

Medieval Materialities

**Issue 1:
Lichfield Cathedral
April 2023**

Preface

It is with great pleasure that we publish the very first issue of *Medieval Materialities*, dedicated on this occasion to the holdings of Lichfield Cathedral. The wider *Medieval Materialities* website and network is intended to serve as a hub for research conducted by medievalists throughout the Midlands, with a particular onus on the work of doctoral and early career researchers. In this respect, it continues some of the work of the Medieval Midlands group, which the project seeks to extend in new directions, embracing the rich resources, and often untold medieval heritage, of this region.

This issue draws on research undertaken in the context of an AHRC Midlands 4 Cities funded Dialogue Day in May 2022, an event which marked a welcome return to a research culture closer to our experience before the Covid-19 pandemic. An exploration of the manuscripts, artefacts, and building archaeology of Lichfield Cathedral and Library, the Dialogue Day emphasised the importance of material engagement with the medieval past – a tangible encounter which, over the previous two years, had become rare for so many of us. The day allowed us to come together and remember the curiosity that inspires our work, as we engage with a past at once alien and familiar.

The day was also intended to celebrate the interdisciplinary and specialised knowledges and skillsets cultivated by medievalists, from engagements with the material text, to deliberations on the interdisciplinarity of the field of Medieval Studies. The present issue is particularly engaged with the rich selection of medieval texts contained within Lichfield's manuscripts. In the transcriptions and descriptions presented in the pages that follow, you will see that scholars are here exploring their own working principles, as they did during the day itself. Many of these transcriptions present the first step in editions of previously unedited manuscripts, and researchers have pursued their own editorial approaches, reached through careful consideration and negotiation with the journal editors, approached as if each transcription were a stand-alone publication, and indeed, the work here begun may well provide the first step in wider individual projects.

While the present volume is chiefly focused on manuscript study and palaeography, it also offers discussions - and hypotheses - concerning the cultural and social contexts of medieval Lichfield, not least the means through which the Lichfield, or the Chad or Teilo, Gospels came to the Cathedral. It concludes, finally with a case study of interdisciplinarity, a response to an inspiring panel by Prof. Leslie Brubaker and Prof. Chris Wickham which concluded the Dialogue Day, and reminded us of the ways in which the careers of medievalists are, perhaps more than any other field, necessarily shaped by an agile responsiveness to the demands of the material, and the materialities, to which our research questions lead, and which in turn generate new points of enquiry. This is precisely the agility which our early career participants here demonstrate, and we look forward to seeing what comes next.

Victoria Flood, University of Birmingham

5th April 2023

Acknowledgements

With thanks to Dr Monica White; Dr Kate Sykes; Dr Joanna Martin; Dr Christopher King; Dr William Purkis; Dr Olivia Robinson; Dr Jenny Alexander; Dr Elizabeth L'Estrange; Prof. Leslie Brubaker and Prof. Chris Wickham; the Arts Humanities Research Council; the University of Birmingham and the University of Nottingham; and the staff of Lichfield Cathedral and Library.



Midlands4Cities

Doctoral Training Partnership

Birmingham Coventry Leicester Nottingham

Contents

1. Cross-border Material Heritage:
The Lichfield/ Chad/ Teilo Gospels in Insular Context:
Kate Sykes and Victoria Flood 1
2. Reflection:
Marginalia in Early-Medieval Gospel Books
Tom Fairfax 7
3. Manuscript Description and Transcription I:
Lichfield Cathedral MS 10 (Wycliffe Bible)
Clark R. Bates 12
4. Manuscript Description and Transcription II:
Lichfield Cathedral MS 10 (Wycliffe Bible)
Catherine Gower 16
5. Manuscript Description and Transcription III:
Lichfield Cathedral Library MS 50 (*The Pricke of Conscience*)
Edmund van der Molen 19
6. Manuscript Description and Transcription IV:
Lichfield Cathedral MS 35 (*Dives et Pauper*)
Lauren Sisson 22
7. Interdisciplinary Perspective:
Social Networks and *Landnámabók*
Cassidy Croci 27

**Cross-border Material Heritage:
The Lichfield/ Chad/ Teilo Gospels in Insular Context:**

**Dr Kate Sykes (Dept of History, University of Birmingham)
and Dr Victoria Flood (Dept of English, University of
Birmingham)**

The eighth-century manuscript now known as the Lichfield, or - named after Lichfield's patron saint - the Chad, Gospels (Lichfield Cathedral Library, MS 1) provides an instructive example of the connectedness of manuscript production in early medieval Britain and Ireland. The origins of the book remain uncertain, and have been understood by turns as Welsh, Irish, and English.¹ Its Welsh marginalia attest to its presence at St Teilo's Church in Llandeilo Fawr, Carmarthenshire by the ninth century; although it appears to have been in Lichfield by the tenth century, and potentially contains the name of one of the cathedral's bishops, Wynsige, although the precise identification and date of this remains uncertain.² Its script, in common with other Gospel books of the period, is also compatible with Irish and Northumbrian centres of monastic manuscript production.

In the last twenty years, scholars have increasingly moved away from the national claiming of British and Irish Gospel books, to explore instead the 'shared work of conservation and construction' by religious networks across Britain and Ireland, in a context which is understood as 'Insular' - a term selected by scholars to, as Michelle P. Brown terms it, 'obviate the drawing of arbitrary national distinctions'.³ In this short, teaching-focused piece, we approach this indeterminacy as a teachable moment, and explore the book with a mind to the mobility of medieval scribes, learning, and material culture; and as an insight into cultural connections and specificities across the medieval Insular zone.⁴

¹ For discussion of provenance see J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts, 6th to the 9th Centuries, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles Vol. 1* (London: Harvey Miller, 1976), no. 21.

² For in-depth studies of the Welsh marginalia see Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen, 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels: Part I', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 5 (1983): 37-66 (p. 38), and 'The Welsh marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels. Part II: The 'surexit' memorandum', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 7 (1984): 91-120.

³ Michelle P. Brown, 'The Lichfield/ Llandeilo Gospels Reinterpreted', in *Authority and Subjugation in the Writing of Medieval Wales*, ed. Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 57-70 (p. 57).

⁴ There is important work on the cultural connectedness that might be through the production of Gospel books in continental Europe also. We might note, for example, the Carolingian Lindau Gospels (Pierpont Morgan Library, 1901 MS M 1), which has a back cover thought to be made in Salzburg in the eighth century, a front cover made in West

Insular Book Production

The Lichfield or Chad Gospels is a fine example of an Insular Gospel Book (now incomplete), that is, a copy of the four Gospels of the New Testament produced in Britain or Ireland between the early seventh and early ninth centuries (roughly 600-800CE). As such, it is a member of a prestigious group of early medieval manuscripts, including the Book of Kells, the Book of Durrow, and the Lindisfarne Gospels.

In this period it was relatively rare to produce copies of the whole Bible within a single volume, as these would have been both enormously expensive to produce and unwieldy in weight and size: the *Codex Amiatinus*, a rare surviving example of a pandect (a complete copy containing both the Old and New Testaments) produced in Northumbria in the early eighth century, measures just over 50cm by 34cm, and weighs over 30kg. Instead, there was a preference for the production of smaller books which contained sections with particular liturgical or devotional uses: some might contain the four Gospels of the New Testament, whilst others, known as psalters, contained the Psalms of the Old Testament.

In addition to the marginalia and insertions, discussed below, the particular significance of this manuscript lies in the script (the type of handwriting) and the illuminations (the illustrations), which give us some clues as to the time and place of its creation. Written in an Insular Half-uncial hand, the script of the Lichfield Gospel is similar to that of the Book of Kells and the Lindisfarne Gospel, to which it also possesses similarities in its decoration.⁵ It has even been speculated that the Lichfield Gospel was produced at Lindisfarne, although the techniques of book production here found are by no means unique to a single house or region, and this theory cannot be substantiated.⁶

The production of Gospel books with this combination of Insular script and images is associated with the Irish monastic diaspora, but beyond that, it is often very difficult to assign origins to a specific site: the Book of Kells, for example, was long assumed to have been produced at Kells

Francia in the ninth, and inner covers lined with silks from Byzantium, and possibly Syria. Bryan C. Keene, ed., *Towards a Global Middle Ages: Encountering the World through Illuminated Manuscripts* (Los Angeles: John Paul Getty Museum, 2019), p. 11.

⁵ For further discussions, and examples, of Insular script, and its relationship to Roman, see Jane E. Roberts, *Guides to Scripts used in English Writing up to 1500* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), pp. 13-16.

⁶ For discussion of the evidence, see Jenkins and Owen, 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels: Part I', pp. 43-44.

itself, but it is possible that some or all of the manuscript originated elsewhere (current candidates include the monastery of Iona, located off the West Coast of Scotland).⁷

The Manuscript and Wales

The early history of the book, and its relationship to the church of St Teilo in South Wales, has amassed competing theories, including something of a romantic medievalist conspiracy theory: the removal of the gospels from Llandeilo to Lichfield by the monks, as a late-realised act of revenge for Cynndylan of Powys's attack upon the English monastery in the seventh century.⁸ As we have already seen, the history of Insular manuscript production and circulation is far more complicated than that, and the movement of books might be understood in relation not simply to violence (although this may be a part of the picture) but also collaborative practices which meant that the Insular script of the Gospel's Latin was as easily understood in England as in Wales and Ireland.

An early Welsh Gospel - or at least, a Gospel passing through Wales - the Lichfield Gospel is counted alongside Gospels attested in Welsh ecclesiastical settings which have not survived. These include the lost Gospel of St Gildas, which was apparently still in Llancarfan in the twelfth century; the lost St Asaph Gospels, which went on tour with its canons in the thirteenth century; and book of St Bueno, last seen in the late sixteenth century. These vanishings might be understood not only in relation to the destruction of monastic property in both England and Wales in the sixteenth century but also the relative obsolescence of Insular script in Wales from the twelfth century onwards (in contrast to Ireland).⁹ We must note that the Lichfield Gospel is itself only a partial survival - the Gospels appear to have been divided into two, possibly during its period in Wales, and the second half was subsequently lost.¹⁰

Although the precise direction of travel of the manuscript remains uncertain, it contains notable marginalia in Old Welsh, and in Latin featuring Welsh personal names, of significance for scholarly understanding of early written forms of Welsh as well as the social contexts through which

⁷ Michelle P. Brown, 'The Lichfield Angel and the Manuscript Context: Lichfield as a Centre of Insular Art', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 160.1 (2007): 8-19, at p.17.

⁸ Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The Uses of Writing in Early Medieval Wales', in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, ed. Huw Pryce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 15-38 (p. 15).

⁹ Sims-Williams, 'The Uses of Writing in Early Medieval Wales', pp. 21-22.

¹⁰ Jenkins and Owen, 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels: Part I', p. 38.

the manuscript moved. The 'Surexit' memorandum (the second piece of marginalia in the manuscript, referred to as 'Chad 2') is the oldest piece of written syntactical Welsh, although it does contain Latin vocabulary (including its first word).¹¹

Among the marginalia we also find an early ninth-century Latin memorandum ('Chad 1') that one Gelhi son of Arihtiud received the Gospel book from one Cingal in exchange for a horse and donated it upon the altar of St Teilo; as well as evidence of manumission (the freeing of enslaved people) and dispute settlement which have attracted attention from social historians of early medieval Wales.¹² This practice in Gospel books is familiar - the Book of Kells similarly contains vernacular memoranda and charters, including twelfth-century royal confirmations of the rights of the church of Ardraccon in County Meath.¹³ The book into which the charter is written is not incidental, and the status of the manuscript itself was understood as authorising. In the Lichfield Gospels, we see not only the authorising use of the book, but St Teilo's institutional claim upon the book itself - it has been suggested that 'Chad 1' was copied from a colophon in the second volume at the point of the book's division, reiterating the church's possession of it.¹⁴ The wider narrative around the book's movement to, or within, Wales remains uncertain, although it has been suggested, variously, that Cingal stole the book from another ecclesiastical institution, or the book was displaced, and subsequently traded, from its original location, in the context of Norse raids.¹⁵

The late ninth-century manumission text ('Chad 5'), in the margins of the portrait of St Luke, is a particularly interesting window onto the social function of the book at St Teilio's. We read of the freedom of Bleiddudd, son of Sulien, secured by four pounds and eight ounces of silver, agreed in the presence of both secular and ecclesiastical witnesses, including the bishop of Teilo, and guaranteed not simply by

¹¹ Jenkins and Owen, 'The Welsh marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels. Part II: The 'surexit' memorandum'.

¹² For discussion of the historical context of the marginalia, see Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp. 65, 133; Thomas Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 247.

¹³ Marie Therese Flannagan, 'The Uses and Context of the Latin Charter in Twelfth-century Ireland', in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, pp. 113-32 (p. 128).

¹⁴ Jenkins and Owen, 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels: Part I', p. 59.

¹⁵ For discussion of this possibility, as contemporary with despoilation of the Shrine of St Chad at the Cathedral, see Brown, 'The Lichfield Angel and the Manuscript Context', pp. 17-18.

the act of writing alone, but by the act of writing in the Gospel book. The text concludes: 'let the person who has not maintained it be cursed by God and by Teilo in whose Gospel Book it has been written'. As Thomas Charles-Edwards has noted in his study of the ritual aspects of the text (and its orality), not only St Teilo's bishop but the saint is understood to be present, the latter via his book.¹⁶

The Manuscript at Lichfield

By the tenth century the Gospel book (or part of it) was at Lichfield, an important ecclesiastical centre which had been founded by Chad, a Northumbrian monk, around 670.¹⁷ Although the eighth and ninth century history of Lichfield is not particularly well documented, it was clearly a significant centre: in the late eighth century the bishop of Lichfield was briefly promoted to archiepiscopal status as part of the attempts by the king of Mercia, Offa, to assert his independence from the archbishops at Canterbury.¹⁸ In the same period Mercia also housed major centres of manuscript production, most notably Worcester, and stone sculpture, fragments of which survive at Breedon-on-the-Hill and Repton.¹⁹

Given this artistic and cultural context, it has sometimes been suggested that the manuscript was produced at Lichfield itself, perhaps to celebrate the translation of Chad's relics.²⁰ Some of the strongest evidence for a Mercian – if not necessarily a Lichfield – provenance comes from similarities between this manuscript and the Hereford Gospels, another eighth-century Insular Gospel book which appears to have been at Hereford since the eleventh century, if not before;²¹ these similarities point towards the existence of networks for sharing and copying texts in the west of Britain, although the precise locations at which this activity took place are still unidentified.

¹⁶ Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, p. 248.

¹⁷ For the marginalia, see above, note 2. For the early history of Lichfield, see Andrew Sargent, *Lichfield and the Lands of St Chad: Creating Community in Early Medieval Mercia* (Hatfield; University of Hertfordshire Press, 2020).

¹⁸ Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church at Canterbury* (Leicester; Leicester University Press, 1984), esp. pp. 111-127.

¹⁹ See, for example, the essays in Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (eds), *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms in Europe* (London; Leicester University Press, 1991). For more recent discussion of the stone sculpture see Jane Hawkes and Philip Sidebottom (eds) *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, vol. 13: Derbyshire and Staffordshire* (Oxford; Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2018).

²⁰ Pamela James, 'The Lichfield Gospels: the question of provenance', *Parergon* 13 (1996), 51-61, esp. pp. 59-61.

²¹ James, 'Lichfield Gospels', pp. 59-61; cf. Brown, 'Lichfield Angel', pp. 13-17.

Yet if the case for Lichfield as a major centre of manuscript production in the seventh and eighth centuries remains unproven, the discovery of a large limestone slab under the floor of the nave during building work in 2003 revealed an important fragment of the cathedral's early medieval fabric, few traces of which have otherwise survived.²² The face of the panel features an angel, carved in relief in a style which dates it to the period around 800, and which is likely to have formed the end panel of a shrine – perhaps even the lost shrine of St Chad himself.²³

Teaching Questions

- What does the study of this manuscript reveal about contacts and connections in early medieval Britain?
- Does it matter where the manuscript was made? Why?
- What might study of the manuscript tell us about the relationship between Insular book production and Insular art?
- In what ways has the discovery of the Lichfield Angel changed our understanding of the intellectual and artistic culture of the Lichfield community in the eighth to tenth centuries?

²² Warwick Rodwell, Jane Hawkes, Emily Howe and Rosemary Cramp, 'The Lichfield Angel: A Spectacular Anglo-Saxon Painted Sculpture', *The Antiquaries Journal* 88 (2008): 48-108.

²³ Rodwell et al., 'Lichfield Angel', pp. 55, 64-66; Ian Styler, 'Understanding and illustrating the influence of the cult of St Chad', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association* 105 (2020), 588-602, at p. 595.

Reflection: Marginalia in Early-Medieval Gospel Books

Tom Fairfax (University of Nottingham)

As part of the Midlands4Cities Dialogue Day at Lichfield Cathedral, we got the opportunity to visit the Cathedral's library. Of the various medieval manuscripts held at Lichfield, one was particularly eye-catching: a gospel book from the late eighth century, ornately decorated, and extremely rare. The Cathedral librarian was particularly careful around it but was generous enough to give us the opportunity to look at a text central to the Christian past and present of Lichfield. The Lichfield Gospels (Lichfield MS 1, sometimes referred to as the St Chad Gospels) were part of the Lichfield Cathedral library until the English Civil War, when the library was looted. The gospels were returned to Lichfield in the 1670s, where they have remained since. They continue to be used by the cathedral when new bishops are ordained.

Latin and Old Welsh notes in the margins of the biblical text show that the book spent some time in Wales. The marginalia refer to an 'altar of St Telio', which has been identified as Llandeilo Fawr in Carmarthenshire.¹ These notes were made after the book's creation, but they were certainly made before the mid-eleventh century, when another record suggests the book had arrived in Lichfield.² The idea of writing on an ancient manuscript might seem like sacrilege in the modern day, but we have the monks of Llandeilo Fawr to thank for some of the earliest written examples of Old Welsh. As a result, the notes in the Lichfield Gospels have been studied as important records for Welsh history and philology.³ But why write in a treasured gospel book? This practice is more common than you might suspect. Indeed, the Lichfield Gospels belong in a corpus of early-medieval gospel books from the British Isles which include later marginalia. By looking at some of these books together, we can examine the reasons why people wrote notes in the margins of the Lichfield Gospels.

¹ Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen, 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels, Part I', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 5 (1983): 37-66 (p. 48).

² Jenkins and Owen, 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels, Part I', p. 49.

³ Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The uses of writing in early medieval Wales', in Huw Pryce, ed., *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 25-26.

Upon seeing the Lichfield Gospels for the first time, the marginalia reminded me of the tenth-century [Book of Deer \(Cambridge University Library, MS li.6.32\)](#). Like the Lichfield Gospels, the Book of Deer is a gospel book including later marginalia. It was produced in Aberdeenshire, probably in the ninth century, but the later notes contain the earliest recorded instances of Scottish Gaelic.⁴ The marginal texts have been treasured as rare insights into early Scottish society, as evidence for the development of Gaelic in Scotland, and as examples of place-name formation.⁵ The Gaelic notes include records of land grants to the monastery at Deer. For example:

Do-rat Gartnait & ingen Gille-Mícael
Ball Domin i Pet in Púir do Crist & do
Colim Cilli & do Drostán.

(Gartnait and the daughter of Gille-Michéil gave Ball Domain [‘the deep spot’] in Pitfour to Christ and to Columba and to Drostán.)⁶

These notes are all thought to date to between c. 1130 and c. 1150, but some of the grants themselves took place long before this. Mentions of Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (d. 1034) and Mael Coluim mac Máil Brigte (d. 1029) indicate that some date to the early eleventh century, although others may be even earlier. The records in the Book of Deer find close parallels in the [Book of Kells \(Trinity College Dublin MS 58\)](#), an Irish Gospel book produced c. 800. This book also records a series of land grants and, like those in the Book of Deer, the Kells grants appear to date to the eleventh and twelfth centuries based on the individuals featured.⁷ Both the Book of Deer and the Book of Kells appear to have acted as cartularies – places for the storage of important documents – relating to the monasteries they belonged to. It seems likely that these entries were copied from elsewhere, perhaps

⁴ Kenneth Jackson, ed., *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 8.

⁵ For example, see Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, ‘The Scotticisation of Gaelic: a reassessment of the language and orthography of the Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer’, in Katherine Forsyth, ed., *Studies on the Book of Deer* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), pp. 179-274; Simon Taylor, ‘The toponymic landscape of the Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer’, in Forsyth ed., *Studies on the Book of Deer*, pp. 275-308; Dauvit Broun, ‘The property records in the Book of Deer as a source for early Scottish society’, in Forsyth ed., *Studies on the Book of Deer*, pp. 313-362.

⁶ Jackson, *Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer*, pp. 31, 35, no. IV.

⁷ Máire Herbert, ‘Charter Material from Kells’, in Felicity O’Mahony, ed., *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin 6-9 September 1992* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), pp. 60-77.

from a series of individual documents. It is notable that the charters in the Lichfield Gospels, the Book of Deer and the Book of Kells were mostly written in the vernacular. The monks in Carmarthenshire, Aberdeenshire, and County Meath certainly had Latin literacy, so the use of other languages stands out, especially as medieval charters elsewhere are usually written in Latin. Marie Therese Flanagan has suggested that the records in the Book of Kells represent a form of vernacular 'Celtic-type' charter, used instead of a Latin charter.⁸ It seems as though these gospel book examples reflect an older, pre-Norman tradition of vernacular charter-writing which has been mostly lost outside of the gospel book examples.⁹

But why write the documents into a gospel book? Crucially, the monks knew that the gospel book would be looked after. In some cases, the books themselves were considered relics of a saint, and were protected as such.¹⁰ Therefore, writing land grants into a gospel book safeguarded the grants against loss or damage. In turn, this kept the lands of the monastery safe against other claims (in theory, at least). A Latin text in the Book of Deer shows how the compilation of the charters in the book helped the monks to prove that they had legitimate control of their lands.

Dauíd rex Scottorum omnibus probis
hominibus suis salutes. Sciatis quod
clerici de Dér sint quieti et immunes
ab omni laicorum officio et exactione
indebita, sicut in libro eorum scribturn
est, et dirationauerunt apud Banb &
iurauerunt apud Abberdeon.
Quapropter firmiter precipio ut nullus
eis aut eorum catellis aliquam iniuriam
inferre presumat.

(David king of Scots, to all his good
men, greetings. You are to know that
the clergy of Deer are to be quit and
immune from all lay service and
improper exaction, as is written in
their book, and as they proved by

⁸ Marie Therese Flanagan, 'The context and uses of the Latin charter in twelfth-century Ireland', in Pryce, ed., *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, p. 128.

⁹ Wendy Davies, 'Charter-writing and its uses in early medieval Celtic societies', in Pryce, ed., *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, p. 110.

¹⁰ Sims-Williams, 'The uses of writing in early medieval Wales', pp. 21-22.

argument at Banff and swore at Aberdeen. Wherefore I strictly enjoin that no-one shall dare to do any harm to them or to their goods.)¹¹

This shows that the notes copied into the Book of Deer had a purpose: securing approval of the monastery's ownership of certain lands from King David I of Scotland (r. 1124-1153). We can see from this that misplacing one of these documents could be catastrophic in a legal dispute; it could potentially result in the monastery being stripped of certain lands. This emphasises the reasons why the documents were written into the gospel book in the first place. This entry also seems to record a meeting point between a tradition of vernacular charter-writing and Latin charter-writing, with David I introducing the Anglo-Norman charter format to the monks of Deer.

In the Lichfield Gospels, we find that one of its notes is similarly concerned with land. However, this record seems of little relevance to the church at all. The so-called 'Surexit memorandum' in Lichfield Gospels records a dispute between Tudfwlch, son of Llywyd, and Elgu, son of Gelli, in Old Welsh (with some Latin words):

Surexit Tutbulc filius Liuit hagerer
Tutri di erchim 'Tir Telih' hai oid I lau
Elcu filius Gelhig ha luidt luguret.
Amgucant pel amtanndi; ho diued
diprotant gener Tutri o guir.
Imguodant ir degion, 'Guragun tagc'.
Rodesit Elcu guetig equs, tres uache,
tres uache nouidligi, nam ír ni be cás
igridu di medichat guetig hit Did
Braut. Grefiat guetig: nis minn Tutbulc
ha'i cenetl in ois oisau.

(Tudfwlch, the son of Llywyd and the son-in-law of Tudri, arose to claim 'Tir Telych', which was in the hand of Elgu the son of Gelli and the tribe of Idwarded. They disputed long about it; in the end they disjudge Tudri's son-in-law by law. The goodmen said to each other, 'Let us make peace'. Elgu gave afterwards a horse, three cows, and three newly-calved cows, only in

¹¹ Jackson, *Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer*, pp. 32, 36, no. VII.

order that there might not be hatred between them from the ruling afterwards until the Day of Judgement. A document afterwards: Tudfwlch and his kin will not want it for ever and ever.)¹²

Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd Owen draw comparisons between this text and a similar record preserved in the Hereford Gospels (Hereford Cathedral Library, MS P. I. 2), another late eighth-century gospel book.¹³ This book contains records of two eleventh-century land disputes, neither with any clear link to the clergy of Hereford Cathedral.¹⁴ Interestingly though, in the Hereford text, both records appear to relate to the same local family.¹⁵ It seems likely that they were patrons of the church who were important enough to have their records enshrined in the gospel book. In the case of the Lichfield Gospels, the 'Surexit memorandum' appears to refer to the son of the man who gave the book to Llandeilo Fawr. Perhaps a lasting relationship between the family of Gelli and Llandeilo Fawr resulted in the recording of this dispute in the gospel book. Thus, in both the Hereford and Lichfield Gospels, the records of land grants not related to the clergy directly appear to be connected to people who were patrons of the church.

The Lichfield Gospels also contain a record relating to the gift of the book to Llandelio Fawr. A Latin note describes how the book was purchased and brought to the Welsh monastery:

Ostenditur hic quod emit + gel hi +
filius • ariht iud • hoc euangelium • de
cjingal • et dedit • illi pro illo equm
optimum • et dedit pro anima sua
istum euangelium • deo et sancti telaui
• super altare + gel hi + filius • ariht
iud . . . , . . et + cjncenn + filius grip iud
. . . ,

(It is shown here that Gelli son of
Arthudd bought this Gospel from

¹² Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels, Part II: The 'Surexit' Memorandum', in *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 7 (1984): 91-120 (pp. 91-92).

¹³ Jenkins and Owen, 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels, Part I', p. 62.

¹⁴ Richard Gameson, 'The Insular Gospel Book at Hereford Cathedral', *Scriptorium* 56.1 (2002): 48-79 (p. 70).

¹⁵ Gameson 'The Insular Gospel Book at Hereford Cathedral', p. 72.

Cingal and gave him a very good horse for it, and for his soul he gave that Gospel to St Telio. Gelli son of Arthudd and Cyngen son of Gruffudd.)¹⁶

A similar example appears in the [Codex Aureus \(National Library of Sweden, MS A. 135\)](#), a mid-eighth-century gospel book once owned by Canterbury Cathedral. This book contains Old English notes which explain how it was purchased from a viking army:

In nomine domini nostri Jhesu Christi,
Ic Aelfred aldormon 7 þerburg mín
gefera begetan das bec æt hæðnum
herge mid uncre clæne feo ðæt ðonne
pæs mid clæne golde 7 ðæt pit
deodan for Godes lufan 7 for uncre
saule ðearf.

On forðon ðe pit noldan ðæt ðas
halgan beoc leneg in ðeare
hæðenese punaden, 7 nu pillað heó
gesellan Innto Christes Circan Gode to
lofe 7 to puldre 7 to þeorðunga...

(In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.
I Ealdorman Aelfred and Werburg my
wife acquired these books from the
heathen army with our pure money,
that was with pure gold, and this we
two did for the love of God and for the
good of our souls and because we did
not wish these holy books to stay any
longer in heathen hands. And now
they desire to give them to Christ
Church for the love and the glory and
honour of God...)¹⁷

This example gives us insights into why the Lichfield Gospels contain a note explaining how the book ended up at Llandeilo Fawr. Firstly, the gift of such an impressive book was something believed to demonstrate the piety of the

¹⁶ Jenkins and Owen, 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels, Part I', p. 50.

¹⁷ 'S 1204a' in *The Electronic Sawyer: Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Kings College London, 2022)
<<https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/charter/1204a.html>> [accessed 26/07/2022]

grantor. The texts show that by giving the books to monasteries, Gelli, Aelfred, and Werburg believed that their souls would benefit. It was also expected that by putting their names in the book, they would be prayed for by the monks using it. As Wendy Davies puts it, this reflected a 'desire for religious backing, a special protection'.¹⁸

Secondly, it seems that the grantors felt the need to demonstrate that they had obtained the manuscript in a legitimate way. The text from the Codex Aureus shows us that valuable books were among the items taken by raiders. Those granting the books to monasteries might have been questioned about how they obtained the book in the first place, as they could have been the ones who stole the book from another church. Both the Codex Aureus and the Lichfield Gospels were arguably raided from churches different to those where they ended up. Though the Codex Aureus was from near Canterbury originally, Michelle P. Brown has suggested that it was produced at Minster-in-Thamet.¹⁹ Similarly, despite the early connection to Wales, Pamela James has argued that the Lichfield Gospels were made in Lichfield.²⁰ Perhaps, just as the heathen army had taken the Codex Aureus from Kent, Cingal had stolen the Lichfield Gospels from Lichfield in a border raid. It was within the recipient churches' interests to establish that the books were purchased, rather than stolen, by the people granting them. Not only this, but they had to have been purchased through morally acceptable means. This seems to be behind the reference to 'pure money' in the Codex Aureus and the mention of a 'very good horse' in the Lichfield Gospels, both forms of legitimate currency which respected the object being bought.

This brief survey of marginalia in Insular gospel books presents several reasons why people made later notes in these precious manuscripts. Land records were compiled in gospel books to ensure their preservation, as books such as the Lichfield Gospels were revered by the churches holding them. In addition, some gospel books contain descriptions of how they were obtained by the people who donated them to the church. These notes had a spiritual aspect, but they were also used to demonstrate that the manuscript had been

¹⁸ Davies, 'Charter-writing and its uses', p. 102.

¹⁹ Michelle P. Brown, 'Mercian Manuscripts? The 'Tiberius' Group and its Historical Context', in Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr, ed., *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2002), pp. 279-290 (p. 285).

²⁰ Pamela James, 'The Lichfield Gospels: The Question of Provenance,' *Parergon* 13.2 (1996): 51-61 (p. 61).

obtained through legitimate means. Overall, the notes in the Lichfield Gospels can be placed within a tradition of marginal texts in early-medieval gospel books from the British Isles. By bringing these examples together, we can see that this practice of writing later notes in gospel books was not sacrilegious vandalism, but a way of looking after the lands of the church, praising their patrons, and establishing each book's provenance. Indeed, by writing in these ancient books, the note-makers at the churches of Llandelio Fawr, Lichfield, Deer, Kells, Canterbury, and Hereford themselves produced valuable texts, which give us an insight into medieval languages and society.

Bibliography

Broun, Dauvit, 'The property records in the Book of Deer as a source for early Scottish society', in Katherine Forsyth, ed., *Studies on the Book of Deer* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), pp. 313-362.

Brown, Michelle P., 'Mercian Manuscripts? The 'Tiberius' Group and its Historical Context', in Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr, ed., *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2002), pp. 279-290

Davies, Wendy, 'Charter-writing and its uses in early medieval Celtic societies', in Huw Pryce, ed., *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 99-112

Flanagan, Marie Therese, 'The context and uses of the Latin charter in twelfth-century Ireland', in Huw Pryce, ed., *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 113-132

Gameson, Richard, 'The Insular Gospel Book at Hereford Cathedral', *Scriptorium* 56.1 (2002): 48-79

Herbert, Máire, 'Charter Material from Kells', in Felicity O'Mahony, ed., *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin 6-9 September 1992* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), pp. 60-77

[Jackson, Kenneth, ed., *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer* \(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972\)](#)

James, Pamela, 'The Lichfield Gospels: The Question of Provenance,' *Parergon* 13.2 (1996): 51-61

Jenkins, Dafydd, and Morfydd E. Owen, 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels, Part I', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 5 (1983): 37-66

Jenkins, Dafydd, and Morfydd E. Owen 'The Welsh Marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels, Part II: The 'Surexit' Memorandum', in *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 7 (1984): 91-120

Ó Maolalaigh, Roibeard, 'The Scotticisation of Gaelic: a reassessment of the language and orthography of the Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer', in Katherine Forsyth, ed., *Studies on the Book of Deer* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), pp. 179-274

[O'Donovan, John, 'The Irish Charters in the Book of Kells' in *The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society* 1 \(1846\): 127-158](#)

Sims-Williams, Patrick, 'The uses of writing in early medieval Wales', in Huw Pryce, ed., *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 15-38

Taylor, Simon, 'The toponymic landscape of the Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer', in Katherine Forsyth, ed., *Studies on the Book of Deer* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), pp. 275-308

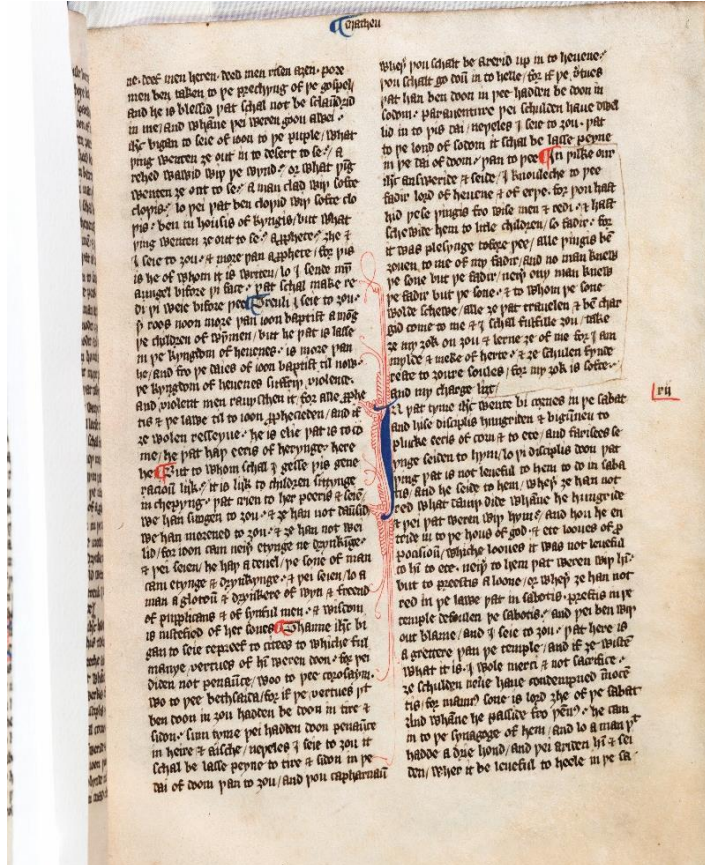
Digital Resources

The Electronic Sawyer: Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters (Kings College London, 2022)

<<https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/charter/1204a.html>> [accessed 26/07/2022]

'The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer' in *Corpus of Electronic Texts* (University College, Cork, 2010) <[The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer \(ucc.ie\)](#)> [accessed 26/07/2022]

Manuscript Description and Transcription I:
Lichfield Cathedral MS 10 (Wycliffe Bible)
Clark R. Bates (University of Birmingham)



Lichfield Cathedral, MS 10, fol. 6r © Chapter of Lichfield Cathedral (2010).

Wycliffe Bible, c. 1410, vellum, 126 ff measure approximately 270mm x 200mm. Ruling pattern is unclear due to trimming of pages. The text is formatted into 2 columns, with 44 lines in each, offset to the interior of the page.

The text is written in Middle English in a *textualis* script, with *anglicana* features. A yogh is employed when it begins a word while the common y-form seen in modern English script occurs in the body of a word. The 'a' letter form consistently employs two compartments while the 'g' form encloses the lower hook into a figure 8. The script is upright with short ascenders and descenders and clear minims, following along the baseline with minimal drift below. The scribe employs *nomina sacra* when writing the name of Jesus, abbreviated 'his', the thorn for 'th' and the Tironian note *et* for 'and'.

A brief poem in the same hand, though smaller script, is found on fol. 123v. Rubrication is employed throughout the book to demarcate chapter and pericope divisions. Chapter rubrication employs an enlarged, blue letter combined with vertical ornamentation in red ink. Pericope rubrication employs red ink. Chapter numbers are included in the margins, framed in red ink.

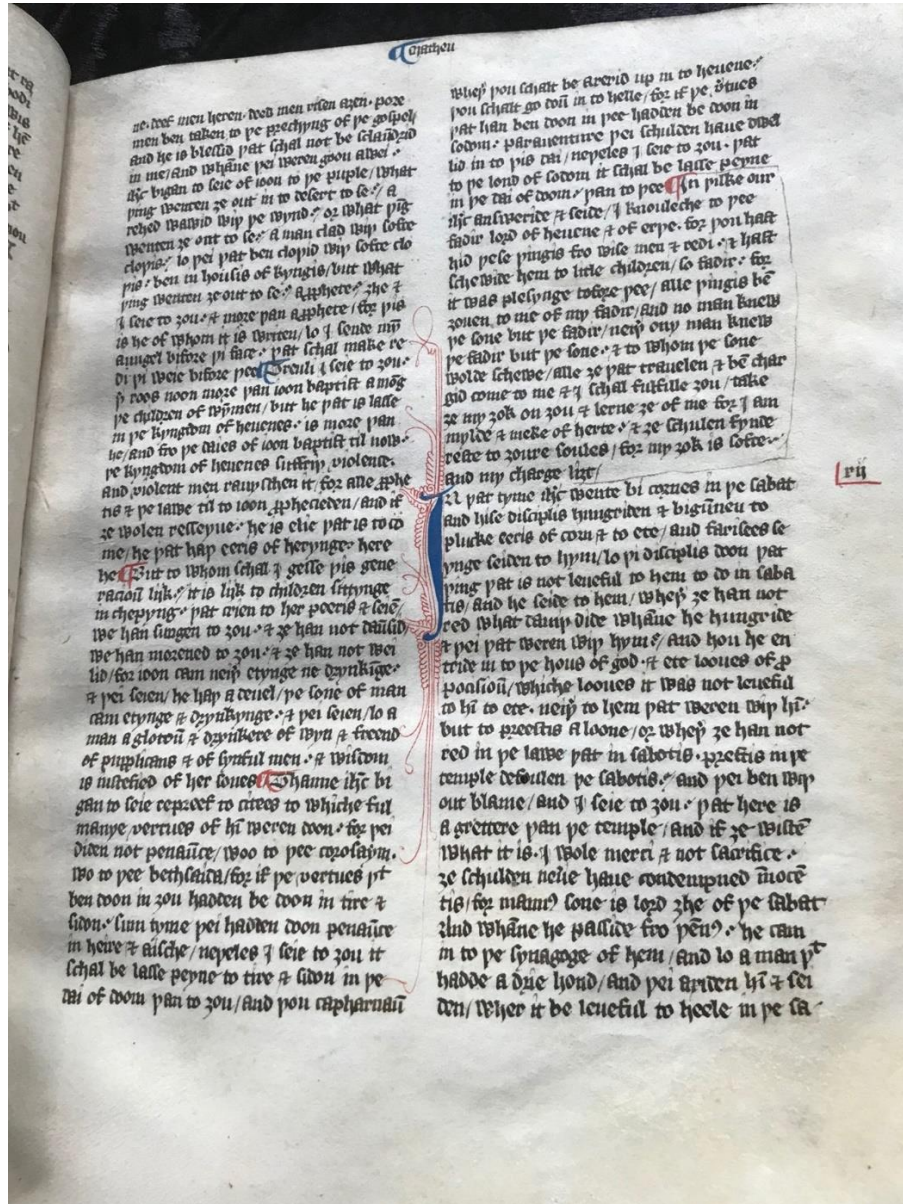
In the transcription below, the abbreviated name of Jesus (*ihs*) has been left as a *nomen sacrum*. This practice of abbreviating holy names in the New Testament originates in Greek manuscripts and is carried over into the Latin. This is most evident in the adoption of a Greek-style lunate sigma as the final s-form in the abbreviation where it appears like an English 'c'. The transcription has interpreted this as an 's' to avoid confusion. Capital letters have been employed with place names where they are lowercase in the text. Contractions, Tironian notations, and medieval letter forms, such as thorn and yogh have been adjusted to reflect the 'th' and 'y' sound, respectively, and the modern colon has been inserted where a double *punctus* appears in the text.

The following transcription is from Matthew 11.20–30, beginning on fol. 6r, col. 1, l. 35 to col. 2, l. 22:

Thanne *ihs* bi-
gan to seie repreef to citees to whiche ful
manye vertues of him weren doon: for thei
diden not penaunce / woo to thee Corasym!
woo to thee Bethsaida / for if the vertues that
ben doon in you hadden be doon in Tire et
Sidon: sum tyme thei hadden doon penaunce
in heure and aische / netheles I seie to you it
schal be lasse peyne to Tire and Sidon in the
dai of doom than to you / and thou Capharnaum
whethir thou schalt be arerid up in to heuene /
thou schalt go down in to helle/ for if ye vertues
that hau ben doon in thee hadden be doon in
Sodom: paraenture thei schulden haue dwel-
lid in to this dai / netheles I seie to you: that
to the lond of Sodom it schalt be lasse peyne
in the dai of doom: than to thee. In thilke our
ihs answeride and seide / I knoueleche to thee
fadir lord of heuene and of erthe. for thou hast
hid these thingis fro wise men and redi: and hast
schewide hem to little children / so fadir: for
it was plesynge tofore thee / alle things ben
youen to me of my fadir / and no men knew
the sone but the fadir / nether ony man knew
the fadir but the sone : and to whom the sone

wolde schewe / alle ye that trauelen and ben char-
gid come to me and I schal fulfillle you / take
ye my yok on you and lerne ye of me for I am
mylde and meke of herte : and ye schulen fynde
reste to youre soules / for my yok is softe
and my charge lyt/

Manuscript Description and Transcription II:
Lichfield Cathedral MS 10 (Wycliffe Bible)
Catherine Gower (Nottingham Trent University)



Lichfield Cathedral, MS 10, fol. 6r © Catherine Gower 2022

This section of text (fol. 6r) is a Middle English translation of Matthew 11. 5-12 from Lichfield Cathedral MS 10, which contains the New Testament of the Later Version (LV) of the Wycliffite Bible.¹

¹ Elizabeth Solopova et al., ed., *Wycliffite Bible: Digital Edition* (University of Oxford) <<https://wycliffite-bible.english.ox.ac.uk/#/>> [accessed 23/6/22].

The script used is an example of *textualis rotunda*, evident by the rounded, rather than angular, aspect to its strokes and the curved feet on the minims. The scribe used some familiar *textualis* letter forms such as the double-compartment 'a', a loopless 'd' with a short ascender and an 'x' with a crossbar, and there is some biting evident (see 'deef' on l. 1). Their style contains some notable *anglicana* influences evident in some of their letter forms with the use of the 8-shaped 'g', the round 'r' with an extended bow, and the 'w' with bows. Middle English letter forms like the yogh (ȝ) and the thorn (þ) are used regularly. The letter thorn 'þ' is distinguished from the similar 'y' by its right-slanted shaft. As is typical of a *textualis* script, ascenders and descenders extend only slightly beyond the headline and baseline, although this scribe favoured writing a h with a long descending limb. There is also some bifurcation on letters with straight ascenders like 'h' and 'l'.

The scribe is notably thorough in their treatment of the text they copied. Letters like 'i' are consistently dotted and abbreviations are rare, and usually reserved for common abbreviated forms like the macron over a vowel in place of an 'm' or 'n'. Abbreviations are used for the *nomina sacra* with names like 'Jesus' given its abbreviated form 'ihc'. A range of punctuation is used, including the punctus, virgule, punctus versus and punctus interrogativus (where a question is raised, see l. 11 for 'a prophete(?)').

The overall page is neatly arranged into two columns of 44 lines each with the name of the book written at the top of the page. Initials are blue with red pen flourishing, and red and blue is used alternately for paraphs. Given the consistency of the script and the layout, the book was likely copied by a professional scribe, following a 'set script'. This script, notable for containing both *textualis* and *anglicana* features, had come by the early fifteenth century to be associated with professional copies of the Wycliffite Bible.²

Transcription principles: The underlying principle of this transcription has been to represent as many features of the manuscript as possible. Punctuation and Middle English letter forms (like thorns and yoghs) have been retained. Tironian marks are given as '&'. Other abbreviations are expanded in round brackets. Paraphs are transcribed where they appear. Some substitutions have had to be made for medieval punctuation without Unicode symbols. The modern semi-colon ';' has been used in place of the *punctus versus*

² Elizabeth Solopova, *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 258-60.

and the *punctus interrogativus* is represented by a question mark '?'. The punctus is represented by a period '.' and the virgile is represented by a forward slash '/'.

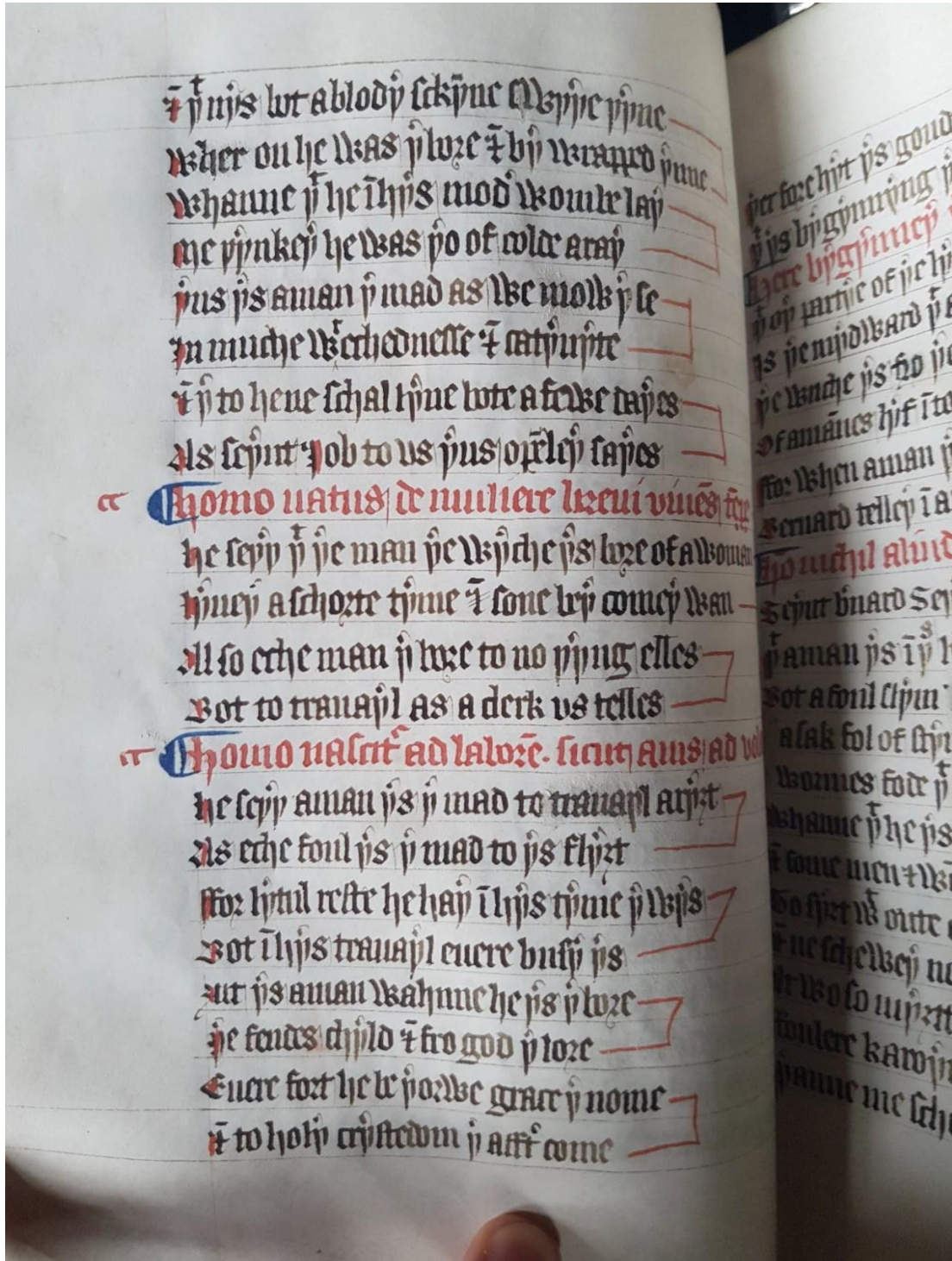
deef men heren. deed men risen a3en. pore
men ben taken to þe prechyng of þe gospel
and he is blessid þat shal not be sclau(n)drid
in me/ and wha(n)ne þei weren goon awei;
ihc bigan to seie of ioon to þe puple/ What
þing wenten 3e out in to desert to se? a
rehed wawid wiþ þe wynd? or what þi(n)g
wenten 3e out to se? a man clad wiþ softe
cloþis; lo þei þat ben cloþid wiþ softe clo
þis; ben in housis of kyngis/ but what
þing wenten 3e out to se? a p(ro)phete? 3he &
I seie to 3ou; & more þan a p(ro)phete/ for þis
is he of whom it is writen/ lo I sende my(n)
aungel bifore þi face; þat schal make re
di þi weie bifore þee ¶¶Treuli I seie to 3ou;
þ(e) roos noon more þan ioon baptist amo(n)g
þe children of wy(m)men/ but he þat is lasse
in þe kyngdom of hevenes; is more þan
he/ and fro þe daies of ioon baptist til now;
þe kyngdom of hevenes suffriþ violence.
and violent men rauyschen it/ for alle p(ro)he
tis & þe lawe til to ioon p(ro)phetieden/

Bibliography

Solopova, Elizabeth, *et al.*, ed., *Wycliffite Bible: Digital Edition*
(University of Oxford) <<https://wycliffite-bible.english.ox.ac.uk/#/>>
[accessed 23/6/22]

Solopova, Elizabeth, *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and
Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 258-60

Manuscript Description and Transcription III:
 Lichfield Cathedral Library MS 50 (*The Pricke of Conscience*)
 Edmund van der Molen (University of Nottingham)



e wythe yme
 by wrapped yme
 i koule lay
 volc aray
 se moul y se
 atypte
 a fowc taryes
 yrlcy taryes
re lreui vmes tery
 he ys lre of a woman
 ic lry coucy wan
 o pyng elles
 us telles
. sicut ams ad volca
 trauapl aryt
 s fljzt
 tyme y wps
 us ys
 y lre
 ore
 y nome
 vme

pter fore hit ys goud y othe man vndertoude
 y ys bygynnyng ys fol of fowc z schoude
Here bygynnyng y e myrdward of amannes lry: f. 1.
 y othe partie of yre hit y me calley
 ys ye myrdward y aff: onye soue falley
 ye wande ys ho ye bygynnyge
 of amannes hit i to ye laste endyngge
 wo: when amann ys aff: ward fowl by coue
 Bernard telley i arefone y he hay y nome
Ho nichil aliud e qm summa lat' stentoz z elca v mii.
 Schur buard semy as ye wke telley
 y amann ys i y hit noyng elles
 bot a fowl lry: latfow to alle men
 a lak fol of thryknyngge ten
 womes fode y hy woli haue
 shanne y he ys ded z y layd ou gne
 y some men z woman fayne seny
 wo slyt w oute as meny men demch
 z ne schelbey nouzt tote ye wyte skynne
 it wo lo wypte openly hem y se w yme
 fowlere karjme wypte neu non le
 shanne me scholar yanne dhyu y se

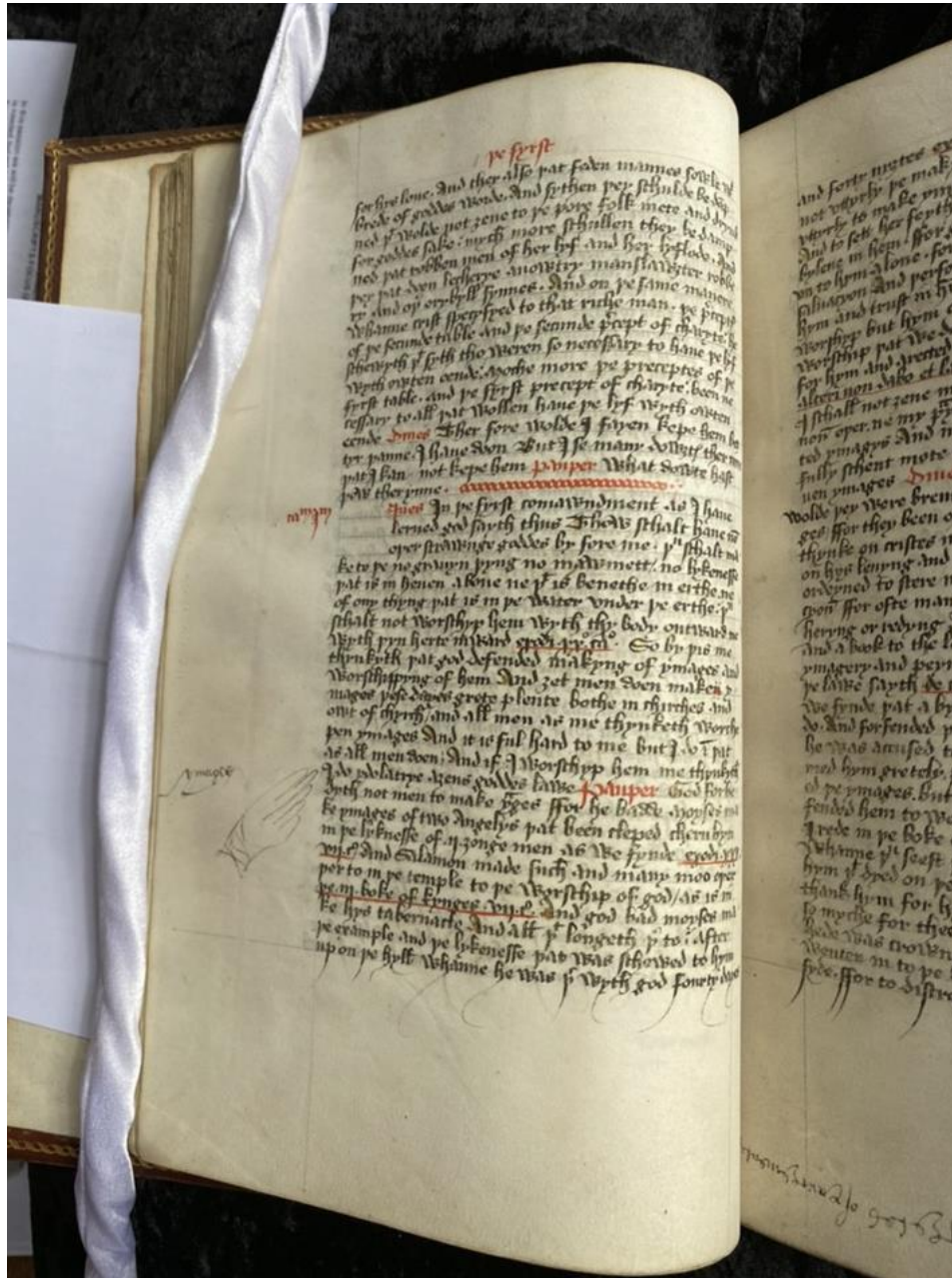
Lichfield Cathedral MS 50, fols 46r-47v © Edmund van der Molen, 2022

A consistently *semiquadrata textualis* script, with a few *rotunda* elements, most notably the ‘h’, which descends below the line in almost every instance. There is no differentiation between the ‘p’ and ‘y’ forms, with both being marked with a superscript dash. Two forms of ‘s’ are in use, the rounder sigma-shape, (as in ‘telles’, l. 13) and the tall, more upright form, as in ‘seyþ’, l. 10. Minims are predominantly clear and distinguishable. Lowercase ‘r’ has a prominent tail that descends below the line (a feature of *anglicana* script), visible throughout but particularly clearly in ‘bore’ (l. 10). Line-initial capitals are marked in red, which occasionally (l. 22 and l. 27) renders the beginning letter difficult to make out. Latin lines, as well as l. 25 are in red. Red is also used to mark the two-line rhyme scheme. There are occasional scribal errors – a missing ‘n’ in l. 26, leading to ‘me’, instead of ‘men’ (corrected in round brackets in transcription). ‘Travayl’ in l. 15 has also been written over a previous erasure.

In transcription, abbreviations have been expanded in round brackets. Thorn and yogh have been retained, and the ‘ff’ has not been replaced with ‘F’. ‘U’ and ‘v’ are used as they have been within the manuscript. Gaps between words have been amended for sense.

- Homo natus de muliere breui viu(n)s te(m)p(or)e*
- 10 He seyþ þ(a)t þe man þe wyche ys bore of a woman
 Lyuþ a schorte tyme & sone beycomeþ wan
 Al so eche man ybore to no þyng elles
 Bot to trauayl as a derk us telles
- Homo nascit(ur) ad labore(m) sicut auis ad volunt(um)*
- 15 He seyþ aman ys ymad to [trauayl] ary3t
 As eche foul ys ymade to ys fly3t
 ffor lytul reste he haþ i(n) hys tyme ywys
 Bot i(n) hys trauayl evere busy ys
 3it ys a man wahnne he ys ybore
- 20 þe fendes chyld & fro god ylore
 Euere fort he be þorwe grace ynome
 & to holy crystedin þ(er)aft(er) come
 þer fore hyt ys goude þ(a)t eche man understonde
 þ(a)t ys bygynnyng ys fol of sorwe & schonde
- 25 Here bygynneþ ye mydward of a mannes ly3f
 þ(a)t (er) partye of þe lyf þ(a)t me(n) calleþ
 þs þe mydward þ(a)t afft(er) 3ovye sone falleþ
 þe wnche ys fro ye bygynnyge

6
 Description and Transcription IV:
 Lichfield Cathedral MS 35 (*Dives et Pauper*)
 Lauren Sisson (University of Nottingham)



Lichfield Cathedral MS 35, fol17v © Lauren Sisson, 2022

Description

Middle English treatise on Holy Poverty and the Ten Commandments (from fol. 11r), in the form of a dialogue between a rich man and a pauper. The text is incomplete and ends in the middle of a discussion of the Eighth Commandment. The manuscript was written in one hand, c. 1450.

Medium and Materials

Vellum, 214 ff (Imperfect, v.1). 18th-century brown calf binding, gold-tooled.

Measurements

29 x 20cm.

Script

The hand is a mixture of secretary and anglicana letter forms, with a secretary slope. Many of the letter forms are consistent with the *cursiva* 'secretary' *formata* hand, with some exceptions. The scribe uses an 8-shaped 'g' that appears in *cursiva anglicana formata*, rather than a horned 'g'; his 'w' is also consistent with the letter form in *cursiva anglicana formata* script. The form of the scribe's letter 'a' mostly follows the single-compartment secretary form, with a double-compartment capital 'A'. The long and short 's', and the short 'r', are also secretary letter forms.

The manuscript is ruled with spacious margins and even lines, with room for 41 lines of text on each side of the folio. The text is laid out in a single column, though the scribe does have a tendency to allow text to spill over a little into the margins. It is well-planned, with three lines left blank from 18-20 for an initial to be added after the completion of the writing, perhaps by a professional illustrator or illuminator or by the scribe himself at a later date.

Virgules (/), punctus simplex (.), and punctus elevatus (ˆ) are used to mark the ends of clauses or pausing positions in lines. = is used to indicate where a single word spans across two lines, as in damp = ned (lines 4-5).

The scribe uses contractions, such as the superscript 'r' for 're' and the 'p'-like contraction to denote 'es', both of which can be found in 'preceptes' (line 8). Superscript letters are used to denote missing letters as in p^t (pat), w^t (with), and p^u (pou). The scribe also uses tildes, most often to indicate 'm' and 'n', as in dampned (ll. 2-3) and in (l. 30). They also make use of thorn (þ)

and yogh (3), though sometimes 'th' is used in words where in other cases 'þ' was.

Rubrication is used to demarcate where the two characters, Dives and Pauper, are speaking. It is also used in the header to indicate which commandment is being discussed, and in the margins where numerals indicate where sections of the text begin. Bible chapters are underlined in red where reference is made to them. The scribe also uses a chain of red 'x' as line filler when the text finishes before a full line is completed. Where the scribe has corrected themselves for adding an 'n' in 'maken' (l. 27), they have crossed out the n in red.

The scribe has used the headers to indicate the commandment being discussed, and numerals in the margin to signify where sections of the text begin. A different hand has drawn manicules in the margins to highlight certain parts, and possibly the same hand has written summary annotations next to them.

Transcription Principles

Medieval punctuation has been retained throughout the transcription, along with the letter-forms thorn (þ) and yogh (3). Where abbreviations have been expanded, this is indicated using italics. Red text is used where rubrication appears in the manuscript. The distribution of 'u' and 'v' is as it appears in the manuscript.

Notes

Several features have been added to the page to assist the reader. 'þe fyrst' is written in red ink in the centre of the top margin in the same hand as the main text. Bible passages are underlined in red. In the left hand margin next to the beginning of l. 18, 'iiij^m' is written in red ink, also in the same hand as the main text. A different hand has drawn a manicule pointing to the beginning of l. 32, and has written 'ymages' next to it, both in black ink.

exodi.xx^o.iii^o., underlined in red in the manuscript, refers to Exodus 20:3 ('You shall have on other gods before me').

exodi.xxx.vii.i^o., underlined in red in the manuscript, refers to Exodus 37 (37.7 'He made two cherubim of hammered gold...'), and probably not 38, based on the surrounding text which talks about the making of images of cherubim. Exodus 38 has no mention of the making of images, but details the construction of the Altar of Burnt Offering.

iiij. boke of kynge vij.i^o., underlined in red in the manuscript, refers to what is now 1 Kings in the New Revised Standard Catholic Version Bible, which discusses the reign of King

Solomon. Previously, both 1 and 2 Samuel were known as the first two Books of Kings, and 1 and 2 Kings were 3 and 4, respectively. 1 Kings 8 details Solomon's Dedication of the Temple.

Transcription: fol. 17v, from l. 1

And they also þat feden mannes sowle *with* brede of goddes worde . And sythen þey schulde be dampned þat wolde not 3eue to þe pore folk mete and drynk for goddes sake ; myche more schullen they be dampned þat robben men of her lyf and her lyflode . And þey þat doon lecherye auowtry manslaw3ter robbery and oper orybyll synnes . And on þe same manere whanne crist specyfied to that riche man . þe preceptes of þe secunde table and þe secunde precept of charyte . he schewyth þat syth tho weren so necessary to haue þe lyf wyth owten eende ; Moche more þe preceptes of þe fyrst table . and þe fyrst precept of charyte ; been necessary to all þat wollen haue þe lyf wyth owten eende **Diues** Ther fore wolde I fayen kepe hem bet tyr þanne I haue doon But I se many dow3tes ther inne þat I kan not kepe hem **Pauper** What dowte haft þow therynne . xx .:

Diues In þe fyrst comawndment as I haue lerned god sayth thus Thow schalt haue none oper strawnge goddes by fore me . þou schalt make to þe no grauyn þyng no mawmett / . no lykenesse þat is in heuen aboue ne þat is benethe in erthe . ne of ony thyng þat is in þe water vnder þe erthe ; þou schalt not worschyp hem wyth thy body outward ne wyth þyn herte inward exodi.xx^o.iii^o . So by þis me thynkyth þat god defended making of ymages and worschippyng of hem And 3et men doen maken ymages þese dayes grete plente bothe in chirches and owt of chyrch and all men as me thynketh worchen ymages And it is ful hard to me but I do *in* þat as all men doen . And if I worschyp hem me thynkyth I do ydolatrie a3ens goddes lawe **Pauper** God forbedyth not men to make ymages ffor he badde moyses make ymages of two angelys þat been cleped cherubyn in þe lyknesse of .ij. 3onge men as we fynde exodi.xxx.vij.i^o . And Salomon made suche and many moo oper þer to in þe temple to þe worschip of god / as is in

þe .iiij. boke of kynges .vij.i^o. And god had moyses ma
ke hys tabernacle And all þat longeth þer to ‘ after
þe example and þe lykenesse þat was schewed to hym
up on þe hyll whanne he was þer wyth god fourty dayes

**Interdisciplinary Perspective:
Social Networks and *Landnámabók*
Cassidy Croci (University of Nottingham)**

My PhD thesis ‘New Methods for the (Land)-taking: Visualising the Social Networks of the *Sturlubók* Redaction of *Landnámabók*’ is inherently interdisciplinary. My project combines traditional historical and literary methods with Social Network Analysis (hereafter, SNA) and Visual Analytics (VA) to construct the social and geographical networks of *Landnámabók* (‘The Book of Settlements’, *Ldn*).

From a social network theoretical perspective, a network is nothing more than a set of elements (here called nodes), and a set of connections (edges) that link the nodes to one another usually in pairs.¹ Together nodes and edges form a network that can be visualised using software to produce network graphs. But how does one take a medieval Old Norse-Icelandic text and convert its contents into data to construct and visualise its networks? Before I dive into this methodological quandary, I will first briefly introduce *Sturlubók* and discuss why the text works well in this interdisciplinary approach.

The social networks of *Ldn* are of a nascent society emerging out of the social, familial, and geographical relationships of immigrants and their descendants from Scandinavia and the North Atlantic region during the *landnámsöld* ‘settlement period’ of Iceland (c. 870-930 CE). Prior to the settlement period, Iceland was uninhabited. Therefore, when these settlers arrived, they embedded themselves into the landscape by claiming and naming the land. These acts firmly rooted certain families and groups within the Icelandic social consciousness because they gained wealth, power, and prominence through their association with the land. This is evidenced by the compilation of *Landnámabók* centuries after the settlement period. Five extant versions ranging from the thirteenth century to the Early Modern period record these land-claims. Examining the social and geographic networks of the text in the *Sturlubók* (c. 1275-1280 CE) redaction — which include roughly 3,200 individuals, 10,000 relationships, and 1,500 place-names — provides insight into how the first settlers amassed land

¹ Mark Newman, Albert-László Barabási, and Duncan J. Watts, ‘A Brief History of the Study of Networks’, in *The Structure and Dynamics of Networks*, ed. Mark Newman, Albert-László Barabási, and Duncan J. Watts (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 2.

and power through political manoeuvrings in the settlement period, ultimately controlling the process of cultural memory.

The largest methodological issue of this project was figuring out how to construct the networks of *Ldn* as accurately as possible so that I could conduct meaningful quantitative analysis from qualitative information to investigate how relationships were formed during the settlement of Iceland. To achieve this, I began working with the concept of 'narrative networks' or more specifically 'character networks' which are 'graph[s] extracted from a narrative, in which vertices (nodes) represent characters and edges correspond to interactions between them'.² To construct the social networks of *Sturlubók*, the approximately 3,200 individuals in the text became the nodes and their roughly 10,000 familial, affinal, geographical, and other relationships became the edges. It is important to make the clarification that this is a narrative network because it works around difficult questions of the historicity of *Ldn*. Additionally, it considers several of the problems which occur when working with medieval sources like authorial bias or gaps in information and accepts these elements as parts of the network.³

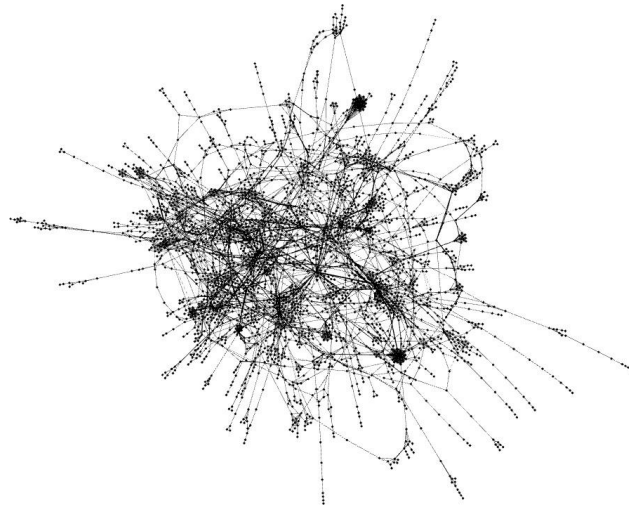
The process of converting individuals to nodes and relationships to edges is not automated. Indeed, it is a feature of my methodology to use my onomastic and linguistic knowledge and manually identify the approximately 3,200 individuals and their relationships in the normalised Old Norse-Icelandic version of *Sturlubók*. This approach is necessary because there are currently technical limitations with computers where they cannot sort through implicit and explicit material and automatically extract this complex information in historical texts.⁴ Individuals/nodes and relationships/edges are the foundational components in

² Vincent Labatut and Xavier Bost, 'Extraction and Analysis of Fictional Character Networks: A Survey', *ACM Computing Surveys* 52.5 (2019): 1-81 (p.1).

³ Julia Hilner and Máirín MacCarron, 'Female Networks and Exiled Bishops between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: The Cases of Liberius of Rome and Wilfrid of York', in *Relations of Power: Women's Networks in the Middle Ages*, eds Emma O. Bérat, Rebecca Hardie, and Irina Dumitrescu, *Studien zu Macht und Herrschaft* 5 (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2021), pp. 19-44 (p. 21).

⁴ Joseph Yose, Ralph Kenna, Máirín MacCarron, and Pádraig MacCarron, 'Network Analysis of the Viking Age in Ireland as Portrayed in *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*', *Royal Society Open Science* 5.1 (2018): 1-21 (p. 8); Pádraig MacCarron and Ralph Kenna, 'Universal Properties of Mythological Networks', *Europhysics Letters* 99.2 (2012): 1-6.

a social network, here the network of *Ldn*. I then export information from my database to the SNA software, *Gephi*, to visualise *Ldn*'s social networks and analyse them. For example, the figure below is a visualisation of the network of *Sturlubók*: all of the black dots represent nodes, or the individuals mentioned in the text. The lines are the edges or the relationships between the nodes. These graphs can be recoloured and manipulated to explore different questions such as where are the women in the network and what is their function?



Bibliography

- Hilner, Julia, and Máirín MacCarron, 'Female Networks and Exiled Bishops between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: The Cases of Liberius of Rome and Wilfrid of York', in *Relations of Power: Women's Networks in the Middle Ages*, eds Emma O. Bérat, Rebecca Hardie, and Irina Dumitrescu, Studien zu Macht und Herrschaft 5 (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2021), pp. 19-44
- Labatut, Vincent, and Xavier Bost, 'Extraction and Analysis of Fictional Character Networks: A Survey', *ACM Computing Surveys* 52.5 (2019): 1-81
- MacCarron, Pádraig, and Ralph Kenna, 'Universal Properties of Mythological Networks', *Europhysics Letters* 99.2 (2012): 1-6
- Newman, Mark, Albert-László Barabási, and Duncan J. Watts, eds, *The Structure and Dynamics of Networks* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006)
- Yose, Joseph, Ralph Kenna, Máirín MacCarron, and Pádraig MacCarron, 'Network Analysis of the Viking Age in Ireland as Portrayed in Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh', *Royal Society Open Science* 5.1 (2018): 1-21