

## Studies towards a Variorum *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

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1.1 The famous *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (c.731) of Bede (c.673-735) at Jarrow presents in Latin the oldest account of the history of the English people, but the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (=AS-Chron; the Chronicle) stands out as the oldest collection of the history of England 'written in English.' This is indeed "the first continuous national history of any western people in their own language."<sup>1)</sup> James Ingram wrote "England may boast of two substantial monuments of its early history ... these are, (sic.) the Record of Doomsday, and the Saxson Chronicle."<sup>2)</sup> The ASChron is of immense value not only as historical monuments but also as good evidence of linguistic evolution in the history of the English language. Valuable as it may be in many respects, it has been rather hard for the public to have access to it because there are several manuscripts extant as one would naturally expect for early records, hence there is actually no entity called "the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" as a whole. J.M. Bately in her recent edition of the Parker Manuscript (=MS) of the *Chronicle* even says, "*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is a term of deceptive simplicity applied by modern scholars to what is in fact a composite record of the utmost complexity."<sup>3)</sup> Laborious examination has been made, however, of each of the seven MSS of the *Chronicle* beginning with the publication of the "Abingdon Chronicle" (Cotton Tiberius A vi) in 1983,<sup>4)</sup> but the publication of the "collaborative edition" of each of the MSS of ASChron has not been completed yet at present.<sup>5)</sup> The transcription, comparison, and collation of MSS are our task in the joint study which has been prosecuted by the grant offered by the graduate school of Tokyo Kasei University.

1.2 In ASChron we find all the important political events in-

cluding wars and accession or marriage of kings and nobilities as well as ecclesiastical matters such as inauguration of bishops and consecration of abbeys. There are limited accounts of laws, economic matters including taxes, and agricultural production as well as natural calamities, etc. These are naturally of great interest to those who want to know the history of early England. Therefore, several attempts have been made to make a single version of ASChron out of the main MSS, collating and sometimes modernizing them for the sake of convenience to readers.

1.2.1 Abraham Wheloc (1593-1653) published the first edition, *Chronologia Anglo-Saxonica*, at Cambridge in 1644.<sup>6)</sup> It was printed as an appendix to his *Editio Princeps* of the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede, whose *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum* is often associated with ASChron.<sup>7)</sup>

1.2.2 Edmund Gibson (1669-1748) had his Latin version of ASChron printed in London in 1692. He is said to have taken "sometimes one [manuscript] and sometimes another as the basis of his text," according to Charles Plummer.<sup>8)</sup> Gibson mostly made use of the Parker MS 173 (=MS A) and Laud Misc. 636 (=MS E), referring sometimes to Cotton Tiberius A vi (=MS B) and Cotton Domitian (=MS F), but he entirely neglected the Abingdon, Cotton Tiberius B i (=MS C) and the Worcester Chronicle, Cotton Tiberius B iv (=MS D).<sup>9)</sup> Gibson gives a parallel translation in Latin in the right column of the pages with odd numbers and Old English (=OE) in the left column of the same page; he puts Latin in the left column of even-numbered pages and OE in the right column of the same page, so that at the center of the two pages there is always ASChron in OE when the book is opened. The Preface is in Latin.

**1.2.3** Then come the Modern English (=ModE) versions of ASChron, beginning with the first literal version of Anna Gurney (1795-1857) of Keswick, Norfolk. It was printed in 1819, but it was not widely circulated because it was not published.<sup>10)</sup>

**1.2.4.** James Ingram's edition of ASChron was published in 1823. It has an OE version on the left hand side of the page and ModE on the right. He used all the MSS of ASChron extant and available including MS C and MS D and speculated about each MS in his introduction. He evaluated MS A and MS E most highly but incorporated others as much as he could. As far as MS A is concerned, the first edition to be based primarily on A had been published in 1848 by Richard Price.<sup>11)</sup> We may further mention that an improved translation was published by Joseph Stevenson in 1853 in Durham in his series of "The Church Historians of England."<sup>12)</sup>

**1.2.5** As Bately notes, the most important modern editions of ASChron are those of Thorpe and Plummer.<sup>13)</sup> Benjamin Thorpe published his first collateral version of six MSS of ASChron in two volumes in 1861.<sup>14)</sup> In its Preface Thorpe presented possible analysis of the authorship of the MSS suggesting, for instance, that "as early as the time of Ælfred there was one model whence the other copies were taken, with the exception of MS. Domitian, A vii,"<sup>15)</sup> and that the language in the latter part of MS E is "evidently the work of illiterate, or even foreign monks, glaringly ignorant of the use of genders and cases."<sup>16)</sup> He gave explanation of each MS as Ingram had done and printed the translation in a separate volume. His comments on the MSS, however, had to be brief perhaps because the Master of the Rolls, who had sponsored the publication, told that the editor of the work should give "no other note or comment ... except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text."<sup>17)</sup> He offers a photocopy of one page each of the MSS at the beginning of Vol. I followed by the collateral texts, and our future ultimate purpose is to correct his versions referring to the microfilm copy of each MS and to present them as the basis of an electronic computerized version for further research into ASChron.

**1.2.6** In 1899, Charles Plummer revised and published the

edition of MSS by John Earle at the Clarendon Press, Oxford. He wrote a detailed introduction, note and index in his second volume which extended to 463 pages. Plummer is the first scholar to give systematical genealogy of the MSS of ASChron. His texts in Vol. 1 are a parallel version of MS A and MS E including other MSS in a lower column of each page where necessary. This volume is helpful for comparing and correcting Thorpe's version, having a detailed glossary and explanatory notes.<sup>18)</sup>

**1.3** A brief description of each MS is to be presented below with our observations on MSS A and E reinforced by the comments by Ingram, Thorpe and Plummer. A minute study of each MS in separate volumes is being published as "collaborative editions" by D.S.Brewer as stated in notes 3, 4 and 5 of 1.1 of this thesis.

**1.3.1** Not to quote Bately's comment that "the special interest of MS A arises from the fact that its core constitutes the oldest surviving manuscript-witness to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,"<sup>19)</sup> MS A which extends from 60 B.C. to the year 1070 is one of the two most important MSS among the ASChron series. It is also called the Parker MS because it was given by Archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Natsmith's Catalogue 173).<sup>20)</sup> It consists of 83 folios, of which the part from the verso of page 1 to the recto of page 32 gives the A version of ASChron.<sup>21)</sup> On the spine of the book the title reads "THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE ETC. SEDULIUS MS IX-XI and VIII-IX." The ink is now dark brown upon the light brownish vellum, in a number of hands, fourteen at the most, though the demarcation is difficult.<sup>22)</sup> It is often called "the Winchester Chronicle," because "it is believed to be based upon a Chronicle now lost which had its origin at Winchester,"<sup>23)</sup> and later it moved to the possession of Christ Church, Canterbury, though some scholars such as F.M. Stanton disputes this.<sup>24)</sup>

MS A is the source or part-source of MS F and G,<sup>25)</sup> and particularly MS G appears to be a "direct copy" of A.<sup>26)</sup> In Plummer's edition the present MS A is denoted as A with a bar above it to distinguish it from MS A (Cotton Otho B xi; or in case of Swanton's book, MS A ), which perished in the Cottonian fire of 1731 with the exception of three leaves.

Since we do not extend our study to this fragmentary MS A, our MS A always denotes MS A with a bar when referring to Plummer. He regards MS A with a bar the same as MS G and MS W, as does Thorpe sometimes.<sup>27)</sup>

The content of MS A covers the genealogy of the Cerdic dynasty of Wessex, the main body of the Chronicle and the Latin *Acta Lanfranci*, the last of which falls out of the scope of this study. The description up to the year 891 is considered to have been made around that time. Several hands add a description of the years between 924 and 975, the penultimate period of Danish invasions. Then comparatively sparse annals continue to the end with four occasional poems including the ones for the battle of Brunanburh and for the praise of Edmund I who won the five strongholds in Danish Mercia.<sup>28)</sup>

**1.3.2 MS B** (Cotton Tiberius A vi) is a small folio, much shrunk by fire.<sup>29)</sup> It deals with matters between the invasion of Julius Caesar and the year 977. It was written sometimes between 977 and 979<sup>30)</sup> in a uniform hand with much neatness and accuracy from the beginning to the end,<sup>31)</sup> and incorporates "the Mercian Register" as does MS C. It served as one of the sources of MS C while it was in Abingdon but was moved to Canterbury in the next century.<sup>32)</sup>

**1.3.3 MS C** (Cotton Tiberius Bi) is sometimes called the Abingdon Chronicle because of its probable origin<sup>33)</sup> and contains additions to the former Chronicles, particularly the events after 977 where MS B ends. The description of the years between 491 and 652 appears to be identical with that of B.<sup>34)</sup> Then it extends its narration to the battle against the Danes at Stamford Bridge in 1066. It was compiled in the mid-eleventh century and is written in the same hand till 1046 and by various hands afterwards.<sup>35)</sup> It contains the Mercian Register (902-924), the metrical calendar and proverbs as well as the Anglo-Saxon version of the history by Orosius.

**1.3.4 MS D** (Cotton Tiberius B iv) is sometimes called the Worcester Chronicle though the place of its origin may be Evesham instead of Worcester.<sup>36)</sup> It includes the Mercian Register as MSS B and C, but misses the description from 261 to 693, which is supplied by John Joscelin.<sup>37)</sup> It has the record from the incarnation to 1079 and beyond,<sup>38)</sup> and it was

written probably in the mid-eleventh century. It is written in one hand to 1016, afterwards in various hands. It resembles MS E and F up to 806.<sup>39)</sup>

One of the characteristics of MS D is its unusual interest in the affairs of the north and Anglo-Scandinavian relations as prepresented in the praise of the virtues of Queen Margaret of Scotland. It is connected to the northern dioceses of York and Ripon.<sup>40)</sup>

**1.3.5 MS E** (the Bodleian Manuscript, Laud 636) is the other of the two most important MSS of ASChron. It used to be in the possession of Archbishop Laud of Canterbury. It is now in the collection of the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, bound with a spine which bears the title s.c. (=Selden Cupboard) 43, MS Laud, Misc. 636. After ten blank pages, the vellum begins with the description of the British island, extending its record until the death of King Stephen in 1154.<sup>41)</sup> It is the latest and longest of all the MSS of ASChron. It was compiled after the fire of Peterborough in 1116, the source of texts being borrowed from St. Augustine's library at Canterbury and elsewhere. It seemed to have used the same source as the one MS D used up to 891, and later, particularly after 1023, its description became more or less original, incorporating local events of Peterborough and some Latin and French versions of the Chronicle.<sup>42)</sup>

The hand varies little to 1122,<sup>43)</sup> the record between 1070 and 1121 being copied by one hand for certain. The first continuation (1122-31) of the Chronicle is also written at Peterborough, and so is the second continuation (1132-54). Although the part written in Peterborough contains lengthy local record such as the much debated acquisition of the see of the Peterborough Cathedral by abbot Henry of Poitou in 1127, it "carries us down three quarters of a century beyond any other MS ... A in 1070, B in 997, C in 1066, and D in 1079."<sup>44)</sup>

**1.3.6 MS F** (Cotton Domitian A vii) ends imperfectly in 1058. It is said to have been written in Canterbury in the twelfth century by one hand, copying mainly from MS A and E, with Latin and Old English side by side.<sup>45)</sup> It is "of the least authority among the Cotton MSS, because the writer has taken greater liberties in abridging former Chronicles."<sup>46)</sup>

1.4 The relationship among the MSS was closely examined by Plummer in his Introduction of the *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*,<sup>47)</sup> and there have been some modifications to his theory, for instance, by J.M. Bately,<sup>48)</sup> or G.P. Cubbins.<sup>49)</sup> However, the over-all genealogy of the texts seems to remain unchanged from what Plummer had postulated, and his framework is that all the Chronicles up to 892 had been derived from a common ancestor now lost. Plummer says that from this common ancestor were derived MS A and a now lost “ $\gamma$ ” (ancestor of B and C) and “ $\delta$ ,” the basis of the so-called ‘Northern recension’ (ancestor of MSS D, E, and F).<sup>50)</sup>

Although MS G is a direct copy of MS A as stated in 1.3, it is usually difficult to know whether a MS copied materials from another MS or two of them had a common source, as in the case of MSS B and C.<sup>51)</sup> MS E has an independent history, being copied at one time in Peterborough and subsequently continued there as mentioned in 1.3.5.

2.1 A full comparative account of the MSS of ASChron with respect to orthography, morphology, grammar and language in all its aspects is yet to be made, though collaborative editions of each MS are being published as we saw in 1.1, 1.3.1-1.3.7 of this thesis. A parallel text of several MSS which Thorpe published provides us with good materials when we compare the events that occurred in each year, but as far as the comparison of each word form is concerned, his parallel text falls short and needs to be replaced by an orthographically accurate word-by-word parallel text. That is to say, when a revised parallel version of the six MSS of ASChron is made, it will make it easier to compare not only morphology but also orthography and phonology of the words concerned.

2.1.1 As an example of a linguistic comparison of ASChron, we research the use of the letter ash ‘æ’ in the MSS. This letter was being supplanted by ‘a’ or ‘e’ in the period when the MSS were compiled, showing an important stage of linguistic change in the history of the English language. The use of ash lingered on until well into the Middle English period, but it was gradually discarded from the end of the Old English period.<sup>52)</sup> D.G. Scragg says that letters ‘æ,’ ‘ea,’ ‘a’ and ‘e’ were confused to a great extent at that time.<sup>53)</sup> We shall see the extent of its use in ASChron.

Among the MSS of ASChron discussed in 1.3.1 to 1.3.7, MS A is the oldest surviving MS as the editors of the collaborative editions of the Chronicle say.<sup>54)</sup> Since the orthography of the Old English entries in A is generally typical of standard West Saxon,<sup>55)</sup> we can safely assume that it is written in a more or less standard Old English at least in the early sections of the MS. To compare the use of ‘æ’ in A with that in other MSS will shed light not only on the different stage of the development of ‘a’ or ‘e’ at the expense of ‘æ’ but also on the relationships among the MSS of ASChron.

It is generally understood that as far as the surviving Old English materials are concerned, the West Saxon dialect is the predominant dialect and may be even called a standard Old English. In this dialect, ‘æ’ is often used in place of ‘ea’ or ‘e,’ though the environment, which it occurs in, is different in each case. There are several scribes who copied their common stock into A and we will see their different practice of either ‘æ,’ ‘ea’ or ‘e’ in representative words in A.

Although the practice of a scribe may not always be consistent, we will find the predominant tendency of each scribe in the use of the letter by looking into the MS minutely. For instance, Hand 1 who wrote the Chronicle up to the end of year 891, almost always uses ‘æ’ for ‘ærce-’ in ‘ærcebiscepe(e)’ or ‘ærcebiscep(e)’ (years 601, 644, 680, 690, 731, 736, 738, 741, 763, 764, 785, 790, 799, 803, 804, 813, 829, 831, 870), though there are ‘ercebiscepe’ (625, 759) and ‘arcebiscep’ (758, 812). Hand 1 is responsible for the copying of Preface and the narrative between the years 60 B.C. and 891, thus making it possible to guess that he wrote in West Saxon style as far as this word is concerned. There are several intrusions of Hand 8 into Hand 1’s domain<sup>56)</sup> and he uses ‘e’ in these cases (616×2). The ‘æ’ in ‘wæste’ (893) in the beginning of Hand 2 is all written with ‘e’ in the latter parts of Hand 2 (893, westre 893, 895, 914). Thus we can roughly see the evolution or change of the use of ‘æ’ within A itself.

2.1.2 Janet M. Bately points out that ‘æ’ is used almost exclusively with common words where ‘e-caudata’ (=‘e’) ‘would be expected if the word is a proper noun in Hand 1.’<sup>57)</sup> The common words which she means in Hand 1 are: æfter, ær, ærest, æt, þæt, wæs, wæron.

Other words we find with 'æ' in Hand 1 include:

nouns: geflæscnesse (60BC), nænig (418, 755×2), fæder (552, 606), mæssepreost (565, 661, 669), æfen (626), mæge (648, 755), mægas (755), mægun (755, 823), gebærum (755), dæg (81, 763, 851, 871×2), dæge (495, 800, 860, 874, 885), dægēs (879), mæsseniht(827), gepuærnesse(860), fæstene (877), fæsten (885), morfæstenum (878), hæftniede (886);

verbs: hæfde (Preface, 626×2, 658, 716, 755×2, 827, 836, 867, 874, 885×5), hæfdon (755×2, 890), hæfdun (885, 891), gesæt (35, 44, 633, 680, 744, 879), gesæton (878, 880, 890), ofslægen (465, 633, 642, 651, 654, 679, 716, 731, 748, 755, 784, 794, 822, 838, 871×4), ofslægene (755×2, 800, 838, 853, 867, 871, 882), ymbsæton (491), lærenne (565), forbærnde (685), forbærn (754), arærde (718), adræfan (755), adræfde (755), adræfdon (874, 878), rædde (755), læg (755), lægon (755), beæftan (755×2), læfde (755), geslægen (833, 867), sæt (865, 878, 879, 880×2, 882, 883, 884), sæton (851, 875, 887), læstan (874), gelæston (878), forslægene (882), befæste (886), dræfde (887);

others: mæste (851), mæstan (46, 878), hæpene (851), gefægene (878), æftera (827), ænne (508), tuæm (534, 871), næfre (409, 755).

**2.1.3** As for the 'æ' in wæs,' Hand 1's usual practice is with 'æ' instead of with 'a' or 'e,' but there are 28 cases in which he writes 'was' (Preface, 488, 633, 644, 655, 676, 685×3, 688, 694, 728, 731, 745, 755, 794, 797, 816, 827, 853, 867, 878×2, 885×4, 886) and he once wrote 'wes' (674). The use of 'was' and 'wes' is quite particular to him because other scribes in A always wrote the West Saxon standard 'wæs'.

**2.1.4** The use of 'æ' in common words including 'wæs' is about the same in other scribes<sup>58</sup> (Hand 2 892-920: Hand 3 921-955: Hand 4 956-972: Hand 5 973-1000: Hand 7 a part of 1070) and occurrence of 'æ' in other words in them are:

Hand 2

nouns: boclæden (891), wæterfæstenne (893), fære (893),

dæl (893×3), dæle (893), cumpæder(893),fæstenne (893), dæg (917×2), dæge (895), dægēs (893), sæ (893, 894×2, 895, 896×2, 903, 910, 914, 916, 917), hærfest (895, 919), hæfestes (917×2), eæ (895), suðstæðe (896), stælhergum (895), stælherge (917), æscas (896), æscum(896), særiman(896), wæter (896), fædran (900), fæder (920), mæssan (900, 912, 914, 915, 917), mæssepreost (902), ærendracan (904), æðeling(904), æðelinges (904), wæpna (913), æscmanna (917), hæse (917);

verbs: æteowde (891), hæst (891), spræcon (892 2), abracon (892), sæton (892), hæfde (893×5, 894, 900, 904, 910),hæfdon (893×7, 894, 895×3, 896, 913, 917), næfde (896), geræcan (893), besæt (893), besæton (893, 917), sæt (893, 900, 914×2, 915, 917, 918, 919), sæton (893×2, 894, 895, 914), ymbsæton (893×2, 917×3), bræcon (893), abræc (893), tobræcon(893), sæde (893, 900), gewægde(893), ofslægen (893×2, 896, 904×3, 910), ofslægene (895, 896), befæst (895), befæston (893), geræcan (894), alædan (895), lædde (896), asæton (896×2), bestæl (900), atsæton(904), beæftan (904), wælstowe (904), gerædde (904), bræc (910, 917), bræcon (913), abracon (917), læddon (914), bestælon (914), ætsummon(914), acwælon (914), geræcan (914, 917), gelæstan (916), fæstnodon (917);

others: ælce (891, 893), ælc (983, 910), ælcra (893), ælcum (893), ægþer (893), ægþerne (893), mæstra (893), wæste (893), ætgædere (893), stælwyrðe(895), gescaþene(896), mæsta (910), mæste (914), mæst (915); ætsomme(904), oððæt (894), hwær(895), nolæs (896), gehwæðre (904), æghwonan(917);

Hand 3

nouns: æþeling (937, 940, 946), æþele (937), sæcce (937×2), dæg (937), hæleþa (937), mæga (937), wælstowe (937), wæpengewrixles (937), wæter (937), hræw (937), hræfn(937), æses (937), wæl (937), dædfruma (942), hæfteclommum (942), fæc (942), sæ (945), mæssedæge (946), mæssedæg(951, 955); verbs: dæn(n)ede (937), læg (937), lægun (937), hæfde (946);

others: *geæþele* (937), *fæge*(937 × 2), *mære* (937), *sæd* (937), *æra* (937), *æwiscmode* (937), *grædigne* (937), *græge*(937), *hæþenra* (942), *ægþer* (933, 945), *gehwæne* (937), *mæni* (937), *ætsumne* (937), *æftan* (937), *æfter* (937);

#### Hand 4

nouns: *mæg* (962), *mæssedæge* (963), *dæg* (963), *æþeling* (971);

#### Hand 5

nouns: *dæg* (973, 975), *dæge* (973, 984), *rimcræfte* (975), *hæleð* (975 × 4), *cræft* (975), *wæg* (975), *mærða* (975), *bæð* (975), *wætera* (975), *æðeling* (978), *hæfenan* (1031), *hæfene* (1031), *mæge* (1031 × 2), *æx* (1031), *fæstnunge* (1070), *hæse* (1070 × 2);  
verbs: *hæfde*(973, 1001 × 2), *todræfed* (975), *tobræc* (975), *adræfed* (975), *ætwyed*(975), *gesæt* (984), *forbæm-*  
*don* (1001 × 3);  
others: *sæde* (1070 × 2), *þæne* (975), *ghwær* (975), *wel-*  
*hwær* (975), *hwæles* (975), *æðre* (1031);

#### Hand 7

nouns: *dæg* (1066), *ærendrakan* (1070).

**2.1.5** The use of the caudal-e(=e) in Hand 1 is replaced by 'a' or 'æ' in other hands, for instance, *fēder* (885 × 2), *fēdran* (887) (though also 'fader' in 552, 606) as against *fadran* (900) and *fader* (920). 'Se' in Hand 1 is 'sæ' in all other hands. The 'æ' in 'ofslagen (e' in Hand 1 and Hand 2 is often replaced by 'e' in Hands 5 (978) and 6 (1001 × 2).

**2.2** The scope of this study has to be expanded beyond the examination of one MS, and collation of MSS should be made. The collation attempted here is between the MSS A and D, as D covers the bulk of material which is about the same as A (from the Preface to 1070 in case of A, to 1079 in case of D, though D has a record of 1130 separately). G.P. Cubbin, the editor of the collaborative edition (volume 6 MS D), says that the linguistic analysis of the MS has two aims, one of which is to compare the forms found in D with those in other versions. He further states that "the relationships which emerge are used as evidence of textual relationships and supplement the conclusions arrived at on the basis of textual content."<sup>59</sup> Cubbin is aware of the importance of the

variation 'æ' and 'e' in the MSS and gives consideration on each variance which originates in different roots.

**2.2.1** There are three principal cases in which 'æ' is used for 'e' and a case in which it is used for 'a'.<sup>60</sup> Although there may be many counter-examples, Cubbin tries to give examples of each, to justify his opinion. We compare the words in question in D with those in A.

The first case is seen when the West Saxon 'æ' is confused with Anglian 'e.' Anglian scribes may have considered West Saxon 'æ' to be a normal form and conform it with 'æ.' The words in D are: *cæpton* (1013), *cæwden* (1014), *færde* (855, 1006, 1015); *færede* (1012); *forðfærde* (729 × 2, 740, 794, 796, 797, 803 × 2, 812, 837, 885). All 'æ' in D have either 'e' in A (*ferde* 855, *forþferde* 729, 794, 803 × 2, 812, 837, 885) or there is no equivalent in A.

**2.2.2** The second case is the other examples of the words with 'æ' instead of 'e,' except those originating in the West Germanic i-mutation of 'o.'

Following is a list of comparison. Those listed below with a bar indicate that there is no equivalent found in A.

year	D	A	year	D	A
759	forlæt	----	948	forlæton	----
785	forlæt	forlet	999	læton	----
878	gehæton	geheton	1009	forlæton	----
878	hæton	----	1011	læton	----
885	forlæton	forlet	1014	læt	----
892	hæt	hæt	1016	hæt	----
937	læton	----			

Here 2 cases out of 5 in 'forlæt(on)' have 'e' in A. 'Æ' in 'gehæton' and 'forspræcena' are also with 'e,' but 'hæt' has 'æ' in A.

("\*" denotes that A's year is one year previous to that of D.)

year	D	A	year	D	A
755	þægnas	þegnas	937	sæfne	stefne
755	wærede	werede	999	wæred	----
797	æft	eft	1003	æft	----

828	æft	eft	1004	wærode	----
878×2	wærede	werede	1005	æft	----
885	forespræcena	foresprečen	1006	wærod	----
894	þægnas	þegnas*	1009	æft	----
894	wæstan	westan*	1010	æft	----
894	wæstre	westre*	1023	þægna	----
896	þægnas	þegas*	1011	wæras	----
897	asæten	aseten*	1013	wæstrena	----
897	þægnas	þegna*	1014	cwæden	----
917	þægna	----	1015	wæstan	----
937	lægdon	legdun	1016	æft	----
937	sætle	setle	1016	wærode	----

From the lists above we may get the impression that the scribes in D preferred to use 'æ' instead of 'e' and those in A the other way around. There are many varieties to the spelling, however, and scribes in D often write, for instance, 'þeg(e)n(as)' in 755, 871, 874, etc., which is the same as the practice of the scribes in A.

**2.2.3** The third case is 'æ' in place of 'e,' which originated in West Germanic 'e.' The examples in D are listed below.

year	D	A
Preface	Ænglisc	----
836	Ænglcyntnes	Angelcynnnes
871	Ænglafelda	Englafelda
886	Ænglscyn	Anglscyn
892	Ænglisc	englisc
897	ængliscra	-----
1014	Ænglalande	-----
1016	Ænglesforda	-----

**2.2.4** The fourth case is 'æ' in front of nasals from original 'a.' The examples are: mænn (167, 851×2, 882, 897), Ængland.

**2.2.5** In addition to the list above, we may add an environmental factor which affects the use of 'e.'

The 'e' which was the umlaut of 'a' in front of a nasal was often replaced by 'æ' in D, as Cubbin points out,<sup>61)</sup> for instance, geswænced (Preface) and swæncte (999), tostæncton (975), ænde (999), geðungæn (1065).<sup>62)</sup>

MS D is a work of scribes of the late eleventh or early twelfth century. So we surmise that it may reflect a new orthography in which 'æ' was being replaced by 'a' or 'e.' However, we are yet short of data to draw a definite conclusion about the different use of 'æ' in D as compared to A.

What we can say from the data above, therefore, is that we see a tendency after the Conquest for A to use 'e' for 'æ.' It means that West Saxon 'æ' is disappearing,<sup>63)</sup> though A in early times was written mainly in West Saxon. We will be able to check the validity of this statement easily with the completion of the revised parallel texts of ASChron, which we aim at.

**2.3** By providing ourselves with an accurate word-by-word parallel presentation of the MSS, we will be able to make a good collation of them. As we saw in the list above, many parts of MS D are missing in A, as D has copied many parts from C and E,<sup>64)</sup> and we can see it clearly and easily when the revised version of parallel texts is completed.

**2.3.1** Letters (underlined) in a word can be compared thus in the new texts.

Representative passages of each of the MSS (A, B, C, D, E and F) are shown as follows:

#### 1AD

- A Octauianus ricsode .(x)vi. wintra • & on þam .xlii. geare  
 B Octauianus rixode .lxvi. wintra • & on þam .xlii. geare  
 C Octauianus rixode .lxvi. wintra • & on þam .lii. geare  
 D Octauianus rixade .lxvi. wintra • & on þam .xlii. geare  
 E Octauianus rixade .lvi. wintra • & on þam .xlii. geare  
 F Octauianus rixade .lvi. wintra • & on ðam .xlii. geare

- A his rices Crist wæs acenned.  
 B his rices Crist wæs acenned.  
 C his rices Crist wæs acenned.  
 D his rices Crist wæs acenned.  
 E his rices Crist wæs acenned.  
 F his rices Crist wæs acenned.

#### 46AD (A: 45 altered to 46 in later land)

- A Her Herodes aswalt se þe Iacobum ofslog ane  
 B Her Herodes aswealt • se þe Iacob ofsloh • anum

C Her Herodes swealt • se þe Iacob ofslōh • anum  
D Her Erodes swealt • se þe Iacobum ofslōh • anum  
E Her Erodes swealt • se ðe Iacobum ofslōh • anum  
F Her Iacobus • Iohsbroðer • wearð ofslagen fram  
Herode.

A geare ær his agnum deaþe.  
B geare ær his agnum deaþe.  
C geare ær his agenum deaðe.  
D geare ær his agenum deaðe.  
E geare ær his agenum deaðe.

Morphological differences (underlined) in A, B, C, E and F are shown as follows:

560AD

A Her Ceawlin feng to rice on Wesseaxum •  
B Her Ceaulin rice onfeng on Westseaxum •  
C Her Ceaulin rice onfeng on Westseaxum •  
E Her Ceawling rice onfeng on Weast Seaxum •  
F Her feng Ceauling to rice on Westseaxan •

Even a structural difference can be visible at a glance as we see in the passage from the year 46 above, where MS F takes a passive construction whereas all other MSS have active voice as far as the deed of Herod is concerned. In the passage from the year 560, word order in A and F is different from that in B, C and E.

Sometimes a whole description or even one or more passages are missing in a MS or in several MSS. For instance the so called Mercian register is adopted in different ways in MSS B, C and D.<sup>65)</sup>

A parallel presentation of the texts is difficult in such cases. Swanton says the style of the scribes is increasingly personal and colloquial after the 890's, citing Clark's assertion that they seem to have taken sides with the heroes.<sup>66)</sup> When scribes begin to add their contemporary accounts toward the end of the ASChron, it begins to develop separate chronicles such as "The Peterborough Chronicle," though this is a part of MS E. Nevertheless the present project aims to facilitate linguistic comparison by presenting the texts as far as possible in parallel form, and it aims at an objective survey of the MSS

of ASChron. The trial version of the new parallel corpus will be in print as an accompaniment to this "Studies towards a *Variorum Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*."

# Notes:

- 1 Michael J. Swanton tr. and ed. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, J.M. Dent, London, 1996, p.xx.
- 2 James Ingram, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Longman, 1823, p.1.
- 3 J.M. Bately, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS A: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 3, D.S. Brewer, 1986, p.vii.
- 4 Simon Taylor, ed. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS B: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 4, 1983. Other editions in the collaborative series which have been published by D.S. Brewer are:  
Patrick W. Conner ed., *The Abingdon Chronicle, MS C: Vol.10*, 1996; G.P. Cubbin ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS D: Vol. 6*, 1996; David Dumville ed. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS F: Vol. 1 (Facsimile)*, 1995.
- 5 The publication of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS G: Vol. 9* is in preparation.
- 6 Charles Plummer and John Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles: Parallel*, Vol. 2, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1972, pp.cxxvii-cxxviii.
- 7 Ingram, p.v; Bately, p.xv, note 16.
- 8 Plummer, pp.cxxix-cxxx.
- 9 Plummer, p.cxxxi.
- 10 Ingram pp.vi-vii; Plummer pp.cxxxi-cxxxii.
- 11 Bately, p.xv.
- 12 Plummer pp.cxxxiv-cxxxv.
- 13 Bately, p.xv.
- 14 Benjamin Thorpe ed., *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* (Rolls Series), Opera 1 and 2. Originally published by her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, in 1861. Now obtainable in Kraus Reprint, 1964.
- 15 Thorpe, Vol. 1, p.x.
- 16 Op. cit., p. xiii.
- 17 Thorpe, Vol. 2. The first leaf of "the Chronicles and Memories of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages."



- 18 Cf. Note 6, Revised in 1952 with a bibliographical note by Dorothy Whitelock.
- 19 Bately, p.ix.
- 20 Plummer, Vol. 1, p.x.
- 21 Latin Acts of Lanfranc and Laws of Alfred and of Ine as well as lists of popes and bishops follow. Bately, pp.xvi-xviii.
- 22 Plummer identified in MS A fourteen main hands, Ker, five, (N.P. Ker "Catalogue of Manuscripts containing *Anglo-Saxon*," Oxford 1957, p. 58, quoted in Bately note 41, p.xxi), and Parks, six. (M.B. Parkes "The Paleography of the Parker Manuscript of the *Chronicle*, laws and Sedulius, and historiography at Winchester in the late ninth and tenth centuries," *Anglo-Saxon England* 5, 1976, p. 154 quoted in Bately, idem).  
The colour of the ink and vellum is as of August 26, 1997 when the writers of this thesis had access to the MS with the permission of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, England.
- 23 Plummer, Vol. 1, p.x.
- 24 Cf. "The South-western Element in Old English Chronicle," Dorris M. Stenton ed., *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England: being the Collected Papers of Frank. M. Stenton*, Oxford University Press, 1970.
- 25 Bately, p.lxxii.
- 26 Op. cit., p.lxxiii.
- 27 Plummer, Vol. 1, p.xiii, Vol. 2, p.xcviii. Thorpe calls this MS A (with a bar) "W," the initial of Abraham Wheloc, who edited "Historiae Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum Libri V," etc., Cambridge, 1643.
- 28 Swanton, pp.xxi-xxii.
- 29 Thorpe, p.xvi.
- 30 Swanton, p.xxiii.
- 31 Ingram, p.xxi.
- 32 Swanton, p.xxiii.
- 33 Plummer, Vol.1, p.xi. "Abindon" is spelt "Abingdon" (more traditional) in Ingram, Plummer and the collaborative editions published by D.S. Brewer.
- 34 Swanton, p.xxiv.
- 35 Thorpe, p.xvii.
- 36 Plummer, Vol.1, p.xi., Vol.2, pp.lxxv-lxxvi.
- 37 Thorpe, p.xvii. John Joscelyn ("Josselyn" by Ingram, p.xxiii) is secretary to Archbishop Parker. Plummer, Vol 2, p.401.
- 38 An account of the year 1130 was added wrongly to the annal of 1080., Plummer, Vol.2, p.xxxii and note, p.271.
- 39 Thorpe, p.xvii.
- 40 Swanton, p.xxv.
- 41 The appearance of MS E was partly examined by Ayako Kobayashi on August 22, 1997.
- 42 Swanton, p.xxvi.
- 43 Thorpe, p.xviii.
- 44 Plummer, Vol. 1, p.xii. The "A" with a bar is changed into "A" by the present writers.
- 45 Op. cit., Vol.1, p.xii.
- 46 Thorpe, p.xxiv.
- 47 Plummer, vol.2, pp.xxiii-cxxii.
- 48 Bately, pp.lxxiii-lxxix.
- 49 Cubbin, pp.xvii-xxi. A more detailed study of the textual history of ASChron will appear in Vol. 23 of the collaborative edition of ASChron, Bately, note 208 in p.lxxiii.
- 50 Plummer, Vol.2, pp.xxxvii-cii, quoted in pp. lxxiii-lxxiv of Bately.
- 51 Dorothy Whitelock, in *English Historical Document* (p. 112), for instance, made no modification to Plummer's genealogy arguing "plausibly for direct copying of B by the scribe of C as far as annal 652 and again from 945 to 977 where B ends," Bately, p.lxxiv.
- 52 Campbell says that spellings of older "æ" with "a" appear about 1100, though the change was not so complete in all areas at that time. A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 136.
- 53 D.G. Scragg, *A History of English Spelling*, Manchester University, Press, Manchester, 1974, p.17, note 1.
- 54 Bately, Preface, p.ix. (General editors are David Dumville and Simon Keynes.)
- 55 Although the orthography of the Old English entries in A and the prefaced material is generally typical of standard West Saxon (Bately p.cxvii), the language was not brought into conformity with the late West Saxon literary standard. Swanton, p.xxi.
- 56 Bately regards Hand 8 as an interpolator being responsible for more than thirty interventions in A as far as 616. Bately, p.xl.

- 57 About “e-caudata,” which is “e” with a cedilla, Bately notes that some scholars consider it as no more than a formal variant of “æ.” Bately, p.cxxviii.
- 58 There are several variations in each hand (Hands 1a, 1b, 2a-2f, 5a, 5b, etc.) and many additions and insertions by several hands (Hands 6, 8a-8g, 9-13). The annal numbers in A differ from those in B,C, and D in various places, particularly between 892 and 915. Here the numbers in A are adopted.
- 59 Cubbin, p.lxxiv.
- 60 Op. cit., pp.cxl-cxlii.
- 61 Op. cit., p.cxlviii.
- 62 This “æ” may be produced by a later hand adding a loop on the top of original “a.” Cubbin, note 15, p. 78. Plummer, Vol.1, note 3, p. 193. “Gedungan” is grammatically a past participle meaning ‘grown, excellent.’
- 63 Bately, p.cxlvii.
- 64 Cubbin, p.cxlviii.
- 65 Plummer, Vol.2, pp.lxxii-lxxiv.
- 66 Cecily Clark, “The narrative mode of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* before the Conquest,” in *England before the Conquest: Studies presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, eds., Peter Clemoes and K. Hughes, Cambridge, 1971.

『アングロ・サクソン年代』集註版  
についての基礎的研究

「アングロ・サクソン年代記」と総称される7種の写本が扱っている素材を文献学的に検討し、その成り立ちを概観した。写本の言語的特徴を把握するためは、語尾変化の消失の過程、語彙項目の比較、そして文の構造の変化等を検討することが必要であるが、今回はそれらの研究に不可欠なパラレル・テキストの作製を視野にいれて、A 写本 (Parker Manuscript, Natsmith's Catalogue 173) と D 写本 (Cotton Tiberius B iv) の綴り字の比較調査を行い、比較的多くの部位の残存している6写本の平行部位の例を提示した。