuscript was not the product of a phase or phases undertaken at a notably later date than the initial production.

The hand 3a and hand 3b scribes can be seen to have been present and influential across the various phases of the production of the manuscript throughout the first half of the twelfth century. CCCC 383, therefore, must either have been produced by one scribe who had been trained relatively earlier than the other collaborators with whom he or she worked, or the production of the manuscript was spread throughout the first half of the twelfth-century. These two options are, of course, not necessarily mutually exclusive. The total number of corrections made by the hand 3a scribe and the positioning of many of the items that he or she added to the manuscript give an impression that his or her contributions to the manuscript were marginal. Instead his or her contributions to the manuscript were fundamental to its production and emendation.⁶²¹

Through the alterations implemented by the hand 3a scribe, the *mise-en-page*,

⁶²¹ Treharne observes that scribes whose contributions appear minimal and idiosyncratic, can often prove to be highly significant and informative and may have held senior roles in the production of the manuscript. Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 25. I would suggest that this appears to be true of the miniator and of the hand 3 scribe in the production of CCCC 383, and may provide circumstantial evidence to suggest that the two were the same person.

textual, legal and manuscript contexts of CCCC 383 were updated and kept significant for an extended period throughout the first half of the twelfth century.

9.2 Production resources

CCCC 383 represented a significant investment on the behalf of the community or communities responsible for its production in the first half of the twelfth century. The consistent quality, texture, hue and thickness of the parchment throughout the manuscript are indicative of the expense and care given to its production, which in turn reflects on its significant status. I argued in Chapter 2 that each quire was probably produced from a single sheet of parchment, in turn derived from a single animal, most probably a sheep, which was slaughtered in a manner primarily intended for the production of parchment rather than as a by-product of another industry.⁶²² Assuming that the original manuscript had at least nine quires, of which only seven now survive, this implies that the skins of at least nine sheep were used in the production. Far more animals must have been slaughtered for the production of parchment as the consistent texture, thickness and hue implies that each was selected from a larger body of potential pieces.⁶²³ In contrast, the varying hues, textures, thicknesses, and so forth of the parchment used in AUL 9 emphasises how widely different parchments used for book production at the turn of the twelfth century could be.

⁶²² Reed, *Ancient Skins*, p. 127; Clarkson, 'Rediscovering Parchment', p. 81.

⁶²³ Presumably, the other pieces would not simply have been wasted but were instead employed for other uses. The reverse of this can be seen on the half-sheet in quire 6 (fol. 56) where the stub shows signs that the parchment, while still of comparable quality to the rest of CCCC 383, had previously been used for another purpose. From this it can be demonstrated that CCCC 383 was produced and used in a broader literate context, even if the manuscripts and documents still surviving are somewhat sparse. If the suggestion of St. Paul's Cathedral, London is accepted on speculative ground as the point of origin for CCCC 383 then the scarcity of surviving books has been previously noted, Ker, 'Books at St. Paul's Cathedral Before 1315', pp. 209-10; Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 120; *Charters of St. Pauls*, ed. by Kelly.

Wormald has argued convincingly that three mini-collections of law-codes were used as exemplars for the bulk of the surviving texts in CCCC 383.⁶²⁴ The remaining four items to which he does not directly refer – the *Frið* (version 1) and Ps.-Edward (Item Nos 5 and 6), II *Æðelstan* (Item No. 7) and I-II Cnut (Item Nos 9 and 10) – must have come from at least one, and probably more exemplars although there is no compelling evidence to suggest if any of the texts had travelled together. The additional items added by the hand 2 scribe onto the final folio, the [*S*]cipmen list (Item No. 25) and the copy of the WSG (Item No. 26), must also have been copied from manuscript exemplars. Whether these manuscripts were the property of the community, belonged to an individual or were on loan from an external source, at least three exemplars of Anglo-Saxon law-codes and related texts must be numbered amongst the resources available to the producers of CCCC 383.⁶²⁵

The community, therefore, had the necessary wealth, expertise and motivation to make or acquire a manuscript whose production costs must have been significant.⁶²⁶ The resources involved in the production and use of the manuscript are varied, and associate the manuscript with numerous contexts: time and labour to copy and decorate the book, the agricultural and/or mercantile economy needed to obtain the raw and/or already processed materials as well as the literate and legal contexts of the use of Old English law-codes and the social networks required to obtain the exemplars from which the

⁶²⁴ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 232-33.

⁶²⁵ Again this resonates with Treharne's discussion of the extent of networks and cooperation between scriptoria, and the maturity and competency of Old English textual copying in the twelfth century, Treharne, 'Production and Script', p. 39. R. M. Thomson also argues that in the rise of book production following the conquest, the various centres responsible were not working in isolation from each other but demonstrably communicated and exchanged exemplars and manuscripts, Thomson, 'The Norman Conquest and English Libraries', in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, ed. by Peter Ganz (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), pp. 27-40 (pp. 32-39).

⁶²⁶ Bischoff suggests that Anglo-Saxon manuscript production tended towards cowskin for ordinary manuscripts and sheepskin for more important items, although whether this is still applicable in the early twelfth century context is uncertain, Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 9.

law-codes were copied. The production and emendation of the manuscript also implies the presence of a network of users and locations in which it was both stored and used.

9.3 Production contexts

The main scribe who copied the original items in the text-block was clearly an experienced scribe, able to shift fluidly between Latin and Old English as demonstrated through the modifications he or she made to the form of the caroline < s > graph in the *Crux Christi* section of the charm against cattle theft (Item No. 19). The Late Vernacular Minuscule in which the main scribe copied the various law-codes and related texts is regularly executed throughout the manuscript, clearly legible and self-consciously written with decorative flourishes in the seriffing of graphs and in the treatment of ascenders and descenders.⁶²⁷

The *mise-en-page* produced by the main scribe and miniator is broadly homogeneous throughout the manuscript, implying that many (presumed) variations in the exemplars must have been adapted to fit the unified presentation and structure of CCCC 383. Underlying this regularisation of CCCC 383 is the introduction of a single ruling grid pattern (barring the change in the through-lines).⁶²⁸ The divisions and sub-divisions of the various items copied into the manuscript were presented using a regular system of text-block items, with space left by the main scribe for the supply of pen-drawn initials to introduce each.

⁶²⁷ For discussion of the significance of the visual aspect of writing as a means of conveying information regarding the text and manuscript contexts see Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes*, pp. 127-45.

⁶²⁸ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 113.

In this thesis I have analysed the *mise-en-page* of two areas of CCCC 383, the *Domboc* with appendices (Item Nos 8 and 1-4) and I-II Cnut (Item Nos 9 and 10), and this has allowed me to make explicit the underlying legal context of the production and emendation of the manuscript in relation to its exemplars. The indistinct divisions between the appendices of the *Domboc* – where *Be Blaserum* is run into *Forfang*, *Forfang* into *Hundred*, and, prior to the hand 3b emendation, *Hundred* into I *Æðelred* – have been taken by Wormald as indications of the main scribes inability to identify the divisions between texts in the exemplar he or she worked from.⁶²⁹ The presence of unclear divisions between the law-codes in the exemplar must indicate that the law-codes were not seen as independent items, but as undifferentiated parts of a larger aggregated whole. This redaction of law-codes into a single piece in the manuscript contexts of the exemplar for CCCC 383 must be indicative of the legal context in which that manuscript was produced and used.⁶³⁰ The association between these items must derive from the legal context in which the exemplars were used in the late Anglo-Saxon period and which was still applicable in the first-half of the twelfth century when CCCC 383 was produced.

I have argued that the I-II Cnut law-code was not sub-divided into numerous short text-block items in the exemplar from which it was copied. The emendations made by the miniator, by contrast, introduced numerous sub-divisions of the law-code into the *mise-en-page*. This was accomplished through erasure of graphs produced by the main scribe and emendation with pen-drawn initials, the highlighting of hand 1 graphs in red ink by the miniator and the addition of large and small red ink paraphs into the text-block. At some point

⁶²⁹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 232-35.

⁶³⁰ For discussions of the position of the *Domboc* in Anglo-Saxon legal culture see Chapter 5.

while the main scribe was writing fol. 49^r, the miniator and the main scribe (or possibly somebody with supervisory control over his or her work) communicated and the *mise-en-page* being produced in CCCC 383 was altered so that the copy of I-II Cnut was sub-divided into short text-block items, with space for anticipated pen-drawn initials from that point onwards. As well as demonstrating communication between the producers of CCCC 383 and the degree of scribal competency and adaptability of the main scribe, that this change in the manner of production serves to further homogenise the *mise-en-page* into a unified form. The sub-division of I-II Cnut becomes akin to the layout of text-block items in the *Domboc* and other items copied into CCCC 383.

Wormald argues that the final items copied by the main scribe, RSP and *Gerefa*, indicate a thematic departure from the main concerns of the manuscript, which he demonstrates with reference to the decision of the *Quadripartitus* compiler to include only RSP.⁶³¹ His discussion of the s. xii^{2/4} addition of the [S]*cipmen* list and WSG by the hand 2 scribe to the final folio of the manuscript (fol. 69) interprets them as later re-use of the manuscript.⁶³² I have suggested, instead, that these additions by the hand 2 scribe were understood by the scribe as being integral parts of the manuscript's context. The texts are not simply copied onto the available parchment. With the exception of using a brown ink rather than black, the hand 2 scribe replicates the *mise-en-page* of the main text-block: the ruling grid is respected with each line ending at the right vertical bounding line, and a two line indented space is provided for the addition of pen-drawn initials. The fact that the miniaturing was

⁶³¹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 233.

⁶³² Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 229-33.

not added indicates, in my opinion, that these two texts were copied into CCCC 383 after the initial production and decoration of the manuscript.

A question that must be considered is why, if the hand 2 scribe was simply making use of available space in an unrelated manuscript to make copies of a couple of unrelated texts, did he or she not extend the writing into the right margin at the end of each line (as the supplier of the French poem on fol. 12^r would do in the 13th century), or into the lower margin. The WSG instead truncates mid-sentence exactly at the end of the final line of the final folio of the final quire of the manuscript. I would argue that the most likely explanation is that at least one further quire following what is now the end of CCCC 383 was at the least intended, if not produced and now no longer extant. The two additional texts – a list of cathedral properties and the naval services they owed and a royal genealogy – allow more parallels to be drawn with the *Textus Roffensis*.⁶³³ Both manuscripts were produced in the first half of the twelfth century, and Wormald has argued that one layer of the corrections and emendations made to CCCC 383 bring it in line with textual variants in the *Textus Roffensis*.⁶³⁴

Whether the anticipated quire(s) following the end of CCCC 383 were ever actually produced remains uncertain and, I would imagine, unknowable. The production and use of CCCC 383 as a series of unbound quires throughout the first half of the twelfth century provides grounds for speculation. For CCCC 383 to have remained unbound was far from abnormal,⁶³⁵ one reason for it

⁶³³ Gesetze, ed. by Liebermann, I, pp. xxvi-xxviii; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 443; Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 147; *Textus Roffensis*, ed. by Peter Sawyer, I; Hough, 'Palaeographical Evidence', p. 57-79; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 244-55.

⁶³⁴ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 234.

⁶³⁵ I refer here to Hobson's observation 'that unbound manuscripts often reposed for years on the shelves of medieval libraries', which I discussed in Chapter 3. Hobson, *English Binding*, p.

being left unbound was that the producers of the manuscript were not yet satisfied with the number of quires and the range of contents that had been produced.⁶³⁶ From the shared *mise-en-page* between the hand 1 items and those items added by the hand 2 scribe, the latter were clearly intended to be part of the same book rather than the opportunistic use of empty parchment. Whether the hand 2 additions reflect a change in the legal and textual contexts of CCC 383 or were simply an extension of the original motif undertaken by a different, slightly later scribe is unclear. The adaptability shown by the main scribe and the emendations made by the miniator emphasise that the intentions underlying the production and use could change even as it was being made. In this thesis I have demonstrated that changing intentions in the production of CCC 383 can be identified in the *mise-en-page* and stratigraphy of the book, and instances of communication and social interaction between the producers and users can similarly be seen.

9.4 Production dates

On palaeographic grounds, the manuscript appears to have been produced and then emended in two discrete phases with the initial production occurring c. 1100-1110 and the subsequent emendation by the hand 2 scribe later into the century in the period 1125-1150.⁶³⁷ Through codicological analysis of the stratigraphy of CCC 383 I have been able to refine the date of production and emendation of the manuscript to an extended period of use by all three of the

56. While Lapidge' suggestion of book boxes rather than shelves should be taken into consideration, the principle remains the same, Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 61-62.

⁶³⁶ Referring to Gumbert's convincing suggestion that the 'scribe produces, in the course of the years, a number of small units, which are meant to be bound up eventually, but which remain, unbound, in a cupboard until the scribe is satisfied with their number', Gumbert, 'Codicological Units', pp. 27-28.

⁶³⁷ This follows the palaeographic dating of hand 1 to s. xiiⁱⁿ and those of hand 2 and hand 3 to s. xii^{2/4}, following the guidance given by Prof. Elaine Treharne and the dating criteria she outlines in Treharne, 'Production and Script', pp.35-38.

producing and emending scribes in and around the second quarter of the twelfth century.⁶³⁸ I have shown that the main scribe, the hand 3 scribe and the miniator interacted with each other at various points in the manuscript. That the miniator and the main scribe interacted has been clearly demonstrated in I-II Cnut (Item Nos 9 and 10). The hand 3b scribe emended the manuscript at the transition between *Hundred* (Item No 3) and I Æðelred (Item No 4) on fol. 11^r, ll. 9-11. He or she was probably also responsible for the emendation at the beginning of the laws of Ine in the *Domboc* (Item No 8) on fol. 23^r, l. 6. In each instance the emendation to the text-block must predate or be contemporary to the addition of the pen-work initials to the newly re-structured text-block items. I have also shown that in the left margin of fol. 48^v the red ink of a hand 3a rubric (Rubric No. 453) directly overlies the brown ink of an additional item supplied in hand 2 (Additional Item No. 155), indicating a clear relative stratigraphy. The work of the hand 3 scribe is therefore contemporary to the miniator who in turn is contemporary with the main scribe, dated palaeographically to s. xiiⁱⁿ. The hand 3 scribe must also postdate the hand 2 scribe, dated palaeographically as s. xii^{2/4}.

Two main interpretations for the production and use of the manuscript in the first half of the twelfth century therefore present themselves. The main scribe may have been trained at an earlier date or in an earlier style than the other two scribes and was either somewhat older than his or her contemporaries or at least had been trained to write at a relatively earlier date. The hand 3 scribe, alternatively, may have engaged with the manuscript

⁶³⁸ The applicability of stratigraphy in the archaeology of the book, and the analysis and description of manuscripts is well attested in the scholarship: Masai, 'Paléographie et Codicologie', p. 293; Gumbert, 'Codicological Units', p. 18; Lemaire, *Introduction à la Codicologie*, pp. 3-6; Doyle, 'Recent Directions', p. 7; Gumbert, 'Fifty Years', pp. 506-11; Maniaci, 'Words within Words', p. 242; Hodder,

sporadically over an extended period spanning from the first decade of the twelfth century through to the second quarter of the twelfth century. The interaction of multiple scribes and producers shows that the manuscript was worked on in phases, the production discussed on at least one occasion, and that access to the manuscript passed back and forth between them. The manuscript was used while it was being produced – possibly outdoors at times if the water-droplets on some of the folios are raindrops and date to the first half of the twelfth century.

What can be demonstrated is that the manuscript was read, used, interpreted and adapted. It formed a focal point for a group of three users who returned to writing and emending it on numerous occasions. When the manuscript was being produced, the *mise-en-page* of the exemplars were deliberately modified to re-present the law-codes and related texts in a homogeneous form. The producers communicated and consequently altered that *mise-en-page* while they were producing it; the cattle-theft charm that was originally incorporated was subsequently struck out as being no-longer relevant to the manuscript context,⁶³⁹ while other texts – the [S]*cipmen* list and the WSG – were added in to extend the focus and context of the manuscript. The texts initially copied by the main scribe revolve around the duties and knowledge required to be or to oversee a competent reeve.⁶⁴⁰ The later additions and emendations do not disrupt this context of use, but do align the contents with the *Textus Roffensis* that was being produced in Rochester also in the second

⁶³⁹ Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 232-42; Hollis, 'Old English "Cattle-Theft Charms"', pp. 155-59; Olsen, 'The Inscription of Charms', pp. 401-19.

⁶⁴⁰ Gobbitt, 'Audience and Amendment', pp. 18-21.

quarter of the twelfth century.⁶⁴¹ The various legal and administrative interests therefore go beyond the context of a single manuscript, but can be seen to extend into the broader legal and manuscript contexts of the first half of the twelfth century.⁶⁴²

9.5 CCCC 383 and the use of Old English in the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries

In previous scholarship the main-scribe's ability to understand Old English has been questioned and, without supplying evidence for the grounds on which the assertion was made, the notion of the orthography and word-division reflecting changes to the Old English language in the twelfth century dismissed.⁶⁴³ The evidence of the manuscript, however, is that the emendations are not just correcting copying errors against the exemplars, but also that updating is occurring. As discussed in Chapter 6, an unidentifiable hand added a diacritic to the word < name > on fol. 42^v, l. 18 in the main text-block. The diacritic indicates the length of the vowel, and is therefore primarily a reading aid rather than necessarily indicating a change in pronunciation between the copying of the manuscript and the subsequent, but unfortunately undatable, emendation. However, when the rubrics were added into the left margin adjacent to the text block, hand 3a identified this section of the text-block with the words < Be nááme > (Rubric No. 124) in which it can be seen that the < a > was doubled and that the diacritic marks are in the same ink. In this instance the updating of

⁶⁴¹ Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law*, pp. 20-25; Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', pp. 184-86; Wormald, 'Laga Eadwardi', pp. 243-66; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 244-53.

⁶⁴² For discussions of the manuscript and legal contexts see Richards, 'Manuscript Contexts', pp. 171-92; Wormald, *The Making of English Law*.

⁶⁴³ Wormald cites an unpublished paper of Page, in which it was suggested that the orthography and word division represent the updating of the language, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 233-34.

the orthography and language of the main text-block during the rubrication of the manuscript can be clearly seen. As the rubrics are embedded in association with the text-block throughout the manuscript, and many do not have an (extant) manuscript tradition,⁶⁴⁴ it remains possible that they were drafted by the rubricator (or by somebody with supervisory control over their work) specifically for the updating of CCCC 383. If the plethora of emendations made to CCCC 383 are seen, as Wormald argued, as corrections made to the main-scribes 'forest of blunders', then they still indicate users of the manuscript who understood the Old English language well enough to correct the errors they found. If the suggestions that the emendation reflects the updating of the contents, as I have suggested on the basis of the clear scribal agency discernible in the original *mise-en-page* that the manuscript was produced then a broader, changing significance of Old English can be identified. The collation of the text-block items, rubrics, additions and emendations, and the linguistic analysis of their production and transmission in their manuscript contexts, forms an important area for future research into the production and use of CCCC 383, for which the appendices of this thesis will form an important starting point.

The production and use of *mise-en-page* in CCCC 383 also indicates the continued significance of the Old English language and texts copied in the manuscript. The two items added onto the final folio of the manuscript (the [S]*cipmen* list and the WSG (fol. 69; Item Nos 25 and 26) copied by hand 2 both respect the bounding lines of the ruling grid already produced on the folio. Each of the items is also produced with the first two lines indented and the opening

⁶⁴⁴ The rubrics in the *Domboc* (Item No. 8, Rubric Nos 8-113) are part of the *Capitula*, usually copied at the beginning of the law-code, but here, unique to CCCC 383, copied in association with each section of the law-code. Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 231-35; *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, pp. 51-123.

graph omitted in anticipation of the subsequent supply of miniaturing. The space left for the initials is identical to that used by the main scribe in the earlier parts of the manuscript, and I have firmly suggested that this indicates that the later scribe was deliberately expanding the manuscript rather than simply utilising available space. The expansion of the manuscript context while maintaining the *mise-en-page* indicates that the underlying unity of the book (whether or not the quires were bound together by this point) was central to the intentions of its producers and users. It also indicates that the Old English texts contained within it were deemed of continued significance. Richards description of CCCC 383 as 'plain [and] seemingly intended as a reference work',⁶⁴⁵ reflects the practical use for which the book was intended, which in turn indicates users who were literate in Old English and able to competently write, read, emend and expand the manuscript in response to the shifting cultural contexts in which they lived.

The focus of this thesis has been on the codicological analysis of CCCC 383, and using the material evidence to elucidate the stratigraphy of the manuscript's production and use in the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth century. The textual and linguistic analysis of the production and emendation of the Old English texts contained in the manuscript have been beyond the remit of this thesis, but, nevertheless, the findings of this thesis reflect upon them. The material evidence in the manuscript, the production of a homogenous *mise-en-page* throughout and the scribal agency evident in the emendation and rubrication of the contents indicate the significance of the manuscript, and the language it was written in, to its producers and users. From the detailed stratigraphy of the manuscript it can be shown that a small group of people demonstrably interacted with the manuscript, the various Old English items it

⁶⁴⁵ Richards, 'The Manuscript Contexts', p. 181.

contained and, occasionally, each other. The continued significance of Old English and its applicability to that group of people in the first half of the twelfth century underlies the phases of production and emendation of CCC 383 and the changing contexts in which the manuscript was used.

As was discussed in the introduction of this thesis, a shift in attitude to the role of Old English in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries has been discernible in the scholarship.⁶⁴⁶ The *Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220* project, under whose auspices this thesis has been produced, has demonstrated the continuing significance of Old English in this period and beyond.⁶⁴⁷ The surviving manuscripts comprise both manuscripts newly made in the period and other, older manuscripts that have had further texts added into available space in the text-blocks, interlinear positions and the margins.⁶⁴⁸

Through this thesis I have argued that CCC 383 belongs in all of these categories: the manuscript was produced early in the twelfth-century, as a collection of law-codes and related texts copied in Old English and then, throughout the following half-century, had additional items added onto the final folio and numerous emendations and additions added to the text-block, interlinear and marginal spaces. The scribal agency underlying CCC 383 is embedded in numerous contexts: the location(s) where the manuscript was

⁶⁴⁶ Treharne, 'Dates and Origins', Swan and Treharne, 'Introduction', pp. 1-10; Irvine, 'Compilation and Use', pp. 41-61; p. 244; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. xviii-xix; Pelteret, *Catalogue*, pp. 34-43; Doyle, 'Recent Directions', pp. 6-7; Thomson, *Books and Learning*, pp. 1-5; Da Rold, 'English Manuscripts', p. 750; Da Rold, 'EM in Context'; Kate Wiles, 'Charters and Cartularies, 1060-1220', in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts, 1060 to 1220*, ed. by Swan and Treharne <http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/culturalcontexts/2_Charters.htm> [Accessed 14 November 2010].

⁶⁴⁷ 'List of Manuscripts', ed. by Swan and Treharne. The project has identified over two-hundred manuscripts containing Old English produced between the late eleventh and early thirteenth centuries, and has catalogued a vast majority of them.

⁶⁴⁸ Da Rold, 'EM in Context'; 'List of Manuscripts', ed. by Swan and Treharne; Irvine, 'Compilation and Use', pp. 41-61.

produced, perhaps St. Paul's Cathedral, London although the evidence remains circumstantial; the need for a working reference collection of Anglo-Saxon law-codes and related texts in their original language; and the need to adapt and expanded this book and its contents throughout the following half-century. All of this evidence combines to emphasise the continued significance of Old English throughout the late-eleventh and first half of the twelfth-centuries, at the location where CCC 383 was produced and used. The other manuscripts containing Old English identified by the *Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220* project, indicate that the continued applicability of Old English was not constrained to this manuscript alone.⁶⁴⁹ Within the late-eleventh to early-thirteenth century manuscripts identified by the project, those containing copies of Anglo-Saxon law-codes emphasise that, just as the language had not become obsolete neither had the law. The codicological findings of this thesis will form the basis for future research into the adaptation of the law-codes as written texts throughout the period and the changing legal-contexts that comprises, the collation of law-codes between the extant manuscripts, the codicological investigation of those manuscripts and it will underlie the close analysis of the changes in Old English and, particularly, Old English legal language throughout the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries.

9.6 Future Work

As well as producing detailed material and contextual codicological analyses of CCC 383, this thesis provides a starting point for further research into a number of fundamental areas of study and methodological development. Further work to be undertaken on the manuscript includes the linguistic, literary

⁶⁴⁹ Da Rold, 'EM in Context'; 'List of Manuscripts', ed. by Swan and Treharne

and legal analysis of the copying and use of the texts in their various contexts. These forms of analysis can only be performed meaningfully in relation to the material and visual contexts of production and use detailed above. The methodologies I have employed to analyse CCCC 383 in this thesis merit further development and refinement. By applying the methodology of context-recording and the representation of stratigraphic relationships through adapted Harris Matrices to a wider range of manuscripts,⁶⁵⁰ this methodology can be further adapted to the codicological analysis of the production, emendation and use of texts in their *mise-en-page* and manuscript contexts.⁶⁵¹

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the two threads just outlined and the research focus of this thesis can be combined in the material and contextual codicological analysis of all the manuscripts containing Old English and Latin copies of Anglo-Saxon law-codes. This detailed analysis should begin with the other manuscripts produced in the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth century, as outlined in the Introduction. Analysis of these will allow the production and use of law-codes and related texts in their manuscript contexts to be made more explicit and presented in relation to the broader legal and administrative contexts. This analysis will also permit further insight into the physical production of books and the communities and individuals involved, as well as exploring the development and interaction of languages, law and

⁶⁵⁰ For the archaeological uses of Harris Matrices see: Harris, *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy*, pp. 86-99 and Hodder, *The Archaeological Process*, pp. 108-12.

⁶⁵¹ This research fits in with the agendas of contemporary codicological scholarship. for example, the key objectives for Erik Kwakkel's new project *Turning over a New Leaf: Manuscript Innovation in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* state that it will investigate 'the relationship between the physical appearance of twelfth-century Latin manuscripts and the works they contain'. To do this Kwakkel poses the questions 'whether certain texts or text genres tend to be found in manuscripts with certain codicological or palaeographical features [...] do certain texts come with particular physical traits [and do they] evolve over time within certain texts or genres?', Kwakkel, 'VIDI Project "Turning over a New Leaf: Manuscript Innovation in the Twelfth Century Renaissance"', in *Universiteit Leiden: Institute for Cultural Disciplines* <<http://www.hum.leiden.edu/icd/research/news/vacancies.html>> [Accessed 10 June 2010].

administration in the twelfth century. A particularly useful means of illustrating the adaption of the *mise-en-page* and book production over time would be to undertake case-studies of the similarities and variations in the surviving manuscript witnesses of specific law-codes. It will also create a venue for examining and unpacking the notions of legal continuity versus revolution that are so often central to scholarship on the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth century.

9.7 Findings of this thesis

Manuscript copies of Old English texts produced in the twelfth century deserve detailed examination in their own right.⁶⁵² This thesis contributes further weight to the arguments against the clearly outdated interpretations of Old English as a language suffering a rapid decline in use as texts ‘slipped out of intelligibility’ and ‘the long continuity of Old English as a language finally broke’,⁶⁵³ in the period following 1100.⁶⁵⁴ Through undertaking close codicological analysis of CCC 383 I have made contributions to the scholarship on the manuscript and its role in the understanding of the immediate, meaningful and deliberate use of Old English copies of Anglo-Saxon law-codes in the first half of the twelfth century.

I have applied comprehensive descriptions of general palaeographic dating features for vernacular scripts in the twelfth century,⁶⁵⁵ to the scribal

⁶⁵² Treharne, ‘Dates and Origins’, p. 244); Doyle, ‘Recent Directions’, pp. 6-7; Da Rold, ‘English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220’, p. 750.

⁶⁵³ Lawrence, ‘Reviewed Work: *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*’, p. 418.

⁶⁵⁴ For an overview see Georgianna, ‘Coming to Terms with the Norman Conquest’, p. 43; ‘List of Manuscripts’, ed. by Swan and Treharne; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. xviii-xix; Pelteret, *Catalogue of English Post-Conquest Vernacular Documents*, pp. 34-43; Swan and Treharne, ‘Introduction’, pp. 1-4; Treharne, ‘Dates and Origins’, p. 228; Treharne, ‘Production and Script’, pp. 11-13; Thomson, *Books and Learning*, pp. 1-5.

⁶⁵⁵ Treharne, ‘Production and Script’, pp. 35-40.

hands of CCCC 383. From this it has been possible to refine the dating of two of the three hands more closely than had been done previously in the scholarship: hand 1 from s. xi/xii to s. xiiⁱⁿ and hand 2 from s. xii¹ to s. xii^{2/4}.⁶⁵⁶ I have also developed strong methodological practices for the codicological analysis of manuscripts, drawing on practical responses from field-archaeology to the complexities of recording and presenting the archaeological data of artefacts and sites and the interrelationship of contexts and stratigraphy. By combining the palaeographic dates with the stratigraphy of the manuscript's production and use I have demonstrated that CCCC 383 was produced by a collective of individuals working at the same time and that the miniator and the hand 3 scribe – who may possibly have been the same person – either had supervisory control over the manuscript's production and emendation or were implementing the requirements of a supervisor who left no identifiable direct trace on the manuscript.

Beyond being a case study of a unique manuscript, the revising of the methods and contexts of production of CCCC 383 outlined in this thesis has broader implications for the study of legal practice, book history and Old English in the twelfth century. I have demonstrated that CCCC 383 was produced and used as a series of unbound quires throughout at least the first half of the twelfth century, and that the quires may have been actually bound into codex form until the sixteenth century. This is not to argue that the original producers did not anticipate the manuscript becoming a codex at some point; the continuation of items across quire boundaries and the deliberate imposition of an (almost) homogenous ruling pattern and *mise-en-page* to the originally

⁶⁵⁶ I would again like to acknowledge Elaine Treharne's direct guidance and invaluable conversations on this matter.

diverse contents clearly indicate that the material units were produced and considered as a single, conceptual piece. The codicological evidence from CCCC 383 demonstrates that the manuscript fits into the model of production discussed by Hobson where quires are produced individually, stored and used as required and the actual binding of the codex may not occur until decades or even centuries later.⁶⁵⁷ Where the manuscript was actually stored in its unbound state throughout the first half of the twelfth century remains unknown, but Lapidge's argument for the storage of manuscripts in book chests is convincing.⁶⁵⁸ Loose storage in a book chest would also provide an evocative context for the wear and tear on the outer faces of the quires and for the quires to have become disordered as they were taken and returned as need arose, although this of course can only be speculation.

The production and use of CCCC 383, then, was an ongoing process that involved numerous people updating, reflecting, communicating and emending the idea and the execution throughout the first half of the twelfth century. The changes in *mise-en-page* made by erasure and emendation, addition of miniaturing and rubrics as well as other alterations and additions to the text-block cannot simply be dismissed as correcting initial mistakes made by the scribe.⁶⁵⁹ The *mise-en-page* and context of the Anglo-Saxon law-codes as originally copied and emended in the manuscript are frequently compressed in Liebermann's *Gesetze* into homogenous texts, despite his (erroneous) belief that the emendations dated to the sixteenth century.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁷ Hobson, *English Binding*, p. 56.

⁶⁵⁸ Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 61-62.

⁶⁵⁹ For example, Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 233-36.

⁶⁶⁰ *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I.

I have shown that the original production of CCCC 383 was undertaken with deliberate scribal agency to produce a carefully structured and meaningful text. Rather than simply correcting errors, the later emendations in their various forms update the contents of the manuscript to suit the needs of different scribal and legal agencies and contexts. The division between production and use for CCCC 383 in this period is blurred, and this re-emphasises that the re-contextualising of texts occurred in every instance where they were read, stored, added to, annotated, emended and made applicable to the broader textual, legal and perhaps also personal contexts within which the manuscript was embedded.

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APPENDIX A: QUIRE STRUCTURES OF CCCC 383

Duplicate copies of figures presenting the structure of CCCC 383. Figure 1.1 shows the quires and foliation of CCCC 383 in its current form, while Figure 1.2 shows a reconstructed quire diagram for the manuscript as originally produced (with missing quires identified, and out of position quires returned to their original locations).

Figure 2.2 is a duplicate copy of the codicological quire plan of each of the seven original quires showing the construction of quires, folio numbers, relation of folios to bifolia, locations of half-sheets and missing folios, as well as indicating the hair and flesh sides of the parchment.

	A ¹⁰ lacks 10	1 ⁶	2 ⁸ lacks 6	3 ⁸	B ¹⁰ lacks 8-10	4 ⁸	5 ⁸	6 ⁸ 3 & 6 are half-sheets	7 ⁸ 3 & 6 are half-sheets	
	fol 1-9	fol 10-15	fol 16-22	fol 23-30	fol 31-37	fol 38-45	fol 46-53	Fols 54-61	fol 62-69	
ii flyleaves	ix	21			vii	32				ii flyleaves

Figure 1.1 Quires and foliation of CCCC 383 in its current form.

At least one quire, possibly more, now missing.	2 ⁸	3 ⁸	1 ⁶	At least one quire, possibly more, now missing.	4 ⁸	5 ⁸	6 ⁸ 3 & 6 are half- sheets	7 ⁸ 3 & 6 are half- sheets
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Figure 1.2 Re-construction of original quire order (s. xi/xii)

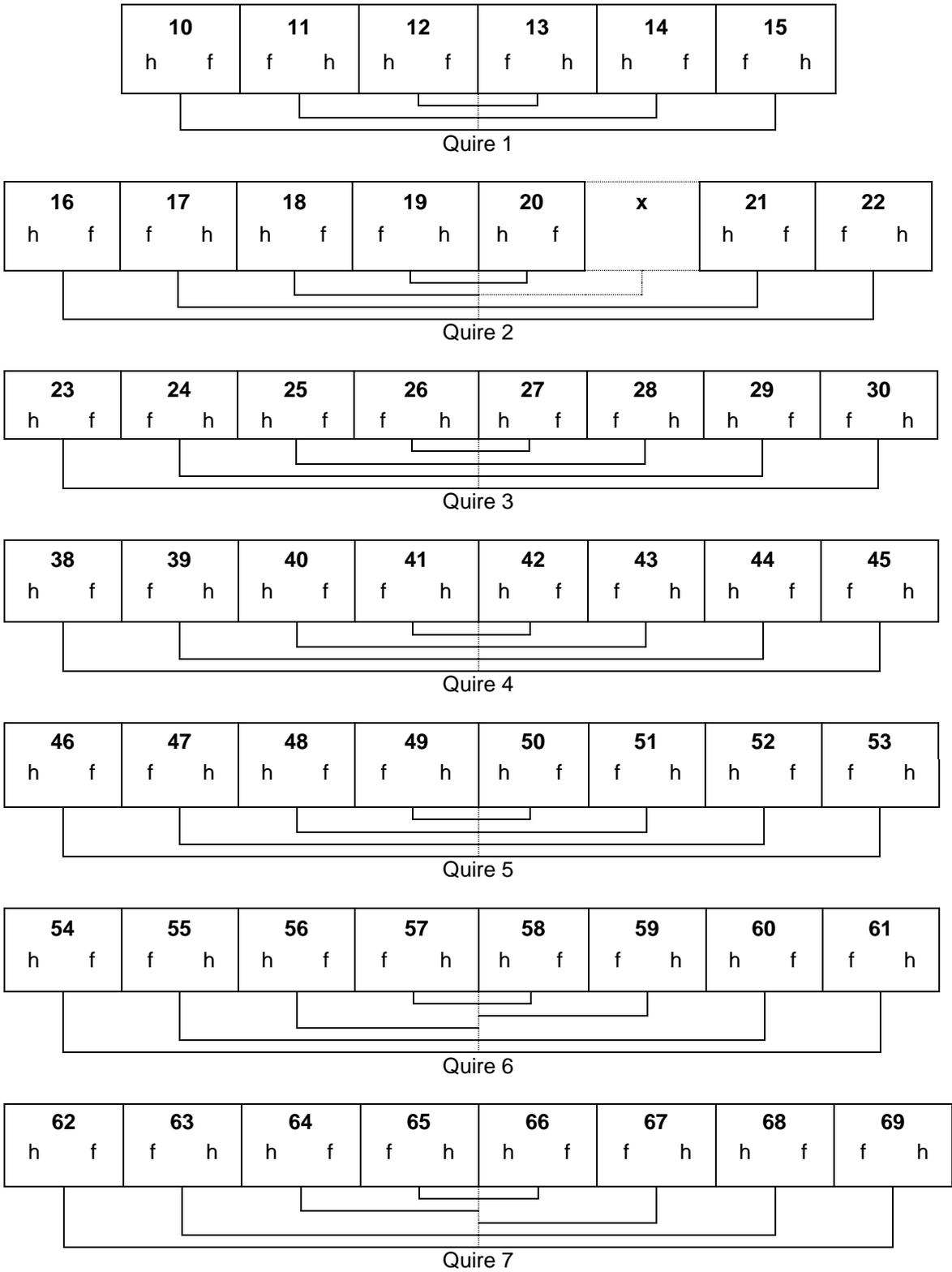


Figure 2.2 Diagram of quires in CCCC 383.

APPENDIX B: UV/VIS STUDY OF INKS

Duplicate copies of Tables 3.1 to 3.4, which present the UV/VIS comparisons of the features of the different inks used throughout CCCC 383

Aspect		Main Hand	Hand 3b
Colour	VIS	Very dark-brown/black	Very dark-brown/black
	UV	Very dark-brown/black	Very dark-brown/black
Fluorescence	VIS	Dark, slightly glossy	Dark, slightly glossy
	UV	Dark	Dark
Texture	VIS	Smooth	Smooth
	UV	Slightly Granular	Slightly Granular
Transparency	VIS	Opaque	Opaque
	UV	Opaque	Opaque
Homogeneity	VIS	Constant	Constant
	UV	Constant	Constant

Table 3.1 UV/VIS study of the main (hand 1) and hand 3b scribes' inks.

Aspect		Hand 2	Hand 3a
Colour	VIS	Light brown to brown	Brown
	UV	Dark brown/grey	Dark-brown/black
Fluorescence	VIS	Moderate	Dark
	UV	Dark	Dark
Texture	VIS	Slightly granular	Slightly granular
	UV	Smooth	Smooth
Transparency	VIS	Partial	Partial
	UV	Partial	Partial
Homogeneity	VIS	Constant	Constant
	UV	Constant	Constant

Table 3.2 UV/VIS study of the hand 2 and hand 3a scribes' inks.

Aspect		Miniaturing	Rubrics	Pagination
Colour	VIS	Orange red to deep red	Faded orange to red	Ruddy-brown
	UV	Dark-brown, red hint	Orange	Grey, slightly brown
Fluorescence	VIS	Strong to bright	Bright	Moderate
	UV	Dark	Dull	Dull
Texture	VIS	Smooth	Granular	Reasonably smooth
	UV	Smooth	More Granular	Course
Transparency	VIS	Partial	Very	Partial
	UV	Opaque	Opaque	Partial
Homogeneity	VIS	Darker patches	Darker patches	Constant
	UV	Constant	Darker patches	Constant

Table 3.3 UV/VIS study of red inks used for miniaturing, rubrics and pagination

Aspect		Paraphs	Highlighting	Strike-through
Colour	VIS	Orange red to deep red	Orange red to deep red	Orange red to deep red
	UV	Dark-brown, red hint	Dark-brown, red hint	Dark-brown, red hint
Fluorescence	VIS	Strong to bright	Strong to bright	Strong to bright
	UV	Dark	Dark	Dark
Texture	VIS	Smooth	Smooth	Smooth
	UV	Smooth	Smooth	Smooth
Transparency	VIS	Partial	Partial	Partial
	UV	Opaque	Opaque	Opaque
Homogeneity	VIS	Darker patches	Darker patches	Darker patches
	UV	Constant	Constant	Constant

Table 3.4 UV/VIS study of red inks used for emendations.

**APPENDIX C: SAMPLE ALPHABETS OF SCRIBAL HANDS OF CCCC 383
DATING TO THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY**

Duplicate copies of sample alphabets for the main scribe (hand 1) and the emending scribes of the first half of the twelfth century. Note that, while I have tried to choose reasonably representative graphs for each letter, the selection is ultimately arbitrary, as is the spacing between the graphs.



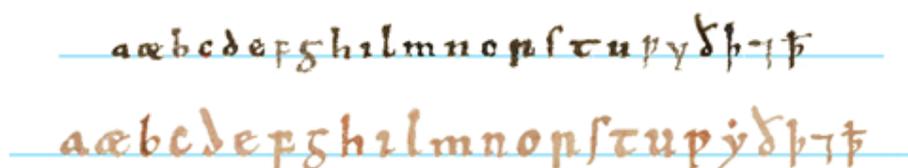
A sample alphabet of hand 1 in black ink, showing the letters a, æ, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, v, x, y, ð, þ, ʒ, ʃ. The letters are written in a Gothic minuscule style on a blue line.

Figure 4.1: Sample alphabet images of hand 1 (s. xiiⁱⁿ) minuscule forms, from fols 10^r, 19^v and 69^r



A sample alphabet of hand 2 in brown ink, showing the letters a, æ, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, v, p, y, þ, ʒ. The letters are written in a Gothic minuscule style on a blue line.

Figure 6.2: Sample alphabet images of hand 2 (s. xii^{2/4}) minuscule forms, from fol. 69^r



Two rows of sample alphabet images of hand 3a in brown ink. The top row shows the letters a, æ, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, v, y, ð, þ, ʒ. The bottom row shows the letters a, æ, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, v, y, ð, þ, ʒ. The letters are written in a Gothic minuscule style on a blue line.

Figure 6.3: Sample alphabet images of hand 3a (s. xii¹) additions from fols 10^r, 12^r, 20^r, 24^r and 43^v (above) and rubrics, from fols 24^r, 26^v, 27^r and 28^r (below)



A sample alphabet of hand 3b in black ink, showing the letters a, æ, c, d, e, g, i, l, n, p, r, s, u, þ. The letters are written in a Gothic minuscule style on a blue line.

Figure 7.1: Sample alphabet images of hand 3b (s. xi¹) minuscule forms, from fol. 11^r

APPENDIX D: TEXTS IN CCCC 383

Duplicate copy of Table 1.1, listing the twelfth-century Old English contents in the main text-block of CCCC 383. 'Quire' denotes which quire(s) the item is copied into, and 'Length' the number of lines the item occupies.

No	Item	Location	Quire	Length
8	<i>Domboc</i>	16 ^r , l. 1 – 30 ^v , l. 19.	2-3	825
1	<i>Be Blaserum</i>	30 ^v , ll. 20-26. & 10 ^r , ll. 1-3.	3, 1	10
2	<i>Forfang</i>	10 ^r , ll. 3-19.	1	19
3	<i>Hundred</i>	10 ^r , l. 19 – 11 ^r , l. 9.	1	43
4	I Æðelred	11 ^r , l. 10 – 12 ^r , l. 20.	1	63
Fr	[French poem], (s. xiii)	12 ^r , ll. 21-26.	1	6
-	[1 line originally blank]	12 ^v , l. 1	1	1
5	<i>Frið</i> , v. 1	12 ^v , ll. 2-26.	1	25
6	Ps.-Edward	13 ^r , l. 1 – 14 ^v , l. 24.	1	102
7	II Æðelstan	14 ^v , l. 25 – 15 ^v , l. 26.	1	54
9	I Cnut	38 ^r , l. 1 – 40 ^r , l. 21.	4	125
10	II Cnut	40 ^r , l. 22 – 52 ^v , l. 1.	4-5	630
-	[7 lines originally blank]	52 ^v , ll. 2-8	5	7
11	I Edward	52 ^v , l. 9 – 53 ^v , l. 2.	5	35
12	II Edward	53 ^v , l. 3 – 54 ^v , l. 2.	5-6	52
-	[1 line originally blank]	54 ^v , l. 3	6	1
13	I Edmund	54 ^v , l. 4 – 55 ^r , l. 6.	6	29
14	II Edmund	55 ^r , l. 7 – 56 ^r , l. 11.	6	57
15	<i>Swerian</i>	56 ^r , l. 12 – 57 ^r , l. 14.	6	54
-	[2 lines originally blank]	57 ^r , ll. 15-16	6	2
16	<i>Frið</i> , v. 2	57 ^r , l. 17 – 57 ^v , l. 23.	6	33
17	<i>Wifmannes</i>	57 ^v , l. 24 – 58 ^v , l. 4.	6	33
-	[1 line originally blank]	58 ^v , l. 5	6	1
18	<i>Wergild</i>	58 ^v , l. 6 – 59 ^r , l. 6.	6	12
19	[Cattle charm]	59 ^r , ll. 6-20.	6	15
20	<i>Hit Becwæð</i>	59 ^r , l. 21 – 59 ^v , l. 16.	6	22
21	II Æðelred	59 ^v , l. 17 – 62 ^r , l. 2.	6-7	116
22	<i>Dunsæte</i>	62 ^r , l. 3 – 63 ^r , l. 26.	7	76
23	<i>RSP</i>	63 ^v , l. 1 – 66 ^v , l. 23.	7	179
24	<i>Gerefa</i>	66 ^v , l. 24 – 69 ^r , l. 14.	7	121
25	[S]cipmen, (hand 2)	69 ^r , l. 15 – 69 ^v , l. 2.	7	14
26	WSG, (hand 2)	69 ^v , l. 3-26.	7	24

APPENDIX E: ORIGINAL TEXT-BLOCK ITEMS OF CCCC 383, S. XII^N

The following table presents the ‘text-block items’ as produced by the main scribe (hand 1) of CCCC 383. Each text-block item is enumerated under ‘No.’ for cross-reference in the thesis and with other tables. ‘Location’ identifies the first and final folio and line of the text-block item. ‘Law-code(s)’ gives the name of the law-code or law-codes that the text-block item forms a part of and with cross-reference by number to Appendix D given in brackets. ‘Length’ is the total number of lines of the text-block item. ‘Majuscules’ is the number of majuscule graphs written by the main scribe that introduce the text-block item. If the entire first line is in majuscules, then this is marked as ‘(all)’. ‘Indent’ gives the number of lines that have been indented at the start of the text-block item by the main scribe to provide space for the pen-drawn initial. Finally, ‘Notes’ is used to record any other information, and particularly contains information on blank-space left in the text-block by the main scribe to emphasise the beginning of the text-block item.

No.	Location	Law-code(s)	Length	Majuscules	Indent	Notes
1	30 ^v , ll. 20-26 & 10 ^r , ll. 1-6	<i>Be Blaserum</i> (1) <i>Forfang</i> (2)	13	12	2	End of first line short.
2	10 ^r , ll. 7-21	<i>Forfang</i> (2) <i>Hundred</i> (3)	15	no	2	
3	10 ^r , l. 22 – 12 ^r , l. 20	<i>Hundred</i> (3) I <i>Æðelred</i> (4)	103	no	2	End of first line short.
4	12 ^v , ll. 2-26	<i>Frið</i> , v. 1 (5)	25	4	2	7 preceding lines blank
5	13 ^r , ll. 1 – 14 ^v , l. 24	Ps.-Edward (6)	102	12	2	End of first line short.
6	14 ^v , l. 25 – 15 ^r , l. 17	II <i>Æðelstan</i> (7)	19	26 (all)	2	
7	15 ^r , l. 18 – 15 ^v , l. 2	II <i>Æðelstan</i> (7)	11	1	2	
8	15 ^v , ll. 3-16	II <i>Æðelstan</i> (7)	14	4	2	First line and preceding line indented.
9	15 ^v , ll. 17-23	II <i>Æðelstan</i> (7)	6	no	2	End of first line short.
10	15 ^v , ll. 24-26	II <i>Æðelstan</i> (7)	3	10	2	End of item truncated due to missing quire(s).
11	16 ^r , ll. 1-3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	n/a	n/a	Beginning of item truncated due to missing quire(s).
12	16 ^r , ll. 4-13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	10	27 (all)	2	

No.	Location	Law-code(s)	Length	Majuscules	Indent	Notes
13	16 ^r , l. 14 – 16 ^v , l. 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	23	20 (all)	2	End of first line short.
14	16 ^v , ll. 11-16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	6	no	2	
15	16 ^v , ll. 17-23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	7	no	2	
16	16 ^v , l. 24 – 17 ^r , l. 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	11	27 (all)	2	
17	17 ^r , ll. 9-18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	10	28 (all)	2	
18	17 ^r , ll. 19-23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	5	17 (all)	2	End of first line short.
19	17 ^r , l. 24 – 17 ^v , l. 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	10	28 (all)	2	
20	17 ^v , ll. 8-17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	10	10	2	
21	17 ^v , ll. 17-20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	11 (all)	2	End of preceding item set in right of first line.
22	17 ^v , l. 21- 18 ^r , l. 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	12	12	2	
23	18 ^r , ll. 7-17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	11	19	2	
24	18 ^r , l. 18 – 18 ^v , l. 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	12	5	2	
25	18 ^v , ll. 4-7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	no	2	
26	18 ^v , ll. 8-12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	5	27 (all)	2	
27	18 ^v , ll. 13-16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	27 (all)	2	End of first line short.
28	18 ^v , ll. 17-25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	9	no	2	End of first line short.
29	18 ^v , l. 26 – 19 ^r , l. 1	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	2	11	1	Begins on final line of page.
30	19 ^r , ll. 2-6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	5	23	2	
31	19 ^r , ll. 7-10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	6	2	
32	19 ^r , ll. 11-13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	10	2	
33	19 ^r , ll. 13-19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	7	16 (all)	2	End of preceding item set into right of first line.
34	19 ^r , l. 19 – 19 ^v , l. 1	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	9	9	2	End of preceding item set into right of first line.
35	19 ^v , ll. 2-4	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	8	2	
36	19 ^v , ll. 5-10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	6	5	2	
37	19 ^v , ll. 11-16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	6	5	2	
38	19 ^v , ll. 17-25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	9	4	2	
39	19 ^v , l. 26 – 20 ^r , l. 9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	10	15	1	Begins on final line of page.
40	20 ^r , ll. 10-18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	9	16 (all)	2	End of first line short.
41	20 ^r , l. 18 – 20 ^v , l. 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	12	no	2	End of preceding item set into right of first line.
42	20 ^v , ll. 4-8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	5	26 (all)	2	
43	20 ^v , ll. 9-11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	8	2	

No.	Location	Law-code(s)	Length	Majuscules	Indent	Notes
44	20 ^v , ll. 12-26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	15	17 (all)	2	Emended break on fol. 20 ^v , l. 19. End of item truncated.
45	21 ^r , ll. 1-10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	10	n/a	n/a	Beginning of item truncated.
46	21 ^r , ll. 11-14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	19	3	Final line of preceding item also indented (2 graphs width).
47	21 ^r , ll. 15-18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	12	2	
48	21 ^r , ll. 18-22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	5	15 (all)	2	End of preceding item set into right of first line.
49	21 ^r , l. 23 – 23 ^f , l. 5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	87	12	2	First line and preceding line indented.
50	23 ^r , ll. 6-17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	12	31 (all)	2	Opening reworked for Laws of Ine.
51	23 ^r , ll. 18-21	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	14	2	
52	23 ^r , ll. 22-25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	no	2	
53	23 ^r , l. 26 – 23 ^v , l. 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	7	9	1	Begins on final line of page.
54	23 ^v , ll. 7-10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	22	2	End of first line short.
55	23 ^v , ll. 11-14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	7	2	
56	23 ^v , l. 15- 24 ^r , l. 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	15	13	2	
57	24 ^r , ll. 4-8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	5	14	2	
58	24 ^r , ll. 9-13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	5	5	2	
59	24 ^r , ll. 13-15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	10	2	End of preceding item set into right of first line.
60	24 ^r , ll. 16-19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	16 (all)	2	End of first line short.
61	24 ^r , ll. 20-22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	14	2	
62	24 ^r , ll. 23-24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	2	no	2	
63	24 ^r , l. 25 – 24 ^v , l. 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	5	20 (all)	2	End of first line short.
64	24 ^v , ll. 3-5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	12	2	End of preceding item set in right of first line.
65	24 ^v , ll. 6-10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	5	12	2	
66	24 ^v , ll. 10-12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	no	2	End of preceding item set in right of first line.
67	24 ^v , ll. 13-16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	12	2	
68	24 ^v , ll. 17-19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	12	2	
69	24 ^v , ll. 20-22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	no	2	
70	24 ^v , ll. 23-26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	11	2	

No.	Location	Law-code(s)	Length	Majuscules	Indent	Notes
71	25 ^r , ll. 1-7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	7	10	1	First line of page
72	25 ^r , ll. 8-11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	no	2	
73	25 ^r , ll. 12-20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	9	6	2	
74	25 ^r , ll. 21-26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	6	10	2	End of first line slightly short, preceding line full.
75	25 ^v , ll. 1-6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	6	13	2	
76	25 ^v , ll. 7-9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	8	2	(Emendations made to beginning)
77	25 ^v , ll. 10-12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	2		End of first line short.
78	25 ^v , ll. 13-18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	6	6		
79	25 ^v , ll. 18-21	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	19 (all)	2	End of preceding item set in right of first line.
80	25 ^v , ll. 22-26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	5	14	2	End of first line short.
81	26 ^r , ll. 1-3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	no	1	First line of page.
82	26 ^r , ll. 4-7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	no	2	
83	26 ^r , ll. 8-9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	2	7	2	
84	26 ^r , ll. 10-15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	6	13	2	End of first line short.
85	26 ^r , ll. 16-25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	10	7	2	End of first line short.
86	26 ^r , l. 26 – 26 ^v , l. 5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	6	13	2	First line and preceding line indented.
87	26 ^v , ll. 6-9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	13	2	
88	26 ^v , ll. 10-15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	6	no	2	End of first line short.
89	26 ^v , ll. 16-19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	9	2	
90	26 ^v , ll. 20-26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	7	6	2	
91	27 ^r , ll. 1-14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	14	15	2	First line of page.
92	27 ^r , ll. 15-23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	9	15	2	
93	27 ^r , l. 24 – 27 ^v , l. 1	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	5	2	
94	27 ^v , ll. 2-7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	6	no	2	End of first line short.
95	27 ^v , ll. 8-15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	8	10	2	
96	27 ^v , ll. 16-17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	2	15	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
97	27 ^v , ll. 18-22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	5	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
98	27 ^v , l. 23 – 28 ^r , l. 5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	9	5	2	
99	28 ^r , ll. 6-11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	6	10	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.

No.	Location	Law-code(s)	Length	Majuscules	Indent	Notes
100	28 ^r , ll. 12-15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	7	2	
101	28 ^r , ll. 16-18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	9	2	
102	28 ^r , l. 19 – 28 ^v , l. 5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	13	16	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
103	28 ^v , ll. 6-17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	12	6	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
104	28 ^v , ll. 18-19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	2	no	2	
105	28 ^v , ll. 20-24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	5	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
106	28 ^v , l. 25 – 29 ^r , l. 5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	7	no	2	
107	29 ^r , l. 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	1	no	1	
108	29 ^r , l. 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	1	no	1	
109	29 ^r , l. 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	1	no	1	
110	29 ^r , l. 9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	1	no	1	
111	29 ^r , l. 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	1	no	1	
112	29 ^r , ll. 11-12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	2	no	1	
113	29 ^r , ll. 13-17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	5	10	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
114	29 ^r , ll. 18-20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	no	2	
115	29 ^r , l. 20 – 29 ^v , l. 5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	12	no	2	End of preceding item set in right of first line.
116	29 ^v , ll. 6-8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	11	2	End of first line slightly short, preceding line full.
117	29 ^v , ll. 9-11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	no	2	
118	29 ^v , ll. 11-12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	2	no	2	End of preceding item set in right of first line.
119	29 ^v , l. 13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	1	no	1	
120	29 ^v , ll. 14-19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	6	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
121	29 ^v , ll. 20-21	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	2	no	2	
122	29 ^v , ll. 22-23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	2	no	1	
123	29 ^v , l. 24 – 30 ^r , l. 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	9	4	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
124	30 ^r , ll. 7-10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	no	2	
125	30 ^r , ll. 11-14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	4	no	2	
126	30 ^r , ll. 15-17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	3	no	2	
127	30 ^r , l. 19 – 30 ^v , l. 2	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	11	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
128	30 ^v , ll. 3-9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	7	5	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.

No.	Location	Law-code(s)	Length	Majuscules	Indent	Notes
129	30 ^v , ll. 10-19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	10	no	2	
130	38 ^r , l. 1 – 40 ^r , l. 21	I Cnut (9)	125	n/a	n/a	Beginning of item missing due to missing quire(s).
131	40 ^r , l. 22 – 41 ^v , l. 24	II Cnut (10)	81	23	2	
132	41 ^v , l. 25 – 47 ^r , l. 1	II Cnut (10)	263	9	2	
133	47 ^r , l. 2 – 49 ^r , l. 19	II Cnut (10)	122	no	2	
134	49 ^r , ll. 20-22	II Cnut (10)	3	no	2	
135	49 ^r , ll. 23-25	II Cnut (10)	3	4	2	
136	49 ^r , l. 26 – 49 ^v , l. 4	II Cnut (10)	5	no	1	Begins on final line of page. [Erasure?]. No blank space.
137	49 ^v , l. 5 – 50 ^r , l. 3	II Cnut (10)	25	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
138	50 ^r , l. 4 – 50 ^v , l. 16	II Cnut (10)	39	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
139	50 ^v , l. 17 – 51 ^r , l. 5	II Cnut (10)	15	no	2	Shallow indent of 2 graphs width. End of first line short, preceding line full.
140	51 ^r , ll. 5-7	II Cnut (10)	3	no	2	End of preceding item set into right of first line.
141	51 ^r , ll. 8-13	II Cnut (10)	6	no	2	
142	51 ^r , ll. 14-19	II Cnut (10)	6	no	2	
143	51 ^r , ll. 20-21	II Cnut (10)	2	no	2	
144	51 ^r , ll. 22-26	II Cnut (10)	5	no	1	
145	51 ^v , ll. 1-4	II Cnut (10)	4	no	1	First line of page.
146	51 ^v , ll. 5-10	II Cnut (10)	6	no	2[?]	Shallow indent 2 graphs width. End of first line slightly short, preceding line full. [Erasure].
147	51 ^v , ll. 11-13	II Cnut (10)	3	no	2	
148	51 ^v , ll. 13-16	II Cnut (10)	4	no	2	End of preceding item set into right of first line.
149	51 ^v , l. 17 – 52 ^r , l. 3	II Cnut (10)	13	no	2	
150	52 ^r , ll. 4-6	II Cnut (10)	3	no	2	
151	52 ^r , ll. 7-13	II Cnut (10)	7	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
152	52 ^r , ll. 14-16	II Cnut (10)	3	no	2	

No.	Location	Law-code(s)	Length	Majuscules	Indent	Notes
153	52 ^r , ll. 17-19	II Cnut (10)	3	no	1	
154	52 ^r , ll. 20-23	II Cnut (10)	4	no	2	
155	52 ^r , l. 24 – 52 ^v , l. 1	II Cnut (10)	4	no	2	
156	52 ^v , l. 9 – 53 ^v , l. 2	I Edward (11)	46	11	1	8 preceding lines blank
157	53 ^v , l. 3 – 54 ^r , l. 23	II Edward (12)	45	13 (all)	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
158	54 ^r , l. 24 – 54 ^v , l. 2	II Edward (12)	5	no	1	no miniaturing
159	54 ^v , l. 4 – 55 ^r , l. 6	I Edmund (13)	29	12	2	1 preceding line blank.
160	55 ^r , l. 7 – 55 ^v , l. 7	II Edmund (14)	27	2	2	
161	55 ^v , ll. 8-25	II Edmund (14)	18	no	1	Preceding line is half-blank.
162	55 ^v , l. 26 – 56 ^r , l. 11	II Edmund (14)	12	no	1	Final line of page.
163	56 ^r , ll. 12-21	<i>Swerian</i> (15)	10	no	1	End of first line short, preceding line full.
164	56 ^r , l. 22 – 56 ^v , l. 10	<i>Swerian</i> (15)	15	no	2	
165	56 ^v , ll. 11-15	<i>Swerian</i> (15)	5	no	2	Shallow indent on second line.
166	56 ^v , ll. 16-18	<i>Swerian</i> (15)	3	no	2	
167	56 ^v , ll. 19-20	<i>Swerian</i> (15)	2	no	1	
168	56 ^v , ll. 21-24	<i>Swerian</i> (15)	4	no	1	
169	56 ^v , l. 25 – 57 ^r , l. 2	<i>Swerian</i> (15)	4	no	1	
170	57 ^r , ll. 3-7	<i>Swerian</i> (15)	5	no	1	End of first line short, preceding line full.
171	57 ^r , ll. 8-10	<i>Swerian</i> (15)	3	no	1	
172	57 ^r , ll. 11-14	<i>Swerian</i> (15)	4	no	1	
173	57 ^r , l. 17 – 57 ^v , l. 23	<i>Frið</i> , v. 2 (16)	33	16	2	2 preceding lines blank
174	57 ^v , l. 24 – 58 ^v , l. 4	<i>Wifmannes</i> (17)	33	no	2	
175	58 ^v , l. 6 – 59 ^r , l. 3	<i>Wergild</i> (18)	24	no	1	1 preceding line blank.
176	59 ^r , ll. 4-12	<i>Wergild</i> (18) <i>Charm</i> (19)	9	no	2	
177	59 ^r , ll. 13-20	<i>Charm</i> (19)	8	no	2	No miniaturing
178	59 ^r , l. 21 – 59 ^v , l. 16	<i>Hit Becwæð</i> (20)	22	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
179	59 ^v , l. 17 – 62 ^r , l. 2	II Æðelred (21)	116	12	2	
180	62 ^r , l. 3 – 63 ^r , l. 26	<i>Dunsæte</i> (22)	76	15	2	
181	63 ^v , ll. 1-9	<i>RSP</i> (23)	9	10	2	Begins first line of page.
182	63 ^v , ll. 10-20	<i>RSP</i> (23)	11	no	2	

No.	Location	Law-code(s)	Length	Majuscules	Indent	Notes
183	63 ^v , l. 21 – 64 ^r , l. 9	<i>RSP</i> (23)	15	no	2	
184	64 ^r , l. 10 – 64 ^v , l. 16	<i>RSP</i> (23)	33	no	2	
185	64 ^v , ll. 17-24	<i>RSP</i> (23)	8	7	2	
186	64 ^v , l. 25 – 65 ^r , l. 11	<i>RSP</i> (23)	13	no	2	
187	65 ^r , ll. 12-23	<i>RSP</i> (23)	12	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
188	65 ^r , l. 24 – 65 ^v , l. 1	<i>RSP</i> (23)	4	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
189	65 ^v , ll. 2-4	<i>RSP</i> (23)	3	no	2	
190	65 ^v , ll. 5-10	<i>RSP</i> (23)	6	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
191	65 ^v , ll. 11-16	<i>RSP</i> (23)	6	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
192	65 ^v , ll. 17-19	<i>RSP</i> (23)	3	no	2	
193	65 ^v , ll. 20-24	<i>RSP</i> (23)	5	no	2	
194	65 ^v , l. 25 – 66 ^r , l. 2	<i>RSP</i> (23)	4	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
195	66 ^r , ll. 3-7	<i>RSP</i> (23)	5	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
196	66 ^r , ll. 8-11	<i>RSP</i> (23)	4	no	2	End of first line short, preceding line full.
197	66 ^r , ll. 12-15	<i>RSP</i> (23)	4	no	2	
198	66 ^r , ll. 16-18	<i>RSP</i> (23)	3	no	2	
199	66 ^r , ll. 19-22	<i>RSP</i> (23)	4	no	2	End of first line short.
200	66 ^r , l. 23 – 66 ^v , l. 7	<i>RSP</i> (23)	11	no	2	End of first line short,.
201	66 ^v , ll. 8-23	<i>RSP</i> (23)	16	10	1	End of first line short.
202	66 ^v , l. 24 – 67 ^v , l. 12	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	41	4	1	
203	67 ^v , ll. 14-18	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	5	no	1	1 preceding line blank.
204	67 ^v , ll. 19-24	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	6	no	2	
205	67 ^v , l. 25 – 68 ^r , l. 4	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	6	no	2	
206	68 ^r , ll. 5-10	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	6	no	2	
207	68 ^r , ll. 11-26	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	16	no	2	
208	68 ^v , ll. 1-10	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	10	no	1	First line of page.
209	68 ^v , l. 11 – 69 ^r , l. 6	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	22	no	2	
210	69 ^r , ll. 7-14	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	8	no	2	

APPENDIX F: MINIATURING ITEMS OF CCCC 383

The following table presents the ‘miniaturing items’ or ‘pen-drawn initials’ as well as other emendations supplied by the miniator to CCCC 383. Those that were originally anticipated in the *mise-en-page* of the manuscript by the main scribe when the text-block was first produced are marked in bold below. Each miniatured item is enumerated under ‘No.’ for cross-reference in the thesis and with other tables. ‘Location’ indicates the folio and line numbers where the miniaturing is. ‘Law-code’ gives the name of the law-code that the miniaturing is in, with cross-reference by number to Appendix D. ‘TB’ is a cross-reference by number to the Text-Block Items in Appendix E. ‘Graph’ is a transcription of the miniatured initial or else describes in square brackets the type of emendation made by the miniator; [paraph s] indicates a small paraph, [paraph l] a large paraph [highlight] where a majuscule in the text-block has had one or more strokes of ink added to it and [stricken] where an item has been crossed through. ‘Lines’ indicates the number of ruled lines of the text-block and ruling grid that the miniatured initial takes up. Finally, ‘Width’ and ‘Height’ give the overall dimensions of the miniatured initial in millimetres.

No.	Location	Law-code	TB	Graph	Lines	Width	Height
1	10^r, ll. 7-8	<i>Forfang</i> (2)	2	E	2	11	15
2	10^r, ll. 22-23	<i>Hundred</i> (3)	3	G	2	10	10
3	11 ^r , ll. 9-10	I <i>Æðelred</i> (4)	3	Ð	2	13	12
4	12^v, ll. 2-3	<i>Frið</i>, v. 1 (5)	4	Ð	3	12	11
5	13^f, ll. 1-2	Ps.-Edward (6)	5	A	2	10	13
6	14^v, ll. 25-26	II <i>Æðelstan</i> (7)	6	Æ	2	17	12
7	15^f, ll. 18-19	II <i>Æðelstan</i> (7)	7	A	2	11	13
8	15^v, ll. 2-3	II <i>Æðelstan</i> (7)	8	A	2	17	15
9	15^v, ll. 17-18	II <i>Æðelstan</i> (7)	9	A	2	11	11
10	15^v, ll. 24-25	II <i>Æðelstan</i> (7)	10	A	2	13	19
11	16^f, l. 4	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	12	G	1	8	8
12	16^f, ll. 14-15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	13	E	2	10	10
13	16^v, l. 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	14	G	1	8	6
14	16^v, l. 17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	15	G	1	6	6
15	16^v, l. 24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	16	G	1	7	8
16	17^f, l. 9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	17	G	1	8	8
17	17^f, l. 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	18	G	1	6	7
18	17^f, l. 24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	19	G	1	6	8
19	17^v, l. 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	20	G	1	6	7
20	17 ^v , l. 12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	20	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
21	17^v, l. 17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	21	G	1	6	7

No.	Location	Law-code	TB	Graph	Lines	Width	Height
22	17 ^v , l. 21	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	22	G	1	8	8
23	17 ^v , l. 26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	22	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
24	18 ^r , l. 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	22	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
25	18 ^r , l. 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	23	G	1	6	7
26	18 ^r , l. 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	24	G	1	7	8
27	18 ^v , l. 4	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	25	G	1	6	7
28	18 ^v , l. 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	26	G	1	8	8
29	18 ^v , l. 13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	27	G	1	7	8
30	18 ^v , l. 17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	28	G	1	7	8
31	18 ^v , l. 26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	29	G	1	7	7
32	19 ^r , ll. 2-3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	30	G	2	8	8
33	19 ^r , l. 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	31	G	1	7	8
34	19 ^r , l. 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	32	G	1	8	6
35	19 ^r , l. 13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	33	G	1	7	6
36	19 ^r , l. 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	34	G	1	7	8
37	19 ^v , l. 2	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	35	G	1	8	7
38	19 ^v , ll. 5-6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	36	G	2	7	8
39	19 ^v , l. 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	37	G	1	7	7
40	19 ^v , ll. 17-18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	38	E	2	8	8
41	19 ^v , l. 26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	39	G	1	6	7
42	20 ^r , ll. 10-11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	40	E	2	12	12
43	20 ^r , l. 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	41	G	1	6	7
44	20 ^v , l. 4	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	42	G	1	8	8
45	20 ^v , l. 9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	43	G	1	8	8
46	20 ^v , l. 12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	44	G	1	6	6
47	20 ^v , l. 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	45	C	1	7	8
48	21 ^r , ll. 10-12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	46	h	3	11	15
49	21 ^r , l. 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	47	G	1	6	6
50	21 ^r , l. 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	48	G	1	4	4
51	21 ^r , l. 23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	G	1	6	6
52	21 ^v , LM:2	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
53	21 ^v , LM:6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
54	21 ^v , l. 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
55	21 ^v , l. 9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
56	21 ^v , l. 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
57	21 ^v , l. 12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
58	21 ^v , l. 14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
59	21 ^v , l. 16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
60	21 ^v , l. 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
61	21 ^v , l. 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
62	21 ^v , l. 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
63	21 ^v , l. 22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
64	21 ^v , l. 24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
65	22 ^r , l. 1	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
66	22 ^r , l. 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
67	22 ^r , l. 4	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
68	22 ^r , LM:6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a

No.	Location	Law-code	TB	Graph	Lines	Width	Height
69	22 ^r , l. 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
70	22 ^r , l. 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
71	22 ^r , l. 12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
72	22 ^r , l. 13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
73	22 ^r , l. 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
74	22 ^r , l. 16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
75	22 ^r , l. 17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
76	22 ^r , l. 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
77	22 ^v , l. 2	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
78	22 ^v , l. 4	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
79	22 ^v , l. 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
80	22 ^v , l. 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
81	22 ^v , l. 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
82	22 ^v , l. 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
83	22 ^v , l. 14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
84	22 ^v , l. 16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
85	22 ^v , l. 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
86	22 ^v , l. 22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
87	22 ^v , l. 26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
88	23 ^r , ll. 3-8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	50	I	6	6	30
89	23 ^r , l. 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	51	Æ	1	9	8
90	23 ^r , l. 22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	52	C	1	6	6
91	23 ^r , l. 26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	53	G	1	5	6
92	23 ^v , l. 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	54	C	1	6	6
93	23 ^v , l. 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	55	G	1	7	8
94	23 ^v , l. 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	56	G	1	7	7
95	24 ^r , l. 4	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	57	G	1	5	6
96	24 ^r , l. 9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	58	G	1	7	6
97	24 ^r , l. 13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	59	G	1	5	5
98	24 ^r , l. 16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	60	G	1	6	5
99	24 ^r , l. 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	61	G	1	7	7
100	24 ^r , l. 23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	62	G	1	7	6
101	24 ^r , l. 25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	63	G	1	6	6
102	24 ^v , l. 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	64	S	1	6	7
103	24 ^v , l. 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	65	S	1	4	7
104	24 ^v , l. 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	66	S	1	6	7
105	24 ^v , ll. 13-14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	67	S	2	6	10
106	24 ^v , l. 17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	68	C	1	6	7
107	24 ^v , l. 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	69	C	1	8	8
108	24 ^v , l. 23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	70	G	1	6	6
109	25 ^r , l. 1	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	71	G	1	7	7
110	25 ^r , ll. 8-9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	72	G	2	8	8
111	25 ^r , ll. 12-13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	73	G	2	9	8
112	25 ^r , ll. 21-22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	74	G	2	7	8
113	25 ^v , l. 1	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	75	G	1	7	8
114	25 ^v , l. 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	76	[T]O	1	6	6
115	25 ^v , l. 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	77	S	1	4	7

No.	Location	Law-code	TB	Graph	Lines	Width	Height
116	25 ^v , ll. 13-14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	78	S	2	6	9
117	25 ^v , l. 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	79	G	1	6	7
118	25 ^v , l. 22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	80	G	1	6	6
119	26 ^f , l. 1	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	81	G	1	6	7
120	26 ^f , l. 4	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	82	G	1	6	7
121	26 ^f , ll. 8-9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	83	C	2	7	8
122	26 ^f , ll. 10-11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	84	S	2	6	11
123	26 ^f , ll. 16-17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	85	S	2	6	11
124	26 ^f , ll. 25-26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	86	S	2	5	9
125	26 ^v , ll. 6-7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	87	S	2	7	10
126	26 ^v , l. 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	88	G	1	8	7
127	26 ^v , l. 16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	89	G	1	6	7
128	26 ^v , l. 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	90	C	1	8	8
129	27 ^f , l. 1	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	91	G	1	9	9
130	27 ^f , l. 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	92	Đ	1	9	8
131	27 ^f , l. 24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	93	G	1	6	7
132	27 ^v , ll. 2-3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	94	B	2	7	8
133	27 ^v , ll. 8-9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	95	Đ	2	8	9
134	27 ^v , l. 16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	96	G	1	7	8
135	27 ^v , l. 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	97	G	1	7	8
136	27 ^v , l. 23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	98	G	1	8	8
137	28 ^f , l. 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	99	G	1	8	8
138	28 ^f , ll. 12-13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	100	G	2	7	8
139	28 ^f , l. 16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	101	S	1	7	10
140	28 ^f , l. 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	102	G	1	8	8
141	28 ^v , l. 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	103	S	1	6	10
142	28 ^v , ll. 18-19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	104	E	2	8	9
143	28 ^v , l. 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	105	G	1	6	6
144	28 ^v , l. 25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	106	G	1	6	7
145	29 ^f , l. 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	107	O	1	6	6
146	29 ^f , l. 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	108	C	1	6	6
147	29 ^f , l. 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	109	O	1	4	5
148	29 ^f , l. 9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	110	C	1	4	5
149	29 ^f , l. 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	111	O	1	5	5
150	29 ^f , l. 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	112	C	1	5	6
151	29 ^f , ll. 13-14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	113	S	2	7	12
152	29 ^f , l. 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	114	C	1	7	7
153	29 ^f , l. 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	115	Đ	1	8	8
154	29 ^v , l. 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	116	G	1	8	8
155	29 ^v , ll. 9-10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	117	S	2	7	10
156	29 ^v , l. 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	118	S	1	5	10
157	29 ^v , l. 13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	119	S	1	5	9
158	29 ^v , l. 14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	120	G	1	5	6
159	29 ^v , l. 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	121	G	1	6	8
160	29 ^v , l. 22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	122	S	1	7	10
161	29 ^v , ll. 24-25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	123	Æ	2	10	9
162	30 ^f , l. 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	124	G	1	8	8

No.	Location	Law-code	TB	Graph	Lines	Width	Height
163	30 ^r , l. 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	125	G	1	8	7
164	30 ^r , l. 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	126	G	1	7	8
165	30 ^r , l. 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	127	G	1	8	8
166	30 ^v , l. 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	128	G	1	8	7
167	30 ^v , l. 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	129	G	1	6	6
168	30 ^v , ll. 20-21	<i>Be Blaserum</i> (1)	1	ƿ	2	8	13
169	38 ^r , l. 6	I Cnut (9)	130	þ	1	5	9
170	38 ^r , l. 17	I Cnut (9)	130	ƿ	1	6	8
171	38 ^v , l. 4	I Cnut (9)	130	ƿ	1	5	7
172	38 ^v , l. 12	I Cnut (9)	130	A	1	7	7
173	38 ^v , l. 21	I Cnut (9)	130	G	1	3	4
174	38 ^v , l. 26	I Cnut (9)	130	7	1	4	8
175	39 ^r , l. 6	I Cnut (9)	130	[highlight]	n/a	n/a	n/a
176	39 ^r , l. 21	I Cnut (9)	130	ƿ	1	7	8
177	39 ^v , l. 15	I Cnut (9)	130	ƿ	1	6	11
178	40 ^r , ll. 22-23	II Cnut (11)	131	Ð	2	14	13
179	40 ^v , l. 18	II Cnut (11)	131	ƿ	1	8	9
180	40 ^v , l. 25	II Cnut (11)	131	G	1	7	6
181	41 ^r , l. 4	II Cnut (11)	131	ƿ	1	5	8
182	41 ^r , l. 8	II Cnut (11)	131	ƿ	1	6	8
183	41 ^r , l. 24	II Cnut (11)	131	U	1	11	6
184	41 ^v , l. 11	II Cnut (11)	131	G	1	5	6
185	41 ^v , ll. 25-26	II Cnut (11)	132	Ð	2	12	12
186	42 ^r , l. 3	II Cnut (11)	132	S	1	6	8
187	42 ^r , l. 9	II Cnut (11)	132	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
188	42 ^r , l. 9	II Cnut (11)	132	[highlight]	n/a	n/a	n/a
189	42 ^v , l. 9	II Cnut (11)	132	N	1	7	6
190	42 ^v , l. 11	II Cnut (11)	132	S	1	5	8
191	42 ^v , l. 17	II Cnut (11)	132	N	1	9	10
192	42 ^v , l. 25	II Cnut (11)	132	ƿ	1	6	9
193	43 ^r , l. 11	II Cnut (11)	132	ƿ	1	6	8
194	43 ^r , l. 19	II Cnut (11)	132	O	1	5	5
195	43 ^r , l. 24	II Cnut (11)	132	N	1	9	6
196	43 ^v , l. 6	II Cnut (11)	132	N	1	4	8
197	43 ^v , LM:18	II Cnut (11)	132	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
198	44 ^r , l. 7	II Cnut (11)	132	Ge	1	9	8
199	44 ^r , l. 20	II Cnut (11)	132	G	1	6	5
200	44 ^r , l. 24	II Cnut (11)	132	G	1	4	4
201	44 ^v , l. 1	II Cnut (11)	132	[paraph l]	n/a	n/a	n/a
202	45 ^r , l. 16	II Cnut (11)	132	7	1	6	8
203	45 ^v , l. 3	II Cnut (11)	132	G	1	7	7
204	45 ^v , l. 13	II Cnut (11)	132	G	1	6	6
205	45 ^v , l. 21	II Cnut (11)	132	G	1	7	7
206	46 ^r , l. 2	II Cnut (11)	132	A	1	12	7
207	46 ^r , l. 6	II Cnut (11)	132	N	1	4	6
208	46 ^r , l. 13	II Cnut (11)	132	[paraph l]	n/a	n/a	n/a
209	46 ^r , l. 25	II Cnut (11)	132	C	1	8	8

No.	Location	Law-code	TB	Graph	Lines	Width	Height
210	46 ^v , l. 2	II Cnut (11)	132	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
211	46 ^v , l. 9	II Cnut (11)	132	G	1	4	5
212	46 ^v , l. 15	II Cnut (11)	132	G	1	5	5
213	46 ^v , l. 18	II Cnut (11)	132	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
214	46 ^v , l. 23	II Cnut (11)	132	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
215	47^r, l. 2	II Cnut (11)	133	G	1	6	6
216	47 ^r , l. 11	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
217	47 ^v , l. 2	II Cnut (11)	133	[highlight]	n/a	n/a	n/a
218	47 ^v , l. 12	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
219	47 ^v , l. 12	II Cnut (11)	133	[highlight]	n/a	n/a	n/a
220	47 ^v , l. 16	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
221	47 ^v , l. 16	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
222	47 ^v , l. 21	II Cnut (11)	133	[highlight]	n/a	n/a	n/a
223	47 ^v , l. 21	II Cnut (11)	133	[highlight]	n/a	n/a	n/a
224	47 ^v , l. 22	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
225	47 ^v , l. 22	II Cnut (11)	133	[highlight]	n/a	n/a	n/a
226	47 ^v , l. 23	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
227	47 ^v , l. 23	II Cnut (11)	133	[highlight]	n/a	n/a	n/a
228	48 ^r , LM:13	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
229	48 ^r , l. 13	II Cnut (11)	133	[highlight]	n/a	n/a	n/a
230	48 ^r , l. 15	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
231	48 ^r , l. 15	II Cnut (11)	133	[highlight]	n/a	n/a	n/a
232	48 ^r , l. 18	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
233	48 ^r , l. 18	II Cnut (11)	133	[highlight]	n/a	n/a	n/a
234	48 ^r , l. 20	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
235	48 ^r , l. 21	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
236	48 ^r , l. 23	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
237	48 ^r , l. 23	II Cnut (11)	133	[highlight]	n/a	n/a	n/a
238	48 ^r , LM:26	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
239	48 ^r , l. 26	II Cnut (11)	133	[highlight]	n/a	n/a	n/a
240	48 ^v , l. 3	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph l]	n/a	n/a	n/a
241	48 ^v , l. 5	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph l]	n/a	n/a	n/a
242	48 ^v , l. 9	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph l]	n/a	n/a	n/a
243	48 ^v , l. 11	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph l]	n/a	n/a	n/a
244	48 ^v , l. 13	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph l]	n/a	n/a	n/a
245	48 ^v , l. 19	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph l]	n/a	n/a	n/a
246	48 ^v , l. 22	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph l]	n/a	n/a	n/a
247	48 ^v , l. 25	II Cnut (11)	133	[paraph l]	n/a	n/a	n/a
248	49^r, l. 20	II Cnut (11)	134	A	1	6	6
249	49^r, ll. 23-24	II Cnut (11)	135	Ð	2	13	10
250	49^r, l. 26	II Cnut (11)	136	Ð	1	6	5
251	49^v, ll. 5-6	II Cnut (11)	137	A	2	10	9
252	49 ^v , l. 7	II Cnut (11)	137	G	1	8	8
253	49^v, l. 16	II Cnut (11)	137	E	1	3	5
254	49 ^v , l. 21	II Cnut (11)	137	[highlight]	n/a	n/a	n/a
255	49 ^v , l. 26	II Cnut (11)	137	A	1	4	5
256	50^r, ll. 4-5	II Cnut (11)	138	A	2	9	7

No.	Location	Law-code	TB	Graph	Lines	Width	Height
257	50 ^r , l. 16	II Cnut (11)	138	A	1	9	7
258	50 ^v , l. 4	II Cnut (11)	138	A	1	14	9
259	50 ^v , l. 8	II Cnut (11)	138	A	1	13	10
260	50^v, ll. 17-18	II Cnut (11)	139	A	2	11	11
261	50 ^v , l. 21	II Cnut (11)	139	A	1	4	6
262	50 ^v , l. 23	II Cnut (11)	139	G	1	7	8
263	51^r, l. 5	II Cnut (11)	140	A	1	5	6
264	51^r, ll. 7-8	II Cnut (11)	141	h	2	4	7
265	51^r, l. 14	II Cnut (11)	142	A	1	9	8
266	51^r, l. 20	II Cnut (11)	143	A	1	4	3
277	51^r, ll. 21-23	II Cnut (11)	144	A	3	13	11
278	51^v, l. 1	II Cnut (11)	145	A	1	9	7
279	51 ^v , LM:5	II Cnut (11)	146	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
280	51^v, l. 5	II Cnut (11)	146	A	1	9	8
281	51 ^v , LM:11	II Cnut (11)	147	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
282	51^v, l. 11	II Cnut (11)	147	A	1	12	14
283	51^v, l. 13	II Cnut (11)	148	S	1	5	7
284	51^v, l. 17	II Cnut (11)	149	A	1	5	5
285	51^v, l. 18	II Cnut (11)	149	A	1	5	4
286	51^v, l. 20	II Cnut (11)	149	N	1	8	4
287	51^v, l. 24	II Cnut (11)	149	E	1	3	5
288	52^r, l. 4	II Cnut (11)	150	A	1	8	8
289	52^r, l. 7	II Cnut (11)	151	A	1	9	7
290	52 ^r , l. 9	II Cnut (11)	151	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
291	52^r, l. 9	II Cnut (11)	151	U	1	7	5
292	52^r, l. 14	II Cnut (11)	152	A	1	7	6
293	52^r, l. 17	II Cnut (11)	153	A	1	5	6
293	52^r, l. 20	II Cnut (11)	154	A	1	6	6
294	52^r, l. 24	II Cnut (11)	155	A	1	4	5
295	52 ^r , l. 26	II Cnut (11)	155	G	1	2	3
296	52^v, ll. 9-11	I Edward (12)	156	E	3	12	12
297	53 ^r , l. 9	I Edward (12)	156	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
298	53 ^r , l. 16	I Edward (12)	156	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
299	53^v, ll. 3-4	II Edward (13)	157	E	2	12	12
300	54^v, ll. 4-5	I Edmund (14)	159	E	2	12	12
301	55^r, ll. 7-8	II Edmund (14)	160	E	2	12	12
302	55 ^v , ll. 7-8	II Edmund (14)	161	G	2	9	10
303	55 ^v , l. 22	II Edmund (14)	161	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
304	55^v, l. 26	II Edmund (14)	162	∅	1	6	7
305	56^r, l. 12	Swerian (15)	163	O	1	10	8
306	56^r, l. 22	Swerian (15)	164	O	1	9	8
307	56 ^v , l. 1	Swerian (15)	164	O	1	6	6
308	56^v, ll. 10-11	Swerian (15)	165	O	2	9	9
309	56^v, l. 16	Swerian (15)	166	O	1	8	8
310	56^v, l. 19	Swerian (15)	167	O	1	6	7
311	56^v, l. 21	Swerian (15)	168	O	1	6	6
312	56^v, l. 25	Swerian (15)	169	O	1	7	7

No.	Location	Law-code	TB	Graph	Lines	Width	Height
313	57 ^r , l. 3	<i>Swerian</i> (15)	170	O	1	7	6
314	57 ^r , l. 8	<i>Swerian</i> (15)	171	O	1	8	7
315	57 ^r , l. 11	<i>Swerian</i> (15)	172	O	1	6	6
316	57 ^r , ll. 16-18	<i>Frið</i> , v. 2 (16)	173	Ð	3	18	18
317	57 ^v , l. 24	<i>Wifmannes</i> (17)	174	G	1	8	8
318	58 ^v , ll. 5-7	<i>Wergild</i> (18)	175	T	3	15	18
319	58 ^v , LM:7	<i>Wergild</i> (18)	176	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
320	58 ^v , LM:20	<i>Wergild</i> (18)	176	[paraph s]	n/a	n/a	n/a
321	59 ^f , l. 4	<i>Wergild</i> (18)	176	E	1	8	7
322	59 ^f , ll. 6-20	[Charm] (19)	176, 177	[stricken]	n/a	n/a	n/a
323	59 ^r , ll. 19-21	<i>Hit Becwæð</i> (20)	178	h	3	8	19
324	59 ^v , l. 17	ll <i>Æðelred</i> (21)	179	Ð	1	8	7
325	62 ^f , ll. 2-3	<i>Dunsæte</i> (22)	180	ð	2	18	14
326	63 ^v , ll. 1-2	<i>RSP</i> (23)	181	Ð	2	13	11
327	63 ^v , ll. 10-11	<i>RSP</i> (23)	182	G	2	9	8
328	63 ^v , ll. 20-22	<i>RSP</i> (23)	183	K	3	8	19
329	64 ^f , l. 10	<i>RSP</i> (23)	184	G	1	8	8
330	64 ^v , l. 17	<i>RSP</i> (23)	185	ð	1	15	10
331	64 ^v , l. 25	<i>RSP</i> (23)	186	B	1	4	6
332	65 ^r , l. 12	<i>RSP</i> (23)	187	G	1	8	5
333	65 ^f , l. 24	<i>RSP</i> (23)	188	Æ	1	7	6
334	65 ^v , ll. 2-3	<i>RSP</i> (23)	189	A	2	10	9
335	65 ^v , l. 5	<i>RSP</i> (23)	190	Ð	1	7	6
336	65 ^v , ll. 11-12	<i>RSP</i> (23)	191	F	2	8	13
337	65 ^v , l. 17	<i>RSP</i> (23)	192	S	1	5	10
338	65 ^v , l. 20	<i>RSP</i> (23)	193	O	1	8	7
339	65 ^v , l. 25	<i>RSP</i> (23)	194	C	1	9	8
340	66 ^f , ll. 3-4	<i>RSP</i> (23)	195	S	2	5	8
341	66 ^r , l. 8	<i>RSP</i> (23)	196	G	1	9	8
342	66 ^f , l. 12	<i>RSP</i> (23)	197	C	1	8	8
343	66 ^f , l. 16	<i>RSP</i> (23)	198	B	1	7	9
344	66 ^f , l. 19	<i>RSP</i> (23)	199	B	1	7	10
345	66 ^f , ll. 23-24	<i>RSP</i> (23)	200	ƿ	2	9	13
346	66 ^v , ll. 7-8	<i>RSP</i> (23)	201	L	2	13	9
347	66 ^v , ll. 24-25	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	202	S	2	7	12
348	67 ^v , ll. 13-14	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	203	Æ	2	13	11
349	67 ^v , l. 19	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	204	M	1	8	7
350	67 ^v , l. 25	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	205	O	1	7	7
351	68 ^f , ll. 5-6	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	206	O	2	10	10
352	68 ^f , ll. 11-12	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	207	O	2	10	10
353	68 ^v , l. 1	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	208	Æ	1	7	5
354	68 ^v , ll. 11	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	209	A	1	11	9
355	68 ^v , l. 16	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	209	M	1	11	6
356	69 ^f , ll. 6-7	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	210	h	2	6	10

**APPENDIX G: BROWN AND BLACK INK ADDITIONS AND EMENDATIONS
TO CCCC 383, S. XII^{IN} TO S. XII¹**

The following table presents the emendations and additions made in brown and black inks (see Appendix B) made to CCCC 383 in the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries or else undated. Each is enumerated under 'No.' for cross-reference within the thesis and with other tables. 'Location' identifies the position on the folio, using line numbers, 'LM' for left margin, 'RM' for right margin, 'UM' for upper margin and 'BM' for bottom margin. Identification of a margin, followed by a colon and number indicates which line the marginal addition is parallel with; for example, 'LM:3' means in the left margin parallel to line 3. 'Law-Code' refers to the adjacent law-code and item number (see Appendix D) which the addition or emendation is associated with. 'TB' is a cross-reference by number to the Text-Block Items recorded in Appendix E. 'Transcription/Notes' provides either a transcription of the additional item or emendation or gives comments in square brackets. The symbol | is used to indicate line breaks, \ and / to indicate the start and end of interlinear additions. Where I have been unable to identify one or more graphs due to damage, I have marked the space with an x in square brackets (where possible I have used one x per illegible graph). 'Hand' denotes the scribal hand that produced the alteration (see Chapters 4, 6 and 7). Where a ? precedes the hand number (or the hand number is omitted) it indicates that the identification of a scribal hand is uncertain..

No.	Location	Law-Code	TB	Transcription / Notes	Hand
1	10 ^r , l. 8	<i>Forfang</i> (2)	2	\ engle /	3a
2	10 ^r , l. 8	<i>Forfang</i> (2)	2	\ m /	3a
3	10 ^r , l. 20 & RM	<i>Hundred</i> (3)	2	\ Ø / Ø þ hundred haldan sceal. ærest	3a
4	10 ^v , l. 16	<i>Hundred</i> (3)	3	\ he /	?3a
5	10 ^v , l. 18	<i>Hundred</i> (3)	3	erasure	?
6	10 ^v , l. 20	<i>Hundred</i> (3)	3	\ anna /	?2
7	11 ^r , l. 6	<i>Hundred</i> (3)	3	7	?1/?3b
8	11 ^r , l. 7	<i>Hundred</i> (3)	3	7	?1/?3b
9	11 ^r , l. 10	l <i>Æðelred</i> (4)	3	ge. iii. pund. is is page rædnysse þe æþelred ci	3b
10	11 ^r , RM:11-13	l <i>Æðelred</i> (4)	3	7to anfaldū anpund	3a
11	11 ^r , l. 12	l <i>Æðelred</i> (4)	3	[underlining]	?
12	11 ^r , l. 19	l <i>Æðelred</i> (4)	3	[underlining]	?

No.	Location	Law-Code	TB	Transcription / Notes	Hand
13	11 ^v , l. 8	I Æðelred (4)	3	[paraph]	?
14	11 ^v , l. 17	I Æðelred (4)	3	[diacritic]	?
15	11 ^v , l. 19	I Æðelred (4)	3	\ his /	?3a
16	11 ^v , l. 23	I Æðelred (4)	3	\ be /	3a
17	12 ^r , l. 4	I Æðelred (4)	3	\ e /	?2
18	12 ^r , RM: 4	I Æðelred (4)	3	þā ordale mear cne man hine æt	3a
19	12 ^r , l. 17	I Æðelred (4)	3	[underlining]	?
20	12 ^v , l. 4	Frið, v. 1 (5)	4	\ cpeþ /	3a
21	12 ^v , LM: 5	Frið, v. 1 (5)	4	7mid apū gefæstnod	3a
22	12 ^v , l. 5	Frið, v. 1 (5)	4	underlining. associated with 23?	?
23	12 ^v , RM: 5	Frið, v. 1 (5)	4	ingram	?3a
24	12 ^v , l. 7	Frið, v. 1 (5)	4	[underlining]	?
25	12 ^v , LM: 10	Frið, v. 1 (5)	4	þis þonne	?2
26	12 ^v , l. 10	Frið, v. 1 (5)	4	[underlining]	?2
27	12 ^v , l. 14	Frið, v. 1 (5)	4	þa syndon eac efen dyre \ægþer tþa hund scytt	3a
28	12 ^v , l. 22	Frið, v. 1 (5)	4	\ e /	?3a
29	14 ^v , l. 25	II Æðelstan (7)	6	\ rige /	3a
30	15 ^r , l. 6	II Æðelstan (7)	6	Oper gif	2
31	15 ^r , LM: 9	II Æðelstan (7)	6	a	?1
32	15 ^v , l. 11	II Æðelstan (7)	8	\ t /	?3a
33	15 ^v , l. 15	II Æðelstan (7)	8	\ h /	?3a
34	15 ^v , l. 20	II Æðelstan (7)	9	[diacritic]	?
35	15 ^v , l. 21	II Æðelstan (7)	9	[diacritic]	?
36	15 ^v , l. 22 & LM	II Æðelstan (7)	9	\ q / q. bete	3
37	16 ^r , UM	Domboc (8)	~	Ælfredi	?
38	16 ^r , l. 3	Domboc (8)	11	\ ii /	?2/?3a
39	16 ^r , l. 5	Domboc (8)	12	\ eard /	3a
40	16 ^r , l. 7	Domboc (8)	12	[punctus versus]	?
41	16 ^r , 10	Domboc (8)	12	[paraph]	?
42	16 ^r , 16	Domboc (8)	13	\ ciricean /	3
43	16 ^r , 18	Domboc (8)	13	\ ne /	?3a
44	16 ^r , 20	Domboc (8)	13	[paraph]	?
45	16 ^r , 21	Domboc (8)	13	\ e /	?3a
46	16 ^r , 25	Domboc (8)	13	[punctus versus]	?
47	16 ^v , UM	Domboc (8)	~	Leges	?
48	16 ^v , l. 1	Domboc (8)	13	\ pylle /	?1
49	16 ^v , LM:3	Domboc (8)	13	[paraph]	?
50	16 ^v , l. 3	Domboc (8)	13	\ is /	?1/?3b
51	16 ^v , LM:7	Domboc (8)	13	[paraph]	?
52	16 ^v , l. 7	Domboc (8)	13	að	?3a
53	16 ^v , 10	Domboc (8)	13	\ al /	?3a
54	16 ^v , LM:13	Domboc (8)	14	Æt oprū cerre	?3a
55	16 ^v , l. 13	Domboc (8)	14	[erasure]	?
56	16 ^v , l. 20	Domboc (8)	15	[punctus versus]	?
57	16 ^v , l. 23	Domboc (8)	15	\ e /	?3a

No.	Location	Law-Code	TB	Transcription / Notes	Hand
58	17 ^r , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Ælfredi	?
59	17 ^r , l. 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	16	[punctus versus]	?
60	17 ^r , l. 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	17	e	?
61	17 ^r , l. 12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	17	[punctus versus]	?
62	17 ^r , l. 14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	17	[punctus versus]	?
63	17 ^r , l. 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	17	[paraph]	?
64	17 ^r , RM:15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	17	7beoþeofe	?3a
65	17 ^r , l. 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	17	\ n /	?3a
66	17 ^r , l. 25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	19	\ hire /	3a
67	17 ^r , l. 25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	19	[punctus versus]	?
68	17 ^r , ll. 25-26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	19	[underlining]	?
69	17 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	legis	?
70	17 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	ÆLFREDES LAGE CYNINGES .	?
71	17 ^v , l. 2	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	19	[punctus versus]	?
72	17 ^v , l. 4	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	19	[punctus versus]	?
73	17 ^v , l. 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	19	[punctus versus]	?
74	17 ^v , l. 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	19	\ æðel /	?1
75	17 ^v , l. 12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	20	\ half pund /	3
76	17 ^v , l. 13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	20	\ æ /	3
77	17 ^v , l. 17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	21	[paraph]	?
78	17 ^v , l. 23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	22	[punctus versus]	?
79	18 ^r , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Ælfredi	?
80	18 ^r , l. 2	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	22	\ feowertigum / [underlining]	2
81	18 ^r , l. 5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	22	s	?3a
82	18 ^r , l. 5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	22	s	?3a
83	18 ^r , l. 5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	22	\ e /	?3a
84	18 ^r , l. 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	23	\ ðe hit /	3a
85	18 ^r , l. 17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	25	\ hit /	2
86	18 ^r , l. 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	26	[diacritics]	?
87	18 ^r , l. 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	26	[punctus versus]	?
88	18 ^r , l. 22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	26	[punctus versus]	?
89	18 ^r , l. 22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	26	s	?3a
90	18 ^r , l. 25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	26	[diacritic]	?
91	18 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	leges	?
92	18 ^v , LM: 2-5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	[paraph]	?
93	18 ^v , l. 5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	25	\ aldres / [underlining]	?1
94	18 ^v , l. 9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	26	\ him / [underlining]	?3a
95	18 ^v , l. 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	28	[erasure]	?
96	18 ^v , RM:24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	28	oððe	?1
97	18 ^v , l. 25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	28	\ hpætt /	?1
98	19 ^r , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Ælfredi	?
99	19 ^r , l. 9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	31	r	?
100	19 ^r , l. 12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	32	\ sciit /	?3a
101	19 ^r , l. 13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	32	[paraph]	?
102	19 ^r , l. 14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	33	7	?3a
103	19 ^r , l. 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	33	[paraph]	?

No.	Location	Law-Code	TB	Transcription / Notes	Hand
104	19 ^r , l. 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	33	\ to /	?3a
105	19 ^r , l. 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	34	e	?3a
106	19 ^r , 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	33	[paraph]	?
107	19 ^r , 22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	34	\ æ /	?3a
108	19 ^r , 23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	34	\ he /	3a
109	19 ^r , 25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	34	[paraph]	?
110	19 ^r , 25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	34	\ he /	3a
111	19 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	leges	?
112	19 ^v , 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	36	\ ne /	?1
113	19 ^v , 17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	38	[paraph]	?1
114	19 ^v , 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	38	ð	?1/?3b
115	20 ^r , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Ælfredi	?
116	20 ^r , 8 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	39	\ Θ / Θ gif he þone beo rd of ascere mi xx. scitt ge bet [end of each line trimmed]	3a
117	20 ^r , 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	39	\ to /	?3a
118	20 ^r , 9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	39	\ feopertig / [underlining]	?3a
119	20 ^r , 12 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	40	Gif beforan eagum	3a
120	20 ^r , RM:13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	40	gylde þone per	2
121	20 ^r , LM:13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	40	7	?3a
122	20 ^r , 14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	40	s	?
123	20 ^r , 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	40	\ 7 bisbeo /	3a
124	20 ^r , 16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	40	\ Ac /	?3a
125	20 ^r , 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	40	[paraph]	?
126	20 ^r , 22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	41	s\ e ðe /	?1
127	20 ^r , 24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	41	þā	?1
128	20 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	æLFREDES LAGE .	?
129	20 ^v , 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	42	7	?1/?3b
130	20 ^v , 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	44	\ on /	?3a
131	20 ^v , 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	44	[erasure]	?
132	20 ^v , 23 & LM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	44	\ Θ / Θ ceorles eoder brvce . fif scitt .	3a
133	20 ^v , 25 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	44	\ q / sihit tpi bote Gif mann anlene tene q	3a
134	21 ^r , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	44	Alfredi	?
135	21 ^r , 5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	45	[paraphs]	?
136	21 ^r , 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	47	[paraph]	?
137	21 ^r , 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	48	[erasure]	?
138	21 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	Leges	?
139	21 ^v , 1 & LM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	\ Θ / Θ Gif man odrū þ nebb of aftea ge bete hit mid feopertig scitt	3a
140	21 ^v , 11-12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[erasure]	?
141	21 ^v , 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[erasure]	?
142	22 ^r , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Ælfredi	?
143	22 ^r , 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	\ on /	?2

No.	Location	Law-Code	TB	Transcription / Notes	Hand
144	22 ^r , 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	\ e /	?2
145	22 ^r , 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	\ ge /	2
146	22 ^r , 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	\ ed /	?2
147	22 ^r , 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph]	?
148	22 ^r , 24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraphs]	?
149	22 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Leges	?
150	22 ^v , 1	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph]	?
151	22 ^v , 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	\ ti /	?3a
152	22 ^v , 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph]	?
153	22 ^v , 7 & LM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	\ Θ / Θ feopertig >	?1
154	22 ^v , 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[erasure]	?
155	22 ^v , 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph]	?
156	22 ^v , 24 & LM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	\ Θ / Θ xxx. sciff	3
157	22 ^v , 24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	49	[paraph]	?
158	23 ^r , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Lages Inæ	?
159	23 ^r , 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	50	[erasure]	?
160	23 ^r , 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	50	C INE	?3b
161	23 ^r , 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	50	[brackets]	?
162	23 ^r , 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	50	[paraph]	?
163	23 ^r , 9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	50	[diacritics]	?
164	23 ^r , 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	50	[diacritic]	?
165	23 ^r , 13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	50	te	?3a
166	23 ^r , 14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	50	[diacritic]	?
167	23 ^r , 14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	50	m	?
168	23 ^r , 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	51	[diacritic]	?
169	23 ^r , 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	51	[erasure]	?
170	23 ^r , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Leges	?
171	23 ^v , 1	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	53	\ mā datū / [underlining]	?
172	23 ^v , 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	53	\ si /	?1
173	23 ^v , 16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	56	[erasure]	?
174	23 ^v , 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	56	[diacritic]	?
175	24 ^r , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Inæ	?
176	24 ^r , 13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	58	[paraph]	?
177	24 ^r , 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	59	on nime. agyfe. 7for	?1
178	24 ^r , 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	60	[erasure]	?
179	24 ^r , 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	61	\ leodan / [underlining]	3a
180	24 ^r , LM:22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	61	pið godd seoplice bete	3a
181	24 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Leges	?
182	24 ^v , 1	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	63	Ð	?1/?3b
183	24 ^v , 2	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	63	[erasure]	?
184	24 ^v , LM:2	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	63	7syððan	3a
185	24 ^v , 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	63	[paraph]	?
186	24 ^v , 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	65	\ he /	?3a
187	24 ^v , 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	65	\ þā /	?1
188	24 ^v , 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	65	\ half /	?1
189	24 ^v , 9	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	65	Ð	?1/?3b
190	24 ^v , 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	65	[paraph]	?

No.	Location	Law-Code	TB	Transcription / Notes	Hand
191	24 ^v , 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	67	S	?1/?3b
192	24 ^v , 17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	68	\ t / t	?
193	24 ^v , 24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	70	g	?3a
194	25 ^f , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Inæ	?
195	25 ^f , 4	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	71	[paraph]	?
196	25 ^f , 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	71	\ his /	?3a
197	25 ^f , 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	71	\ a /	?3a
198	25 ^f , 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	73	\ red /	?3a
199	25 ^f , 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	73	\ ne / s	?3a
200	25 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Leges	?
201	25 ^v , 2	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	75	[erasure]	?
202	25 ^v , 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	75	\ Θ / Θ forstolen [paraphs]	?3a
203	25 ^v , 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	75	\ nien /	?3a
204	25 ^v , 5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	75	[diacritics]	?
205	25 ^v , 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	76	T	?
206	25 ^v , 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	76	[erasure]	?
207	25 ^v , 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	76	[diacritic]	?
208	25 ^v , 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	77	g	?3a
209	25 ^v , 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	77	\ do / [underlining]	?3a
210	25 ^v , 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	77	[paraph]	?
211	25 ^v , 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	77	[inverted paraph/bracket]	?
212	25 ^v , 22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	80	[erasure]	?
213	25 ^v , 23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	80	\ nge / [underlining]	?2
214	25 ^v , 24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	80	[erasure]	?
215	25 ^v , 24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	80	\ he /	?2
216	26 ^f , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Inaæ	?
217	26 ^f , LM:3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	81	borgan	?2
218	26 ^f , 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	84	\ n /	?2
219	26 ^f , 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	84	\ r /	?2
220	26 ^f , 13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	84	s	?2
221	26 ^f , 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	84	\ n /	?2
222	26 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	legas	?
223	26 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	INES LAGE .	?
224	26 ^v , LM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	. [trimmed]	?
225	26 ^v , 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	87	[erasure]	?
226	26 ^v , 24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	90	\ I B /	?
227	27 ^f , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Inæ	?
228	27 ^f , 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	91	ge	?3a
229	27 ^f , 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	91	[paraph] \ 7 /	?1
230	27 ^f , 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	92	pell	?1
231	27 ^f , 26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	92	[paraph]	?
232	27 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	leges	?
233	27 ^v , 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	94	: c	?
234	27 ^v , 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	94	\ am /	?1
235	27 ^v , 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	95	\ ann /	?3a
236	27 ^v , 13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	95	\ Gij pylisc /	?3a
237	27 ^v , 14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	95	[paraph]	?

No.	Location	Law-Code	TB	Transcription / Notes	Hand
238	27 ^v , 14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	95	[diacritic]	?
239	27 ^v , 22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	97	\ /	?1/?3b
240	27 ^v , 23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	98	[diacritic]	?
241	27 ^v , 26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	98	\ ænne /	?2
242	28 ^f , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Inæ	?
243	28 ^f , 4	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	98	\ spic /	2
244	28 ^f , 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	100	\ ferd /	?3a
245	28 ^f , 26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	102	[erasure]	?
246	28 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	INES LAGE	?
247	28 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	leges	?
248	28 ^v , LM:6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	103	s	?
249	28 ^v , 16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	103	\ /	?
250	28 ^v , 16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	103	[paraph]	?
251	28 ^v , 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	104	\ e /	?1
252	28 ^v , 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	104	\ mid /	1?/?3b
253	28 ^v , 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	104	\ r /	?3a
254	28 ^v , 23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	105	\ pā syllend /	1
255	28 ^v , 26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	106	\ mann /	?3a
256	28 ^v , 26	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	106	\ hett /	?3a
257	28 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Inæ	?
258	29 ^f , 1	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	106	\ bip /	?1
259	29 ^f , 1	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	106	\ scyldig /	3a
260	29 ^f , 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	106	\ h /	?3a
261	29 ^f , 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	107	[diacritic]	?
262	29 ^f , 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	109	.iiii.	?1/?3b
263	29 ^f , 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	112	\ enge /	?1/?2
264	29 ^f , 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	112	[paraph]	?
265	29 ^f , 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	112	M	?
266	29 ^f , 12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	112	[underlining]	?
267	29 ^f , 12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	112	æ	?
268	29 ^f , 13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	113	ð	?1/?3b
269	29 ^f , 14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	113	[diacritic]	?
270	29 ^f , 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	114	\ sceal /	?2
271	29 ^f , 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	114	[erasure]	?
272	29 ^f , 20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	114	[paraph]	?
273	29 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Leges	?
274	29 ^v , 2	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	115	\ forð /	?1
275	29 ^v , 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	115	[erasure]	?
276	29 ^v , 11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	117	[paraph]	?
277	29 ^v , 13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	119	[diacritics]	?
278	29 ^v , 24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	123	y	?
279	30 ^f , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	~	Inæ	?
280	30 ^f , 4 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	123	\ Θ / Θ 7tynges 7penti hen na 7tyn cysas	3a
281	30 ^f , 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	127	[erasure]	?
282	30 ^f , 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	127	\ n /	?3a
283	30 ^f , RM:22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	127	onne	?3a

No.	Location	Law-Code	TB	Transcription / Notes	Hand
284	30 ^v , 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	128	\ mot /	?
285	30 ^v , 7 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	128	\ Θ / Θ cypan	3a
286	30 ^v , 15	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	129	same	?2
287	30 ^v , 18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	129	same	?2
288	30 ^v , 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	129	\ a /	?1
289	30 ^v , 24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	1	k	?
290	38 ^r , 12	I Cnut (9)	130	[underlining]	?
291	38 ^r , 23-24	I Cnut (9)	130	[erasure]	?
292	38 ^v , UM	I Cnut (9)	~	Leges	?
293	38 ^v , 7	I Cnut (9)	130	[erasure]	?
294	38 ^v , 8	I Cnut (9)	130	\ all /	?1
295	38 ^v , 8	I Cnut (9)	130	\ o /	?1/?3b
296	38 ^v , 9	I Cnut (9)	130	[diacritic]	?
297	38 ^v , 26	I Cnut (9)	130	7	?3a
298	38 ^v , 26	I Cnut (9)	130	[erasure]	?
299	39 ^r , UM	I Cnut (9)	~	Cnuti	?
300	39 ^r , 1	I Cnut (9)	130	ge	?
301	39 ^r , 15	I Cnut (9)	130	[brackets]	?
302	39 ^r , 15	I Cnut (9)	130	\ /	?1/?3b
303	39 ^r , RM:16	I Cnut (9)	130	+	?
304	39 ^r , 24 & RM	I Cnut (9)	130	\ Θ / Θ: pessculanus gebiddan 7m pā credan	3a
305	39 ^v , UM	I Cnut (9)	130	Leges	?
306	39 ^v , 1	I Cnut (9)	130	\ d /	?1
307	39 ^v , LM:4	I Cnut (9)	130	b	?2
308	39 ^v , 4	I Cnut (9)	130	ð	?1/?3b
309	39 ^v , 16	I Cnut (9)	130	\ d /	?1
310	39 ^v , 21	I Cnut (9)	130	[diacritic]	?
311	39 ^v , 23	I Cnut (9)	130	[diacritic]	?
312	39 ^v , 24	I Cnut (9)	130	\ h /	?1
313	39 ^v , 25	I Cnut (9)	130	[diacritic]	?
314	40 ^r , UM	I Cnut (9)	130	Cnuti	?
315	40 ^r , 6	I Cnut (9)	130	\ he /	?3a
316	40 ^r , RM:21	II Cnut (10)	131	+	?
317	40 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Leges	?
318	40 ^v , 18	II Cnut (10)	131	e	?1
319	41 ^r , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Cnuti	?
320	41 ^r , 9	II Cnut (10)	131	þ	?2
321	41 ^r , 9	II Cnut (10)	131	[erasure]	?
322	41 ^r , 10	II Cnut (10)	131	\ þ /	?1/?3b
323	41 ^r , 20	II Cnut (10)	131	[punctus versus]	?
324	41 ^r , 22	II Cnut (10)	131	[punctus versus]	?
325	41 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Leges	?
326	41 ^v , 1	II Cnut (10)	131	[diacritic]	?
327	41 ^v , 2	II Cnut (10)	131	[diacritic]	?
328	41 ^v , 9	II Cnut (10)	131	[diacritics]	?
329	41 ^v , 12	II Cnut (10)	131	[diacritics]	?

No.	Location	Law-Code	TB	Transcription / Notes	Hand
330	41 ^v , 14	II Cnut (10)	131	\ y /	?
331	41 ^v , 15	II Cnut (10)	131	[diacritics]	?
332	41 ^v , 17	II Cnut (10)	131	[diacritic]	?
333	41 ^v , 18	II Cnut (10)	131	[diacritics]	?
334	42 ^f , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Cnuti	?
335	42 ^f , 11	II Cnut (10)	132	\ h /	?3a
336	42 ^f , 20	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritics]	?
337	42 ^f , 21	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
338	42 ^f , 22	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
339	42 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Leges	?
340	42 ^v , 6	II Cnut (10)	132	\ si /	?3a
341	42 ^v , 9	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
342	42 ^v , 12	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritics]	?
343	42 ^v , 14	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritics]	?
344	42 ^v , 15	II Cnut (10)	132	\ neod /	?1
345	42 ^v , 18	II Cnut (10)	132	[erasure]	?
346	42 ^v , 19	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
347	42 ^v , 23	II Cnut (10)	132	\ and daga /	?2
348	43 ^f , UM	II Cnut (10)	132	Cnuti	?
349	43 ^f , 3	II Cnut (10)	132	\ freo /	?3a
350	43 ^f , 4	II Cnut (10)	132	7	?3a
351	43 ^f , 12	II Cnut (10)	132	þ	?3a
352	43 ^f , 16	II Cnut (10)	132	\ d /	?3a
353	43 ^f , 17 & RM	II Cnut (10)	132	\ Θ / Θ: on þreō hundredan 7þreo faldne að	?3a
354	43 ^f , 19	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
355	43 ^f , 22	II Cnut (10)	132	sy	?1/?3b
356	43 ^f , 26	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
357	43 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	132	Leges	?
358	43 ^v , 4	II Cnut (10)	132	\ si /	?3a
359	43 ^v , 4	II Cnut (10)	132	[erasure]	?
360	43 ^v , 5	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
361	43 ^v , 6	II Cnut (10)	132	[erasure]	?
362	43 ^v , 9	II Cnut (10)	132	y	?
363	43 ^v , 10	II Cnut (10)	132	\ p /	?3a
364	43 ^v , 18	II Cnut (10)	132	\ n /	?
365	43 ^v , 19 & LM	II Cnut (10)	132	\ Θ / Θ: 7mannge crapančan þ þærbyrgde biþ	?2
366	44 ^f , UM	II Cnut (10)	132	Cnuti	?
367	44 ^f , 4	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritics]	?
368	44 ^f , 6	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritics]	?
369	44 ^f , 13	II Cnut (10)	132	\ n /	?
370	44 ^f , 14	II Cnut (10)	132	þ	?3a
371	44 ^f , 20	II Cnut (10)	132	7	?1/?3b
372	44 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	132	Leges	?
373	44 ^v , 4	II Cnut (10)	132	[erasure]	?

No.	Location	Law-Code	TB	Transcription / Notes	Hand
374	44 ^v , 11 & LM	II Cnut (10)	132	\ Θ / Θ: þe þæs purþe si	3a
375	44 ^v , 12	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
376	44 ^v , 14	II Cnut (10)	132	[punctus versus]	?
377	44 ^v , 15	II Cnut (10)	132	[erasure]	?
378	44 ^v , 17	II Cnut (10)	132	ð	?
379	44 ^v , 17	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
380	44 ^v , 24	II Cnut (10)	132	oþer	?1/?3b
381	44 ^v , 26	II Cnut (10)	132	[erasure]	?
382	44 ^v , 26	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
383	45 ^r , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Cnuti	?
384	45 ^r , 3	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
385	45 ^r , 4	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
386	45 ^r , 5	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
387	45 ^r , 6	II Cnut (10)	132	\ sceal /	?1/?3b
388	45 ^r , 13	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
389	45 ^r , 15	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
390	45 ^r , 17	II Cnut (10)	132	\ borlige /	?1 ?3b
391	45 ^r , 18	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
392	45 ^r , 19	II Cnut (10)	132	[erasure]	?
393	45 ^r , 19	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
394	45 ^r , 22	II Cnut (10)	132	[erasure]	?
395	45 ^r , 22	II Cnut (10)	132	\ ii /	?1 ?3b
396	45 ^r , 24	II Cnut (10)	132	f	?
397	45 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	132	Leges	?
398	45 ^v , 6	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
399	46 ^r , UM	II Cnut (10)	132	Leges	?
400	46 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	132	Leges	?
401	46 ^v , 3	II Cnut (10)	132	[erasure]	?
402	46 ^v , 3	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritics]	?
403	46 ^v , 4	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
404	46 ^v , 5	II Cnut (10)	132	[diacritic]	?
405	46 ^v , 6	II Cnut (10)	132	[punctus versus]	?
406	46 ^v , 6	II Cnut (10)	132	G	?2 ?3a
407	46 ^v , 7	II Cnut (10)	132	[erasures]	?
408	46 ^v , 7	II Cnut (10)	132	\ hine /	?3a
409	46 ^v , 7	II Cnut (10)	132	B	?
410	46 ^v , 10	II Cnut (10)	132	\ e /	?1/?3b
411	46 ^v , 11	II Cnut (10)	132	\ ge /	?3a
412	46 ^v , LM:15	II Cnut (10)	132	hine sylfne	3a
413	46 ^v , 15	II Cnut (10)	132	[erasure]	?
414	46 ^v , 19	II Cnut (10)	132	e	?
415	46 ^v , 23	II Cnut (10)	132	\ ta /	?1
416	46 ^v , RM:23	II Cnut (10)	132	de	?1
417	46 ^v , 24	II Cnut (10)	132	[underlining]	?
418	46 ^v , 25	II Cnut (10)	132	[erasure]	?
419	47 ^r , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Cnuti	?
420	47 ^r , RM:4	II Cnut (10)	133	+	?

No.	Location	Law-Code	TB	Transcription / Notes	Hand
421	47 ^r , 8	II Cnut (10)	133	[erasure]	?
422	47 ^r , 10	II Cnut (10)	133	\ 7 /	?
423	47 ^r , 10	II Cnut (10)	133	[erasure]	?
424	47 ^r , LM:12	II Cnut (10)	133	riht	3a
425	47 ^r , 12	II Cnut (10)	133	s	?3a
426	47 ^r , 13	II Cnut (10)	133	[erasure]	?
427	47 ^r , 13	II Cnut (10)	133	\ de /	?1/?3b
428	47 ^r , 16	II Cnut (10)	133	\ sylfne /	?3a
429	47 ^r , 16	II Cnut (10)	133	[erasure]	?
430	47 ^r , 22	II Cnut (10)	133	\ eac /	?1/?3b
431	47 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	133	Leges	?
432	47 ^v , 1	II Cnut (10)	133	hine	3a
433	47 ^v , 3	II Cnut (10)	133	l	?
434	47 ^v , 8	II Cnut (10)	133	\ mann /	?3a
435	47 ^v , 9	II Cnut (10)	133	[diacritics]	?
436	47 ^v , 13	II Cnut (10)	133	[erasure]	?
437	47 ^v , 15	II Cnut (10)	133	\ hine /	?3a
438	48 ^r , UM	II Cnut (10)	133	Cnuti	?
439	48 ^r , 5	II Cnut (10)	133	\ n /	?1/?3b
440	48 ^r , RM:6	II Cnut (10)	133	piþgodd	2
441	48 ^r , 11-12	II Cnut (10)	133	driue himan of	3b
442	48 ^r , LM:15	II Cnut (10)	133	þone banan	3a
443	48 ^r , 16	II Cnut (10)	133	\ i /	?1/?3b
444	48 ^r , 17	II Cnut (10)	133	7þærclæne pyrþ	2
445	48 ^r , 20	II Cnut (10)	133	\ ce /	?1/?3b
446	48 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Leges	?
447	48 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	133	andi	?
448	48 ^v , 7	II Cnut (10)	133	lage	?
449	48 ^v , 7	II Cnut (10)	133	\ 7endena /	?1/?3b
450	48 ^v , 14	II Cnut (10)	133	c	?
451	48 ^v , LM:17	II Cnut (10)	133	þærto	3a
452	48 ^v , LM:19	II Cnut (10)	133	eall	2
453	48 ^v , 23	II Cnut (10)	133	\ um /	2
454	48 ^v , 23	II Cnut (10)	133	[erasures]	?
455	48 ^v , 24	II Cnut (10)	133	[diacritic]	?
456	49 ^r , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Cnuti	?
457	49 ^r , 1	II Cnut (10)	133	[underlining]	?
458	49 ^r , 8	II Cnut (10)	133	þ	?3a
459	49 ^r , 10	II Cnut (10)	133	þ	?
460	49 ^r , 12	II Cnut (10)	133	þelige 7þædle frige 7 þeopæ	3a
461	49 ^r , 13	II Cnut (10)	133	[underlining]	?
462	49 ^r , 17	II Cnut (10)	133	[erasure]	?
463	49 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Leges	?
464	49 ^v , 3	II Cnut (10)	136	[erasure]	?
465	49 ^v , 14	II Cnut (10)	137	a	?3a
466	50 ^r , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Cnuti	?

No.	Location	Law-Code	TB	Transcription / Notes	Hand
467	50 ^r , 10	II Cnut (10)	138	[erasure]	?
468	50 ^r , RM:11	II Cnut (10)	138	hisdeig	3a
469	50 ^r , 18	II Cnut (10)	138	\ gyf heo /	3a
470	50 ^r , 19	II Cnut (10)	138	[diacritic]	?
471	50 ^r , 21	II Cnut (10)	138	\ þære /	3a
472	50 ^r , 21 & RM	II Cnut (10)	138	þurh þone ærran pere heafde . 7for þanyxtan fry to þā lande to þā ælhte þ heo ærhæf 7 si he his	3a
473	50 ^r , 26	II Cnut (10)	138	\ no /	2
474	50 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Leges	?
475	50 ^v , 1	II Cnut (10)	138	7 [underlining]	?
476	50 ^v , 8	II Cnut (10)	138	\ uete riht / [underlining]	3a
477	50 ^v , 16	II Cnut (10)	138	[diacritic]	?
478	51 ^r , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Cnuti	?
479	51 ^r , RM: 3	II Cnut (10)	139	7 hiretægan	3a
480	51 ^r , 5	II Cnut (10)	139	[paraph]	?
481	51 ^r , 9	II Cnut (10)	141	[erasure]	?
482	51 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Leges	?
483	51 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	dniō meo	?
484	51 ^v , 2	II Cnut (10)	145	d	?1/?3b
485	51 ^v , 3	II Cnut (10)	145	[erasure]	?
486	51 ^v , 8	II Cnut (10)	146	on minon agenan	3a
487	51 ^v , 9	II Cnut (10)	146	[paraph]	?
488	51 ^v , 10	II Cnut (10)	146	\ un /	?
489	51 ^v , 13	II Cnut (10)	147	[paraph]	?
490	51 ^v , 17	II Cnut (10)	149	\ yp /	?3a
491	51 ^v , 25	II Cnut (10)	149	\ G /	?
492	52 ^r , UM	II Cnut (10)	~	Cnuti	?
493	52 ^r , 14	II Cnut (10)	152	aS	?1
494	52 ^v , 12	I Edward (11)	156	[erasure]	?
495	53 ^v , 4	II Edward (12)	157	[erasure]	?
496	53 ^v , 5	II Edward (12)	157	[erasure]	?
497	53 ^v , 25	II Edward (12)	157	[erasure]	?
498	54 ^v , 8	I Edmund (13)	159	[underlining]	?
499	54 ^v , 9	I Edmund (13)	159	\ eo /	?1/?3b
500	54 ^v , 9	I Edmund (13)	159	\ + /	?
501	54 ^v , 10	I Edmund (13)	159	\ d /	?1/?3b
502	54 ^v , 11	I Edmund (13)	159	\ cumen /	?1/?3b
503	54 ^v , 12	I Edmund (13)	159	\ afte[x] /	?1/?3b
504	54 ^v , 19	I Edmund (13)	159	\ cA toitaig /	?1/?3b
505	55 ^r , 1	I Edmund (13)	159	\ refiriat / [underlining]	?1/?3b
506	55 ^r , 5	I Edmund (13)	159	[erasure]	?
507	55 ^r , 16	II Edmund (14)	160	[erasure]	?
508	55 ^v , 4	II Edmund (14)	160	[erasure]	?
509	55 ^v , 11	II Edmund (14)	161	[erasure]	?
510	57 ^r , 9	<i>Swerian</i> (15)	171	[erasure]	?
511	58 ^r , 11	<i>Wifmannes</i> (17)	174	[erasure]	?

No.	Location	Law-Code	TB	Transcription / Notes	Hand
512	59 ^r , UM	<i>Wergild</i> (18)	~	amen [xxxxxx]d	?
513	59 ^r , 14	Charm (19)	177	\ i /	?1/?3b
514	59 ^r , 22	<i>Hit Becwæð</i> (20)	178	\ h /	?1/?3b
515	59 ^v , UM	<i>Hit Becwæð</i> (20)	~	d d d ^m e me	?
516	59 ^v , 13	<i>Hit Becwæð</i> (20)	178	[erasure]	?
517	59 ^v , 14	<i>Hit Becwæð</i> (20)	178	[erasure]	?
518	59 ^v , 17	II <i>Æðelred</i> (21)	179	[erasure]	?
519	59 ^v , 19-20	II <i>Æðelred</i> (21)	179	[underlining]	?
520	60 ^r , UM	II <i>Æðelred</i> (21)	~	D ⁿ e	?
521	60 ^r , 12	II <i>Æðelred</i> (21)	179	[underlining]	?
522	60 ^r , 16	II <i>Æðelred</i> (21)	179	[underlining]	?
523	60 ^v , LM:14	II <i>Æðelred</i> (21)	179	. V. seit Diet oen sei.ei.e meident	?
524	62 ^r , 5	<i>Dunsæte</i> (22)	180	[underlining]	?
525	62 ^r , 6	<i>Dunsæte</i> (22)	180	[underlining]	?
526	62 ^v , 12	<i>Dunsæte</i> (22)	180	[erasure]	?
527	62 ^v , 17-19	<i>Dunsæte</i> (22)	180	[underlining]	?
528	63 ^r , 12	<i>Dunsæte</i> (22)	180	[underlining]	?
529	63 ^r , 19	<i>Dunsæte</i> (22)	180	[underlining]	?
530	63 ^r , 21-22	<i>Dunsæte</i> (22)	180	[underlining]	?
531	63 ^r , 23	<i>Dunsæte</i> (22)	180	[underlining]	?
532	64 ^v , 6	<i>Dunsæte</i> (22)	180	[erasure]	?
533	64 ^v , 12	<i>Dunsæte</i> (22)	180	[erasure]	?
534	66 ^r , 5	<i>RSP</i> (23)	195	g	?1 ?3b
535	67 ^r , 14	<i>RSP</i> (23)	202	[underlining]	?
536	67 ^r , 15	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	202	[underlining]	?
537	68 ^v , LM:1	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	208	a	?1
538	68 ^v , LM:11	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	209	a	?1
539	68 ^v , LM:16	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	209	m	?1

APPENDIX H: RUBRICS

The following table presents the rubrics (all of which were added by the hand 3a scribe). Each rubric is enumerated under 'No.' for cross-reference in the thesis and with other tables. 'Location' identifies the position on the folio, using line numbers, 'LM' for left margin, 'RM' for right margin, 'UM' for upper margin and 'BM' for bottom margin. Identification of a margin, followed by a colon and number indicates that the rubric is in the margin parallel to the stated lines. 'Law-code' gives the name of the law-code and its Item No. for cross-reference with Appendix D. 'Text-Block' is a cross-reference by number with Appendix E. Finally, 'Transcription' is a diplomatic copy of the rubric with line breaks marked with < | > and uncertain/missing letters indicated in square brackets.

No.	Location	Law-code	Text-Block	Transcription
1	10 ^r , 6	<i>Forfang</i> (2)	2	BE FOR FENGE·
2	10 ^r , RM:22-24	<i>Hundred</i> (3)	3	Ðæt iñ faran oncryd æft ðeofan ·
3	11 ^r , 10-11, RM	I Æðelred (4)	3	ÆDELREDES LAGE ·
4	12 ^v , 1	<i>Frið</i> , v. 1 (5)	4	ÆLFREDES LAGA CYNINGES·
5	13 ^r , 1-2, RM	Ps.-Edward (6)	5	EFT HIS 7Guðru mes· 7eadpar des ·
6	14 ^v , 24	II Æðelstan (7)	6	Be ðeofum ·
7	15 ^r , 17	II Æðelstan (7)	7	Be lafordleafū mannū·
8	16 ^r , 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	12	BE CYNINCSES SWICDOME ·
9	16 ^r , 13-14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	13	BE CIRI CENE FRIÐE
10	16 ^v , 10 & RM:10-12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	14	BEÐĀ ÐE STELEÐ ON CIRIC ·
11	16 ^v , 16 & RM:16-18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	15	BEÐĀ · þ MANFEOHTEÐ on kyning healles
12	16 ^v , 23 & RM:23-24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	16	Be ðā · þe nunnan of mynstre ut alædeð
13	17 ^r , 8 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	17	BEÐĀ ÐÆT MAN OF SLEA ÞIF MID CILDE·
14	17 ^r , 19 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	18	BE hæMED ÐINGŪ.
15	17 ^r , 23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	19	EFT ·
16	17 ^v , 7 & RM:7-10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	20	BEÞUDEBERNETE·7Gif man afylled bið ongema nū þeor ce.
17	17 ^v , 17; RM:17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	21	BE DŪBRA MANNA [...] dædū.
18	17 ^v , 20 & RM:20-21	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	22	Be ðā · þman to foran þ feoh teð
19	17 ^v , BM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	22	Beðā gifman ofmyran falan adriþ · oððe cu cealf ·
20	18 ^r , RM:3-5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	22	Ðe oðrū his unmagū æt fæsteð ·
21	18 ^r , RM:6-7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	23	BE NUNNENA ANDFENCĠŪ ·
22	18 ^r , 17 & RM:17-18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	24	Be þā þe heore þepna lænað to manslihte ·
23	18 ^v , RM:3-5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	25	Be þā þe mun can heore feah befæs tað
24	18 ^v , 7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	26	BE PREOSTA GEFEOhte ·
25	18 ^v , RM:12-13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	27	Be cyninc ges gerefan dyfðe ·
26	18 ^v , 16-17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	28	Be hyndes slitt

No.	Location	Law-code	Text-Block	Transcription
27	18 ^v , 25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	29	BE nytena misdædū.
28	19 ^f , UM, 1	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	30	Be ceorles m̄nenes nydhemedede .
29	19 ^f , 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	31	Be tpyhyndū men æt hloð slihte .
30	19 ^f , 11, RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	32	Be sixhyndū m̄
31	19 ^f , 13 & RM:13-14.	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	33	Be [...] tpylf hendū m̄.
32	19 ^f , 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	34	Be unge pintredes [...] pif mannes slæge .
33	19 ^v , 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	37	Be god borhgum .
34	19 ^v , 16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	38	BE CYPMANNUM .
35	19 ^v , RM:25- 26, BM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	39	Be ceorlis tes man nes binde lan .
36	20 ^f , RM:9, 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	40	BE SPERES GYMBLEASTE .
37	20 ^f , 18 & RM:18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	41	Be bold ge [...]tale .
38	20 ^v , 3, RM:2-4	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	42	Be ðā ðe beforan aldor m̄ onge mote peohte
39	20 ^v , 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	43	EFT .
40	20 ^v , 12, RM:11-13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	44	Be cyr lisces monnes flette ge feoht
41	20 ^v , RM:17-18	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	44	Be burh bryce .
42	20 ^f , RM:26, BM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	44	Be boc lande .
43	21 ^f , 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	45	BE HEADOF WUNDE . 7oðre
44	21 ^f , 14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	47	liinan .
45	23 ^f , 5, RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	50	INES LAGE
46	23 ^v , 7, RM:7- 8(9?)	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	54	BE CIRIC SCEA TTE S
47	23 ^v , 10, RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	55	BE CIRIC SOCNŪ
48	23 ^v , 15, RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	56	BEGE FEOhtū
49	24 ^f , 3	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	57	BE STALE .
50	24 ^f , 8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	58	BERIHtes BENE .
51	24 ^f , 13 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	59	be þā precen [...] dan
52	24 ^f , 16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	60	BE REAF LACE .
53	24 ^f , 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	61	BE LAND BYGENE
54	24 ^f , 22, RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	62	BEGEFANGENŪ ðEOFŪ.
55	24 ^f , 25, RM:25-26, BM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	63	Be þā þe heore ge pitnesse geleogað
56	24 ^v , 5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	65	BE HERGE.
57	24 ^v , 10, RM:10-11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	66	Be [...] ðeof slæge.
58	24 ^v , 12 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	67	BE FORSTOLENŪ flæs CE.
59	24 ^v , 16 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	68	Be ceorliscū ðeofū ge fangenū
60	24 ^v , 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	69	Be cinges ge neate.
61	24 ^v , 22, RM:22-23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	70	Be feorran cume nan m̄
62	24 ^v , 26, BM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	70	BE sþa of slage nes mannes pere
63	25 ^f , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	71	INES LAGE.
64	25 ^f , 7, RM:7-8	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	72	BEða þemannes geneat stalige .
65	25 ^f , 11, RM:11-12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	73	BE æl ðeodiges mannes slæge.
66	25 ^v , UM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	75	BE cypmanna fare uppe land.
67	25 ^v , 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	76	Befundenes cil des fostre .
68	25 ^v , RM:9-11	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	77	BEða þe dearnunge bearn stry neð.

No.	Location	Law-code	Text-Block	Transcription
69	25 ^v , 12, RM:12-13	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	78	Be ðeopes mannes onfenge æt ðyfðe .
70	25 ^v , 18 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	79	Be ðā þe his speord alæ ne oðres [...] ðeowan .
71	25 ^v , 22 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	80	Be þā þe cyrlisman feor mige flyman
72	25 ^v , 26, BM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	80	Be þā · þe man pif bycge · 7seo gift pið stande ·
73	26 ^f , RM:3-4	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	82	Be pylisces mannes land hæfene.
74	26 ^f , 7-8 & RM:7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	83	Be cinincges hors pale .
75	26 ^f , 10	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	84	Be manslihte .
76	26 ^f , RM:15-16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	85	Be ðeof slihte .
77	26 ^f , 25 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	86	Be ðeofes andfenge · 7hine spa for læte ·
78	26 ^v , 5-6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	87	Be ceorlisces monnes betogelnesse
79	26 ^v , RM:9-14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	88	Beðā ðe riht ge sa hi pan bearn hab ban·
80	26 ^v , 15, RM:15-16	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	89	Be un alyfedā fare frā his laforde
81	26 ^v , 19, RM:19-20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	90	Be ceorles porðilge ·
82	26 ^v , RM:25, 26, BM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	90	Be ðā þ ceorlas habbað land gemæme · 7 gærstunas ·
83	27 ^f , 14 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	92	Be pude bærneþe·
84	27 ^f , 23, RM:22-24	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	93	Be pude and fenge·
85	27 ^v , 2 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	94	Be burh bryce ·
86	27 ^v , 7 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	95	BESTAL TIHLAN·
87	27 ^v , 18, RM:17-19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	97	Be þite ðeopū man nū.
88	27 ^v , 22, RM:21-23	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	98	Beun alefedū mæs tenū andfe ncge.
89	28 ^f , 5-6 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	99	Bege siðcundes mannes geðinge ·
90	28 ^f , 11 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	100	Be þa þege siðcund man fyrde for sitte ·
91	28 ^f , 15 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	101	Be dyrnunge þincðe ·
92	28 ^f , RM:18-19, 19	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	102	Be forstole ~ nes mannes forfenge ·
93	28 ^v , 6, RM:5-7	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	103	Be þer fæhðe tyh lan·
94	28 ^v , 17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	104	Be eope pyrðe ·
95	28 ^v , 19-21 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	105	Bege hpylces cea pes pyrðe
96	28 ^v , 25, RM:24-25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	106	Be cyrlisces mannes stale ·
97	29 ^f , 13 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	113	Be hyr oxan ·
98	29 ^f , 17	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	114	Be ciric sceatte ·
99	29 ^f , 20 & RM:20-22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	115	Be þā þeman [...] to ceace for drælfæ ·
100	29 ^v , 4-6 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	116	Be ge siðcundes mannes fare
101	29 ^v , 8 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	117	Beðā þehafð ·xx· hida ·
102	29 ^v , 11 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	118	Betyn [...]hidū
103	29 ^v , 12 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	119	Be ðreō h̄.
104	29 ^v , 14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	120	Be gyrde
105	29 ^v , 19, RM:18-20	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	121	Bege siðcundes mannes drafe of lan de
106	29 ^v , 21, RM:21-22	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	122	Be sceares gan ge.
107	29 ^v , 24, RM:24-25	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	123	Be tpyhindū pere.

No.	Location	Law-code	Text-Block	Transcription
108	30 ^r , 6	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	124	Be per tyhlan .
109	30 ^r , 10 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	125	Be pergild ðeofes fore fenge .
110	30 ^r , 13-14, & RM: 14	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	126	Be anre nihte ðyfte.
111	30 ^r , 17-18 & RM	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	127	Be þā þe ðeop palh frigne man of slea .
112	30 ^v , 3 & RM:3-5	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	128	BE FORSTOLE NE CEA PE .
113	30 ^v , 9 & RM:9-12	<i>Domboc</i> (8)	129	BEGODFÆDERES oððe GODSU NES SLAH TE.
114	30 ^v , 20 & RM	<i>Be Blaserum</i> (1)	1	BEMORÐSLIHTŪ
115	38 ^r , RM:6	I Cnut (9)	130	befæstene
116	38 ^v , LM:12	I Cnut (9)	130	BESCRIFTE.
117	39 ^v , UM	I Cnut (9)	130	CNUTES LAGE.
118	39 ^v , LM:13	I Cnut (9)	130	GODLaR
119	40 ^v , LM:25	II Cnut (10)	131	ÞICCEAN.
120	41 ^r , RM:8	II Cnut (10)	131	Behæðenscipe.
121	41 ^r , RM:24	II Cnut (10)	131	Feosbote.
122	42 ^r , RM:3	II Cnut (10)	132	UTLAGA.
123	42 ^v , LM:11-12	II Cnut (10)	132	Sece man his hundred .
124	42 ^v , LM:17	II Cnut (10)	132	Be nááme:
125	42 ^v , LM:24-25	II Cnut (10)	132	þ ælc mon beo onteoðunge .
126	43 ^r , RM:10	II Cnut (10)	132	Beðeofan .
127	44 ^r , RM:6	II Cnut (10)	132	Be ðeofan .
128	44 ^v , LM:1-2	II Cnut (10)	132	Spyðe unge treope
129	44 ^v , LM:16	II Cnut (10)	132	Be ordale .
130	45 ^r , RM:15-16	II Cnut (10)	132	Be hired monnū .
131	45 ^v , LM:3-5	II Cnut (10)	132	Be unge creopum mannum .
132	45 ^v , LM:14-15	II Cnut (10)	132	Befreond leasan .
133	45 ^v , LM:21-22	II Cnut (10)	132	Be mænan aðe .
134	46 ^r , RM:2-3	II Cnut (10)	132	Beleasre ge pitnesse .
135	46 ^r , RM:13-14	II Cnut (10)	132	Gif hpa pre[.]lost of slea
136	46 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	132	BE GE hADEDŪ MANNŪ.
137	46 ^v , LM:9-11	II Cnut (10)	132	Ðæt mange hadodne man bende . ne beate .
138	47 ^r , 1, RM:1-3	II Cnut (10)	133	BEHALI DæiGES . FREOL SE .
139	47 ^r , RM:11	II Cnut (10)	133	BEFESTE NE .
140	47 ^v , UM	II Cnut (10)	133	Θ Gif hpa for pyrne godcunde ge rihte .
141	47 ^v , LM:12	II Cnut (10)	133	BE æPBRYCe .
142	47 ^v , LM:16-17	II Cnut (10)	133	BE SIBLE GERE
143	47 ^v , LM:21-22	II Cnut (10)	133	Þydepan . Mæden .
144	47 ^v , LM:24-25	II Cnut (10)	133	Ðæt nanpif heo ne for licgge .
145	48 ^r , RM:13	II Cnut (10)	133	Openmorð .
146	48 ^r , RM:16	II Cnut (10)	133	Lafordes syr punge
147	48 ^r , RM:18-19	II Cnut (10)	133	BE BORH BRYCE .
148	48 ^r , RM:23-24	II Cnut (10)	133	Beðam þe on cy nincges hirde feohtedð .
149	48 ^r , RM:26	II Cnut (10)	133	Beðā þ man oðer[.]ne be pepnað .
150	48 ^v , LM:3	II Cnut (10)	133	Griðbryce .
151	48 ^v , LM: 6	II Cnut (10)	133	hamsocne .

No.	Location	Law-code	Text-Block	Transcription
152	48 ^v , LM:9	II Cnut (10)	133	Readlac .
153	48 ^v , LM:11	II Cnut (10)	133	hus bryce .
154	48 ^v , LM:13	II Cnut (10)	133	Burhbote .
155	48 ^v , LM:19	II Cnut (10)	133	Begodesflyman
156	49 ^f , RM:7	II Cnut (10)	133	Be unstran gan .
157	49 ^v , LM:7-8	II Cnut (10)	137	BE hER ~ GEATE .
158	49 ^v , LM:16	II Cnut (10)	137	EORLES
159	49 ^v , 20, RM:20-21	II Cnut (10)	137	Kyncges ðei nes .
160	49 ^v , BM	II Cnut (10)	137	oðres ðeines.
161	50 ^r , RM:16-18	II Cnut (10)	138	BEpyDEpan . þ heo sitte .xii. monðas ceorlæs.
162	50 ^v , LM:8-13	II Cnut (10)	138	BEÐĀ þ MAN his spere to oðres mannes dure set te .
163	50 ^v , LM:23-25	II Cnut (10)	139	Be FOR STO LENE æh TA .
164	51 ^r , 13, RM:13-14	II Cnut (10)	142	Be ðā þe fliħð frā his laforde
165	51 ^r , 21	II Cnut (10)	144	Be ðam . ðe toforan his laforde fealleð
166	51 ^v , LM:4	II Cnut (10)	146	Be huntnaðe .
167	56 ^r , 12, RM:12-13	Swerian (15)	163	Ðus man sceal swerigean hyld aðas .
168	56 ^r , 21, RM:21-22	Swerian (15)	164	Ðus man sceal sperigean . þonne man hafð his æhte ge bryid . 7 bringeð hi on gange .
169	56 ^v , UM	Swerian (15)	164	Ðæs oðres að þe man his orf æt bryideð .
170	56 ^v , 10, RM:10-12	Swerian (15)	165	Ðæs að . þe his æhce bryideð . þ hehit ne dæð . ne for here . ne f[er] hole.
171	56 ^v , 15 & RM	Swerian (15)	166	Ðæs oðres að . þ he is unscyld[.] .
172	56 ^v , 18 & RM	Swerian (15)	167	his ge refan að þe hī mid standið
173	56 ^v , 20 & RM	Swerian (15)	168	Að . gif man afindeð his æhte syððan he hit ge boht hafeð . unhal .
174	56 ^v , 24, RM:24-25, BM	Swerian (15)	169	Huse sceal sperigen . ðe mid oðre onge picnesse stan d[e]ð . [...]
175	57 ^r , 3, RM:2-3	Swerian (15)	170	Að . þ he nySTe . nefuml . ne facen .
176	57 ^r , 10	Swerian (15)	172	And sæcc .
177	57 ^v , 23, RM:23-25	Wifmannes (17)	174	human mæden peddian sceal . 7hpylce foreparde þær aghon tobea ne .
178	58 ^v , 5	Wergild (18)	175	human sceal gyldan . tpelf hyndes man.
179	63 ^v , UM	RSP (23)	181	ÐEGENES LAGU.
180	63 ^v , 9	RSP (23)	182	GE NEATES RIHT .
181	63 ^v , 20	RSP (23)	183	KOT SETLAN RIHT .
182	64 ^r , 9, RM:9- 10	RSP (23)	184	GEBURES GE RIHTE .
183	64 ^v , 24, RM:24-25	RSP (23)	186	BE ÐĀ ÐE BEON BE pitað.
184	65 ^r , 12	RSP (23)	187	Gafol spanE .
185	65 ^r , 24 & RM	RSP (23)	188	BE æhTESpANE.
186	65 ^v , UM, 1	RSP (23)	189	- sunge . Be manna met -
187	65 ^v , 4, RM:5	RSP (23)	190	be pif monna mets.
188	65 ^v , 11	RSP (23)	191	be folgeran .
189	65 ^v , 16	RSP (23)	192	Be SæDERE .

No.	Location	Law-code	Text-Block	Transcription
190	65 ^v , 19, RM:19-20	<i>RSP</i> (23)	193	Be oxan hyrde
191	65 ^v , 25	<i>RSP</i> (23)	194	Be Ku hyrde .
192	66 ^f , 3 & RM	<i>RSP</i> (23)	195	Be sceaphyrdan .
193	66 ^f , 8	<i>RSP</i> (23)	196	Be Gat hyrde
194	66 ^f , 11 & RM	<i>RSP</i> (23)	197	Be cys pyrhte .
195	66 ^f , 15	<i>RSP</i> (23)	198	Be berebryte .
196	66 ^f , 19	<i>RSP</i> (23)	199	Be bydele .
197	66 ^f , 23 & RM	<i>RSP</i> (23)	200	Be pudeparde .
198	66 ^v , 23 & RM	<i>Gerefa</i> (24)	202	Bege sceadpisan ge refan .

APPENDIX I: CONCORDANCE OF PARKER'S PAGINATION TO FOLIATION

Parker's pagination of CCCC 383 in the sixteenth century uses letters from 'a' to 's' (with the omission of 'i') throughout Quire A, fols 1-9. With the exception of fol. 32^r, which Parker paginated as '44', the remainder of Quire B (fols 31-37) remains without pagination. The original, early twelfth-century quires of the manuscript are paginated only on the recto, ranging from '1' to '41' in Quires 1 to 3 (fols 10-30) and from '43' to '107' in Quires 4 to 7 (fols 38-69). Pagination number '77' is not present, but this does not correspond to a missing folio, as can be seen from the quire diagram given in Appendix A.

Fol.	Parker
1 ^r	a
1 ^v	b
2 ^r	c
2 ^v	d
3 ^r	e
3 ^v	f
4 ^r	g
4 ^v	h
5 ^r	j
5 ^v	k
6 ^r	l
6 ^v	m
7 ^r	n
7 ^v	o
8 ^r	p
8 ^v	q
9 ^r	r
9 ^v	s
10 ^r	1
10 ^v	
11 ^r	3
11 ^v	
12 ^r	5
12 ^v	
13 ^r	7
13 ^v	
14 ^r	9
14 ^v	
15 ^r	11
15 ^v	
16 ^r	13
16 ^v	
17 ^r	15
17 ^v	
18 ^r	17
18 ^v	

Fol.	Parker
19 ^r	19
19 ^v	
20 ^r	21
20 ^v	
21 ^r	23
21 ^v	
22 ^r	25
22 ^v	
23 ^r	27
23 ^v	
24 ^r	29
24 ^v	
25 ^r	31
25 ^v	
26 ^r	33
26 ^v	
27 ^r	35
27 ^v	
28 ^r	37
28 ^v	
29 ^r	39
29 ^v	
30 ^r	41
30 ^v	
31 ^r	
31 ^v	
32 ^r	44
32 ^v	
33 ^r	
33 ^v	
34 ^r	
34 ^v	
35 ^r	
35 ^v	
36 ^r	
36 ^v	

Fol.	Parker
37 ^r	
37 ^v	
38 ^r	43
38 ^v	
39 ^r	45
39 ^v	
40 ^r	47
40 ^v	
41 ^r	49
41 ^v	
42 ^r	51
42 ^v	
43 ^r	53
43 ^v	
44 ^r	55
44 ^v	
45 ^r	57
45 ^v	
46 ^r	59
46 ^v	
47 ^r	61
47 ^v	
48 ^r	63
48 ^v	
49 ^r	65
49 ^v	
50 ^r	67
50 ^v	
51 ^r	69
51 ^v	
52 ^r	71
52 ^v	
53 ^r	73
53 ^v	
54 ^r	75
54 ^v	

Fol.	Parker
55 ^r	79
55 ^v	
56 ^r	81
56 ^v	
57 ^r	83
57 ^v	
58 ^r	85
58 ^v	
59 ^r	87
59 ^v	
60 ^r	89
60 ^v	
61 ^r	91
61 ^v	
62 ^r	93
62 ^v	
63 ^r	95
63 ^v	
64 ^r	97
64 ^v	
65 ^r	99
65 ^v	
66 ^r	101
66 ^v	
67 ^r	103
67 ^v	
68 ^r	105
68 ^v	
69 ^r	107
69 ^v	
70 ^r	109
70 ^v	
71 ^r	
71 ^v	
72 ^r	
72 ^v	