

**The Twelfth-Century Annotations to the Old English Hexateuch:  
some corrected readings**

The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch (London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv) is one of the most interesting witnesses to the twelfth-century afterlife of pre-Conquest vernacular manuscripts, and to ongoing attempts to provide biblical exegesis in English. Supplied around 1180 with an extensive apparatus, largely Latin but partly English, drawn principally from the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comester, the manuscript's twelfth century use has been the subject of a recent book-length study (Doane and Stoneman), which provided the *editio princeps* of the Latin annotations, and a new text of those in English. The purpose of the present note is to provide some corrections to their readings, based on a fresh collation of their edition against the manuscript. Since the Latin and the English notes may be of interest to different parts of the academy, in what follows I treat them separately.

*The English Notes*

The English notes, orthographically and palaeographically difficult, but invaluable evidence for the writing of this vernacular in the late twelfth century, were first edited by S. J. Crawford in an appendix to his Early English Text Society edition of the Heptateuch in 1922. He republished the same text almost verbatim along with a philological analysis of their language in a journal article a year later. Crawford's editions are generally accurate, but contain a number of idiosyncratic readings and miss a number of smaller twelfth-century vernacular interventions in the manuscript.<sup>1</sup> Crawford's initial edition (1922: 418-22) has been collated alongside that of Doane and Stoneman below, because it is the edition that appears in the Dictionary of Old English Corpus, and was that used for the Dictionary of Old English and Middle English Dictionary.

The edition of Doane and Stoneman is almost exhaustive, and is that used by the third edition of the Oxford English Dictionary.<sup>2</sup> Like Crawford's, their edition is generally accurate, but there are a number of misreadings and typographical errors. They consistently but without manuscript warrant expand the barred thorn abbreviation as *pæt*; rather, as the two occurrences of *pat*, one of *ðat*, and none of *pæt* show, the scribe's preferred spelling was with <a> rather than <æ>.<sup>3</sup> Instances of the mis-expansion of this abbreviation are not noted separately below, but in the thirty or so other corrections that are, I use Doane and Stoneman's [D&S's] enumeration and lineation to refer to the notes, and their text for each lemma, following it with the readings of Crawford [C] and the manuscript [MS]. Letters deriving from the expansion of abbreviations are given in round brackets, letters supplied by the editor in square brackets, and interlinear insertions in angled slashes. Diacritics have been ignored. Word division, sometimes erratic in the manuscript, has been adjusted where required. As the reader will observe, there are four occasions where both Crawford and Doane and Stoneman give questionable readings (in the latter's nos. 10, 36a, 50, 156).

D&S no. 6a (fol. 4r) 1 Methodi(us) cwæð] *so MS Methodi(us) cwað C; 2 on ane dæge] on ane dage C and so MS; 3-4 alla ða oðron] ælla ða oðron C and so MS albeit indistinctly. D&S no. 7 (fol. 4v) 2 uniwemð yrðe] so MS uniwemð yrpe C. D&S no. 10 (fol. 5v) 2 at anhæfedes] atanha ðam C atan hæfedes MS;<sup>4</sup> 4 wunyunge] so MS wunyincge C; 5 attingit] attingat C and so MS; 6 tæh\ē/] so MS tæh C. D&S no. 15 (fol. 7v) 2 tywfealde] twyfealde C and so MS. D&S no. 18 (fol. 8r) 1 suster] sueter MS as noted D&S 23n46. D&S no. 25a (fol. 8v) 1 cweð] so C cwed MS; 1 ah\u/nd] C ahu\n/d and so MS. D&S no. 26 (fol. 9r) 2 hæra] þæra C and so MS. D&S no. 34 (fol. 9v) 3 seofonfeald] so MS seofonfeald C. D&S no. 36a (fol. 10r) 1 al] so C æl MS. D&S no. 41 (fol. 10v) 1 hæfedes] so C and MS, but DOEC erroneously hæfde; 1 sunes] so MS suna C. D&S no. 44 (fol. 11r) 2 þa yfu[n]donne] so C and MS, but DOEC, following the suggestion of C 420n1 mistakenly þæt þa yfudonne. D&S no. 46 (fol. 11v) 1-2 hundseofentig writer] hundseofentig writen C and so MS; C however prints this, along with the adjacent .xiiii. wintre in superscript after 'lefede', but as D&S recognise, hundseofentig writen must be a gloss to þa lxx, while the second phrase, .xiiii. wintre, is marked for insertion after lefede by a comma-shaped mark; 4 forþferde] forðferde C and so MS; 4 Jer(onymus) cwæð] ler(onymus) cwe with a macron over w C and so MS (as noted D&S 33n105), but this should be expanded cw(æð)e. D&S nos. 47-48 (fols. 11v-12r) 5-6] dot hy to dan] so C and MS but DOEC unnecessarily emends to ðan. D&S no. 50 (fol. 12r) 4 þar hi ne scolde] þat hi ne scolde C and so MS, though Crawford 1923 has þæt hi ne scolde; 6 fram] so C fran MS. D&S no. 51c (fol. 12v) 1 caines] caimes C, and so MS. D&S no. 61 (fol. 15v) 2 hiwscipe] hiwscippe C, and so MS. C&S no. 62 (fol. 16v) 1 flæsches] flæscas C, and so MS. D&S no. 67 (fol. 17r) 1 nas] so MS næs C. D&S no. 128 (fol. 34v) 1 hære hælder breder] so MS wære hælder breder C; 1-2 [w]ære fæderes] ærcfæderes C hære fæderes MS.<sup>5</sup> D&S no. 147 (fol. 39r) 2 abraha(m)es] abrha(m)es C, and so MS. D&S no. 156 (fol. 40v) 2 istr[in]de] istrinde C istride MS. D&S no. 166 (fol. 44r) 1 wæs] so MS þ(æt) wæs C, who, as D&S note (80n335), misreads a paraph mark. D&S no. 181 (fol. 51r) 2 þar wycnigede] so MS þær wycnigede C; 5 mægin] mægum C, and so MS; 8 mægum] so MS mægion C; 9 hære getelde] hæra getelde C, and so MS. D&S no. 264 (fol. 90r) 1 þusend] þusenð MS. D&S no. 358 (fol. 155v) 1 mesopotania lande] so MS mesopotania C.*

The reading 'atan hæfedes' in D&S no. 10 warrants further discussion because it occurs in perhaps the most significant textual crux the annotations offer. Doane and Stoneman print 'eden is at anhæfedes angynne on hesdele þysre worlde' and translate 'Eden is at the (furrow) end, the beginning of the east parts of this world', interpreting 'at anhæfedes' as a prepositional phrase using the noun *andhēafdu*, 'headlands, ground at the end of the furrow where the plough was turned', which is otherwise restricted to charter bounds. Crawford (1922: 419) read 'Eden is atanha ðam angynne on hesdele þysre worlde' and noted that Henry Bradley had suggested to him that 'atanha' was to be connected with the rare adjective *getang*, 'in contact with'. Reading 'Eden is atan hæfedes angynne on hesdele þysre worlde', as proposed here, taking 'atan' as a contracted form of *æt þam* found in other late twelfth-century texts and translating 'Eden is at the frontier of the chief [region] in the eastern part of this world', avoids recourse to obscure vocabulary and gives a closer equivalent to Comestor's 'prima orbis parte', even if the annotator's phrasing remains somewhat odd.<sup>6</sup>

One further English intervention requires additional discussion, Doane and Stoneman's no. 18 (fol. 8r), which, in contrast to their presentation, is better seen as a textual emendation and not an annotation. A *signe de renvoi* indicates that the first phrase ('eftter fyftene wintra') is to be inserted before 'Soðlice adam gestrynde cain' (Gen 4:1), while a comma-like mark following Cain suggests '7 his sueter chalmana' was to be inserted there. The annotator also intervened in the following

sentence, inserting the phrases 'ofer oðra .xv.' and '7 suester delbora' and correcting an erroneous reading in the original text by interlining a **t**. Taking into account his revisions and modernising capitalisation and punctuation, the passage therefore reads as follows:

\Eftter fyftene wintra/ soðlice adam gestrynde cain \7 is sueter Chalmana/ be euan his  
gemæccan. 7 ðus cwæð: 'Ðisne man me sealde drihten'. Eft \ofer oðra .xv./ he ges\te/rynde  
Abel \7 suester Delbora/. Abel wæs sceaphyrde 7 Cain eorðtilia.

### *The Latin Notes*

Doane and Stoneman 2011, the *editio princeps*, remains the only edition of the Latin annotation. The reliability of their text is very high, but several corrigenda are given below.

D&S no. 3 (fol. 3v) 1 martyre] martyr MS. D&S no. 4 (fol. 3v) 1 declinatur] declina(n)tur MS.  
D&S no. 9a (fol. 5r) 3 sil(l)epsim] sile(m)psim MS. D&S no. 20 (fol. 8r) 2 Caym] Cayn MS. D&S  
no. 33 (fol. 9v) 1 7 iubal ] *these words are intended as an insertion into the Old English text  
so that it gives the names of both of Lamech's sons by Adah.* D&S no. 51f (fol. 13r) 5  
enachi(m)] enathi(m) MS. D&S no. 58 (fol. 14v) 8 f(ui)t] s(un)t MS. D&S no. 63 (fol. 16v) 4  
pret(er)it] pret(er)iit MS. D&S no. 66 (fol. 16v) 2 po(st)] et po(st) MS. 7 Reu] MS Rev. 12 etas]  
etatis. D&S no. 70e (fol. 18v) 3 d(om)anandi] da(m)nandi MS. D&S no. 70f (fol. 18v) 3 q(u)i  
i(n) luca uocat(ur) cainan q(u)i condidit salem] *marked for instertion after 4 sale with signes  
de renvoi.* D&S no. 79 (fol. 19v) 3 expirante] expirasse MS. D&S no. 80a (fol. 19v) 2 Mesli]  
Mesh MS. D&S no. 81 (fol. 20r) 1 Egressis] Egressus MS. D&S no. 91a (fol. 21v) 2 refert]  
refret MS. D&S no. 99 (fol. 24r)] 3 Josephu(s)] *MS apparently Josephu(m) altered to  
Josephu(s).* D&S no. 100 (fol. 24v) 1 iudicii] iuditii MS. D&S no. 101 (fol. 24v) 2 a\p/pellat(ur)]  
a\p/pellat(us) MS. D&S no. 113 (fol. 26v) 10 efron] esron MS. D&S no. 122 (fol. 30r) 2  
faciunt] fatiunt MS. D&S no. 146b (fol. 39r) 1-2 iurav(er)it] iurau(er)it MS. D&S no. 149 (fol.  
39v) 5 Rebecca] Rebecce MS. D&S no. 153a (fol. 40r) 1 nat(us) est] nat(us) est ei MS. D&S no.  
160 (fol. 41r) 10 sesebeon] resebeon MS. D&S no. 161 (fol. 42v) 2 patrum] patruu(m) MS.  
D&S no. 196 (fol. 53r) 1 ia[m]] ia(m) MS. D&S no. 217 (fol. 67r) 2 ON] ON(N) MS. D&S no. 223  
(fol. 69r) 2 mis[er]corditer] mis(eri)c(or)diter MS. D&S no. 231 (fol. 71v) 2 t(re)ginta]  
t(ri)ginta MS. D&S no. 245a (fol. 74r) 24 & esron] q(ua) esron MS; 40 ignem] ignem *altered  
from ignis* MS (*cf. D&S 111n477*). D&S no. 247 (fol. 74v) 17 egypti] egyptii MS. D&S no. 257  
(fol. 83r) 2-3 dixeruntq(ue) pharaoni] dixeruntq(ue) pharaoni \malefici/ MS. D&S no. 266  
(fol. 90v) 5 Hebreis] Hebre(us)us MS, *the scribe having apparently first used the  
abbreviation, before deciding writing -us in full would make for a neater line end.* D&S no.  
288 (fol. 96v) 2 7 (*i. e. et*)] et(iam) MS. D&S no. 290 (fol. 99v) 1 ier(usa)lin] ier(usa)l(e)m MS.  
D&S no. 292a 1 Hier(usa)lin] Hier(usa)l(e)m MS; 1 toti(us)] toci(us) MS. 4 i(n)ventionis]  
i(n)uentionis MS. D&S no. 296 (fol. 101v) 14 q(uo)d apparet] qd apparet MS *with no mark of  
abbreviation evident.* D&S no. 311b (fol. 124v) 2 c(am)pest(r)a] ca(m)pest(ri)a MS. D&S no.  
327 (fol. 143v) 7 probatiKH] probatiKN MS. D&S no. 330e (fol. 144v) 2 orien\ta]e]  
orient\ta]e MS, *corrected from oriente(m).* D&S no. 334b (fol. 146v) 2 sepulcra] sepulchra  
MS. D&S no. 338 (fol. 148r) 1 Emechahor] Emetachor MS. D&S no. 342a (fol. 150rv) 4 hostis]  
hostiis MS. D&S no. 344 (fol. 151r) 2 agalon] ayalon MS. D&S F. 156r<sup>7</sup> 5 q(ui)a] q(ui) MS; 13  
q(ui) libr(o)] q(ui) i(n) libr(o) MS; 27 ibi] *not visible in MS*; 31 sepulc[ro]] *despite the  
implication that the final two letters are an emendation, -(r)o is present in the MS.*

It will thus be observed that, in general, Doane and Stoneman did an excellent job transcribing and presenting the difficult and multifarious twelfth-century interventions in the Hexateuch. It is hoped that these corrections will facilitate further study of these important, and fascinating, annotations.

Faulkner, 'C12 Annotations to OE Hexateuch: some corrected readings', *ANQ* 20 (2017), 6-9  
Post-Print

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<sup>1</sup> Those edited by Doane and Stoneman as nos. 18, 42b, 42c, 147, 254, 264, 302 and 357.

<sup>2</sup> It should however be noted that the frequent English-language signes-de-renvoi, which comprise 'hær', 'hwær' and variant spellings thereof (18n17, 22n38, 23n41 (but read 'hþær' for 'hwær'), 36n121, 54n213, 56n225, 59n237, 60n243 (but read 'wær' for 'þær'), 64n262, 70n288, 73n300 (but read 'whær' for 'phær'), 84n346, 102n429, 121n527, 129n554 (but – probably – read 'her' for 'hær'; the **a** seems to be indexical rather than intended for insertion), and 172n767) and some textual corrections ([23]-4n47, 62n257 and 86n351), are usually noted not in the text proper but in the footnotes. The only English language interventions made by the twelfth-century annotator that they have not noted appears on fol. 6v, where the words 'þe is' are supplied for insertion in Gen 3.3.

<sup>3</sup> Crawford cautiously reproduced the barred thorn without offering any expansion, but the Dictionary of Old English Corpus has misleadingly expanded it in accordance with Old English norms as 'þæt'

<sup>4</sup> The **s** has been written above the **e** due to avoid running the word into the central gutter.

<sup>5</sup> As noted by D&S 65n265. No emendation is however necessary: read 'hi cwæðe hære hælde brede hære fæderes' and translate 'they called their elder brothers their fathers'.

<sup>6</sup> For *atan*, see the forms listed in the Etymology section of OED<sup>1</sup> **at**, *prep*. The equivalent passage in Comestor, identified by Doane and Stoneman 20n30, can be found in *PL* 198, col. 1067A.

<sup>7</sup> Due to the damage to this leaf, D&S do not number the annotations it contains.