An Earlier Axis of Transmission for Boethius's *Consolatio* in Anglo-Saxon England: The Evidence of the Cotton Vespasian D.xiv *Metra* in a Diplomatic Edition

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Abstract

The consensus concerning the reception and study of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* in early England is that as no complete surviving manuscript of Anglo-Saxon provenance dates from earlier than the second half of the tenth century scholars are therefore profoundly limited in positing earlier knowledge of the text. This stricture co-exists, jarringly, with the attribution to King Alfred (d. 899) of two complete translations of the *Consolatio* into Old English, one entirely in prose, the second prosimetric, as is the original; the attribution is both built into the translations in the form of proems and held by later historians such as Æthelweard and William of Malmesbury.

There is thus a scholarly impasse in having an attributed translation exist before a surviving source-text copy available for that same translation; Malcolm Godden has also sought, determinedly, to sever the Old English translation of the *Consolatio* from Alfred's authorship on logical and thematic grounds, thereby indirectly placing it in accord with the later manuscript evidence. Moreover, the Anglo-Saxonist treatment of the *Consolatio* has largely been filtered through the source-study of the Alfredian translation, particularly in trying to find where the Carolingian commentaries of Auxerre and Sankt Gallen could explain the deviations and expansions present in the Old English versions. This has resulted in a backwards way of looking at the reception of the *Consolatio* reception in Anglo-Saxon England, and has restricted it to minute and tendentious philosophical argumentation based on glosses and secondary commentary.

This thesis, however, aligns the reception of the *Consolatio* in England with an earlier axis of transmission on the continent, one not of whole copies of the *Consolatio* studied at the highest level of scholastic interrogation, but one of excerpted *metra* used for the teaching of metre and for devotional study. This alternate axis, deeply researched by Sam Barrett, is therefore not *prima facie* philosophical but rather musical and contemplative, treating the *metra* as holy song in themselves.

Yet, Barrett's study, while enormous and diachronic in scope, overlooks a particular manuscript witness in an early tenth-century insular hand because its excerpted *metra* do not contain musical notation in the form of neumes. Nevertheless, the four Cotton Vespasian D.xiv *metra* inscribed as an envelope to an early ninth century copy of Isidore's *Synonyma,* itself a philosophical dialogue as is the *Consolatio*, should be considered as continuous with this earlier tradition because while their layout on the leaves is varied and appears puzzling, it indeed registers a scribe (or two scribes) who is aware of the individual metrical form of each verse, and who lays each out correspondingly, perhaps even *experimentally*. This presentation is markedly different from typical continental and later insular manuscripts that level all the *metra* to a single continuous design, however ornamental or functional it be.

The four D.xiv *metra* should thus be recognized not only as the earliest insular witness of the *Consolatio* in England, and indeed possibly within the date range of the Alfredian translations (s.ix^{ex}/x^{in}) and the king's authorship of the *Boethius*, but also as song in themselves, for they are verse written as *verse*. In order to prove these claims, the thesis presents an edition in the form of a type facsimile of the D.xiv *metra* based on eyewitness study and digital photography that reproduces, as faithfully as possible given the partial damage to the leaves, the manuscript context of these previously neglected metres. Though no compelling correspondence is found in terms of shared errors or layout with an earlier or contemporaneous manuscript, thereby limiting claims of common ancestry, and neither is correspondence found to particular line readings in the translations of the Old English *Boethius*, the palaeographical and codicological evidence does point to these four *metra* in Vespasian D.xiv belonging to a particular tradition of reception, one arguing for a *metrical*—if not philosophical—knowledge of the *Consolatio* in the post-Alfredian court.

Abstrait

En Angleterre, il y a consensus concernant la réception et l'étude de la *Philosophie De Consolatione* de Boethius. Puisqu'il n'existe aucun manuscrit complet de provenance anglo-saxonne antérieure à la deuxième moitié du dixième siècle, postuler que le texte était connu avant ces dates est problématique. Cette difficulté coexiste, de façon troublante, avec le fait que l'on attribue au Roi Alfred (d. 899) deux traductions complètes de la *Consolatio* en vieil anglais, l'une de ces dernières entièrement en prose, l'autre prosimétrique comme l'original; l'attribution est à la fois intégrée dans les traductions sous la forme de proêmes et soutenue par des historiens plus tard tels que Æthelweard et William de Malmesbury.

Voici donc une impasse scolaire: l'existence d'une traduction attribuée avant qu'il n'existe une copie du texte original pour cette même traduction. Malcolm Godden a donc cherché, avec détermination, à retirer à Alfred la paternité de la traduction en vieil anglais du *Consolatio*, et, par le fait même, de la mettre en accord avec les preuves provenant d'un manuscrit ultérieur.

De plus, le traitement anglo-saxon du *Consolatio* se base majoritairement sur l'étude-source de la traduction Alfredienne, particulièrement en ce qui concerne l'effort de découvrir à quel point les commentaires carolingiens de Auxerre et de Sankt Gallen pourraient expliquer les écarts et les extensions présentes dans les versions en vieil anglais.

Tout cela a crée une approche illogique en ce qui concerne l'étude de la réception du *Consolatio* en Angleterre anglo-saxonne. L'argumentation philosophique qui en résulte est minutieuse et tendancieuse, car elle est basée sur des gloses et des commentaires secondaires.

Cette thèse, cependant, aligne la réception du *Consolatio* en Angleterre avec un axe antérieur de transmission sur le continent. Ce dernier ne consiste pas en une copie complète du *Consolatio* étudié au plus haut niveau d'interrogation scolaire, mais des extraits de *metra* utilisé

pour l'enseignement du mètre et pour l'étude dévotionnelle. Cet axe alternatif, étudié en profondeur par Sam Barrett, n'est donc pas *prima facie* philosophique, mais plutôt musical et contemplatif, traitant les *metras* comme chansons sacrées en elles-mêmes. Pourtant, l'étude de Barrett, bien que vaste et de portée diachronique, néglige un manuscrit témoin particulier, celui écrit d'une calligraphie insulaire au début du dixième siècle, car son extrait *metra* ne contient pas de notation musicale sous forme de neumes. Néanmoins, les quatre Cotton Vespasian D.xiv *metra* inscrits sous forme d'enveloppe à une copie du début du neuvième siècle de *Synonyma* d'Isidore, elle-même un dialogue philosophique tout comme la *Consolatio*, devrait être considérée comme étant en continuité avec cette tradition antérieure parce que même si leur disposition sur les feuillets est variée et semble dérangeante, elle enregistre un scribe (ou deux scribes) qui est conscient de la forme métrique individuelle de chaque verset, et qui classe chacun de ces derniers de manière correspondante, peut-être même de manière *expérimentale*. Cette présentation est nettement différente de celle des manuscrits continentaux et des manuscrits insulaires ultérieurs qui nivèlent tout *metra* à un seul dessin continu, peu importe leur niveau ornemental ou fonctionnel.

Les quatre *metra* D.xiv devraient donc être reconnus non seulement comme étant le premier témoin insulaire de la *Consolatio* en Angleterre, et même, possiblement, dans la période des traductions alfrediennes (s.ix^{ex}/x^{in}) et de son attribution au roi de la *Boethius*, mais aussi comme étant chanson en eux-mêmes, car ils sont des versets écrits en *vers*. Afin de prouver ces affirmations, la thèse présente un édition en forme d'un facsimile 'type' de la *metra* D.xiv basé sur l'étude des témoins oculaires et sur la photographie numérique qui reproduit, aussi fidèlement que possible, en tenant compte des dommages partiels aux feuillets, le contexte manuscrit de ces mètres précédemment négligés. Bien qu'aucune correspondance convaincante ne soit trouvée en termes

d'erreurs partagées ou de mise en page avec un manuscrit précédent ou contemporain, limitant ainsi les revendications d'ascendance commune, et bien que nulle correspondance n'a été trouvée à des lectures de lignes particulières dans les traductions du *Boethius* en vieil anglais, les preuves paléographiques et codicologiques indiquent fortement que ces quatre *metra* dans Vespasian D.xiv appartiennent à une tradition de réception particulière qui va dans le sens d'une connaissance *métrique*—sinon philosophique du *Consolatio*—dans la cour post-alfredienne.

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To my wife, Victoria Muise, and my children, Oscar and Tashi, who have put up with me constantly at work on the dinner table for the last six months, and all the years of wandering scholarly work and teaching before that, no measure of gratitude can make up for it. May your own projects come far more easily.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Rev. Dr. C. Abbott Conway (McGill), who always received me in good grace, gave me tea and beer, laughed, listened, and read texts with me, above all embodied the virtues of *lareowdom ond leornungcræft*. It is also dedicated to the memory of my parents, Aluin Gilchrist and Margaret Piercy, who did not live to see its completion, for which no measure of regret can make amends.

Preface and Contributions of Author

This thesis presents a diplomatic edition and literary commentary on four metres excerpted from Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* inscribed in a previously unedited early tenth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript, London British Library Cotton Vespasian D.xiv. It situates the four verses in a tradition of literary reception based on metrics and song-craft; this melodic tradition has not been previously recognized as operative in England at that era. The manuscript layout and codicological context of the four metres yield evidence proving the author's original thesis.

Chapter 1 is an introduction and comprehensive review of the relevant scholarly literature.

Chapters 2 and 3 offer codicological and palaeographical study of the manuscript, and thus present original contributions to scholarship by the author.

Chapter 4 is a review of comparison manuscripts and relevant information compiled in table form; the compilation of the tabular material is original to the author.

Chapter 5 offers translation, diplomatic edition [in fact, a type facsimile], listing of errors and abbreviations, commentary, and comparison with the Old English *Boethius* for each of the four meters; all this material represents original contribution to scholarship by the author.

Chapter 6 presents original conclusions by the author.

Chapter 7 is a selected bibliography.

All chapters plus the opening glossaries are solely the work of Bruce D. Gilchrist.

Glossary of Terms [Metrical, following Blackwood's Notation]

vowel length — vowel length is a matter of duration, of the time it takes to say the vowel in a syllable; for example the first 'a' in the interjection *a-ha* is short, and the and the second is long; this can be visually marked with a *macron*: *a-hā*

long syllable — in Latin verse, a syllable is either long by *nature*, that is with a long vowel or a diphthong (a double-vowel as in *Heu*), or long by *position*, where a short vowel is followed by two consonants, even running into the start of a second word; hence, in the ablative adjective *profundō*, the 'u' at center is short by nature but metrically long by position: *pro fun dō* [u – –]

short syllable — a syllable is short when it has a short vowel followed by one consonant only, as with *pro* in *profundō*; this is visually marked with a small 'u' [u – –]; two short syllables carry the same quantity as one long syllable

anceps — a syllable that can be either long or short at its place in the line; many individual types of Latin verse allow for such alternation; for instance, in the Sapphic Hendecasyllable line Boethius uses, the fourth syllable is an anceps [– u – x – || u u – u – –]

substitution — in quantitative Latin verse, a position in a line that may be filled by either a long syllable *or* two short syllables; so, for example, in dactylic hexameter, the first four dactylic feet permit substitution, but the fifth foot is always a true dactyl [– u u – u u – ^ u u – u u – u u – –]; the possibility for substitution is marked by Blackwood with an underlined pair of short syllables [u u]; others may use a capital 'X' (versus a small 'x' for anceps)

brevis in longo — the last syllable in a line of Latin verse is normally counted as long, even if it is short by nature; hence, the last line of 4m7, *sidera donat*, is scanned by Blackwood as [– u u – –] even though the 'a' of *donat* is a short vowel

caesura — a pause in the middle of a line, one which comes in the middle of a foot (and may even split a word); so, for instance, in a dactylic hexameter line, there is normally a caesura in the middle of the third foot [- ^ u u]; hence, the opening dactylic hexameter line of 1m1 places the caesura between *dum* and *studio*:

Car mi na | qui quon | dam ^ stu di | o flor | ent e per | e gi

diaeresis — a full pause in the middle of a line, one which must come between feet (and between words); it should also be regularly featured; for example, in 1m2, a combined single line form of hemiepes and adonic, there is always a diaeresis (||) separating these two unequal elements, as in the first line:

Heu quam | prae ci pi | ti || mer sa pro | fun do

elision	in scanning a line of classical Latin verse, a syllable terminating in a vowel, diphthong, or an 'm' may not be counted metrically if the word following begins with a vowel or an 'h'; for example, there is elision in the third line of 3m8, *non aurum in viridi quaeritis arbore* at *aurum/in*, giving the line metrically as *non aurin viridi* || *quaeritis arbore*
foot	the basic unit of quantitative verse which is formed by a combination of syllables which in turn may be long or short; each combination has a specifying name, such as *dactyl* [– u u], *spondee* [– –], *trochee* [– u], or *iamb* [u –]
dactylic hexameter	the highest register of classical verse, reserved for epic poems such as *Iliad, Aeneid,* or *Metamorphoses*; its line consists of six dactylic feet [– u u], where the first four may have substitution, as in the definition above; this is the metre for the 'Creation Hymn' in the *Consolatio*, 3m9
dactylic pentameter	a five-foot line with two-and-one-half dactyls which may substitute, followed by diaeresis, then a second pairing of two-and-one-half dactyls which are unchanging [– u u – u u – || – u u – u u –]
elegiac couplets	lines pairing dactylic hexameter and dactylic pentameter; as the pentameter line starts like a hexameter but then breaks form strongly, it marks a contrast suggesting change from heroic verse to lament; this is the metre for the opening poem of the *Consolatio*, 1m1
hemiepes	Gk. 'half-epic', used to describe each half of the dactylic pentameter line because each resembles the start of the 'epic' dactylic hexameter line
adonic	a five-syllable line of dactyl + spondee [– u u | – –] or dactyl + trochee [– u u | – u]; the latter form is favoured by Sappho, who uses the adonic as the closing line of her Sapphic stanza form
choriamb / asclepiad	a staple building block of a line made of four syllables [– u u –]; it may be repeated in building the asclepiad line where the lesser form has one choriamb in each half of the line, and the greater has two in the second half: [x x – u u – || – u u – (– u u –) u –]
hendecasyllabic	an eleven syllable line favoured by Sappho and Catullus; in her version, the line is built around a choriamb with two anceps prior (though in the *Consolatio*, the first anceps is always short): [– x – x – || u u – u – –]
Sapphic stanza	a set stanza form invented by Sappho employing three hendecasyllabic lines finished by the much shorter adonic with trochee in the second foot; *Consolatio* 4m7 closes with this form, ending with *sidera donat* by itself

Glossary of Terms [Palaeographical: with examples from Vespasian D.xiv]

folio / leaf
recto / verso
a double-sided piece of manuscript parchment; in a book, the right side will be the *recto* number, such as 1r, and folded over to the left gives the *verso* number, 1v; though it refers to a writing matrix made of animal skin, the word 'leaf' grants it the metaphor of silviculture, of 'leaves', as Alfred's extended metaphor on '*timber*' in his *Preface* to the Old English *Soliloquies* implies

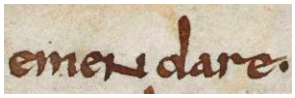
ruling
each leaf is typically *ruled* horizontally in order to give it straight *baselines* across the leaf (for example, folio 170r of Vespasian D.xiv is ruled for 25 lines), and *vertically* in order to set the *margins* and *gutter*

baseline
letter formation observes the baseline, so that the letters are even at bottom across the leaf; visible on 170r extending at right

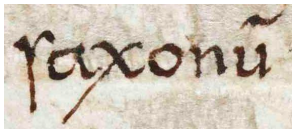
minim
a vertical stroke, as of the first part of an 'm' or 'n', which sets the height of the script; the raised *initials* on 170r in the body text of 1m2, for example, are written with one-third again higher minims

ascender / descender
a letter stroke that ascends above the minim height or one that descends below the baseline; in *quid*, at right, the 'q' has a descender and the 'd' an ascender; the *majuscule* 'N' above has a large descender

majuscule
an 'upper case' letter; a script all in upper case letters, such as the piece of an identifying *rubric* on 219v, reading GREGORII at right



Caroline minuscule
standard 'lower case' script for ninth-century texts of Charlemagne's court; its distinctive features include both triform 'a', light ligatures, and thick (or 'clubbed') ascenders; example at right from top of 223v



insular minuscule
the standard 'lower case' script for vernacular texts in Anglo-Saxon scriptoria; the *Consolatio* extracts in Vespasian D.xiv show a particular transitional moment in the development of the script

hybrid
displaying features of multiple scripts; for example, the scribe of 223v at right uses Caroline '*open*-a' (oc) for an 'a' in terminal position: *-ica*

bowl
the body of a rounded letter, such as in 'a' or 'o'

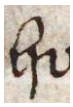
top stroke
the quasi-horizontal stroke atop the *bowl* of the insular 'a'; the flatness of this top-stroke is its distinctive identifying marker

tongue
the middle stroke of an 'e', often extended when in last position

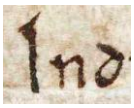
serif
a small stroke or flourish finishing off a letter, such as the 'foot' on the bottom right minim of this 'n' from 223v

wedge serif — a thickened, even triangular serif, such as for the ascender of this 'h' from 223v

tall-e — an 'e' whose bowl is raised above the regular minim height; it appears frequently ligatured to an 'n', 'r', 's', or 't', as in this example from 223v

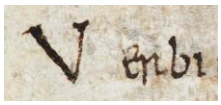


i-*longa* — a rare form of the letter 'i' where the *minim* is heightened, as in this example from 223v: "*indictionum*"; this is a holdover *hybrid* feature

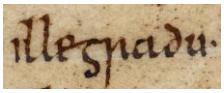


initial — I am using 'initial' to denote the first letter of a word that has been singled out graphically, either by enlargement, or by being capitalized, or put in a different script; thus an initial can still be *minuscule*, as in this example from 1m1b, *nunc*, where the first 'n' is notably enlarged

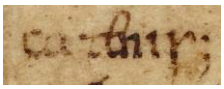
litterae notabiliores — one or more 'notable letters' designed to mark an important new part of a text; they typically take the form of an elaborated initial; the letter 'V' at right is drawn from midway in the *computus* on 223v



punctus — a mid-height dot used to mark the end of a line of verse, of a sentence, or of a text, as with *ille gradu* · ending 1m1 on 170r

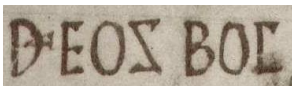


punctus versus — a punctuation mark of a semicolon-like nature used to mark the end of a sentence; 170r features one prominently at 1m2, line 25 *catenis;*



rustic capitals — a script developed from Roman inscriptions used decoratively in Caroline manuscripts for headers, *litterae notabiliores*, etc; it is typically narrow without ligatures, and often rubricated, as in this example of an *incipit* from Paris 1154, 119v, identifying verses from Boethius

display capitals — a run of capital letters beginning a text, used to mark importance; frequently used in Alfredian era manuscripts, such as Hatton 20, 1r, where they are particularly *square* and *angular* with heavy *wedge serifs*



ordinatio — properly speaking, the *layout* of text on a medieval leaf; it can also be thought of as an intellectual strategy of mediating how the mind receives information and organizing thoughts themselves via visual logic

diminuendo — a scribal strategy of laying out text in decreasing grades of script, such as going from *uncial* to *half-uncial* to *insular minuscule* or from *display* or *rustic captials* down to *insular minuscule*; the process can be drawn out over a whole leaf, as in the *Book of Cerne*, or done very quickly in the vernacular manuscripts of the Alfredian circle (and done to echo those great former manuscripts)

quire — a gathering of four sheets of parchment that is folded in order to make eight leaves (or folios); they may be given a 'signature' to mark their proper order in the MS

Glossary of Terms [Other]

1m1, 1p1 — shorthand for Book One, Metre 1, of the *Consolatio,* and Book One, Prose One

B.1: 29-30 — shorthand for the B-version (Bodley 180) of the Old English *Boethius*, Chapter 1, lines 29-30

C.m1: 1-3a — shorthand for the C-version (Cotton Otho A.vi) of the Old English *Boethius*, Metre 1, lines 1-3a (the first half, or 'a-verse', of line 3)

MS, MSS — manuscript; manuscripts

s.ix^{1}, s.ix^{ex} — the date of a manuscript: *saeculo* for 'in century'; *ix* for ninth; ^{1} for first quarter or first half; ^{2} for second half; ^{in} and ^{ex} for in the initial and last years of a century *T,*

T^{2} — shorthand for a manuscript (in this case München 18765: T), and then a later glossator/corrector to a particular line reading (T^{2})

epenthetic — the insertion of a sound or letter within a word or between words; for example, in Vespasian D.xiv's record of 4m7, the scribe writes *sevos ipolium* instead of *sevo spolium* at line 15; the 'i' is thus epenthetic

florilegium — an anthology of literary texts, one which could be said to be of a higher grade and more deliberate construction than a miscellany

hendiadys — the use of paired words or synonyms, in place of a single word; it is a highly typical feature of Alfredian prose, such in the *Prose Preface* to the Old English *Boethius*:

> *Hwilum he sette word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgite,*
> *swa swa he hit þa sweotolost and andgitfullicast gereccan mihte.*
>
> "Sometimes he rendered it word for word, sometimes sense for sense,
> just as he was able to make account of it the most clearly and intelligibly."

insular — pertaining to Great Britain and Ireland, specifically in terms of provenance; thus a scribal hand can be identified as *insular* as opposed to *continental*

provenance — an identifiable place of possession for a manuscript, or where later additions to the manuscript were made, or where it was later owned

terminus a quo — the earliest date possible for composition of a text

terminus ad quem — the latest date possible for composition of a text

1. Introduction and Comprehensive Review of Relevant Literature

To quote John Marenbon, "Boethius's influence in the Middle Ages was immense."[1] Even if *De Consolatione Philosophiae* were not to exist, Boethius would still be revered among the greatest of late Roman patristic authors. He is single-handedly responsible for the breadth of first millennium scholasticism, writing works across the *quadrivium* (sciences) and *trivium* (arts); among the works credited to him are *De Arithmetica*, *De Institutione Musica*, numerous translations and commentaries on treatises of logic by Porphyry (*Isagoge*), Cicero (*Topics*), and Aristotle (*Categories*), as well as original works on syllogisms and division, and a series of theological tractates known collectively as the *Opuscula Sacra*, with *De Trinitate* and *De Fide Catholica* famous among them. To these, the *Consolatio* is a crowning achievement: a prosimetric, Neoplatonic dialogue which confronts man's misery in the transitory world, examines the ethics of rulership and the excesses of tyranny, sets man's place in the cosmic frame and reorients the happiness of his soul, and, famously, in Books IV and V, treats the seemingly irresolvable problems of evil and free will.

The *Consolatio* was written in the closing two years of Boethius's life, after he had been summarily tried for treason and exiled to a prison in Pavia in order to await the execution which would come in 524. Earlier, he had been named *consul sine collega*, an autonomous magistrate given official licence as the premier scholar of Rome; then, in 522, he became the chief bureaucrat, *magister officiorum*, of what remained of the Roman administration under the barbarian ruler Theodoric. But his philosophical studies—as well as his theological sympathies—had always led to the Greeks, both to ancient learning, where he sought to unite the works of Plato and Aristotle, and to the catholic doctrine of Constantinople; he was ensnared in a court conspiracy, accused of

[1] J. Marenbon, "Boethius's Influence in the Middle Ages", in *Boethius: Great Medieval Thinkers* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), 164-182, at 164.

colluding with the Emperor, Justin I, and fell under false witness at trial.[2] His last work, the *Consolatio*, thus aims to bridge all his personal and professional divides and vicissitudes, and does this via self-interrogation personified through the figure of *Philosophia*, the sovereign of wisdom whose dress has recently been torn and neglected.

The book opens with the speaker, a *persona* of Boethius, in prison, uttering a weary lament in elegiac verse, the second highest register of classical poetry after dactylic hexameter. As he sings of the Muses of poetry who are still with him, who give voice and metre to his mourning, he regards himself as a grey-haired wretch ruined by trusting to youth, high office, and apparent good fortune; the opening song then closes with a maxim: *Qui cecidit stabili non erat ille gradu* ("he who has fallen was not on a stable step"; 1m1: 22). Straight after this, the book continues in prose dialogue, as it will always alternate from this point forward between verse and prose; the speaker has an allegorical vision of a woman of changing size and blazing eyes, sometimes so tall "she seemed to touch the very sky with the top of her head" (1p1). And so the back and forth of Platonic dialogue and self-examination begins as *Philosophia* applies a discourse of healing to her patient with a clouded mind.

The work, in Troncarelli's view, was preserved by Cassiodorus in his scriptorium at Vivarium, where a master text, an *édition savante*, was produced mid-sixth century, complete with illustrations, a *vita*, and rhetorical notes in Greek; this was in turn copied out and survives in some thirty descendants directly in the line of transmission.[3] Another one hundred and twenty surviving

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[2] For a brief, if heightened, summary of Boethius's life and the catastrophic events of conspiracy which overcame him, see F. Troncarelli, "Boethius from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages", in *Boethius as a Paradigm of Late Ancient Thought*, Eds. T. Böhm, T. Jürgasch, and A. Kirchner (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), pp. 213-227.

[3] F. Troncarelli, "Un'edizione sconosciuta della *Consolatio Philosophiae*", in *Tradizione Perdute: La Consolatio Philosophiae nell' alto medioevo* (Padua: Antenore, 1981), pp. 1-80.

editions came to be made through to the twelfth century, penetrating across Western Europe and into the British Isles, including Ireland.

In the mid-eighth century in northern Britain, a young scholar at the cathedral school in York by the name of Alcuin read Boethius (though which texts is not known), and later named him among the great writers studied there in his famous poem, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*.[4] After Alcuin travelled to Rome and became Master of the Palace School of Charlemagne in Aachen in 782, the *Consolatio* became part of the standard curriculum along with the works of logic, and so was central to the scholasticism of the Carolingian renaissance.

The *Consolatio* was very likely present in England at start of the tenth century, as witnessed by the glosses in insular hands in Vatican MS lat. 3363, a complete copy (s.ix[1]) from the Loire valley, and by the surviving metrical extracts added to Cotton Vespasian D.xiv. Then, as was the case for Alcuin and Charlemagne, for Alfred, King of Wessex, in the latter stages of his reign (870-899), the *Consolatio* became part of a corpus of philosophical, historical, and theological works to be studied by the scholars and future magistrates of the realm. In Alfred's programme, however, the plan went further: along with the other texts "most necessary for men to know",[5] it was translated into the vernacular. The *Consolatio* was to be not just a work of comfort to a troubled king in precarious times; it was to be a tool in building an educated and ethically-minded clerisy.

If the scholastic and administrative character of this story is overweighted, it is better to foreground one intrinsic effect of the *Consolatio*: the preservation of the classical metres of Greece and Rome, in all their variety, across thirty-nine poems. In this way, the work remains a conduit to

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[4] P. Godman, ed., *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982).

[5] "*Prose Preface* to the *Pastoral Care*" in *King Alfred's West-Saxon version of Gregory's Pastoral Care,* ed. H. Sweet (London: *Early English Text Society* o.s. 45 and 50, 1871), pp. 6-12.

the great Roman poets of the first half of the millennium: Virgil, Ovid, Statius, Propertius, Sedulius, and others—all seemingly well beyond the grasp of the backwater Saxon kingdom where latinity and scholarly study had been lost in the Viking depredations of the mid-ninth century. It is thus worth studying another axis of transmission of the *Consolatio*, one only recently investigated, one of fragments and excerpts of poetry, of philosophical verse repurposed in devotional and liturgical context, of song studied to learn metrics. This, not the tradition of glossing and the commentaries on the *Consolatio* made at the turn of the tenth century in Sankt Gallen and Auxerre, speaks better as to why a few bits of the torn dress of *Philosophia* came to be recorded in England in roughly the second decade of the tenth century, and done so in an expressly English fashion.

1.1 The Transmission of Boethius's *Consolatio* in the Carolingian Era

Troncarelli's long held view, first given in his 1981 book, *Tradizione Perdute: La 'Consolatio Philosophiae' nell'alto Medioevo,* and recently restated in a 2014 essay,[6] is that Cassiodorus is responsible for preserving the *Consolatio* and producing a master edition whose descendent copies are among the earliest surviving (e.g. Firenze XIV, 15; München 18765; Paris 7181); however, the argument for this *édition savante* has not met scholarly affirmation. Instead, the standard accounts of how the *Consolatio* came to Francia and was integrated into the curriculum at the Palace School are given by Courcelle[7] and Gibson,[8] though much recent study by Love[9] and others has refined and corrected these important but more generalized works.

The immediate problems with Troncarelli's hypothesis are twofold: first, the cited earliest surviving manuscript of the *Consolatio*, the early ninth-century Orléans 270 copy, made in Fleury (*circiter* 828, according to Moreschini),[10] reveals a gap of some 300 years from the composition of the work by Boethius in 523/524. And, more specifically, while Cassiodorus does mention several of Boethius's works by name in his *Institutiones* (ca. 550),[11] his large work in two parts on Biblical commentary and the Seven Liberal Arts, he does not mention the *Consolatio* directly when he outlines his efforts to create a school at Vivarium and set its curriculum, an omission Gibson says

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[6] Troncarelli (2014).

[7] P. Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie dans le tradition littéraire: antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris, 1967).

[8] M. Gibson, "Boethius in the Carolingian Schools", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. 32 (1982), pp. 43-56.

[9] R. Love, "The Latin Commentaries on Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* from the 9th to the 11th Centuries" in *A Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages,* eds. N.H. Kaylor and P.E. Phillips (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 75-133.

[10] C. Moreschini, ed., *De Consolatione Philosophiae: Opuscula Theologica*, 2nd ed., *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* (München und Leipzig: K.G. Saur Verlag, 2005), p. xx.

[11] J. Halporn and M. Vessey, trans. and eds, *Institutes of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2004).

"cannot have been inadvertent".[12] Instead, among the works Cassiodorus cites in Book II, Chapter III ("On Dialectic") are Boethius's translations and commentaries of logical works: *Perihermenias*, *Isagoge*, *Categories*, Cicero's translation of Aristotle's *Topics*, plus the work on syllogisms; in a later chapter, he references both *De Arithmetica* and the translation of Euclid's *Elements*. Thus, with the absence of both *De Institutione Musica* and the *Consolatio* from the catalogue of texts, it is illogical to assume Cassiodorus as the engineer of a master edition of the book in question. Put simply, the *Consolatio* was not introduced to the standard curriculum until the Carolingian era.

In a commentary review[13] of *Tradizione Perdute,* Gibson also takes specific issue with Troncarelli's assertion that Cassiodorus was responsible for the *Vita* commonly prefacing copies of the *Consolatio*; she also counters his assertion that Lupus of Ferrières must have drawn from Cassiodorus for his metrical study, *De Metris Boethii* (ca. 830)—itself frequently attached to the *Consolatio* or included as marginal commentary—since Lupus more likely would have used the same source Boethius himself knew, the fourth-century *De Centum Metris* by Servius.

In her own general outline of Boethius's "entry into the western academic tradition",[14] Gibson further points out that as neither Aldhelm nor Bede in late seventh and early eighth century England quotes Boethius, it suggests that not even the logical works had yet reached the Anglo-Saxons to be cited by their most bookish authors. As Gibson concludes with austere finality, "Boethius contributed nothing to the survival of culture in the two centuries after his death".[15]

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[12] Gibson (1982), p. 53.

[13] M. Gibson, "Commentary-Review of Troncarelli, *Tradizione Perdute*", in *Revue des études augustiniennes* 30 (1984), pp. 274-278.

[14] Gibson (1982), p. 43.

[15] Gibson (1982), p. 44.

For Gibson, the story begins where Courcelle before her began, with Alcuin, who lists Boethius among the authors he recalled studying at the cathedral school in York, ca. 750-55: *Quae Victorinus scripsere: Boetius atque* ("those works Victorinus wrote and Boethius too").[16] As Victorinus had made a translation of Porphyry's *Isagoge*, one which Boethius himself used to make his commentary on that work, the association of the two authors is a clear indication that Alcuin was referring to the logical works of Boethius, not the theological or poetic treatises: "it is here, as a logician, that Boethius first seriously affects Carolingian thought".[17]

Of course, Alcuin had to get to Francia in order to have that effect, but he went by way of Italy first, where he had been sent on a papal mission in 781 and met Charlemagne on the return journey; it has been suggested that he acquired a manuscript of the *Consolatio* on this trip and carried it with him to Charlemagne's court when he became Master of the Palace School in Aachen in 782.[18] Once there, he instituted a curriculum modelled on the texts at the cathedral school; he also wrote new works, including *De Dialectica*, a dialogue text featuring himself and Charlemagne in discourse on logical subjects, itself presumably modelled on the dialogue structure of the *Consolatio* and directly drawing from Boethius's translation of *De Interpretatione*, a logical text by Victorinus. Next, Alcuin's *Disputatio de rhetorica* is identically fashioned as a dialogue text between Alcuin and Charlemagne, but its themes of rulership and ethics make it an even better match for the material of the *Consolatio* and for sowing interest in this combination that would come to be expressed in the Old English *Boethius* translations, particularly in the passages of

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[16] Godman, ed. (1982), line 1547.

[17] Gibson (1982), p. 45.

[18] D.K. Bolton, "The Study of the *Consolation of Philosophy* in Anglo-Saxon England", in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 44 (1977), pp. 33-78, at 34. Papahagi has suggested it is possible Alcuin discovered a copy already present in a Frankish monastery, possibly in Fleury. See A. Papahagi, "The Transmission of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* in the Carolingian Age", in *Medium Ævum* 78.1 (2009), pp. 1-15.

expansion. Last, Alcuin's *De Ratione Animae*, a short treatise transmitting Augustinian ideas of the soul, becomes an influential source for the Alfredian *Boethius*, and for Ælfric as well in writing of the mind in *Lives of Saints 1* and a sermon in MS Boulogne-sur-mer 63.[19]

The first verifiable record of the *Consolatio* in the Carolingian era is found in a booklist made in 821/2 in Reichenau; the contents under the title *De Opusculis Boetii* include *De Arithmetica, De Geometria*, and *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. In another booklist, this time from Sankt Gallen, made "slightly later" according to Gibson, are *De Arithmetica* in an insular hand, and the *Consolatio* in the abbot's "personal library".[20] These booklists accord with the sudden appearance of multiple copies of the *Consolatio* around the second quarter of the ninth century, in both Gallican and German centres, so arguing for a wider distribution in the generation of scholars after Alcuin left the Palace School to become Abbot of Tours in 796; the earliest manuscripts include Orléans 270, Paris 7181, Bern 179, and Vatican 3363 from the western centres, specifically the Loire valley surrounding Tours, and Firenze XIV, 15, München 18765, and Harley 3095, from the eastern. The association of the *Arithmetica* with the *Consolatio* is particularly noteworthy, as Paris 7181—the earliest surviving copy according to Moreschini[21]—pairs not only those two works, but transmits *De Institutione Musica* as well in something of a master or prestige status manuscript.

This early manuscript evidence argues that the *Consolatio* became widely known separately from Boethius's works of logic, and only well after those had been established as scholastic texts.

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[19] See in particular P.E. Szarmach, "Alfred's *Boethius* and the Four Cardinal Virtues", in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of her 65th Birthday,* eds. J. Roberts and J. Nelson (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1997), pp. 223-35; P.E. Szarmach, "Alcuin, Alfred and the Soul", in *Manuscript, Narrative, and Lexicon: Essays on Literary and Cultural Transmission in Honor of Whitney F. Bolton,* eds. R. Boenig and K. Davis (New York: Bucknell UP, 2000), pp. 127-48; and W.F. Bolton, "The Alfredian *Boethius* in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* 1", in *Notes and Queries* n.s. 19 (1972), pp. 406-7.

[20] Gibson (1982), p. 47.

[21] Moreschini (2005) dates Paris 7181 as *saeculi IX ineuentis* in his *Conspectus Siglorum*, p. xix.

Nonetheless, Gibson asserts that Alcuin's circle could be expected to recognize oblique references in the master's writings, and so must have been "thoroughly familiar" with the *Consolatio*: "they learned the metres, and sometimes learned to identify their often complex structure".[22] Moreover, as Courcelle notes, the preface of Alcuin's elementary school-text, *De Grammatica*, is directly indebted to the *Consolatio*, as is his *De Vera Philosophia*.[23] This implies that Alcuin's circle first learned the *Consolatio* through Alcuin's writings; then, as these scholars moved to became teachers in other centres of learning, they themselves needed copies of the source, and so began to produce them.

The next layer of knowledge and study of the *Consolatio* comes via Lupus of Ferrières, who composes a short commentary, *De Metris Boethii* (ca. 830), assessing the range of metrical forms transmitted by the thirty-nine poems. This text is soon copied into manuscripts, including Firenze XIV, 15, where it is given as an epilogue, though it is copied elsewhere as a preface or even as marginalia. And while its method has been judged as highly unsuited for appreciating the *Consolatio*,[24] its composition attests to the recognition of Boethius's work expressly for its poetry, and so sets a *terminus a quo* for melodic interpretation. Gibson also relates that Lupus's interest in Boethius extends to writing Einhard in the 830s for help in clarifying the meaning of several passages in *De Arithmetica*, and to searching out the commentary on Cicero's *Topics* in the early 840s.[25]

The final layer of development in the transmission of the *Consolatio* in the Carolingian era is the double commentary tradition on the text developed independently at Sankt Gallen first in

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[22] Gibson (1982), p. 54.

[23] Courcelle (1967), pp. 33-46.

[24] See S. Barrett, *The Melodic Tradition of Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae in the Middle Ages,* in *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi,* Subsidia Band VII (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013): "Lupus also did not describe all the metres accurately, and remianed silent on features that would have informed any attempt to understand the structure of the *metra*" (99). See also V. Brown (1978) and S. Heikkenan (2014).

[25] Gibson (1982), pp. 49 and 47.

the last quarter of the ninth century then at Auxerre at the turn of the tenth, where it is attributed to Remigius (Lupus's nephew); both are passed down as extensive marginal and interlinear glosses rather than as independent texts. The anonymous commentary of Sankt Gallen survives in a small number of manuscripts, eleven as per the most recent census, the majority of which, seven, have musical notation as Barrett notes,[26] including München 18765 from the comparison set of manuscripts for my edition. Given the limited circulation of the Sankt Gallen commentary, it is not surprising, as Barrett writes, that it was "all but unknown in the British Isles".[27] By contrast, the Remigian commentary, though developed slightly later, is widely transmitted in multiple groups, and is particularly likely to be found in post-Alfredian insular manuscripts such as Cambridge O.3.7; a version of this commentary is also found in Paris 6639, a first-quarter of the tenth century Gallican manuscript. I will pick up the matter of the study the commentaries in insular *Consolatio* manuscripts and Alfred's possible use of them for the Old English *Boethius* in a later section of this chapter, for I wish to turn to an alternate route of transmission for the *Consolatio*, metrical excerpts, as outlined in Barrett in his book, *Melodic Tradition*.

It is also worth noting one final comment by Gibson in her study of Boethius in the Carolingian schools: "The Carolingians knew the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* far better than the rest of Boethius's work, perhaps better than anyone has known it since".[28] While this is a remarkable statement, especially given that Boethius's translations and commentaries on texts of logic were building blocks in the Carolingian curriculum, it speaks to how fully absorbed the *Consolatio* was in the writings of Alcuin and his circle, and in metrical and musical study (as Barrett shows). It also speaks to how great the duration of study for the *Consolatio* was, as over a hundred years

[26] Barrett (2013), p. 198.

[27] Barrett (2013), p. 199.

[28] Gibson (1982), p. 53.

after Alcuin's death, the *Consolatio* received intensive, fresh, scholastic study handed down not only in oral discourse through teaching, but also through written commentary which proliferated and even remixed with versions of itself as the *Consolatio* moved across western Europe from the early ninth century onward.

1.2 A New Axis of Transmission: Metrical Excerpts and Verse Collections

Though the rationale of pairing of metrical extracts from Boethius's *Consolatio* with Isidore's *Synonyma* and patristic hymns has not been previously discussed as a specific union, their grouping in Vespasian D.xiv is likely not a coincidence, as excerpted *metra* from the *Consolatio* are found in other ninth and early tenth century manuscript collections of patristic and liturgical verse, and indeed alongside the *Synonyma* in one high status verse anthology (Paris 1154) likely produced at the same time as D.xiv (s.x[1]).

This pairing should not be surprising because the two works are of superb alignment: the *Synonyma* is likewise a major patristic work whose first part is a philosophical dialogue of lament and instruction between the allegorized figures of Man and Reason; its second part is a study of virtues and vices, as with Alcuin's more famous treatise on the subject (*De Virtutibus et Vitiis*), itself an important text in Anglo-Saxon England (and indeed copied later separately in the first half of Vespasian D.xiv). Moreover, the Neoplatonic dialogue form of the first part is such a recognizable structure that the ϕ-recension of the *Synonyma* itself travels under the conventional title of *Liber Soliloquiorum*,[29] just as the Carolingian scribe of D.xiv has used for both the incipit and the explicit for the work as a whole (as the full-leaf image of 218r will later show). This given title thus overlaps with Augustine's earlier two-volume *Liber Soliloquiorum* on the same subject, a man's debate with his own mind. The conventional title also works by association to frame the *Synonyma* as another possible book in Alfred's project to vernacularize those books "most necessary for men to know"; surely, the *Synonyma* would make an ideal fifth book for Alfredian authorship after the *Pastoral Care*, the *Fifty Prose Psalms*, the *Soliloquies*, and the *Boethius*.

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[29] C. di Sciacca, *Finding the Right Words: Isdiore's Synoynma in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: U Toronto P, 2008), p. 16.

However, the shared transmission of metrical extracts of the *Consolatio* with patristic sources extends far beyond this single idealized alignment with Isidore. Though the extracts of Boethius in Paris 1154 are incidental to Barrett's study of that composite verse miscellany,[30] his thematic and structural analyses of the *versus* in that anthology manuscript lead to an entirely different framing of the reception and use of Boethius's *Consolatio* away from the typical view of its aptness for philosophical study and instead towards penitential and musical contexts. The change in readership is therefore simultaneous with the change in larger manuscript context.

Barrett's study of Paris 1154 is a mere preliminary to his monumental work, *The Melodic Tradition of Boethius' De consolatione philosophiae in the Middle Ages*, where he considers every single *Consolatio* manuscript from the ninth through twelfth centuries which has musical notation added to at least one metre.[31] While this means Barrett's work excludes Vespasian D.xiv, which lacks neumes or even direct glosses of a metrical nature, it nonetheless outlines and details a flourishing tradition of metrical and melodic study of the *Consolatio*, moreover one that is well in advance of the commentary tradition of Sankt Gallen and Auxerre, which is where the great majority of scholars have set their critical lenses. Barrett's research thus grounds, in my view, the proper context for the reception of Boethius's prosimetric text in the Alfredian era, and, further, helps to explain why the four *metra* of Vespasian D.xiv are inscribed in such idiosyncratic and internally variant fashion.

Barrett lays out a general timeline for the excerpting of individual *metra* from the *Consolatio*, a practice of isolated transmission that explicitly regards the poems as *carmina*, as verses "suited to musical performance".[32] Moreover, by recontextualizing these isolated *metra* in manuscript verse

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[30] S. Barrett, "Music and Writing: On the Compilation of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1154", in *Early Music History* 15 (1997), pp. 55-96.

[31] Barrett (2013).

[32] Barrett (2013), p. 20.

miscellanies such as Paris 13026, a unique late ninth century collection of all the *Consolatio* metres along with all those from Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis,* isolated verses from Prudentius, and Avianus's *Fables*, an anthologist lifts the excerpted *metra* beyond "an interest in metrical design"[33] and into a performative context of singing, of regarding the verses as hymns, for all of these texts were known to have been sung, as were those similarly collected in Paris 1154.[34]

A more straightforward rationale for making such verse collections leads back to Alcuin and the school-room. Indeed, even a high status manuscript such as Bern 455, a turn of the tenth century anthology with twelve *metra* extracted from the *Consolatio*, each rendered in a strophic layout (see Fig 1.1), alongside lines from Virgil's first *Eclogue*, hymns from Prudentius's *Liber Cathemerinon*, and other rhythmical verses on penitential themes such as the *Apparebit*, was likely used to teach basic metrical and grammatical forms, as well as "to introduce students to aspects of doctrine and liturgy".[35]

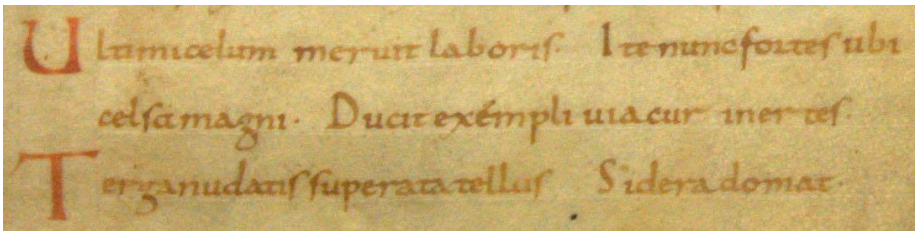

Fig. 1.1 Bern, Burgerbilbliothek 455, fol. 31r: 14-16.

Such a book serves many masters, touching both ends of the scale from basic learning to devotional themes of the Last Judgement, but does so with *carmina* as the unifying element. And though this verse collection does not have the *Synonyma* in it, the shared penitential context between it and

[33] Barrett (2013), p. 20.

[34] Barrett (2013), p. 71.

[35] Barrett (2013), p. 29.

Paris 1154 points strongly to an aligned purpose in Vespasian D.xiv in its record of the four *Consolatio* metres as an envelope to the *Synonyma*.

Further, the more general copying of Boethian *metra* alongside Christian epic poets such as Sedulius and Prudentius implies not only that the *Consolatio* became a useful quarry for "educational" purposes, but also that "Boethius was read as a Christian poet in the Carolingian era".[36] The problem which seems to plague modern scholars, one of trying to rationalise how the secular philosophy of the *Consolatio* could be received as part of a Christian curriculum and, above that, be suitable for devotional study, seems not to have been a problem at all for the Carolingians. Indeed, as will be evident in my reading of the individual treatments of the four *metra* from Vespasian D.xiv in the Old English *Boethius*, that process of vernacularisation seems to have gone hand-in-hand with resetting the original metres into Christian, specifically homiletic, context.

Barrett also collects useful data on which Boethian *metra* were most likely to be excerpted, when individual *metra* first started being selected for isolated transmission, and which were most likely to receive musical notation in neumes. Tellingly, each of the four *metra* from Vespasian D.xiv is commonly notated, and 3m8, *Eheu quae miseros*, is one of the two earliest metres to be isolated, along with 2m5, *Felix nimium.*[37] 3m8 turns out to be particularly suitable for excerpting because it is a hybrid metrical form of unequal line lengths, specifically 'asclepiad and iambic dimeter', and this leads to its being recorded with an interpolated refrain, as Fig. 1.2 below from Berlin 58, a *de luxe* psalter manuscript of the first half of the ninth century, shows. The title refrain, *eheu quae miseros*, has been included four times as a 'b-verse' to the shorter iambic dimeter lines (2, 4, 6, 8). Moreover, the placement of the neumes, likely added at the turn of the tenth

[36] Barrett (2013), p. 45.

[37] Barrett (2013), p. 195.

century, emphasizes the title and refrain by marking it three times:

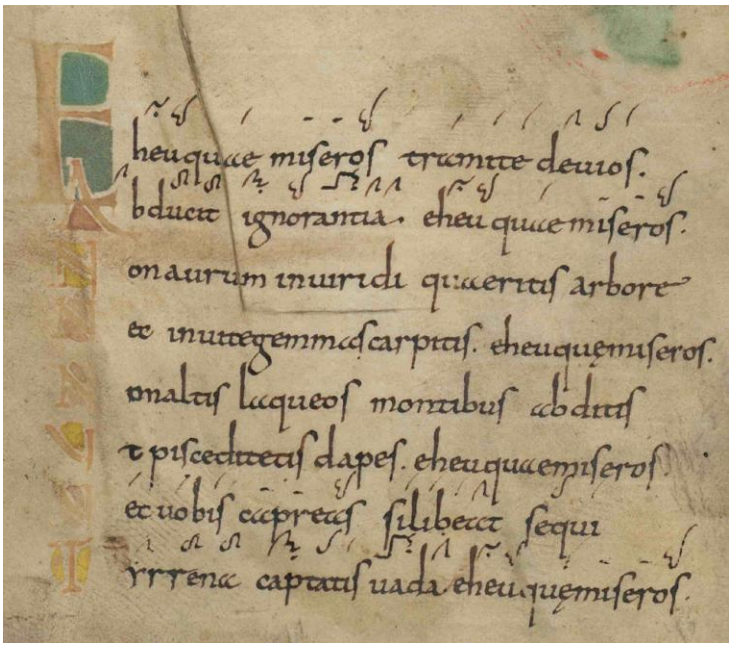

Fig. 1.2 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek MS 58. fol. 1v: 19-26 (*left column*)

Barrett's table of the "distribution of neumic notations"[38] reveals that two of the four *metra* from Vespasian D.xiv were among the most likely metres from their respective books in the *Consolatio* to be notated, and that the other two were also frequently marked. 4m7 is in particular popular as there are ten copies with notations; no other *metrum* from Book 4 is found notated in more than four copies. The reason for this is likely twofold; first, the poem is cast in Sapphic Hendecasyllable metre, a well-appreciated and common metrical form which could be conveyed in "three line strophes"[39] (just as it is laid out above in Bern 455); second, the metre includes figures of epic poetry from Homer and Ovid—Agamemnon, Odysseus, Polyphemus, and Hercules—and so is very likely to be read for narrative interest, as well as glossed to explain its difficult Greek words and literary history. In turn, 1m1 is found notated in a great number of manuscripts, eleven, the second-highest figure of all *Consolatio* metres after the beautiful hymn to the cosmos, 1m5,

[38] Barrett (2013), p. 203.

[39] Barrett (2013), p. 186.

O stelliferi, found in thirteen. As it is the opening metre of the work, and usually given the most illustrious layout, and also written in the second highest register of classical metre, elegiac verse, the frequency of notation for 1m1 is to be expected. 1m2 is less often given neumes, but still has a respectable number with six copies featuring neumes; last, 3m8 is found notated in only four manuscripts, but as the most of any metre from Book 3 is six notations, it is still well represented, in addition to being the second earliest *metrum* carried in isolated transmission.

Intriguingly, of the five *metra* from Book 5 of the *Consolatio*, 5m1 and 5m2 are only notated in one copy each, and the other three *metra* never receive notation. It is as if the readership stopped altogether at 4m7. Barrett suggests that this drop in notation follows the "vacillating dramatic content" as the lamentations and stories of wicked rulers in Books 1 and 2 cede to the far more difficult themes of evil and free will in Books 4 and 5; the *metra* most frequently selected are instead those "linked with the general dynamic of *consolatio*".[40] Another factor Barrett regards is that the *metra* most likely to be notated with neumes are the ones most resembling existing known song characteristics; this is another reason why 3m8 and 4m7 are likely chosen to be excerpted and notated in the musical tradition. It is potentially remarkable then, that the record of 4m7 on 224v of Vespasian D.xiv is immediately followed by the tag word, *rupis*, of the following metre 5m1, since that metre is only ever notated once, and never travels excerpted in the verse collections, with the sole exception of Paris 13026, which collects all the *metra* in order, as Table 4.2c will later show. This is a small piece of evidence which suggests that the scribe of 224v may have had access to a fuller copy of the *Consolatio*, perhaps one like 13026 or possibly a full-text version.

Barrett summarizes his findings in terms of "chronological layers".[41] Lupus of Ferrières's metrical commentary is a useful starting point ca. 830, followed by the excerpting of 2m5 and 3m8

[40] Barrett (2013), pp. 208 and 211.

[41] Barrett (2013), p. 185.

in refrain form, where they await future notation with neumes. This attests that "the practice of singing Boethian *metra* goes back as far as the beginning of the Carolingian text transmission".[42] The practice of treating them as *carmina*, as sung hymns—as the opening word of the *Consolatio* reminds us—, spreads along with the patterns of manuscript copying, first in the Loire valley in the second third of the ninth century, then to the German centres further east, as Berlin 58, the psalter text with 3m8 in a refrain, witnesses. Berlin 58 also witnesses another innovation in the melodic transmission, the deliberate shortening of excerpted metres, specifically for highlighting the theme of *consolatio* but also for rendering them more practical as shorter verses to memorize for singing. Berlin 58's record of 1m1 even skips lines 7 and 8 in addition to stopping at line 12.[43] This practice of shortening verses from Boethius and Prudentius in order to recontextualize them for sung performance might be a possible explanation for the truncated copies of 1m2 and 4m7 in Vespasian D.xiv; nevertheless, the choice to excise the *opening* sections of each of them, 20 lines from 1m2 and 11 from 4m7, renders that possibility highly unlikely.

Barrett's timeline then proceeds post-850 to include copying in the centres of East Francia, and an assessment of how the introduction of neumes to the manuscripts mirrors the production of glosses, particularly as the commentaries of Sankt Gallen and Auxerre start to proliferate. While the process of reading and notating with neumes or glosses is similarly aligned, the adding of neumes at times is strongly independent of the glossing traditions, and so again suggests a parallel dissemination of the *Consolatio* for its musical qualities rather than one intertwined with the commentary traditions.

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[42] Barrett (2013), p. 185.

[43] Barrett (2013), pp. 149-150. Barrett argues that 1m1 is truncated in Berlin 58 in order to render it more consistent in its "plangent tone".

As a last point, I wish to reiterate the importance of the shared verse collections in setting the context for the reception of Vespasian D.xiv, as laid out in Table 1.2a below. Though D.xiv shares only one text, Isidore's *Synonyma*, with one verse anthology manuscript, Paris 1154, the fact that all of the other known manuscripts pre-950 which excerpt Boethian *metra* also share other verse texts known, as Barrett reminds us, to be sung, surely places the scribal choice to excerpt and copy those four *metra* in the much larger frame of musical transmission for the *Consolatio*. And, even if there are no neumes, and even if the quality of the script be considered poor, especially on 224v, it is the implicit recognition that they belong to this "melodic tradition" in Barrett's title phrase, and that they are the first such copied *metra* in an insular context, which allows the reader to view them not only as scribal productions respecting metrical identity, but fully as *carmina*, as songs in themselves.

Even further, as Lapidge's *Anglo-Saxon Library* shows in its "Catalogue of Classical and Patristic Authors", Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis*, and Prudentius's *Liber Cathemerinon* and *Psychomachia* each arrives in England in the first quarter of the tenth century from a foreign land: Martianus arrives in a late ninth century Welsh copy, and the two Prudentius texts come together from France in a ninth-century manuscript.[44] Thus, not only does the Vespasian D.xiv copy of the *Synonyma* merge into this line of melodic transmission, it does so at the same transitional moment as the texts of the verse collections with which it is aligned, as Table 1.2b shows. Surely, this rapid influx of late antique and patristic texts, especially prosimetric ones mixing philosophy and poetry, is one mark of the burgeoning success of the Alfredian *renovatio* and its educational aims; it is also the most fruitful context for understanding the inclusion of the four *metra* in Cotton Vespasian D.xiv.

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[44] M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006).

1.2a Table of Shared Manuscript Texts [See Section 4.1 *Conspectus Siglorum*]

Boethius, *versus* from *Consolatio*	D.xiv	P1154	BR 58	V88	V3363	P8318	B455	P13026
Isidore, *Synonyma*	D.xiv	P1154						
Prudentius, *Liber Cathemerinon*				V88			B455	P13026
Prudentius, *Psychomachia (or glossary)*					V3363	P8318	B455	
Virgil, *Various texts*							B455	P13026
Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis…*								P13026
Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*				V88			B455	
Anon., *Psalter*			BR 58					

1.2b Table of Selected Patristic Texts Entering or Written in England in s.x^{1}

Boethius, *Consolatio*	Vatican 3363	France s.ix^{1}; England s.ix^{ex} + x$^{2/4}$ [*glosses*]
Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis*	CCCC 153	Wales s.ix^{ex}; England s.x^{1}
Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis*	CCCC 206	England s.x^{1} [*excerpts*]
Prudentius, *Liber Cathemerinon*	CCCC 223	Arras, France s.ix$^{3/4}$; England s.x^{1}
Prudentius, *Psychomachia*	CCCC 223	Arras, France s.ix$^{3/4}$; England s.x^{1}
Isidore, *Synonyma*	CCCC 48	Worcester s.x^{1}

1.3 The Study of Boethius in Anglo-Saxon England and in King Alfred's Canon

Boethius's *Consolatio* has been studied by Anglo-Saxonist scholars in two principal lines of inquiry: the first has studied the wider reception of the text along with the commentaries of Remigius and Sankt Gallen by following manuscripts either produced in England or of known English provenance from the second half of the tenth century and beyond; the second has tried to pin down possible source-texts for the Alfredian vernacular translation known as the Old English *Boethius*, especially where the author or authors of that complex and often freely composed work may have drawn from a commentary tradition or another key source. The first inquiry, in its way, is broadly codicological; the second is closely interpretative; in both cases, the focus is on trying to establish legitimacy and clarity for the reception of the *Consolatio* by the Anglo-Saxons.

Diane Bolton provided the fullest assessment of the reception of the *Consolatio* in England in a 1977 essay first giving an overview of the text's general importance and early reception, then giving an appendix which surveys fourteen manuscripts of English origin or provenance from the second half of the tenth century through the eleventh.[45] As Barrett will echo much later in his book, *Melodic Tradition*, Bolton finds these manuscripts to be of an "exceptionally fine" character,[46] so presenting a case both on intellectual and aesthetic grounds for the exceptional quality of interest and manuscript production the *Consolatio* spurred among English readers in the second half of the tenth century. She also cites, with agreement, Otten's findings[47] that this group of manuscripts barely or not at all draws on the Sankt Gallen commentary tradition, and does not have glosses from it, but instead carries glosses similar to those from the commentary tradition of

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[45] Bolton (1977), pp. 33-78.

[46] Bolton (1977), p. 33.

[47] K. Otten, *König Alfreds Boethius. Studien zur Englischen Philologie: Neue Folge*, vol 3 (Tübingen: Max Niemayer, 1964).

Remigius of Auxerre; these are given in a second appendix citing relevant passages shared across the set of manuscripts. Indeed, one might venture that late tenth century England was a nexus for using and reproducing the Remigian commentary in tandem with the high status manuscripts being produced; certainly a manuscript such as Cambridge Trinity College O.3.7 is a creation of the highest order, proving mastery of *ordinatio* and integration of the glossary tradition.

All that said, the focus on post-950 manuscripts leaves both Alfred and the Vespasian D.xiv *metra* unspoken for, especially if, as Courcelle notes,[48] the Remigian commentary were datable to 901/902, just *after* King Alfred's reign, and so unavailable to him and his circle. With respect to this matter, a tighter focus on what possible source manuscripts and gloss texts the Alfredian *Boethius* may have used is required.

The first critic to make a detailed study of the relation of the *Boethius* to its Latin source and possible commentaries is Georg Schepss in 1895.[49] Schepss draws extracts from two *Consolatio* manuscripts featuring passages of unidentified commentary (which turn out to be from the Remigian tradition, though admixed with the anonymous of Sankt Gallen) and compares them with Alfred's *Boethius*. His conclusions are that while Alfred seems to be following the commentaries in Christianizing the tenor of the *Consolatio*, he also draws closely on comments on mythology and natural science. However, in one key case, the simile of the cosmos to an "egg" in 3m9, Alfred seems to have drawn on the anonymous commentary.

Brian Donaghey follows up Schepss's efforts in a 1964 essay which also draws from Courcelle's work;[50] his aim is to obtain a "juster view" of the matter of Alfred's use of source commen-

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[48] Courcelle (1967), pp. 241-269.

[49] G. Schepss, "Zu König Alfreds Boethius", in *Archiv* 94 (1895), pp. 149-160.

[50] B. Donaghey, "The Sources of King Alfred's Translation of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*" in *Anglia* 82 (1964), pp. 23-57.

taries. Donaghey comes to regard the putative commentary Alfred uses as not the Remigian, not only because of the later date but because of readings such as the "egg" simile drawn from the anonymous commentary on 3m9. Donaghey also provides an appendix giving both Schepss's quotations from the commentaries in tandem with lines from the Alfredian *Boethius* along with references to other studies on the matter, so providing a kind of notated excerpt edition. In his study of this collected material, Donaghey views Alfred as a translator keyed to the needs of a simple audience, and not one engaged or interested in philological inquiries; this Alfred also flatly accepts the Christianized tenor of the commentaries.

Joseph Wittig's 1983 study of the Latin sources for the Old English *Boethius* is still to this date the strongest assessment of the matter.[51] Rather than employ the broad survey map approach Bolton takes, Wittig's essay, subtitled "A Reconsideration", rather turns a telescope into a micro-scope: he studies the glosses given to one key *metrum*, 3m12, the classical fable of the double-sorrow of Orpheus and Eurydice, as they are recorded in "some forty-five manuscripts",[52] in order to determine from where the vernacular version was drawing its reconceptualization of the metre. Wittig's findings are surprising: the Alfredian *Boethius* seems not to be drawing from *any* particular commentary for its resetting of 3m12, for it "adds material for which they do not account",[53] and where it shares material with the commentaries, it could well have gleaned such glosses elsewhere. And, far from prior strongly negative evaluations of the relative merit of the *Meters of Boethius*, Wittig finds that the text of 3m12, "impresses with how accurate and purposeful the translation

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[51] J. Wittig, "King Alfred's *Boethius* and his Latin Sources: A Reconsideration" in *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983), pp. 157-98.

[52] Wittig (1983), p. 158.

[53] Wittig (1983), p. 163.

is".[54] The Alfredian *Boethius* thus shows intellectual breadth, respect for the original, and inventiveness, all virtuous qualities pointing to a purposeful and sophisticated reception of the *Consolatio* at or just before the beginning of the tenth century.

But these studies are still far away from uncovering ground where the insular addition of the four *metra* to Vespasian D.xiv could fit in, especially in the immediate post-Alfredian era. And, in a more alarming vein, critics such as Jeffery and Frantzen have sought to dismiss entirely the project of trying to interpret the *Boethius* and of projecting possible routes of transmission for the *Consolatio* and other source-works of the Alfredian programme into Anglo-Saxon England. Jeffery does so on a direct premise that without exact manuscript knowledge any critical treatment of Alfred's skill in reading and translating is "strictly preposterous."[55] Frantzen, while in agreement, offers a more measured "critical caveat":

> We may never succeed in comparing Alfred's translations to their Latin sources so that we can note his additions and deletions. Although we might want to agree... that we discern the "personality of the king" through his additions and insertions into texts, our scanty knowledge of Alfred's sources prohibits sweeping claims about the changes he may have made or the personality they may reveal.[56]

If such critical conservatism prevailed entirely, there would be no interpretation made at all. And given Wittig's results in tracing just such "additions and insertions", the *Boethius*'s independence from the commentary tradition forestalls such large claims anyway. There is also something here of irony that the earliest source manuscript of the *Consolatio* of Anglo-Saxon provenance has not previously been studied for its composition and possible relation to the vernacular translation.

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[54] Wittig (1983), p. 179.

[55] C.D. Jeffery, "The Latin Texts Underlying the Old English Gregory's *Dialogues* and *Pastoral Care*" in *Notes and Queries* 27 (1980), pp. 483-88, at 487.

[56] A. Frantzen, *King Alfred* (Boston: Twayne Masterworks Series, 1993), pp. 9-10.

The voice of critical caveat found in Frantzen and Jeffery has been more closely and persistently brought to bear on the Alfredian corpus of vernacular works by Malcolm Godden, whose essays demonstrate superb source study and inquiry but also a wariness to admit the King himself, Alfred, as an author.[57] Godden's essays trace literary motifs of calls to educational reform and the difficulties of rulership as likely borrowed from Carolingian models such as the *De Litteris Colendis*, written for Charlemagne by Alcuin.[58] Godden also looks closely at the authorial voice in the various prefaces of the texts closely associated with the Alfredian program; he finds appropriation of the "royal voice",[59] again a practice found in Carolingian sources, across these prefaces, but considers the device inconsistently enough applied in order to cast doubt on a single-voice theory of authorship. The result of Godden's efforts is suggestive of an aim to sever the *Boethius* (and the *Soliloquies*) from Alfredian authorship and so push them closer to the likely reception of the source texts after 930. Godden has even floated the idea of a figure like "St. Dunstan", but not Dunstan himself "of course", though the import of the suggestion remains clear.[60] As a side-note, it is interesting that Godden and Irvine's edition of the Old English *Boethius* holds a neutral editorial stance on the issue of Alfred's authorship, an admirable position, but one not in keeping with his own authorial voice given elsewhere.[61]

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[57] See M. Godden, "The Player King: Identification and Self-Representation in King Alfred's Writings", in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp 137-150; and M. Godden, "Did King Alfred Really Write Anything?", in *Medium Aevum* 76.1 (2007), pp. 1-23.

[58] See L. Wallach, "Charlemagne's *De Litteris Colendis* and Alcuin: A Diplomatical-Historical Study", in *Speculum* 26.2 (1951), pp. 288-305.

[59] Godden, (2007), p. 4.

[60] See M. Godden, 'The Latin Commentary and the Old English Text: Authorship and Kingship." in *Fourth Annual Symposium of The Alfredian Boethius Project* (2006), pp. 7. www.english.ox.ac.uk/boethius/symposium2006

[61] M. Godden and S. Irvine, eds., *The Old English Boethius: An Edition of the Old English Versions of Boethius's De Consolatione Philosophiae* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), 2 vols.

In turn, Janet Bately has consistently found thematic and lexical evidence to unify the central corpus of Alfredian works—*Pastoral Care, Soliloquies, Boethius, Fifty Prose Psalms*—and has actively sought to counter Godden's more assertive claims and efforts to divorce on logical grounds the works of the translation project from royal authorship.[62] Bately's papers typically trace a series of key terms across the corpus of Alfredian works, studying not just instances, but the contextual nature of each case, such as those constrained by close translation ("word for word") in the *Psalms* versus the greater room afforded to translate freely ("sense for sense") in works such as *Soliloquies* and the Old English *Boethius.* She is not fixated on the idea of the King himself as author, so much as the consistency in voice and lexical expression across the body of associated texts; she herself has excluded direct Alfredian authorship of the *Orosius*,[63] but justified it in another study for the *Fifty Prose Psalms*,[64] a far more difficult assertion to uphold.

Between those two poles speaking to the question of authorship, Michael Treschow's data-based, "stylometric" studies yield an intermediate voice: the result of one study is to find the *Boethius* and *Pastoral Care* strongly aligned linguistically, as they surely borrow from each other (but in which order?), while the *Soliloquies* are less well aligned, and the *Fifty Prose Psalms* come up divergent.[65] Bately has since critiqued Treschow's methodology as lacking contextual nuance,[66] but

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[62] Numerous works by Janet Bately speak to the unity of the Alfredian canon based on lexical study. Among half a dozen studies, see J. Bately, "The Alfredian Canon Revisted: One Hundred Years On" in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 107-120; and J. Bately, "Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything? The Integrity of the Alfredian Canon Revisited" in *Medium Aevum* 78.2 (2009), pp. 189-215.

[63] J. Bately, "King Alfred and the Old English Translation of Orosius", in *Anglia* 88.4 (1970), pp. 433-460.

[64] J. Bately, "Lexical evidence for the authorship of the *Prose Psalms* in the Paris Psalter" in *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1981), pp. 69-95.

[65] P.S. Gill, T.B. Swartz, and M. Treschow, "A Stylometric Analysis of King Alfred's Literary Works", in *Journal of Applied Statistics* 34 (2007), pp. 1251-1258. Treschow has since carried this stylometric inquiry further, again with mixed results.

[66] Bately (2009).

the implication remains that more sophisticated data analysis could help resolve the vexed issue of the authorship of the Alfredian canon.

Thus, over and over, one finds patterns of contestation in critical circles and mixed evidence in terms of alignment and likely shared authorship. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the same kind of interlocking and contradictory results will be evident in my study of the transmission of shared variants and individual errors across the comparison set of manuscripts. For, if as Moreschini finds,[67] that the traditional lines of transmission are so contaminated and full of borrowing from each other once the tenth century starts as not to be untangled, then it should not be surprising to find such results operative in my single-case study, or in the larger critical reception and assessment of the *Consolatio* and other works in Anglo-Saxon England. If the transmission is irresolvably intertwined, then surely critical consensus will be all too hard to discover.

Moreover, while all these studies are valuable for constructing an understanding of the transmission and reception of key source texts and their transformation into an Anglo-Saxon milieu, they fail to illuminate the more subtle and original transformation of the four *metra* in Vespasian D.xiv into a vernacular layout context. One major conclusion of this project will be to appreciate that the seemingly poor transmission by the scribe or scribes has left previously unrealized a valuable proof of an altogether different axis of transmission of the *Consolatio* into early tenth-century England. In order to demonstrate this, I shall turn next to the codicological and palaeographical assessment of these four *carmina*.

[67] Moreschini (2005), p. xiii.

2. Codicology

Cotton Vespasian D.xiv is a compact volume on vellum measuring 189mm x 123 mm composed of two booklets, each of which is an anthology. The first, much longer part (fol. 4r-169v) is an especially varied miscellany of prose texts, including much homiletic material from Ælfric's First and Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*, along with other Ælfrician material, anonymous homilies, the Old English *Distichs of Cato*, and a translation of Alcuin's *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*. This first part is almost entirely the work of a single twelfth century hand likely associated with Christ Church, Canterbury; two other hands appear incidentally.

Although it is not known when this insular material was compiled and copied, it was very likely joined with the second part of the manuscript (fol. 170r-224v) after 1560, when Laurence Nowell studied the contents of the first half without apparent knowledge of the second.[68] Yet, by 1621, the united manuscript was described in the Cotton Library catalogue, and Richard James, Cotton's librarian, had contemporaneously added a contents list to folio 2r.

The material of the first half of Vespasian D.xiv has since been studied extensively: its contents are well listed in the catalogues produced by Förster,[69] Watson,[70] Wilcox,[71] da Rold et al.,[72] and Gneuss and Lapidge;[73] in a stand-alone essay, Richards has discussed the elements in

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[68] J. Wilcox, descriptions in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile. Vol. 8, Wulfstan Texts and Other Materials,* ed. M. Hussey and N. Doane (Tempe: ACMRS, 2000), p. 54.

[69] M. Förster, "Der Inhalt der Altenglischen Handschrift Vespasianus D.XIV" in *Englische Studien* 54 (1920-21), pp. 46-64.

[70] A.G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c. 700–1600, in the Department of Manuscripts, The British Library* (London: British Library, 1979), 2 vols.

[71] A.N. Doane and M.T. Hussey, eds, with descriptions by J. Wilcox. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile. Vol. 8: Wulfstan Texts and Other Homiletic Materials* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2000), pp. 53-64.

[72] O. da Rold, et al., *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060-1200*. University of Leicester (2010-13). [Web: Accessed June 6, 2017] https://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.BL.Vesp.D.xiv.htm

[73] H. Gneuss and M. Lapidge, eds. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist* of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England *up to 1100*. Toronto: U Toronto P, 2014.

terms of their thematic union and provenance.[74] As this material of the first part is of a later date and has no bearing on the production of the second part, I shall forgo discussion of it.

The bulk of the second and earlier half of the composite manuscript is an early ninth-century continental copy of Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma* (170v-218r). Drawing on Gneuss's original *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,*[75] Lapidge's own *Anglo-Saxon Library* gives its date as s.ix$^{1/4}$ and its provenance as Northern France, possibly Northeastern;[76] however, drawing on Förster's original assessment of the scribal hand as "Italien" in his contents list,[77] the *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile* project's description views it as "perhaps written in Italy",[78] an assessment carried forward by da Rold et al.'s online catalogue. I will side, however, with Gneuss and Lapidge based on simpler logic: it is far easier to project a ninth-century manuscript coming to England from northern France than from Italy; moreover, the predominant associations with Isidore point to scholastic study in the Carolingian renaissance, in turn developed from the influence of Alcuin of York in the late eighth century. Last, in more basic terms, the manuscript witnesses of the *Synonyma* from France and Germany greatly outnumber those from Italy.[79]

The *Synonyma* text is ruled in drypoint for 22 lines and has a writing grid of 163 mm by 92 mm, which makes it taller and more generously spaced than part one. This main text starts at folio 170 on the verso leaf, so originally leaving what is now 170r blank. The writing is of a particularly

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[74] M.P. Richards, "On the Date and Provenance of the MS Cotton Vespasian D.XIV ff. 4-169" in *Manuscripta* (1973), pp. 31-35.

[75] H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe: ACMRS, vol. 241, 2001).

[76] Lapidge (2006), p. 170.

[77] Förster (1920-21), p. 46.

[78] Wilcox (2000), p. 53.

[79] See "Index of Manuscripts", di Sciacca (2008), pp. 305-307.

high grade, using a well-spaced, elegant Caroline minuscule for the main text, with typically five to seven words only per line; the major textual divisions are given in full capitals, with many *litterae notabiliores* marking chapters throughout, and with subdivisions in the incomplete second part marked with yellow and red rubrics.[80]

This primary text is followed by four short creeds by the patristic authors Ambrosius, Gregory, Gregory the Martyr, and Jerome (218v-223v). All five of these texts are in the same high-grade Caroline minuscule hand, though the overall aspect shows a tighter spacing with the creeds. Directly following the last of the four statements of faith on line 8 of the same leaf (223v) is a "dating formula" in insular minuscule hand which sets the year as 912 in the reign of King Edward; this item was first transcribed in 1898 by W.H. Stevenson.[81]

Across the gutter on 224r, however, is an entirely different pairing of short Latin hymns copied by a separate hand and now in a miserable washed out state. There has been no assessment yet of why the two hymns are included in this miscellany at this juncture, nor of how they came into their near illegible state. The sole published scholar to have identified them properly is Gneuss in his original *Handlist*, who cites them as 12515 and 10768 in Schaller and Könsgen's catalogue of medieval hymns.[82] The first is a fragmentary copy of the closing lines of *Primum dierum omnium*;[83] the second is Ambrose's *Nunc sancte nobis spiritus*.[84] Based on unpublished

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[80] di Sciacca (2008), p. 110.

[81] W.H. Stevenson, "The Date of King Alfred's Death", in *English Historical Review* 13:49 (1898), pp. 71-77.

[82] Gneuss (2001), p. 71.

[83] D. Schaller and E. Könsgen, *Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), p. 558.

[84] Schaller and Könsgen (1977), p. 477.

eyewitness study and CETEDOC search, William Schipper has transcribed and identified these as Hymn 59 from the *Hymnodia Hispanica*, and Ambrose's *Ad Tertiam*.[85]

All this material from Isidore to the two hymn extracts is then itself enveloped at 170r and 224v by four metrical extracts from Boethius's *Consolatio,* two on each page (1m1 and 1m2; 3m8 and 4m7); three additional lines have been added to the these pages, making twenty-five, versus the original twenty-two lines ruled for the leaves of the *Synonyma* and four creeds. In his essay, "English Square Minuscule Script: the background and earliest phases",[86] Dumville judges the two sets of *metra* to have been written in the same insular hand as the dating formula on 223v, an attribution which has not been questioned. If they are indeed in the same hand, then this locks in the date of their addition to 912, which would put them in the post-Alfredian era, and therefore beyond consideration for their being a contemporaneous source for the Old English *Boethius,* if that work were indeed produced in the king's reign. That said, a date of 912 for their writing places them as the earliest surviving witness of insular origin for any part of the *Consolatio* in Anglo-Saxon England, and thus grants them immense priority.

[85] I am grateful to Prof. William Schipper for looking at the two hymns on my behalf in 2013, and for identifying them in a correction of my original transcript.

[86] D. Dumville, "English Square Minuscule Script: The Background and Earliest Phases", in *Anglo-Saxon England* 16 (1987), pp. 147-79.

2.1 Folio 224 and Codicological Doubt

There is, unfortunately, a major issue to address concerning the foliation and quiring of the manuscript as a whole, as there are numerous inconsistencies in how it has been recorded, and in stating where the manuscript terminates. For example, the record in the British Library catalogue entry first states it is a "parchment codex [of] 224 folios", but directly below this in the "Physical Characteristics" section, the entry gives contradictory information:

> ff. 225 (+ 3 unfoliated paper flyleaves at the beginning and 3 parchment and one paper at the end). The manuscript has been foliated three times.[87]

Alternately, da Rold et al. give the foliation as "223 + iv leaves",[88] so suggesting that folio 224 has been added as a flyleaf at some undetermined stage. This latter point is crucial, since it puts the second pairing of Boethian *metra* on 224v in what might be termed acute codicological doubt, and sets up the possibility that it is not contemporaneous with either the pair of Boethian *metra* on 170r, nor with the dating formula on 223v.

Stevenson's 1898 article inadvertently pushes this doubt even further, for although his main point is to use the evidence of this *computus* to set the date of Alfred's death as 899 (and not 901 as stated in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), he nonetheless provides striking statements about the state of 223v. Thus, while in the middle of broaching a concern that the writing of the dating numerals might not be the work of the first scribe, he drops an unexpected bombshell about the manuscript as a whole:

> There are several marks on the parchment that may be erasures, but are probably merely natural rubbings of the page, which is the last one in the volume.[89]

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[87] British Library Record of Cotton MS Vespasian D.xiv. [Web: Accessed June 6, 2017] http://searchworks.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=IAMS040-001103426&indx=1&recIds=IAMS040-001103426&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedout&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dscnt=0&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BL%29&tab=local&dstmp=1496689948016&srt=rank&mode=Basic&&&dum=true&fctN=facet_TrueEt=exposure%3EP%20DTX&vid=IAMS_VU2

[88] Orietta, et al. (2010-13). https://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.BL.Vesp.D.xiv.htm

[89] Stevenson (1898), pp. 76-77.

Stevenson therefore testifies not only to the possibility of erasures, but, more germanely, to 223v being the last leaf. If this be correct, then folio 224 must be a flyleaf joined to the manuscript after 1898. This would be shocking indeed since it would sever the presumed envelope of Boethian *metra* around the *Synonyma* and four creeds, and rather sink a fair measure of my argument relating the two pairings of *Consolatio* metres. Nevertheless, Stevenson could be referring here to the last *page* of the *Synonyma* plus creeds proper, that is, of the "volume" of Caroline minuscule text.

Fortunately, although Förster's 1920-21 article giving the contents list of Vespasian D.xiv does not describe the second part as closely as it does the first, it does state that the metrical excerpts from Boethius's *Consolatio* appear both "before and after" the *Synonyma* text of the second part:

> Den Grundstock der zweiten Handscrift (Wanleys Nr. LIII-LIV) bildet ein in der zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts wohl in Italien geschriebener Text der Soliloquien des spansichen Bischofs Isidor von Sevilla (Fol. 170^{b}-218^{a}). Vorher und nacher hat eine englishe Hand des 10. Jahrhunderts Abschnitte aus des Pelagius' *Expositio fidei* (Fol. 218^{b}-22^{b}) und Boetius' *Consolatio philosophiae* eingetragen.[90]

Förster therefore sets 1920 as a *terminus ad quem* for dating the presence of the metres on both sides of the *Synonyma*. Unfortunately, Förster also misattributes the four creeds as Pelagius's *Expositio*, even though the texts themselves are given headers identifying them by author; I will take up this and other such errors in cataloguing the manuscript in the next section.

While Förster gives one end of codicological certainty, Richard James at the other end unfortunately does not grant a *terminus a quo*, for the contents list he adds on folio 2r roughly contemporaneous to 1621 (see Fig. 2.1 below) gives the Isidore text and the dating formula, but mentions neither the before nor the after that should be the *Consolatio* excerpts:

[90] Förster (1920-21), p. 47.

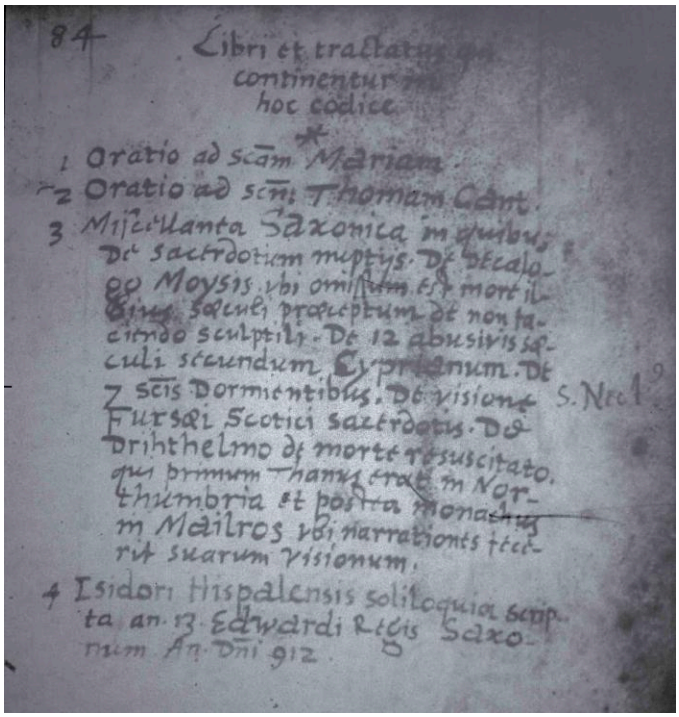

Fig. 2.1 Cotton Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 2r: 1-10.

A second fuller contents list on folio 3r (Fig 2.2), written in Latin and added to the manuscript by an unknown compiler, likewise registers the *Synonyma* and the *computus*, but gives no notice of the envelope of Boethian *metra*:

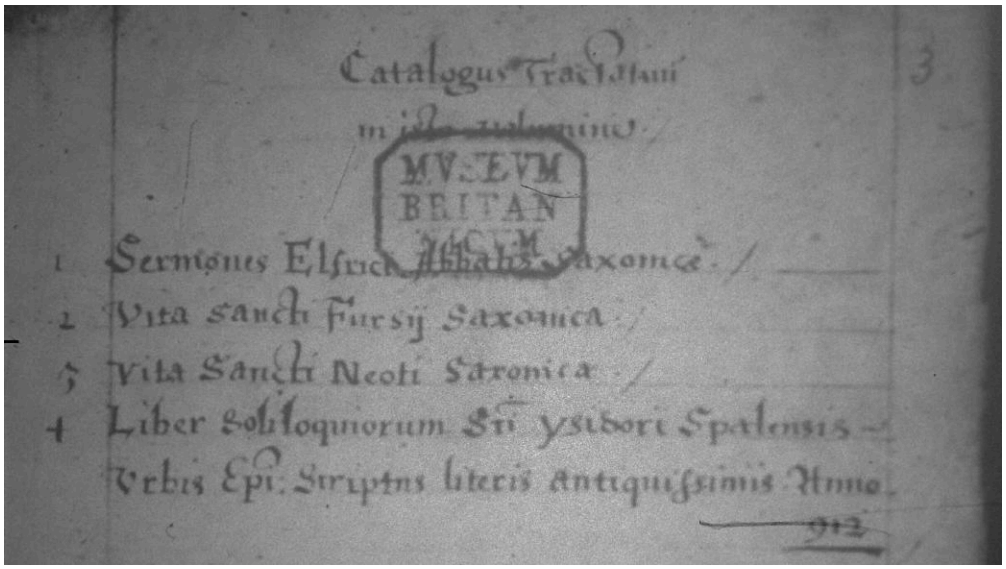

Fig. 2.2 Cotton Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 3r: 19-21.

As Wilcox judges this flyleaf to be written "early", it is therefore presumably closer to James in 1621 than the modern day;[91] still, is not possible to date this addition closely, nor to find an attribution earlier than Stevenson witnessing the presence of the *metra* in the manuscript. That is in itself a sobering fact about the status of the *metra* on 224v, because while the *metra* on 170r could never have been detached from the *Synonyma*, as they are the first leaf of a quire, recto to its verso, the ones on 224v could well have been, unless they were part of the last quire and not a flyleaf.

A final codicological wrinkle is the presence of yet another added sliver of text to one of the early flyleaves in Vespasian D.xiv, for, in a note initialled by a librarian and dated 1912 (Fig. 2.3), one learns that the manuscript contents were indeed disturbed and redistributed:

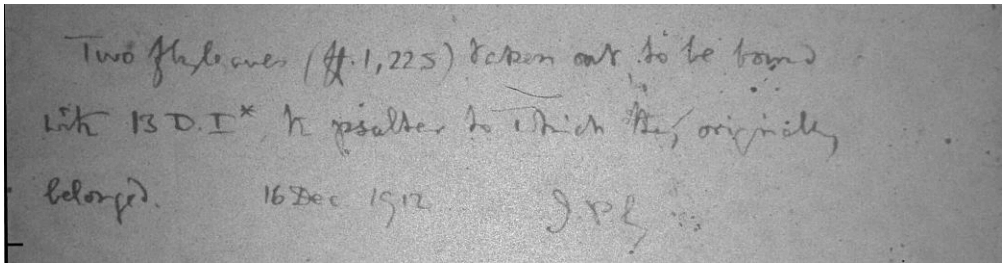

Fig. 2.3 Cotton Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 1v: 1-3.

This entry witnesses that two leaves of psalter text were removed from either end of the manuscript, where they had presumably been serving as protective covers for the 'main' texts inside, in order to be reunited with their original manuscript. This note obviously helps explain why the manuscript has had three sets of foliation, but it makes Stevenson's 1898 apparent statement that 223v was the "last [page]" of Vespasian D.xiv even more baffling. Surely, he must have meant the main text in Caroline minuscule as forming the "volume", for the psalter text on folio 225 (and the two *metra* on 224v enfolded within it) would presumably have been there only fourteen years earlier.

So, if the contents lists and notes added to Vespasian D.xiv cannot resolve the question of whether the Boethian *metra* existed as an envelope prior to Stevenson's account in 1898, this still

[91] Doane and Hussey, with descriptions by Wilcox (2000): 53.

leaves the matter of quiring. While da Rold et al. gives 223 + iv leaves, and so suggests folio 224 is a flyleaf, Wilcox's description lists the quiring more precisely; from this record one must deduce that folio 224 is not a flyleaf but instead the last leaf of the seventh quire in the second part:

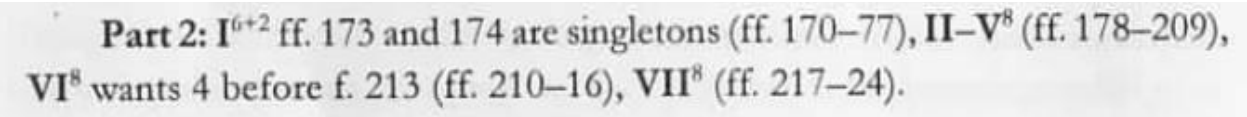
Part 2: I^{6+2} ff. 173 and 174 are singletons (ff. 170–77), II–V^{8} (ff. 178–209), VI^{8} wants 4 before f. 213 (ff. 210–16), VII^{8} (ff. 217–24).

Fig. 2.4 Wilcox, descriptions. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*. Vol. 8 (2000): 56.

This means that the current folio 224, with the hymns and the two *Consolatio* metres, 3m8 and 4m7, is part of the same quire finishing the *Synonyma* and giving the four creeds. While this should settle the matter, a sense of codicological doubt remains, for Stevenson's troubling statement cannot be fully disproven as the attributions of what texts are on what folios have shifted over time with the multiple foliations. Perhaps in a positive sense, however, the indeterminacy grants licence to reconsider the union of the two sets of *metra*, and in particular Dumville's attribution that they along with the dating formula are all the work of the same scribe.

Unfortunately, I do not have direct access to the manuscript presently to judge its quiring afresh, and was not knowledgeable enough to assess the matter in my firsthand viewing in 2013. Nevertheless, this matter of the variant foliation and contents lists shows how contradictory scholarly records can be, especially when they rely on secondhand information and capricious statements gleaned from earlier scholarship. And, with respect to Vespasian D.xiv, such inconsistencies unfortunately extend much further than the foliation, and may well have contributed to the neglect of the manuscript's priority. I therefore pick up in the next section a fuller discussion of errors and oversights in cataloguing the manuscript as a whole, and the four *Consolatio* metra in particular.

2.2 Previous Errors in Codicology and Catalogues

It is fair to use the word neglected when discussing the Boethian *metra* in Cotton Vespasian D.xiv precisely because they do not garner notice in any of the major catalogues or editions of the *Consolatio*; moreover, when they are discussed by Anglo-Saxonist scholars, they are consistently misidentified or dismissed, or both. While this oversight is favourable in permitting my research to come to be, the indifference and errors abounding in the description of D.xiv and the fragments of Boethius in particular border on a wilful disregard for what is there and what potential it holds for reshaping our understanding of the reception of the *Consolatio* in Anglo-Saxon England and the work of the Alfredian circle of scholars in dealing with patristic texts.

Put simply, these four *metra* are not recorded in the publications of editors and scholars of Boethius. Still, given that the *Consolatio* is recorded in over 150 surviving medieval manuscripts, it is not surprising that a fragmentary set of only four *metra* in an obscure English manuscript would not merit inclusion in any of the major editions of the *Consolatio*: Peiper (1871), Weinberger (1934), Bieler (1957), and Moreschini (2005, 2nd ed.). Moreover, as both Peiper and Bieler use the two Bern manuscripts (Bern 455 and Bern A.92.7) from the metrical excerpt tradition, that particular axis of transmission has not been neglected. That said, Vespasian D.xiv does not appear in catalogues of the *Consolatio* where it should. For example, it is not listed in Volume 1 of the *Codices Boethiani: Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland* edited by Gibson and Smith,[92] because they do not include incomplete copies of the *Consolatio*, never mind the priority of the four *metra* in D.xiv as the earliest surviving partial copy made in England. More worrisomely, D.xiv is not listed in Troncarelli's *Censimento del Codici* (1987), a catalogue of 135 manuscripts, which includes six of the seven of the comparison manuscripts in the metrical excerpt tradition used in this

[92] M. Gibson and L. Smith, *Codices Boethiani: A Conspectus of Manuscripts of Boethius,* in *Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts* 25: *Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland*. (London: Warburg Institute, 2001).

project.[93] And while it is logical Troncarelli does not mention Vespasian D.xiv in any of his numerous studies on the manuscript tradition from the sixth to the eighth century, that he does not include at least reference to D.xiv in his extensive study of Vatican lat. 3363, the manuscript glossed by multiple insular hands, is a confounding oversight given that the study, *Frammenti di un testo perduto*, appears as an appendix in his collection *Tradizioni Perdute*.[94] But since Troncarelli is interested in the philosophical tradition and the scholastic use of the *Consolatio*, particularly the commentary tradition, he does not recognize the importance of an insular witness of just four metres roughly coeval in English provenance with Vatican 3363.

Even Papahagi, the one Boethius scholar who does record notice of the *metra*, does so only in a footnote to an essay on the transmission of the *Consolatio* in the Carolingian age. His itemization of the contents contains several errors:

> Cotton MS Vespasian D.xiv is a composite codex, whose second and older part (fols 170r-224r) contains mainly a copy of Isidore's *Synonyma*. Fols 170, 203r and 224r contain metres from the *Consolatio* (I, m. 1, 1-18; I, m. 2, 21-7; III, m. 8; IV, m. 7, 12-35), copied by the same hand in a square insular minuscule.[95]

The immediate mistakes are to list the *metra* as present on folio 203r, which, of course, is within the body text of the *Synonyma*, and 224r (instead of 224v), which is the leaf recording the two hymns in an entirely different and largely effaced hand. Other mistakes include the lineation of 1m1 as incomplete (it is the full 22 lines, not only 18), and the description of the hand only as "square", when it is better described as "transitional" by Dumville. These errors are the product of having received notice of the metres at secondhand from a private correspondence with Godden.

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[93] F. Troncarelli, "Censimento", in *Boethiani Aetas: Modelli grafici e fortuna manoscritta della Consolatio Philosophiae tra IX e XII secolo* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1987), pp. 147-290.

[94] F. Troncarelli, "Frammenti di un testo perduto", in *Tradizione Perdute: La Consolatio Philosophiae nell' alto medioevo* (Padua: Antenore, 1981), pp. 135-196.

[95] Papahagi (2009), p. 15.

The British Library record of of Cotton Vespasian D.xiv is correct in listing the *Consolatio* extracts on 170r and 224v, as well as the "calculation for the year AD 912" on 223v and the four creeds from 218v through 223v, but has no record of the two hymns on 224r, as if they were non-existent.[96] It also incorrectly gives Pelagius, *Libellus Fidei* as part of the manuscript contents, which is presumably drawn from Förster's contents list, and has the aforementioned discrepancy in foliation.

General surveys and catalogues of manuscripts owned or written in Anglo-Saxon England do not fare better. da Rold et al.'s online *Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1066-1220* has an extremely thorough record of the first part of Vespasian D.xiv, itemizing 52 individual texts in the collection of Ælfrician and associated materials, but only gives a single collapsed description of the second part of the manuscript:[97]

> 53. **Item**: Fols 170-224v
>
> Note: Part 2 of the manuscript is written in s.ix, and probably from Italy. Texts include extracts from the Meters of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae,* Isidore, *Synonyma: De lamentatioaone animæ peccatricis.* English glosses, mostly in s.x

There is no itemization of the creeds or hymns, no foliation for the *metra*, the subtitle *lamentatione* is misspelled, and the identification of provenance as Italy is at odds with Gneuss's attribution of France.[98] It is also telling that item 54 in this catalogue, the mention of the two letters "S.Y." inscribed atop 170r, receives equal weight of notice with all the other contents in the second part of D.xiv. The reason for this is signalled in the title of the project, *Manuscripts from 1066-1220*; as the second part of D.xiv is ninth and tenth century, it is outside the project's scope and concern.

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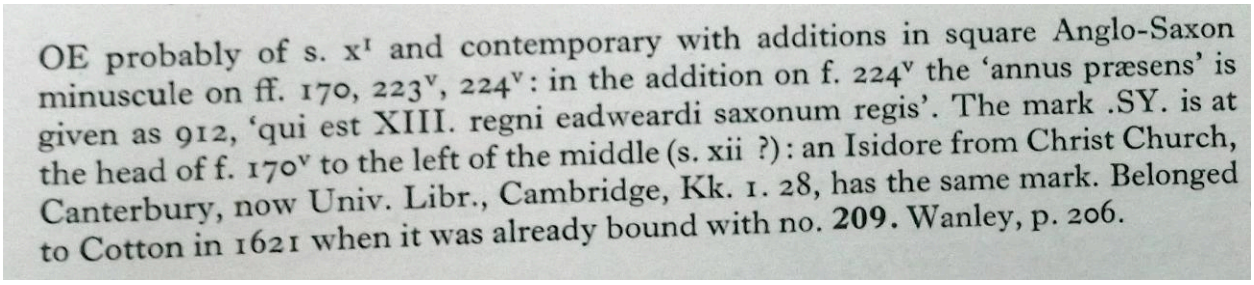
[96] British Library Record of Cotton MS Vespasian D.xiv. [Web: Accessed June 6, 2017] http://searchworlds.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=IAMS040-001101626&indx=1&recIds=IAMS040-001101626&recIdxs=0&elements=&renderMode=poppy&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dscnt=0&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BL%29&tab=local&dstmp=1496689948016&srt=rank&mode=Basic&&&dum=true&fctN=facet_TrueEL+resource%3E%3E%3Eid:IAMS_VU2

[97] da Rold, et al. (2010-13). https://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.BL.Vesp.D.xiv.htm

[98] Gneuss (2001), p. 71.

Ker's exhaustive *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* holds the same pattern of inversion with respect to the second part of Vespasian D.xiv, but, again, this is the product of the work's focus on vernacular materials. After discussing the "scratched glosses" made to the *Synonyma* on folios 172-175, and the nine Old English glosses above 170r, Ker gives an itemization of the additions to the second part of D.xiv in a footnote of sorts (Fig 2.5):[99]

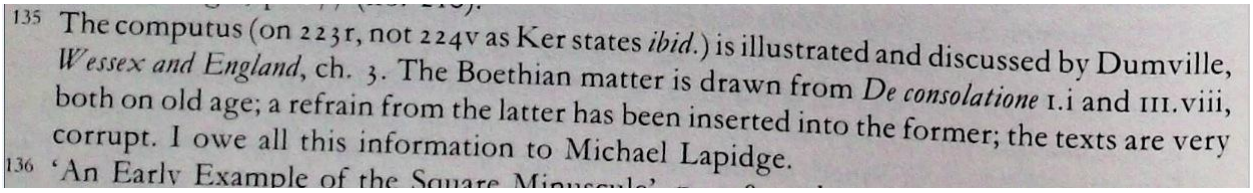


OE probably of s. x[1] and contemporary with additions in square Anglo-Saxon minuscule on ff. 170, 223[v], 224[v]: in the addition on f. 224[v] the 'annus præsens' is given as 912, 'qui est XIII. regni eadweardi saxonum regis'. The mark .SY. is at the head of f. 170[v] to the left of the middle (s. xii ?): an Isidore from Christ Church, Canterbury, now Univ. Libr., Cambridge, Kk. 1. 28, has the same mark. Belonged to Cotton in 1621 when it was already bound with no. **209**. Wanley, p. 206.

Fig. 2.5 Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1957. pp. 277

First, there is no mention at all here of the *Consolatio* extracts; second, the listing of the *annus præsens* on 224v (instead of 223v) is an error which will engender future wrong notation.

In his important essay "English Square minuscule script: the background and earliest phases", Dumville not only references the *metra* of Vespasian D.xiv in palaeographic terms, but provides a full-leaf image of 170r (Plate VI), so giving them exemplary notice in the foremost journal in the field, *Anglo-Saxon England*. Then, in a footnote itemizing them, he corrects Ker's error:[100]



135 The computus (on 223r, not 224v as Ker states *ibid.*) is illustrated and discussed by Dumville, *Wessex and England*, ch. 3. The Boethian matter is drawn from *De consolatione* I.i and III.viii, both on old age; a refrain from the latter has been inserted into the former; the texts are very corrupt. I owe all this information to Michael Lapidge.

136 'An Early Example of the Square Minuscule'

Fig. 2.6 Dumville, "English Square Minuscule Script", *Anglo Saxon England* 16 (1987): 172.

However, Dumville's footnote contains several of its own mistakes, the most egregious being the *still* faulty notation of the computus, which is on 223v, not 224v as Ker states, nor 223r as Dumville

[99] N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), pp. 277.

[100] Dumville (1987), p. 172.

wrongly corrects. Second, Dumville lists only two of the four metrical extracts, and then cites both as being on the theme of "old age"; this is rather reductive, and while nominally true of 1m1, has nothing to do with 3m8. Moreover, there is no such "refrain" from 3m8 inserted into 1m1; one could almost guess that the change in layout halfway through 1m1 or the incomplete excerption of 1m2 on 170r has been read as this "refrain". All of these errors are the product of receiving description of the *metra* at secondhand (here, from Lapidge), except that Dumville has studied them directly for their script and reprinted 1m1 and 1m2 in the essay itself. Clearly, the *metra* have been treated here solely for their palaeographical character and not whatsoever as literary texts in a philosophical tradition intertwined with the Alfredian corpus of translations.

Lapidge's own notice of the second part of Vespasian D.xiv in his *Anglo-Saxon Library* is reductive. Under his survey of *Consolatio* manuscripts of English provenance, he simply lists the contents of D.xiv as follows: "London, BL, Vespasian D.xiv, fos. 170-224 (England, s.ix^{in}, prov. Christ Church, Canterbury) (exc.)".[101] While made technically correct by the addition of "exc." for excerpts, that there is no mention of Isidore, nor the fact that the extracts envelope the *Synonyma*, first gives the impression that the second part of D.xiv is entirely the *Consolatio* (if incomplete), and second loses the significant association of the two prosimetric, philosophical texts in context. This incongruity worsens in Lapidge's record in the same work of the *Synonyma*, which is nearly identical as "fos. 170-224", but missing the crucial addition of (exc.)[102]; again, the envelope of *metra* is lost, as are the four creeds and two hymns, and that the *Synonyma* starts on 170v (not 170r, as would be assumed by this record) and is incomplete in Book Two (312).

[101] Lapidge (2006), p. 293.

[102] Lapidge (2006), p. 312-313.

The last major catalogue to have errors in itemizing Vespasian D.xiv is, paradoxically, the most comprehensive: *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*. Volume 8 of this series, with descriptions by Wilcox, gives an excellent assessment of the manuscript, rendering the incipits and explicits for each of the texts in the second part of D.xiv, but still gets items on folios 170r and 224r wrong.[103] First, Wilcox misstates that 1m1 is incomplete with only lines 1-18 (so providing the source for Papahagi's error in his 2009 essay); second, Wilcox fails to identify the hymns on 224r. Indeed, Wilcox repeats verbatim Watson's 1979 description of them as a "church service (?)"[104] This is the third such instance of a scholar simply repeating faulty information secondhand, and here, as with Dumville, this is from a scholar who has made extensive eyewitness of the manuscript. Last, a third, silent error in Wilcox's itemization is that there is no notice of the tag, *rupis*, for 5m1 at the end of 4m7 on 224v; given Wilcox's care to provide the incipits and explicits for each text in D.xiv, this is an oversight in kind.

The single major catalogue of record to get Vespasian D.xiv correctly itemized is Gneuss's *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (#392).[105] Though Gneuss does not notice the tag for 5m1, he is the first scholar to cite and correctly identify the two hymns on 224r. The correct listing is maintained in the fuller second edition co-edited with Lapidge, though not filled out with author attributions for the two hymns, nor lineation for the *metra*.[106]

The accumulation of errors in cataloguing the contents of Vespasian D.xiv, and the *Conso-latio* excerpts in particular, is troubling for it exposes the repeated lack of concern in recognizing their priority and the dangers of relying on scholarly records and notice at secondhand. But rather

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[103] Wilcox (2000), p. 62.

[104] Watson (1979).

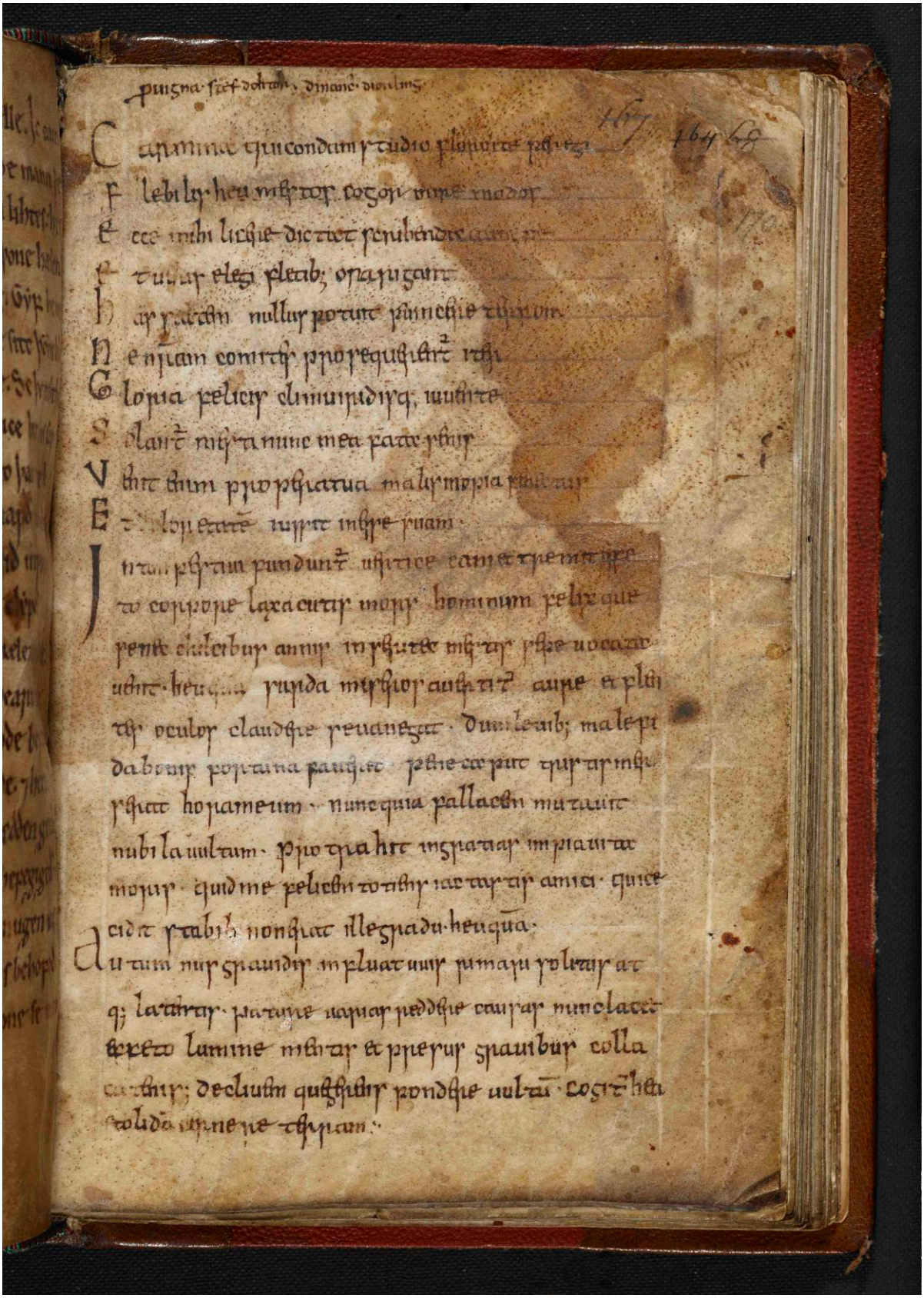
[105] Gneuss (2001), p. 71.

[106] Gneuss and Lapidge (2014), p. 317-318.

than simply ascribing this to repetition of simple error, we should also regard the variance, poor accuracy, and oversights of the descriptions as products of the individual purpose of each catalogue. Compilations of *Consolatio* manuscripts fail to list what are fragments, those of Old English texts downplay Carolingian Latin sources, and large scale records such as the *British Library* catalogue lack the granularity to be as useful as they might. All of this accumulated evidence therefore supports my argument that these four *metra* have indeed been considerably neglected.

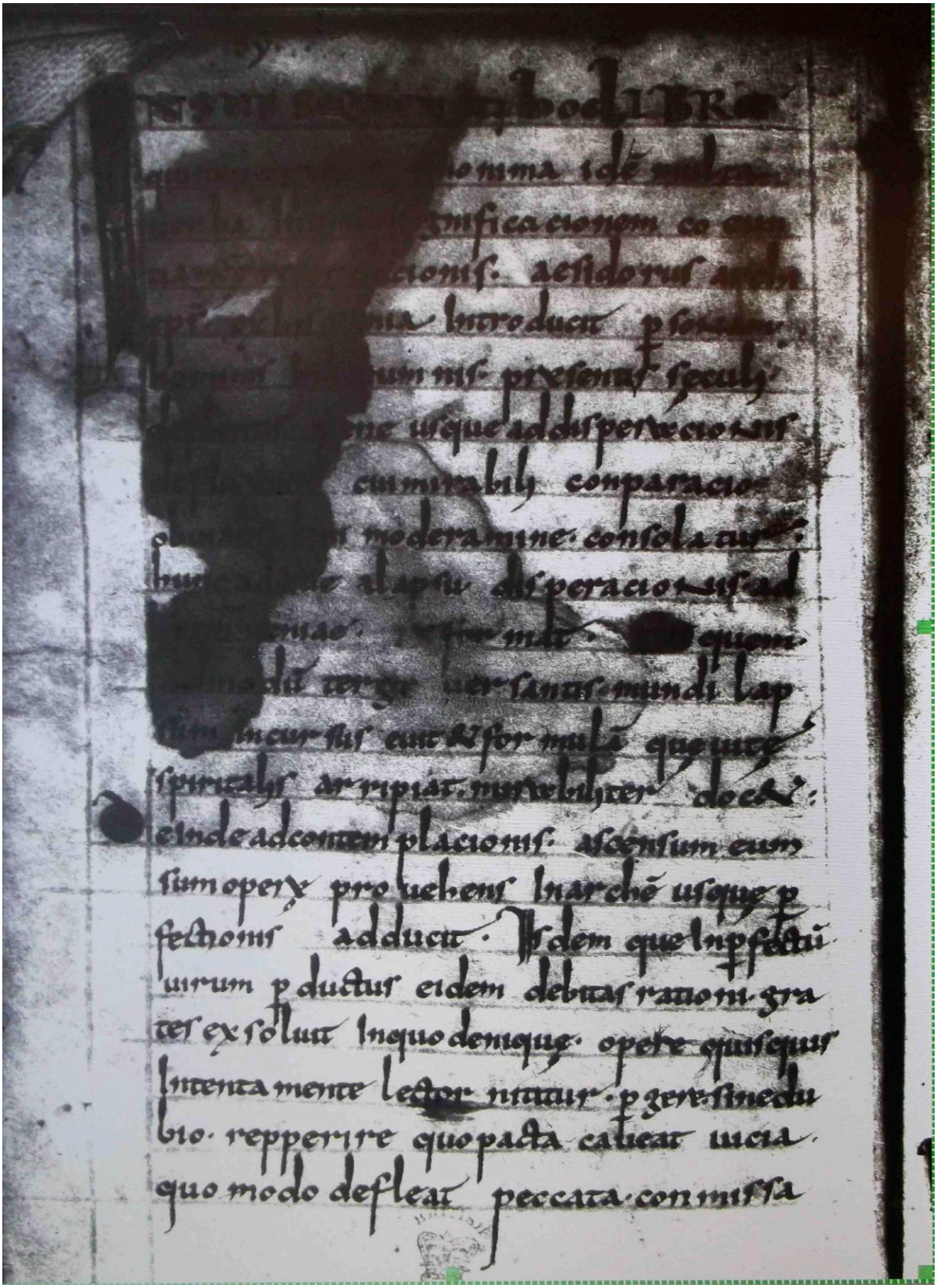
2.2 The Envelope of *Metra*

In order to demonstrate visually the nature of the second half of Vespasian D.xiv, and to give at least a sense of 'turning the leaves' so to speak, the following series of full-page images will show the progression of texts from the *Consolatio* excerpts (1m1, 1m2) on 170r to the incipit and explicit of the *Synonyma*, to the end of the fourth creed and the dating formula on 223v, to the washed out hymns on 224r, and, finally, the closing pair of Boethius metres (3m8, 4m7) on 224v. The images should also serve as full-leaf references for the treatment of *mise-en-page* for each respective *metrum* in Section 6.



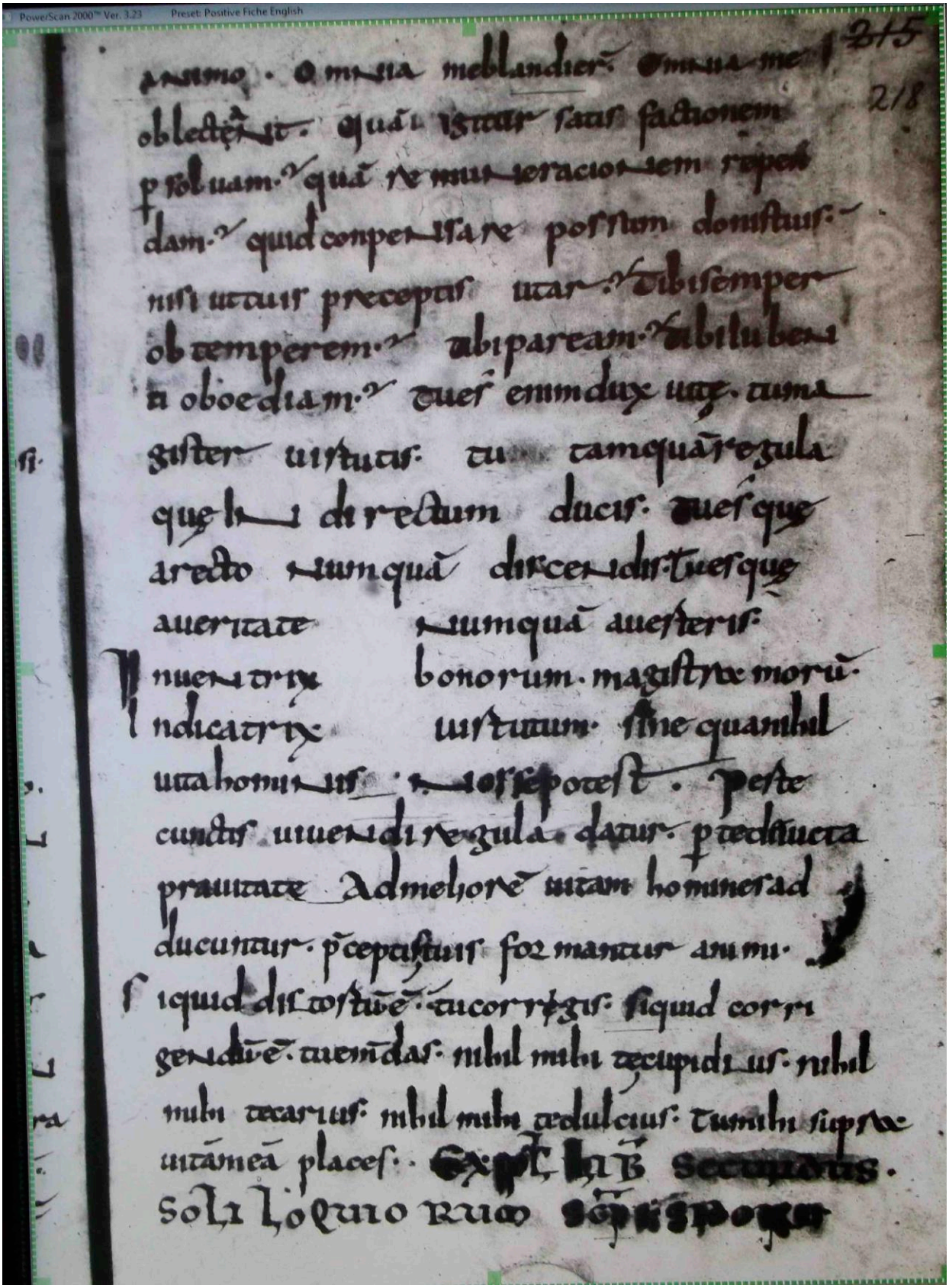
170r *Consolatio* **1m1 + 1m2 (21-27)**

[Source: British Library]



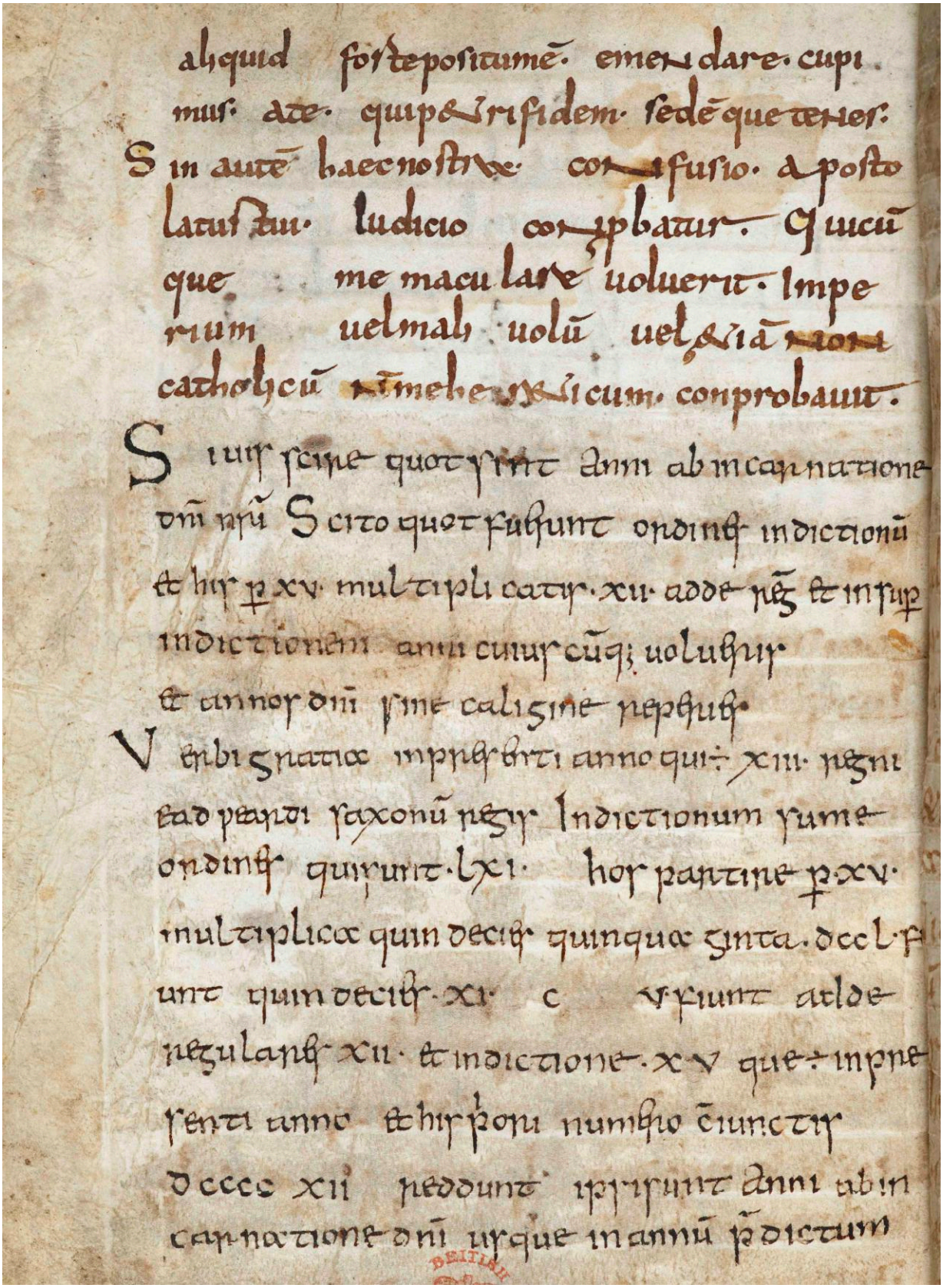
170v Isidore, *Synonyma*, incipit [Source: ASMMF]

[titled *Liber Soliloquiorum* on 171v]



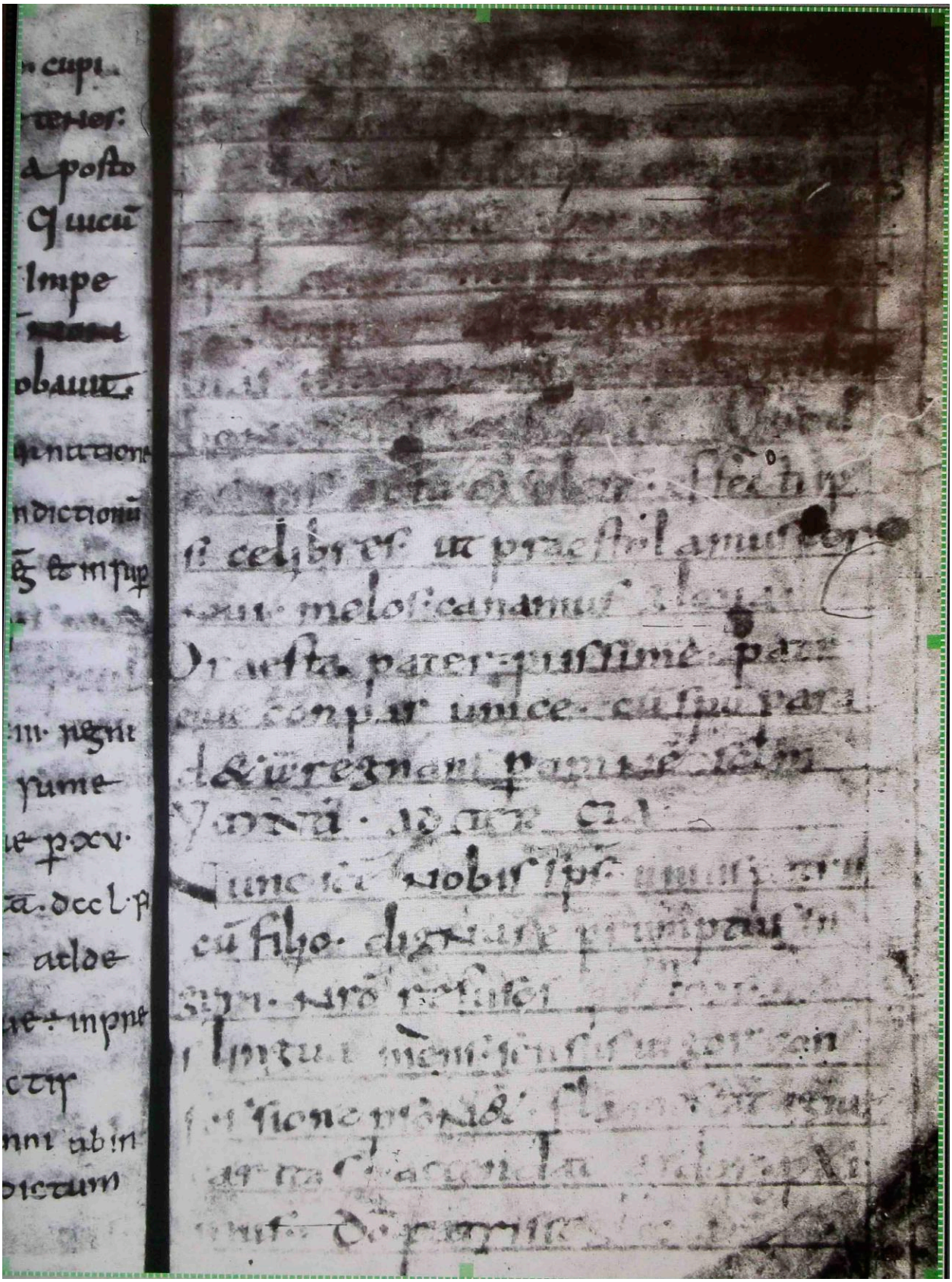
218r Isidore, *Synonyma*, explicit [Source: ASMMF]

[lines 21-22: Expl. Lib. Secundus Soliloquiorum Sci. Ysidorii]



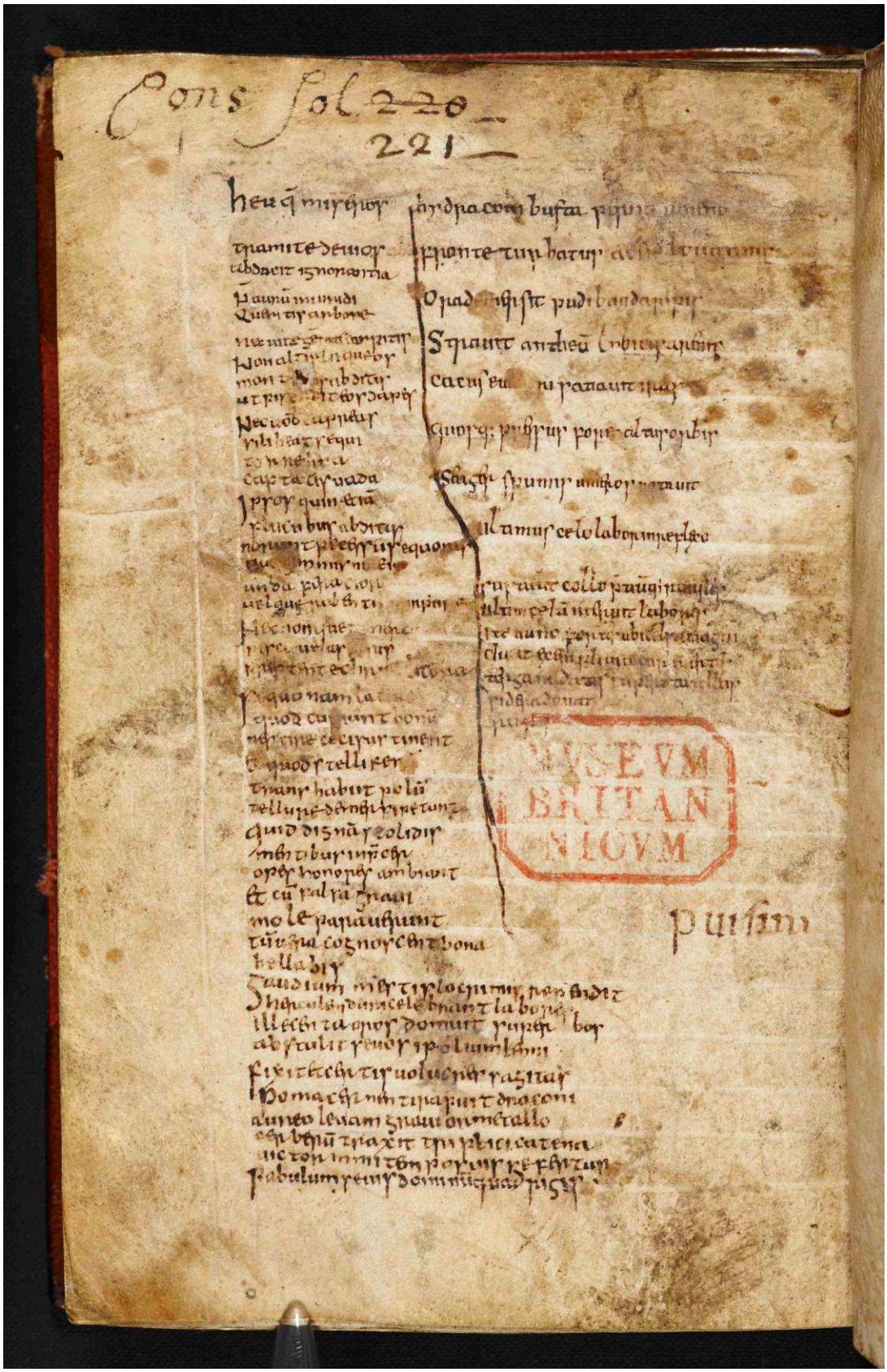
223v 1-7: Creed [Jerome]; 8-21: Dating Formula (912)

[Source: British Library]



224r Two Hymns (*Primum dierum omnium* [f] + Ambrose, *ad Tertiam*)

[Source: ASMMF]



224v Boethius, *Consolatio* 3m8 + 4m7 (12-35)

[Source: British Library]

3. Script

The precise dating of 912 AD for the four *Consolatio* metres on 170r and 224v of Vespasian D.xiv hinges entirely by context on the presence of the computistical calculation on 223v, as Dumville judges all three additions to the *Synonyma* manuscript to have been written "in the same hand".[107] Moreover, as stated above, Dumville even makes the script of 170r exemplary for "transitional insular square minuscule" by including a photograph of it.

However, because of the larger scope of Dumville's project in terms of setting a diachronic progression of script, he does not give the three leaves in question from D.xiv a closer appraisal, nor he does broach the question of whether the two leaves of *metra*, 170r and 224v, might have different scribes, given that the leaves are physically separated in the book and are in different physical condition, and that they have wildly varying layout and even fluctuating size of scribal hand. I will therefore aim to take up these matters by a closer evaluation of the script on the three leaves in terms of the criteria set out by Dumville primarily, but also by Ker in the preface to his *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*,[108] and by Roberts in her *Guide to Scripts Used in English Writings up to 1500*.[109] It is logical to begin with a summary of Dumville's essay, complete with examples of the development of insular square minuscule at various stages, then an application of its particulars to the dating formula on 223v; this will be followed by a comparative reading of all three leaves—170r, 223v, 224v—using images of particular letter-forms to illustrate and juxtapose the scribal hand(s) on the three pages.

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[107] Dumville (1987), p. 172.

[108] Ker (1957).

[109] J. Roberts, *Guide to Scripts Used in English Writings up to 1500* (London: British Library, 2005); (Reprinted pb, Liverpool University Press, 2016).

3.1 Transitional Insular Square Minuscule

Dumville writes his essay, "English Square minuscule script: the background and earliest phases", in order to illustrate the development of a native script whose general outline and transitional status had been recognized, but not precisely examined; he regards the task as one fulfilling "pressing desiderata" of insular palaeographical studies.[110]

The essay situates insular square minuscule as a two-line script of the early tenth century consciously developed from the hybrid minuscule of the late eighth and early ninth centuries, and as subsequent to the pointed minuscule that immediately preceded in the later years of Alfred's reign; some eighty witnesses to its use survive. Insular square minuscule is therefore both a modulation of an older script and consciously part of a motivation to reform and renew the state of letters, a continuation of the Alfredian project as it were. As Dumville, and Ker before him, argues, new history and new translations need a new, standardized script, one better suited to the rapid dissem-ination of vernacular texts and to enabling "existing scribal knowledge and skill to be most effectively utilized".[111] The script also needs to be less elaborated for scribes who lack the formal training in the range of scripts and scholarly abbreviations so evident in productions of the first half of the ninth century, ones made before the mid-century onslaught of the Viking incursions and settlement. This new square minuscule is also a phase, a stage of development, subsequent to the larger decision to use different scripts for Latin and vernacular texts, just as scribes had decided to employ different layouts, double column and single-line for Latin, and full-width for vernacular.[112] At the small scale, then, the aim of this square script is to make the bodies

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[110] Dumville (1987), p. 152.

[111] Dumville (1987), p. 157.

[112] See W. Schipper, "Style and Layout of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts" in *Anglo-Saxon Styles,* eds. C.E. Karkov and G.H. Brown (Albany: SUNY, 2003), pp. 151-168.

of the letters consistent across scribal stints, across manuscripts and scriptoria; at the large scale, the aim is to import the Carolingian scholastic project of the ninth century to the south of England, a project—circularly enough—spurred by Alcuin of York in the last quarter of the eighth century.

In its graphic characteristics, therefore, Dumville sees square minuscule as greatly simplified, for it reduces the complex ligatures of earlier minuscule scripts, though the ligatures of 'tall-*e*', and, to a lesser extent, 'ti' are retained. Square minuscule also "drastically slim[s]" the registry of abbreviations earlier insular hands had employed; *litterae notabiliores,* when they are used, may appear in another script or size. Above all, the letter 'a' is key to identifying square minuscule:

> its singular defining characteristic has always seemed to be the systematic use of a form of the letter **a**, found very occasionally in earlier Insular script, in which an open **a** is in effect topped by a separate and straight stroke.[113]

An example, *ancenneda*, from the *Laws of Alfred and Ine*[114] captures this 'a' perfectly:

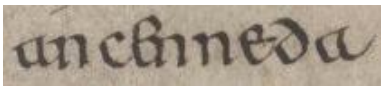

Fig. 3.1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, fol. 38v: 24.

Nevertheless, given the variety and innovation in the developing script, even this signal feature can be absent in scribal hands of this era (890 x 930).

Dumville cites a series of manuscript hands and usefully includes a number of illustrative plates; these are direct signposts for studying the development of the insular square minuscule. It is therefore worth discussing and reproducing a few of these to show something of the evolution of insular script. Stowe *Charter 20*, the will of Ealdorman Ælfred, is a notable *terminus a quo*, as it is

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[113] Dumville (1987), p. 153.

[114] R. Flower and H. Smith, eds., *The Parker Chronicle and Laws: A Facsimile,* in *Early English Texts Society* 208 (Oxford, Oxford UP, 1941).

roughly dateable between 871 and 888; also of central importance is that as this document is written in "a script comparable with that employed in the *Pastoral Care* manuscripts of the 890s",[115] it can thus serve as a comparative marker for those royally sanctioned books which are themselves the earliest surviving productions of the Alfredian project of *renovatio*.

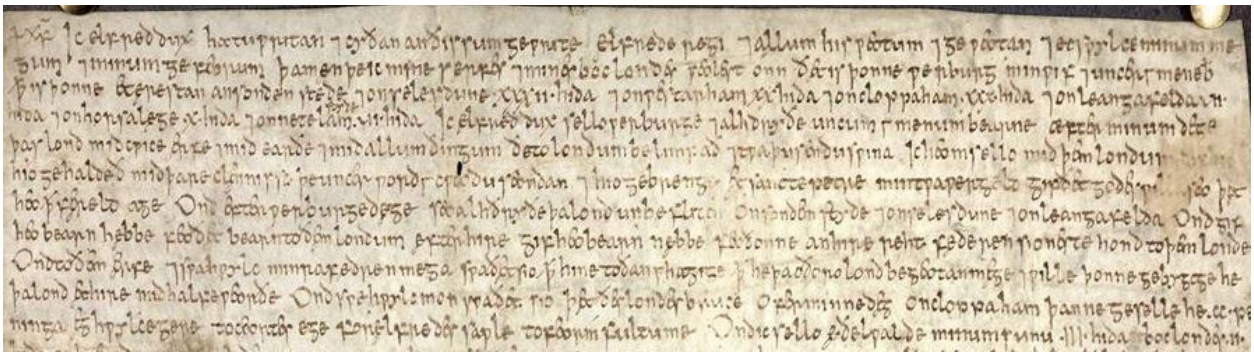

Fig. 3.2 London, British Library, Stowe *Charter 20*: 1-11.

Distinctly present in *Charter 20* is the simplification of the insular script, with few ligatures and abbreviations, though 'hooked-*e*' (*ae*) and 'þ' (*þæt*) are common, as is the tironian note '7' (*and*), which is high above the baseline; 'tall-*e*' is also often present and may be ligatured to the following letter. The aspect is clearly pointed, not square, as there little consistency in letter size or bowl-shape, and the ascenders and descenders dominate the field. Moreover, because of the thin ductus, when wedge serifs are used on 'b', 'f', 'h', and 'l', the top of the ascender becomes almost blot-like. Last, the characterizing letter 'a' has a consistently oval, closed bowl, with neither the distinctive triform Caroline shape, nor the later characteristic flat-top stroke; its ductus is a rapid cursive.

Dumville regards the first hand of the Parker *Chronicle* (CCCC 173) writing folios 1r-16r as foundational in the development of the square minuscule script, as it sets a baseline for what may be called "Proto-Square minuscule".[116] He judges this scribe wrote the annals for 60 BC - 891 AD sometime between 891 and the 910s, though he also regards the 920s as "just possible" for the

[115] Dumville (1987), p. 157.

[116] Dumville (1987), p. 164.

dating.[117] The entry for the year 709 serves to illustrate this hand:

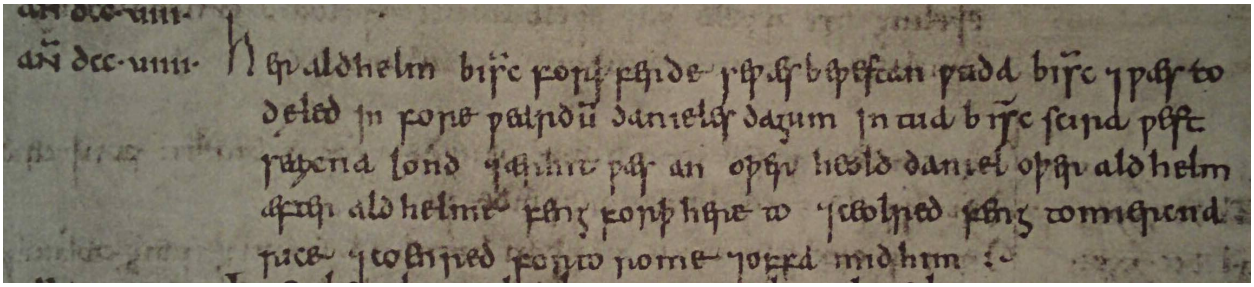

Fig. 3.3 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, fol. 9r: 8-12.

The aspect of this first scribal hand is considerably developed from that of Stowe *Charter 20* in terms of its squarer, more upright character, though there is still a fair amount of variation in letter size and formation; for example, the ascender of the 'd' in *ferde* in the first line of the 709 entry is significantly longer than the 'd' in *daniel* in the third line. The enlarged initial 'h' is distinct both in its shoulder which rises to a point, and in its downstroke with a nub terminating to the right, whose wobble is revealed to be two separate strokes rather than a single, crisp motion. Perhaps the largest change in aspect is absence of the dominating ascenders and descenders and the heavy wedge-serifs of *Charter 20*, so moving away from the pointed character of that earlier document, though the 'x' of line 3 *seaxena* has a long, looped descender to the left. In terms of holdover features, there is the abbreviation, *bisc* for *biscop*, made three times with a macron, the '*i*-longa', appearing twice in line 2, both with *in*, and the tironian note 7 (*ond*), though it is now slightly lower and has gained a kind of curl on the horizontal stroke. Last, in terms of the signal letter of insular square minuscule, the 'a' is still not yet characteristically formed; the 'a' in line 1 *aldhelm* is close to the recognizable form, with an open bowl, but its top stroke is very thin and slanted at a 45 degree angle as the left side is lower than the right; meanwhile the 'a' in line 2 *dagum* is round

[117] Dumville (1987), p. 164.

and thick in ductus, and so resembles a triform 'a' of Caroline minuscule more than an insular one. It thus makes sense to regard this as 'Proto-Square' minuscule in Dumville's classification.

The second hand of the Parker *Chronicle*—or "set of hands" in Bately's forensic view[118]—starting 16v (second part of the entry for 891) yields another signpost in the script's development, one he terms 'Phase 1'. These entries are judged to have been written in the 920s and so are well past the era of consideration for the insular additions to Vespasian D.xiv. The entry for 895 on folio 18r illustrates the remarkably uniform character of the developed square minuscule:

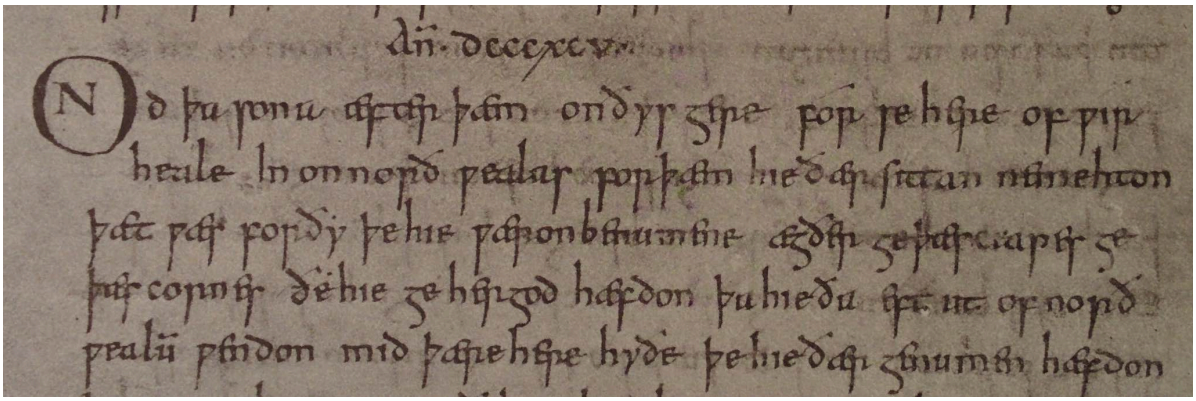

Fig. 3.4 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, fol. 18r: 11-16.

This scribal hand is far more consistent and upright than the hands found in *Charter 20* and the *Chronicle* entry for 709. The ductus is regular, with the height and bowls of the letters standardized, so giving it the 'between two-lines' aspect; even the points of the letter 'þ' are more crisply rendered; moreover, the ascenders and descenders are matching in angle and generally in extension. The abbreviations and use of '*i*-longa' are still present, but more restrained, with only a single example of each in this excerpt (line 5 *wealū*; line 2 *in*). Put more simply, the wobbly or haphazard

[118] J. Bately, "Manuscript Layout and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*", in *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 70 (1988), pp. 21-43. See also A. Fleck, "A Digital Re-examination of the Scribal Hands in Parker Chronicle" in *Digital Philology* 4.2 (2015), pp. 263-207. I am aware that I have presented a simplification of the scribal hands in play in the Parker *Chronicle* and that I have left aside a great deal of critical material as it is too complex and contradictory for the simpler matter of a general identification of the script in Vespasian D.xiv, ff. 170r, 223v, and 224v as transitional insular square minuscule.

character witnessed in *Charter 20* and the *Chronicle* entry for 709 is absent; this is the work of an experienced scribe, not one still learning in transition from one script to the next.

It remains to identify a text between these two hands of the *Chronicle*. For Dumville, the second scribal hand of Cambridge, Trinity College B.15.33, a copy of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, folio 78v forward, is the exemplar of this "transitional" phase in the development of insular square minuscule as it "may be characterized as sharing the features of Proto-Square minuscule and of Square minuscule in Phase 1".[119] And, even more to the point, Dumville directly links this copy to the insular additions in the second part of Vespasian D.xiv, regarding the latter as "another manifestation of such transition".[120] Chapter 16 from Book VIII of the work is illustrative:

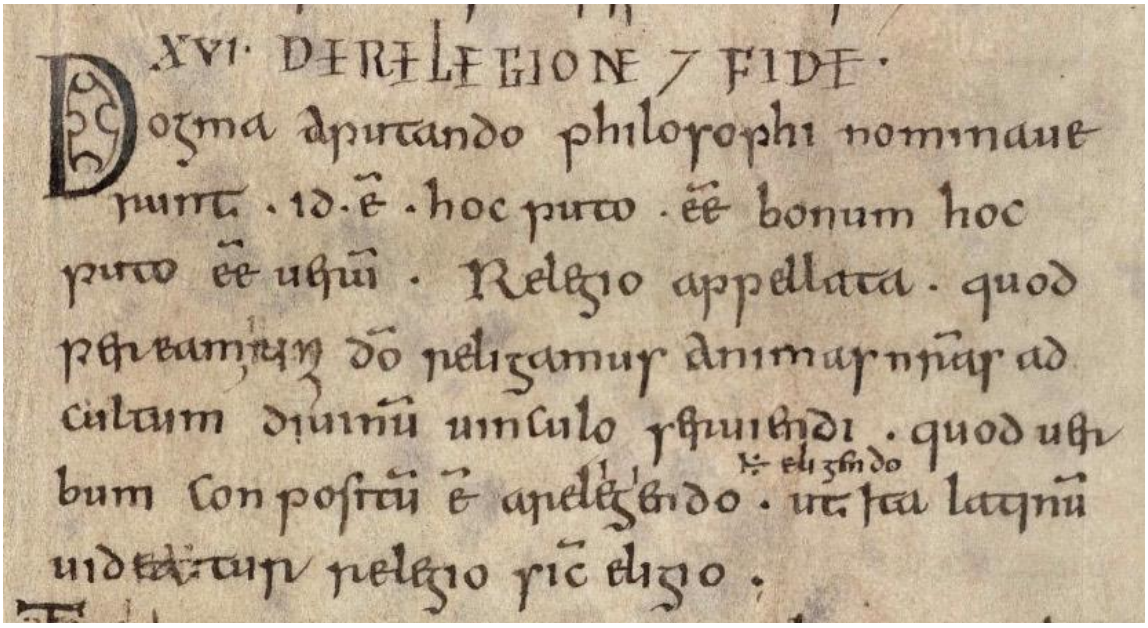

Fig. 3.5 Cambridge, Trinity College, B.15.33, fol. 78v: 10-17.

There are numerous excellent markers of this scribe's work which will be noticeable in the dating formula on 223v as well in the Boethian *metra*. The aspect is quite uniform overall, which is to be expected given a generous layout in a high-status patristic text. There is separate display script used

[119] Dumville (1987), p. 172.

[120] Dumville (1987), p. 172.

for the chapter heading, and likewise a *littera notabilior* for the large initial 'D', which in turn is decorated in a fashion identical to numerous initials of the *Laws of Alfred and Ine* in the Parker *Chronicle* manuscript. Ligatures are infrequent and word spacing is beginning to break into syllables, as with *conpositū*; there are, however, frequent abbreviations, as is common in the Vespasian D.xiv additions, including the division mark ÷ for *est*, though it is written interlinearly here by the correcting hand. Last, I would emphasize the dual forms of 'a': there is the "flat-topped **a**" as the defining feature of the script as seen in the end of the first line, *nomin**a**verunt*; however, there is also a 'tall-*a*' used twice for 'a' in initial position in ***a** putando* and ***a**nimas*; nevertheless, as two flat-topped examples also appear in initial position, it is obviously scribal preference in play at any particular point.

With this scribe's features kept in mind, it is now appropriate to turn to the dating formula on 223v.

3.2 The Dating Formula on 223v, with Transcription and Translation

5		
6		
7		
8	S i uis scire quot sint ɑnni ab in car natione	
9	dnī nrī S cito quot fuerint ordines in dictionū	
10	et his p xv· mul tipli catis· xii· adde rēg et insup	[‘p’ crossed = *per* ; rēg = *regulares*]
11	indic tionem anni cuius cūq; uoluēris	[cūq; = *cumque*]
12	et annos dnī sine caligine reperiēs	
13	V erbi g ratiɑ inpres enti anno qui÷ xiii· regni	[÷ = *est*]
14	ead ꝑeardi saxonū regis Indictionum sume	
15	ordines quisunt ·lxi· hos partire p·xv·	[‘p’ crossed = *per*]
16	multiplicɑ quin decies quinquɑ ginta ·dccl·fi	
17	unt quin decies ·xi· c v·fiunt adde	
18	regulares xii· et indic tione ·x v que÷ inpre	[Stevenson: ‘indictionem’; ÷ = *est*]
19	senti anno et his ṕori numero c̀iunctis	[ṕ = *pri* ; c̀ (macron) = *con*]
20	d cccc x ii reddunt ipsisunt ɑnni ab in	
21	c ar nɑ tione dnī us que in annū p̀dictum	[p̀ (macron) = *prae*]

Translation

8	*If you wish to know how many years there are from the incarnation*	
9	*of our Lord, know how many orders of fifteen years there were*	
10	*and multiply these by 15, then add 12 regular years on top of*	
11	*the indiction of whatsoever year you will wish [to know]*	
12	*and the years of the Lord without obscurity you will find out.*	
13	*For example, in the present year which is number 13 of the rule*	
14	*of Edward King of the Saxons, you take up the regulars of the*	
15	*the indictions which are 61, distribute them, [and] by fifteen*	
16	*multiply; fifteen times fifty makes 750,*	
17	*fifteen times 11 makes 100 5. Tally*	[Stevenson: “XL c.v. (sic)”]
18	*the 12 regular years and the indiction which is 15 in*	
19	*this present year, and the earlier number joined with these*	
20	*gives 912: these same are the years from the*	
21	*Incarnation of the Lord up to the foresaid year.*	

Before examining the palaeographical characteristics of transitional insular square minuscule as illustrated in the lower part of 223v, a brief return to Stevenson's key point about the status of the manuscript is in order, this time filling out the previous quote:

> There are several marks on the parchment that may be erasures, but are probably merely natural rubbings of the page, which is the last one in the volume. But the figures that concern us—namely, that 'the present year' is the thirteenth year of the reign of Edward, king of the Saxons, and that it is the year of the Incarnation 912—have no signs of abrading, either accidental or intentional.[121]

While the matter of whether Stevenson were flatly incorrect or misleading in claiming folio 223v to be the "last one in the volume" remains vexing, the matter of erasures is easier to deal with and permits me to critique his diminishment of them as "merely natural rubbings"; there is also an error in his transcription to point out. First, however, Stevenson is right to emend line 18, where he gives *indictionem*, the accusative singular feminine of *indictio*; the manuscript instead reads *indictione* with no sign of a macron abbreviation.

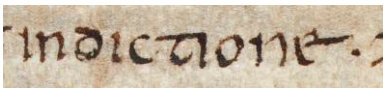

Fig. 3.6 Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 223v: 18.

It is difficult to understand matters at line 17, where the calculation's distribution (*hos partire*) of 61 x 15 into hundreds, tens, and units is seemingly askew, as it should read *quin decies . xi . c lx v*, that is, 15 x 11 = 100 + 60 + 5, but reads only *c v*, which is 105:

Fig. 3.7 Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 223v: 17. *Bottom image digitally altered.*

[121] Stevenson (1898), p. 76-77.

Following a rationale I cannot understand, Stevenson transcribes the line as *quindecies XL c.v. (sic)*, which would give 15 x 40 = 105.

However, I believe that the absent *lx* is the casualty of an erasure, as it is somewhat visible in a comparison view of the numbers in line 17 under digital manipulation, notably the ascending stroke of the 'l'. The number *xi* also looks to have been erased and possibly redrawn, with the uptick of a *punctus elevatus* and/or the bottom of a *punctus versus* now lost. In any case, Stevenson wrongly transcribes the line reading and contradictorily admits the possibility of erasures even while downplaying them and instead asserting the veracity of the document in giving 912 AD as the year of its writing. Moreover, Stevenson does this at the same time as he gives a nonsensical calculation; in turn, he blames that on the original's dependence on Bede's method, or *argumentum*, which he says "cannot be made to work out properly".[122] He also never considers the linkage of the dating formula to the *metra* on 170r, even though they are added to the second part of the manuscript in a matching Saxon hand, and therefore almost certainly affiliated.

At the end of a lengthy book chapter, "The Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* and English Square Minuscule Script",[123] Dumville also turns to a brief discussion of the dating formula on 223v. The analysis opens with an unexpected assertion but then falls into error:

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[122] Stevenson (1898), p. 76. The solution to the problem of the faulty calculation method (that nonetheless has the right conclusion of 912) is that the scribe has improperly applied Bede's formula from the *De Temporum Ratione*. In the attempt to make the calculation work, the scribe has written *xii* in line 10 where it should be *iii*, as per Bede:

> "Take the years from the incarnation of our Lord, however many they may be: for instance, the present year 725. Always add 3, because according to Dionysius our Lord was born in the fourth indiction; this makes 728. Divide this by 15: 15 times 40 is 600, 15 times 8 are 120, and there are 8 left over. It is the eighth indiction. If nothing is leftover, it is the 15th indiction."

This means that in order to get the calculation right, one must invert Bede's method of adding *iii*; after the calcuation of 61 x 15 = 915, one subtracts *iii* to get the year 912.

See F. Wallis, ed., *The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1999), pp. 130.

[123] D. Dumville, "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Origins of English Square Minuscule Script", in *Wessex and England: Six Essays on Political, Cultural and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1992), pp. 55-139.

> To the historian it must occasion surprise that this specimen has not become prominent in discussion of the issues we have been considering. BL MS. Cotton Vespasian D.xiv, fos 170-224, is a ninth-century French copy of Isidore's *Synonyma* and Prosper's *Epigrammata*.[124]

While this passage speaks directly to the neglect of the manuscript's importance, the faulty attribution of Prosper's text to the manuscript is yet another case of borrowing secondhand, here from the third volume of Bischoff's *Mittelalterliche Studien*.[125] As this chapter appears after Dumville's essay in *Anglo-Saxon England*, one can judge that he has compounded the errors in describing the manuscript. Fortunately, Dumville gives a fuller explanation of the dating formula's script:

> It is written in an example of primitive Square minuscule, of quite good proportions, but intermediate in type between those represented by hand 1 and hand 2 of the Parker Chronicle... Here at last we have a dated specimen of early Square minuscule, though hardly a localised one.[126]

Thus, just as the Cambridge Trinity text of Isidore's *Etymologiae* is "transitional" between Proto-Square and Phase 1 Square Minuscule, so is the dating formula for 912 "intermediate" between the two hands used to set the terminology.[127] One can happily regard this statement as a verification of the earlier delineation. And, just as he did with folio 170r in his earlier essay, Dumville provides a full-leaf illustration of 223v at the end of the chapter (Plate VIII, facing p. 99), so making the D.xiv hand of the insular additions exemplary for the "transitional" phase of the script a second time.

Each of the transitional features described by Dumville and illustrated above is well in evidence in the dating formula on 223v; I have chosen the bottom four lines to indicate them:

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[124] Dumville (1992), p. 95.

[125] B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* (Stuttgart: A. Hierseman, 1981), III.13-15 (in particular, p. 13. n. 40) and "Frühkarolingische Handschriften', p. 309.

[126] Dumville (1992), p. 96.

[127] Dumville (1992), p. 96.

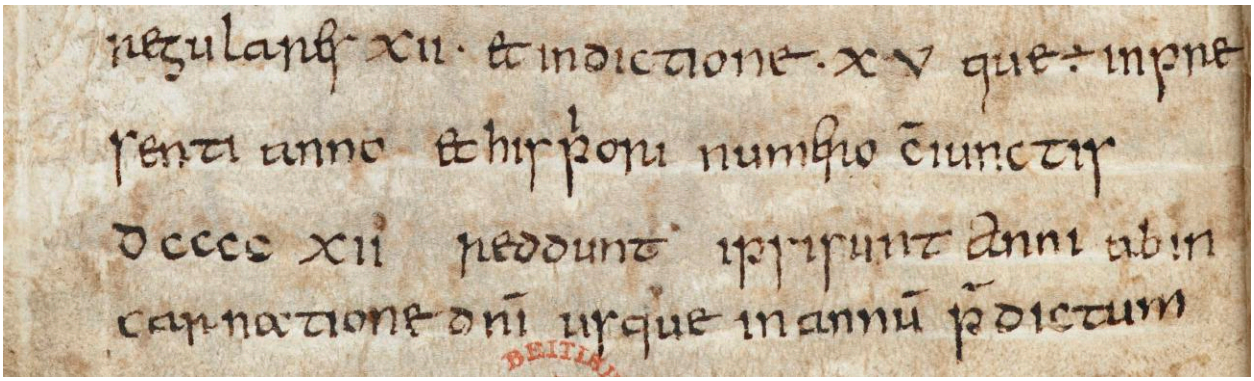


Fig. 3.8 Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 223v: 18-21.

The overall aspect is nicely uniform, with none of the overweighting of descenders and wedge-serifs from Stowe *Charter 20*, though waves or ripples in the parchment matrix perhaps make it seem slightly inferior in aspect to the Trinity *Etymologiae*. The 'tall-*e*' is present and is ligatured consistently before 'r', 's', and 't', though its bowl may vary in size, and the 'ti' ligature joins regularly at the top-stroke, but not the bottom, and can even be written with no join at all, as *coniunctis* shows. As there is a great number of abbreviations, including ÷ for *est*, as seen in the *Etymologiae* manuscript, it is worth considering if this is a function of the computistical nature of this text. And, certainly, the defining letter of square minuscule, the 'open **a** topped by a flat stroke', is marked very clearly in this hand. That said, in these four lines *two* other forms of 'a' are present: first, the 'tall-*a*' familiar from the Trinity scribe appears in line 3 *anni*, though it is written more elegantly here; second is a distinctive 'oc' of half-uncial type at the second 'a' in *carn**a**tione*[128]; indeed, as my transcription above shows, the dating formula on 223v records four 'oc' letters, and two 'tall-*a*' letters.

There are other features in the writing of the *computus* on 223v worth marking, in particular the two capitals serving as *litterae notabiliores*. First, both the 'S' of *Si* (8) and 'V' of *Verbi* (13) are written within the vertical bounding lines, so are set apart from the rest of the text. As the initial 'S' of *Sin* (3) from the last of the four creeds above them is also in the bounding lines, this suggests

[128] See Roberts (2005), p. 14.

a deliberate continuity of layout between the continental and insular texts, at least on this leaf, even if the scripts are different and they are written up to one hundred years apart. Plus, that the two insular capitals in the bounding lines on this leaf are an 'S' and a 'V' allows exact comparison between them and the same letters in the run of initials in the record of 1m1 on 170r, and the two large initial 'S's in the right column of the record of 4m7 on 224v; I will take up the comparison in the following section comparing all three additions.

Last, at line 14, *indictionum* is written with what appears a capital 'I', as if to start a new sentence, but is actually another '*i*-longa', the tall variant of the minuscule 'i'. As seen above, this typically appears in initial position before a letter composed of minims (such as 'n'), and is a marker of early ninth century insular origin held over in the Alfredian era. However, as the scribe does not use '*i*-longa' in the three other instances of this word, nor in the two instances of *incarnatione*, and as it does not mark a new sentence, it is likely a case of momentary scribal preference, instructive a marker as it is.

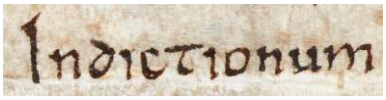


Fig. 3.9 Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 223v: 14.

3.3 Script and Date of the *Metra*: 170r + 224v

The script of the two *Consolatio metra* on folio 170r clearly displays these key features of transitional insular square minuscule, and indeed gives support to Dumville's attribution that these *metra* are written "in the same hand" as the dating formula on 223v.

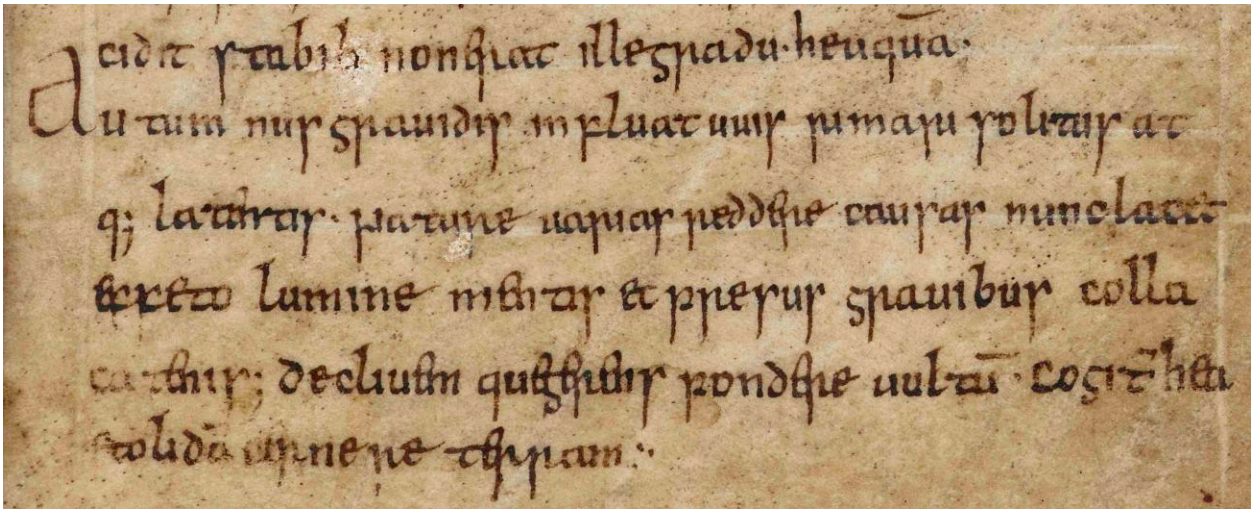


Fig. 3.10 Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 170r: 20-25.

Using 1m2 at the bottom of the leaf as witness, where the poem is recorded from line 21 *autumnus* on, one can first see how uniform the square minuscule is; it may be even be more regular than the dating formula on 223v and the excerpt from the second scribe of the Trinity *Etymologiae*. The 'tall-*e*' ligature is used consistently—*que gerens* has three in a row in line 26—but for two exceptions, line 27 *cernere*, and line 25 *presus*. These are the only two such exceptions on the entire leaf of 170r, and I regard it as not coincidental that the lack of 'tall-*e*' in *presus* corresponds with an orthographical error for *pressus*. Next, the 'ti' ligature is consistent here, even joined at both top and bottom in line 24 *mentis*, though that is an exception for this leaf. Most telling of all is that the same mixture of forms of 'a' as on 223v is present. The standard square minuscule 'a' appears throughout, but there is also the elegant 'tall-*a*' of *autumnus*, which begins this fragment of 1m2, and which lines up well with the two 'tall-*a*'s of 223v, though in the latter, the ductus is thicker,

and the ascender shows a more pronounced curl and descent. Moreover, while there are no 'oc' letters in 1m2, there are at least ten such written in 1m1, with the terminal 'a' often appearing as 'oc', as in the opening word, *Carmina*. Last, I would add that the run of initials beginning each fresh line of the first half of 1m1 feature both minuscule and majuscule, square and hybrid letters, as if the scribe were experimenting, playing even, with letter forms. Taken altogether, this heterogeneity in combination with the uniform square aspect ably demonstrates the "transitional" quality of the insular square minuscule.

When looking at the two *metra* on folio 224v, it is at first difficult to sustain the thought that this is the work of the same scribe of 170r and 223v. Unlike the discrete, well-planned script of those leaves, 224v presents a cramped, irregularly-spaced, variantly-sized, and noticeably canted pair of *metra*; it is at best untidy. (As an aside, when one first looks at the *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile* image of the *metra* on 224v, it is not hard to see why they have never been edited.) Still, the script is recognizably early square minuscule, as, atop the leaf, the first six lines of 3m8 demonstrate:

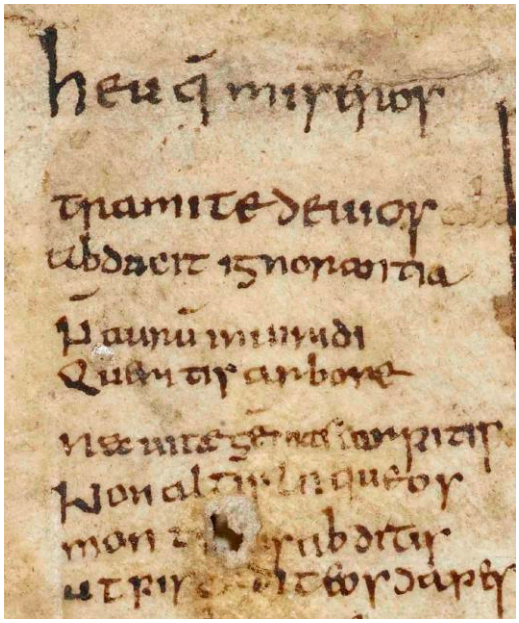


Fig. 3.11 Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 224v: 1-9. *(left column)*

Here again are the 'tall-*e*' ligatures, though the sweep of the bowl above the line is dimin-ished throughout this leaf, as with line 6 *diteos* and *dapes*. The 'ti' ligature is gestured at with a thin uptick from bottom, though it typically does not touch; frequently, there is not even a solid join at top as in line 5 *abditis*. Last, while the characterizing letter 'a' is made in a variety of ways reflective of this scribe's fluctuating ductus, it can appear with a thin, sharp top stroke, noticeably canted as in line 2 *abducit*; such odd 'a' forms do appear on occasion in 170r and 223v. Plus, in contrast to those two leaves, there are neither 'oc' not 'tall-*a*' letters to be found, nor '*i*-longa', as if the scribe were disinterested in using older, hybrid forms. Last, while there are numerous abbreviations, they are simpler in nature, as only macrons are used on 224v, as opposed to variety of forms on 170r and 223v. It is also a small marker of unity between the three additions to Vespasian D.xiv that none of the three leaves uses the '*e*-caudata (ę) for *ae*.

Putting particular runs of letters together from the three additions to Vespasian D.xiv will help illustrate where the letter-forms are similar, so arguing for the same hand, and where they are noticeably divergent. The enlarged initials, *litterae notabiliores*, and 'tall-*a*' are a good starting point:

dating formula 223v

1m1, 1m1, 1m2 170r

4m7 224v

Fig. 3.12 *left to right* Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 223v: 8, 9, 13, 8, 20.
Fig. 3.13 *left to right* Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 170r: 8, 9, 21.
Fig. 3.14 *left to right* Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 224v: 4. (*right column*); 7 (*right column*).

The two large 'S' initials from 223v have an almost identical cant, slightly backwards, and are similarly thick in ductus, even though the second one lacks serifs; in contrast, the 'S' of 170r has a noticeable forward cant and thicker serifs; the two 'Ss' of 224v share the forward cant, though less strongly, and have the same thick terminal serifs; the large initials of 170r and 224v are thus closer to each other than to 223v. The 'V' initials of 223v and 170r, however, are very close in angle and serif, though the ductus of the right stroke is much thinner in 223v. The 'tall-*a*' letter-forms are not particularly similar between 223v and 170r, either in thickness or shape of bowl; the 'tall-*a*' on 170r is noticeably more elegant, though this may be well be because of its use as a *littera notabilior* whereas the two on 223v are simply initial letters.

If the individual initials and 'tall-*a*' suggest divergence between 170r and 223v, the next set of similar words motions toward the opposite conclusion; the groupings *dict–* and *gratia* are common to words on both 223v and 170r, so should offer a precise comparison:

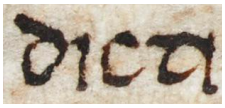
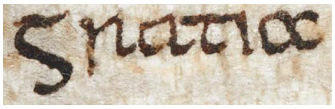
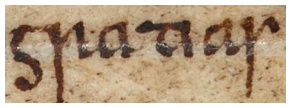
dating formula	223v		
1m1, 1m1	170r		
3m8	224v		
4m7	224v		

Fig. 3.15 *left to right* Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 223v: 9, 13.
Fig. 3.16 *left to right* Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 170r: 3, 18.
Fig. 3.17 Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 224v: 32.
Fig. 3.18 Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 224v: 42.

Though there are differences, such as the shape of the bowl in 'd' and the thickness of the minim in 'i', the comparable examples of *dict-* are a good enough match to satisfy Dumville's assertion that 223v and 170r are the work of the same scribe. The case is less clear, however, with *gratia* and *gravi-*, the latter added from 224v for comparison of the first three letters. At first glance, the insular additions to 223v and 170r seem a better match for each other than with 224v, but this is largely a matter of clarity and aspect. While the 'r' letter-forms are similar, the descender in the example from 223v is very short; this is consistent across the dating formula and indeed matches 224v better than 170r. It is the key letter 'a' that is most telling, for the bowl is much wider in the 'a' of 223v than in the three other examples, and the top-stroke lacks the comparative thinness of those found on 170r and 224v in their most characteristic formulation. Last, the 'ti' ligature is present in both 223v and 170r, but the top-stroke of the 't' is wider and has no wedges in 223v; plus, the 't' and 'i' are so far apart that there is no hint of ligature at the bottom, as there is in the example from 170r, where it is sometimes made at both top and bottom, unlike 223v which never ligatures at the bottom.

Pairings of the clusters *ann-* and *par-* will provide another illustrative set for comparison, with the results suggesting something of the mix of likeness and difference seen previously:

Fig. 3.19 *top* *left to right* Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 223v: 11, 12, 15.
bottom *left to right* Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 170r: 13, 33 (*left column*).

The first instance of *anni* from 223v suggests a good match with *annis* from 170r initially, but again this is a product of aspect, for the effect of rubbing or erasure has overdrawn the likeness (and cost the second 'n' its top). The shapes of both 'a' and 'n' are noticeably different, with the letter-forms of 223v wider, particularly the bowl of the 'a', as is consistent for that leaf; the tail of the 'a' is also longer for 223v. The second example from 223v, *annos*, is undisturbed by rubbing or erasure, and is much more indicative of the leaf; the bowl of the 'a' is open, and its top-stroke is particularly thinly drawn, though to be fair, there are such top-strokes on some instances of the letter 'a' on 170r and 224v, as seen in examples from 1m1 and 3m8:

Fig. 3.20 *left to right* Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 170r: 1.
Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 224v: 3 (*left column*).

Such 'a' forms might be the best clinching detail for identity of scribe across 170r, 223v, and 224v. As for the writing of *par-*, the examples from 223v and 224v do not show good affinity, again particularly in the writing of 'a'; though there is general likeness for the other letters if the different stints and instances of manuscript damage are taken into account, the ductus in each case is variant, notable even in the angles of the serifs and the descender of the initial 'p'.

One last set of letters will show the greatest distinction and variance of letter formation between the three insular additions to D.xiv. In particular, the scribe of 224v has trouble forming 'q' in stable ways:

dating formula 223v 

1m1, 1m2 170r 

3m8, 4m7 224v 

3m8, 4m7 224v *[initial 'q']* 

Fig. 3.21 *left to right* Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 223v: 8, 9, 11, 13, 18.

Fig. 3.22 *left to right* Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 170r: 1, 19, 7, 22, 24.

Fig. 3.23 *left to right* Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 224v: 8, 14, 24 (*left column*); 6, 9 (*right column*).

Fig. 3.24 *left to right* Cotton Vespasian, D.xiv. fol. 224v: 5, 29 (*left column*); 6 (*right column*).

The 'q' letter-forms of 223v are highly consistent, with a wide, almost rectangular bowl, though rounded at bottom left; the top-stroke ranges from purely flat in the first example, to a roughly fifteen-degree slope in the other examples. The 'q' letter-forms of 170r show more variation but are generally squarer in bowl shape; only the fourth example, which is followed by an abbreviation, shows poor extension of the top-stroke; their descenders are more neutral in dropping down without any of the small flourishes present in those of 223v. By contrast, the 'q's of 224v come in all sorts: wide and flat-topped as in 223v, open bowl, teardrop bowl, short and long descenders, short top-stroke. The variance is particularly heightened with the letter 'q' in initial position: there is a squarish majuscule with a painfully thin quasi-top-stroke, a minuscule enlarged 'q' with its short descender flourished long and diagonally to the left, and a round 'q' with no top stroke and an almost open bowl. Certainly in the examples from 223v and 170r, their regularity shows more affinity with other examples on the same leaf than with the other leaf, though the first examples of each could well be the work of the same scribe. It is also worth looking at the *quae* abbreviations in each case; there are five examples, none of which is identical, though the one from 223v is easily the most elegant.

Overall, an examination of the script of the insular additions to Vespasian D.xiv does not confer an identity of hands between 223v, 170r, and 224v; though there are several examples of letter-forms which suggest strong likeness among the additions, there is too much variation in ductus between them to forge a clear determination of affinity. Some of this may be due manuscript damage on 170r and particularly on 224v, but it nonetheless seems that the scribe of 224v is inferior or less inclined to regularity than the scribe(s) of 223v and 170r. The result is mixed, in my view, though I must put forward my lack of experience and training in palaeography. On the other hand, this assessment does not permit a refutation of Dumville's assertion that the three additions to part two of Vespasian D.xiv are in the same hand. I therefore think it is better to accept his view with respect to the dating formula on 223v and the two Boethius *metra* on 170r; even if differences in ductus are noticeable, the script of these two leaves is very similar in aspect and uniformity. I am significantly less confident that the two *metra* on 224v are the work of the same hand as either of the other two leaves.

A last, even more startling question remains: why would a scribe who wrote a computus text of historical significance also be a scribe to pen two sets of *metra* from a text of poetic and philosophical importance? It is hard to imagine such disparate works would draw the same hand in a manuscript, yet neither Dumville nor Stevenson even broaches this question. To my eye, the question of *genre* itself overwhelms the palaeographical quandary of trying to resolve the three insular additions into the work of a single hand.

4.1 *Conspectus Siglorum*

Ninth and Tenth Century Manuscripts of Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*

The following conspectus of manuscripts is based on the *sigla* assigned by previous editors; however, as they did not include, for the most part, the ninth century *metra* collections, I have had to create new *sigla* and work around those already assigned to other manuscripts, the majority of which are of a later date and therefore not included in this list.

	s.	Peiper 1871	Bieler 1957	Moreschini 2005 (2nd ed.)	Gilchrist 2017
Berlin Staatsbibliothek 58	ix$^{1\text{-}2/4}$	—	—	—	Br
Bern Burgerbibliothek A.92.7	ix/x	β_1	*Bern*	—	β_1
Bern Burgerbilbliothek 455	ix/x	β_2	*Bern*	—	β_2
Cambridge Trinity College O.3.7	x/xi	—	—	—	Cm
Firenze Bibliotheca Medicae Laurenziana XIV, 15	ix^{1}	—	L (ix^{in})	L	L
London British Library Cotton Vespasian D.xiv	x^{in}	—	—	—	Lv
München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek CLM 14324	x^{in}	E	E (x/xi)	E	E
München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek CLM 18765	ix^{ex}	T	T (ix^{in})	T	T
Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 7181	ix^{in}	—	P (ix^{med})	P	P
Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1154	ix^{ex}/x^{1}	—	—	—	P_1
Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 6639	x^{1}	—	—	—	P_2
Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8318	ix$^{2/4}$	—	—	—	P_3
Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 13026	ix^{1}	—	—	—	P_4
Sankt Gallen Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 844	ix^{ex}	—	F (ix^{med})	F	F
C.d.Vaticano Biblio. Apost. Vaticana Vat. lat. 3363	ix^{1}	—	V	V	V
Verona Bibliotheca Capitolare LXXXVIII	ix/x	—	—	—	Vr
Wien Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 271	x	V^{1}	*Vind*	W	W

4.2 Summary Description of Comparison Manuscripts

I have identified sixteen manuscripts for comparison study based on date, access, and type. All the complete *Consolatio* manuscripts of ninth and early tenth century provenance which are available in digital facsimiles are included in order to discover variant readings in common with Vespasian D.xiv, and so possibly to trace shared ancestry. Unfortunately, this requirement excludes several complete manuscripts of continental origin within that date range which have not yet been made accessible digitally: Orléans 270 (s.ix[1]); Laon 439 (s.ix[2]); Bern 179 (s.ix[3]); Tours 803 (s.ix/x); and London Harley 3095 (s.ix/x) in particular. Nevertheless, as each of those five manuscripts is included in Moreschini's edition, I am able to present their variant readings where they appear in his editorial apparatus. One single complete manuscript of known insular origin but of a later date, Cambridge O.3.7 (s.x[2]), has been included as it is a particularly lavish record of the *Consolatio* which shows the great reverence for the work in the second half of the tenth century,[129] post-Benedictine reform. I have also included Vatican 3363 (s.ix[2]) in my grouping as it is part of Moreschini's apparatus as well, and has been studied closely by Troncarelli and Bolton[130]; however, as its online version, while complete, is of such poor quality as to be unreadable in places, at times I must rely on Moreschini for variant readings. Nevertheless, given Vatican 3363's later—and heavily contested—English/Welsh provenance of tenth century glossing hands, it must be included.

The second grouping of comparison manuscripts speaks to the metrical excerpt tradition outlined by Barrett. I have included all ninth and early tenth copies of verse extracts from the *Consolatio*, whether taken from online digital facsimiles (Berlin 58; Paris 1154; Paris 8318), from

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[129] Dumville (2013) notes of MS Oxford Auct. F.I.1.5 that it is "...indicative of the high standards of workmanship in Anglo-Saxon copies of the *De consolatione* as a whole. High-quality parchment and clear, fine scripts are the rule in tenth-century and eleventh-century copies of the *De consolatione* made in England", p. 44

[130] See in particular F. Troncarelli, "Frammenti di un testo perduto" (1981), D.K. Bolton, "The Study of the *Consolation of Philosophy* in Anglo-Saxon England" (1979), and M. Godden, "Alfred, Asser and Boethius" (2005).

photographs of individual leaves I myself ordered (Bern A.92.7; Bern 455; Verona LXXXVIII), or from a complete manuscript microfiche copy (Paris 13026). I have also referred elsewhere to individual reproductions printed in Barrett's 2013 edition. The descriptions of both groupings are based on Troncarelli's *Censimento* (1987) of manuscripts, with my own interpretations added.[131]

[131] Troncarelli (1987).

4.2a Complete Ninth and Early Tenth Century MSS (9)

Cm Cambridge O.3.7 http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/manuscripts/O_3_7/manuscript.php?fullpage=1&startingpage=5

A mid to late tenth century complete *Consolatio* manuscript of English provenance inscribed in a particularly formal and calligraphic manner by a single scribe. The *metra* are written in rustic capitals, usually in double column format with rubrication of initial letters; the prose sections are written in an equally impressive Caroline minuscule; there are display capitals for the opening line of 1m1 and for new sections throughout, with the letters often filled by yellow ink or forming zoomorphs; last, there is copious glossing throughout, both interlinear and marginal, in a "very beautiful small hand".[132] The *Consolatio* is itself prefaced at 1r by a portrait of *Philosophia*, and at 1v by the Boethius *Vita* in a small script, and finished by the *De Metris Boethii* attributed to Lupus of Ferrières at 51r-52v. Troncarelli mistakenly lists the Lupus text as appearing from 52v-54v,[133] but the digital facsimile confirms that the manuscript stops at 52v. The manuscript is linked to St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and a copy of the *Consolatio* is noted in the library's catalogue. Though the manuscript is generally dated in a broader range (s.x), Wormald dates the manuscript to the last years of the tenth century (s.x^{ex}) based on its ornamentation and portrait.[134] Given the extremely high-status presentation, a high rate of abbreviation, and its facility with the text's words in Greek, the manuscript points to a sophisticated and dedicated readership tracing both metrical and philosophical interpretation; nevertheless, there is a surprising number of uncorrected textual errors at odds with the high status of the manuscript. [Troncarelli 70]

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[132] F. Wormald, "Decorated Initials in English MSS from A.D. 900-1100", in *Archaeologia*, 91 (1945), pp. 107-35, at 110.

[133] Troncarelli (1987), p. 210.

[134] Wormald (1945), p. 110.

L Firenze XIV, 15 http://mss.bmlonline.it/c.aspx?IdxAVcVHJ5RkUIpzGCx5XTLsKc-cVI %20Einsiedeln%20%5BAnici%20Manlii%20Severini%20Boethii%5D%20De%20consolatione%20philosophiae%20libri%20quinque#/oro/67

A compendium of Boethius texts from the beginning of the ninth century (s.ix^{in}), written by four hands in light brown ink, originally begun in France, but with a likely provenance of Fulda for three of the scribes writing portions of the *Consolatio* (30r-90r). The overall presentation is plain, without much ornament or developed *ordinatio*, beyond frequently using double column for the *metra,* sometimes with initials set off from the text block in alternating lines, but also sometimes with no proper delineation between columns; the prose is straightforward Caroline minuscule in a tight hand with little spacing. There are sporadic corrections and marginal glosses throughout, identified by Bischoff as the hand of Lupus of Ferrières, who may well have taken the manuscript with him to Fulda.[135] Other texts by Boethius in the manuscript include *De Trinitate* (1r-7r), and *Adversus Nestorium et Eutychen* (15v-29r). The presentation as a whole suggests a lower-grade scholastic copy concerned with the theological legacy of Boethius, particularly where it intersects with philosophy on points of controversy. Troncarelli judges it is as one of the 'Cassiodorus' group of manuscripts derived from the master edition. [Troncarelli 95]

E München 14324 http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00046607/images/index.html?id=00046607&nativeno=37r

A early tenth century *Consolatio* in a single hand (37r-70v) in a composite manuscript with unrelated fourteenth century texts. The *metra* are typically in double-column presentation, with rubricated initials; the prose sections are in a good, if perhaps a bit rushed, Caroline minuscule; there are incipits in rubricated rustic capitals, as well as rubricated display capitals for headers throughout the work. The *De Metris Boethii* by Lupus is given as a marginal gloss, as are excerpts from the anonymous *Commentary* of Sankt Gallen. There is a fair number of errors in the manuscript, many of which, but not all, are corrected by the glossing hand; in particular, Moreschini's

[135] Bischoff (1981), vol. 1, p. 63.

edition fails to record that line 8 of 1m1 is missing in the original stint and has been added rightwards in the lighter brown ink of the glossator, as below. The overall aspect of the manuscript suggests a fairly high grade copy used in a general scholastic setting. [Troncarelli 62]

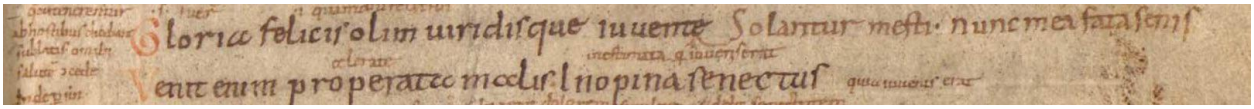

Fig. 4.1 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS 14324, fol. 37r: 10.

T München 18765 http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00037016/images/index.html

Like the Firenze copy, this early to mid-ninth century (s.x[1]) Frankish copy is a compendium of Boethius texts including a fragment of *De Arithmetica* (1r-2r) and theological works, *De Trinitate* (2v-7r), *Ad Johannem Diaconum,* and an untitled, anonymous *De Fide* (11r-14v), before the *Consolatio* in full (15r-75v). Again like the Firenze copy, there are multiple hands and multiple correctors at work. Nevertheless, the copy itself is high status and consistent throughout, with rustic capitals in red and black for the *metra*, which are always in single column format, and the prose rendered in a particularly regular and even fashion; there are also rubricated incipits. There are frequent glosses, both marginal and interlinear, on individual readings, as well as from the anonymous *Commentary* of Sankt Gallen. The overall aspect argues for a high status early copy, another of the 'Cassiodorus' group, studied principally for its theological content. [Troncarelli 66]

P Paris 7181 http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9068419x/f141.item.zoom

Regarded as the earliest (s.ix[in]) of the surviving complete copies of the *Consolatio*, and serving as the base text for the *alpha* family of French-origin copies in Moreschini's edition. The manuscript is of particularly high importance as well because it records *De Arithmetica* (1r-81r) and *De Musica* (82-136v) in full before the *Consolatio* (137r-174r), thus arguing for a unified field of texts between

science, music, and literature in the collected works of Boethius. The layout is elegant, with an incipit in uncials heading the *Consolatio* on 137r; all the *metra* are in rustic capitals with rubricated initials, with their layout varying between single and double column; and the prose is a regular Caroline minuscule with margins respected and frequent *litterae notabiliores* for new sentences and paragraphs. The overall regularity of the manuscript is impressive, even as it is the work of many scribes. Moreover, there are very few abbreviations indeed (the lowest ratio of any of the sixteen manuscripts studied), and likewise there are very few errors or corrections. Similarly, there are but two marginal glosses in the whole work, giving brief metrical explanations drawn from Lupus for 1m2 and 1m4 respectively. The overall aspect of the manuscript suggests a master or presentation copy meant for copying from, not one for individual commentary and study. Troncarelli judges it too as derived from the 'Cassiodorus' group of MSS. [Troncarelli 28]

P_2 Paris 6639 http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9068404g/f4.image

A first quarter of the tenth century copy in many hands of the *Consolatio* (1r-69v) and the *De Arithmetica* (69v-149r). The copy is of a medium-grade, with the use of rubricated rustic capitals for incipits and for initials in the *metra*, which themselves are given in both single and double column format, following the nature of the meter. There is consistent glossing both interlinear and marginal, with the *De Metris Boethii* of Lupus and the *Commentary* attributed to Remigius recorded. The overall aspect suggests a later generation scholastic copy of high character used for close study and interpretation. It shares several readings with Vespasian D.ix and is thereby a good comparator manuscript based both on date and potential ancestry. [Troncarelli 28]

F Sankt Gallen 844 http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0844/13/0/Sequence-682

A particularly fine third quarter of the ninth century copy of the *Consolatio* in a single hand, verging on *de luxe*; for example, the opening *metrum* is given in large rustic capitals, with a hugely elaborated "C" for *Carmina*. The manuscript is clearly meant for close and impressive study of the *Consolatio* proper (pp. 13-186), as preceding to the main text are an incomplete commentary on the *Consolatio* (pp. 1-4) and a complete copy of Lupus's *De Metris Boethii* (pp. 6-12). The *metra* are rubricated throughout, some with initial letters in uncial, and are given in varying layouts, both single and double column, and 1m2 unusually in half lines; the prose is black throughout, in an elegant Caroline minuscule. There are glosses in both Latin and German; the former gives an abbreviated and variant version of the *Commentary* of Sankt Gallen; Barrett views this as the "earliest layer" of the Sankt Gallen commentary tradition.[136] There are also multiple glosses identifying the nature of each metre and making corrections; abbreviations are few in number. Overall, this is a high-status working copy of the *Consolatio* presumably written for a noble order in Sankt Gallen, one explicitly tracing the metrical understanding of the text. [Troncarelli 122]

V Vatican lat. 3363 http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3363

Written by three scribes in the first quarter of the ninth century (s.ix[1] / *ad* 830)[137], the manuscript originated in Orléans or the Loire valley more widely. It is the most relevant of the early complete *Consolatio* manuscripts of continental origin because it is the only one to circulate in England in the late ninth century, where it is glossed by several hands very likely of Welsh origin, and then again mid-tenth century. Unfortunately, it is has not been photographed digitally, and the black

[136] Barrett (2013), p. 33.

[137] Moreschini (2005), p. xix.

and white scan presented online is of poor quality and frequently illegible. Moreover, from 1p1 line 35 to 1m2 line 14, the text is omitted; this significant lacuna thus negates it as a possible sole source for either the *metra* in Vespasian D.xiv or for 1p1 and 1m1 in the Alfredian *Boethius*. The incipit (1r) and explicit (60r) are given in red, silver, and black; the *metra* are generally in Caroline capitals, but their layout varies, with both single and double column formats, but also often without clear demarcation of column, as with 3m8 (29r) and 4m7 (52r), though each line terminus is well pointed; the prose sections are in regular Caroline minuscule. Square capitals appear throughout the text in order to mark new sentences and sections, and are used as large display capitals for the beginning and ending of each of the five books of the *Consolatio*. The scribe uses a remarkable number of abbrevations for 1m1, exhibiting a wider range of notation than is apparent in the comparison manuscripts, but this is not carried equally through the other *metra*; there are very few errors. The text has been glossed serially, with hands contemporaneous or close to the date of the original scribe, then the later set of Welsh hands towards the end of the ninth century, then again by later hands associated with Glastonbury. While speculation has focussed on the possiblity that one of the late ninth century glossing hands might be that of Asser, Troncarelli has identified Dunstan himself as one of the tenth century Glastonbury hands; this latter suggestion dovetails with Godden's controversial argument for someone such as Dunstan or from his circle as possibly responsible for the authorship of the Old English *Boethius* in mid-tenth century England (thereby displacing it from Alfred's court). Last, as the manuscript closes with a glossary relating to the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius (55r-55v), this detail perhaps orients the text more closely to the metrical tradition, as verses from the *Psychomachia* are found in Bern 455, a verse miscellany. Overall, this is a well-travelled medium grade scholastic copy of the *Consolatio*. [Troncarelli 133]

W Wien 271 http://www.handschriftencensus.de/17752

A turn of the tenth century (s.ix/x) medium to high grade copy in a single hand. The incipit and explicit to the *Consolatio* are in rubricated rustic capitals (2r; 76r); likewise, the *metra* are typically written with rubricated initials in alternating lines; the *metra* also vary between single and double column presentation. A copy of the *De Metris Boethii* of Lupus is given afterwards (78r-80r), while prior to the *Consolatio* is a particularly elaborate portrait of Boethius in his cell being visited by *Philosophia* with a book in one hand, and the Muses of Poetry leaving in shame (1v). The manuscript is heavily glossed throughout, with both interlinear and marginal commentary drawn from the Sankt Gallen *Commentary*; it also includes metrical explanations. The overall aspect presented suggests a fine later generation scholastic copy descendent from the 'Cassiodorus' master edition, one used for close study and metrical learning. [Troncarelli 4]

4.2b Manuscripts of Metrical Collections (7)

Br Berlin 58 http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN687490065&PHYSID=PHYS_0008&DMDID=DMDLOG_0002

An opening flyleaf (1v) of the ninth century illuminated Gallican Psalter of Louis the German, with excerpts from 1m1, 2m5, and 3m8 in an "exquisite Caroline minuscule".[138] These *metra* are written in single column form in a double column layout, with rubricated rustic capitals for initial letters set off within bounding lines, and an enlarged and decorated square capital for the opening line. A refrain of *felix nimium* is added throughout 2m5, and each metre has been marked in part with early tenth century neumes, with the opening and closing couplets for 1m1 and 3m8, and the first six lines of 2m5 receiving notation. The evidence of the neumes and the refrain combined with the appearance of the *metra* in a royal psalter strongly suggests that the excerpts were studied not only for their metrical forms, but sung aloud as "independent *carmina*",[139] as hymns. 1m1 is transmitted here in a "shortened form",[140] as Barrett notes, with only lines 1-6 and 9-12.

[Barrett 1: 1-3]

β_1 Bern A.92.7 [individual photographs]

A loose assemblage of metrical excerpts from the *Consolatio* in an unbound gathering of ten small leaves, a working pamphlet of sorts. The script is a brisk Caroline minuscule in pale brown ink, with neither glosses nor corrections, and only basic *ordinatio* such as indentations for alternate lines and initial capitals; it has been dated to the turn of the tenth century (s.ix/x), perhaps written by a Beneventan scribe active at Fleury.[141] Each *metrum* is given in a single column with neither incipits

[138] Barrett (2013), p. 54.

[139] Barrett (2013), p. 64.

[140] Barrett (2013), p. 89.

[141] Barrett (2013), p. 55.

nor line breaks; division is noted by a vertex at the margin in each case. The *metra* are out of order, twenty-two in all, which is more than half of the thirty-nine total in the *Consolatio*, but there is no attempt to render them systematically, as not even identifying numbers are present (they have been given by a modern glossator in pencil). After the *metra* (1r-9v), a copy of the *De Metris Boethii* by Lupus appears. Given its barest possible context and register of scribal effort—it paradoxically looks close to a modern edition such as Moreschini, minus the apparatus—this collection suggests a student's working copy of a complete metrical version of the *Consolatio*, as with Paris 13026, or a copy made as an intermediary source version to be used in transmitting and/or compiling a more formal copy at a later date. As it lacks neumes and is incomplete, it is recorded in neither Troncarelli's *Censimento* nor Barrett's 2013 edition.

β_1 **Bern 455** [individual photographs]

A very high status copy of twelve *metra* from the *Consolatio* appearing in a composite verse miscellany used in a liturgical context. The *metra* have been given an exemplary *ordinatio*, with identifying incipits in rubricated rustic capitals, a variety of strophic layouts both single and double column reflective of each metre's metrical identity, and frequent square capitals set apart in bounding lines. There are neumes on five of the *metra*, including the first three lines of 1m2, but there are neither glosses nor corrections. Among the other texts in the miscellany are portions of the *Liber Cathemerinon* and the preface to the *Psychomachia*, both by Prudentius, alongside verses from Virgil and Sedulius, and the 'Apparebit' of *de die Judicii*, which ends the manuscript on a penitential theme. Taken together, these facts point not only to the metrical excerpt tradition, but to a full repurposing of the *Consolatio* as a hymnal source used for group devotion. [Barrett 14: 44-48]

P_1 Paris 1154 http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84324798

Similar to Bern 455, this is a high-status verse miscellany of liturgical character compiled in Aquitaine at the end of the ninth century (s.ix^{ex}), possibly at Limoges. There are only three *metra* from the *Consolatio* (1m5, 4m6, 4m7), each with late tenth century neumes added, but as the manuscript shares 4m7, and indeed an unlikely error therein, it is an important analogue to Vespasian D.xiv, even if its high register is opposite to the irregular *ordinatio* of the English copy. The *metra* are inscribed in regularized strophic half-lines, where the metrical identity is subsumed in favour of a beautiful double-column presentation, complete with rubricated incipits in rustic capitals and initial letters set well-apart and filled-in with pale green ink. As Barrett (1997) details, the compilation is in four parts: litany; prayers and confessions; a three-quarters complete copy of the *Synonyma* (I.i to II.19); and a penitential verse collection pairing the Boethius excerpts with the *Versus Sibille de die iudicii* among a host of other short pieces.[142] As with Bern 455, this manuscript's importation of select *Consolatio* meters treats the philosophical source as a quarry for a devotional compilation built for a readership of the highest status; though the *metra* may be about pagan figures such as Odysseus, Polyphemus, and Hercules (4m7), they are repurposed into a performative Christian context. [Barrett 31: 121-123]

P_3 Paris 8318 http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84238395/f102.image

A mid-ninth century[143] verse anthology from the Loire valley which features a single *metrum*, 1m1, in the left column of folio 49v; beside it in the right column is a picture-book style drawing of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, with the opening verse, *Senex fidelis*..., from the *Psychomachia* of

[142] Barrett (1997), p. 62.

[143] In his "Censimento", Troncarelli dates Paris 8318 simply as s.x (177). The dating to mid-ninth century is from Barrett (2013), p. 187.

Prudentius below it. (The association is drawn by the theme of old age in 1m1.) The script of 1m1 is an ordinary and thin Caroline minuscule given in a single column over 25 rulings from line 4 onward, with occasional pointing; lines 1-3 are pushed into half-lines because of a disproportionately large and elaborated 'C' for *Carmina*; the size and formulation of the 'C' clearly establishes its relation to the opening initial 'C' of Sankt Gallen 844. Troncarelli describes the copy of 1m1 as *scrittura accurata*,[144] but there are three significant errors in 1m1, each of which is unique to the manuscript and left uncorrected; there is also a high rate of abbreviation, with 16 in total, 7 of which are shared with Vatican 3363. The verse miscellany draws from Arator, *Carmina* (1r-49r), Prudentius (49v-64r), Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* (65r-72v), and Aldhelm, *Carmina* (73r-80v), so suggesting a song book of major importance, as the extensive *Psychomachia* illustrations suggest. The book is generally soiled and shows heavy signs of use, presumably in an educational context. [Troncarelli 33]

P_4 Paris 13026 [microfiche facsimile]

In many ways, this early ninth century (s.ix[1]) miscellany is the most important and most distinct witness of any compilation of *metra* excerpted from the *Consolatio,* both as it is unique in being a complete set of *metra*, and because of its greater context as a verse anthology. The Boethian metres are inscribed by several hands in a double column layout throughout (84v-92v), with most *metra* (including 3m8 and 4m7) having initials and indents in alternating lines; there are also rubricated initials. Yet, despite the presumably high register of the manuscript as a whole in layout and content, there is an unusual number of individual errors, many of a distinctly poor character; these errors are corrected both interlinearly and in the margins, sometimes even by writing above the end of the line and across the column gutter. Thus while Paris 13026 should be a likely source of the

[144] Troncarelli (1987), p. 177.

Consolatio for all the later fragmentary metrical excerpts, this does not turn out to be the case, given the manuscript's idiosyncratic lack of fidelity in terms of transmitting the *metra*; its errors are generally not shared by later copies. That said, its assembly of numerous prestigious texts in one manuscript is exemplary and speaks to an intense scholastic study of metre, grammar, and late Latin poetry bound in a single witness at the height of the Carolingian renaissance. Alongside shorter metrical texts are the following major works: *Ars Euticii et Virgili (*1r-10r); the *Epitome* of Virgilius Maro (a seventh century grammar, often fanciful; 11v-40r); a collection of Prudentius's *Carmina* (41r-84r); all the *metra* from Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (an allegorical treatise on the seven liberal arts; 92v-100r); a *florilegium* of grammatical passages (101r-120v); and the metrical *Fabulae* of Aviano (162r-181v). [Troncarelli 38]

Vr Verona LXXXVIII [individual photographs]

The last of the metrical collections studied for this edition is a strangely fractured assemblage of small portions of major texts, put together with no discernible order in a manuscript of small, perhaps handbook, size (146mm x 117mm). It is a late ninth century (s.ix^{ex}) copy by several hands in Caroline minuscule with initials in both red and black, and an incipit in uncials and capitals likewise in red and black; it is likely produced in Verona. 1m2 appears by itself (58r) on a single leaf in two lines per width with pointing and initials, and nothing on the leaf below it; the other three Boethian *metra* (3m4, 3m5, 3m8) are given three leaves later (61v-62r). 3m4 is brusquely squeezed into the bottom of 61v (Troncarelli erroneously lists it as on 62r)[145] in a separate, less elegant hand from the paler, larger hand above it; 3m5 and 3m8 are given a better rendering including incipits on 62r, again in two lines per width with terminal pointing. The hand of all four meters is a thin, dark brown of undistinguished character; there is also a extremely high rate of abbreviation, which

[145] Troncarelli (1987), p. 237.

suggests a readership familiar with scholastic conventions. Other metrical works in the manuscript include short excerpts of the following: Prudentius, *Liber Cathemerinon* (58v); Paulus II of Aquileia, *Carmen* (62v-63r); Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* (63r); Anon., *De Laudi Dei* (an acrostic poem; 64v); and a second excerpt of the same Prudentius text (65r-65v). The overall aspect and scattered nature of the manuscript suggest a personal *florilegium* of middle grade, a minor book collecting "hymnic passages" of verse from a greater collection such as Paris 13026 or Bern 455.[146]
[Troncarelli 100]

[146] Barrett (2013), p. 187.

4.2c Collated Table of Metrical Collections: Shared Metres

Cotton Vesp. D.xiv	Paris 1154	Verona LXXXVIII	Berlin 58	Bern 455	Bern A.92.7	Paris 13026
	(1)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(5)
1m1			1m1 (1-6; 9-12)			1m1
1m2 (21-27)		1m2		1m2		1m2
					1m3	1m3
					1m4	1m4
	1m5			1m5		1m5
						1m6
				1m7		1m7
					2m1	2m1
					2m2	2m2
					2m3	2m3
					2m4	2m4
			2m5 (1-18)	2m5	2m5	2m5
					2m6	2m6
					2m7	2m7
					2m8	2m8
					3m1	3m1
				3m2	3m2	3m2
					3m3	3m3
		3m4		3m4	3m4	3m4
	3m5	3m5		3m5	3m5	3m5
				3m6	3m6	3m6
					3m7	3m7
3m8		3m8	3m8 (1-8)	3m8	3m8	3m8
					3m9 (1-10)	3m9
				3m10		3m10
						4m1
				4m2	4m2 (6-10)	4m2
					4m3 (1-33)	4m3
						4m4
						4m5
	4m6 (1-3)				4m6	4m6
4m7 (12-35)	4m7			4m7		4m7
5m1 (tag)						5m1

4.2d Table of Manuscript Layout Per Metre

Short Title	*Siglum*	1m1	1m2	3m8	4m7
Berlin 58	Br	SL in DCV, N ISA in RU, TP		SC, N ISA in RU, TP	
Bern A.92.7	β_1			SC, IC, AL	
Bern 455	β_2		SL (1-3) ML (3/2: 4-27) INP, TP ISA in AL/RU	DCH, INP ISA in AL/RU TP	ML (3/2), INP ISA in AL/RU TP
Cambridge O.3.7	Cm	SC, INP ISA in AL/RU DCp, TP	SC (1-3) DCV (4-27) IC in RU; TP	DCH IC in RU TP	DCV IC in RU TP
Firenze XIV, 15	L	SC, INP ISA in AL	SC (1-2), DCp DCH (3-27) IC; ISA in AL TP	DCH (1-8) ML (9-22) IC, TP	DCH IC, TP
London Vesp. D.xiv	Lv	SC, ISA (1-10) FW, IC (11-22)	FW, IC, TP	SC in DCV 6 + 6 + 8	SC in DCV IC (in b, c)
München 14324	E	SC, INP IC in AL/RU TP	DCV (1-22) DCH (23-27) IC in RU; TP	DCV IC (1,3,5,9 RU)	DCV (1-8; 9-16) DCV (17-35) IC in RU; ME
München 18765	T	SC, INP, DCp IC in AL; TP	SC, RST/RU, N ISA (6,10); TP	SC, RST/RU ISA in AL	SC, RST/RU ISA (1-18)
Paris 7181	P	SC, RST, TP ISA in AL/RU	SC, RST ISA in AL/RU	SC, RST ISA in RU; TP	DCV, RST ISA (1-17); TP
Paris 1154	P_1				HL in DCV, INP DCp;OCinRU;N
Paris 6639	P_2	SC, INP, ME ISA, TP	SC, ME IC, TP	DCH, ME ISA in AL, TP	DCH, ME ISA in AL, TP
Paris 8318	P_3	SC in DCV, IC			
Paris 13026	P_4	SL in DCV ISA (1-10), TP	SL in DCV IC, TP	SL in DCV, IC in AL (1-6), TP	SL in DCV ISA in AL, TP
Sankt Gallen 844	F	SC, RST/RU ISA in AL; TP	HL in DCH RU, ISA, ME	SC, RU ISA, ME	SC, RU ISA, TP, ME
Vatican 3363	V	SC, IC, AC	SC, IC, AC	ML (2), IC, TP	ML (2), IC, TP

Verona LXXXVIII	Vr		ML (2), INP IC, TP	ML (2), INP IC, TP	
Wien 271	W	SC, INP ISA w. RU/AL TP, ME	SL in DCH ISA w. RU/AL TP, ME	SC ISA w. RU/AL TP, ME	DCH ISA w. RU/AL ME

Key					
	SC	single column		FW	full-width of leaf (single block)
	SL	single line	HL half line	ML	multi-lined per width
	DCH	double column horizontal		DCV	double column vertical
	IC	initial capitals (each new line)		ISA	initials set-apart (in margin)
	RU	rubrication	AC all-capitals	TP	terminal punctuation (each line)
	AL	alternate lines (and/or indented)		INP	incipit (w. metrical explanation)
	RST	Rustic Capitals throughout		DCp	display capitals (opening line)
	ME	metrical explanation (gloss added)		N	neumes

Example

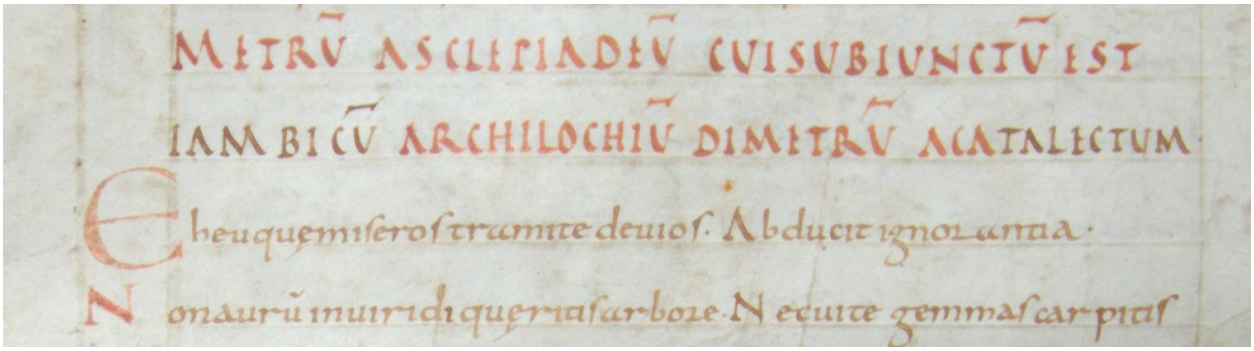

Fig. 4.2 Bern, Burgerbilbliothek 455, fol. 29v: 4-7.

This is the opening of 3m8 in Bern 455; it starts with an incipit (INP) in rustic capitals (RST) which gives a metrical explanation (ME; here "*Asclepiadeum*"), though the metre may also be named in the margin by a later glossator such as in Sankt Gallen 844; the metre is given in a double column running horizontally (DCH) from line 1 ("*Eheu*...") to line 2 ("*Abducit*..."), then starting line 3 ("*Non…")* again in the left column; each new line is marked by an initial capital (IC), but this scribe also sets apart the initials (ISA) of the alternating (AL) odd lines in the left margin and rubricates them (RU); last, there is terminal punctuation (TP) marking the end of each line (or of a majority of them).

4.2e Table of Correspondences Between the *Consolatio* and the Old English *Boethius*

Consolatio Vespasian D.xiv	*Prose Boethius* Bodley 180	*Prosimetric Boethius* Cotton Otho A.vi
	Prose Preface	Prose Preface
		Metrical Preface
	Chapter List	
	Chapter 1 [*historical introduction*]	Metre 1 [*historical introduction*]
1m1	Chapter 2	Metre 2
1m2	Chapter 3 [21-26]	Metre 3
3m8	Chapter 32 [67-90]	Metre 19
4m7	Chapter 40 [61-67]	Prose 30

5.0 The *Metra*

It is normal practice for an edition to give all the edited text in a single sequence, with apparatus footnoted and all discussion following. This thesis, however, will treat each metrical extract individually in full context.

Each extract will therefore be studied in a series of critical approaches repeated each time:

(a) The critical text of the *metrum* is given from Moreschini's second edition (2005) of the *Consolatio*; the critical text is paired with my translation following Alfred's practice to translate *hwilum word be worde*, *hwilum andgit fram andgiete* ("sometimes word from word, sometimes sense from sense").

(b,c) An extensive discussion of the theme of the metre and an interrelated discussion of its metrical form and lyrical context, noting in particular where the form may shape its interpretation.

(d) A detailed study of the *mise-en-page* of each metre, giving as precise a description of the layout and the rationale for its *ordinatio* as possible; this is supported by illustrations from the comparison set of sixteen *Consolatio* manuscripts (illustrative figures are noted per line on the folio).

(e,f) A type facsimile of the metrical extract from Cotton Vespasian D.xiv: less legible letters are marked in shades of grey, while divergences from Moreschini's edition are marked in red; this is followed by a list of transcription errors and variants from other manuscripts; last, there is a list of all abbreviations across the comparison set of sixteen manuscripts, with those of D.xiv marked in blue; the transcript is numbered throughout according to the lineation of each *metrum* in Moreschini's edition, as is the discussion, not the ruling of each folio in the manuscript.

(g) A full commentary on all the individual errors and variants recorded by the D.xiv scribe and then on those shared with the comparison set of manuscripts; in particular, I posit explanations for each scribal error and try to trace possible ancestry among manuscripts based on this evidence.

(h) A thematic discussion of the comparison Old English *Boethius*, of both the prose (B) and prosimetric (C) versions, taken from Godden and Irvine's edition; this section also looks for possible influence or inheritance from D.xiv apparent in the vernacular translations; all translations from the *Boethius* into Modern English are my own.

5.1a 1m1 [Elegiac Couplets = Dactylic Hexameter and Dactylic Pentameter]

Carmina qui quondam studio florente peregi,
flebilis heu maestos cogor inire modos.
Ecce mihi lacerae dictant scribenda Camenae
et veris elegi fletibus ora rigant.
Has saltem nullus potuit pervincere terror
ne nostrum comites prosequerentur iter.
Gloria felicis olim viridisque iuventae,
solantur maesti nunc mea fata senis.
Venit enim properata malis inopina senectus
et dolor aetatem iussit inesse suam.
Intempestivi funduntur vertice cani
et tremit effeto corpore laxa cutis.
Mors hominum felix, quae se nec dulcibus annis
inserit et maestis saepe vocata venit!
Eheu, quam surda miseros avertitur aure
et flentes oculos claudere saeva negat!
Dum levibus male fida bonis fortuna faveret
paene caput tristis merserat hora meum:
nunc quia fallacem mutavit nubila vultum
protrahit ingratas impia vita moras.
Quid me felicem totiens iactastis, amici?
Qui cecidit, stabili non erat ille gradu.

The songs which once I composed with flourishing zeal,
alas, weeping, I am obliged to turn into dejected measures.
See the wounded Muses compelling me to write,
and how these elegies wet my mouth with genuine tears.
Not even fear could overpower these women
from following me as companions on the path.
Once the glory of my fortunate and lively youth,
now sorrowful, they give me comfort in the calamity of old age.
For old age, unexpectedly hastened, came with wicked deeds,
and suffering has issued her duration into being.
Unseasonable white hairs have poured out from my head
and the slack skin shudders upon the worn-out body.
The happy Death of men, which does not intrude itself in man's sweet years
but most often comes summoned in the wretched!
Alas, how she turns aside from the forlorn with deaf ear
and how cruel when she refuses to shut weeping eyes.
The while Fortune promoted false trust in easy bounties,
she had nearly drowned my head in her time of misery:
—now cloudy she has changed her deceitful face
and undutiful life drags on in unwanted ways.
Why did you so often cast me to be fortunate, my friends?
He who stumbles, that one was not stable in his step.

5.1b Theme

The word *Carmina* begins the *Consolatio*, both setting the subject of the first *metrum*, songs themselves, and gesturing to the prosimetric form of the book. It also engages the work's structural dichotomy at a thematic level, for, in the ensuing first prose, *Philosophia* herself will castigate Boethius for his subjection to the "sweet poison" (*dulcibus uenenis*) of the Muses of Poetry, in order to banish them and replace them with her own Muses of Reason who will "heal and cure" (*curandum sanandumque*) him of his sickness (1p1: 30, 39). Thus, while verse is the metafictional subject of the first *metrum* and a conduit for habituation to self-pity and endless grief, it will also be, paradoxically, a vessel for her to remove the singer's "confusion of mind" (*mentis perturbatione*) in the thirty-eight *metra* after this opening lament (1p1: 49). If *carmina* have been the illness, or rather its self-perpetuating expression, an altogether different set of *carmina* will be one half of the remedy.

1m1 is a poem beset with such alternations and contraries, each carried in successive couplets (or *distichs*); the first opens with Boethius's pledge of lustrous former study (*studio florente*), presumably of the great epics and lyrics, but then turns to the ill-promise of "wretched songs" (*maestos … modos*) to come. The couplets then go on to set up oppositions of past and future, of happiness and grief, and to portray how old age and misfortune have ruined the speaker's former surety and rendered all words into lament in verse.

1m1 can therefore be divided thematically into three sections: lines 1-8, which portray the relationship of the singer and his Muses (*Camenae*); lines 9-16, which bemoan the singer's decline into old age (*senectus*) and his woe that not even Death (*Mors*) will claim him; and lines 17-22, which focus the singer's antagonism upon a personified *Fortuna*, who has ruined him with her false face (*fallacem vultum*).

Lines 3-4 reveal just how stricken both the singer and his medium are: the Muses are wounded (*lacerae*), and the singer's own face, given here in a plural synecdoche as "mouths" (*ora*), is wet with tears. The first image of rending (*lacerated*) anticipates the singer's vision of Lady Philosophy's dress in 1p1, where he shall see it has been torn to pieces by "marauders" (*violentorum*), who have made off with "pieces" (*particulas*) of it (1p1: 21-22). The second image reframes the singer's grief as marring the face at the source of its self-wounding expression, his mouth, which in turn gives voice to elegies (*elegi*), the poems of lament he feels compelled to compose, but which keep the circuit of sickness going.

Lines 5-8 advance the contrast of youth and age, and show how beholden to his verses, his "companions" (*comites*), the speaker has become, on "the track" (*iter*) of life itself. Unwilling or incapable of turning from them, what came so fruitfully in the glory (*gloria*) of his "youth" (*iuventae*) is now but comfort, however sorrowful (*maesti*), for the miserable fate of his "old age" (*senis*). The poem is especially deft here in pairing the two words of age, *iuventae* and *senis*, by placing them in the genitive case at the terminal position of lines 7 and 8 respectively. Having *senis* end the opening thematic section of 1m1 also allows it to work as a hinge, for senescence will become the subject of the next eight lines, starting with line 9, which completes a kind of terminal triplet by putting *senectus* at the end of its line.

The turn from youth hastens in this second section of 1m1, for it is now the age of "misery" (*dolor*) which has overtaken him, with white hairs (*cani*) sprouting from his head (*funduntur... vertice*), and his body slacking into ruin. The opening clause of line 13, "happy is the death..." (*mors …felix*), both joins the two major themes to come, death and fortune, and acts as a mirror image of the "happy youth" (*felicis…iuventae*) of line 7; in addition, the pairing anticipates the personification of each in the coming lines. Also noteworthy is how the opening *carmina* have not

only been changed into *maestos modos* and *elegi*, but now have sunk into *vocata*, a cry or summons begging the release from life. The speaker's verses have thus fallen from studied measures to plaintives of torment, from compositions to morose exhalations.

Line 15 opens with the second interjection of woe, *eheu*, the word that will repeat so often in these *metra*, no more importantly than at the beginning of 3m8; it could also be said to serve as a visual break to the reader, and as an internal climax of this metre's grief. From there, the couplet engages imagery of the face again, describing now not the mouth, but the ear and eyes, as the personified Death turns a "deaf ear" (*surda…aure*) to the speaker's cries, and will not close the man's "weeping eyes" (*flentes oculos*).

The final thematic section of the poem personifies Fortune in line 17 as one who showed favour before with "light...goods" (*levibus…bonis*)—where the adjective holds the range of "not heavy", "gentle", and "fickle"—but has also hidden her "wicked trust" (*male fida*) within them, just as the envelope structure of the syntax suggests. Further, the *levibus bonis* here anticipate the closing lines of 3m8, which will argue that only after men have gathered the "false goods" (*falsa*) of the world into a heavy mass (*gravi mole*) can they then come to recognize the "true goods" (*vera…bona*) of celestial wisdom; the opposition of light and heavy seems unmistakable between the two, as does the elapsed time needed for that stage of self-recognition. The answering line in the couplet then continues the imagery of the head and of weeping, so much so, that in this "hour of sadness" (*tristis hora*), the speaker feels as if his head had been immersed (*merserat*), implying so much weeping as to have drowned in it.

Line 19 opens with another strong temporal turn in the poem, *nunc* ("now"), set off against line 17 *dum* ("in former time"), saying that Fortune, the "cloud" (*nubila*), has changed her false face, and now drags out his days with unwanted wickedness. The metaphor of *nubila* plays into

Boethius's own mental state of confusion, which *Philosophia* diagnoses at the end of 1p2 as the "cloud of worldly concern" (*mortalium rerum nube*), literally, the "cloud of dying things" (14).

The final couplet poses a bitter rhetorical question to his friends—why did you always put about (*iactastis*, literally "scatter") the idea of me as happy (*felicem*)?—and answers it with an equally fatalistic maxim—he who has fallen was not in a stable position (*stabili gradu*) to begin with. The closing word here, *gradus* in the nominative, literally "step", is a powerful word to conclude on, for, by metaphorical expansion, it suggests a first step, a stage or rung on a Neoplatonic ascent to wisdom. This is a concept well pre-figured for Boethius by St. Augustine in his dialogue text *Soliloquia*, and is a motif that will be picked up later by Gregory the Great in his *Pastoral Care*—not coincidentally two of the books "most necessary for men to know" King Alfred translated into the vernacular. The figural ascent to wisdom by a ladder of the mind is a Neoplatonic commonplace, but the mind still needs a stable base from which to begin its step-by-step climb to mental clarity and spiritual liberty. Thus this closing word, *gradu*, is but the first of thirty-eight more steps, thirty eight more *metra* like it.

5.1c Metre and Lyrical Context

1m1 is written in elegiac couplets, distichs of dactylic hexameter and dactylic pentameter. It is of primary importance to recognize that this is a paired, hybrid meter which sets up aural and thematic expectations in each first line before breaking them in the second. Dactylic hexameter is the set line of the highest register of classical verse, the epic, with a "consistent, rolling beat"[147] suitable for the heroic legends of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and Virgil's *Aeneid*, and also for the creation of the world and the transgressions of the pagan gods in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. 1m1 thus starts in the same measure as these epic poems, but then breaks expectations of grandeur and legend in the shorter pentameter line which transmutes the *metrum* into despairing elegy.

The hexameter line consists of six feet, the first four of which may alternate between one long and two short after the initial long syllable; the fifth foot is always a standard dactyl, the last double long, and there is typically a caesura midway in the third foot (– u u – u u – ^ u u – u u – u u – –).

Crucially, the pentameter line starts identically to the hexameter line, with a hemiepes, literally, a 'half-epic' line (– u u – u u –), so setting up the aural expectation which is sharply broken by diaeresis, a full break after a word and thus stronger in effect than the caesura of the hexameter line. The line then turns into two unchanging dactyl feet plus a longum, as if resetting the metre, in Blackwood's phrasing, on a "strong downbeat"[148] (– u u – u u – || – u u – u u –). The overall pattern for the paired lines thus marks three successive hemiepes before giving a fourth, unvarying half-line blow to epic heights as the line ends both more heavily and shorter.

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[147] S. Blackwood, *The Consolation of Philosophy as Poetic Liturgy,* (Oxford, Oxford UP, 2015), pp. 34.

[148] Blackwood (2015), p. 35.

The closing couplet of 1m1, lines 21-22, can serve to illustrate the metre:

– – – – ^ u u – – – u u – –
Quid me fe li cem to ti ens iac tas tis, a mi ci ?

– u u – u u – || – u u – u u –
Qui ce cid it, sta bi li non e rat il le gra du.

The run of long syllables in the hexameter line is only broken up by the caesura, coincidentally coming between two words here, and by the ironic adverb *totiens* ("so often"), and the second person plural ending of *iactastis*. By contrast, the pentameter line starting "He who fell..." trips through two natural dactyls, then thematically reverses *stabili* with *non erat*, not only divided across the diaeresis but struck by the unexpected "downbeat" on *non.* The line then closes with the single long syllable inflecting *gradū*, the key word of metaphor.

Blackwood describes the effect as one of simultaneous metrical and thematic betrayal:

> If the hexameter opens each couplet with an epic pretence, it is this incomplete, unresolved quality of the pentameter that serves to qualify this epic character, and especially suits the emotional or thematic tension that elegy was historically often used to express, whether the passion and betrayal of love, the anger of complaint, or the sadness of lament.[149]

Elegiac couplets are thus an ideal vessel for conveying the antitheses of Boethius's opening complaint, notably the censure of his own poetic compositions and his loss of mental stability; they also project the emotional oscillation which must yield in the ensuing prose sections to philosophical certainties and the removal of the clouds of misery and illness which beset him.

It is therefore not surprising that dactylic hexameter will instead be reserved as a single, uncombined metre solely for the long 'Creation Hymn' of 3m9, where the Neoplatonic truths of the cosmos are sung in the highest register of verse. In that central and most famous of all the *metra* of the *Consolatio,* historical epic cedes its form to divine philosophy.

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[149] Blackwood (2015), p. 36.

Elegiac couplets do appear once again, rather in a mirror fashion, at 5m1—the first metre of the last book of the *Consolatio*—where *Philosophia* has spoken of how Providence guides the natural course of events in the previous prose, and now refutes the notion of arbitrary chance. She uses the imagery of the ancient rivers of Babylon, the Tigris and Euphrates, to argue against the random confluence of events: though the two rivers stem from one source, they wisely flow apart, for their waters would otherwise unite and haphazardly flood the land. The use of elegiac couplets here in combination with the theme suggests a deliberate echo of the great Flood sequence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but one cast as only hypothetical and not part of epic history. Rather than indulging in the absurd and dreadful sights Ovid gives in straight dactylic hexameter, *Philosophia* sings of how chance and nature, including those two rivers, are restrained by Providence:

> *Sic quae permissis fluitare videtur habenis*
> *fors patitur frenos ipsaque lege meat.* (5m1: 11-12)
>
> Thus chance which seems to flit with reins all loose
> Endures the bit and heeds the rule of Law.

This closing distich of 5m1 exemplifies the thematic contrast of the paired lines: the first extends the apparent freedom of chance in the long hexameter, and the second bends it back to the philosophy of Natural Law. Here, as is true of almost every couplet in 1m1, the end of the pentameter line is the end of a sentence; first the line breaks decisively at the diaeresis, then it stops completely at the last word. Thus, in these couplets, it is as if each element were proposed and answered, extended and shut again, never able to carry a steady, propulsive rhythm, but instead falling into the logic of restraint and maxims of closure. As the emotional amplitude and anguish of 1m1 are gone by this stage at 5m1, Lady Philosophy can now use the former metre of lament to balance out its early griefs by steering them into the wise truths of the Creator's prescience.

In his reading of 1m1, O'Daly finds numerous classical antecedents for this opening poem, emphasizing particular tags of wording taken from the wider range of Virgil's and Ovid's works, and from Propertius, all of which would be well beyond the presumed reading knowledge and access to texts of the scribe of 1m1 in Vespasian D.xiv. O'Daly cites these deliberate echoes to gauge Boethius's own attitude to writing in elegiac metre, and to conclude that it is "above all subject matter and emotional tone" that Boethius criticizes in both 1m1 and 1p1, not the suitability of elegy itself, for as a "metrical and poetic form, it is not thereby dismissed",[150] even if its Muses are. Elevating the perspective from the frame of metre to the frame of the book's overall narration, O'Daly then finds Boethius, as author, separating himself from the poem's speaker: "Boethius is starting to reject poetry spoken in the *persona* of the prisoner".[151] As O'Daly notes, there are only three further *metra* where Boethius is the speaker, and, as I have shown, *Philosophia* herself will speak in elegiac couplets in 5m1. One could argue that just as with the concept of worldly goods (such as the *falsa bona* from 3m8), where it is the faulty apprehension or use of them, not these things themselves that bring strife to people, so too is it with composing poetry. The classical models Boethius borrows from are only injurious when misused, when not repurposed to self-knowledge and wisdom. 1m1 is thus for Boethius the author a formal negotiation with literary history and with the philosophical potential of verse, even as Boethius the *persona* drowns in pools of woeful reflection.

Last, given that 1m1 begins the *Consolatio* and is rendered in the second highest register of metre, it is curious that it is not recorded in all of the manuscripts which excerpt the book's *metra*, but is indeed found in only three of them, Vespasian D.xiv, Berlin 58, and Paris 8318, none of

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[150] G.J.P. O'Daly, *The Poetry of Boethius* (Chapel Hill: U North Carolina P, 1991), pp. 39-40.

[151] O'Daly (1991), p. 40.

which uses a title to identify the source text. Similarly strange is that of all sixteen comparison manuscripts used for this edition, not one of them has a metrical explanation for 1m1. This suggests that the elegiac metre of 1m1 is well enough known across the manuscripts not to need comment, and that this opening poem is perhaps less valuable than other metres more frequently recorded such as 1m5 or 3m5, if learning less-well known metrical forms is the primary task.

Nevertheless, the Vespasian D.xiv scribe regards 1m1 as the poem of principal importance among the four recorded, not only attributing it a much higher status layout on 170r, but, quite possibly, beginning it a second time on 224v.

5.1d *Mise-en-page*

1m1 is recorded on fol. 170r of Vespasian D.xiv in an unprecedented two stage format. The first ten lines of the metre are given one-per-ruling in a single column format with their initial letters set-apart in bounding lines; though there is no incipit for the poem, and the first line is not given in all capitals as is typical of complete *Consolatio* manuscripts displaying higher levels of *ordinatio*, this is nonetheless a copy of the poem's first half in a high register. Then, after a punctus at the end of line 10, and the triple height initial 'J' for *Intempestivi*, lines 11-22 are recorded in a full-width block of text—the standard form for Old English poetry, but one not generally adopted for classical Latin verse. Moreover, that the method of layout for a poem, vernacular or Latin, switches mid-poem in this fashion has but a single precedent in an insular hand: the early eighth century Northumbrian manuscript Vaticana Pal. lat. 235, where Paulinus of Nola's *Carmina* XXVII switches mid-poem from full-width layout in double column at the bottom of 23v to full-width in single column to start folio 24r, where it begins a new sentence in a new hand at line 382.

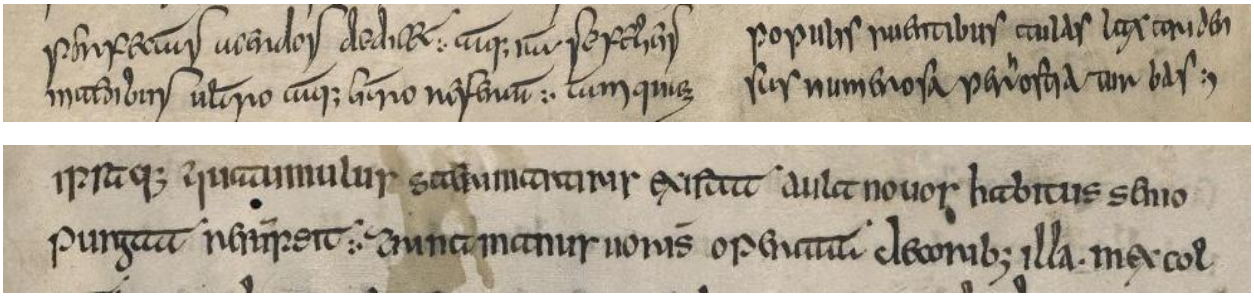

Fig. 5.1 Vaticana Pal. lat. 235. Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina*, XXVII. Northumbria, s.viii.
top 23v: 27-28 (*left column*); 55-56 (*right column*).
bottom 24r: 1-2 (*single column*).

It is certainly the case that none of the poems in the four major codices of Old English verse switches layout, as each starts and remains in full-width single column. The scribe could easily have fitted the 22 line metre within the twenty-five rulings of 170r, but makes a profound decision

to shift its layout. Vespasian D.xiv is therefore noteworthy here for its hybrid fashion for effecting a transition mid-poem from a Caroline single-line formulation to an Anglo-Saxon full-width one.

I will deal with each stage in turn to highlight the disparity.

1m1a (1-10)

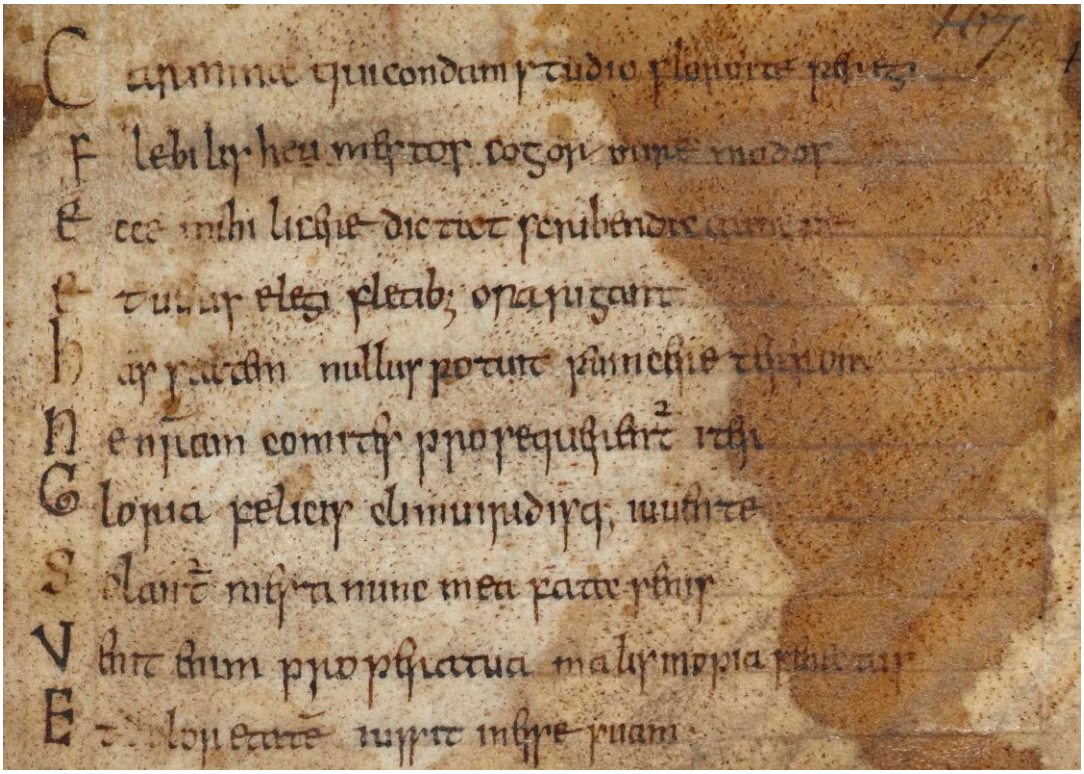

Fig. 5.2 London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.xiv. 170r: 1-10.

Each of the lines of 1m1a is inscribed on the ruling, and is given its own length, with no attempt to mark a justification at right. With this single line, single column format, there is no direct need for terminal punctuation, even though it is often recorded for single lines of verse in roughly contemporaneous Latin manuscripts such as the late ninth century Welsh copy of the *De Nupitiis* by Martianus Capella (CCCC 153). Moreover, as consistent terminal punctuation is also a feature of the chapter titles and lists in contemporary vernacular prose texts, such as the CCCC 173 *Laws of Alfred and Ine*, it is unusual to find it absent here:

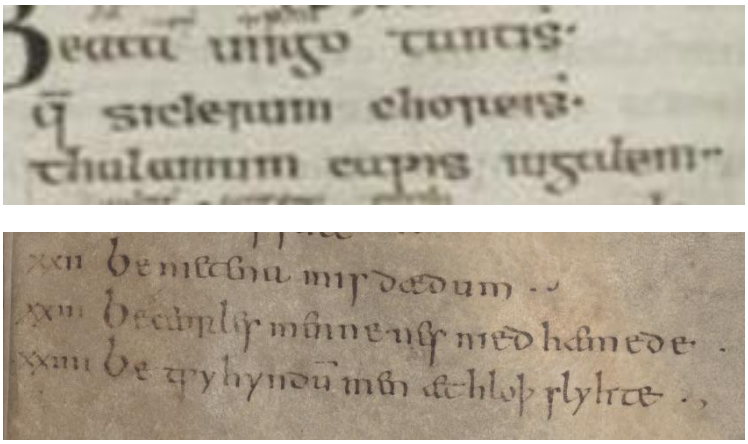

Fig. 5.3 *top* Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 153. Martianus Capella, *de Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*. fol. 9r: 30-32 (*right column*).

right Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 173. *Laws of Alfred and Ine.* fol. 33r: 23-25.

Instead, there is but the single punctus at the end of line 10 *suam* ·, itself the end of a sentence, to serve as the marker finishing this otherwise high status layout of the first ten lines.

The overall effect renders this first block of text highly similar to the comparison group of *Consolatio* manuscripts as they all share the straight run of set-apart initials for 1m1. Among them, Paris 13026 (P_4) and Paris 6639 (P_2) prove the closest in layout as they neither indent the pentameter lines nor rubricate the initials of the hexameters:

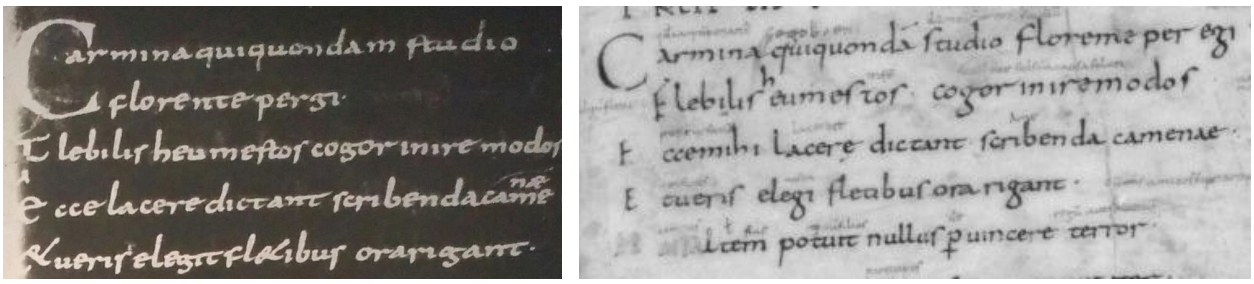

Fig. 5.4 *left* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS lat. 13026. fol. 85r: 1-4.

right Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS lat. 6639. fol. 4r: 4-8.

However, even Paris 6639 is different in having the larger capital 'C' for *Carmina* and the corresponding single line push of the initial 'F' of line 2 *Flebilis* from being set-apart to the main text. Berlin 58 (Br) is also similar in neither indenting nor rubricating only alternate lines for its copy of 1m1; moreover, while it does have a beautiful, large square 'C' for *Carmina*, the 'f' of *Flebilis* is

recorded in the bounding lines in the straight run of rubricated rustic capitals. Berlin 58 is particularly important as an analogue for Vespasian D.xiv given that it is a single-leaf collection of three meters, and one with neumes; the relative positioning of the 'C' and 'f' initials for lines 1 and 2 in both it and Paris 6639 will also prove relevant in the later discussion of D.xiv's record of 3m8.

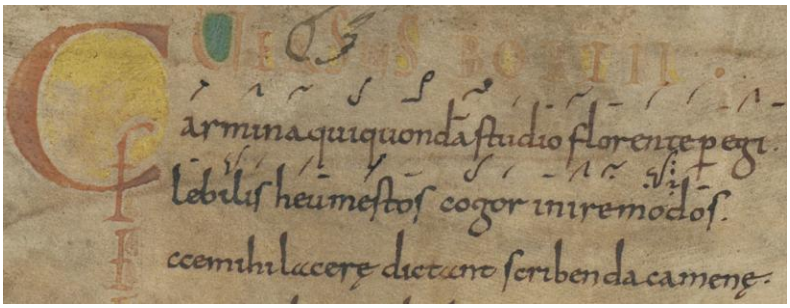

Fig. 5.5 Berlin, Staatsbilbiothek MS 58. fol. 1v: 1-3. (*left column*).

In contrast, while all of the comparison manuscripts record 1m1 in a single column format (even Paris 8318 and Paris 13026 above which squeeze each full line of 1m1 into the left side of a double column vertical), half mark the difference between the hexameter odd lines and the pentameter even ones. This is done with indentation of the pentameter lines (F L P_4), with rubrication of the initials of the hexameter lines (E W), with both indentation and rubrication (Cm P), or simply with majuscule versus minuscule initials (T).

Where Vespasian D.xiv is especially distinctive in the first block of 1m1 is in the variety of forms for these same set-apart initials, as the scribe has chosen to use both majuscule and minuscule letters, and a succession of insular, Caroline, and square display letters. The result is strikingly disparate from the comparison manuscripts with their even runs of of balanced letters, typically in rustic capitals. It is also worth noting, as it is fairly unusual, that there appear to be no set guide marks underneath the inking of these capitals,[152] an observation which suggests that the scribe of the body text is the scribe of the set-apart initials. Plus, the evidence of the ink as being consistent

[152] I am indebted to Dr. Joanna Story for pointing out the lack of guide marks for the initials.

between the set-apart initials and their follow-up letters is a stronger confirmation that there is just one scribe; line 8, *Solantur*, is the best proof of this as both the 'S' and 'o' are lighter in ink than the following 'l', where the scribe has presumably dipped the pen afresh. That said, one can also see that several of the initials are not set properly height-wise with respect to the ruling, the 'G' of line 7 *Gloria* in particular. This is likely a result of lacking the guide marks in the first place.

The variety of the excerpted initials can best be shown in a summary table:

C	[Caroline?] majuscule, round but thin, double height
r	insular minuscule
e	insular minuscule
t	insular minuscule
h	minuscule
n	minuscule
G	[Caroline?] majuscule
s	[Caroline?] majuscule
V	square display capital
E	square display capital

Fig. 5.6 Vespasian D.xiv. 170r: 1-10. Boethius, *de Consolatione Philosophiae*. 1m1: 1-10.

The variety in the run of set-apart initials here hints at a developing pattern moving overall from insular minuscule, to Caroline majuscule, to ending with square display capitals; this pattern could be said to reverse, at least partly, the proper order of *diminuendo* from display capitals to insular

minuscule.[153] Even more profoundly, the run suggests that the scribe of these set-apart initials is not only giving 1m1 the prestige warranted by the source-text as exemplary late-Roman poetry, and emulating early ninth-century manuscripts that feature set-apart capitals in bounding lines, but is indeed *playing* with the letter forms. The scribe of these initials is showing a variety and development of pattern for its own sake, and is experimenting with the text in process. Plus, if the scribe of 170r is indeed the scribe of 224v, then this run sets a template for the even more remarkable experiments with not just letter-forms but layout itself in the following record of 3m8 and 4m7. The sense of trial and willingness to change layout forms would then be continuous across all four inscribed *metra*, present from the opening highest status poem to the tripartite layout of 4m7.

Tracing the ductus of individual letters will help cement appreciation for the scribe's effort to vary the letters in a progression. Straightaway, the opening double-height 'C' is striking as its form holds to no obvious method. It seems to be made of two strokes, the first an even, thin, and narrow-width curl from tip to tail, with no angled flexing of the pen, as if the objective were to keep it the same thickness throughout; the second stroke thickens the top. This thin form is at odds with the full-width and elegance usually given the opening 'C' of *Carmina* in the Carolingian manuscripts, where the letter narrows at the top or shoulder and broadens in the mid-section, as seen above in both Paris 13026 and Berlin 58, or in Wien 271 (W) below. Neither does it resemble in any way an insular display capital 'C' with its 90-degree angles and triangular wedges, as seen in an example from the opening line of display capitals in the Hatton 20 *Prose Preface* to the *Pastoral Care*. Indeed, the most similar 'C' forms come not from 1m1, but from copies of 1m2 in Wien 271 and the virtually undecorated Verona LXXXVIII (Vr), where the latter has a very narrow rustic

[153] For a short discussion of *diminuendo* in early ninth century and Alfredian era texts, see J. Morrish, "King Alfred's Letter as a Source on Learning in England in the Ninth Century", in *Studies in the Earlier Old English Prose,* ed. P.E. Szarmach (Albany: SUNY P, 1986), pp. 87-107.

capital (though curvature at the spine enhances this):

Fig. 5.7 *left to right* a) Vespasian D.xiv. fol. 170r: 1.
b) Wien Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 271, fol. 2r: 6.
c) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton MS 20, fol. 1r: 1.
d) Wien 271, fol. 3v: 14.
e) Verona, Bibliotheca Capitolare LXXXVIII, fol. 58r: 14.

The distinctive thinness of the opening 'C' of line 1 of 170r is also matched by the very thin and tall initial '*a*' of 1m2 below it on the same leaf, and so helps to set an affinity between the two *metra* as well as a progression.

The following 'f' in line 2 is clearly insular in having the top stroke shorter than the mid-stroke in tracing a small arc, as seen in an example from the second hand of the Parker *Chronicle,* though there is not the split at the minim-stroke sometimes apparent in the 'f's of this manuscript. The plainness of this letter certainly stands out in comparison with the 'f' of *flebilis* in several of the Carolingian manuscripts, where it is often given a vertical flourish, none more impressive than the one in Wien 271.

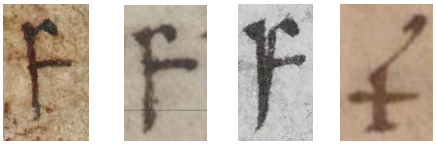

Fig. 5.8 *left to right* a) Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 2.
b) CCCC 173, fol. 38r: 3.
c) CCCC 173, fol. 38r: 21.
d) Wien 271, fol. 2r: 7.

The next two initials, 'h' and 'n', form a pair of minuscules that is beyond easy classification. Each is tall and narrow, with wedges and feet at the ends of strokes, and each has the arch stroke start higher from the minim than is usual for a Caroline letter-form (which is done often at one-third height for the 'h', and may yield a thicker, even 'clubbed' top or a flat wedge serif); yet each

arch-stroke bends back towards the minim at bottom, which is more typically Caroline than insular. This combination of thinness, narrowness, and height makes it hard to judge them as properly Caroline, as even the closest examples in Paris 13026 still show poor affiliation, particularly in the top of the minim strokes and the width and tilt of the arch-strokes. Further, while the initial 'h' strokes repeated so frequently in the first hand of the Parker *Chronicle* entries beginning *her* ("here") are similar in thinness, they are made with two strokes for the arch, with a sharp angle at top and a rightward tick at bottom; moreover they may start lower on the minim. Perhaps the initial 'h' letter-forms from the Tollemache *Orosius* are closest in ductus, though their downstrokes frequently descend well below the ruling line, as shown here. In sum, the fundamental dissimilarity in both 'h' and 'n' from set forms leave it a safer choice to regard them simply as minuscules.

Fig. 5.9 *left to right* a) Vespasian D.xiv. fol. 170r: 5.
b) Paris 13026, fol. 41r: 4-8. (*left column*).
c) Paris 13026, fol. 85r: 6. (*left column*).
d) CCCC 173, fol. 14v: 13.
e) London, British Library, MS Additional 47967. fol. 2r: 7.
f) Vespasian D.xiv. fol. 170r: 6.
g) Paris 13026, fol. 85r: 17 (*right column*).

The Caroline spiral 'G' of line 7 *Gloria* stands out best in this run with its fancy double loop, yet this feature points more than any other to Vespasian D.xiv's alignment with the comparison manuscripts, as Firenze XIV, 15 (L) and München 14324 (E) provide particularly compelling analogues.

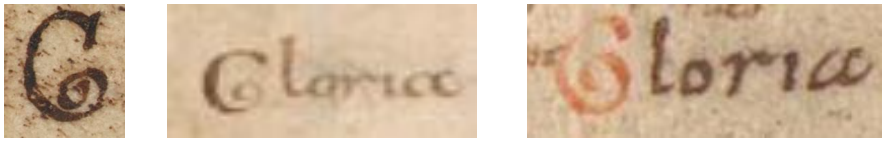

Fig. 5.10 *left to right* a) Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 7.
b) Firenze, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana, MS XIV, 15, fol 31r: 8.
c) München 14324, fol. 37r: 10.

As the scribe of Vespasian D.xiv seems to be writing the initials in pairs (depending on how the 'C' and 'f' are treated), the 'S' of line 8 *Solantur* should be a Caroline majuscule, just as the spiral 'G' above it is. However, this letter is dissimilar to a typical Caroline 'S', particularly in the rightward tilt of its curves, not leftward, as examples from Bern A.92.7 (β_1) and Paris 13026 show. And, just as line 1 'C' is entirely different from an insular display capital, so is this 'S', as an angular example from the opening line of Hatton 20 shows. The most similar majuscule 'S' found among the comparison manuscripts comes from Bern 455 (β_2), as it shares the forward tilt, though it has less pronounced terminal wedges and a more flat tail.

Fig. 5.11 *left to right* a) Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 8.
b) Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS A.92.7, fol. 1r: 15.
c) Paris 13026, fol. 91r: 10 (*right column*).
d) Oxford, Hatton 20, fol. 1r: 1.
e) Bern 455, Burgerbibliothek, MS 455, fol. 27r: 11.

The final two initials in the opening ten lines of 1m1 on 170r, 'V' and 'E', are square display capitals, higher register letter-forms used typically for the opening lines of insular manuscripts, such as for line 1 of the *Prose Preface* to the *Pastoral Care* in Hatton 20, or the first line of the genealogy beginning the Parker *Chronicle* and likewise the *Preface* to the *Laws of Alfred* also in CCCC 173. These letters have a distinctly epigraphic character, and so hold an antique quality of *Romanitas*, as if recalling the nearly two-hundred year-old wonders of Northumbrian production under Irish influence, and proper Roman square capitals before them. These capitals are thus, in their way, a kind of hybrid majuscule, as both examples from Carolingian and insular manuscripts are well aligned to this pair. The shape of 'E' is particularly similar, complete with

triangular wedges for the cross-strokes, across capitals in Hatton 20, CCCC 173, and Wien 271, though the thicknesses and widths vary. The 'V' matches less well, as it tilts leftward in D.xiv, but rightward in Sankt Gallen 844, and has two strokes of equal thickness versus the thicker left-stroke of the latter.

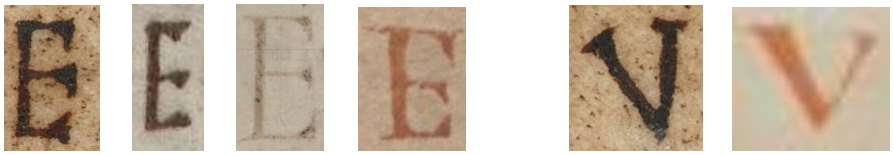

Fig. 5.12 *left to right* a) Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 10.
b) Oxford, Hatton 20, fol. 1r: 1.
c) CCCC 173, fol. 43v: 20.
d) Wien 271, fol. 35r: 16.
e) Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 9.
f) Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 844, fol. 13r: 14.

The final significant feature of the record of 1m1a is the scribe's fondness for writing the closed form of the letter 'a' made by two successive 'c's, so resembling a Greek *alpha*. This variant, termed 'oc' by Roberts,[154] is yet another feature giving the script a hybrid quality, as it is drawn from the much higher grade half-uncial script of manuscripts such as the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and the *Vespasian Psalter*. Even further, the 'oc' letter-form gives the script an antique character as it is a prominent feature of early ninth century insular manuscripts, no more superbly illustrated than in the insular minuscule *pascha* from the *Book of Cerne*, where the word appears in its glorious run of *diminuendo* on folio 3r:

Fig. 5.13 *Book of Cerne*. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll.1.10, fol 3r: 7.

[154] Roberts (2005), p. 14.

Nevertheless, the 'oc' may also be directly imported from Caroline minuscule—as seen clearly twice above in *Gloria*—though, contrary to the example from München 14324, the scribe of D.xiv always make sure to close the bowl of the α.

Here, in the first ten lines of 1m1 on 170r, the scribe uses this letter-form six times; three of these appear as the terminal letter in line 1 *Carmin***α**, line 3 *scribend***α**, and line 8 *fat***α**, so suggesting a fondness for this position which leaves the second 'c' of the stroke open to the following space on the line:

Fig. 5.14 Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 8.

Taken together, the holdover 'oc' forms and the run of initials set-apart on folio 170r of Vespasian D.xiv serve as echoes, however thinly, of their great antecedents in the Irish—and Roman—influenced past of *de luxe* manuscript production in Britain. Furthermore, by ending the run in square display capitals which blend antiquity and the renewed present, before then moving into the full-width layout typical of vernacular verse, the collective *mise-en-page* speaks directly to the Alfredian revival of learning. The layout and choice of letter-forms in 1m1 therefore represent not only play, but play within tradition, as if an older scribe were teaching a younger reading circle by renovating the old forms in a practice combining registers both high and low.

As a concluding point on the opening section of this copy of 1m1, it is important to query why the scribe chooses to switch the layout after line 10, knowing—as stated above—that all of 1m1 could have fitted in single lines with initials set-apart on the leaf, with three rulings to spare, but not leaving room for much of 1m2. (As it is, the switch to full width saves only two lines versus a full run of the initial format.) Ten is a nice round number, but it is not a good structural fit, such as eleven, which would have been one-half of the metre; nor is it an ideal thematic fit,

since in my interpretation, line 8 would have been a better terminus for the initial layout, as it closes the opening thematic section on the Muses and poetic composition. Alternately, line 15, with *Eheu*, would be a finer thematic division, emphasizing the reduction of formal verses into emotional outburst. Still, while there seems no obvious point of logic for this decision, its consequence is remarkable indeed.

1m1b (11-22)

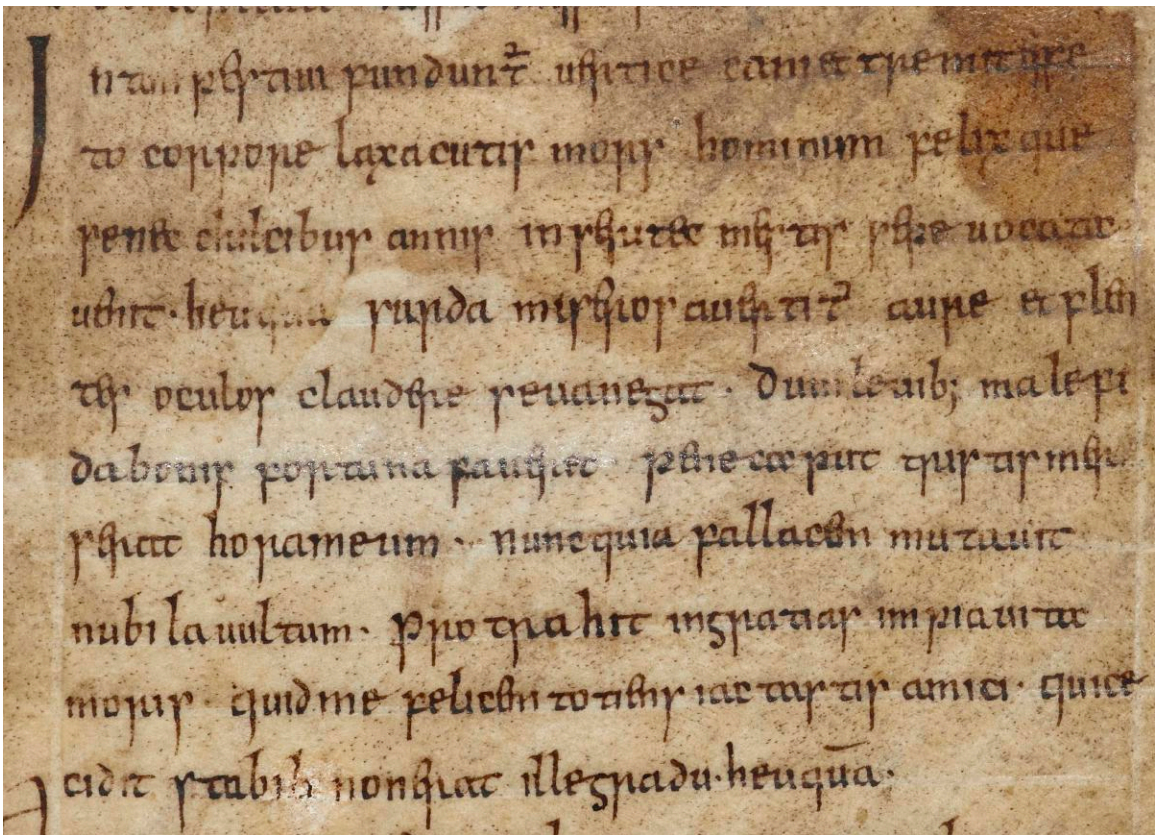

Fig. 5.15 Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 11-20.

The second block of 1m1 on 170r is recorded in the full-width form normative for Anglo-Saxon verse. While the poem's twelve lines of its second half have been spaced in ten rulings, the result presents a pleasingly regular unit of text with an appreciable effort to respect the right margin. Indeed, the transcription breaks straightaway on the eleventh ruling mid-word at line 12 *effe/to*

in anticipation of the right margin. Such splitting of words is entirely common to vernacular verse layout, and it happens four more times in the record of 1m1b, including three consecutively: *flen/tes* (16); *fi/da* (17); *mer/serat* (18); and *ce/cidit* (22). While the word-splitting does help shape the overall block, it is not used restrictively, since not every line breaks; nor is it applied evenly, as line 22 *ce/cidit* shows, since the 'ce' would be better delayed to the next ruling.

The second consequence to laying out this part of the poem full-width is that the beginnings of lines can no longer be marked by set-apart initials. Instead, the scribe uses a different strategy of pointing line-ends and beginning the next line with initials of one-third larger height. However—and this is crucial—this strategy is only realized partway through the scribal stint, in two stages, as the first terminal punctus only appears at the end of line 14 *venit* ·, and the first pairing of punctus and enlarged initial at lines 16-17 *negat* · *dum*. With the pattern realized, the scribe then continues this manner of pointing and marking initials for the remainder of the metre.

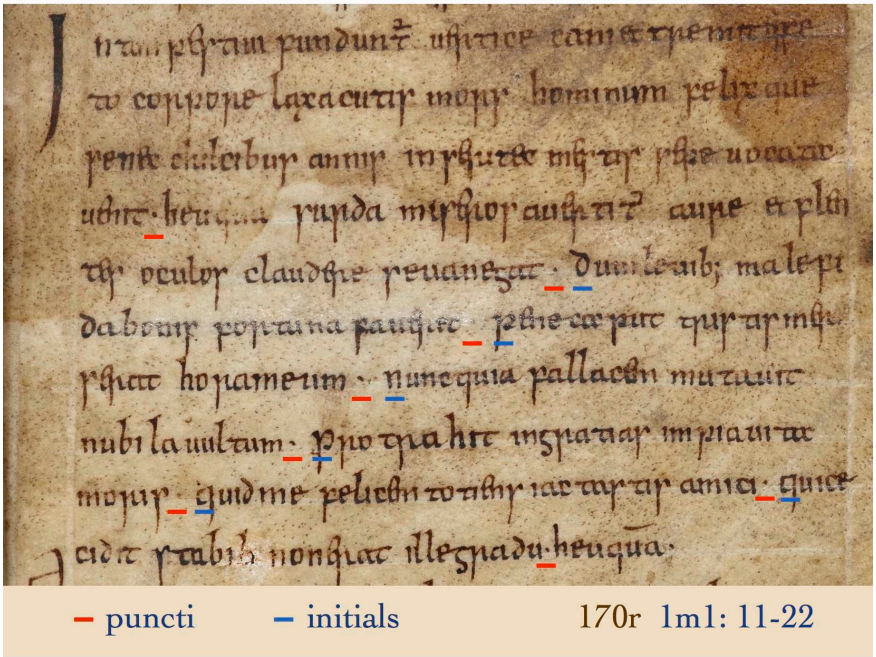

Fig. 5.16 Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 11-20. *Marked up by Gilchrist.*

This method of pointing and enlarged initials to mark verse line endings and beginnings finds a parallel in the layout of the *Metrical Preface* to the Alfredian *Pastoral Care* in Hatton 20.

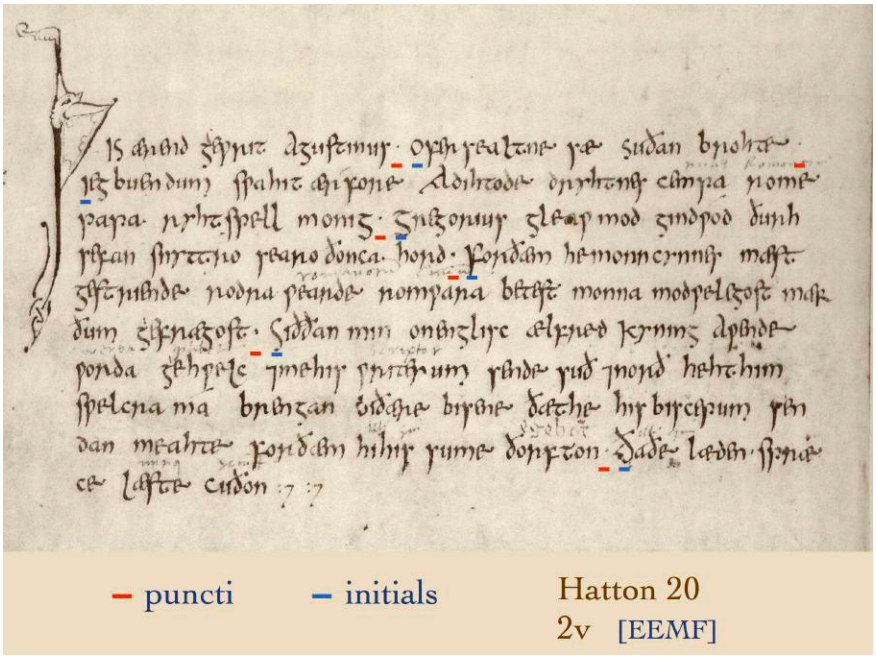

Fig. 5.17 Oxford, Hatton 20, fol. 2v: 11-20. *Marked up by Gilchrist.*

Interestingly, the scribe of the *Metrical Preface* in Hatton 20 does something of the reverse to the scribe of D.xiv, for on that leaf the pairing of terminal points and larger initials occurs in three of the first four lines, but then is carried only intermittently in the second half of the poem. Thus, in each case, the scribe employs visual cues to mark line length and ensure that the reader knows this is verse, even in its it full-width layout, but the strategy is only discovered midway and in two stages in the first case, and is not continuous in the second.

Therefore, given the status of Hatton 20 as a key surviving manuscript of the Alfredian era carrying royal sanction, it is fair to say that the scribe of 1m1b in Vespasian D.xiv is deploying the visual strategy of this earlier vernacular manuscript in order to remediate a late-Roman poem copied in Carolingian hands into an Anglo-Saxon milieu. This is apropos to the *Metrical Preface* itself, which announces, via prosopopoeia, that it is a message brought from Rome *ofer sealtne sæ* to

the *iegbuendum* ("across the ocean to the island dwellers"). Here, in an unprecedented manner, the D.xiv scribe is literally making the continental Latin poem *English*.

Last, where the higher register opening block had six instances 'oc', the full-width block of 1m1b uses 'oc' four times: *vocat**α*** (14); *c**α**put* (18); *vit**α*** (20); and *er**α**t* (22). Two of the four instances feature the 'oc' in the terminal position, so maintaining the same proportion seen in 1m1a. Interestingly, though 1m2 is written in the same full-width form as 1m1b, the scribe ceases writing 'a' as 'oc'; the absence of the latter in the third block of text on 170r thus marks another aspect of *diminuendo* in the ongoing writing of the four *metra*.

Digression

The great similarity in design and size for the enlarged capital 'C' in *Carmina* found in two ninth century manuscripts argues strongly that they are related: Sankt Gallen 844 and Paris 8318.

Fig. 5.18 *left to right* a) Sankt Gallen 844, fol. 13r: 1-8.
b) Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 8318, 49v: 1-5 [*left column*].

The opening 'C' is so large in each case as to push the rest of the opening lines into a 3:1 and 2:1 ratio of rulings per line. The next largest opening 'C' is from Vatican 3363, which, like Paris 8318, is a Loire valley manuscript. Unfortunately, the coloured ink for the initial has fallen away or is only visible to the camera in relief as white space; notice how the single line layout of the metre

allows for the following lines to be kept on a single ruling, unlike the double column Paris 8318.

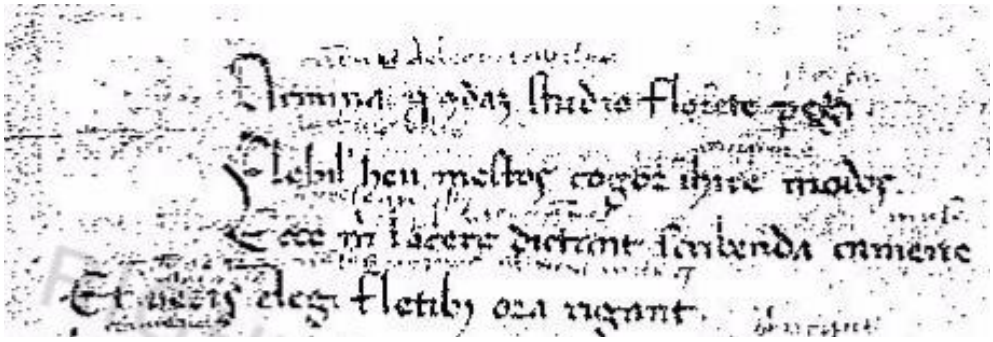

Fig. 5.19 Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apost. Vaticana MS Vat. Lat. 3363, fol. 1r: 1-4.

5.1e Type Facsimile

1 C armina quicondam studio florente peregi
2 F lebilis heu mestos cogor inire modos
3 e cce mihi licere dicta scribenda camene
4 e t veris elegi fletib; ora rigant
5 h as saltem nullus potuit puincere terror
6 n e nr̄am comites prosequerent iter
7 G loria felicis olimuiridisq: iuuente
8 S olant mesti nunc mea fata senis
9 V enit enim properatua malis inopia senectus
10 E t dolor etatē iussit inesse suam ·
11-12 J ntempestiui fundunt uertice cani | et tremit effe
12-13 to corpore laxa cutis | mors hominum felix que
13-14 senec dulcibus annis | inserit et mestis sepe uocata
14·15-16 uenit · heu quā surda miseros auertit aure | et flen
16·17 tes oculos claudere seuanegat · dum leuib; male fi
17·18 da bonis fortuna faueret · pene ca put tris tis mer
18·19 serat horameum · nuncquia fallacem mutauit
19·20 nubi la uultum · pro tra hit ingratias im pia ui ta
20·21·22 moris · quid me felicem totiens iactas tis amici · quice
22 cidit stabili nonerat illegradu ·

5.1f Transcription Errors and Variants

1 qu_i *corr.* T^2
pergi P_4

2 flebelis L *corr.* L
eu P_2 *corr.* P_2
cogo(e)? L
modas E *corr.* E^2

3 cam___? E *corr.* E^2

4 etveri s P *corr.* etveri_s P^2
eleis P *corr.* elei P^2 elegis E W *corr.* E^2 W^2 elegit P_4
verteris L *corr.* L^2

5 As T *corr.* T^2 Kas L *corr.* L^2 H assaltem P_2
saltim E F P_2 T *corr.* T^2

6 Ni Br E (poss. *corr.* E^2) W^2
psequer& P_4 *corr.* ⁿ $P_4{}^2$

8 Solantur mesti · nunc mea fata senis *line missing* E *corr.* E^2
fa_ta T fate P_4 *corr.* $P_4{}^2$

9 inopia M T *corr.* T^2 inopina V (*possible error*)

10 etatem F

11 vertice Cm^2

12 tremet L
effecto L P^2 *corr.* L^2 P^2 effa&o W effoeto Br
lassa V
cutis Cm^2

13 anis E *corr.* E^2

14 saepevo cata L *corr.* L^2
miseris W

15 E h heu P_2 HHeu P Heu heu q surda V
advertit P_4
aurae P_2

16 cladere Cm *corr.* Cm^2 claude P_4

17 bonus P_4 fauerat P_4

18 Pene Cm E F L Lv P P_2 T *corr.* Cm^2 P^2 Poena P_4
ora L P T *corr.* L^2 T^2
horā eum P_3
hora meum *missing* P_4

19 Et n̄c V
matavit W^2
ultū $P_3{}^2$ *[original erased?]*

20 protrahat F *corr.* F^2
corr. ingrates Cm^2 ingratis P_4 *corr.* $P_4{}^2$
corr. inpia W^2
mores P_3

21 toties Cm E L T W *corr.* Cm^2 E^2 L^2 T^2 W^2
iactatis P_2 P_4 *corr.* P_2

22 Quid P_3
stabili [*erasure*] non E
illa P_4

Abbreviations

1 q qdam V
quondā Br P_2 P_3
pegi Br Cm P_3 V W *[crossed 'p' = 'per']*

2 Flebil' V
męstos Cm T V

3 $\overset{1}{\text{m}}$ L V
lacerę Br Cm E^2 L $P_2{}^2$ V W
camenę Br Cm E^2 L W

4 & L P_4 T
fl&ibus E G L Lv P_4 T W fletib, P_3 V

5 salte; V
puincere Br F L P_2 P_3 P_4 puīcere V *[all crossed 'p']* ṗuincere Lv
$\overline{\text{t}}$ror P_4 $\overset{\cap}{\text{t}}$ror V

6 nr$\overline{\text{m}}$ Cm L P P_4 V $\overline{\text{n}}$ram Lv nostr$\overline{\text{u}}$ P_3
psequer& P_4 *[crossed 'p']*
psequerentur Br *[crossed 'p']*
prosequer$\overset{2}{\text{e}}$nt L Lv V

7 Gl'a V
viridisq; F L Lv P_3 P_4 T V
iuuentę Cm L P_2 T W iuuēte V

8 Solant· V
męsti Cm
nūc V
pperata Br

9 enī P_4 ėi$_3$ V
pperata P_3 P_4 V *[swirl-crossed 'p' = 'pro']*
senect' P_3 V

10 & P_4
a&atem E L P_2 P_4 T W a&atē P_3

11 Intē pestivi T Intēpestivi V
fundunẗ Lv P_2 fūdunẗ V

12 & P_4
eff&o P_4 T effa&o W

13 hominū E L P_3 P_4
quę Cm E P_2 V q; P_3
dulcib; F P_2 P_3 P_4
ānis V

14 & E L P_2 P_3 P_4 T W
męstis Cm L
sępe Cm P_2 W
vēit V

15 quā E L q V
avertiẗ Lv P_2 P_3 aūtitur V
advertiẗ P_4

16 & E L P_4 T
sęua E Cm V

17 levib; L Lv P_2 P_4 V
fauer& L P_2 T W fauer¯ P_3

18 meū E

19 n̄c V fellacė V vultū E P_2

20 Ptrahit P_3 V ptrahit L *[swirl-crossed 'p']*
īgratas V

21 felicē Cm P_2 totiēs V

5.1g Commentary

Overall in the transcription of 1m1, there are eight errors introduced by the scribe and only one variant error shared with other manuscripts. This high number of errors in the two scribal blocks, six from lines 1-10 and three from lines 11-22, is unusual in many ways. First, as the opening part of 1m1 is recorded in a higher register layout with respect to the second half, and indeed with respect to the other three *metra* copied in Vespasian D.xiv, the obverse frequency should be expected, as the scribe ought to be displaying the greatest accuracy with the lines afforded the privileged layout. Second, of the nine total errors, only line 9 *inopia* is shared, and only two of the other errors find similar (if not identical) trouble in the readings of other manuscripts. This ratio is unusual, as in the other three *metra* of D.xiv, the scribe frequently shares errors and variances with the set of comparison manuscripts in words that could be considered cruces, particularly with Greek names and places. Third, the sheer rate of introduced errors is high enough in the opening stint to give a measure of credence to Lapidge and Dumville's assertion that the D.xiv *metra* are "highly corrupt", but this is then to be contradicted in the second half of 1m1, and especially in the excerpt of 1m2 which has only a single provable mistake.

The poor nature of some of the errors is also surprising, starting with line 1 *condam*, which is at best a substandard spelling for *quondam*. An improbable alternative is that the scribe understands it as the first person future of the verb *condere*, meaning "to put together; to fashion or construct", so giving the line a false expectation: "the songs which I will put together I have finished with flourishing zeal". Though this reading remains grammatically possible, by losing its temporal marker *quondam* ("once") in favour of a double verb construction of future and perfect in the same line, it becomes contradictory. The open-ended future tense *condam* also does not make thematic sense set against the next line's confession of changing the *carmina* into *maestos…modos*,

sorrowful metres. Most distressingly, the change from *quondam* ruins the rest of the poem's consistent antitheses of happier past versus wretched present by omitting its primary expression.

Line 3 brings errors in consecutive words. The first severely compromises meaning and theme, positing a verb form *licere* (from *liceri,* 'to bid for or value') for what is instead the adjective *lacere* ("torn") in agreement with *Camene* ("the Muses"). Without the typical medieval elision of the inflection 'ae' in the adjective-noun pair, the scribe would surely have recognized the agreement of both in 'ae', and so not have made this error. Though *licere* does offer a possible deponent verb form, placing it as a second-person present is grammatically unworkable, as there would be two verbs in the clause, each in a different person. Nor is an alternative, regarding *licere* as the putative infinitive form of the impersonal verb *licet*, possible as a construction. The second error is a far simpler one of number, giving the singular third person *dictat* for the plural *dictant* where it must agree with *lacere…camane*; this error could also be seen as an unintended consequence of eliding 'ae' to 'e', for just as the plural adjective is lost, so too is the plural verb lost. Last, the scribe may well not have known what to do with the proper noun *Camene*; this would be consistent with the trouble shown elsewhere in the *metra* of Vespasian D.xiv with Greek and Latin names, and with the preference of the Old English *Boethius* for avoiding them in general.

The scribe's reading starting line 6 *Ne ṅram* (*ne nostrum*) is intriguing in several ways. First, the scribe avoids writing *"Ni"* for the particle *"Ne"*, an error found in three of the comparison manuscripts (Br E W); in Wien 271 a later hand (W^2) even writes 'i' directly above the correct reading 'e', suggesting an inherited persistence of that error. The second point concerns the use of the abbreviation, which is given as *"ṅrm"* in four of the comparison manuscripts (Cm L P P_4). If the source manuscript for the metre were to employ this abbreviation, then it is clear that the scribe expands it here in order to show the inflection, writing *ṅram*; in so doing, the scribe

introduces an error not only of gender but perhaps also of part of speech, for *nostrum* can be read as both a genitive plural pronoun, *[companions] of us*, and as an adjective in agreement with *iter* ("on our way"). Interestingly, translations tend to sidestep this crux by reading the grammar of line 6 both ways simultaneously, combined with a poetic use of plural for singular: "from coming with me on my way" (Watts); and "to leave me companionless upon my way" (O'Donnell). Nonetheless, with either interpretation, the scribe's reading of *nostram* lacks a possible feminine referent in line 6, and so construes no meaning, unless the gender of neuter *iter* were misread as feminine.

There is a third possible explanation for this error to be found in looking more closely at the 'a' in *ṅram"*, regarding that it may at first have been the correct reading of 'u', but then was given afterward a top-stroke and converted into an 'a'. Indeed, in comparison with other 'a' and 'u' forms on 170r, this instance has straighter sides, with less of the typical round bowl of the 'a'; its top-stroke is also short and blobbed at both ends, rather than marking the distinctive flat, angled line of the insular 'a', as in line 8 *nunc mea* and the terminal letters of line 9 *properatua*.

Fig. 5.20 *left to right* Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 6, 8, 9.

Line 9 presents two further errors, that same word, *properatua,* and *inopia*. Unfortunately, in adding a 'u' to the correct inflectional ending of *properata*, the scribe makes a nonce word. The only conceivable explanation here in terms of grammar is that the scribe meant to use a future active participle based on the same stem, *properatura* (*"[old age] about to hasten…"*) rather than the perfect passive participle *"properata"* (*"old age hastened…"*), and then neglected to write the key letter 'r'. Yet, even if it were intended as a future participle, it would still make poor thematic sense. The second error, *inopia* for *inopina*, may well be caused by the previous error as they are both in agreement with the nominative *senectus* ("old age"); thus, as one word ending is botched, so

is the second. However, as *inopia* is also the only transcription error shared by other manuscripts, the cause behind the two errors, or rather its order, may be in reverse. Both München 18765 (T) and Tours 803 (M; a late ninth century copy recorded by Moreschini) share this error; a later hand, T^2, possibly the hand of the glossator, corrects München 18765 by adding an 'n' above the line. As an explanation for the error, *inopia*, a noun meaning "poverty", could be aligned thematically with *senectus* as an ablative, so giving a reading of "old age, in hastened poverty, came with evil deeds".

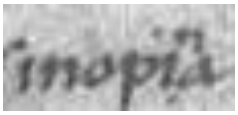

Fig. 5.21 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS 18765, fol. 15r: 13.

Line 15 *heu*, from the original *Eheu*, is an aligned variance, if not a shared error directly, as three of the comparison manuscripts have trouble with it: Paris 6639 (P_2), which reads *E h heu*; Paris 7181 (P), which reads *Hheu* in rustic capitals and a rubricated minuscule initial 'h'; and Vatican 3363 (V), which omits the 'E' and instead doubles the word, reading *Heu heu*.

Fig. 5.22 *left to right* a) Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 15.
b) Paris 6639, fol. 3r: 18.
c) Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 7181, pag. 137r: 18.
d) Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apost. Vaticana MS Vat. Lat. 3363, fol. 1r: 15.

The reading of *heu* in this line of Vespasian D.xiv is unique, as it is the only manuscript missing a first letter; while the loss does not change the meaning of the word, which remains *alas*, it does compromise the line's metrical regularity as a syllable is missing. The error could possibly be a fault of its coming after the first punctus in 1m1b, where the scribe is figuring out—*in process*—how to mark line ends and beginnings. Perhaps through distraction the scribe mentally elides the letter 'E', which should be enlarged in this addition to the layout, and simply goes straight to the 'h' at

regular size, even though it itself ought be enlarged in the new scheme. That said, there is also an initial 'h' in 4m7 which is not enlarged at line 22 *hydra* where it should be, so perhaps it is just as much a function of the letter itself as of the strategy.

The error *E h heu* in Paris 6639 presents a small crux. Did the scribe write *heu* and then partially erase the 'h', only to correct it again? Or did the leaf get damaged or erased by a second hand, leaving the 'h' to be reintroduced by another? There is no logic to its erasure or loss in the first place, and a second hand seems unlikely, as the ink and ductus strongly resemble the original hand, not the glossator's, so this leads back to the first proposition. As for the error in Paris 7181, Moreschini's notation for it as *heheu* is confusing, as no epenthetic 'e' appears in sight, and there is no distinct erasure mark. Likewise, Moreschini's notation of an error at this word in München 14324 (E) as *"heu* ex *eheu* E²" is similarly baffling as there is nothing apparently wrong with the reading.

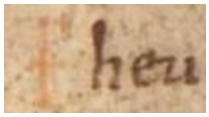

Fig. 5.23 München 14324, fol 37r: 17.

As for the double reading *Heu heu* in Vatican 3363, it could be simply a case of dittography; an alternate possibility is that the scribe is expanding a source text reading of *hheu*, as from Paris 7181. As a corollary to that second case, the scribe could have misunderstood the initial 'h' of a source-text *hheu* reading where that 'h' was intended as a strophic marker, not as a variant to the missing 'E'. Finally, it is worth noting that the scribe of D.xiv will again lose the 'E' from *"Eheu"* in beginning 3m8 on 224v; it is a more serious fault in the poetic metre there since it is the opening word of the *metrum* and so sets its metrical nature. That said, the shared error is another piece of evidence that the scribes of 1m1 and 3m8 may well be one and the same.

Line 20 *ingratas* is another example of a word which presents trouble for several scribes, but is nonetheless a unique reading in Vespasian D.xiv *ingratias*, not a directly shared variant. The

scribe has apparently put the stem of the noun *gratia* ("thankfulness") in a putative negative form in place of the correct reading, the adjective *ingratus* ("unpleasant"; "unthankful"). As the inflectional ending of accusative feminine plural *'as'* is intact, the intended meaning remains obvious. This is not the case with the error at this word in Cambridge O.3.7 (Cm) *ingrates*, which is a correction (possibly by a glossator) obscuring an original reading and treating it as a third declension noun. The original reading in Cm cannot be read fully, but the spacing suggests *two* letters fit there, not one, likely a reading of '*s*_*s*' where the terminal 's' is enlarged (a normal practice for the decorative-minded scribe), as there is a faint record of the first 's'. Paris 13026 (P_4), in contrast, has an initial reading *ingratis*, which is a wrong ablative inflection with no agreement. This is altered, presumably by the first scribe, by placing 'a' above the word, so reading 'i^{a}s', and marking this correction with a tick below the 'i'; that this tick is a mark of correction—and not one of addition—is clear as P_4 has two other such instances with a tick of correction in the same left column on 85r: 1m1 line 8, *fate* (*fata*), and 1m2 line 1, *precepiti* (*precipiti*). However, this correction with notifying tick could possibly be read by a later transcriber as an addition, making *ingratias*, just as we find in D.xiv, and so serve as a source for our manuscript's error.

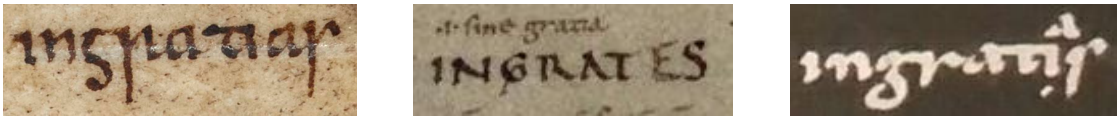

Fig. 5.24 *left to right* a) Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 18.
b) Cambridge, Trinity College O.3.7, fol. 2r: 22.
c) Paris 13026, fol. 85r: 21.

The final error at line 20 *moris* is introduced by the scribe and is a mistake of an ablative inflection for what should be accusative plural feminine, *moras*. The error is surely made in tandem with the scribe's faulty stem of line 20 *ingratias*, as if there were inflectional agreement, but to the epenthetic 'i', not to the proper ending.

With 9 errors and variants by the scribe from out of a total of 131 words in Vespasian D.xiv's record of 1m1, the overall error rate is 6.9%, and the introduced error rate, with 8 mistakes unique to the scribe, is 6.1%. For the high register single-column block of 1m1a, with 6 mistakes (5 introduced) in 58 words, the error rate is 10.3%, and with just 3 errors in 73 words, the error rate is 4.1% for 1m1b. It is worth repeating that this decrease in the second, full-width block of text is contrary to expectation given their relative layout strategies; moreover, it sets a pattern that continues into Vespasian D.xiv's recording of 1m2 at the bottom of folio 170r, where the provable error rate for that section is just 3.0%, a single error in 33 words. This declining error rate—from 10.4% for 1m1a, to 4.1% for 1m1b, to 3.0% for 1m2—will also be a trend in D.xiv's recording of 3m8 and 4m7 on 224v.

With but a single shared error at line 9 *inopia*, the original reading before correction in München 18765 (T), there is no model of possible inheritance for 1m1 to be drawn from these results. This is reinforced by the two words at line 15 *heu* and line 20 *ingratias* where, even if the words themselves could be construed as shared cruxes, the scribe nonetheless appears to introduce errors. All told, given this high ratio of introduced to shared errors (8:1), and the strange nature of the mistakes, many with basic errors in stem and inflection, the record of 1m1 in Vespasian D.xiv suggests a scribe perhaps not working by sight from any single manuscript exemplar, but rather from dictation.

That said, the total number of errors is not overly high with respect to several of the comparison manuscripts, as München 18765 (T) has 7 errors and variants (3 of them introduced by the scribe), Firenze XIV, 15 (L) has 10 errors and variants (7 of them introduced by the scribe), and Paris 13026 (P_4) has a very large number indeed, 13 errors and variants, of which 10 are introduced uniquely by its scribe, including the entire uncorrected omission of *hora meum* from

line 18. Therefore, while Lapidge and Dumville's assertion that the *metra* of Vespasian of D.xiv are "highly corrupt" holds truth with respect to the initial block of 1m1a, the manuscript's record of 1m1 overall is no more corrupt—indeed holds *fewer* errors and variances—than one of the most important manuscripts edited by Moreschini, and than the sole complete manuscript of the collected *metra*.

As the lack of shared of errors does not help towards identifying manuscript relationships, and so any ancestry being determined and a stemma being drawn up, it may be worthwhile to trace the shared record of manuscript abbreviations used to record 1m1 in Vespasian D.xiv. In total, its recording of 1m1 includes 8 uses of abbreviation, each one of which is shared with at least one other manuscript. Interestingly, the ratio between 1m1a and 1m1b seen in terms of errors again obtains here, as the first block has 5 abbreviations, and the second block has 3. The comparison manuscripts sharing the highest number of abbreviations are Firenze XIV, 15 (L) with 6, and Paris 13026 (P_4) with 5, coincidentally the manuscripts with the highest number of introduced errors and variants in recording 1m1. Yet, this is perhaps more a function of their frequent use of abbreviation, with 16 and 18 respectively in 1m1, rather than with a close affiliation. There is instead a more pointed affiliation in the abbreviations of line 11 *funduntur*, and line 15 *avertitut*, where only D.xiv and Paris 6639 (P_2) share both, with Paris 13026 sharing the second as well.

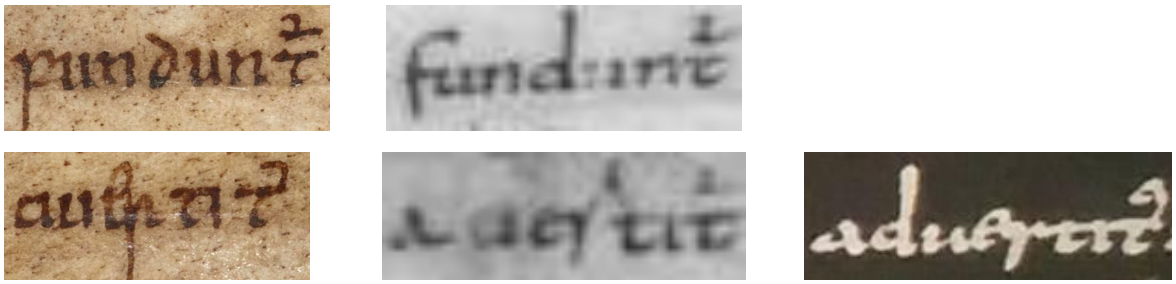

Fig. 5.25 *top left* Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 11.
top right Paris 6639, fol. 3r: 14.
bottom left Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170: 15.
bottom middle Paris 6639. fol. 3r: 18.
bottom right Paris 13026, fol. 85r: 16.

The particular abbreviation mark the scribe of D.xiv uses for *avertitur* is seen nowhere else in folios 170r or 224v, and is probably the same one used for *funduntur* but missing its bottom horizontal stroke (probably from being assumed with the top-stroke of 't'). Paris 6639 is another manuscript with a high number of abbreviations, 14 in all, and several of them feature uniquely. By contrast, Paris 7181 (P) uses but a single abbreviation for line 6 *nostrum*, but this is a factor of the metre being written in rustic capitals. Paris 7181 is an important manuscript because it is the base text for the *alpha* family of manuscripts of French origin in Moreschini's edition. Yet, though it shares a crux with D.xiv at line 15 *Eheu*, the lack of other errors or variants in common and the lack of abbreviations together point to disaffiliation. The accumulated evidence of errors, variants and abbreviations suggests 1m1 in D.xiv—and its ancestor—belongs instead to the *beta-one* family of manuscripts of German origin, which includes E, F, L, T and W.

A final interesting note on the abbreviations concerns line 5 *pervincere*. The abbreviation of *per* to a 'p' crossed on the downstroke occurs in seven comparison manuscripts, seen below at right in Berlin 58 and Paris 13026, so is commonly recognized. However, in Vespasian D.xiv, below left, the abbreviation is uniquely made by a *caret* or ligature linking the top of the 'p' to the 'u' following.

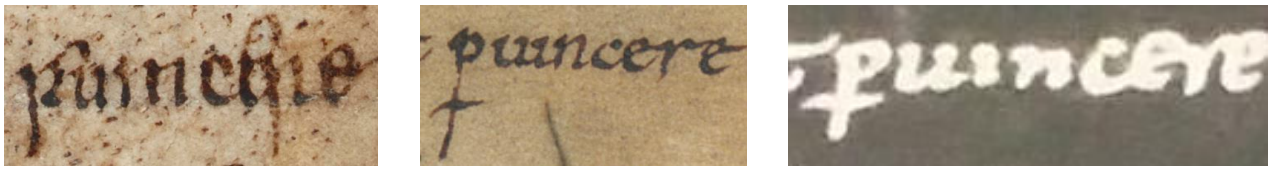

Fig. 5.26 *left to right* a) Vespasian D.xiv, fol 170r: 5.
b) Berlin 58, fol. 1v: 5.
c) Paris 13026, fol. 85r: 6.

This uncommon mark of abbreviation is indeed an older form,[155] and so provides another small if critical piece of evidence joining several others pointing to the antique character of the transcription.

[155] I am indebted to Dr. Joanna Story for this observation.

5.1h Old English *Boethius* 1m1

Through a series of prose and verse prefaces, a chapter list, and an invented framing history serving as an introduction to the rest of the text, 1m1 ends up pushed into the body of the vernacular translation. While these prefatory materials could be regarded as paratextual accretions typical to a text re-inscribed according to the logic of "transcription", to use Bredehoft's formulation,[156] and so marginal to the main text, the ordering of the historical introduction as the first chapter in Bodley 180 (B) and the first metre in Cotton Otho A.vi (C) causes 1m1 to lose its primacy in both narrative theme and layout. Put more simply, the equivalent to a large, rubricated initial 'C' of *Carmina* expected atop the first leaf is now an 'Æ' for *Ælfred* in the incipit to Bodley 180, and the translation of 1m1 only appears several leaves later as Chapter 2. Nevertheless, as both the B and C translations witness, the metre's metafictional emphasis on poetry, on the singer's composition, is not just maintained, but indeed is amplified by contrast versus the excision of the majority of the content from 1m1. The result rather treats the original *metrum* as consisting of bookended statements: the initial discussion of poetry turning from study in the singer's youth to now composing in sad measures, and the closing lament, homiletic in tone, chastizing the misperception of expecting happiness from both friends and worldly goods.

Among the materials the Bodley 180 prose version offers in advance of 1m1 are not only a chapter title, *Hu boetius on þam carcerne his sar seofiende wæs·* ("How Boethius lamented his pain in prison·") but also a lead-in to the metre at the end of Chapter 1 which sets up a temporal continuity with the historical introduction and grants an emotional authority that is surprisingly direct. Treating Boethius as a third person subject, the narrative records that when he found himself locked in the narrow confines of prison, he came to realize how beholden he was to the

[156] T. Bredehoft, *The Visible Text: Textual Production from Beowulf to Maus,* in *Oxford Textual Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2014), pp. 5.

woruld-sælþum ("worldly prosperities"), and how he could not expect to find any *frofre* ("comfort") there. This hinge-text of sorts to 1m1 then emphasizes the physical posture of grief and the act of singing itself:

> *…ac / he gefeoll niwol ofdune on þa flor and hine astrehte swiðe unrot,*
> *and ormod hine selfne ongan wepan and þus singend cwæð.* [B.1: 28-30]
>
> ...and he fell prone on the floor and stretched himself out exceedingly sad,
> and in despair began to weep for himself and thus singing spoke.

It is fair to say that this introductory material compensates, to a degree, for the loss of the initial power of beginning the translation with 1m1, for it gives the reader key words, particularly *sælþ*, the figural term meaning "prosperity", and sets in advance the intense association of poetic composition and sorrow that the rendering of the metre proper will underscore. It also, perhaps awkwardly, blends the manner of utterance, 'speaking song' as it were.

The original *metrum* is remarkably condensed here in its new formulation in Bodley 180, preserving closely, as said above, only the opening couplet and the penultimate lines, and catching only fragments of the rest of 1m1. What Chapter 2 does effectively is maintain the initial focus on the composition of song, on the singer's inability to compose properly, not merely because of his sorrow, but because his very words are themselves compromised:

> *<u>Ða lioð</u> þe ic wrecca geo lustbærlice song, ic sceal nu heofiende*
> *singan and mid [swiðe] <u>ungeradum wordum</u> gesettan þeah ic geo*
> *hwilum gecoplice funde; ac ic nu <u>wepende and gisciende</u> [oft]*
> *<u>geradra worda</u> misfo.* [B.2: 1-4]
>
> Those verses which wretched I once sang eagerly, now I must heavily
> sing and set down with most stupid words though before I was used
> to finding them so fitly; but now, weeping and sobbing, I often mistake
> the appropriate words.

The reworking agreeably opens with *lioð* ("songs"), so echoing *Carmina*, but then collapses not into the technical terms 1m1 used for poetry, *modos* and *elegi*, but into *worda*, words themselves as the basic elements of verse, as they have become *ungeradum* ("stupid"), literally "uncounselled", "unadvisable" (from *ræd*, a key Alfredian term). This rather simplified version of 1m1 does strip the technical language of poetry and the complex metaphors and personifications from the original —gone are the Muses, "the track", senescence, Death and Fortune, and even the closing "step"—, but its syntax nonetheless maintains the antithesis of *geo* and *nu* ("before" and "now"), and the lines bear down on the emotional weight of sorrow through sheer repetition, in this case via the typically Alfredian hendiadys of *wepende and gisciende*. Here, the compulsion to write under the influence of the Muses has been distilled to a grief that writing sensibly is no longer possible because of that same grief. In a sense, the pejorative critique of poetry from the original is now lifted, as it is the condition of prison itself, the literal *dimme hol* ("dark hole") which blinds him and ruins his ability to sing, not that the mode of singing itself is suspect. The image of blindness newly introduced here to align with the *dimme hol*, the metaphor for the *carcern* ("prison"), carries through the historical continuity from Chapter 1 and makes Boethius's spiritual wounds more understandable to the reader. Where in the original *metrum*, the personified Death "refuses to close weeping eyes", now in the dark of prison the speaker can neither see nor sing properly.

What the prose version does with the closing lines of 1m1 is emphasize the homiletic language of turning away from the world's pleasures and fortunes. Where before the singer had friends and prosperity, he finds now that they have *wendon hi me heora bæc to* ("turned their backs on me"), and that every *lustbæarnesse* ("pleasure") he most trusted has been taken from him in prison. This latter word, whose stem is a repetition from the opening line (*lustbærlice*), links poetic composition to worldly things and acts as a signal to the other key word *gesælþum* ("worldly fortunes")

which completes the prose:

> *… To / hwon sceoldan la mine friend seggan þæt ic gesælig mon wære?*
> *Hu / mæg se beon gesælig se þe on þam gesælþum þurhwunian ne mot?* [B.2: 7-9]
>
> ...For what cause did my friends say that I was a fortunate man?
> How can that man be happy who may not continue dwelling in those prosperities?

Just as *Philosophia*—here *Wisdom*—will say repeatedly in the chapters to come, the things of this world cannot be trusted to last. Though the maxim of the closing line has been lost, and its deep Neoplatonic echoes gone with it, the chapter's figural tightness through repetition of the key terms accentuates its homiletic message of wisdom gained through painful loss.

As could be predicted, the verse versions in Cotton Otho A.vi of both the historical introduction (Metre 1) and 1m1 (Metre 2) are thoughtful expansions on their prose counterparts in Bodley 180. In each case, the versifier not only takes advantage of alliteration to introduce new terms and doublets, but also creates new half-lines and concepts in order to shift and heighten narrative emphasis. For instance, in the closing lines of Metre 1, the poem now directs Boethius's grief-stricken singing to God himself as a product of realizing he will never be free again:

> *Wæs þa ormod eorl, are ne wende,*
> *ne on þam fæstene frofre gemunde,*
> *ac he neowol astreaht niðer ofdune*
> *feol on þa flore, fela worda spræc,*
> *forþoht ðearle; ne wende þonan æfre*
> *cuman of ðæm clammum. Cleopode to drihtne*
> *geomran stemne, gyddode þus.* [C.m1: 78-84]
>
> The earl was in despair, not expecting grace,
> nor in that prison had he comfort in mind,
> but he stretched out prone fell down below
> on the floor; he spoke many words,
> despaired harshly; for he did not think ever
> to come out from those chains. He shouted out to the Lord
> with a mournful voice, composed a story as follows.

The versifier's purposeful rearrangement of several words from the prose is notable with *ormod* ("dejected"), which has migrated from the last line of Chapter 1 to form an oxymoron of sorts with *eorl* ("nobleman"). The poem also introduces the clause *fela worda spræc*, which both recaptures the prose version's mixture of terms for speaking and singing and anticipates *worda* as a key thematic element of the rendering of 1m1 in Metre 2. On top of giving more rationale to Boethius's despair with the expectation of death, of never escaping this unjust judgement, the last lines amplify the composition and expression of song itself, for now Boethius has a voice (*stemne*) and an audience (*drihtne*), the Lord. Like David in the *Psalms*, or one of the Metaphysical poets, he summons God in his song and offers up a woeful story in sung verse. The untranslatable term *giedd*, used here in verb form, suggests a narrative lay of loss and tragedy, for it is a term used in *Beowulf* at particular inset junctures, such as for the Lay of Hildeburh, where the queen must order the funeral rites for both brother and son in the same engulfing pyre, even as they were on opposing sides of the conflict. The preterite *gyddode* thus suggests an elevation of the ensuing poem to the genre of heroic elegy, so vital to and so often repeated in *Beowulf*.

The expectation of this genre given by the metrical historical introduction is immediately confirmed by the opening word of Metre 2, *Hwæt*, that most famous of openings for *Beowulf*, and for other heroic poems such as *Juliana*, *Exodus*, and *Dream of the Rood*. Nonetheless, while it is tempting to argue that this opening exclamation recaptures some of the lustre lost to 1m1 by its following a series of framing texts and paratexts, four other metres in this translation also begin with *Hwæt*. Indeed, of the nine poems in Old English which start with *Hwæt*, five of them are in the metres of *Boethius*; the poet is likewise very fond of starting with *Eala* for the original *Eheu*. By repeating these interjections, the poet is clearly aiming for a heightened register of composition throughout, even as we may appreciate it starting here with this version of 1m1 proper.

From there, Metre 2 consistently amplifies Chapter 2, even though it does not return to quarry 1m1 more deeply in order to do so; it thus maintains the bookended structure of the prose version, which foregrounds the opening and closing portions of the original by excluding the middle. That said, Metre 2 usefully varies the terms of the prose version, for instance offering *sarcwidas* (line 4) as another term of poetic composition in place of "elegies", rather than *heofiende singan* from Chapter 2, which elides the term altogether. The poem also uses the stem of *sælum* ("happy times") in line 2 to anticipate the homiletic discussion of worldly fortune throughout the poem, as *woruldsælþa* (10), *gesællic* (17), and *gesælþa* (19) attest.

After the opening resetting of the change of composition from happy to sorrowful, Metre 2 uses doublets and oppositions to give stylistic nuance to the more straightforward explication of Chapter 2. Here, verbal echoes and reversals do the job of parallelism in prose:

Me þios siccetung hafað
agæled, ðes geocsa, þæt ic þa ged ne mæg
gefegean swa fægre, þeah ic fela gio þa
sette soðcwida þonne ic on sælum wæs.
Oft ic nu miscyrre cuðe spræce
and þeah uncuðre ær hwilum fond. [C.m2: 4b-9]

This sobbing has stoppered me,
this sighing, so that I can no longer
compose as fittingly, though before I could set in verse
many of those true-sayings when I was in happy times.
Often now I put amiss familiar speech
even though more unusual speech I tried many times before.

In these lines, the alliteration drives new choices in the lexicon used, as the hendiadys of *wepende and gisciende* is broken up in favour of variation with *siccetung* and *geosca* ("this sighing... this sobbing"), and the key verb *agælan*, to hinder, neglect, or hesitate, is introduced to pair with *ged*, the term roughly equating heroic elegies now carried over from the end of Metre 1. This verb

carries an implicit pun on *galan*, to sing or enchant, as if to imply an etymological reversal of how song is produced (hence my translation of a singing mouth "stoppered"). The ensuing lines similarly echo and repeat their terms in obverse fashion. For example, *sarcwidas* from line 4a morphs into *soðcwida* at line 7a, so showing the loss in a reflective order: first current pain, then memory of the better state. The mutation of terms rises to antithesis with *cuðe spræc* turning into *uncuðe,* a continuation in theme from the prose version's *ungeradum worda* and *geradra worda*, though it reverses the temporality. Again, words themselves are the elements causing breakdown, not genre or poetry itself, though one could make a good argument on the difference between 'word' and 'speech', between a spoken element and the speaking system in which it is used. Godden and Irvine notice as well how much emphasis on the "relationship of words and truth" rests in these lines; he also incisively regards the potential for metafictional commentary by a versifier speaking to the "peculiar difficulties" with the task of translating prose into verse.[157]

The closing lines of Metre 2 push this matter to an absolute, abstract state, as the poet places the thematic importance of true words and worldly favour on equal footing, even as we may recall that the worldly goods of Chapter 2 are already a switch from the Neoplatonic maxim of 1m1. As the middle section of Metre 2 has just regarded the *woruldsælða* as ultimately *untreowum*—syntactically separated by three lines and varied by *rædes and frofre* ("counsel and comfort"), themselves words borrowed from elsewhere in Chapter 2 and now given union via hendiadys—so the ending completes the process:

Hi me to wendon
heora bacu bitere and heora blisse from.

[157] M. Godden and S. Irvine, eds., *The Old English Boethius: An Edition of the Old English Versions of Boethius's De Consolatione Philosophiae* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009; 2 vols.), pp. 258.

Forhwam wolde ge, weoruldfrynd mine,
secgan oððe singan þæt ic gesællic mon
wære on weorulde? Ne synt þa word soð
nu þa gesælða ne magon simle gewunigan. [C.m2: 14a-19]

They turned their backs
to me bitterly, and turned away their happiness too.
Thus why would you wish, my friends in this world,
to say or to sing that I was a fortunate man
in this world? These are no true words
just as the worldly goods cannot stay forever.

The recriminating address to his friends, his "worldly" friends, remains intact from 1m1 through Chapter 2 and this versification, but gone are the individual suffering figure and the image of falling and rising via steps in 1m1 in favour of a purer crisis of words themselves, of the *medium* of speech and song, not its *genre*. This shift in theme to the capacity to compose poetry being lost to submersion in grief, to privation from the world in this *dimme hol* (11a), and to the failure of language should not be regarded as merely inferior and selective to 1m1, but rather as a teasing out of some of the most potent, if latent, thematic threads in the original. If Metre 2 is reductive, then it is so to the very mouth of the matter, so to speak; it is also clearly homiletic, turning to the constant Alfredian theme of transience in this world. Though the great majority of the complex metaphors of the original *metrum* are lost in the change from Latin to English, the versifier's goal to illustrate directly the world's temporality achieves a good measure of universality via Christian instruction. This is very far from assuming it a derivative, weakened experiment, a copy of a copy.

As a final statement, it is necessary if far less interesting to write that there is no direct connection between the record of 1m1 in Vespasian D.xiv and the two versions of the Old English *Boethius*, as none of the scribe's errors find themselves repeated or thematically aligned in the vernacular versions.

5.2a 1m2 [Hemiepes and Adonic]

	Heu, quam [praecipiti mersa profundo]	*Woe, how [deeply immersed the mind headlong…]*
	.....	
	autumnus grauidis influat uvis	*…so that Autumn swells the heavy grapes.*
	rimari solitus atque latentis	*It was his habit to have laid open the hidden things,*
	naturae uarias reddere causas:	*to reveal the manifold ways of Nature.*
	nunc iacet effeto lumine mentis	*But now, he casts off the spent light of his mind,*
25	et pressus gravibus colla catenis	*and with his neck weighed down by heavy chains,*
	declivem que gerens pondere vultum	*and bearing his face bent low by burden,*
	cogitur, heu, stolidam cernere terram.	*he is driven, in woe, to sift the dull earth.*

5.2b Theme

1m2 is a poem about answering and returns, about how Boethius's mind is weighed down by grief and self-pity, and how the World-Soul's mind is free to set the courses of the heavens and the earth in natural cycles. The meter therefore diagnoses the problem, shows where to find the solution, and again returns to the problem, doing all this with great beauty bounded by dejection at both start and end.

The *metrum* falls naturally into four divisions. First is Lady Philosophy's plaintive setting out of her patient's illness, specifically the disorder of Boethius's mind. She begins with the interjection *Heu* ("Woe!"), the signal word of lament which answers his own use of the word in despondency at 1m1 line 15; where elegy was both the meter and theme of 1m1, its form and content, now the elegiac has become the tone, the voice that brings the poem into being. In lines 1-5, *Philosophia* then lists off the symptoms of his mental disease: his mind is sunken, lightless and gloomy, stormy with anxiety, overgrown with earthly weight (*terrenis…crescit immensum*).

The second division, from lines 6-12, recalls his mind's former capacities of wonder and its ability to ascend to the heavens, unbounded and free (*liber aperto*), where it could perceive the course of the stars and the rosy beauty of dawn's light (*rosei lumina solis* – a clear echo of Homer).

Before his downfall, he possessed knowledge of the stellar motions, was a *victor* who comprehended the cosmos.

The third division from lines 13-23 amplifies the now lost knowledge, but sets it back in the earth's orbit and the cycles of the seasons. Previously, his mind was able to conceive of the spirit that constrains the earth's orbit into stability (*quis volat stabilem spiritus orbem*)—a direct expression of the νοῦς, the Greek World-Soul, the Unmoved Mover, the Christian God, the subject of the greatest of the meters to come, the full hexameter 3m9. Moreover, if his mind could apperceive heavenly courses, so too could it see the sun set again among the *Hesperias*, the lands of the west, and ascend red at dawn in the east, and so too can it come to rise again to wellness and reborn insight. *Philosophia* then continues chaining metaphors of natural time; for her, there are the "hours of the spring day" (*veris placidas horas*), "rose coloured flowers" (*roseis floribus*), and the "heavy grapes Autumn swells" *(autumnus gravidis influat uvis;* lit. "flows into"), on which line Vespasian D.xiv picks up the metre to its conclusion.

As the third division sums up in lines 22-23 that Boethius was once a solitary thinker seeking to reveal and report the hidden causes of manifold nature (*solitus atque latentis / naturae varias reddere causas*), the fourth division in lines 24-27 returns us to the prisoner in his current pitiful state, hanging all division upon the single word "now" (*nunc*) of line 24. As in the opening lines of 1m2, Boethius is again bereft of light (*effeto lumine*), weighed down by chains (*gravibus… catenis*), and dejected in aspect (*declivem…vultum*). In woe, *heu*, he mentally sifts and separates the dull earth (*stolidam terram*), a sad and useless gesture, one that is a habituated illness of thought.

As with its formal metrical division into paired but uneven halves (hemiepes and adonic), so too does 1m2 both break down further its patient's spirit in figurative terms, and yet show via prolepsis the source of his cure, the restored sight of the heavens and the home of his rational soul

within the World Soul. The metre also makes sure to reveal the chain of being from the course of the heavenly stars to the ripening of the grapes in autumn that will grant earthly pleasure and medicine, once properly harvested and transformed. Earth is not necessarily the source of his sickness, but blind attachment to its clay is.

Nevertheless, because 1m2 is so heavily excerpted in Vespasian D.xiv, having only the last seven lines, almost the entirety of the cosmic and earthly wonders is lost, since it begins at the single line *Autumnus*, itself the end of Lady Philosophy's chain of nature. The meter is thus left almost purely as a lament, as a sharpened opposition of investigation into natural causes and the woeful state of having lost the light of the mind to what Lady Philosophy calls in 1p2 "drowsiness" (*lethargum*), the "common disease of deluded minds" (*communem illusarum mentium* morbum; 11-12). Then, in a moment of tender grace, she will wipe away Boethius's tears with the hem of her dress.

In his discussion of 1m2, O'Daly traces the poem's genre as a study of natural philosophy, one modelled on Epicurus and Lucretius. However, by "making Philosophy situate that occupation unequivocally in the past," Boethius turns to the topos of *recusatio* and argues instead for the need of an "entirely different kind of poetry about more important themes".[158] Therefore, the natural sublime must be superseded by a spiritual, intellectual one, as *Philosophia* will herself guide.

As a self-contained excerpt, the meter would make more sense starting at line 22, with the quasi-romantic image of the natural scientist, but then it would be stripped of the only vestige of physical nature, as opposed to metaphorical, that it has—unconnected as that single line "[so that] Autumn swells the heavy grapes" is to the poem's structured conclusion. There is perhaps some sense in what is left of the full poem, in terms of a progression of 1, then 2, then 4 lines, but not much more than saying instead the scribe is attracted to a line starting with a majuscule 'A'.

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[158] O'Daly (1991), p. 43.

5.2c Metre and Lyrical Context

1m2 is composed in 'hemiepes and adonic', a combined single-line form of markedly different elements. The pairing is unique to this *metrum*, as is the use of hemiepes by itself, while adonic is repeated as a solo line in 1m7, and is similarly used as the b-verse in 4m5, and as the single last line of 4m7.

The a-verse, the hemiepes, is built identically as the first half of the dactylic pentameter line (– u u – u u –) and likewise the first two-and-one-half beats of the epic line of dactylic hexameter; this is why, as explained in the discussion of 1m1, it is called hemiepes, Greek for 'half-epic'. Each line of 1m2 therefore opens with exactly the same expectation as each line of 1m1, but then switches into the two-beat adonic b-verse (– u u – x), a dactyl plus a spondee or a trochee, which, instead of recalling epic verse, echoes the lyrical verse of Sappho, as her signature Sapphic stanza ends with an adonic. The resulting form is at once hybrid, looking both backward and forward, from the epic past to the lyrical future, with a strong diaeresis separating the two.

Blackwood argues, however, that the adonic b-verse itself echoes the closing of the dactylic hexameter line of 1m1; therefore, just as *Philosophia* composes 1m2 to answer Boethius's lament given in 1m1, so has her meter "inverted"[159] his order in 1m1, for while his went from adonic (1b) to hemiepes (2a), now hers goes within the same line from hemiepes (1a) to adonic (1b). Either way, the metre switches or reverses thematic course, so cutting up the mind's arguments into unequal halves, even as the lines themselves remain stichic, that is, unchanging.

Putting the hemiepes and adonic together gives us the opening lines of 1m2:

[159] Blackwood (2015), p. 45.

	– – – u u – || – u u – –	
1	*Heu, quam prae ci pi ti*	*mersa profundo*
	– uu – u u – || – u u – –	
2	*mens hebet et pro pri a*	*lu ce re lic ta*
	– u u – – – || – u u – –	
3	*ten dit in ex ter nas*	*ir e ten e bras*

As the opening lines give plaintively, Boethius's mind has plunged to the depths (*mersa profundo*), has abandoned its own light (*propia luce relicta*), and so is now bathed in shadow (*in externas … tenebras*). Where he spoke his own woe in line 15 of 1m1 (*Eheu … miseros*), now her first word speaks his woe directly back at him, *Heu, quam praecipiti*, just as it will in the last line of the poem *cogitur, heu…*, and again in starting 3m8, where it recalls all three: *Eheu quae miseros….*

It is important to note that Blackwood consistently labels the last syllable of the b-verse, the adonic, as long, even in instances when the unit is short by nature, such as in line 24 *mentis*. Here, Blackwood is following the *brevis in longo* convention that while the last syllable in any line may be either long or short, it is usually counted and marked as long. This works well in practice for 1m2, as roughly three-quarters of the lines do end with a syllable which is long by nature. However, this consistent marking of the adonic as long, as dactyl plus spondee (– u u – –) runs counter to the adonic in the Sapphic stanza tradition, which is always dactyl plus trochee (– u u – u). I have therefore marked the adonic above with a closing anceps (x), though this is not traditional denotation. The matter is of no particular relevance for 1m2 since this *metrum* is stichic, unchanging just as the weeping Boethius is locked into his downward gloomy staring at the earth's dust, but it will become highly important with the last line of 4m7, the adonic *sidera donat*, the granted view of the stars above.

5.2d *Mise-en-page*

1m2, written at the bottom of 170r, consists of the identifying tag *heu quā·* appended to the closing words of 1m1, and the excerpted conclusion of the metre, lines 21-27, which forms a third block of text on the leaf, and continues the full-width layout strategy of lines 11-22 of 1m1.

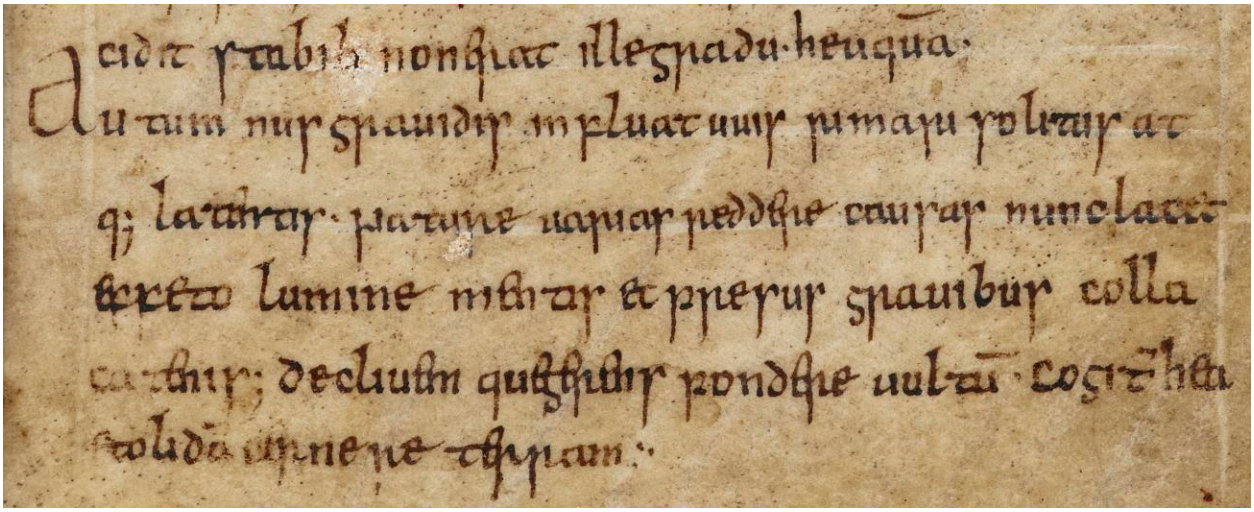


Fig. 5.27 Vespasian D.xiv, fol 170r, 170r: 21-25.

The tag is given no special notice, appearing directly in line with the end of 1m1, and only separated from that meter's closing words, *ille gradu*, by the terminal punctus; a second punctus and the empty space to the vertical bounding line mark the excision of the next twenty lines and the jump to the remainder of 1m2.

Line 21 *Autumnus* clearly demarcates the third block of text by beginning with a triple-height minuscule 'a', itself elegantly formed and set apart in the counding lines, but also very thin compared to the previous *litterae notabiliores* of 1m1, lines 1-10. This letter could be said to be a Caroline triform 'a' with a large, vertical-sided bowl topped by a distinctly insular flat stroke, though here the angle, roughly 15°, is far more noticeable due to the letter's triple size. A similarly formed, if less pretty, large initial 'a' can be found on f. 18v of the Alfredian *Orosius* in London Additional 47967:

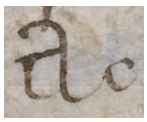


Fig. 5.28 London, Additional 47967, fol. 18v: 23.

This large initial is then followed by a second enlarged letter, 'u', one-third again taller in its minims than the third-letter, 't'. In this way, the word *autumnus* is graded in size across its first three letters, and so witnesses a tiny and rapid echo of *diminuendo*, of the hierarchy of scripts. Where in the eighth and early ninth centuries whole lines of leaves were graded according to the prestige of various scripts, here the gradation is achieved in just three letters. This gradation, though slight as a visual feature, is nonetheless a strong marker of an Alfredian era text, and is a gesture to the hybrid aesthetics of the previous century. Several examples specific to the Winchester scriptorium demonstrate this layout feature: King Alfred's name is graded in four units beginning his Hatton 20 letter to Bishop Wærferð (*ÆLF R ed*); likewise, the opening line of the *Genealogical Preface* on the first leaf of the early 10th century *Parker Chronicle* grades *Cristes acenysse*; later in the same manuscript, CCCC 173, but in a different hand, graded letters mark a subsection of Alfred's *Laws*; last, a similar grading marks a subsection in the Alfredian *Orosius*.

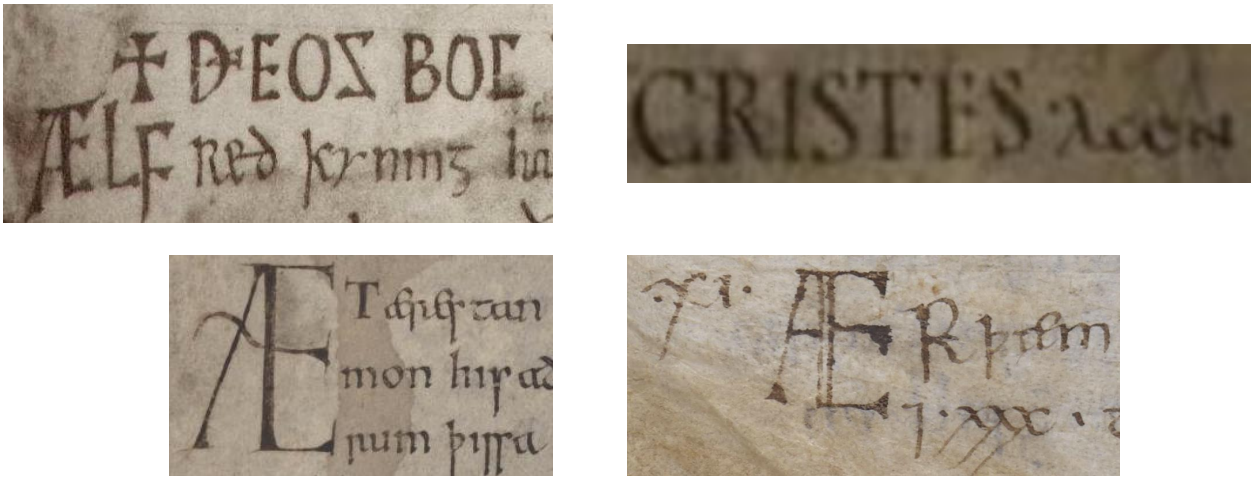


Fig. 5.29 *top left* Oxford, Hatton 20, fol. 1r: 1-2.
top right CCCC 173, fol. 1r: 1.
bottom left CCCC 173, fol. 40r: 12-14.
bottom right London, Additional 47967, fol. 18v: 29-30.

The full width layout of lines 21-27 of 1m2 is executed a bit more carefully than lines 11-22 of 1m1, at least in terms of avoiding words breaking over the right margin. Only line 22 *atque* is separated, though it could have fitted within the vertical ruling with the abbreviation of '*q;*', and line 27 *heu* runs into the bounding lines and could have been put in the twenty-fifth and last ruling.

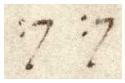
As was the case with the full-width layout of the second block of 1m1, the scribe introduces puncti and initials of one-third plus height in order to mark the ends and starts of the original verses. Moreover, just as that strategy was implemented only midway in the second block, so too there is the same initial delay in implementing these features, as they do not begin until the end of line 22, *latentis*·, but then are not deployed at the end of line 23, *causas*, nor line 24, *mentis*. They are again picked up again at the ends of lines 25 and 26, though in the case of line 25, *catenis*, there is the sudden use of a punctus versus ';' to mark the end of the original line, as *catenis* is not the end of a sentence. The final distinctive punctuation mark is the tricolon [⁖] used to mark the terminus of 1m2, though it is a weaker termination compared to the two insular puncti versi used to terminate the *Metrical Preface* in Hatton 20. 

Fig. 5.30 Oxford, Hatton 20, fol. 2v: 20.

The key question about this copy of 1m2 is to consider if layout can explain why it is only a fragment, why only the closing seven verses are recorded. The simplest answer is that the scribe may have realized there was only space for five lines left to work with (so extending the 22 lines ruled for the *Synonyma* and *Creeds* to 25), and so budgeted word space in advance, knowing it was possible to finish those seven last verses of the poem. But this is weakened by realizing that *autumnus* starts the stint in the middle of a sentence, even if it makes grammatical sense by itself. An alternate possibility is that the scribe may only have had those lines available in an exemplar, or may have started copying from the top of a leaf.

Indeed, Firenze XIV, 15 (L) suggests both these possibilities in one instance, as the concluding lines of 1m2 start atop a new leaf in a double column horizontal layout with exactly line 21, *autumnus*.

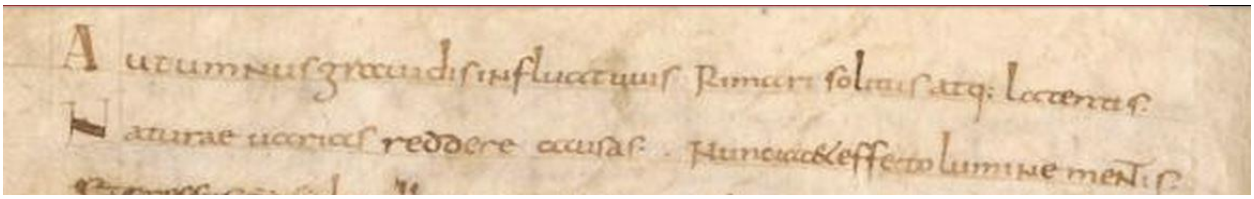


Fig. 5.31 Firenze, XIV, 15, fol. 31v: 1-2.

Conversely, München 14324 (E) has trouble with line 21 at the bottom of a leaf. Its record of 1m2 starts in a double column vertical layout, running down the left column from lines 1-10, then down the right column from lines 11-20. This layout is fine, but then the scribe skips over line 21 to write line 22, *rimari*:

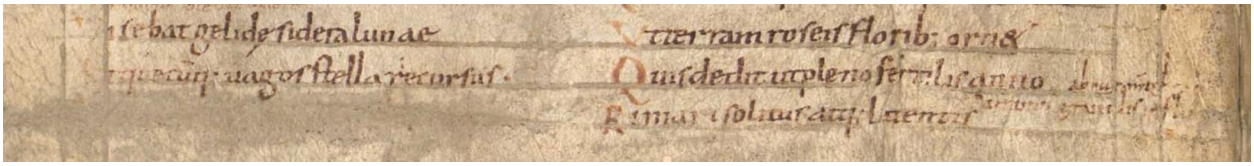


Fig. 5.32 München 14324, fol. 37v: 34-36 (*double column*).

However, as the left column has a pronounced, column-wide erasure below line 10, it seems conceivable that the missing line 21 was recorded there, improperly with respect to the vertical layout, as it would switch it to horizontal, but at least present. Then, in the later hand of a glossator—one who may have erased it from the left column—the line may have been restored interlinearly. Even though the lettering is small and the ink faded, underneath the ruling in the middle of the image below is what looks like …*gravidis infl…*, which would be the central part of the correct line:

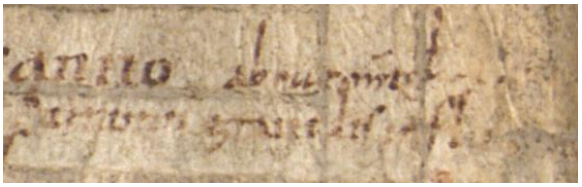


Fig. 5.33 München 14324, fol. 37v: 35-36 (*right column*).

Complicating matters, when München 14234 continues 1m2 on the following leaf, it switches the layout to double column horizontal—as it perhaps already had in the bottom, left-half-erased line of the leaf—and the scribe adds in directional ellipses in order to guide the reader along the lines.

Fig. 5.34 München 14324, fol 38r: 1-2 (*double column*).

Given this evidence of Firenze XIV, 15 and München 14324, line 21 *autumnus* presents a layout crux that might well inform Vespasian D.xiv's record of 1m2, in addition to highlighting the general difficulty of consistency in double column layout.

Overall, of the eleven comparison manuscripts which record 1m2, three present it as a simple single column (P P_2 T), two present it in a multi-line per ruling format (β_2 Vr), three in double column vertical (Cm E P_4), and three in double column horizontal (F L W). However, none of these distinctions is as simple as it seems, for the layout of 1m2 across these manuscripts is particularly variable *within* the metre, especially at the opening lines or across a leaf where the scribe may reformulate the layout mid-stream, just as München 14324 demonstrates above.

For example, Bern 455 (β_2) starts its record of 1m2 in a single column format for the opening three lines, then switches to a stichic multi-line form with three lines of the metre inscribed over each two ruled lines on the leaf. The switch is more elegant with set-apart, rubricated capitals in alternating lines, though it does lead to the division of each of the medial lines in the triplet, and so obscures the metrical identity. Moreover, as Bern 455 later repeats this 3/2 multi-line layout for its record of 4m7, it is clearly a preferred design for this scribe, a choice of visual aesthetics over metrical form:

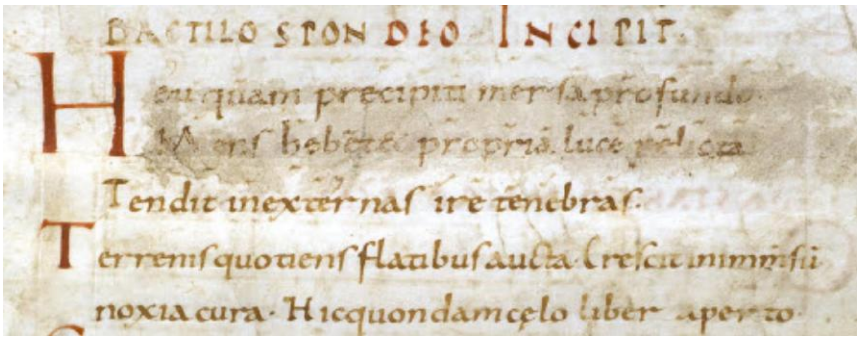
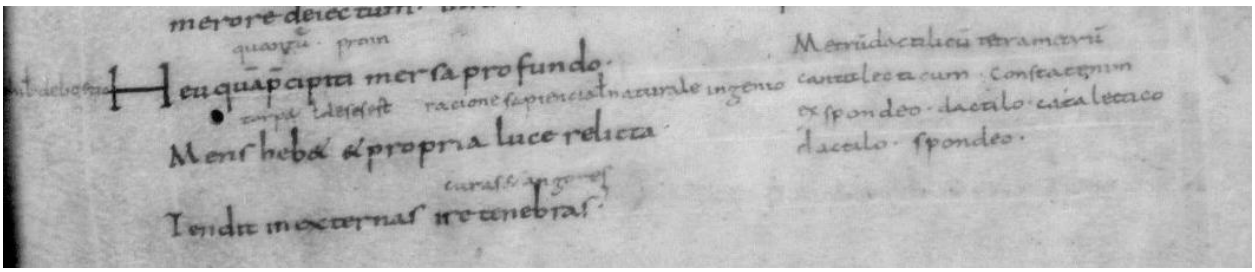


Fig. 5.35 Bern 455, fol. 26r: 5-10.

Cambridge O.3.7 (Cm) and Firenze XIV, 15 (L) also start the first few lines of 1m2 in single line column format before switching layout, respectively to double column vertical and double column horizontal. Cambridge O.3.7 switches to double column in order to complete the poem in a single leaf, whereas Firenze XIV, 15 switches to double column after the opening two lines, but does so for no immediate reason, as the poem continues over the leaf with an uneven number of lines (the same seven which are given in Vespasian D.xiv). However, as Firenze XIV, 15 also renders 3m8 and 4m7 in in double column horizontal, this is clearly a preferred layout for its scribe, one perhaps realized in the writing of this meter.

Paris 6639 (P_2) presents the simplest layout of all eleven manuscripts: single column with initial capitals. There is nothing else fancy about this layout, and so nothing to go wrong, but it does lack the division at the diaeresis that Sankt Gallen 844 presents in its single line layout split across the double column horizontal. Note also that both share explanatory glosses, *Dactilicū tetrametrū*, an identification which the fully double column horizontal and vertical layouts apparently do not need:



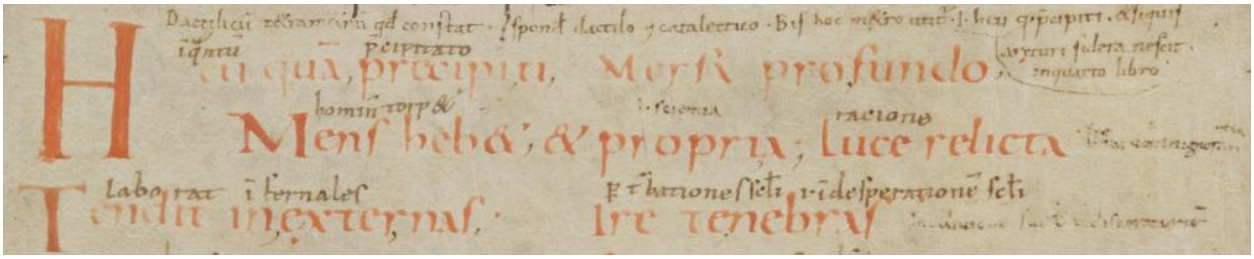


Fig. 5.36 *top* Paris 6639, fol. 4r: 18-20.
bottom Sankt Gallen 844, pp. 16: 15-17.

These double-column layouts for 1m2 for the Firenze, München, and Sankt Gallen manuscripts bring me to the heart of my argument: the interrelation of layout and metre. If 1m1 alternates hexameter with pentameter lines to form couplets, 1m2 is written to echo that fall to the pentameter line by picking up the hemiepes, or two-and-a-half beats, of each half of the pentameter line, and pairing it with a fixed adonic of two beats for the resolution of each verse. Given that this composite meter is stichic, that is, the same for each line of 1m2, but in two short halves, it is highly suitable for double column presentation, as repeatedly demonstrated in the comparison manuscripts. However, as the scribe of 170r had already graded 1m1 down to full-width with much smaller initials, it makes sense that this layout is maintained for 1m2, rather than upgraded into double columns that would better reflect the meter. The result here is a lack of distinction in metrical form between the second and third blocks of 170r, even though the scribe does at least import new visual cues to the conclusion of 1m2.

5.2e Type Facsimile

tag heu quā·

21-22 ⁊ u tum nus grauidis in fluat uuis | rimari solitus at

22-23-24 q; latentis· ꝑature uarias reddere causas | nunclacet

24-25 effeto lumine mentis | et presus grauibus colla

25-26-27 catenis; | decliuem quegerens pondere uultū · cogit̄ heu

27 stolidā cernere terram :·

5.2f Transcription Errors and Variants

21 autumnis P_2 *corr.* P_2^2 autumnum P_4 *corr.* P_4^2
gravidus P_4 *corr.* P_4^2
inflat Cm *corr.* Cm^2
vivis P_4 *corr.* P_4^2

22 l?entis E

23 redde P_4
variis Cm *corr.* Cm^2

24 effa&o W effecto E *corr.* E^2

25 præssus Cm L P pres us V

27 stollidam P_4

Abbreviations

1 quā E F Lv P_2 T Vr

21 autūnus Cm Vr

22 soliṫ Vr
atq; β_2 Cm E F L Lv P_2 T Vr

23 naturę β_2 Cm E F Vr

24 iac& β_2 E F L P_2 P_4 Vr W
eff&o F effa&to W
ṁtis Cm Vr

25 & pressus P_4
ṗssus Vr
gravib: Cm E F L P_2 P_4 Vr

26 declivēq; β_2 Cm P_2 T Vr
declivemq; E F W
vultū Cm E F L Lv P_2 P_4 Vr

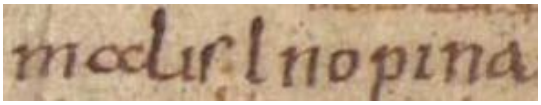
27 cogiṫ β_2 Lv Vr
stolidā β_2 F Lv P_2
ṫrā E L P_4^2 terrā F

5.2g Commentary

Vespasian D.xiv presents two apparent transcription errors in its stint of 1m2, line 24 *lacet* (*iacet*) and 25 *presus* (*pressus*). The first is particularly puzzling as it changes the verb *iacere* ("to throw") into a nonce verb; the closest proper verb form would be from *lacio, lacere* ("to entice or ensnare"), though the third person singular present should then be *lacit* and the future *laciet*.

Fig. 5.37 Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 22.

Instead, it is quite possible that the scribe has decided to make the 'i' in *iacet* an '*i*-longa' to distinguish it from the 'c' of the previous word *nunc*, for the word spacing is tight between the two. This is indeed a strategy that München 14234 (E) uses with 1m1 line 9 *malis Inopina.* Plus, as the *i*-longa is also found in early ninth century vernacular texts such as the "Exhortation to Prayer" in the *Book of Cerne*, it can be considered a holdover letter-form if indeed used here.



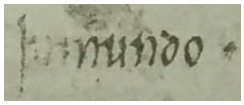
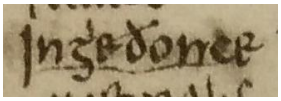
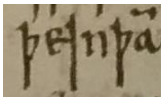


Fig. 5.38 *left* München 14324, fol. 37r: 11.
right *Book of Cerne.* Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll.1.10, fol. 2r: 10.

And, more to the point, it is a feature common to Alfredian era manuscripts, as the following examples from the Hatton 20 *Pastoral Care*, the Parker *Chronicle*, and the Tanner *Bede* show.





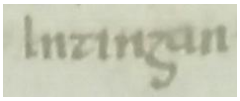


Fig. 5.39 *left to right* a) Hatton 20, fol. 6r: 2.
b) CCCC 173, fol. 15r: 15.
c) *Tanner Bede*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 10, fol. 54r: 25.

Detracting from the surety of this letter-form as an '*i*-longa', however, is that that '*i*-longa' is normally followed by a letter starting a minim (such as 'n'); scribes also typically make it descend

below the baseline, and do not ligature it to the next letter. In contrast, the scribe of D.xiv does not make the letter descend, but does connect it to the following 'a' in *iacet*. Moreover, the scribe never elsewhere makes the letter 'i' with a ligature to the next letter.

Even if the letter were again categorized as an 'l', this would also not be ideal, as its ascender lacks a full wedge serif at top, a feature common to the letter 'l' elsewhere on the leaf. Illustrations from 1m2 line 22 *solitus*, 1m2 line 26 *declivem*, and 1m1 line 20 *ingratias* demonstrate all three of these features (wedge serif atop 'l'; ligature of 'l'; no following ligature of 'i') versus the writing of *nunc lacet* in 1m2.

Fig. 5.40 *left to right* Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 21, 24, 18.

Last, the writing of 'l' for 'i' could be a direct visual error of transcription, rather than an aural one of dictation, but that interpretation is obviously speculative. Thus, even as *i*-longa is greatly preferable for being the correct reading and for being a letter-form used both in Alfredian-era and early ninth century insular manuscripts, its writing remains incompletely resolved.

While the second error, *presus*, below left, is much more easily explained as a scribal lapse, it is interesting to contemplate versus D.xiv's record of 4m7 line 27 *pressus* (*pressurus*), where the word is spelled correctly with two medial 's's, but has faulty grammar in its termination. How does the scribe get the double 'ss' wrong the first time, but not the second, and why then leave it uncorrected? One distinct difference between the two transcriptions is that 1m2 *presus* is lacking a 'tall-*e*' before the single 's', and indeed has no ligature between the two letters, which may have led to a pen-skip in writing just one 's'. An alternate possibility is that the error in D.xiv is inherited from a source text; Vatican 3363 (V) presents an interesting crux in this regard in its writing of

4m7 line 25, ***et pres us graivbus***. While the photographic reproduction is of poor quality, the gap between the 's' and the 'u' is nevertheless distinct; no intermediary text is apparent, though there would be enough room for an imported faulty reading such as 4m7 *pressurus*.

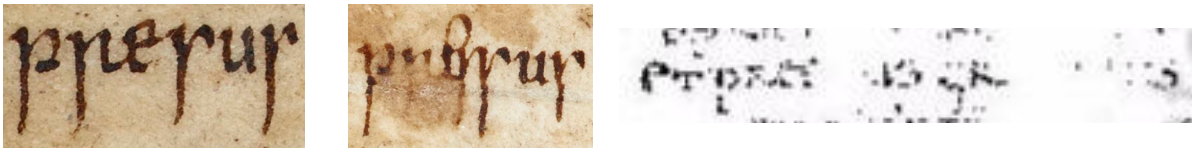


Fig. 5.41 *left to right* a) Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 23.
b) Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 224v: 6.
c) Vatican 3363, fol. 2v: 12.

Three other manuscripts (Cm L P) introduce an 'a' to the word to form *praessus*, but this orthography has no bearing on the medial double letters.

With one certain introduced error out of the thirty-three words in the stint, the scribe's error rate for 1m2 is 3.0%, which is again not worthy of Dumville's (via Lapidge) assertion that "the texts are very corrupt",[160] especially since only the unconfirmed (and unlikely) error *lacet* would compromise the meaning of the line.

As there are no shared errors in this record of 1m2 to follow up on in terms of trying to determine ancestry, tracing the abbreviations might instead prove a subtler level of inheritance, or at least help sort Vespasian D.xiv in Moreschini's families of French and German manuscripts.

The scribe of 170r employs five abbreviations in the extract of 1m2, with the contraction of the tag, *heu quam*, the punctus versus used to contract line 22 *atque*, an overline of mixed appearance in line 27 *cogitur* (which may well be an incomplete version of the same form of abbreviation for *avertitur* in line 15 of 1m1); last, there are two macrons in the closing pair of lines (*vultum*; *stolidam*). Of the eleven comparison manuscripts, Paris 6639 (P_2), Sankt Gallen 844 (F), and Verona LXXXVIII (Vr) share four of these abbreviations, and München 14324 (E) shares three,

[160] Dumville (1987), p. 172.

as do P_2, F, and Vr. The contraction of the opening tag to *"quā"* shared by all four of these manuscripts is striking and a good indicator of possible inheritance, though perhaps from different traditions, as E, F, and P_2 are all full text copies of the *Consolatio*, and only Vr is from the group of metrical collections. Strikingly, Vatican 3363 (V) appears to have zero abbreviations in its record of 1m2, even though the opening of 1m1 in the same book was rife was them.

The Verona LXXXVIII manuscript is particularly fond of using abbreviations, as it has a further seven such contractions on top of the four it shares with D.xiv; it is instead most closely related to Cambridge O.3.7 in this matter, as they have seven abbreviations in common, most notably in two instances which are not shared by any other manuscripts: line 21 *autūnus*, and line 24, *ṁtis*.

While D.xiv's first three abbreviations are widely shared, the latter two, line 27 *cogiť* and *stolidā*, are less common, and only Berlin 455 (β_2), one of the metrical collections, shares both with Vespasian D.xiv. As Verona LXXXVIII also shares *cogiť,* these instances taken together are more evidence pointing to D.xiv's relation with the metrical collection tradition.

In terms of Moreschini's families of manuscripts, the first copy in the *alpha* family of French origin, Paris 7181 (P), has no abbreviations whatsoever, the only manuscript studied to do so; this is likely a factor of all its meters being written in rustic capitals. Similarly, München 18765 (T), has all its metres in rustic capitals, and only three contractions in its record of 1m2, though two of these are shared by D.xiv. By contrast, the other manuscripts studied belonging to the *beta-one* German family all feature numerous abbreviations in common with Vespasian D.xiv (E F L W), with München 14324 (E) and Sankt Gallen 844 (F) being particularly well-aligned to each other, as they have seven abbreviations in common. While there is only a single manuscript studied from the *alpha* family, Paris 7181, that fact that it is such an outlier points strongly to D.xiv

belonging to the *beta-one* family of manuscripts of German origin, at least based on this small set of evidence, and with the caveat that Moreschini does not trace abbreviations in his edition.

One last point of shared transcription is that München 14324 (E) likewise ends its record of 1m2 with a tricolon, though it is configured differently from the one in Vespasian D.xiv.

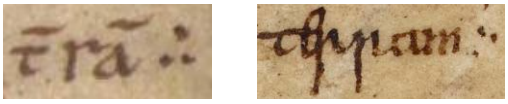


Fig. 5.42 *left* München 14324, fol. 38r: 3.
right Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 170r: 25.

5.2h Old English *Boethius* 1m2

The vernacular translations in prose and verse of 1m2 are strikingly aligned with the truncated record of the metre in Vespasian D.xiv, but in reverse fashion, for in them the poem is effectively reduced to its opening section only. All the following virtues of the world and heavens *Philosophia* reminds Boethius he once knew are gone; all the "goodness belonging to God" (*for Gode godes*) is forsworn in order to heighten the severity of the philosopher's abjection.

The prose version, embedded in Chapter 3 of Bodley 180, is short enough to quote in full:

> *Ða ongan se wisdom hreowsian for þæs modes tydernesse and ongan þa giddian and þus cwæð. Eala on hu grundleasum seaðe þæt mod drigð þonne hit bestyrmað þisse worlde ungeþwærnessa gif hit þonne forget his ahgen leoht, þæt is ece gefea, and ðringð on þa fremdan þistro, þæt sind woruldsorga, swa swa ðis mod nu deð, nu hit nauht elles nat butan gnornunga.* [B.3: 21-26]
>
> Then *Wisdom* began to grieve for the *Mind*'s weakness and then began to lament and it spoke thus. 'O, in how bottomless a pit the *Mind* suffers when it rages over this world's turbulence if it then forgets its own light, that is eternal joy, and hastens into this otherworld darkness, that is the miseries of the world, just as this *Mind* now does, now it knows nothing otherwise than lamentation.'

It is indeed as if the translator only kept, or only had to begin with, the opening five lines, as all the ensuing expressions of knowledge and wonder about the heavens and earth have been stripped, leaving only the *tydernesse*, the weakness exposed, of the *Mod*, the mind that *drigð* and *ðringð*, rages and hastens in echoing motions of despair. There is not even the return, the recall to poem's closing lines, with their pitiful imagery of burden and downcast countenance, of the soil itself as preoccupation. All is simply *gnornunga*, bottomless lamentation.

Still, the prose version does retain some of the original metre's imagery. First, there is the profound deep (*mersa profundo*), meant to be read figuratively as beneath the ocean, literalized

here as a "bottomless pit" (*grundleasum seaðe*) of a prison. The imagery of the dulled or forgotten light (*þæt mod … þonne forget his ahgen leoht*) is also kept, but is now defined in Christian terms as *ece gefea*, that is, as "eternal joy". Last is the *fremdan þistro*, the *externas tenebras* of the original, recast here as the unknowable darkness of the literalized pit, but also defined metaphysically as the *woruldsorga*, the "sorrows of the world". However, even as the prose translation extends the chain of metaphor, and makes explicit its Christianity through its theological lexicon, its need to define matters in spelled-out terms is as characteristic of its flatness as narrative as is the narrow range of those theological terms.

The verse translation in Cotton Otho A.vi is identically stripped of the rest of the *metrum* beyond its five opening lines, but it does expand the prose by way of alliterative terms, the restoration of one of the original's metaphors, and by addition of a maxim-like closing statement:

Eala, on hu grimmum and hu grundleasum
seaðe swinceð þæt sweorcende mod
þonne hit þa strongan stormas beatað
weoruldbisgunga. Þonne hit winnende
his agen leoht anforlæteð,
and mid uua forgit þone ecan gefean,
ðringð on þa ðiostro ðisse worulde,
sorgum geswenced. Swa is þissum nu
mode gelumpen, nu hit mare ne wat
for Gode godes buton gnornunge
fremdre worulde. Him is frofre ðearf. [C.m3: 1-11]

O, in how grim and how bottomless
a pit toils that darkening *Mind*
when the strong storms of worldly cares
beat against it. When struggling
it abandons its own light,
and in woe forgets the eternal joy,
it hastens into the darkness of this world,

beset by miseries. So it has befallen
this mind, now it has no more recognition
of the grace of God, knowing only groaning
in this strange world. It has need of comfort.

This verse translation is more effective than the prose in concentrating the figurative imagery of the bottomless pit and abandoned light of the mind, and also fleshes out the imagery of the original's *terrenis … flatibus* as "strong storms of wordly concern" (*strongan stormas … weoruld-bisgunga*) which strike the "darkening mind" (*sweorcende mod*). Moreover, while this poem starts as the prose does with *Eala* ("O"), it also picks up the second *heu* of the original as *mid uua* ("with woe"), though it transposes the interjection from the last line to the middle, and renders it as a substantive. In doing this, however, it creates a strong opposition of the two states at work in Boethius's mind—the first that it is in now, *uua*, and the second of which it is still capable, *gefea*, joy.

The other word from the closing lines of the poem which the prose and verse translations retain is *nu*, from *nunc*, the hinge word at line 24 which turns the poem to its closing four lines. The thrust of the verse version, however, is to shift the mind from an active—if weak—role, *swa swa ðis mod nu deð* (25), ("just as this mind now does"), to a fully passive one, *"Swa is þissum nu / mode gelumpen, nu hit mare ne wat…"* (8b-9). In particular, the verb *gelimpan* ("to happen") is an unlikely addition made by the versifier, but it is one chosen without alliterative restraint, and one which recalls the weighed-down quality of the *metrum*'s closing lines by simply phrasing Boethius's mind in the passive voice, as acted upon, as no longer capable of knowing the secrets of Nature which both the translations omit. In the place of the lost mental contemplation, the versifier's addition of *for Gode godes*, "the goodness in respect to God" (10), serves to sum up, however thinly, all those missing elements of beauty and wonder the original metre gives.

The last half-line of the verse translation, *Him is frofre ðearf* (11), is an intriguing jump ahead into the prose of 1p2, yet it also serves as a kind of maxim, a summary proverb typical to Old English verse: "It has need of comfort". It is at once an anticipation of Lady Philosophy's kindness in wiping away Boethius's tears—though that kind act is not seen in either version of the vernacular *Boethius*—and a statement of truth for all those who read the book, not just the single incarcerated Mind.

It is intriguing to reflect upon why the translator and versifier choose to truncate the poem so severely. Old English verse is fully capable of rendering beautiful imagery of the heavens and stars, of painting natural delights and the passing of the seasons; one need look no further than the scop's song in *Beowulf*, or the opening of the Exeter Book *Phoenix*. Yet, for whatever reason, the translations fix on the typifying expression of sharp grief as their expressive mode, and so lose what the protagonist himself has lost, but without the spur to memory that *Philosophia* provides. For the verse translation's *Wisdom*, the solution is once again unitary: *Mind* needs the comfort of God; it will not to come to heaven through the goodnesses of the world, but must come to recognize God as goodness itself.

5.3a 3m8 [Lesser Asclepiad and Iambic Dimeter]

	Eheu, quae miseros tramite deuios	*Alas, what ignorance leads astray the wretched*
	abducit ignorantia!	*and confused on the sideways track!*
	non aurum in uiridi quaeritis arbore	*You do not look for gold in a green tree,*
	nec vite gemmas carpitis,	*nor do you pluck gems from the vine,*
5	non altis laqueos montibus abditis	*nor do you hide nets on high mountains*
	ut pisce ditetis dapes,	*in order to provide feasts with fish,*
	nec uobis capreas si libeat sequi	*nor if it would suit you to follow goats*
	Tyrrhena captatis uada;	*do you catch them upon the Tyrrhenian shoals*;
	ipsos quin etiam fluctibus abditos	*rather, they know also the very places hidden*
10	norunt recessus aequoris,	*by the waves, places of the receding surface,*
	quae gemmis niveis unda feracior	*which waters are more fertile with pearly stones*
	vel quae rubentis purpurae	*or which of the ruddy purple*
	nec non quae tenero pisce vel asperis	*and also which shores surpass with tender fish*
	praestent echinis litora.	*or sharp sea-urchins.*
15	Sed quonam lateat quod cupiunt bonum	*But since the Good which they desire lies hidden*
	nescire caeci sustinent	*they, blind, remain unknowing—*
	et quod stelliferum transabiit polum	*and what passes beyond the starry pole*
	tellure demersi petunt.	*they, sunken, search for it in the earth.*
	Quid dignum stolidis mentibus imprecer?	*So what merit should I invoke from stupid minds?*
20	opes honores ambiant,	*—such men solicit round for favours and titles,*
	et cum falsa gravi mole paraverint	*and when they may have readied the false goods into*
	tum uera cognoscant bona.	*a heavy mass, then may they recognize true goods.*

5.3b Theme

Book 3 of the *Consolatio* is a discussion of happiness (*beatitudo)* which sets out all the qualities and possessions of happiness which men believe to be true, and which they pursue and seek to hold. *Philosophia* then, one by one, by the principle of contrariety, demolishes the surety in Boethius's mind that each of these things is a good in itself, and instead reveals each to be a "false appearance of happiness" (*falsa species beatitudinis*; 3p3: 13). 3p8 summarizes the counterpoint of each of these apparent virtues: wealth must be held by force; high office makes one grovel for it and leaves one despised by others; fame is precarious, leads to bragging, and wears one out; the powerful are constantly subject to being overthrown; and the life of pleasure renders one a slave to

the brittle human body. Each is a joyless ungood, a mere "picture of false felicity" (*mendacis formam felicitatis*), as the opening line of 3p9 relates. *Philosophia* then advances to the most famous *metrum* of all, 3m9, in full hexameter, where she turns the argument around by showing the Platonic good, the undiminishable good of God, who is the Unmoved Mover of all heavenly and natural order, and the author of our three-fold soul (*triplicis…naturae*; 13). The remainder of Book 3 concerns the human mind's obscured recognition of its origin in God, and the human soul's instinctual desire to complete its interrupted journey back to heaven; this is symbolized by the mythic story (*fabula*; 52) of Orpheus in 3m12, who, on his way up to light, turns back to gaze at Eurydice, and so loses her again in a tragedy where love has already "doubled grief" (*luctum geminans*; 25).

Despite their fame, with 3m9 being the most purely philosophical *metrum*, as it is derived from Plato's *Timaeus*,[161] and 3m12 holding the sorrowful mythology of the iconic harper who could transfix nature itself with his music, neither is appreciably recorded in the ninth century collections which share *metra* with Vespasian D.xiv. Only the first ten lines of 3m9 appear in Bern 92.A.7, and there is nothing at all of 3m12 outside the complete collection of Paris 13026. Instead, 3m8, a short poem in an unusual paired metre of 'lesser asclepiad and iambic dimeter', is widely recorded, as it shared in four other manuscripts from the comparison set which contain metrical excerpts, so making it the most common *metrum* from Book 3 anthologized.

3m8 opens with *Eheu*, an interjection of woe which immediately reverses the discussion of "happiness" which runs throughout Book 3. In place of possessions one can hold, 3m8 instead lists an imaginative series of luxury goods which are rhetorical fallacies in themselves (*shall we look for gold on trees? and jewels on vines?*), before asserting that even those rewards which men do know, such as where the ocean's depths are rich with pearls and shellfish, are not the good which goes

[161] For fuller discussion of Plato's *Timaeus* as a source for 3m9 and Metre XX, see P. Szarmach, "Metre XX: Context Bereft" in *American Notes Quarterly* 15.2 (2002), pp. 28-34.

beyond the sky's "starry pole" (*stelliferum … polum*). From the beginning, wretched men follow the foolish track of ignorance (*miseros tramite deuios*—a clear precursor for Dante's *ché la diritta via e smaritta* in the first tercet of his *Inferno*[162]), are lost in blind pursuit of earthly things, and will only recognize "true good things" (*vera ... bona*) when they have run through the false honours and unstable power the world bestows.

While Blackwood has no commentary on 3m8 in his book, O'Daly provides a brief but elegant overview, highlighting how this poem summarizes the *Consolatio* so far using *adunaton*, a figure of hyperbole raised to the nonsensically impossible, as with trying to catch goats "on the Tyrrhenian sea".[163] O'Daly also notes how the poem provides an important anticipatory figure of "topography...cosmic and Platonic"[164] in its image of the stars, one to be borne out not only in the following metre, 3m9, but also in Book Four, where the echo is heard at the closing line of 4m7, *sidera donat* ("gives the constellations")—not coincidentally this meter's pairing on folio 224v.

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[162] Alighieri, Dante. *Inferno*. Canto I: 3.

[163] O'Daly (1991), p. 8.

[164] O'Daly (1991), p. 8.

5.3c Metre and Lyrical Context

3m8 is composed in 'lesser asclepiad and iambic dimeter', a combined two-line form of markedly different elements. The pairing is unique to this *metrum*, though each element is repeated separately elsewhere in the *Consolatio*, lesser asclepiad in 2m2, and iambic dimeter in 2m4, 2m7, and 4m1.

The asclepiad line, named for the Greek lyric poet and epigrammatist Asclepiades of Samos, whose work survived in anthologies of Byzantine origin Boethius may have known, is built around a choriamb (– u u –), with two opening anceps, and a diaeresis setting up a second choriamb: x x – u u – || – u u – u – . (The greater asclepiad adds a third choriamb after the second, giving a very long line indeed.) However, according to Blackwood's notation, Boethius's version of the line has the two opening elements of the asclepiad lines in 2m2 and 3m8 as long, not anceps.

The classical iambic dimeter line, though not forming the familiar English stress pattern of x / x / , is nonetheless made up out of a pair of recognizable iambs (u –) with two preceding anceps matched to long syllables: x – u – x – u – . While the iambic dimeter lines for 2m7 and 4m1 retain both anceps in Blackwood's notation, in 3m8 the first anceps remains, but the second is always long, so rendering the line x – u – – – u – (and showing variety within the same form).

Putting these together gives us the opening lines of 3m8:

```
        – –   –   u u – || – u u – u –
1       Eheu, quae miseros   tramite deuios
          – – u  – – – u –
2         abducit  ignorantia!
```

This sharply contrasting pair of metrical forms underscores the thematic dissonance of the poem between the foolishness of what is sought and the true worth of the good. The contrasts and doubles are particularly effective from lines 3 to 6, where the short iambic dimeter lines act as

judgmental amplifiers to the longer asclepiad lines in a pattern of *non* / *nec* / *non* / *ut*; first, line 4 doubles up the absurdity of looking for gold on a green tree with *nec vite gemmas carpitis* ("nor do you pluck gems from the vine"), then line 6 answers the inanity of "nor do you hide nets on high mountains" by again carrying the logic through, *ut pisce ditetis dapes* ("so that you may dine on a feast of fish"). The structural antithesis of the poem culminates in its last lines, with a simple *et* setting out how only *after* ignorant men may have contrived the "false things" (*falsa*) of the world, such as honours and remuneration, into a "heavy mass" (*gravi mole*) weighing them down, only *then* (*tum*) may they recognize the good. The longer penultimate line is burdened with the weight of the world, and the shorter final line shows the true path, not the *tramite*, the sideways track the poem began with in the first asclepiad. The path to happiness is a renunciation of accumulation, and, once found, is the lighter measure.

5.3d *Mise-en-page*

The layout for 3m8 forms the central plank of this thesis. It is my contention here that not only does the scribe of folio 224v recognize the distinct metrical nature of this poem, but indeed *invents* a new layout form for this poem that reflects the different lengths of the alternating lines, and recognizes the symmetrical structure of the asclepiad line. Moreover, the scribe even backtracks and erases when deviating from that layout in the second line, thereby cementing the chosen design. Thus, if the scribe of 224v is indeed the scribe of 170r, then this scribe has rejected the full-width layout applied to the second half of 1m1 and the excerpt of 1m2, and done so on the specific grounds of metrical identification. Most of the ninth century manuscripts recognize the metrical difference between the poem's alternating lines, but none *breaks* its layout form in order to create a new one, one no other manuscript employs.

3m8 [1-9a] **3m8 [9b-22]**

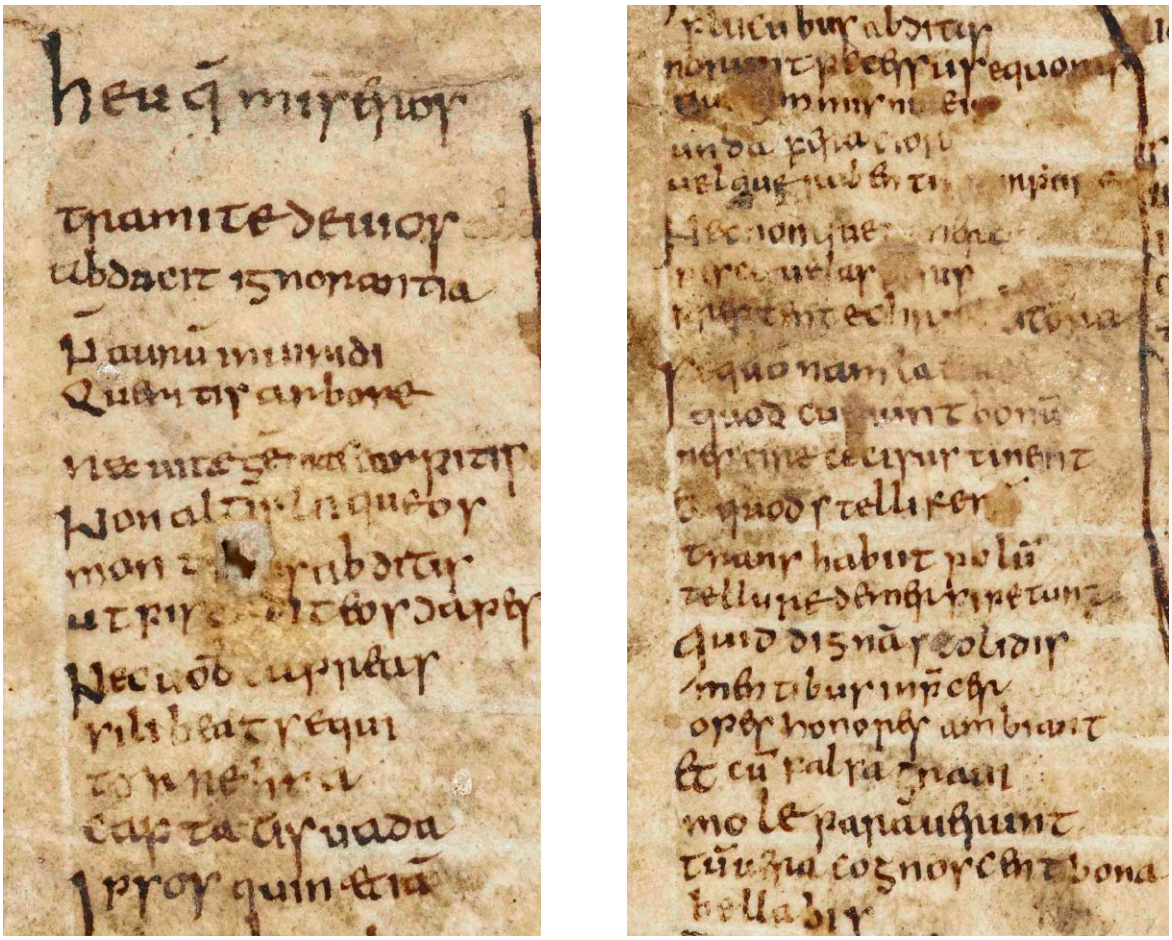

Fig. 5.43 *left* Vespasian D.xiv, fol 224v: 1-14. (*left column*)
right Vespasian D.xiv, fol 224v: 15-35. (*left column*)

Folio 224v is laid out in a double-column format, with 3m8 running vertically down the single left column to its completion, whereupon it is immediately followed by the tag (*bella bis*) of 4m7 and lines 11-22 of that meter, which is then picked up atop the right column and likewise continued down vertically. What is strikingly different here, and immediately apparent, is that the written line-lengths are uneven throughout 3m8, but are *roughly* the same width, even though the asclepiad lines should be half-again longer than the iambic dimeter lines, as they have 12 syllables compared to 8; yet, here the scribe has formed a layout based on a narrow column, and tried to make it even.

Indeed, what the scribe has uniquely done is to *break* the asclepiad line at the diaeresis into two halves, so putting the second-half underneath the first-half, then put the iambic dimeter line underneath that pair, so forming a kind of 'triplet' syllabic pattern of 6 + 6 + 8 that is closer to being an even block of text as it goes down the column than the regular layout of 12 + 8.

Moreover, the layout is consistent, as all eleven asclepiad lines written in 3m8 break at the diaeresis, with six syllables each line. This is true of line 3a as well, *non auram in viridi*, which has seven syllables, but for metrical purposes has elision following the rule of a final 'm' followed by a vowel, here the 'm' of *aurum* before *in*, so leaving *um* an uncounted syllable. That said, the scribe contracts *non* to a majuscule 'N', as if to suggest instead an elision to *Nauram* so as to render the half-line in six syllables that way; this would in effect see the scribe applying the rule of elision with final 'm' to 'n', which is the other nasal consonant. Interestingly, none of the other five negative words opening lines in this *metrum* is likewise contracted.

The scribe, however, seems not to have had all this exactly in mind when starting, for the tag of 3m8, *Heu quam miseros*, is presented by itself, in a larger manner, set off from the subsequent lines. Lines 1b and 2 then follow, as if in a doublet, though line 1b (*tramite deuios*) is at the bottom of the second ruling, and line 2 (*abducit ignorantia*) is at the top of the third ruling, so breaking a more elegant single-line per ruling form which could have carried down to the twenty-first and last ruling, with line 22 left to inscribe below. This pair is then followed by 3a and 3b in their own doublet, in a smaller hand, a size maintained for the rest of the *metrum*, again on either side of the ruling; line 4 (*nec uitæ gemmas carpitis*) then follows at the bottom of the fourth ruling.

From there, the scribe then tries to recognize the lines as triplets, though line 8, an iambic dimeter, itself breaks unevenly into two, as *tyrrehna*, the three-syllable name of the sea on the western coast of Italy, is left by itself as a half line, 8a. The word is spaced out carefully with few

ligatures, and is likely given its own line because it is an unfamiliar Greek name for the insular scribe. The resulting quartet of half-lines is then immediately reversed in the next triplet, where *norunt recessus aequoris* is allowed to run its full width as a single line, almost a full inch wider than any of the previous iambic dimeter lines. This, in turn, will force the right-hand column of 224v inscribing 4m7 to be pushed further to the right by that same amount, a result the scribe unwisely did not recognize when laying out the second subsection of 4m7 so closely to the opening line of 3m8 atop the leaf. This then explains why 4m7 becomes canted and the need for the ugly line demarcating the two columns.

From line 10 i*psos* forward, the triplets of 6 + 6 + 8 syllables per line are maintained for the rest of the poem, with a layout of two lines per ruling, except for lines 19a, 19b, and 20, which form a self-sufficient triplet within the fifteenth ruling; this triplet's spacing occurs for no obvious visual reason, though it might well suggest a more logical overall layout for 3m8, for all of it to be three lines per ruling, though this in turn could leave it looking rather cramped.

To bolster the recognition of the serial triplets, the scribe adds initial capitals to them, starting with line 3, *Non* (contracted), and following in each successive asclepiad line: *Non* (5); *Nec* (7); *Ipsos* (9); *Quae* (11); *Nec* (13); *Sē* (15); ꝰT (17); ***q****uid* (19); ꝰT (21). The hand's variation in forming these initial letters is noteworthy, for, as in 1m1 and 1m2, there is a mixture of minuscule and majuscule forms, obvious with 'Q/q', and some are one-and-a-half height, while others are closer to double height (*Ipsos* (9); *Sē*, 15) because of elongated descenders. Most notable, of course, is that the opening line is not given a majuscule letter, but rather a thick, one-and-three-quarters height insular 'h'.

That the layout of the capitals shows not just variability, but what we might recognize as decisions in process at the level of the single letter, is further in evidence as line 3b, *Queritis*, is

given its own initial capital, so suggesting that the scribe hadn't yet figured out the pattern of columnar layout in triplets with initial capitals at the poem's odd lines. The ductus of this 'Q' is also distinctly poor, with the thinnest of curves topping the bowl, and the sideways descender given in a thick, wobbly line; likewise, the initial majuscule 'N's, which look Caroline in form against the other insular initials, are also quite poor in execution, with notable bumps and pen lifts, line 5 *Non* most of all. Taken together, these variances and mixed forms are signs of lower status prowess in executing this script and lack of planning for the newly invented layout. Last, in strong opposition to the careful pointing and use of other punctuation marks in 1m1 and 1m2 on 170r, there is no punctuation whatsoever for this *metrum*, not even at its termination.

All this evidence of the opening of the poem being in a state of scribal flux is accelerated by the presence of erased text underneath the current text of the meter's opening lines, a miniature palimpsest, as it were.

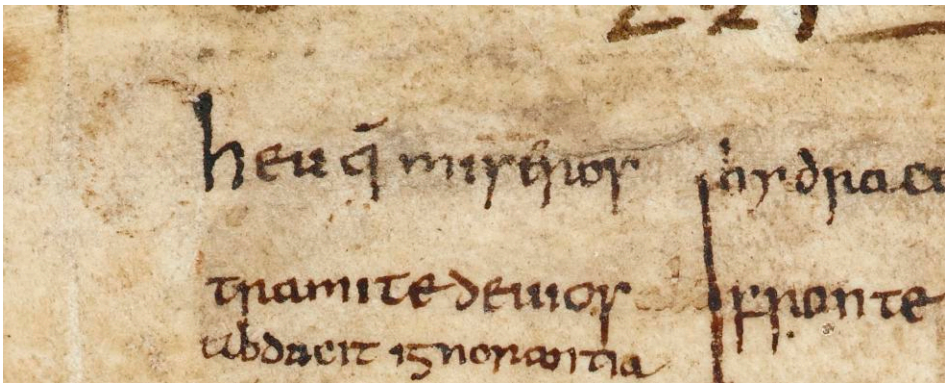

Fig. 5.44 Vespasian D.xiv, fol 224v: 1-3. (*left column*)

Two major features have been erased. First, there is a large initial in the vertical bounding lines at the first ruling, either a 'C', or a rounded majuscule 'Є'. It should be the large initial 'Є' of the proper tag, *Eheu quae miseros*, but this is harder to sustain, as there is no middle bar, or tongue, of an 'Є' left visible. An alternate inference is that this could be the large initial 'C' of *Carmina* which starts the *Consolatio*; that is to say, the scribe could have been writing 1m1 afresh. This reading is

supported by the presence of a second erased initial, an 'f' in the second ruling, indented under the 'h' of *heu*. It would serve as the initial letter of *flebilis*, which starts line 2 of 1m1, and its relative positioning inset from the 'C' is reminiscent of the openings of 1m1 in Paris 6639 (P_2) and Berlin 58 (Br), seen earlier. The second erasure follows on *devios*, which ends the first asclepiad of 3m8. Erased, but still clearly visible, are the letters 'abd' of *abducit*, which would have continued the meter in long-line format following the opening half-line. Here, however, the scribe has deliberately erased the word and *reset* the poem in triplets that render the present 6 + 6 + 8 format.

I suggest there are two reasons for this: first, since the half-line has been placed above, the width of lines 1-2 would have been one-half-line shorter versus all the rest in a long-line layout; second, the erased word *abducit*—which now carries into the second column of 4m7—was likely spelled incorrectly, because the length of the erasure is greater than the length of the properly inscribed *abducit* reset below to the ruled margin, and because there seems to be an erroneous ascender just one or two letters before a putative closing 't'. Rewriting *abducit* below *tramite* thus serves to render the invented layout properly and correct a mis-spelling at one go:

Fig. 5.45 *top* Vespasian D.xiv, fol 224v: 2. (*left column*)
bottom Vespasian D.xiv, fol 224v: 3. (*left column*)

But, it is also fair to ask if the scribe of the erased first *abducit* is the same scribe of the existing one, as not only is the present word shorter, its aspect is thinner, and the formation of the letters is different. In the erased version, the 'a' and 'd' look well-rounded, whereas in the existing one, the

'a' is the transitional insular letter-form with a thin, angled top-stroke, and the 'd' does not curl down in its ascender, as it does in the erased version.

In terms of trying to settle the matter, there are almost certainly other letters hidden under the opening lines of 3m8—indeed, there is a rounded letter 'c' or 'o' noticeable under the contracted 'q' of line 1 *quae*—but they are not legible even in this high resolution photograph. The manuscript will therefore need inspection under ultraviolet light for any further assessment of what may be there.

It thus seems incontrovertible at this stage to say that if the scribe of 170r is the scribe of 224v, then this is the third block of evidence that argues that the scribe is making decisions concerning layout—even poem choice—in the very process of writing, is designing and repurposing the layout on the fly. To borrow the terms of Bredehoft's *Visible Text*, the opening two lines of 3m8 on this leaf are a witness of scribal "production", not merely copying. This is the logic of a text as "artefact", not a "copy" subject solely to the logic of transcription.[165] At its erased clearest, this is the work of an experimenting hand in a moving script. The alternate conclusion that there could be multiple scribes, between 170r and 224v, and between the possible two hands at work in the opening lines of 3m8, likewise sets up a text in flux, in *mouvance*, as the copies, erasures, and changes proliferate.[166]

The comparison manuscripts studied typically inscribe 3m8 in one of two fashions, either in a straightforward single column, or in a double column form, either in horizontal or vertical layout; in horizontal, the asclepiad lines are written in the left column, and the iambic dimeter lines are given in a narrower right column. Six of the manuscripts render 3m8 in the single column

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[165] Bredehoft (2014), p. 5.

[166] See P. Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1972).

form (Br β_1 F P T W); surprisingly, only two manuscripts of this group, Bern A.92.7 (β_1) and München 18765 (T), indent the iambic dimeter lines as does Moreschini in his edition. Moreover, only one of the other four single-column manuscripts, Wien 271 (W), uses rubrication to mark the initials of the asclepiad lines and grant them priority. The remaining three scribes using single column layout must not have seen it as important to demarcate the iambic dimeter lines.

In contrast, all of the manuscripts with double column layout, whether horizontal (β_2 Cm L P_2) or vertical (E P_4), use some combination of visual cues of larger initials, set-apart capitals, and rubrication to mark the superiority of the asclepiad lines. This clearly suggests these scribes not only recognize the metrical disparity of the paired lines (or at least budget space accordingly for varying line-lengths), but accentuate the inequality of the lines for the visual instruction of the reader, presumably to forestall misreading the layout direction. One also can grant that this meter's form offers an opportunity for scribes to produce visual aesthetics echoing the aural.

Berlin 58, one of the manuscripts closely studied by Barrett for its neumes, gives a productive solution to the problem of the uneven aslcepiad-iambic dimeter lines of 3m8. While it straightforwardly renders the first eight lines of 3m8 in a single-column layout, with set-apart rubricated capitals, it also creates a lyrical refrain by repeating "*eheu quae miseros*" as a '*b*-line' for each iambic dimeter. The result both fills up the otherwise uneven space and overwhelmingly suggests the meter was chanted, perhaps even in a call and response form; indeed, the layout reflects the transformation of the philosophical content of the original metre into visible song.

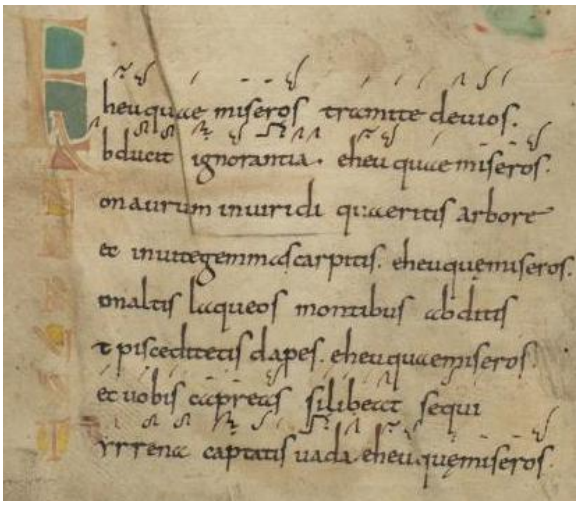

Fig. 5.46 Berlin 58, fol. 1v: 18-25 (*left column*).

5.3e Type Facsimile

1 heu q̄ miseros

tramite deuios
2 abducit ignorantia

3 N̄aurū inuiridi

Queri tis arbore

4 nec uitæ gēmas carpitis

5 Non altis laqueos

mon tibus ab ditis
6 ut pisce diteos dapes

7 Nec uoƀ capreas

silibeat sequi
8 ty r re h n a

cap ta tis uada

9 J psos quin etiā

flucti bus abditis
10 norunt secessus equoris

11 que gemmis niueis

unda fera cior
12 uel que rub en tis purpure

13 Nec non que tenero

pisce uel asperis
14 pres tent echr[ ] litora

15 Se[] quo nam lateat

quod cupiunt bonū
16 nes cire cecisus tinent

17 et quod stelliferū

trans habiit polū
18 tellure demersi petunt

19 quid dignā stolidis

men ti bus inṕ cer
20 opes honores am biant

21 et cū falsa graui

mo le parauerunt
22 tū uera cognoscent bona

4m7 bella bis

5.3f Transcription Errors and Variants

1 Ehu P_2 Heu F V *corr.* F^2 V^2 Hheu T
deuio E^2 W^2 *(erased)* F P_2 T

2 abducti P_4 adducit F T *corr.* F^2 T^2

3 N ā aurū P_4

4 vitae E P P_2 *corr.* E^2 P_2 vitę P_4 [vite *ex emend.* L^2]
invite Br ^{in}vite F^2

6 prisce P_4

7 Nn vobis Cm (N^{o}n *corr.* Cm^2)
si liceat P_4

8 te[?]rrheni L *corr.* tyrrheni L^2 tirrena P tirrhena Vr
tẏrrena Br β_1 β_2 P_2 tyrrhena E F T W tyrena Cm *corr.* tyrrena Cm^2
captati T *corr.* T
vadea P_4

9 &ia E *corr.* E^2

10 nouerunt P
recessis E *corr.* E^2
aquoris β_1 aeqris Cm (*no abbrev. mark)*

11 gemis F T *corr.* F^2 T^2
fera tior F P T fera [c/t]ior *corr.(?)* E^2

12 Ut quæ E pupurae Cm pururae *corr.* F^2

13 taneris P_4
piscae P_2
(?)el asperis Vr ut asperis β_2 P_4 [u]taspis Cm *(abbrev.)* [u]tasperis P_2

14 praesent V *corr.* V^2
æchinis P_2
litera E *corr.* E^2 littora P P_2

15 p$^{?}$onum T *corr.* T^2 · Bonum Vr *(wrongly assigned to start line 16)*

16 ce E *corr.* ce^{ci} E^2

17 quod quod P_4
transhabiit P

18 demersis P_4
ex optem β_1 *(added to line ending)*

19 inprecer F P_2 P_4 T Vr
stolis V *corr.* V^2

20 opeis P_4

21 falsi T *corr.* T^2
molae P in mole P_4
paraver(?)nt *corr.* $P_2{}^2$

22 tunc P
vero *corr.* T^2
cognoscat E *corr.* E^2 cognoscent β_1 Cm
bono *corr.* T^2

Abbreviations

1 $\bar{q}$ Lv quę E Vr

2 abduċ Vr

3 $\bar{N}$ E Lv Vr
aurū β_1 β_2 Cm E Lv Vr
quęritis E W $\bar{q}$ritis Vr

4 gēmas Cm Lv P_2 Vr

5 $\bar{N}$ altis E P_4 Vr
laq:os Cm
montib· β_1 montib; E P_2 montib: Vr

6 dit&is L P_4 W

7 $\bar{N}$ Vr
uoƀ β_1 Lv Vr

9 &ia E &iam F L P_4 V etiā β_1 Lv P_2 &iā β_2 Vr
fluctib, β_1 E fluctib; Vr

10 Noṙ P_2 Vr

11 Quę β_2 E Vr W
gēmis β_2 P_2 Vr

12 quę Cm E W q̄ Vr
purpurę Cm E F V Vr

13 ṅ P_2 Vr
quę β_1 β_2 F q Vr (*macron*)
tasperis Cm (*crossed 'p'*)

14 pręstent Vr

15 quonā β_2 E P_2 T Vr
qd β_1 β_2 E Vr *(crossed 'd')* q Cm *(crossed 'q')*
bonū β_1 E L Lv P_2

16 cęci V

17 & β_1 P_4
qd β_1 β_2 E Vr *(crossed 'd')*
stelliferū β_2 Cm E Lv P_2 Vr
polū L Lv P_2 Vr

18 p&unt E L P_4 Vr W

19 q̇d β_1
dignū β_1 E P_2 Vr dignā Lv
ṁtibus β_2 mentib, β_1 ṁtib: Cm P_2 Vr mentib· E
impṙcer β_2 Cm E W inṙcer Lv P_4 ínṙcer P_2 Vr

20 ābiant P_2

21 & β_1 P_4
cū β_1 β_2 Cm E Lv P_2 Vr

22 tū Lv P_2 Vr
tum u[a] Cm (or *corr.* Cm)

5.3g Commentary

There are thirteen transcription errors and variances overall in 3m8; this is a noticeably higher rate of faulty transmission compared with the *metra* on 170r, 1m1 and 1m2. Seven of these have no known ancestor readings, and so are likely errors introduced to the manuscript by the scribe: *diteos* (6); *abditis* (9); *secessus* (10); *Sequo nam* (15); *dignā* (19); *parauerunt* (21); and the illegible letters of *echr__* (14), which should read *echinis*. Apart from the faulty prefix 'se' of line 10, which could be an error in reading or in producing the highly similar insular letters 'r' and 's', and the confusion of words in line 15 (*Sequo* / *Sed quonam*), each of these readings shows consistent trouble in forming the endings of words, thereby compromising the meaning of the lines through careless writing.

Line 6 *diteos* is a nonce plural noun which should read *ditetis*, a second person plural subjunctive verb; meaningless as is, it could conceivably be in agreement with line 5 *laqueos*, though this still leaves the line absent a main verb. Line 9 *abditis* is an error of writing an ablative plural for an accusative plural, *abditos*; though the reading makes *abditis* ("hidden") agree with *fluctibus* instead of *ipsos,* the meaning does not change much, as it switches from "the very places hidden by the waves" to "the very places in the hidden waves". Nevertheless, it does leave *ipsos* as a substantive, one harder to construe, and it loses the line's balance of paired accusatives in first and final position. Line 19 *dignā* is a straightforward mistake of gender, a feminine for what should be a neuter substantive; the meaning of the line is not affected, and the error may be one of misheard dictation, though it is a simple enough grammar error that should have been corrected. Line 21 *parauerunt* (*paraverint*) is a more serious error in inflection, for it changes a plural perfect subjunctive ("[when] they may have readied...") into a straightforward plural perfect ("[when] they readied..."). The crucial sense of futurity the subjunctive provides is now lost, the sense of a possible recognition of

the false goods as false, required before being able to look upward to the true good; that this is a recognition not all will to be able to make is thereby lost in the flat grammar of the perfect tense. Only Paris 6639 (P_2) shares an error here, corrected by a later hand.

It is particularly difficult to guess what has happened in line 14 *echr__*, for the letters cannot be discerned beyond what is presumably an epenthetic 'r'.

Fig. 5.47 Vespasian D.xiv, fol 224v: 22.

Though the medial letter could be the 'n' in *echinis* wrongly anticipated, there is enough of a descender present to argue it is an 'r'; likewise, the uptick of a ligature in the final stroke is typical of 'r' for this scribe, but never of 'n'. The rest of the letters are too smudged for any clear reading, though the final one could be a rising 'tall-*s*', suggesting the word was *echrinis*, and not more wrong than that, though the blurred space does not look like it could hold four letters. As no other manuscript studied has a faulty reading in this word, we are deprived of a simple rationale.

The error in line 15, *Sequo nam lateat* for *Sed quonam lateat*, is easier to contemplate, though no less unfortunate for that, giving an agrammatical rough sense of "for that should conceal itself", where it should read "but where it may be hidden". The unique reading is another instance suggestive of a botched dictation, one where lexical boundaries have been misheard as syllables have been jumbled together. And, if the reading were taken as the deponent *sequor*, missing its first-person inflection, the result would change the line to the nonce "I follow for it may conceal". Another possibility is that the scribe abbreviates *Sed* with a macron, but this is highly improbable

as a scribal device. Moreover, even accepting that the 'e' is largely effaced, no such macron is distinctly apparent above it.

Fig. 5.48 Vespasian D.xiv, fol 224v: 23. (*left column*)

Of the five words in D.xiv's record of 3m8 where variance is shared with other manuscripts, line 17 *trans habiit* and line 19 *inprecer* are of less interest as they are simple variations in medieval orthography; the first is a voicing of 'h' before an initial vowel, a feature which reappears in 4m7; the second is an alternative spelling of the prefix *im*. Neither spelling compromises meaning. Paris 7181 (P) is the only manuscript to share the reading *trans habiit*, but a significant number, five in all, share *inprecer* (F P_2 P_4 T Vr), suggesting that this spelling is fully acceptable.

Of the other words with shared variance, the spelling of the poem's opening word as *Heu* is immediately intriguing, for it changes the metrical nature of the line, significantly weakening the argument that the scribe is responsive to the chosen meter of the poem. That said, the interjection certainly forms a crux, as four other manuscripts have trouble rendering it: Paris 6639 misses the medial vowel 'e'; München 18765 (T) has a capital 'H' in place of the initial 'E', doubling the consonant; and Sankt Gallen 844 (F) and Vatican 3363 have the identical opening, *Heu*, as D.xiv, though each is corrected by a later glossator.

Fig. 5.49 *left to right* a) Paris 6639, fol. 34r: 5. (*end of single column before double column*)
b) München 18765, fol. 41r: 11.
c) Sankt Gallen 844, pp. 88: 15.
d) Vatican 3363, fol. 27r: 8. (*left column*)

First, the layout of 3m8 in Paris 6639 is odd indeed, as the opening asclepiad line of the *metrum* is recorded directly following the last words of 3p8, staying in the same full-width prose line, with *abducit ignorantia* then set-apart by itself in the left column of what becomes a double column horizontal presentation of the meter. This improperly set 'prosaic' start to the layout does not happen with the other meters in that manuscript. Moreover, that the diphthong is lost in the second syllable of *Ehu* shortens the metrical quantity, but this is neither noted nor corrected, even though the *metrum* is heavily glossed by a later hand. Second, one could imagine the first capital 'H' in München 18765 might be the work of a correcting hand, as there is some trace of what looks like a round Caroline 'Ɛ' behind it, but it is more likely that this trace is the result of letters bleeding through from the verso side of the leaf, plus there is no apparent smudge of correction. Another rationale is that 'h' and 'e' sound similar in voicing of a subsequent 'h'. Third, the correcting hand in Sankt Gallen 844 is very likely the same hand which gives a metrical explanation in light brown ink in a marginal gloss; it thus makes sense to assert that the second hand correcting the initial reading by adding the 'E' does so in accordance with identification of the given metrical form, followed by an explanation in a third hand using darker ink. However, since Paris 6639 has virtually the same explanatory gloss on meter from Lupus's *Metris Boethii*, one must then query why that glossator instead fails to correct the opening word to its two long syllables (*Eheu*).

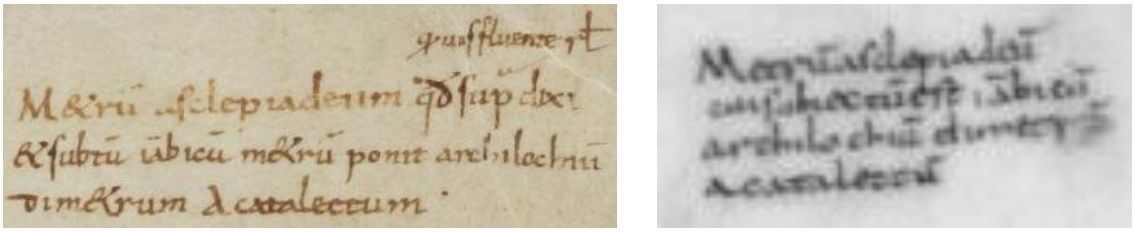

Fig. 5.50 *left* Sankt Gallen 844, pp. 88: 15-16. (*marginal gloss*)
right Paris 6639, fol. 34r: 5-6. (*marginal gloss*)

As an aside, there is a another manuscript, Wien 271 (W), which similarly has a glossator adding a metrical explanation to 3m8; though its identification of the meter is made as a glossed incipit, and not a lengthy marginal note, the hand has many glosses in the margins which are shared by F, and, to a lesser degree, P_2. Overall, it is clear that several later hands are reviewing these complete copies of the *Consolatio* (F P_2 T W) and studying them for their metrics, as there is a transmission of glosses in parallel with the transmission of the main text. Exemplifying this study of meter, one of the glosses in Wien 271 adds an identification of great— if elementary— purport: *iambici sunt breuiores uersus* ("iambics are shorter verses"). Interestingly, such glosses are absent in the metrical excerpt collections themselves, presumably because they are unneeded.

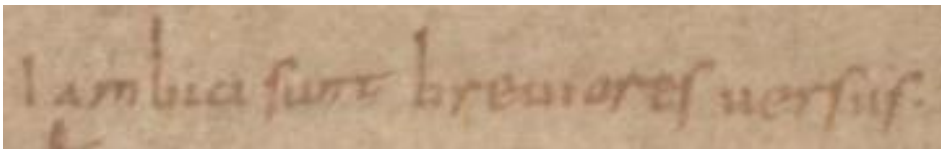

Fig. 5.51 Wien 271, fol. 35r: 17.

Line 4 *uitæ* is another significant crux in the poem which may suggest identification of an ancestor manuscript. The mistake is one of misreading the feminine noun *vitis* ("vine") in its ablative singular form *vite* as *vitae* ("life"), in either a genitive or dative singular or a nominative plural. In addition to cross-wiring the grammatical case, the incorrect reading gives a curious statement indeed: "nor do you pluck gems from life". Nonetheless, the error is a common one; besides Vespasian D.xiv, *vitae* is initially inscribed in four other manuscripts (E P P_2 P_4). Two of those manuscripts, München 14324 (E) and Paris 13026 (P_4), correct the 'a' by simple removal, leaving the space between the 't' and 'e' blank but for a noticeable mark of erasure; Paris 6639 properly erases the 'a', then rewrites the 'e' in its place, though the erasure mark and darker ink in turn make the correction noticeable. Unfortunately, it is difficult in each instance to know if the corrections are the work of the original scribe or of a later reader. Last, another shared error to the reading of

line 4 *vite* is found in both Sankt Gallen 844, where an interlinear gloss *in* is written above *vite* in the same light brown ink of the metrical identification, and Berlin 58 (Br), where this same *in* is directly added as a prefix, so reading *invite*, which is nonsensical as a single word, and unnecessary given the ablative inflection of the noun.

The most challenging of the shared variances is the vexing name of the Mediterranean sea, *Tyrrhena*, in line 8. First, it is an unfamiliar Greek name; second, its potential for orthographical variance is strong with the letters 'y', which may be written 'i', double 'r', which may lose one of the pair, and 'h', which may lose any voicing, and so be elided. Across the comparison texts studied, there are seven variant spellings in eight different manuscripts; even two manuscripts which have corrections to the reading, Cambridge O.3.7 (Cm) and Firenze XIV, 15 (L), still end up with non-classical spellings.

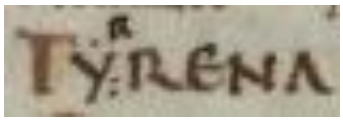
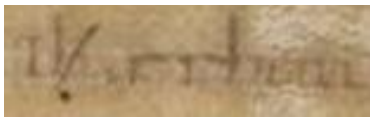

Fig. 5.52 *left* Cambridge O.3.7, fol. 23r: 10.
right Firenze, XIV.15, fol. 57v: 26.

The addition of "R" to Cambridge O.3.7 is simple enough, but the correction to Firenze XIV, 15 is far harder to judge due to the faded ink and the poor quality of the digital image. The original reading, which looks something like *te[?]rrheni*, has been amended with a crude double slash 'y' over the 'e', barely forming a proper letter, and not helping elucidate what the third letter is. At the other end, the 'i' still remains incorrect, possibly seen as marking the genitive case; however, the 'i' could instead be could a triform 'a', but if this be the case, then the bowl of the 'a' is so lightly inscribed as to be confused with a thin ligature from the 'n'.

Four of the comparison manuscripts have the correct spelling *tyrrhena* (E F T W), and another four simply drop the 'h', leaving a devoiced form (Br β_1 β_2 P_2), a spelling which should be regarded as orthographical variation rather than error. Paris 7181 (P) and Verona LXXXVIII (Vr)

both read ‘i’ for ‘y’ in the first syllable, again another acceptable orthographical shift, and Paris 7181 also drops the ‘h’. Vespasian D.xiv, on the other hand, has the ‘y’ and the double ‘r’, but is nonetheless the sole manuscript to have transposition of the medial letters ‘h’ and ‘e’; this line reading should therefore be regarded as an error and not a shared variant.

Fig. 5.53 Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 224v: 12. (*left column*)

As noted earlier, *tyrrehna* uniquely forms its own line in D.xiv, and is well spaced out, with each letter discrete—if not ideally formed. The ‘y’ is thin indeed, with what may be an odd bottom stroke curling back to the left; meanwhile, the variance in the formation of ‘r’ and ‘n’ is challenging to decipher, as the strokes are not fully formed; indeed, one could argue, in contrarian fashion, for a spelling of *tyrnehra.*

The final shared error, line 22 *cognoscent*, is found in two other manuscripts, Bern A.92.7 (β_1), and Cambridge O.3.7 (Cm). This is an error switching the present subjunctive, *tum…cognoscant* (“then...they may recognize”), to a future indicative (“then...they will recognize”). As with the loss of futurity in line 21 *et…paraverunt*, this shared error likewise flattens out the subjunctive mood, so collapsing the sense of what is only possible at this stage into the eventual.

Overall, the errors and variances in Vespasian D.xiv’s writing of 3m8 suggest the possibility of a second scribe for 224v, one less trained and less regular in forming insular script, and much more prone to introducing errors than the scribe of 170r. With eight introduced errors in ninety-seven words (including *tyrrehna*), the error rate is 8.2%; taking account of all errors, both shared and introduced, gives thirteen variances, for an variance rate of 13.4%. Furthermore, with each of the shared and/or inherited errors pointing to different possible source manuscripts (*Heu* [F,

V]; *vitae* [E P P_2 P_4]; *trans habiit* [P]; *inprecer* [F P_2 P_4 T Vr]; and *cognoscent* [β_1 Cm]), the readings are far too variable to pinpoint a single manuscript which forwards a probable line of ancestry.

The evidence from the agreement in abbreviations points to a more direct association of Vespasian D.xiv with Paris 6639 (P_2) and Verona LXXXVIII (Vr) than the shared errors do. D.xiv uses 13 abbreviations overall in 3m8, a high number, but one actually in the middle of the range between Paris 7181 (P) with 0, and Verona LXXXVIII with 31. Of those 13 abbreviations, P_2 and Vr simultaneously have 8 in common with D.xiv, thus showing a tight grouping of the three manuscripts; moreover, they are collectively the only copies to have the line 22 reading *tūm*. While the Verona manuscript's very high rate of abbreviation may explain the frequency of association with D.xiv, the bond is tighter with Paris 6639 as 8 of its 16 abbreviations are identical. No other manuscript shares more than 6 abbreviations; also, the slightly lower rate of shared abbreviations for Bern 455 (β_2) and Cambridge O.3.7 (Cm) with 5 each again witnesses their solid bond overall.

It is also worth pointing out two particular abbreviations at the beginning of D.xiv's record of 3m8: first, the use of a macron over the 'q' of the identifying tag, *Heu q miseros*, where no other manuscript shortens the asclepiad line; and second, the abbreviation of *Non* in line 3 to 'N' with a macron in tandem with *aurum* following shortened to *aurū*. While D.xiv is unique in collapsing line 1 *quae* to a single letter, München 14324 (E) and Verona LXXXVIII (Vr) both use '*e*-caudata' to mark the diphthong as *quę*. This would not appear relevant except that both (and only) E and Vr share the abbreviation of *Non*.

Fig. 5.54 *left* München 14324, fol. 53v: 7. (*left column*)
right Verona LXXXVIII, fol. 62r: 9.

Thus while Paris 6639 holds the highest ratio of shared abbreviations, here E and Vr share uniquely with D.xiv a key line reading that may, as discussed above, be reflective of the scribe's recognition of metrical elision. That said, this association is perhaps limited by Vr successively abbreviating the negatives opening up the asclepiad lines 3, 5, and 7, and E doing the same with lines 3 and 7. The abbreviations in 3m8, like every tool of assessment it seems, serve both to reinforce the general associations of D.xiv with other *Consolatio* manuscripts and to dissever D.xiv in favour of a unique scribal record.

5.3h Old English *Boethius* 3m8

3m8 is rendered fairly conservatively in its two Old English versions, Chapter 32 in the Bodley manuscript, and Meter 19 in the Cotton manuscript, where the meter's closeness to the prose strongly suggests a word-for-word resetting, with some substitutions for alliteration and expansion offered by variation.

The first major change from the Latin to the prose vernacular rendering is that the repeated rhetorical questions of the meter are given answers voiced in the first person of *Wisdom* using the repeated call and answer syntax of a homiletic response:

> *<u>Hwæðer ge nu</u> secan gold on treowum? <u>Ic wat þeah þæt ge</u> hit þær [ne] secaþ… … <u>Hwæðer ge nu</u> eower hundas and eower net ut on þa sæ lædon þonne ge huntian willað? <u>Ic wene þeah þæt ge</u> hi þonne setton up on dunum and innon wudum.* [B.32: 69-70; 73-76]
>
> And do you now look for gold in trees? I know though that you do [not] seek it there... ... And do you now lead your dogs and your net out upon the sea when you wish to hunt? I expect all the same that you set them up on the hills and in the forests.

The repeated phrasing of *hwæðer ge* (lit. "either you") and *ic wat / ic wene* ("I know, I expect") is a natural product of turning verse to prose and using the available rhetorical structures in that medium, here, prose homily. It also renders *Wisdom* as more of an inquisitor yet also a leader who fills in the blanks via elaboration for an audience that needs sensible affirmation in its vernacular.

The second major change is that the elaboration of these answers explicitly invokes God in the opening and penultimate sections of the meter: *Se weg is God* ("God is the path") and *þa soþan gesælða, þæt is God* ("the true felicities, that is God") [B.32: 69; 85-86]. As happens throughout the *Boethius*, the wording is flatly Christianized.

The third major change comes as a result of retracting the subjunctive mood from the closing lines, for now the ending does not offer the possibility of recognition of the good; the more homiletic wording instead asserts the damning outcome of man's foolish pursuit of worldly vanities, elaborating it into a chained triplet of censure and alliterative prose in the indicative present:

> *... forþam hi sint earm-*
> *ran and dysigran and ungesæligran þonne ic hit arecan mæge.*
> *Welan and weorðscipes hi willniað, and þonne hi hine habbað*
> *þonne wenað hi swa ungewitfulle þæt hi habban þa soðan geselða.* [B.32: 87-90]

> ... because they are more
> wretched and confused and unfortunate than I can make account of.
> They seek wealth and worldly honours, and when they have these
> they then think—so dimwittedly—that they hold the true prosperities.

The result leaves the translated meter somewhat out of order: God is in the middle, or rather known all along, and witless men still follow the wrong track right past Him into a grasping of false goods they take as true, not the true ones in themselves. For Boethius, the true goods are above, idealized in the heavens in the Platonic sense; for Alfred, the true goods are only, and directly, God Himself. Boethius's original "when...then" structure closing the metre is still there, but Wisdom does not project a future, a chain of progress, in which men may recognize the heavens, and God simultaneous with them.

Although D.xiv should not be presumed as a source text for the Old English *Boethius*, there is enough precedent in other manuscripts (β_1 Cm P_2) shifting one of the two subjunctive verbs to the indicative mood to argue that this change in the Bodley prose translation is aligned with them. One could further argue that as both manuscripts of English provenance, D.xiv and Cambridge O.3.7, manifest the shift, there is perhaps an English recension at play in these lines.

One last incidental point of note is the loss of the Classical names *tyrrhena* and *echinis*, which could have been used to measure the translation's capability with difficult spellings; here, as elsewhere, particularly as will be seen in 4m7, the Greek names are stripped from the vernacular text.

The metrical vernacular version of 3m8, Meter 19, is clearly built in tandem with the prose version, maintaining many of the nouns and verbs as given (*þæt is hefig dysig…and frecenlice*), and maintaining even the syntax of the first person responses (*Ic wat swa ðeah…*). Even still, its nature as verse allows for expansion in the form of variation, as with the triple elaboration of prose line 73 *fiscian*:

> Hwy *ge nu ne settan on su*me dune
> fisc*net* eowru, þonne eo*w* fon lysteð
> leax *o*ððe cyperan? [C.m19: 10-12a]
>
> Why do you now set on certain hills
> your fishnet, when you wish to catch
> a salmon or one at spawning?

Here, the simple infinitive "to fish" becomes three nouns: *fiscnet; leax*, the common word for salmon; and *cypera*, "spawning salmon". Similarly, the alliteration in the prose of lines 74-75 *hundas…huntian* becomes an opportunity to elaborate in verse line 17 the target of those "hounds": *heorotas and hinda* ("male and female deer"). And prose line 74, which simply has *sæ* in place of *tyrrhena*, is alliterated in verse line 16 as *sealtne sæ*. All of this expansion is typical to Old English verse, and so to the *Meters* as a whole.

It is in the second half of Meter 19 where the versification begins to deepen its themes and vocabulary more profoundly, particularly in the use of even more repetition than the prose version, which in turn had already doubled some nouns, but also in recourse to the metaphysical vocabulary

found so potently in Saxon verse. Here, the emphasis on temporality and embodied thought becomes insistent from verse line 28 onwards:

Ac ðæt is earmlicost ealra þinga
þæt þa dysegan sint on gedwolan word*ene*
efne swa blinde þæt hi <u>on breostum</u> n*e magon*
*eað*e gecnawan hwær <u>þa *ecan good*</u>,
<u>*soða gesælða*</u>, gesindon gehydda.
Forþæm hi æfre ne lyst æfterspyr*ian*,
secan þa <u>gesælða</u>. Wenað sam*wise*
þæt hi on <u>ðis lænan</u> mægen <u>life</u> findan
<u>*soða gesælða*</u>; *þæt is* selfa God. [C.m19: 28-36]

But it is the most wretched of all things
that the confused have fallen into such error
even so blind that they—in their own breasts—cannot
easily recognize where the eternal goods,
the true felicities, have been hidden.
Therefore, they never wish to follow after them,
to track down those goods. They foolishly think
that in this transitory life they may find
the things of true prosperity: but that is God himself.

First, where the prose had *gesælða* twice, the verse expands it to three times, each alliterated in the a-verse. Second, where Boethius had little sense of temporality outside the subjunctive mood of lines 21-22 *cum…tum*, the sense of time here is made antonymic and absolute with *ecan good* and *lænan life*. And third, the foolishness of error, signified by line 16 *caeci* ("blind") in Boethius, is now embodied as "so blind that they cannot readily know the eternal good in their breasts", that is, in the seat of the soul, the trunk. This poetic vocabulary of the embodied soul is then picked up twice more in verse line 38, *on sefan minum* ("in my heart") and verse line 45, *þonne hi habbað þæt hiora hige seceð* ("when they have those things that their mind seeks"). Such expansion of terms and formal repetition marks the Old English versification with something at least compensatory to the

loss of the subjunctive mood and the possibility of eventually seeing the true goods for what they are. It should also be noted that the vocabulary distinct to Meter 19, words such as *gedwolan*, *æfterspyrian,* and *samwise*, is even more strongly Alfredian in character than the vocabulary of the presumed prose original, Chapter 32.

5.4a 4m7 [12-35; Sapphic Hendecasyllable]

1	Bella bis [quinis operatus annis]	*Twice [times five years] the wars…*
	.....	.....
	gaudium maestis lacrimis rependit.	*…he repaid that weight of joy with wretched tears.*
	Herculem duri celebrant labores:	*Hercules's hard labours celebrate the man:*
	ille Centauros domuit superbos,	*that man tamed the haughty Centaurs,*
15	abstulit saevo spolium leoni	*took away the hide from savage lion*
	fixit et certis volucres sagittis,	*and pierced the birds with sure-aimed arrows,*
	poma cernenti rapuit draconi	*stole the apples from the watchful dragon*
	aureo laevam gravior metallo,	*—his left hand heavier with the golden metal,*
	Cerberum traxit triplici catena,	*dragged Cerberus with a threefold chain,*
20	victor immitem posuisse fertur	*the victor is said to have put down the harsh master*
	pabulum saevis dominum quadrigis,	*as food for his own savage four-horse team,*
	Hydra combusto periit veneno,	*the Hydra perished in its own burning poison,*
	fronte turpatus Achelous amnis	*the river Achelous—defiled at its head—*
	ora demersit pudibunda ripis,	*sank its shamed face under its banks,*
25	stravit Antaeum Libycis harenis,	*stretched Antaeus above the Libyan sands,*
	Cacus Euandri satiavit iras,	*[the killing of] Cacus sated the wrath of Evander,*
	quosque pressurus foret altus orbis	*& the shoulders which were about to lift the great world*
	saetiger spumis umeros notavit;	*the bristled one marked with his slobber,*
	ultimus caelum labor inreflexo	*the last labour lifted the sky with neck unbent*
30	sustulit collo pretiumque rursus	*and in his own turn merited*
	ultimi caelum meruit laboris.	*the heavenly prize with the final task.*
	Ite nunc, fortes, ubi celsa magni	*Go now, steadfast men, where the lofty way*
	ducit exempli via. Cur inertes	*of great figures leads. Why do you expose*
	terga nudatis? Superata tellus	*your backs, shiftless men? The earth overcome*
35	sidera donat.	*grants the stars.*

5.4b Theme

Book Four of the *Consolatio* famously centres on the problem of evil's presence in the world and the corresponding absence of virtue and justice if the wicked are seen to flourish. *Philosophia* answers this crux with an assertion of theodicy, a vindication of God's divine beneficence, and the explanation that wickedness and subjection to Fortune are their own punishment, are indeed the extinction of an individual's felicity. The wicked are therefore not the most prosperous and rewarded, but rather the most wretched, unhappy, and unstable people.

The closing prose section of Book Four (4p7) which follows the theodicy argues, paradoxically, that "all fortune is certainly good" (*omnem…bonam prorsus esse fortunam*; 2-3) since apparent bad fortune is itself a salutary opportunity to amend wicked behaviour or fortify good character; ill fortune usefully "disciplines or corrects" (*aut exercet aut corrigit*; 18-19), so that the sufferer will "quit evil" (*a uitiis declinantes*; 21-22) and turn to the path of "increasing virtue" (*in prouectu…uirtutis*; 33), now ready to "battle with adversity" (*contra aspera bellum gerunt*; 21).

The ensuing metre, 4m7, uses exemplary figures from Greek mythology, first wicked then good, to illustrate this battle against adversity. The first figure is "ruthless Agamemnon" (*ultor Atrides*; 2), who sacrifices his own daughter, Iphigenia (though she is not named), in order to gain favourable winds to sail to Troy and take vengeance there for the "lost marriage bed" (*amissos thalamos*; 3) of his brother, Menelaus. The second and third figures are Odysseus and Polyphemus, paired, each of whom suffers the brutality of the other; Odysseus "weeps" (*flevit*; 8) for his devoured men, and the Cyclops "rages" (*furibundus*; 11) with the pain of his blindness. The fourth figure is Hercules, whose twelve labours are recounted for the bulk of the metre. The metre then closes with a direct exhortation that the "strong" (*fortes*; 32) listener will follow the "great example" (*magni exempli*; 32-33) set by these figures, and indeed will surpass earth and gain the "stars" (*sidera*; 35).

This metre is notably common in the metrical collections, appearing in three key ninth century *metra* collections before Vespasian D.xiv, undoubtedly because it casts three famous mythological figures involved in their most notorious episodes. That said, it is difficult to read 4m7 without some measure of ironic distance or straight confusion of theme; after all, how could one praise Agamemnon's determination to commit filicide and Odysseus's repeated exposure of his men to trials of death? Moreover, though this is absent from the metre, Hercules only gains the heavens after he unknowingly dons the poisoned shirt and burns to death horribly.[167]

The standard interpretation is to regard the poem as an expression of *contemptus mundi* instructing the listener to reject all association with earthly fortune and to suffer adversity with forbearance; Blackwood, however, argues that the negative episodes of Agamemnon, Odysseus, and Polyphemus would have been read through a "wildly Neoplatonic lens", one which validates the "steadfastness of purpose" in the execution of one's task.[168] In countering earlier arguments that 4m7 is an unbalanced poem, O'Daly concurs with Blackwood in not regarding the portrayal of Agamemnon as condemnatory, but he more judiciously bases this stance on Boethius's "subtle and concise recasting" of Seneca's tragedy *Agamemnon*, where the ruler is directly condemned as a perverse violator of family bonds.[169] For O'Daly, even if the opening section of 4m7 posits Agamemnon as the first part of a threefold division of souls encountering fortune (the wicked, those progressing towards goodness, the good), the diction of lines 1-7 does not abominate him. Instead, he finds in Boethius's Agamemnon a "sacrificer sternly and grimly confronting fortune"[170];

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[167] See Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* IX: 159-223.

[168] Blackwood (2015), pp. 109-110.

[169] O'Daly (1991), p. 224.

[170] O'Daly (1991), p. 223.

moreover, he does not consider "a negative or highly critical view" of the poem's Odysseus to be supportable, for Boethius "seems to place Odysseus on the side of the angels".[171]

Nonetheless, these lines of interpretation seems to me not so much a Neoplatonic supersession of human moral fallibility in favour of a determined virtue—that is to say, *force*—as an alignment with Athena's consistent urging of her chosen hero precisely so he *can* regain his earthly place; this is rather of the devil's side. I would instead return to the argument that as the preceding prose turns bad fortune to good, it does so through recognizing adversity as "punishment" (*aspera… punit*; 51-52); paradoxically, the protagonist must knowingly submit to this by putting all fortune in "[his] own hands" (*in vestra…manu*; 49-50). Agamemnon and Odysseus must remain punished by fortune, just as they consistently are from Virgil's *Aeneid* through to Dante's *Inferno;* in classical reception, their steadfastness is their undoing, not their praise. Moreover, it is impossible to treat Polyphemus as an agent of determination, as a "great example" of virtue, not least since he repeatedly fails to destroy Odysseus; adversity can thus simultaneously strengthen and damn the figure who cannot bear correction. The metre thereby elevates the theme of *contemptus mundi,* but does so without exonerating wickedness.

The thematic ambiguity inherent in the metre is doubled up in the Vespasian D.xiv copy because, like the copy of 1m2, it is an abbreviated version starting mid-sentence; here, 4m7 maintains the tag, *bella bis*, but then skips to line 12, "he repaid that weight of joy with wretched tears", which ends the Cyclops section of the poem, before continuing through the twelve labours of Hercules and the closing exhortation. This excision of lines 1 through 11 effectively nullifies the negative examples of adversity so important to the recognition that fortune, whether weighed as a reward for moral good, or a punishment for wicked behaviour, must be withstood by the individual

[171] O'Daly (1991), p. 226.

as he puts his fortune in his own hands, his own labour of responsibility. Without the negative examples, much of the meaning of the metre and its illustration of the preceding prose is lost, and what remains is open to an ironic commentary.

Perhaps it is even possible that the paradoxical lesson of the metre is itself responsible for the acephalous transmission of 4m7, so leaving it positive and unchallenged in its closing exhortation, thus simplified as a call to virtue, to travail on earth to gain heavenly reward. If this were the case, then the reader of the Vespasian D.xiv version of the poem would either need to know the metre were abbreviated, or would need to align line 11, belonging to Polyphemus, to Hercules himself, so interpreting that the wretched tears of Hercules's demise were overcome by the joyful adversity of completing his labours; the line could, in a sense, become proleptic for a reader familiar with Ovid's account of the hero's death.

Nevertheless, all this is quite speculative, for it is likelier that this copy of 4m7 can be explained by the same issue with 1m2, with its abbreviation and trouble centring on the word *autumnus* in erasure or in beginning or ending a manuscript leaf. Indeed, Bern 455 (β_2) may suggest just such an ancestor manuscript, as line 12 of its copy of 4m7 begins atop folio 31r with a small majuscule 'G' for *gaudium*.

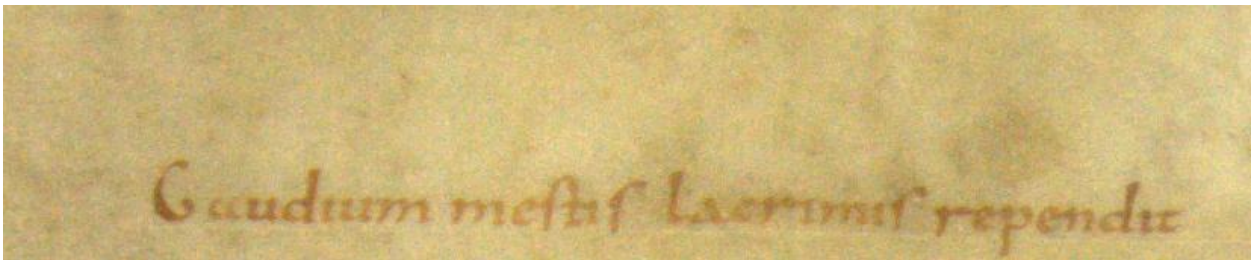

Fig. 5.55 Bern 455, fol. 31r: 1.

5.4c Metre and Lyrical Context

4m7 is composed in Sapphic hendecasyllable metre, an eleven syllable line with a choriamb (– u u –) at its heart and two anceps in the opening elements: – x – x – || u u – u – – . The first anceps is most often short, the second long, and a diaeresis breaks up the choriamb, as the opening and penultimate lines of 4m7 illustrate:

	– u – – – || u u – u – –
1	*bella bis quinis operatus annis*
34	*terga nu datis? Superata tellus*

The overall effect is remarkably regular and accretive, with each opening trochee giving the new line power and momentum; this stichic metre is thus suitable for a heroic narrative that develops consistently but is not set at a thematic register appropriate to the elevated form of dactylic hexameter. True to its name, Sapphic hendecasyllable meter is lyrical, not epic.

This metrical form appears uncombined twice in the *Consolatio,* at 2m6 and 4m7; moreover, as Blackwood usefully notes, 4m7 is not merely in the same form, but is a deliberate thematic echo of 2m6. That metre tells the horrible story of Nero's excesses in his worldly pride and deplorable actions; for Blackwood, 2m6 shows Nero as a "slave to his lust", locked in this world by his power and fortune, whereas 4m7 shows the possibility of "a realm even greater than Nero's: *earth overcome grants you the stars*".[172] I would stress that the penultimate line of 2m6, "Too often Fate, by all abhorred" (lit. "woe, heavy fate, and so often inimical" / *heu gravem sortem, quotiens iniquus*; 16) first finds its counterpoint or resolution in the prose preceding 4m7, where Boethius learns that all fortune is good because bad fortune is a correction of wickedness or a test of virtue. I would then add that as Nero might as well be Agamemnon or Polyphemus, but never

[172] Blackwood (2015), p. 110.

Hercules, and never in the stars, so 4m7 supersedes 2m6 by turning the negative example of tyranny to the exemplary life of great labour.

This point is also true, I hope, by the deliberate addition of the closing half-line, *sidera donat* (– u u – u), an adonic which breaks the hendecasyllabic form. In his scansion, Blackwood reads *dōnat* as two long syllables, following the convention of *brevis in longo*, where the last syllable being counted long regardless of natural length;[173] nevertheless, the third person ending is short by nature as *dōnō* is a first conjugation verb. This is key because the last four lines of 4m7, which form the exhortation in a single sentence, are indeed a classic Sapphic stanza unto themselves, with a closing adonic line of dactyl plus trochee; to Barrett, "the setting of *Bella bis quinis*, a thirty-five line *metrum* featuring a final adonic, in three-line units, also recalls the shape of a Sapphic hymn".[174] My interpretation, however, argues for an even stronger metrical decision by Boethius: the terminating adonic to 4m7 thus not only thematically supersedes the rest by rising to the stars, it formally supersedes the rest of the poem and 2m6 as well by completing a perfect echo of that prized Greek mistress's lyrics.

Last, it is notable that *sidera*, which is used generally here to mean the "fixed stars", as in Blackwood's reading, can be more particular in meaning a cluster, a known constellation of stars, just as Hercules has earned.[175] It is a particular set of stars, just as it is a particular set-apart stanza Boethius uses to close Book Four.

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[173] Blackwood (2015), p. 109.

[174] Barrett (2013), p. 119.

[175] C.T. Lewis and C. Short, eds., *A Latin Dictionary.* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1879). Online, first definition of '*sidus*'. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=sidera&la=la&can=sidera0&prior=tellus&d=Perseus:text:1999.02.0121:book=4:section=M7&i=1#lexicon

5.4d *Mise-en-page*

The layout for 4m7 is the most complex of the four *metra* inscribed in Vespasian D.xiv. Like 1m1, 4m7 is laid out in multiple forms; however, the layout is far more experimental here, as it is set over two columns and in three separate scribal blocks, each differently spaced in relation to the ruling and column margins of the leaf, and differently notated in capitals and punctuation. I will therefore discuss each subsection in turn.

4m7a [tag + 12-21; rulings marked]

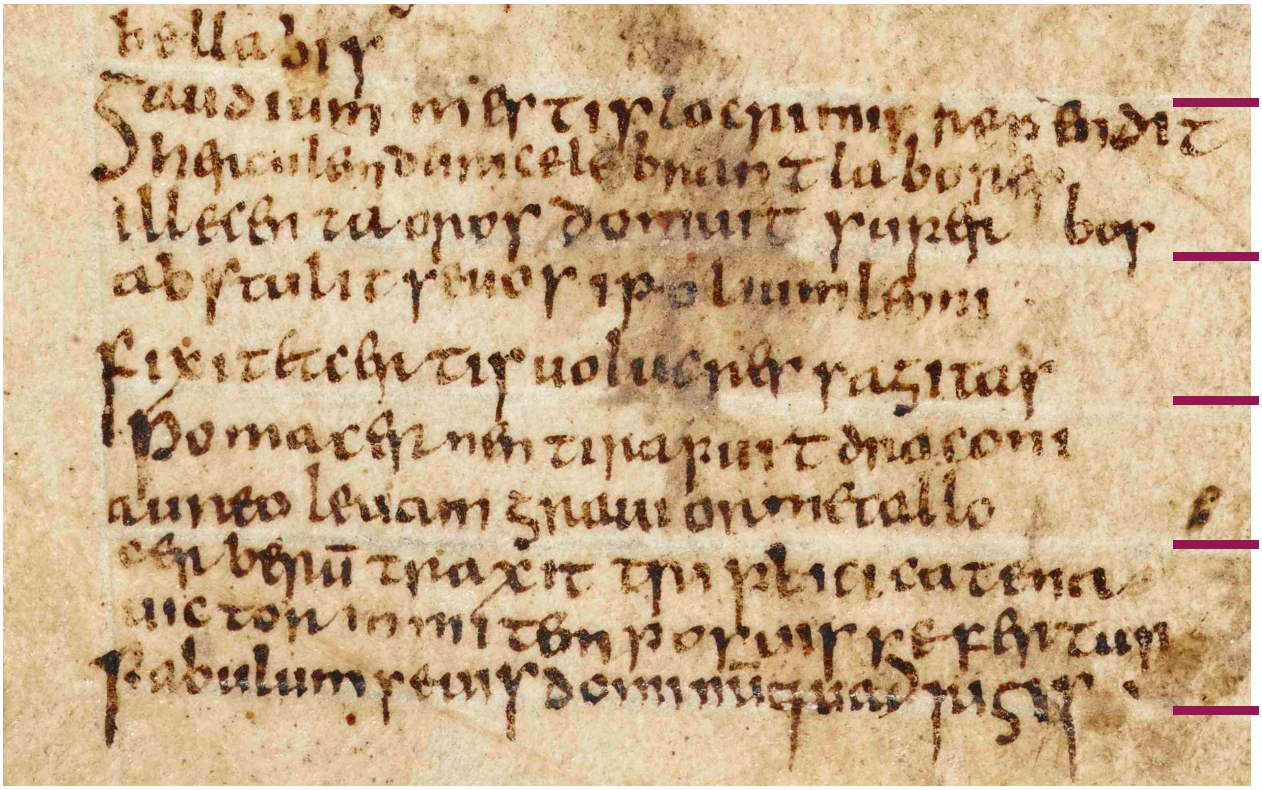

Fig. 5.56 Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 224v: 35-45 (*left column*).

The metre starts directly at the foot of 3m8 with opening tag *bella bis* in minuscule three-fourths the way down the leaf, in the bottom half of the seventeenth ruling. With neither majuscule nor raised initial 'b', the tag looks more like a half-line termination to 3m8 than the start of a new metre; this manner is perhaps similar to the minuscule tag of 1m2 *heu quā* appended to the end of

1m1. The jump to line 12 of 4m7 is then signalled by the double-height insular minuscule 'ȝ' of *gaudium*, just as the triple-height initial 'a' of *autumnus* does in 1m2.

More broadly, the shift in metre from 3m8 to 4m7 is immediately recognizable by the greater width of the full hendecasyllabic line across the bottom of the leaf, even as it ruins the symmetry of the double-column format. It is not an urgent layout problem, however, since the right portion of the bottom third of 224r is left unused.

The lineation of this first section, 4m7a, picks up the irregular alternation of double and triple lines per ruling in 3m8 and remarkably sets it into a fixed pattern of some distinct confidence and symmetry, 3 : 2 : 2 : 3, that is, lines 12-14, 15-16, 17-18, and 19-21 (as marked on the image). The scribe also puts double-height minuscule initials at the bounds of each half of this symmetry, at lines 12, 16, 17, and 21 ('ȝ', 'f', 'p', and 'p'), though not set apart into the vertical bounding lines. However, to place these double height initials and to squeeze three lines into a single ruling does present some physical obstacles, especially with the descenders; the scribe's solution is to indent slightly the lines following the initials of lines 12 and 16, with the latter initial 'p' of line 17 then finding its descender between the 'a' and 'u' of *aureo* in line 18. More radical is the solution at the end of line 14 to break *superbos* into two units in order to accommodate the descender of the 's' of *labores* from line 13 above. Overall, while the layout of 4m7a is carefully ordered with these mirror effects, the result is nonetheless a cramped formatting which tends to negate what should be a higher register given that the eleven-syllable line is inscribed in a full single-width column.

Last, as with 1m1, a large *punctus* closes the first section of the metre, here, the final line of the first column of the leaf. This *punctus* is also extraordinary, for it is the sole *punctus* on all this folio, and it comes in the middle of the poem, in the *middle* of the catalogue of Hercules's labours, edited above by Moreschini to be one giant sentence.

4m7b [22-30]

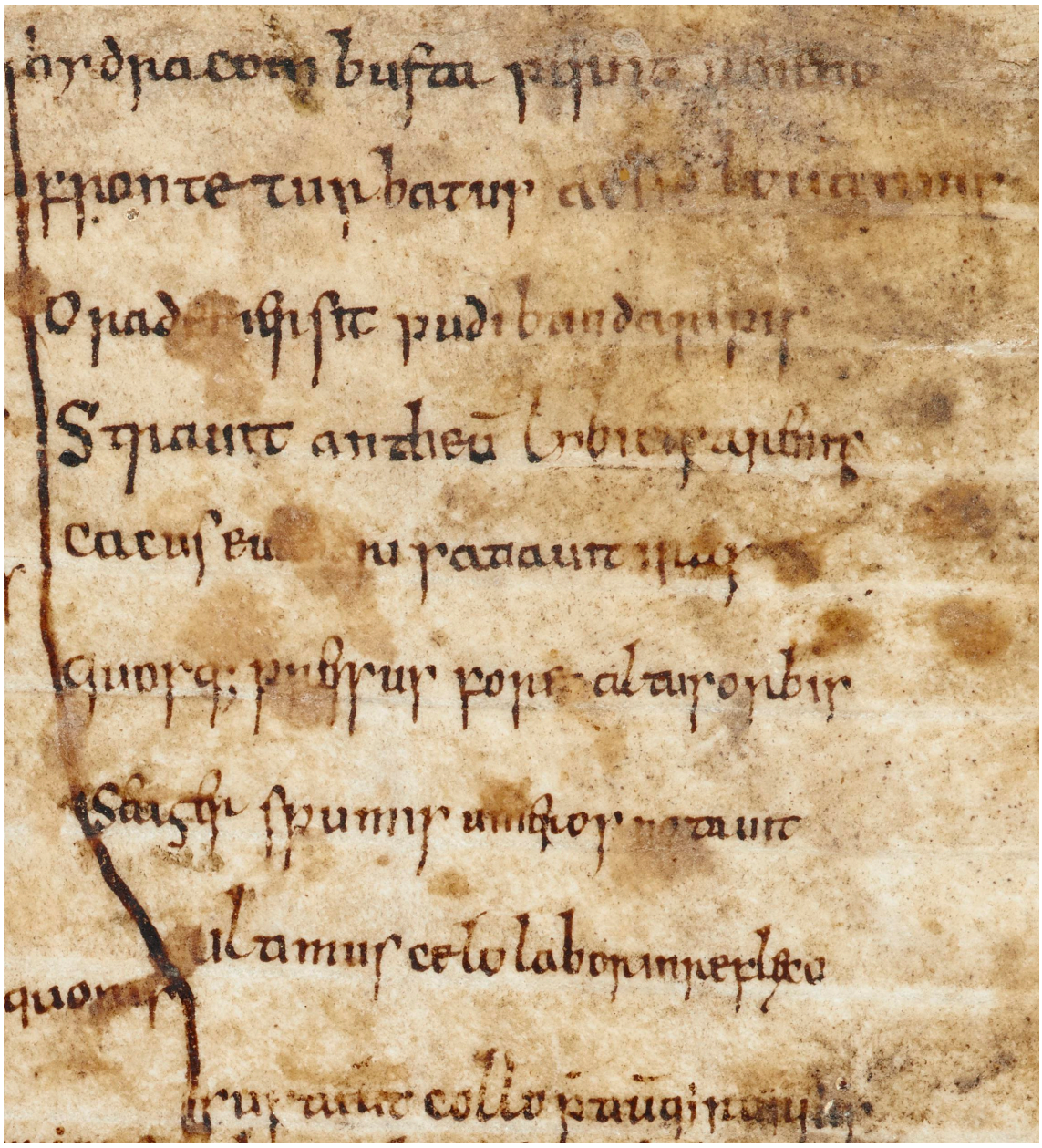

Fig. 5.57 Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 224v: 1-9 (*right column*).

As 4m7 continues atop the second column of folio 224v, it immediately switches to a higher status layout of a single line per ruling, which resembles the opening of 1m1, and adds larger initials per line, starting from line 23, *fronte,* which resembles both 1m1 and 1m2, though the 'h' of line 21, *hydra*, has not been enlarged. Somewhat ruining the effect, however, is that the scribe is

forced to cant the lines rightward, so as not to interfere with the layout of 3m8; this is especially noticeable at line 29, starting with *ultimus*, which is indented a full word-width in order to avoid the jutting *aequoris* of 3m8, line 10. Along with this rightward cant, or perhaps as an effect of it, the heaviness of the aspect decreases sharply at line 26 *cacus*, and even more so at line 27 *quosq;* ; one can hazard a guess that as the start of each successive line is pushed rightward, the scribe thins the aspect in response, doing so in an effort to keep the ends of the lines on the right aligned, close to a justified margin. Another issue is that the water damage to the second halves of lines 22-25, where the ink has bled, gives the words a faded, thicker appearance, and makes transcription decidedly harder. It does not appear, however, that there was erasure and recopying by another scribe; for example, an isolated blot mars the 'em' of *demersit* in the first half of line 24, but there is no scribal revision. Last, there is no punctuation in this subsection.

4m7c [31-35] + 5m1 [tag]

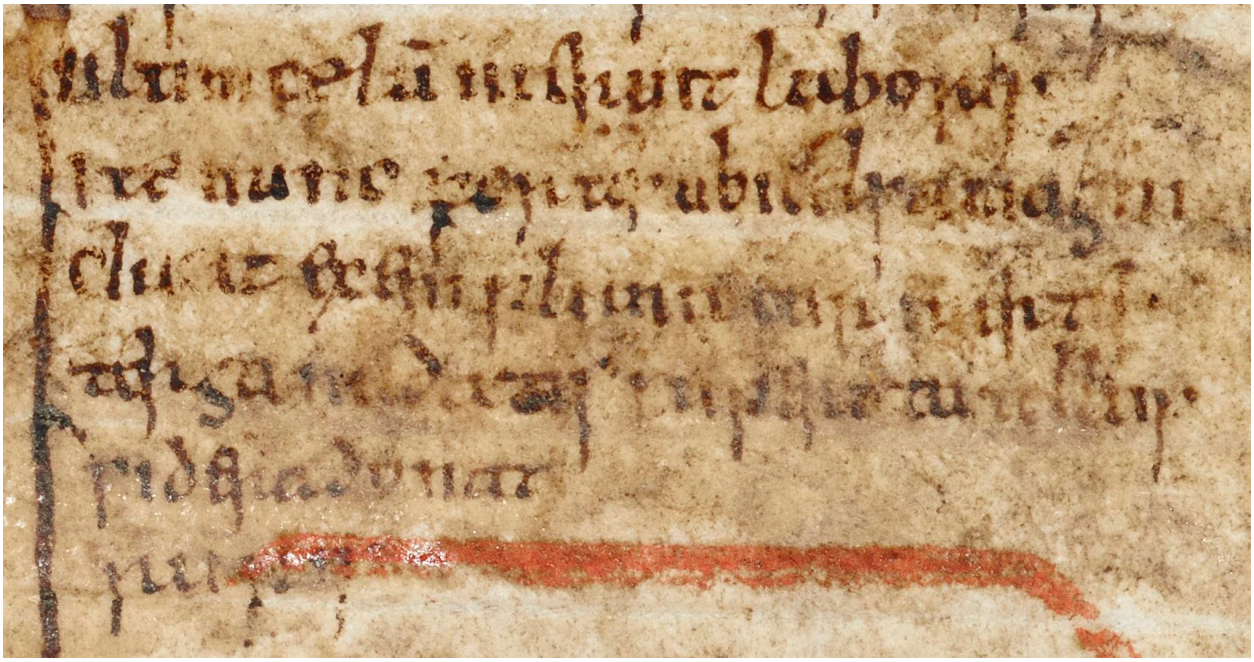

Fig. 5.58 Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 224v: 10-15 (*right column*).

The third subsection of 4m7 switches away from the higher-status single line per ruling of 4m7b to now inscribing two lines per ruling for the remainder of the poem. Yet, there is no direct reason for the scribe to switch from one to two lines per ruling at this point since line 31, *ultimi,* marks this switch mid-sentence, and there is plenty of space on the leaf to continue the layout in single line per ruling. What would make sense, however, and would be an extraordinarily sensitive layout for the metre, would be for the scribe to continue line 31 in single line layout at the bottom of the ruling, as in the previous section, but then switch to two lines per ruling for the exhortation beginning with line 32, *Ite*, for this would explicitly show recognition of the Sapphic stanza as a stand-alone element. As it is, the layout of 4m7c can suggest this division, as if this were the plan, but then its execution has been confused in starting one line too soon. The secondary consequence is that line 31 is left to look incorrectly grouped with the closing lines of the poem.

The use of enlarged initials per line, so heavily marked in 4m7b, is less obvious here, but still present. Each opening letter is one third taller, with the exception of the 't' in *terga,* line 34. As with 4m7b, there is no terminal punctuation; moreover, and oddly, there is no punctus closing the poem as a whole after *donat*.

The final element here, written in the bottom half of the twelfth ruling, is the word *rupis*; unfortunately, its second half has been ruined by the heavy orange 'British Museum' stamp. This word is the identifying tag for 5m1, here appended to 4m7 just as *bella bis* appears tagged at the end of 3m8. However, I know of no secondary source recognizing that this tag even exists; for example, it is not recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*'s record for this leaf of Vespasian D.xiv, where it obviously should be. It is a crucial piece of evidence, because none of the related ninth century continental manuscripts which present selections of the *metra* shares a copy of 5m1, or of any of the *metra* from Book Five for that matter. The simplest conclusion is that the

scribe of D.xiv had access to a fuller exemplar, perhaps even a full set of the *metra,* such as found in Paris 13026 (P_4), but did not complete the metre for whatever reason.

5m1, a twelve-line poem in elegiac metre, the alternating form of hexameter and pentameter used for 1m1, could fit in the remaining space of nine rulings of the lower half of 224v, provided the double line per ruling layout of the end of 4m7 were maintained. That said, the spacing would be tight as each line is individually longer, and because the final line of 5m1, line 12, would then land in the eighteenth ruling where 4m7a stretches across the bottom of the leaf, and so would have to be inscribed in two half-lines off to the right. All of 5m1 could fit on 224v, but it could not be inscribed evenly, and certainly the high-status layout of the corresponding elegiac metre of 1m1 on the envelope of 170r could not be matched.

A summary conclusion for the layout of 4m7 as a whole—given all its variety and experiment—is that the scribe is laying out 4m7 in process, in the act of inscribing it, at least for 4m7b and c, given the less structured look and the cant of those lines. Rather as we might see a scribe practicing the ductus of single letters in pen trials on a flyleaf, we might see here a scribe conducting 'layout trials', making it up as the writing goes along on the leaf. Therefore, just as with 3m8, the layout of 4m7 is a result of scribal "production", not merely "copying".[176]

Cast against the other ninth century manuscripts surveyed in this project, against both the complete *Consolatio* manuscripts and the metrical collections, the layout of 4m7 is extraordinarily free and inventive, if also ungainly and awkward. As with the layout of 3m8, there simply is no comparator, no ancestor manuscript for this heterogeneous *mise-en-page*.

Moreover, a survey of the layout for 4m7 of the other manuscripts is not helpful in providing a useful predictor, since it reveals a variety of approaches with none in particular favour: five of

[176] Bredehoft (2014), p. 5.

them use a double-column vertical layout (Cm E P P_1 P_4); three use a double-column horizontal layout (L P_2 W); and only two of them use a single-column layout (F T), which is also what Vespasian D.xiv effectively gives, even as it is broken up over the two columns of 224v in the antique *per cola* manner placing two different poems side by side on the same leaf. Certainly, not a single one of them purposefully changes the layout midstream as 4m7 does—not only once, but twice.

The set of ninth century manuscripts can nevertheless provide an opportunity to compare how well they might recognize or represent in layout terms the closing Sapphic stanza of 4m7 with its terminal half-line. But first, there is a particular problem with a double column layout for a poem with an odd number of lines; in this case, *sidera donat* will have to stand by itself in a half line of one column, effectively taking up one-quarter of the space. Bern 455 (β_2), with its unusual but elegant strophic layout of three lines of the poem for each two lines on the leaf ends perfectly with *sidera donat*· at the right margin, but the other manuscripts are unable to avoid this layout difficulty. Firenze XIV, 15 (L) places *sidera donat*· in a center justification, complete with initial majuscule 'S', while Paris 6639 (P_2) simply has it by itself on the left margin, as does Wien 271 (W). München 14324 (E) likewise has an uneven number of lines per column, but is less attractive, as it leaves a blank ruling below line 35; it also disorders the overall layout by trying to cast the double column vertical split over two leaves, so putting line 1-4 and 9-12 on 66r, then lines 5-8 and 13-16 atop 66v, before then restarting again in the left column. Paris 1154 (P_1), though double column, is set in the *per cola* form of strophic half lines, so its *sidera donat*·; is simply one more half-line in its steady, beautiful run. For the single column layouts of München 18765 (T) and Sankt Gallen 844 (F), the half-line simply sits at the left margin. Cambridge O.3.7 (Cm), while being the most deluxe manuscript of all, nevertheless has the worst solution in setting 4m7 in a

double vertical column. It squeezes *sidera donat* under the penultimate line in a brown ink, half-size hand, not the black ink, full-size hand of the rest of the poem; it thereby leaves it as a casualty of conforming to a set layout that treats an odd line like an afterthought. And, to add insult, it misspells the last word: *domat*.

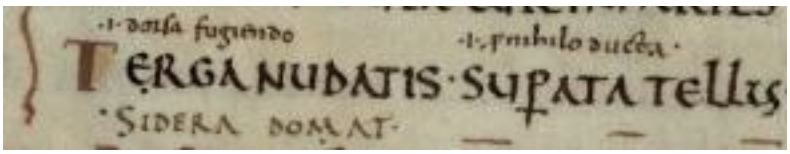

Fig. 5.59 Cambridge O.3.7, folio 43r: 4 (*right column*).

Unfortunately, or perhaps predictably, none of the comparison manuscripts shows any sign of recognizing the stanza beginning with *Ite*, not even in the three manuscripts where the metrical identification and explanation of the Sapphic form has been added by a glossator to the head of the poem (E F W). The conclusion must be that while Vespasian D.xiv is a variant and variable mess in laying out 4m7, it is the only manuscript to be close to a recognition of this Sapphic form, to be close to conveying that form does instruct content.

5.4e Type Facsimile

22 hydra com busta periit uenẽo
23 fronte tur batus ache lou[] amnis
24 Orademersit pudi bundaripis
25 Strauit antheū lybicis []arẽnis
26 cacus euandri satiauit iras
27 quosq; pressus foret altus orbis
28 setiger spumis umeros notauit
29 ultimus celo labor in reflexo

30 sustulit collo ṗtiūq; rursus
31 ultim[] celū meruit labores
32 Ite nunc fortes ubi celsa magni
33 ducit exem pli uia cur inertes
34 terga nudatis superata tellus
35 sidera donat
5m1 rupis

1 bella bis
12 Gaudium mestis locrimis rep endit
13 herculem duri cele brant la bores
14 illecen ta oros domuit super bos
15 abstulit seuos ipolium leoni
16 Fixit etcer tis uolucres sagit[]as
17 poma cer nen tira puit draconi
18 aureo leuam graui or metallo
19 cer berū traxit tri plici catena
20 uic tor inmitem posuis se fertur
21 pabulum seuis dominūquad rigis ·

5.4f Transcription Errors and Variants

13 Herculum P_4 caelebrant P

14 centauros *corr.* E

15 saevos P sevos polium P_2 (*corr.* sevos polium P_2^2) P_4

19 tryplica tena P_4 tripici V *corr.* V

20 inmitem P_4 V

22 cumbusta P_4

23 turbatus P (*corr.* P^2) W
acheloeus E (*corr.* achelo[ ]us E^2) achaelous L achele?us P_1 (*corr.* achelo[ ]us P_1^2) acheleus W

25 antheum β_2 F L P_1 P_2 P_4 T V W ant?e E (*corr.* antheum E^2)
lybicis β_2 F P_1 P_2 P_4 libicis Cm E P P_2 lypicis T (*corr.* T^2)
harenis *corr. (?)* β_2 arenis Lv P_1

26 evandrii Cm saciavit P_1 W

27 quisque E quisq· W
praessus P pręssus W pressus L P_4 T V pressurus L^2 pressuros P_1 *corr.* P_1^2
compressos F compressus β_2 Cm E F^2 P_2 T^2 W^2

28 saetiger P_2 ? *corr.* P_2^2 sitiger P
humeros β_2 Cm E F P P_1 P_2 P_4 W valeros T
notav P_2 *corr.* P_2^2

29 caelo E F P P_2 P_4 T W celo β_2 L caelum L^2 P_1 T^2 inreflexo *corr.* P_2^2

30 collo , P_2
praetiumq· T

31 ultimo T *corr.* T^2 cęlumeruit P_2

32 magmi *or* magnii L *corr.* ?

33 ducite L *corr.* L^2 via , P_2 inhertes Cm

34 nudatus T *corr.* T^2
tellis P_4

35 sydera F domat β_2 Cm P_2 *corr.* P_2

Abbreviations

12 gaudiū Cm F P_2 V W
męstis Cm W

13 herculē Cm P_2

14 supbos Cm E L P_2 P_4 V W *[crossed 'p']*

15 sęvo Cm E W
spoliū Cm E P_2^2 W

16 fiẋ Cm P_2
&certis β_2 E F L P_1 P_2 P_4 W

18 lęvam V lęvā L W levā E P_2
m&allo F L P_1 P_4 W

19 cerberū Cm Lv P_2 P_4 W
traẋ P_1 P_2

20 inmitē Cm L P_2 P_4 V
fert ' L P_2 P_4

21 sęvis W
dominū E F Lv P_1 T V W dm̄n Cm P_2
q^{a}drigis Cm

22 cōbusto Cm P_2 cūbusta P_4

23 ²tpatus Cm P_2 ²tpa²t P_4
ānis L P_2

24 Caȧ P_2

25 anthęum P_1 antheū Cm L Lv P_4

26 satiaū P_2

27 quosq; β_2 Cm F Lv P_2 quosq· T quisq· W
cōpss̄° Cm cōpssus E cōpressus T^2 pręssus W
for& β_2 E L P_1 P_2 P_4 W
alt° Cm P_2
orƀ E P_2

28 sętiger Cm s&iger P_1 P_4 sa&iger F W
notaū P_2

29 ultimu° Cm
caelū Cm V cęlum P_1 cęlū L^2
īreflexo Cm

30 ṗtiūq; Cm E Lv pretiumq; β_2 F P_1 P_4 pretiūq; P_2 praetiumq· T
preciūq· P pretiūque V ptium L pr&iumq· F prętiūq· W
rurs° Cm P_1

31 cęlum L^2 caelū Cm E Lv P_4 W

32 nc̄ Cm E

33 duc¯ Cm P_2
exēpli Cm

34 supata Cm *[crossed 'p']*

5.4g Commentary and Errors

As seen in 3m8, 4m7 has a higher rate of transmission errors than the first two *metra*; these can likewise be set into two cases, those which are introduced errors that render variant orthography or result in grammar confusion, and those which are the product of inherited transmission, particularly through unfamiliarity with Greek proper nouns. Given the profusion of Greek names in this particular poem, the high number of transcription variances in these names is predictable.

That said, the significant list of errors of the first kind in the first subsection of the poem [*locrimis* (12); *centaoros* (14); *sevos ipolium* (15); *sagit[]as* (16); *inmittem* (21)] is unfortunate, and only the error at line 15 has strong antecedents, as both Paris 6639 (P_2) and Paris 13026 (P_4) make the same slip of migrating the 's' in *spolium* to the end of preceding *sevo,* though this is corrected by a later hand in Paris 6639.

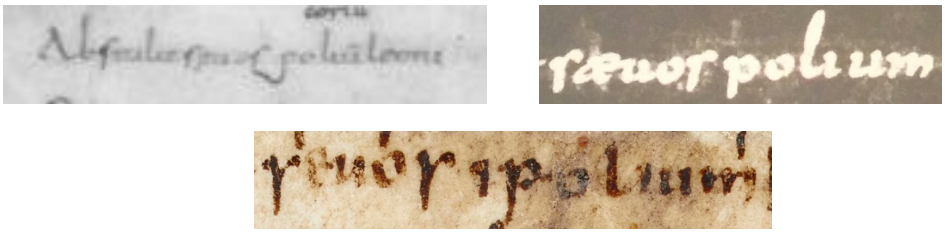

Fig. 5.60 *top left* Paris 6639, fol. 60v: 18 (*left column*).
top right Paris 13026, fol. 91r: 14 (*right column*).
bottom Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 224v: 39 (*left column*).

However, since there are no further correspondences in major errors between Paris 6639 and D.xiv for this metre, this likeness does not present solid enough evidence for direct inheritance; there are significantly more accords overall with Paris 13026, as detailed below. Nonetheless, this error may stem from a shared aural confusion; a drawn out 's' verbally anticipating the 'p' of *spolium* does sound as these two manuscripts spell it, with the epenthetic 'i' given by the scribe of D.xiv. Indeed, the other mistakes in the first subsection could as well be markers of dictation to a scribe, as 'a' and 'o' are easily mixed, as are 'in' and 'im'. With *centaoros* most likely a product of unfamiliarity with a

name from mythology, this leaves the combined orthographical and grammatical error of *sagit[]as* for *sagittis*, where case is confused on a simple, familiar word, as it should agree with ablative feminine *certis*, but has been aligned nonsensically to accusative feminine *volucres*, on top of losing a 't'. Nevertheless, the D.xiv reading could be a result of misreading from an exemplar such as Bern 455 (β_2), where the second 't' and following 'i' are so closely inscribed as to be mistaken for an 'a'.

Fig. 5.61 *left* Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 224v: 40 (*left column*).
right Bern 455, fol. 42v: 4.

Taken together, these are five introduced errors in forty-three words of the first subsection, yielding an 11.6% error rate, which is half again the rate of introduced error found in 3m8.

The second subsection, 4m7b, presents only two errors of the egregious type found in the first subsection: line 22 *combusta* is a grammatically wrong form, since it should agree with ablative masculine *veneno*, and not the nominative feminine *Hydra* ("Hydra perished in burnt-up poison"); and line 23 *turbatus* is likely another aural slip, though it does make figurative sense as *disturbed* rather than the correct *turpatus* ("disfigured"). The first error is shared with Paris 13026 (P_4), adding to the weight of possible inheritance from this manuscript, while the second is present in Wien 271 (W) and Paris 7181 (P), the latter corrected by a later hand (P^2).

In line 23, the name of the river god, *Achelous*, whom Heracles defeats to win the hand of his wife, Deianeira, is a particular crux for the ninth century manuscripts, where both München 14324 (E) and Paris 1154 (P_1) are corrected by erasure after initially writing a superfluous vowel (E^2 $P_1{}^2$):

Fig. 5.62 *left* München 14324, fol. 66v: 11 (*left column*).
right Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 1154, fol. 120v: 2 (*left column*).

Additionally, the emending hand in Paris 1154 seems to have changed an 'e' after the 'l' to the correct '**o**', as its inking is distinctly heavier; the correction may also indicate another scribal stage, with the added underline showing that that the letters should run from 'o' to 'u', or from 'e' to 'u', if that were indeed an intermediary stage of correction. Wien 271 (W) also has 'e' there where it should be 'o'; meanwhile, Firenze XIV, 15 (L) expands the first 'e' into a classical vowel cluster, *achaelous*, perhaps to reinforce the velar 'ch' of an original Greek name [Ἀχελῶος]. Vespasian D.xiv, by contrast, is the only manuscript to drop altogether the terminal 's', though the whole of it is hard to discern because of the water damage to leaf 224v and the notably poor ductus of 'h'.

Fig. 5.63 Vespasian D.xiv, 224v: 2 (*right column*).

The three divergences in line 25 *antheum*, *lybicis*, and *arenis*, are a product of shifts in orthography, especially in the letter 'h', whether it is present or absent before a vowel, and the semi-vowel 'y', which has undergone a metathesis of sorts in *lybicis*. Thirteen of the sixteen manuscripts have divergence in these three words, so setting up markers for families of manuscripts. With *antheum*, the the name of the giant whom Hercules lifts above the Libyan sands, Vespasian D.xiv is in agreement with eight manuscripts, and the corrected E; but, as Moreschini does not bother to track this variant, it clearly marks an acceptable spelling, not an error. With *lybicis*, the matter is more interesting, as this spelling is only shared by F from Moreschini's *beta-one* family

of manuscripts of German origin, while E and T have different variations, as does P from the *alpha* family; several of the manuscripts with metrical excerpts likewise have this error, so suggesting a common ancestor (β_2 P_1 P_4). With *arenis*, none of the manuscripts edited by Moreschini has this variant; however, P_1 (Paris 1154), not only has this uncommon loss of 'h', but shares the identical spelling of *antheum* and *lybicis* in addition to its difficulty with *achel**o**[ ]us*, so giving it the best alignment here in terms of errors. Last, as both E and W have line 27 *quisque*, where D.xiv has the correct *quosque*, this further dissociates them from a possible shared transmission.

Perhaps unexpectedly, given all the Greek names, line 27 *pressurus* is the most vexed word in the transmission history of 4m7, with problems both in the word's termination, frequently contracted to *pressus*, and in addition of an intensifying prefix, *com-*. The change in word ending is significant grammatically, as it changes a future active participle "was about to press" to a simple past participle, "pressed". Initially, none of the manuscripts studied transcribes *pressurus* properly, with Paris 1154 (P_1) being the sole copy to have the ending, though initially misspelled '*-os*', and Firenze XIV, 15 (L) being corrected. The mistaken 'o', corrected by a 'u' above, suggests a faulty grammatical agreement between *pressuros* and *umeros* in the line following.


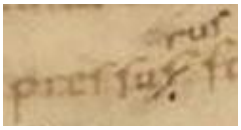

Fig. 5.64 *left* Paris 1154, fol. 120v: 9 (*left column*).
right Firenze XIV, 15, fol. 81r: 4 (*left column*).

Vespasian D.xiv is thus aligned with manuscripts giving the short form *pressus* (L P P_4 T W), and is dissociated from those reading *compressus* directly (β_2 Cm E P_2), and those with later glossators who add the prefix *com–* (F^2 T^2 W^2). Given that later readers 'correct' manuscripts to match an already incorrect reading, this divergence from the original *pressurus* is both persistent and likely of

early origin in the transmission history of the *Consolatio*. The instability in the transcription of this word, combined with its frequent correction by later scribes, indeed marks a textual crux, but also divorces from surety the ability to pinpoint a transmission history behind the readings of D.xiv in this section. Put shortly, the evidence is too crossed to disentangle.

Line 28 *umeros* ("shoulders") is an interesting—and conservative—reading for Vespasian D.xiv, given that it had earlier added an 'h' to *antaeum*, as had many other manuscripts, but had incorrectly dropped the 'h' from line 25 *harenis*. The majority of manuscripts studied feature the now familiar 'h' in front of *umeros* (β_2 Cm E F P P_1 P_2 P_4 W); by contrast, D.xiv agrees with only Firenze XIV, 15 (L) in conserving the classical spelling. However, given that this is acceptable medieval orthography, Moreschini again does not mark it in his edition, so it is unknown how widespread this shift is overall. Last, München 18765 (T) is strikingly apart in having replaced the entire word with *valeros*, an unaccountable change not noted in Moreschini's edition.

With line 29 *celo*, Vespasian D.xiv is again on one side of a textual crux, where it should read *caelum*, or the alternate form *celum*. However, the original reading has largely been compromised, as D.xiv agrees here with nine of the twelve manuscripts studied which record 4m7 (β_2 E F L P P_2 P_4 T W), though two of those are later corrected to read *caelum*, Firenze XIV, 15 (L^2) and München 18765 (T^2).

Fig. 5.65 *left* Firenze XIV, 15, fol. 81r: 5 (*left column*).
right München 18765, fol. 64r: 11.

Nonetheless, it is hard to construe how this widely shared variant makes grammatical sense and is persistent, since *caelum* is a straightforward accusative neuter ("the last labour lifted heaven"), unless the verb *tollō* were thought to take the dative or ablative; moreover, *caelum* in the same

accusative construction is repeated a mere two lines later, and is correctly rendered there by D.xiv and all the other manuscripts studied. Hence, there should be some grammatical explanation for how this error is conserved in transmission; perhaps it is being read in alignment with *inreflexo … collo* ("with unbent neck").

The last two errors of Vespasian D.xiv's transcription appear together in the third sub-section of 4m7, at line 31, and are grammatically linked with the proper wording *ultimi…laboris* ("of the last labour"); the alignment has been lost, however, as D.xiv reads *ultim[] … labores*. The first is a unique omission of the inflection 'i', and corresponding loss of the genitive case—unless I am misreading the number of minims. München 18765 (T) is the only other manuscript studied to have an error in this inflection, perhaps aligned to line 29 *caelo*, and it is fixed by a later hand.

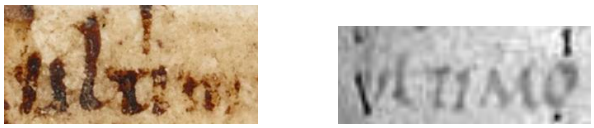

Fig. 5.66 *left* Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 224v: 10 (*right column*).
right München 18765, fol 64r: 13.

The second error, *labores*, also unique, could be either a product of the first, or its cause, as it is a switch of case and number from genitive singular to nominative or accusative plural; in either case, it can make no grammatical sense, since there is no plural verb to agree with a nominative, and treating it as an accusative would force *caelum* in line 31 to become the nominative (so avoiding a double accusative), which is equally backwards to logic. In that case, the line would read something like "last? heaven merited labours". The writing of *labores* is smudged at the key letter, but the 'tall-*e*' form is there in place of the 'i', especially as the minim is rounded rightward, not a straight vertical leftward, as is the scribe's typical formation of 'i'.

Fig. 5.67 Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 224v: 10 (*right column*).

While there are a significant number of shared errors between Vespasian D.xiv and other manuscripts, most strongly Paris 1154 (P_1) and Paris 13026 (P_4), both of which comprise metrical collections like the four *metra* of D.xiv, there is no surety in any association. For each apparent alignment in form such as *saevos ipolium,* the scribe of 224v not only introduces new transcription errors (such as the 'i' in that same shared error of misplacing the 's'), but also works against other readings which it should have in order to establish familial relationship, but fails to share. Thus, for example, while the termination of line 22 *combusta* ought to be a signal error showing relationship between D.xiv and Paris 13026, the latter manuscript differs in reading 'h' in both line 25 *harenis* and line 29 *humeros*, where D.xiv gives neither. Paris 13026 (P_4) is the closest overall in terms of alignments for 4m7, but D.xiv still records too much disparity from it to make a clear association justifiable.

In terms of overall errors, it is harder to quantify the rate of error in 4m7b and 4m7c since there are variants speaking to a vexed and interwoven transmission history, with no clear single ancestor manuscript to trace individual divergences. Holding a restriction to errors individual to the scribe of Vespasian D.xiv gives 3 errors in 58 words, for a rate of 5.2%; including all divergences from the putative original gives a count of 10 variants in 58 words, for a rate of 17.2%, certainly suggesting that the more the scribe writes, the more variances accumulate.

Tallying up the errors *introduced* by the scribe to 4m7 as a whole gives 8 errors in 101 words, for an overall rate of 7.9%, which is nearly identical to the 8.2% error rate for 3m8. As the transmission error rate of the two *metra* on 224v is half again higher that of the two *metra* on 170r, this adduces another piece of evidence suggesting the possibility that the two leaves present two different scribes.

The higher error rate for the *metra* on 224v also dovetails, perhaps contradictorily, with the notion of a scribe in the act of "production" as opposed to "copying". The experimental approach to layout for 4m7, coming after the restarted effort beginning 3m8 and its own novel layout, argues for a scribe not fully in control of his or her métier, perhaps a second, less literate, less skilled scribe taking dictation from a first, the scribe of 170r. Nevertheless, this putative second scribe is one producing a more valuable text in terms of reflecting metrical identity, and certainly a more productive text in terms of future critical study.

The rate of abbreviation in Vespasian D.xiv's record of 4m7 is fairly low, with only 6 found in the 24 lines excerpted from the poem. Of these 6, Cambridge O.3.7 (Cm) shares 5, Paris 13026 (P_4) shares 4, and both München 14324 (E) and Wien 271 (W) share 3, whereas Bern 455 (β_2), Paris 1154 (P_1), and Vatican 3363 (V) each have only 1 abbreviation in common with D.xiv. As the first three manuscripts all have a high rate of abbreviation, with Cm having nearly double any other with 27 overall, this explains their frequency of overlap; by contrast, that β_2, P_1, and V hold but one abbreviation with D.xiv is something of a strike against them as possible ancestor manuscripts or part of a manuscript family.

Within the correspondences, there is good alignment in three cases—*antheū* (25); *ṗtiūq;* (30); and *caelū* (31)—where in each case two manuscripts agree, Cm and D.xiv, with L also agreeing at 25, E agreeing at 30 and 31, and P_4 at 25 and 31. The narrowed range of agreements here points to possible shared inheritance, though again the higher rate overall of abbreviation for Cm, E, and P_4 must be factored in.

Where Vespasian D.xiv is not particularly helpful in 4m7 is in it use of simpler abbreviations; 4 of its 6 abbreviations are made by lengthening 'u'. The only complex abbreviation here is

line 30, *pretiumque,* where the D.xiv scribe uses macrons both for 'p' and 'u' and a *punctus versus* in order to make the triple abbreviation. The Cm scribe makes the same set of abbreviations, but only gestures to a *punctus versus* as the descender on the 'q' limits this; the scribe of E has made all three abbreviations, but is seemingly overruled in his *punctus versus* by a later corrector.

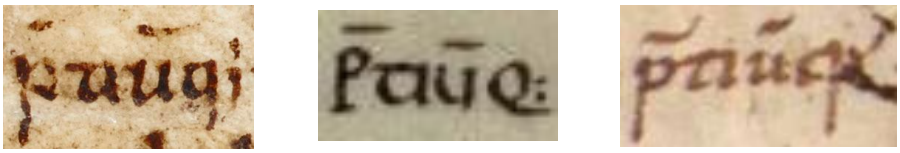

Fig. 5.68 *left to right* a) Vespasian D.xiv, fol. 224v: 9 (*right column*).
b) Cambridge O.3.7, fol. 43r: 4 (*left column*).
c) München 14324, fol. 66v: 8 (*right column*).

Overall, the evidence of abbreviations in 4m7 provides only a weak sense of correspondence.

5.4h Old English *Boethius* 4m7

In its rendering of 4m7, the Old English *Boethius* is a two-fold disappointment. First, there is no metrical version of 4m7 in the prosimetric Cotton Otho A.vi manuscript, as it gives the same version found in the full-prose translation of Bodley 180. We are thus deprived of a verse to verse comparison. Second, the shared prose translation completely strips all the mythological figures and context from 4m7, and so does not permit assessment of how the Anglo-Saxon translator would have handled the Greek names the scribe of Vespasian D.xiv clearly has difficulty with.

Instead of a close translation, the Old English prose recasts the poem in the form of a compressed and generalized address on those who follow the example of virtuous men and pursue good works, and those who are idle and will not ask after the lead wise men of the past have shown them. The manner is clearly homiletic as it uses three consecutive rhetorical questions at its heart; one could charitably assert this is the translator's way of handling the three mythical figures of Agamemnon, Odysseus, and Heracles, or, more likely, of expanding the original's penultimate sentence, *Cur inertes / terga nudatis*? ("why do you indolent ones expose your backs?"; 34). The sole piece of the prose translation figuratively near to the matter of the original metre is the closing sentence which asserts that those who pursue *wyrðscype* ("honour") in this world, and make good example (*worhton gode bisne*), will receive a heavenly reward: *Forðæm hi wuniað nu ofer ðæm tunglum on ecre eadignesse for / hiora godum weorcum*. ("Therefore those men now dwell above the stars in eternal blessedness on account of their good actions."; C.p30: 71-72) The phrasing emphasizes the Alfredian vocabulary that Christianizes the original with its specific reference to "eternal blessedness", and the small but significant choice to place those who set great example "above the stars". The figures of great example dwell, implicitly, with God in heaven, not among the stars, as Boethius's *metrum* grants.

6.0 Final Conclusion and Summary

6.1 Codicology, Script, and *Mise-en-page*

Without question, the four *Consolatio* metres of the second part of Cotton Vespasian D.xiv have been neglected by scholars of Boethius and Anglo-Saxon England; likewise, they have been consistently misrecorded in manuscript catalogues and overlooked in editions, thereby leaving their priority and importance uninvestigated. This neglect is based partially on the nature and scope of each project, with the D.xiv *metra* not being of merit depending on the parameters of inquiry, but there are also several instances of less precise examination and citation at secondhand. Even the master scholarship of Barrett's *Melodic Tradition* references their existence,[177] but then does not follow up on them; again, this is to my project's benefit, but it is still instructive as a warning for potential oversight and error in one's own work. Similarly, Stevenson's seemingly throwaway line in 1898 about the dating formula on 223v being the "last [page] in the volume" proves urgent,[178] for it has led to further investigation of the manuscript's construction and identification ca. 1621 by Richard James and by the British Museum or British Library figure who removed the first and last leaves in 1912. Unfortunately, without a precise knowledge of whether folio 224 is part of the final quire of the book, as the *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile* states, and thus inseparable from the dating formula and the end of the Carolingian-era creed on 223v, or is a flyleaf affixed to the volume at some undetermined time prior to 1920, the quandary will remain.

Another way in which the Vespasian D.xiv *metra* have been overlooked is in terms of being part of a broader tradition, one only recently adumbrated by Barrett in his long-term study of musical notation in verse miscellany manuscripts such as Paris 1154 (P_1) and Bern 455 (β_2).

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[177] Barrett (2013), p. 38.

[178] Stevenson (1898), p. 77.

The excerpts of Boethius's *Consolatio* found in these manuscripts speak to the transmission of individual *metra*, especially those four found in D.xiv, not along axes of theological study or the commentary traditions of Sankt Gallen and Auxerre, but as verse texts collected in verse anthologies, as songs rehoused in devotional and liturgical contexts. The four *metra* in D.xiv may not have been notated with neumes or been given metrical glosses, but their very presence as those metres most likely to be excerpted and notated elsewhere is *prima facie* evidence for their relation to this melodic transmission. By corollary, their addition to a ninth-century manuscript of Isidore's *Synonyma* unites them directly with Paris 1154 and gestures to the broader anthologizing of late Roman and early Christian poetry—Sedulius, Virgil, Prudentius, and Martianus Capella—of which isolated *Consolatio* metres became a part, especially in penitential context. Indeed, as Paris 13026 (P_4) witnesses, all of the *metra* could be excerpted for metrical and melodic study.

If the sense of codicological neglect and doubt predominates in the opening section of this summary, the reverse is true of the palaeographical study of the insular additions to the manuscript. Indeed, while Dumville's two principal essays have not made close study of the *metra* on 170r and the dating formula on 223v, they have made each leaf individually exemplary for the delineation of transitional insular square minuscule by citing them as manifestations of this phase of insular script development in tandem with the second scribe of the Trinity College *Etymologiae*. This identification is furthered by the inclusion of plates of the two leaves in the two published studies; as Dumville reproduces a photograph of 170r in the first essay then one of 223v in the second, this is double affirmation of their importance to the dating scheme of insular script, as well as a corollary assertion that the two leaves are in the same hand, as is the third leaf, 224v.

Given their scribal identity to the dating formula on 223v, as per Dumville's view, the four *Consolatio* metres are therefore datable to 912. This places them intermediate to the first and

second hands of the Parker *Chronicle* manuscript (CCCC 173). However, given the logic of Dumville's own schema, if these insular additions are datable to 912, and if they are significantly developed from the "proto-square" first hand of the *Chronicle*, then that hand should not be datable as post-912, whereas Dumville has given the first scribe's range as "891...[to] an uncertain point, perhaps in the 910s (but just possibly as late as the 920s)".[179] The breadth of this assertion cannot be logically maintained; the first hand of the Parker *Chronicle* should be dated 891 x 912 AD. I also find Dumville's schema to be over-reliant on Ker's dismissal of the scribal work in the Hatton 20 manuscript *Pastoral Care* as poor and inexperienced. While Hatton 20 is representative of the "pointed" phase of insular script development, along with Stowe *Charter 20*, and so should be earlier than the first *Chronicle* hand in Dumville's schema, the manuscript's careful *ordinatio* and general aspect seem well in advance of *Charter 20*, and at least coeval with the first *Chronicle* scribe. Indeed, my brief evaluation of the layout and pointing of the *Metrical Preface* in Hatton 20 shows it to be a source or a direct comparison to the copy in Vespasian D.xiv of the closing lines of 1m2.

My own investigation of the scribal characteristics of the three leaves of insular additions to Vespasian D.xiv finds that the writing of 1m1 and 1m2 on 170r shows good affinity, if not identity, with the dating formula on 223v, and more general affinity with Alfredian era texts. This is true of many features, particularly those of hybrid and antique character: the use of *litterae notabiliores*; the appearance of 'oc', '*i*-longa', and 'tall-*a*' letter forms; the gradation of initial letters that echoes *diminuendo*; word spacing beginning to break up syllables; display capitals; enlarged initials and pointing to mark lineation in full-width layout; and shared abbreviations from the register of pre-850 manuscripts.

[179] Dumville (1987), p. 164.

These features are not as strongly in evidence in the writing of 3m8 and 4m7 on 224r. In particular, the abbreviations simplify, there are no 'oc', '*i*-longa', or 'tall-*a*' letter forms, and the pointing ceases almost entirely. This is in accord with the less stable character of the ductus, the variant layout, and the start-and-stop, even erase-and-rewrite, nature of the scribal stints. Nevertheless, while the overall aspect rather shouts that it is the work of a different scribe, there are still general likenesses in recording transitional insular square script, especially in a few letters of odd shape, notably the flat-topped 'a' seen on both 170r and 224v; there are even some instances of the same syllables that suggest 224v and 223v are, on occasion, closer than 170r and 223v. Therefore, while Dumville's assertion that all three additions are in the same hand carries the weight of probability for 170r and 223v, I am withholding my judgment on the likelihood of the identity of 224v with 170r and 223v; I lack the requisite skill and experience in order to make a justified assessment of the matter, and thus should not dismiss Dumville's view.

Where the additions of the two sets of Boethius *metra* to Vespasian D.xiv stand out most is in terms of the their layout. Put simply, the *mise-en-page* shows remarkable experimentation, even in the assortment of set-apart initials in 1m1 on 170r, where it would otherwise seem a typical run of bounded capitals as found in any presumed Carolingian exemplar. Thus while there is no triple height 'C' for *Carmina* as found in Vatican 3363 (V) or Sankt Gallen 844 (F), and there is no rubrication or use of alternating and indented lines, as is common to ninth-century *Consolatio* manuscripts, there is still a strong sense of *ordinatio* here which echoes Caroline practice. However, that the writing of 1m1 switches midway on the leaf to a full-width layout typical of vernacular Saxon manuscripts is both unique across poetry manuscripts and a strong signal that the late Roman poet's words have been refashioned to fit an insular context. The production thus preserves the heightened character appropriate for elegiac metre while it simultaneously anglicizes the work.

Moreover, the second block of text on 170r, the full-width layout portion of 1m1, finds its own solution to signalling the lineation of the metre *in the process* of its writing, by employing the strategy of enlarged initials and pointing found in Hatton 20's record of the *Metrical Preface*. The scribe of 170r then provides a tag for 1m2 and asserts that *metrum*'s individual production with the use of gradation, the closing tricolon, and the deployment—again, found *in process*—of enlarged initials and pointing.

All this changes on 224v, as the *mise-en-page* for 3m8 and 4m7 is markedly more experimental than for the two *metra* on 170r. The opening line of 3m8 appears to have been started in single line per ruling, then was half-erased and changed to its 6-6-8 syllable layout, a scheme not found in any of the manuscripts from the comparison set; this unique layout emphasizes the metrical identity of the poem, asclepiad and iambic dimeter, by framing it visually. Moreover, the opening lines of 3m8 appear to be atop an earlier, erased effort that started 1m1 afresh, with the 'C' and 'f' as initials for the first two lines of 1m1 still visible. For proof of this palimpsest, the manuscript will need further investigation under ultraviolet light and other such techniques.

For its part, the layout of 4m7 is extraordinarily varied as there are *three* separate strategies for writing the poem: the first opposes three-lines and two-lines per ruling with four balanced initials; the second returns to a single line per ruling and introduces enlarged initials, some of which are majuscules; and the third section, sloped rightwards in the right column because of unexpected extension of lines from the left column, switches to two lines per ruling, again with enlarged initials. In terms of variant layout, this is flabbergasting and completely without precedent in an insular manuscript; there may be patterned poems, verses laid out in chevron form such as *Thureth* and the *Metrical Epilogue* (where the layout does switch when the poem comes to the closing leaf), but a double-switch of layout, done *in-process* for no apparent reason, is unique.

Moreover, the scribe of 224v must recognize the change in metre from the unevenly paired lines of 3m8 to the stichic lines of 4m7 (for which there is no easy manner of division), since 4m7 is given in full-lines which extend well beyond the column width set by the recording of 3m8 just above. Last, while that third section of 4m7 is off by one line too many, it does point to the possibility of the scribe's recognition of the poem as Sapphic hendecasyllable closing with a Sapphic stanza from line 32 *Ite nunc* forward to the closing adonic, line 35 *sidera donat*.

All of this strongly suggests a serial process of *mise-en-page* discovered in the act of writing, so making this record of the *metra* fit the rhetoric of scribal "production", not the logic of "copying", as per Bredehoft's terms, and doing so in response to the metrical identity of each of the four metres. The layout therefore not only enhances the connection of the four *metra* to the melodic tradition identified by Barrett, it finds individual, if visually ungainly, ways to represent this. I have termed this process, these ways, as layout trials akin to scribal pen trials. Indeed, it could be argued that the marginality of these two sets of fragmentary *metra* on either side of the major text, the *Synonyma*, and the four creeds and two hymns, is itself productive of a freedom for the scribe to experiment, to play with two blank leaves. We might also consider a theoretical jump from *mouvance* at the level of the letter to productive variation, even play, at the level of *mise-en-page*. All told, the four *Consolatio* poems in Vespasian D.xiv are fashioned into hybrid, insular, idiosyncratic, and inventive scribal productions and have surely been rewarding of close study.

6.2 Introduced Errors and Shared Variants

While not producing any definitive evidence of shared ancestry, and certainly nothing helpful toward drawing a stemma of related manuscripts, the accounting of introduced errors in Vespasian D.xiv and shared variants in the comparison set of sixteen manuscripts nonetheless points to many interesting results, particularly in oscillations in these two sets of divergences from a putative original.

First, while there are several poor errors opening the most prestigious metre, 1m1, the rate of introduced errors slows as the copy proceeds down the three blocks of text on 170r, as there are 5 errors in 1m1a, then 3 in 1m1b, then just a single error in 1m2, if the '*i*-longa' of line 24 *iacet* is accepted. Rather the obverse obtains in the copying of 3m8, where the rate of errors and variants increases as the scribe of 224v writes further down the leaf. And within the copy of 4m7, the first section in the left column and the remaining two sections in the right column show another inversion, this time between introduced errors and shared variants, as there are 5 errors and 2 variants in 4m7a but 3 errors and 7 variants in 4m7b and 4m7c combined. The ratio is even more extreme in 1m1, with 8 introduced errors and only 1 shared error; the near absence of shared errors might be predictable given that 1m1 is the high status opening of the *Consolatio*, but then the finding of many egregious errors argues for the low quality of the scribe's latinity versus the effort put into giving the copy of the poem a unique *ordinatio*. Last, that the overall rate of introduced errors in 3m8 and 4m7 is consistent and half-again above that of 1m1 and 1m2 suggests that the scribes of 224v and 170r might not be the same hand.

The picture becomes murkier concerning individual errors and possible shared ancestry. 1m1 is not very constructive, as it has only the single shared error, line 9 *inopia*, with München 18765 (T), an early high status manuscript with which Vespasian D.xiv otherwise has no apparent

relation; it also has possibly drawn another error, line 22 *ingratias*, from a misreading of a corrected exemplar such as Paris 13026 (P_4). Further, as 1m2 is so heavily truncated, there is little opportunity for shared variants in the first place, and so it is similarly unhelpful. An unlikely, if possible, instructive reading comes in line 25 *presus*, which could be drawn from an apparently faulty exemplar such as Vatican 3363 (V), with its reading of *pres__us*.

As D.xiv's recording of 3m8 and 4m7 is much fuller than of 1m2, so they offer numerous errors and correspondences. 3m8 in particular shows trouble with inflectional endings, suggesting introduced errors as a result of misheard dictation; it also has cruxes at the difficult Greek name, line 8 *Tyrrhena*, at the opening line interjection *Eheu*, where it shares the truncated and metrically weak reading *Heu* with Sankt Gallen 844 (F) and Vatican 3363 (V), and at line 4 *vite*, where four other manuscripts, München 14324 (E), Paris 7181 (P), Paris 6639 (P_2), and Paris 13026 (P_4) likewise read *vitae*. One further shared variant is line 22 *cognoscent*, a mistake found in Bern A.92.7 (β_1) and Cambridge O.3.7 (Cm) which flattens the verbal mood from subjunctive to indicative. This error in the final line also proves the wide range of manuscripts with respect to any particular crux, as it presents one uniquely transposed reading where other manuscripts have great trouble, and three other faulty readings which broaden out to eight different copies of the *Consolatio*. It is therefore impossible to draw any particular inheritance of errors and variants from 3m8.

4m7 is stronger in positing possible shared transmission of errors, particularly at line 15 *saevo spolium*, where three manuscripts, Vespasian D.xiv, Paris 6639 (P_2), and Paris 13026 (P_4), provide striking visual evidence of transposition of the 's' in *spolium* to the end of *saevo*. Such an atypical error is of stronger resemblance than a simple orthographical variant or even a faulty inflection. Predictably, D.xiv's copy of 4m7 has trouble with the unfamiliar Greek names: *Centauros* (14); *Hydra* (22), which is not enlarged or capitalized in D.xiv, even though it starts a

new line; *Achelous* (23); and *Libycis* (24), where several manuscripts transpose 'i' and 'y'. The failure to enlarge the 'h' of *Hydra* suggests the scribe had not planned in advance the scheme of larger initials for the second and third sections of 4m7; it is also worth noting that the Old English *Boethius* avoids the mythological names in its translation of 4m7 in both versions, and specifically avoids the term *hydra* in 4p6 as well, choosing to translate it with the more generic *nædre* ("snake") when referring to the philosophical quandary of solving one problem and having many more rise in its place (B.p39: 90). With respect to line 23 *Achelous*, three other manuscripts have trouble forming the word, München 14324 (E), Firenze XIV, 15 (L), and Paris 1154 (P_1), though none loses the terminal 's' as does D.xiv. Paris 1154 is also relevant in being the only other manuscript to share the reading of *arenis* at line 25, where the initial 'h' has become unvoiced; it is also aligned more generally with D.xiv in sharing two other orthographical variances, *Antheum* (24), *Lybicis* (24), though it adds '*h*' to *umeros* (28) where D.xiv unusually does not. That said, both L and P_4 share the most important crux at line 27, *pressus*, and L is again further aligned with the rarer error at line 29, *celo*, which in turn is only shared with D.xiv by one other manuscript, Berlin 455 (β_2). Overall, and as with 3m8, it seems that the introduced errors and shared variants point at too wide an array of manuscripts to offer an illustrative pattern of shared transmission.

A surprising finding, by way of negative affiliation, is that Vespasian D.xiv shows no definitive relation in terms of errors and variants with those manuscripts which excerpt *metra* from the *Consolatio*. While it is true that Paris 13026 (P_4), the complete metrical anthology, has the largest number of shared errors and variants with D.xiv in 4m7 with six, this does not extend as far to the other three metres. Likewise, while Paris 1154 (P_1) has the critical transposition error at line 15 *saevo spolium*, and shares line 29 *celo* with D.xiv, its other shared readings are commonplace ones of orthography; unfortunately, as P_1 does not record any of the three other *metra* in D.xiv, an oppor-

tunity to show greater shared transmission is not present. The other five manuscripts with metrical excerpts, Berlin 58 (Br), Bern A.92.7 (β_1), Bern 455 (β_2), Paris 8318 (P_3), and Verona LXXXVIII (Vr), all present no particular affiliation; this is clearly a disappointing result, as is the lack of affiliation with Cambridge O.3.7 (Cm) and Vatican 3363 (V), where one could have hoped for close relation with the other two manuscripts of English provenance.

As a final point, despite the apparent poor latinity of the D.xiv scribe, noticeably at the beginning of 1m1 and towards the end of 3m8 where unique errors of an egregious nature accumulate, the overall error rate is not alarming with respect to other manuscripts. In particular, Paris 13026 (P_4), which is framed in a very high register and verse anthology context indeed, has a significantly higher rate of introduced error, and even high-status and scholarly manuscripts such as Bern 455 (β_2), Cambridge O.3.7 (Cm), and Paris 6639 (P_2) can botch the crucially important ending to 4m7, *sidera donat*. Vespasian D.xiv, therefore, does not deserve the neglect it has so far received, especially if that were wrongly based on a false presumption of its textual corruption.

6.2a Table of Introduced Errors and Shared Variants

	1m1	**1m2**	**3m8**	**4m7**
Number of Words	131	33	97	101
Introduced Errors	8	1	8	8
Shared Variants	1	0	5	9
Error Rate	6.1%	3.0%	8.2%	7.9%
Total Variance Rate	6.9%	3.0%	13.4%	16.8%

6.3 Correspondence in Abbreviations

Unfortunately, as with the introduced errors and shared variants, the overall evidence in shared abbreviations among the sixteen manuscripts is too idiosyncratic to pinpoint closely shared transmission and ancestry. In general, the higher the number of correspondences between Vespasian D.xiv and another manuscript, the higher the number in total for that manuscript in inscribing the metre. This is even true of a manuscript such as Vatican 3363 (V), which has a high number of abbreviations in its record of 1m1, and so 5 shared abbreviations with D.xiv, but then only 1 correspondence in the other three *metra* combined; Cambridge O.3.7 (Cm) is similar, but in reverse, for while it has 0 shared abbreviations in 1m1, it has the most, 5, in 4m7.

The register and *ordinatio* of the comparison manuscript are the primary reasons for this; a manuscript with the *metra* in rustic capitals in single column layout will have few abbreviations in total, and so even fewer shared; this is true of Paris 7181 (P) and München 18765 (T). The reverse obtains as well: where a manuscript employs double column layout, it has much greater need of abbreviation; this may well explain why Cm has no shared abbreviations in its copy of 1m1, but 5 each in both 3m8 and 4m7, and why Wien 271 (W) has 3 shared abbreviations in its double column 4m7, but only 1 combined in the other three *metra*, all single column.

Where the record of shared abbreviations is perhaps more useful is in sorting affiliation in the families of manuscripts. Moreschini's *alpha* group, represented here by Paris 7181 (P), has but a single shared abbreviation in 1m1 across the four metres. In contrast, the *beta-one* group (E F L T W) in general has a higher rate of abbreviation and correspondence, except for T because of its rustic capitals and single column layout, and for W with single columns except in 4m7. The *beta-two* group, represented by only Vatican 3363 (V), as shown above, has 5 correspondences with 1m1 and only 1 in 4m7 for all the rest; this suggests that Vespasian D.xiv is not drawn from a direct

transcription of V, even though V is the only known manuscript of the *Consolatio* circulating in England at the time (ca. 912) or that V was used for only the opening prestigious song.

The evidence of the manuscripts composed of metrical excerpts is generally more promising. Though the truncated *metra* in Berlin 58 (Br) have but a single shared abbreviation between 1m1 and 3m8, both Bern A.92.7 (β_1) and Verona LXXXVIII (Vr) show very high rates of correspondence in each *metrum* they record, with Vr having the most shared readings across all manuscripts in 1m2 and 3m8. Bern 455 (β_2) similarly shows strong correspondence in 1m2 and 3m8, though its copy of 4m7 has only 1 shared abbreviation; this latter number is perhaps a function of the *metrum* being inscribed in a strophic 3:2 ratio, where three lines of poem are spaced across two lines of the leaf, and so fewer abbreviations are needed. However, β_2 is specifically more intriguing in 1m2 where it shows unusual pinpoint affiliation with D.xiv and Vr at line 27 *cogit*, and in its overall affiliation with Cambridge O.3.7 (Cm). The evidence of Paris 13026 (P_4), with its complete copy of the *metra*, is more contradictory, as there is good correspondence in both 1m1 and 4m7, but fewer shared abbreviations in 1m2 and 3m8.

Taken together, the evidence points to Vespasian D.xiv belonging to Moreschini's *beta-one* family of manuscripts, and to being within the tradition of manuscripts anthologizing metrical excerpts of the *Consolatio*. The manuscript with the most overall correspondences, Paris 6639 (P_2), is intriguing because of its consistency in affiliation with D.xiv, and so should be included as part of the *beta-one* family of complete *Consolatio* manuscripts even though it was not edited by Moreschini. Beyond these findings, it is hard to justify affiliation or to rule out a shared transmission history, though the lack of correspondence overall in Vatican 3363 is perhaps a surprising development. The results suggest that any particular manuscript can show as much variation within itself, especially in terms of its own *ordinatio*, as there is variation across a group of manuscripts.

One final point is that though numerically speaking the abbreviation rate is not higher for the two *metra* on 170r than for the pair on 224v, as 1m1 and 4m7 balance each other with 6.0% abbreviations as do 1m2 and 3m8 with 15% and 13% respectively, the nature of the abbreviations on 170r is significantly more sophisticated than on 224v. Indeed, the range of scribal abbreviations on 170r is a far better match for the dating formula on 223v than for 224v; it is also important to note the deliberately antique character of several of the abbreviations the scribe of 170r employs.

6.3a Table of Shared Abbreviations

	1m1	1m2	3m8	4m7
D.xiv [total]	8	5	13	6
Br	1	–	0	–
β_1	–	–	6	–
β_2	–	3	5	1
Cm	0	2	5	5
E	1	3	7	3
F	1	4	0	2
L	5	2	2	1
P	1	0	0	0
P_1	–	–	–	1
P_2	3	4	8	2
P_3	2	–	–	–
P_4	5	1	1	4
T	2	2	0	1
V	5	0	0	1
Vr	–	4	8	–
W	1	0	0	3

6.4 *Brevis in Longo*

By all the metrics studied and compiled in this thesis, the presentation of the four *metra* from Boethius's *Consolatio* in Cotton Vespasian D.xiv is *sui generis*. The codicology is a detective story without resolution; the script is deliberately echoing early ninth-century hybrid forms and practices, and points to affiliation of the dating formula on 223v with the two *metra* on 170r, but less so for those on 224v, though this is not said with surety. Simultaneously, the layout is experimental, as if the scribe or scribes were consciously blending an antiquarian spirit with innovative trials of *ordinatio*. The errors and abbreviations spread rays of affiliation in multiple directions, but the putative connections come up tenuous and disproven by counter-example. There are also no telltale errors or inventions shared with the Old English *Boethius*, which, if it is still to be considered an Alfredian-era work, could have benefitted from direct linkage to this earliest surviving insular witness of Boethius; this lack of correspondence is nonetheless valuable negative evidence.

Therefore, these four *metra* should be considered as resting in the wake of the Alfredian *renovatio*, even as they point to the later insular scholastic recovery of the *Consolatio* as a whole in the mid-tenth-century, just as the script they were written in would come to be canonical, only to be replaced by Caroline minuscule itself post Benedictine Reform. Perhaps the most valuable outcome is that the layout of these four *metra* as verse, as verse *recognized* as verse in the tradition of metrical study, and as hymns in the context of devotional study and liturgy—even if there are no neumes—will be to spur interest in reassessing the layout of all verse in Anglo-Latin and vernacular manuscripts of the period. The rapid transition of the insular square script ca. 912 seems to have encouraged at least this particular scribe (or scribes) to innovate and appreciate these fragments of late Latin poetry in a sympathetic and fascinatingly productive fashion.

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