READING *BEOWULF* NOW AND THEN

Beowulf is undoubtedly one of the most famous English poems, if not, perhaps, one of the most read. Perhaps it was ever thus: a recent commentator observes that more people read *Beowulf* now than can ever in the Anglo-Saxon period have had access to the fire-damaged ruin that the sole manuscript-witness remains (Anlezark 2003: 320). Moreover, *Beowulf*'s begrudged place at the head of the canon of English literature looks increasingly precarious, constantly threatened as a result of its difficulty and strangeness, and the fact that throughout its 3,182 lines not a single Englishman is mentioned, not a single place in England is described, and for many English Majors in universities throughout the world who are forced to read the stuff (often against their will), the language of the poem seems barely English at all.[1] Modern readers have the "benefit" of a bewildering myriad of translations and interpretations, including that of Seamus Heaney (2000),[2] as well as comic-books, cartoons, and several versions for the big screen,[3] but the purpose of this paper is rather to survey a limited range of readers and readings from the past thousand years or so, to see how far such earlier efforts help or hinder us in our interpretations of *Beowulf* today.

In focusing in turn on the problems faced by the scribes who wrote the single surviving manuscript, on the inaccuracies of the earliest modern edition, as well as on the poorly regarded translation of the text made by

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[1] Typical is the tongue-in-cheek diatribe by Brigid Brophy that *Beowulf* is "Boring and unattractive as a story, pointlessly bloodthirsty" (1967: 1); see further Orchard 2003: 238–64, who argues that the multiplicity of perspectives offered by modern interpreters is implicit in the original text.

[2] Liuzza 2000 appeared the same year as Heaney's celebrated version, but offers a useful corrective, as well as providing brief extracts of some twenty other translations for comparison (212–31).

[3] Osborn 1997. The Icelandic-Canadian director Sturla Gunnarsson was filming *Beowulf and Grendel* in Iceland when this paper was delivered at the 16th SELIM Conference in Seville.

William Morris more than a century ago, this discussion will illustrate the poignant fact that we all read *Beowulf* through a number of distorting and distancing lenses, and that even the mightiest modern interpreters of the text may well seem quaint and misguided in years to come. Those of us who through reading or writing or teaching try to grapple with *Beowulf* according to the heroic triad of thought, and word, and deed (recall Hrothgar's admiring words to Beowulf: *Þu eart mægenes strang ond on mode frod, wis wordcwida* ['you are strong in might, wise in your mind, clever in speaking words'; 1844–45a]),[4] would do well to remember that however many monstrous misreadings of the past we confront and quell, we are all in danger from the dragon of misinterpretation. The good news is that even as we fail, there is always another Wiglaf waiting in the wings, keen to take up the task of interpretation for a new generation.

Beowulf is undoubtedly a difficult text, whether read in the original, with its baffling range of unique forms and linguistic pyrotechnics (Orchard 2003: 57–78), or through the warped perspective of translation, or the still more warped perspective of Hollywood. There are many signs that it has seemed difficult to many, for more than a millennium, though many have kept the faith, transmitting, translating, and transubstantiating a text that likely seemed old even when it was first set down (Niles 1997; Orchard 2003: 5–8 and 20–4). Many generations of readers have been more or less perplexed by *Beowulf*, even though it must be admitted that the main plot is simple to the point of banality: a young monster-slayer grows old, and dies slaying one monster too many.[5] But in the process, a bewildering number of characters are introduced: more than seventy appear, although half of them are named only once (Orchard 2003: 169–73). The action (such as it is) is a curiously stop-start affair, with a panoramic sweep from Creation, through the Flood, via a range of events from Germanic myth and legend, to the main action of the poem, which takes place over just a few days on either side of a gap of more than half a century, before looking ahead to the sad fate that will await Beowulf's nation, that fate having taken place, we understand, several

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[4] On the "thought, word, and deed" triad, see Orchard 2003: 55, 73, 123, 146, 218, and 255.

[5] Still the best starting point for the appreciation of the literary qualities of the poem is Tolkien 1936.

centuries before the poem was set down (Frank 1982). The poem begins and ends with a funeral, and the poet seems to have taken great care to structure his text in other ways (Owen-Crocker 2000). Critics still argue whether the poem is essentially bipartite or tripartite in structure: clearly the poem focuses on two periods in Beowulf's life, fighting Grendel and his mother as a young man in Denmark, and battling a dragon as an old man at home in the land of the Geats, but the poem just as clearly contains three monster-fights.[6] The distinction between Beowulf and the monsters he fights, moreover, is blurred, and the fights show an evident connection and progression (Hrothgar, Grendel's Mother, and Beowulf all rule their individual realms for 50 years before being invaded by Grendel, Beowulf, and the dragon respectively; Beowulf's armament and difficulty in defeating the monsters increases with each fight), but quite what the poet intends by all these parallels is a matter of hot debate.

And heat has been a problem in more ways than one. As has often been noted, the text survives in a single manuscript alongside what seems to be a simple collection of monster-texts.[7] The manuscript itself has suffered grievously, after some bright spark had the idea of storing it alongside the rest of Sir Robert Cotton's library in the ominously named Ashburnham house, which duly did (burn to ashes, that is), on Saturday, October 23, 1731, damaging or destroying around 200 items. The text itself is problematic, having been copied by two scribes (imaginatively called Scribe A and Scribe B by Anglo-Saxonists), with the changeover occurring in mid-sentence, mid-line, and indeed mid-half-line, leading Leonard Boyle to propose his infamous "heart-attack" theory of *Beowulf* scribal performance (1981). Since Scribe B is evidently senior (having the older style of script), an alternative might be the "give me that bloody pen you young whipper-snapper" theory: certainly, there are signs that Scribe B later went through and corrected Scribe A's work. Other interesting physical damage to the manuscript first led Kevin Kiernan to propose that part of the text had been rubbed out and

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[6] For a range of views about the structure of *Beowulf*, see (for example) Sisam 1965, Orchard 2003: 78–97, and Shippey 1997.

[7] The case was first made by Sisam 1953: 65–96; see too Orchard 1995.

rewritten, leading him to suggest that Scribe B should in effect be viewed as the author of *Beowulf* as we have it.[8]

Inevitably, then, we all see at least part of *Beowulf* through the scribes' eyes, even though it seems clear that they are both copying from at least one earlier exemplar of unknown date, and perhaps itself the copy of a copy of a copy.[9] Both scribes dramatically increase their rate of writing towards the end of their stint, so testifying to the fact that they were working within a predetermined and limited amount of space (Orchard 2003: 20–1); and both attempt to correct their work: I count seventy-five corrections made by Scribe A to his stint (just under one a page), fifty-seven made by Scribe B to his stint (just over one a page), as well as thirteen made by Scribe B to Scribe A's stint; a preliminary list of such scribal emendations is given below as an Appendix.[10] The corrections are, generally speaking, of the usual sort made to mechanical copying-errors, such as the confusion of individual letter-forms (so-called *translitteratio* or *metacharakterismos*), the omission of individual words, perhaps through eye-skip or haplography (the copying of one letter or form for two), dittography (the copying of two letters or forms for one), and metathesis (the transposition of letters or forms).[11] These are all common symptoms of what might be called textually transmitted diseases.

The scribes' evident care (especially Scribe B) may attest to *Beowulf*'s difficulty or antiquity or status (or some combination of the three), but nevertheless both scribes maintain strict spelling-patterns of their own, so showing at first glance either that Scribe A is updating his text, or Scribe B is (to use the parlance of antique-fakers) distressing it. Consider the spelling of

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[8] See the repeated arguments in Kiernan 1991, 1994, 1995, and 1996; repeated rebuttals are found in (for example) Dumville 1988 and 1998, and in Gerritsen 1989 and 1991. Kiernan (2000) has done a signal service to Anglo-Saxon scholarship in making available a low-cost CD-ROM version not only of the *Beowulf*-manuscript itself, but also importantly of Conybeare's copy of Thorkelin (as owned by William Morris: see below), but also of Madden's marked-up edition (see further below).

[9] See the fascinating argument put forward by Lapidge 2000 that some version of *Beowulf* must have existed in written form before 750.

[10] The corrections made by Scribe B to Scribe A's stint are given as A3, A5, A20, A23, A25, A30, A52, A55, A58, A70, A74, A78, and A87.

[11] For a list of examples of all four such mechanical copying errors, see Orchard 2003: 44–6.

our hero's name (among other variants) in the most formulaic and repeated line in the poem:

Scribe A	Beowulf maþelode bearn Ecgþeowes	529
Scribe A	Beowulf maþelode bearn Ecgþeowes	631
Scribe A	Beowulf maþelode bearn Ecþeowes	957
Scribe A	Beowulf maþelode bearn Ecgþeowes	1383
Scribe A	Beowulf maðelode bearn Ecgþeowes	1473
Scribe A	Beowulf maþelode bearn Ecgþeowes	1651
Scribe A	Beowulf maþelode bearn Ecgþeowes	1817
Scribe B	Biowulf maðelode bearn Ecgðioes	1999
Scribe B	Biowulf maþelade bearn Ecgðeowes	2425

As a general rule, one can observe a consistency in Scribe A's stint, with –*eo*– and –*þ*– spellings (although an –*ð*– spelling is witnessed in line 1473a, and a presumably aberrant *Ec-* for *Ecg-* spelling is found in line 957b), while Scribe B prefers –*io*– and –*ð*– spellings (with exceptions in line 2425). Sisam's analysis of –*io*– spellings in the manuscript as a whole strongly suggests that they are the remnants of "a manuscript in which *io* often occurred for Late West Saxon *eo* of all origins" (1953: 67), and again highlights the fact that the younger Scribe A, using a more modern form of script, apparently updated spellings as well as scribal forms.

What is equally important to stress, however, is that despite their best efforts, both scribes still let other similar copying errors through: every single subsequent editor of Beowulf (and it seems reasonable to think of scribes A and B as the first) has made changes to the transmitted text of *Beowulf* on precisely the same four grounds (*translitteratio*, haplography, dittography, and metathesis), among others.[12] It should be noted that these mechanical copying-errors evidently occurred in the work of both scribes, and amply support the view that each was copying from an exemplar. Other emendations universally accepted suggest that Scribes A and B sometimes transmitted readings that they knew did not make sense, presumably out of

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[12] Invaluable for tracing the subsequent editorial development of *Beowulf* is the work by Kelly (1982 & 1983), who demonstrates the high level of conservatism that has characterized the editing of *Beowulf* over the years.

some sort of respect for the text; many of the most obvious of these were detected by the earliest modern editors, and more recent attempts to defend at all costs the transmitted text are often unconvincing or require special pleading (Orchard 2003: 42–56).

In some cases, the transmitted text evidently offers a Christian gloss on the text about pagan heroes, an effect which modern editors have unfortunately masked. So, in line 1816a, the form *helle* ('hell') is clearly visible, although editors in general prefer *hæle* ('warriors'); in line 2250b, the form *fyrena* ('crimes', 'sins') is mostly emended to *fyra* ('fires'); and in line 1983a Scribe B has first written *hæðnum* ('heathens'), then the *–ð-* has been erased, and most editors prefer to emend to *hæleðum* ('warriors', 'heroes'). Parallels for this kind of "christianizing scribe" can be found outside *Beowulf*, of course, in the Vercelli Book, where *Andreas* contains no fewer than three cases (lines 393a, 1508a, 1585b) where alliteration and context make it evident that what was clearly intended as a form of the poetic noun *geofon* ('sea') has been copied as *heofon* ('heaven'), by a scribe presumably more used to writing the latter; the same phenomenon is found in the Junius manuscript in the opening lines of *Christ and Satan* (line 10a). A still more striking example is found in the Exeter Book, where in *Christ B* (line 485a) the scribe has clearly written *heofenum* ('heavens') in a place where *hæþnum* ('heathens') is, as generations of editors have agreed, far more appropriate. But none of the other surviving Anglo-Saxon manuscripts seems to contain anything like the number of scribal corrections as are found in the *Beowulf*-manuscript, even if individual poems (notably *Exodus*) clearly exercised their scribes. So, it seems that even then reading *Beowulf* would have required a good deal of work on behalf of its reader, and would likely have presented problems to even the best-read contemporary native speaker; but whose *Beowulf* are we reading now?

Modern *Beowulf*-scholarship dates from 1815, when the first complete edition (with a handy facing-page translation in Latin) was produced by the Icelander Grímur Jónsson Thorkelin; even at this early date, the rot had already set in. It is important to note that even the most conservative editions of *Beowulf* have tacitly altered the text in a number of significant ways from what is found in the manuscript: modern lineation, capitalization, word-division, and punctuation have been all introduced, and abbreviations have

been expanded. Modern Anglo-Saxonists are able in Kevin Kiernan's electronic facsimile (2000) to consider that first edition of *Beowulf* alongside the manuscript, in the actual copy of Thorkelin's text owned and heavily corrected by John Josias Conybeare (1779–1824), the third (and extremely youthful) Rawlinson Professor of Anglo-Saxon at the University of Oxford (1808–1812), as presented to him by his brother, William, for his 38th birthday in 1817.[13] Conybeare checked Thorkelin's readings, and found many wanting; ditto with his Latin translations, as can be seen from any representative page. We are back to the Young Turk model of evolving readings of *Beowulf*, itself foreshadowed in the poem in the way in which the aging Beowulf is replaced by Wiglaf, and in manuscript by the clearly different attitudes expressed by Scribes A and B. Conybeare saw early that Thorkelin would not do: he determined to produce an improved version, published posthumously by his brother William Daniel Conybeare, Dean of Llandaff (Conybeare 1826), the relationship of which to his own copy of Thorkelin can readily be seen, since it largely represents a selected printing of extracts of the corrected text.[14]

At this point in the story, and as a warning that even Young Turks grow old, enter Frederic (later Sir Frederic) Madden (1801–1873), who first encountered Conybeare in 1824; Madden was then just 23 years old, Conybeare 20 years older: the latter, however, had just five months to live (he died on 11th of June 1824).[15] Conybeare generously gave Madden (whom he presumably wished to employ as a proof-reader for his as yet unpublished book) his marked-up copy of Thorkelin's text, the corrections from which the young whipper-snapper Madden duly entered into his own copy of Thorkelin,[16] noting with undisguised glee that Conybeare had made many

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[13] See further Malone 1968 and Bolton 1974, neither of whom has a high opinion of Conybeare's contribution. An electronic facsimile of the volume in question can be found in Kiernan 2000; see n. 8 above.

[14] I have in my possession an interesting copy of Conybeare 1826, signed by William Daniel Conybeare, dated 1852, and dedicated to his grandson Henry Thomas Conybeare; bound into the volume after p. xcvi are Thorpe 1834: 121–44, representing all the Old English poetry from that work.

[15] *DNB* 2004: 13.69–70; for a detailed description of the collaboration (to which my own account is indebted), see Kiernan 1998.

[16] An electronic facsimile of the volume in question can be found in Kiernan 2000; see n. 8 above.

errors of his own. Conybeare was buried on 20th June 1824 at Batheaston; the very next day Madden was, according to his diary, busy collating *Beowulf* from the manuscript (the shelf-mark of which he was wrongly to record as Cotton *Vespasian* A. xv on several occasions [Kiernan 1986]), noting Conybeare's errors and writing in his diary "Now Conybeare is dead I am at perfect liberty to publish it in any way I please."[17] Conybeare, worn out after long service to *Beowulf*, wrote at the end of the text that his efforts between 1817 and 1819 had been not so much a pleasure as a *taedium trienne* ('three years of boredom'). Cruelly, Madden stole even that sad line for his own copy of Thorkelin, taking the phrase down verbatim, before adding a vicious gloss: for him, apparently, the task of checking and correcting Conybeare's work had merely been *taedium quattuor hebdomadum* ('four weeks' boredom').[18] Needless to say, Madden did not offer assistance to William, who published his brother's uncorrected work, but neither did Madden publish his "own" *Beowulf*, apparently realizing that a gift for accurate transcription is not enough: he did not at that point know enough Old English to translate the text beyond Conybeare's improved Latin version of Thorkelin's Latin. We leave Madden, who went on to become for almost 30 years Keeper of Manuscripts (including the *Beowulf*-manuscript) at the British Museum, and was later knighted for his services to scholarship (though not, we note, to scholars).

But what of Conybeare's crucially marked-up copy of Thorkelin? It eventually fell into the hands of an interested party, as a book-plate on the inside of the front board makes clear.[19] William Morris (1834–96) was a

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[17] Madden's diary is a delight, recording not only his numerous adventures with prostitutes and other affairs, but also his withering contempt for others: in his journal for the 10th of November 1852, for example, he describes Sir Henry Ellis, Principal Librarian of the British Museum, as "always an *ass*; always a *bully*; always a *time-serving*, *lick-spittle booby* and *blockhead*" (*DNB* 2004: 36.67). On Madden in general, see further Ackerman & Ackerman 1979.

[18] See further Kiernan 1998: 122.

[19] I am grateful to William J. Whitla of York University for pointing out to me that the number 227 that appears with a description of the book below Morris's bookplate, and which has puzzled previous commentators, derives from the posthumous auction of Morris's library (*Catalogue* 1898); the same *Catalogue* records that at his death Morris also owned copies of Heyne 1873 (lot 26), Wyatt 1894 (lot 27), and an uncut copy of Conybeare 1826 (lot 221). These, together with Conybeare's Thorkelin, comprise the only volumes relating to *Beowulf*.

giant in his day: poet, translator of Icelandic sagas, designer, socialist, artist, and publisher, but his own translation of *Beowulf* (in its day every bit as famous as the recent one of Seamus Heaney [2000]) has attracted relatively little attention in the 109 years since it was first produced, and the opinions that have been expressed are radically polarized. Few of Morris's biographers, especially in recent years, have viewed the venture in a positive light; Thompson is the most forthcoming (1991: 163): "It is perhaps the worst thing he ever wrote, quite incomprehensible without a glossary, in effect a parody in English gibberish." Contemporary reaction to Morris's *Beowulf*, however, at least in some cases, was much less harsh. Theodore Watts, writing in *The Athenaeum*, gave Morris in effect a rave review, noting that: "if the business of the translator of an ancient poem is to pour the old wine into the new bottles with as little loss as possible of its original aroma, Mr Morris's efforts have been crowned with entire success."[20]

How are we to reconcile such conflicting views? It is important to remember that when his version of *Beowulf* appeared in 1895, Morris (who was to die the following year) already had a long and successful career behind him of translations from a variety of languages, notably Icelandic: many of the sagas he translated with Eiríkur Magnússon had been published more than twenty years earlier.[21] The translation of *Beowulf* itself seems very much to have been a labour of love for Morris: he speaks glowingly of the work in a sequence of letters and lectures dating from many years before he made the attempt. Speaking on "Early England" in Hammersmith on 12th December 1886, Morris enthuses that: "the epic of Beowulf is worthy of a great people for its sincerity of language and beauty of expression, and nowhere lacks the epic quality of putting clear pictures before the readers' eyes; nor is there anything in it coarse, ignoble, or degrading; on the contrary it breathes the very spirit of courageous freedom: to live is good and to die is good if you are valiant and faithful and if you reckon great deeds and the fair fame that comes of them of more account than a few more short years of a trembler's life upon the earth" (Lemire 1969: 163). In an earlier lecture on "The Gothic Revival"' on 3rd March 1884, he had spoken equally warmly of

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[20] Watts 1895, reprinted in Faulkner 1973: 385–7.

[21] On the collaboration in general, see, for example, Quirk 1953–5, Harris 1975, and Whitla 2001.

"the noble poem of Beowulf, unsurpassed for simplicity and strength by any poem of our later tongue" (Lemire 1969: 57). Apparently he liked it.[22]

There survives a series of letters to A. J. Wyatt of Christ's College, Cambridge, his collaborator on the translation of *Beowulf.* The first, dated 28 August 1892, makes it clear that the initial impetus for their collaboration came in fact from the younger man (those whipper-snappers again!), who had perhaps been inspired to write by Morris's ongoing collaboration with the Icelander Eiríkur Magnússon, then working at Cambridge University Library; Morris begins: 'Thank you for your letter. I should be very pleased to work with you if we could hit upon some plan together'. Wyatt was certainly the man for the job: he had published *A Glossary to Ælfric's Homilies* (co-written with Henry H. Johnson) in 1891, and was hard at work on an edition of *Beowulf* itself that would appear the year before Morris's translation. But it is also important to stress the different quality of his collaboration with Morris from that which the latter had enjoyed (and that is the right word) with Eiríkur Magnússon. Eiríkur was a native speaker of Icelandic, for whom the language of the sagas was little removed from his everyday language; Wyatt was a much younger man (aged 31 at the time of their first meeting; Morris was 26 years his senior), a professional scholar, for whom Old English in general (and *Beowulf* in particular) was to be approached primarily as a philological exercise. The difference in method had an important bearing on the way Morris was able to handle the text.

Six months after his initial letter to Wyatt, Morris records in his rough diary for 25 February 1893 that he: "Finished the first lot of Beo: about 100 lines. Wrote Wyatt."[23] He did indeed write to Wyatt (the letter is dated 26 February 1893) fulsomely to express his pleasure: 'I have rhymed up the lines of Beowulf which you sent me. I should be very much obliged if you could send me some more *as soon as possible* as I want to get the book out quickly' (Henderson 1967: 353). An extract from a now-lost letter to Jane Morris, apparently written 12 March 1893, has been taken to refer to his translation of *Beowulf*, which was certainly occupying much of his time at the

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[22] In fact, *Beowulf* made Morris's list of 100 most important works; the whole list is discussed in Baylen 1976.

[23] Henderson 1967: 341; cf. MacCarthy 1994: 649, who likely through a misreading of Morris's somewhat flamboyant hand gives the unbelievable figure of 700 lines.

period; Morris simply says: '[I] relish it hugely' (Kelvin 1996: V.23). By the summer he was regularly reading his *Beowulf* translation to Burne-Jones on Sunday mornings.[24] By the autumn, the arrangement with Wyatt himself has clearly become more businesslike; on 8th October 1893, Morris is writing to ask for the return of corrected copy, having (as he puts it) "roughed out about 1450 lines, & ... cleared up and fair copied within about a hundred lines of that." On 31st March 1894, Morris writes a brief note to arrange a meeting for 'about April 10th' (Kelvin 1996: V.146); Cockerell, Morris's secretary, in his diary for 10th April 1894, notes that: "W.M. finished Beowulf"; a later entry for 23th June 1894 reads: "Wyatt at K.H. with W.M. revising Beowulf."

More than a year later, writing again to Wyatt, the tone of Morris's correspondence changes, as the collaborators evidently clash over the necessity and form of a glossary. Writing on 10th November 1894, exactly two months before final publication, Morris notes that: "almost all in the glossary I should not hesitate to use in a poem of my own, you see: and *I* don't think it would need a glossary." The closing lines set the working relationship between the two men into sharp focus: "With these remarks I return you your paper to reconsider. I am anxious for your notes on the obscure passages" (Henderson 1967: 362). One might suppose that Wyatt had drafted a glossary, and Morris had rejected it, but a glossary did indeed appear in the published work.

There still survives in Cambridge University Library a set of marked-up proofs for *Beowulf*, with no glossary, but with a series of tetchy comments in Morris's hand which emphasizes the rift between himself and his junior academic collaborator, the poignant gift by the mother of the bibliographer Robert Collier Procter (1863–1903), who had in 1901 become one of the trustees under Morris's will, and who died young on a glacier in the Austrian Tyrol. At one point, where the word "mightyful" is queried (on the reasonable ground that it appears to mean "full of mighty"), Morris explodes, writing firmly *stet*, and commenting "I can't have my best lines spoiled!" The line in question reads "With mightyful words. With mead-skinking turned"; one doubts whether it can really be counted one of Morris's "best lines": the venerable poet seems merely to be flexing his muscles, and putting the

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[24] Henderson: 341; cf. Kelvin 1996: III.437.

whipper-snapper in his place. Two points arise from this spat, however: first, the extent to which Morris's translation matches precisely the syntax of the original (*meaglum wordum meoduscencum hwearf* [line 1980]), and, second, the fact that the line appeared without emendation in the final version, a mute witness to Morris's seniority and stubbornness.

The glossary itself as finally printed contains only seventy-eight items. Many commentators have noted its inadequacy (cf. Liuzza 2002: 292): some words are undoubtedly the common stock of medieval terminology, and scarcely seem worth glossing at all (*atheling*; *byrny*); many of the words glossed appear only once (although the words they are glossed by appear more frequently; by contrast, many other words that appear only once in the text are not glossed at all (see further Tilling 1981). One of the words in the glossary, moreover (*ealdor*) in fact never occurs in the final version of the translation, though its Old English equivalent (spelt the same) occurs nine times as a simplex and twice more as a compound in *Beowulf* itself.[25] Likewise, the glossing commentary on *Warths* ("shores, still in use in Wick St. Lawrence, in Somerset") seems to have been misplaced from *Wick*, which follows. Such indications of insouciance and sloppiness are extremely uncharacteristic of Morris, and appear to be indications of Morris's extreme reluctance to include such a glossary at all. It appears that he included it on the insistence of his collaborator (recall that Wyatt himself, who was a stickler for such things, made his name as a glossator of Ælfric [1891], and that neither in the notes and glossary for his own edition nor in any of his published translations does he exhibit any fondness whatsoever for using the archaisms, compounds, and nonce-formulations so characteristic of Morris himself). By including a glossary at all Morris seems to have paid a high price for professional advice; by including one at once so shoddy and inadequate, Morris effectively condemned his work to critical oblivion.

Morris finally completed the book by writing a brief "Argument" or summary of the poem, which he finished on 10th December 1894, exactly a month after his testy letter to Wyatt. The Kelmscott edition of *Beowulf* was published in a limited edition of 300 paper and 8 vellum copies on 2nd February 1895 (the date given is 10th January 1895, a mere month after

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[25] Lines 56a, 346a, 369b, 392a, 592b, 668a, 1644b, 1848b, and 2920a; lines 15b (*aldorleas*) and 1308a (*aldorþegn*).

completion; there are evidently advantages to owning a press). Copies of the work have turned up in various likely and unlikely places: at his death, T. E. Lawrence (a great admirer of Morris, and a fellow-translator of the *Odyssey*) had a copy in his library at Cloud's Hill, a presentation-copy from the celebrated process engraver and typographer Emery Walker (1851–1933), who worked with both Morris and Lawrence (Lawrence 1937: 478–79),[26] and another fine and largely untouched copy can still be found in the Pratt Library of Victoria University in the University of Toronto.[27] Morris's *Beowulf* is undoubtedly a beautiful book, and still perhaps somewhat misunderstood.

What spurred Wyatt to write in the first place, and Morris to propose their collaboration on *Beowulf*? Morris's version is in fact the ninth English translation to be published (Sharon Turner and John Josias Conybeare had also published English extracts in 1805 and 1826 respectively), and by 1892, when Morris first wrote to Wyatt, there also existed five German and two Danish translations, as well as versions in Latin, French, Italian, and Swedish, as Table 1 below makes clear:[28]

Table 1: Renderings of Beowulf *up to 1895*

Turner's English extracts	1805
Thorkelin's edition and translation [1ˢᵗ Latin version]	1815
Grundtvig's translation [1ˢᵗ Danish version]	1820
Conybeare's Latin and English extracts	1826
Kemble's edition and translation [1ˢᵗ English version]	1833, 1835, 1837
Ettmüller's translation [1ˢᵗ German version]	1840

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[26] This copy is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, which also houses a number of other items relating to Morris's translation, including an early version in Morris's hand, and early drafts of a prose translation by Wyatt.

[27] The same library contains no fewer than twenty-one *Beowulf*-related items dating from before 1900, including all three editions of Kemble, and a copy of Thorkelin's *Beowulf* signed by Thorkelin itself.

[28] In compiling this list, I have made extensive use of the invaluable work of Tinker 1974.

Schaldemose's translation [2nd Danish version]	1847
Wackerbarth's translation [2nd English version]	1849
Thorpe's edition and translation [3rd English version]	1855
Grein's translation [2nd German version]	1857
Simrock's translation [3rd German version]	1859
Heyne's translation [4th German version]	1863
von Wolzogen's translation [5th German version]	1872?
Arnold's edition and translation [4th English version]	1876
Botkine's translation [1st French version]	1877
Lumsden's translation [5th English version]	1881
Garnett's translation [6th English version]	1882
Grion's translation [1st Italian version]	1883
Wickberg's translation [1st Swedish version]	1889
Earle's translation [7th English version]	1892
Hall's translation [8th English version]	1892
Hoffmann's translation [6th German version]	1893?
Morris and Wyatt's translation [9th English version]	1895

A possible impetus for the initial exchange between Morris and Wyatt was the publication earlier in 1892 of the seventh and eighth English translations of *Beowulf*. The then Rawlinson Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, John Earle, published his prose rendering in February, and across the Atlantic John Lesslie Hall of Johns Hopkins University published his version in imitative measures and archaic style in May of the same year. Likewise published in 1892 was the third edition of a celebrated translation (the sixth in English) in imitative metres by James M. Garnett, first produced in St John's College, Maryland. The year before, in 1891, Garnett has also published a lengthy and sensitive discussion on "The Translation of Anglo-Saxon Poetry," in which he analyzed a number of existing translations of *Beowulf*, and, like Morris, largely found them wanting.[29] But what is

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[29] It is interesting to note how often discussions of the best way to translate Old English took place shortly after Morris's version was published: see, for example,

curiously prophetic in this context is the fact that, a year before Morris himself should have conceived a plan to translate *Beowulf* through the repeated use of obsolete or unfamiliar words, Garnett should have suggested that would-be translators of the text would do well to follow Morris's model as exhibited in others of his works. As Garnett puts it: "William Morris has revived many old words that we should not willingly let die, and there is no fitter place for them than in the translation of our oldest poetry" (Garnett 1891: 104–5). Garnett was a little less gracious when Morris's translation did indeed appear, noting bitchily of the list of "some words not commonly used now" (Morris's title for his glossary): "this is putting it mildly, for it is very doubtful whether some of them ever were used" (Garnett 1903: 448). Although Garnett did acknowledge that Morris's fame and status would likely bring new readers to the poem, he nonetheless speaks of the "excess, bordering on unintelligibility, of Mr William Morris" (Garnett 1903: 448).

Garnett's criticism, like that of so many others, ignores the fact that Morris went to great pains to keep his translation as close to the original Old English as possible, and appears to have reveled in the antiquity and difficulty of the language so produced. An interlinear version of Morris's rendering with Wyatt's Old English edition illustrates the point. Morris describes Grendel's approach to Heorot (*Beowulf* 702–27) as follows:

> 702   *Com on wanre niht*
>   Now by wan night there came,
> 703   *scriðan sceadugenga.   Sceotend swæfon,*
>   There strode in the shade-goer; slept there the shooters,
> 704   *þa þæt hornreced   healdan scoldon,*
>   They who that horn-house should be a-holding,
> 705   *ealle buton anum.   þæt wæs yldum cuþ*
>   All men but one man: to men was that known,
> 706   *þæt hie ne moste,   þa metod nolde,*
>   That them indeed might not, since will'd not the Maker,
> 707   *se synscaþa   under sceadu bregdan;*
>   The scather unceasing drag off 'neath the shadow;
> 708   *ac he wæccende   wraþum on andan*
>   But he ever watching in wrath 'gainst the wroth one

Frye 1897, Fulton 1898, and Gummere 1910; the last is useful for the way it contextualizes Gummere's own translation, which appeared in 1909.

709 *bad bolgenmod   beadwa geþinges.*
 Mood-swollen abided the battle-mote ever.
710 *Ða com of more   under misthleoþum*
 Came then from the moor-land, all under the mist-bents,
711 *Grendel gongan,   godes yrre bær;*
 Grendel a-going there, bearing God's anger.
712 *mynte se manscaða   manna cynnes*
 The scather the ill one was minded of mankind
713 *sumne besyrwan   in sele þam hean.*
 To have one in his toils from the high hall aloft.
714 *Wod under wolcnum   to þæs þe he winreced,*
 'Neath the welkin he waded, to the place whence the wine-house,
715 *goldsele gumena,   gearwost wisse,*
 The gold-hall of men, most yarely he wist
716 *fættum fahne;   ne wæs þæt forma sið,*
 With gold-plates fair colour'd; nor was it the first time
717 *þæt he Hroþgares   ham gesohte.*
 That he unto Hrothgar's high home had betook him.
718 *Næfre he on aldordagum   ær ne siþðan*
 Never he in his life-days, either erst or there-after,
719 *heardran hæle,   healðegnas fand.*
 Of warriors more hardy or hall-thanes had found.
720 *Com þa to recede   rinc siðian*
 Came then to the house the wight on his ways,
721 *dreamum bedæled;   duru sona onarn,*
 Of all joys bereft; and soon sprang the door open,
722 *fyrbendum fæst,   syþðan he hire folmum hran;*
 With fire-bands made fast, when with hand he had touch'd it;
723 *onbræd þa bealohydig,   ða he gebolgen wæs,*
 Brake the bale-heedy, he with wrath bollen,
724 *recedes muþan.   Raþe æfter þon*
 The mouth of the house there, and early there-after
725 *on fagne flor   feond treddode,*
 on the shiny-fleck'd floor thereof trod forth the fiend;
726 *eode yrremod;   him of eagum stod*
 on went he then mood-wroth, and out from his eyes stood
727 *ligge gelicost   leoht unfæger.*
 Likest to fire-flame light full unfair.

The syntactical and lexical faithfulness with which Morris renders the Old English text is self-evident, and is particularly clear with regard to the compounds. In no fewer than eleven cases, a compound in the Old English is precisely rendered as such in Morris's version, however quaint such formulations must have seemed to Victorian ears: 'shade-goer' (703), 'horn-house' (704), 'mood-swollen' (709), 'mist-bents' (710), 'wine-house' (714), 'gold-hall' (715), 'life-days' (718), 'hall-thanes' (719), 'fire-bands' (722), 'bale-heedy' (723), and 'mood-wroth' (726). Indeed, Morris goes even further than his original in his use of compound coinages, and includes five further compounds where the Old English has only simplex forms: 'battle-mote' (709), 'moor-land' (710), 'gold-plates' (716), 'shiny-fleck'd' (725), and 'fire-flame' (727).[30] Only twice in this passage does Morris fail to render a compound present in the original, and even here he translates *se synscaþa* (707) as 'The scather unceasing' and *se manscaða* (712) as 'The scather the ill one', so preserving the parallelism present in the Old English. One might note too that several of the most archaic and bizarre-looking simplex forms in Morris's rendering derive directly from their source: the old-fashioned 'welkin' (714) and 'most yarely' (715) equate to *wolcnum* and *gearwost* respectively. Likewise antiquated seem the two forms 'a-holding' (704) and 'a-going' (711), although both simply translate infinitive forms following other verbs. Here again Morris shows throughout his version a commendable consistency that many other translators have failed to demonstrate, however, however much his frequent recourse to such forms may offend.[31]

It is also worth stressing the extent to which Morris (again, in contradistinction to many other translators of *Beowulf*) varies the tone and texture of his translation, as can be seen, for example, in his quiet and dignified rendering of *Beowulf*'s last lines:

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[30] I have not counted the two uses of 'there-after' (718 and 724) in the tally, since they seem qualitatively different.

[31] A fuller list of such forms would include: a-banning, a-bearing, a-booting, a-bowing, a-bringing, a-crashing, a-doing, a-drinking, a-driving, a-faring, a-framing, a-ganging, a-giving, a-gushing, a-kenning, a-leaning, a-leaving, a-lying, a-making, a-quaking, a-resting, a-riding, a-saying, a-seeking, a-serving, a-shining, a-sitting, a-sleeping, a-spoiling, a-spying, a-standing, a-stirring, a-streaming, a-striding, a-swimming, a-treading, a-wailing, a-warding, a-watching, a-waxing, a-welling, a-wending, a-winding, a-wonning, and a-working.

3169 *Þa ymbe hlæw riodan   hildedeore,*
　　Then round the howe rode the deer of battle,
3170 *æþelinga bearn,   ealra twelfa,*
　　The bairns of the athelings, twelve were they in all
3171 *woldon ceare cwiðan   kyning mænan,*
　　Their care would they mourn and bemoan them their king,

3172 *wordgyd wrecan   ond ymb wer sprecan;*
　　The word-lay would they utter and over the man speak
3173 *eahtodan eorlscipe   ond his ellenweorc*
　　They accounted his carlship and mighty deeds done,
3174 *duguðum demdon,   swa hit gedefe bið*
　　And doughtily deem'd them; as due as it is
3175 *þæt mon his winedryhten   wordum herge,*
　　That each one his friend-lord with words should belaud,
3176 *ferhðum freoge,   þonne he forð scile*
　　And love in his heart, whenas forth shall he
3177 *of lichaman   læne weorðan.*
　　Away from the body be fleeting at last.
3178 *Swa begnornodon   Geata leode*
　　In such wise they grieved, the folk of the Geats,
3179 *hlafordes hryre,   heorðgeneatas,*
　　For the fall of their lord, e'en they his hearth-fellows;
3180 *cwædon þæt he wære   wyruldcyning*
　　Quoth they that he was a world-king forsooth,
3181 *manna mildust   ond monðwærust,*
　　The mildest of all men, unto men kindest,
3182 *leodum liðost   ond lofgeornost.*
　　To his folk the most gentlest, most yearning of fame.

　　While, taken out of context, the formulation 'deer of battle' (3169, referring to warriors), might seem alarming, it is in fact Morris's normal (and very consistent) rendering of the compound *hildedeor*, and appears on no fewer than eight earlier occasions (312, 688, 772, 834, 1646, 2107, 2183, and 3111).[32] But there is little else that seems particularly striking beyond

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[32] It is worth noting that in *Beowulf* itself, the term *hildedeor* only appears eight times, and that a closely related term *heaþodeor* occurs twice. Morris translates nine out of the ten occurrences consistently as 'deer of battle' (again, a rather more consistent strike-rate than most other translators), and only fails to register a single occurrence of *hildedeor* at 1816.

Morris's customary fidelity with regard to compounds ('word-lay' [3172], 'friend-lord' [3175], 'hearth-fellows' [3179], and 'world-king' [3180]), and fondness for antique forms in specific instances (such as 'howe' [3169] or 'bairns' [3170]). Overall, however, Morris seems to capture quite well the simple and solemn spirit of the original.

How then, fairly to assess the success of Morris's translation? To borrow the phrasing of the final lines of *Beowulf*, it might well be described as one of the most faithful, one of the most honest in its transmission of the difficulties of the text, one of the bravest in attempting to convey its complexities. *Beowulf* is not easy: it is a multi-layered response to secular standards and heroic stories by a sympathetic author steeped in Christian concepts and values. Both the *Beowulf*-poet and William Morris were artists of a high order, keen to preserve treasured aspects of the past, and to reinterpret ancient wonders for their own age. Evidently, they would have understood each other.

In seeking to read *Beowulf* through old and even antique eyes, we give ourselves license to read it anew, and to seek fresh insights in its ancient words and themes. Such seems certainly to have been the case with the original scribes, with Conybeare, and with Morris. The fact that Scribe B shares with both Morris and Conybeare the distinction (and the distraction) of working with much younger colleagues is itself a testament to the continuing appeal of a poem that in the future and in ways we cannot imagine now will likely still be read. And in reading *Beowulf* now and then, one is left in sheer admiration of this deeply layered and textured work, the resonances of which remain long after it is read or heard read, preferably, as Sisam suggested, "in a place far from libraries", and "for pleasure" (1965: 1): it is not so much perhaps that *Beowulf* is or was or will be beyond understanding now or then (in the past) or then (in the future), but as successive generations of readers have apparently found for more than a millennium, any all-embracing solution to the poem's mysteries remains for now beyond reach.[33]

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APPENDIX: SCRIBAL CORRECTIONS TO THE MANUSCRIPT-TEXT OF
BEOWULF [NOTE: THE FOLIATION FOLLOWS THAT OF KIERNAN
2000, AS DOES THE LINEATION INDICATED [K]; THE STANDARD
LINEATION IS GIVEN FIRST]

Scribe A's stint

no.	fol. [K]	line	line [K]	corr. to	corr. from	remarks
A1	129r10	10a	10a	hronrade	hrone rade	dittography; context; morphology
A2	130v19	90b	90b	sægde	sæde	g added later
A3	132r13	106a	106a	scyppend	scyppen	n for nd [corr. by scribe B]
A4	132r15	107a	107a	caines	cames	minims
A5	133r20	158a	158a	beorhtre	beortre	h superscript [corr. by scribe B]
A6	133r20	158a	158a	bote	to	b overwrites t
A7	134r9	189b	189b	healfdenes	healfdes	immediate change; en-suspension
A8	134r19	201b	201b	þearf	þerf	immediate change
A9	135v11	263b	263b	ecgþeow	ecþeow	c for cg
A10	135v15	267a	267a	hige	hine	dittography; context
A11	135v15	267b	267b	hlaford	hlaford hlaford	dittography (2nd crossed out)
A12	136v6	303a	303a	fæst	fæft	f for s
A13	137r14	331b	331b	wlonc	wlocn	metathesis
A14	138r17	375b	375b	his	þis	h for þ
A15	138r18	376b	376b	holdne	holdre	n for r
A16	138v20	401a	400a	heaðoreaf	heaðo rof	omission (e superscript)

A17	139r5	407a	406a	wæs	wære	r for s
A18	139v2	424b	423b	sceal	scealt	context
A19	139v13	437b	436b	sidne	si?ne	omission (d overwritten)
A20	140v14	479a	478a	dolsceaðan	dol scaðan	e superscript [corr. by scribe B]
A21	140v19	484a	483a	medoheal	medo sæl	dittography; context; synonyms
A22	141r20	503b	502b	man	man man	dittography (v. unclear)
A23	142r13	537a	536a	on	o	n superscript [corr. by scribe B]
A24	143v15	603b	602b	eft	ef	omission (t superscript)
A25	144r5	612b	611b	wealhþeow	wealhþeo	[corr. by scribe B]
A26	146v3	721b	720b	sona	sona s	dittography; context
A27	146v5	722b	721b	hran	hram	m for n
A28	147A(131)r6					
		747a	746a	ræste	ræste he on	dittography; context [copies line below]
A29	147A(131)r15					
		756b	755b	his	him	morphology
A30	147r11	793b	792b	ænigum	ængum	[corr. by scribe B]
A31	147r14	796b	795b	feorh	feorhie meahte	dittography; context [copies line below]
A32	147v1	805a	804a	gehwylcre	gehwylre	omission (c superscript)
A33	148v16	867a	866a	cuðe	cuðne or cuðre	unclear
A34	149r6	879a	878a	fyrena	fyrene	context (a superscript; e not erased);

A35	149r20	894b	893b	moste	moste moste	formulaic usage dittography
A36	151r20 for v1					
		986b	985b	hilde	hilde hilde	dittography over page-break (unchanged)
A37	152r14	1024b	1023b	beowulf	feowulf	dittography; context [copies line below]
A38	153v5	1079b	1078b	mæste	moste	æ for o
A39	153v7	1081b	1080b	feaum	fea	ū superscript
A40	154r11	1109a	1108a	beado	bedo	omission (a superscript); context
A41	154r12–13					
		1109b	1108b	on bæl gearu	deleted	dittography (cf. context)
A42	154v17	1135b	1134b	bewitiað	gewitiað	change (b superscript)
A43	155v9	1165b	1165b	hunferþ	hunferþe	context
A44	156v13	1209b	1211b	he under	under	omission (on superscript)
A45	157r5	1223a	1225a	side	wide	context; formulaic usage
A46	157r10	1229b	1231b	hol	heol	hol [for hold?; Kiernan thinks for hleo (metathesis)]
A47	157v3	1245a	1247a	-steapa	steappa	dittography
A48	158r16–17					
		1282b	1284b	gryre	gryrre	dittography
A49	158r19	1285a	1287a	þonne	þone	minims (suspension)
A50	158r19	1285a	1287a	bunden	bumden	m for n
A51	158v14	1301a	1303a	maþðum	maþðum.	punctuation
A52	158v15	1302a	1304a	in	on	[corr. by scribe B]
A53	158v17	1304a	1306a	worden	wordun	context
A54	159v14	1344a	1346a	welhwylca	welhwylcra	later superscript

A55	160r17	1372a	1374a	hafelan	hafelan [mark]	[not A or B] [marked for corr. by scribe B]
A56	160v2	1378b	1380b	findan	findaan	dittography
A57	160v12	1388b	1390b	guman	gumen	e for a
A58	160v14	1391b	1393b	gang	gan	g superscript [corr. by scribe B]
A59	161v2	1424b	1426b	gesæt	geseah	crossed out and superscript; context
A60	162v11	1481a	1483a	gesellum	gellan	omission (se superscript); haplography
A61	163v12	1531a	1533a	wearp	weap	omission (r superscript)
A62	163v13	1531a	1533a	wundel mæl	mæg	g crossed out; l superscript
A63	164r1	1542b	1544b	togeanes	togenes	omission (a superscript)
A64	165r12	1604b	1606b	drihten	drihte	n added later; context
A65	165v3	1618b	1620b	sæcce	sæce	omission (c overwritten)
A66	166v6	1668a	1670a	heaþo	he þo	omission (a superscript)
A67	167r22	1707b	1710b	weorþan	weorðþan	dittophone
A68	167v3	1711a	1714a	geweox	gweox	omission (e superscript); haplography
A69	167v5–6					
		1714a	1717a	eaxlgesteallan	eaxlgeasteallan	context
A70	167v10	1718b	1715b	ferhþe	ferþe	[corr. by scribe B]
A71	167v10	1719a	1722a	breost	brost	omission (e superscript)
A72	168r3	1734a	1737a	unsnyttrum	snyttrum	omission (un superscript)
A73	168v2	1753a	1756a	ende	ende ende	dittography

A74	168v3	1755b	1758b	fehð	feh	(v. unclear) omission; ð superscript [corr. by scribe B]
A75	168v21	1775a	1778a	gyrn	gyr	omission (n superscript)
A76	169r12	1789b	1792b	geswearc	geswe?c	unclear
A77	169r12	1790a	1793a	dryht	dryt	omission (h overwritten)
A78	169r19	1797b	1800b	dogore	dogor	[corr. by scribe B]
A79	169v11	1815a	1818a	to	to to	dittography
A80	169v18	1821a	1824a	wenede	werede	n for r
A81	170r5	1830b	1833b	wat	wac	c for t; context
A82	170r19	1846a	1849a	þ [crossed þ]	ƿ [wynn]	ƿ [wynn] for þ [crossed þ]
A83	170v11	1862a	1865a	sceal	sceall	dittography
A84	170v20	1872a	1875a	be	b	e superscript; context [b for h]
A85	171r8–9	1882a	1885a	hremig	hremi	g added later
A86	171v17	1910a	1913a	stefna	stefne	context (a superscript; e not erased)
A87	171v20	1914a	1917a	hraþe	hreþe	[corr. by scribe B]
A88	172v3	1939a	1942a	sceaden	sceaðen	d for ð

Scribe B's stint

no.	fol. [K]	line	line [K]	corr. to	corr. from	remarks
B1	172v8	1944a	1947a	onhohsnod	on hoh nod	s added
B2	173v4	1981a	1984a	side reced	reced	omission; side superscript (metre?)
B3	173v5	1983a	1986a	hænum	hæðnū	deletion of ð
B4	173v11	1989a	1992a	sæcce	sacce	a for æ
B5	174r5	2004a	2007a	dingum	dungum	i for u
B6	175v2	2064a	2067a	sweord	sweorð	context; d for ð
B7	176r6	2091a	2094a	manigra	manigra	dittography (?)

B8	176v14	2120b	2123b	unhyre	manigra hunhyre?	omission (immediately corrected); context
B9	176v19	2126a	2129a	bronde	bronde bronde	dittography
B10	176v20	2126b	2129b	hladan	blædan	context; a for æ; b for h
B11	177v13	2159a	2162a	scyldunga	scununga	immediately overwritten
B12	179r9	2217a	2220a	fah	fac	h superscript
B13	180v8	2283a	2284a	sinne	sine	n superscript
B14	181r14	2310a	2311a	leodum	leod[ū] leodū	dittography
B15	181v7	2322b	2323b	getruwode	gegetruwode	dittography (immediately corrected)
B16	182r3–4	2342b	2343b	gebidan	geb bidan	dittography (?)
B17	182v16	2378b	2379b	he	he he	dittography (immediately corrected)
B18	182v19	2381a	2382a	forhealden	forgolden	context; alliteration
B19	183r17	2400a	2401a	wyrme	wyme	omission (immediately corrected)
B20	184r8	2435b	2436b	ungedefelice	ungefelice	context; haplography (immediately corrected)
B21	184r19	2448a	2449a	hroðre	hrore	ð superscript
B22	184v16	2466a	2467a	heaðorinc	heaðo ric	nasal (n superscript)
B23	185v2	2498a	2499a	ana	an	a superscript
B24	186r3	2522a	2523a	ac ic ðær	ac ðær ic	superscript; haplography
B25	186v21	2564a	2565a	glaw	gleaw	deletion of e [Kiernan disagrees]
B26	187r3	2568b	2569b	searwum	seawum	r superscript

B27	187r13	2579b	2580b	hæfde	hefde	a for æ correction
B28	187r14	2580b	2581b	weard	wearð	context; d for ð
B29	187v2	2592a	2593a	aglæcean	aglægcean	deletion of g
B30	188v13	2646b	2647b	se dæg cuman	se cuman	dæg superscript
B31	188v19	2652b	2653b	fæðmie	faðmie	a for æ
B32	189A(197)r4					
		2659b	2660b	urum sceal sweord	urū sweord	sceal in margin; insertion marked by ð
B33	189A(197)r5					
		2661a	2662a	wælrec	wælric	e for i
B34	189A(197)r13					
		2671a	2672a	fyrwylmum	fyr wyrmū	l for r; context
B35	189A(197)v19					
		2676b	2677b	his	his his	dittography
B36	189r19	2728a	2729a	dogorgerimes	dogor gerime	morphology
B37	189v16	2751b	2752a	þone	[þonne]	dittography
B38	190r18	2777b	2778b	bill	bil	haplography
B39	190r21	2781a	2782a	horde	hogode	g erased; o overwritten; forhogode
B40	190v4	2785b	2786b	gemette	gemete	haplography
B41	192v2	2885b	2886b	eowrum cynne	eowrū cynne	deletion; repeated superscript
B42	192v6	2890a	2891a	dæd	dæl	l underdotted; d added
B43	192v7	2891b	2892b	edwitlif	ewitlif	d superscript
B44	192v16	2902a	2903a	wælreste	wæl bennū reste	r overwrites s; context; eye-skip
B45	192v18	2905a	2906a	aglæcean	aglægean	c for g
B46	193r6	2916a	2917a	hetware	het wære	a for æ
B47	193r10	2921 a–b	2922 a–b	merewioingas milts	mere wio inga milts	s added
B48	193r11	2923a	2924a	wihte ne wene	wihte	ne wene superscript
B49	193v9	2948b	2949b	fæhðe	fæðe	h superscript
B50	193v20	2961a	2962a	gen þiow	gen þio	ƿ [wynn] added
B51	194v3	2993b	2994b	maðmum	maðma	a for ū
B52	194v15	3007a	3009a	efnde	esnde	f for s (caroline f

						overwritten)
B53	195r2	3016b	3018b	mægð	mæð	g superscript
B54	196v6	3100a	3102a	burh	þurh	b for þ; context
B55	196v19	3117b	3119b	strengum	stren	gū superscript; context
B56	198r9	3133b	3135b	hyrde	hyde hyrde	dittography
B57	198r11	3136b	3138b	to	to to	dittography (?)

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