

The Textual History of *Ancrene Wisse*

—what the Latin quotations tell us—

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E. J. Dobson made the only comprehensive attempt at constructing a textual history of *Ancrene Wisse*, which no one has yet dared to revise. The following diagram¹⁾ shows a stemma of the versions of *Ancrene Wisse* constructed by Dobson, indicating in particular his views of the influence of the revised text of *Ancrene Wisse* (as displayed in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 402) on the other versions of *Ancrene Wisse*. I must say that nevertheless it displays only his *provisional* views on the affiliations of the texts of *Ancrene Wisse*. As he himself admitted, it is 'a sketch based on a partial collation only'.²⁾ Dobson collated from the beginning of the text to the end of Part II, portions of Part IV to bring in G, that is the Gonville and Caius manuscript, and the portion of Part VIII printed by Joseph Hall in his book, *Early Middle English*.³⁾

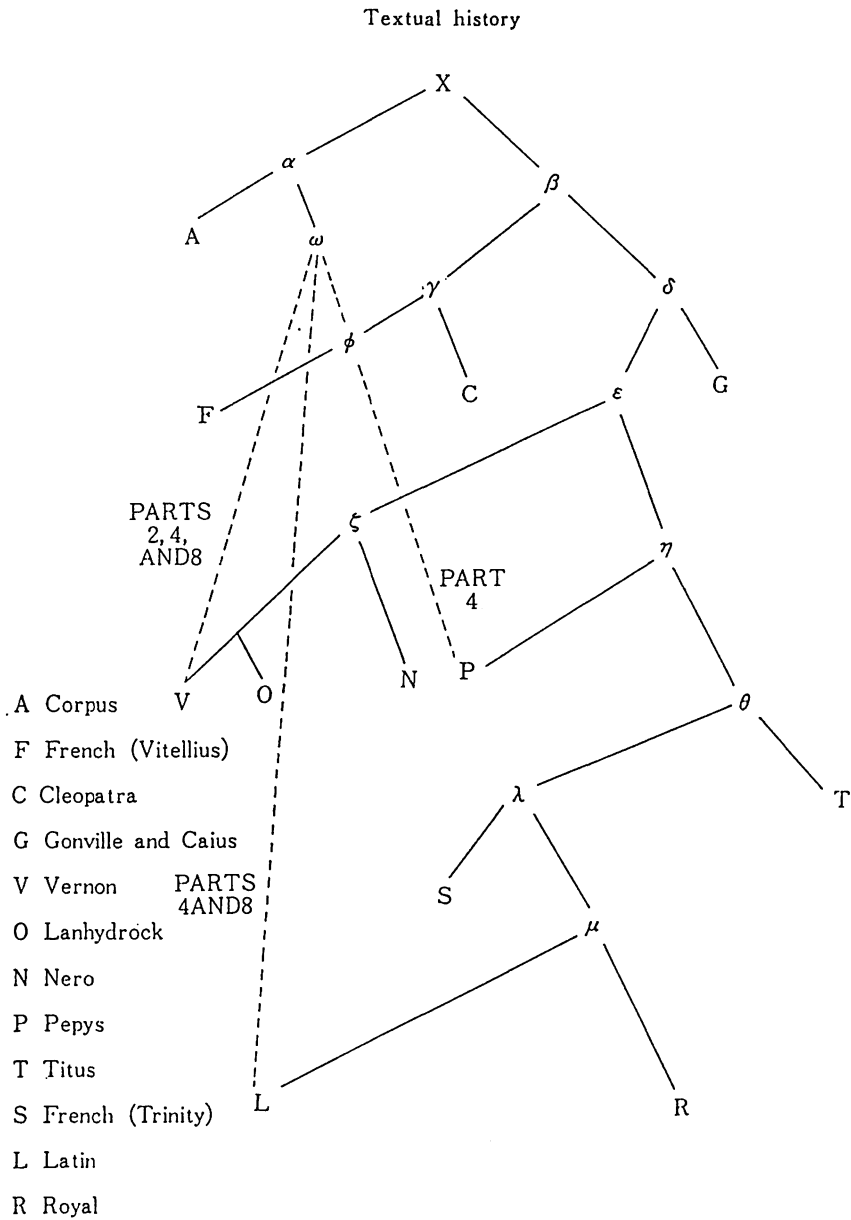
In this paper I should like to put Dobson's stemma to the test. I am going to focus on the Latin quotations which are found in various versions of *Ancrene Wisse*, because Latin wording could be assumed to be less subject, or vulnerable, to free and easy revisions or alterations than the vernacular—Latin is, at least, not materially affected by the dialect of a scribe, for example.

To examine Dobson's proposed textual history, I have used all English versions

1) '*Temptations*' from *Ancrene Wisse*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. Yoko Wada (Osaka and Cambridge 1994), p. lxxv.

2) E. J. Dobson, 'The affiliations of the manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*', *English and Medieval Studies Presented to J. R. R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, edd. Norman Davis and C. L. Wrenn (London 1962), pp. 128–63, at p. 128 and n. 1.

3) *Selections from Early Middle English 1130–1250*, ed. Joseph Hall (2 vols, Oxford 1920), pp. 60–75 and 388–407.



II: STEMMA TO ILLUSTRATE E. J. DOBSON'S VIEWS OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE REVISED TEXT ON THE OTHER VERSIONS OF *ANCRENE WISSE*

published by EETS so far.⁴⁾ I have also resorted to a French version of *Ancrene Wisse* in MS. Cotton Vitellius F. vii.⁵⁾ The other versions, one in French and one in Latin, are not suitable for the present purpose because of the ways in which they have been edited. For various reasons not all manuscripts contain all pages or all parts of the text; therefore I have selected portions of text in which I can examine as many witnesses as possible: in order to bring in O, that is the Lanhydrock fragment, I have chosen to compare the portion of *Ancrene Wisse* which it presents and those which precede and follow it. There we can compare seven or eight witnesses. I have also dealt with Part V, on confession, one of the most important sections of *Ancrene Wisse*, where we have seven witnesses.⁶⁾

I have collated 130 quotations and it is striking that, of them all, in only sixteen cases is every word or phrase, or the word-order of the Latin quotations, shared by all versions compared. According to the traditional method of constructing a textual history, I have looked for and examined shared errors or innovations in each quotation. What I shall give now are nine cases which clearly do not fit Dobson's stemma. The number of them does not seem very great; however, they point to some particular weaknesses in his stemma and induce a general uneasiness about his textual history. I shall come back to this in detail in my conclusion.

4) The EETS editions and the abbreviations of each version are as follows.

A : J. R. R. Tolkien, ed., *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe. Ancrene Wisse, edited from MS. Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402*, EETS o. s. 249 (London 1962)

C : E. J. Dobson, ed., *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from B. M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C. vi*, EETS o. s. 267 (London 1972)

G : R. M. Wilson, ed., *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from Gonville and Caius College MS. 234/120*, EETS o. s. 229 (London 1954)

N : Mabel Day, ed., *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from Cotton Nero A. XIV*, EETS o. s. 225 (London 1952)

P : Arne Zettersten, ed., *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from Magdalene College, Cambridge MS. Pepys 2498*, EETS o. s. 274 (London 1976)

R : A. C. Baugh, ed., *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from British Museum MS. Royal 8 C. I*, EETS o. s. 232 (London 1956)

T and O : Frances M. Mack and A. Zettersten, edd., *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from Cotton MS. Titus D. XVIII, together with the Lanhydrock Fragment, Bodleian MS. Eng. th. c. 70*, EETS o. s. 252 (London 1963)

5) The version is named F in this paper as in Dobson's stemma: *The French Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from British Museum MS. Cotton Vitellius F vii*, ed. J. A. Herbert, EETS o. s. 219 (London 1944).

6) Versions compared and the portions examined are as follows:

ACNTPRG	F	M120-126
ACNTPR	F	M127-137
ACNTPR	OF	M138-142
ACNTPR	F	M143
ACNTPRG	F	M144-150
ACNTPR	F	M151-152
ACNTP	G F	M298-342

For the numbers following M, see note 8) below.

The Vulgate Bible⁷⁾ was the most transmitted text of the Latin Middle Ages, but there were innumerable variations of the text. Collation therefore needs extra care. It is, for example, almost impossible to know which version each scribe used or was acquainted with while he or she was copying the text. However, as far as sheer errors are concerned, this does not seem to be a serious problem. Other innovations are more problematic. Scribes appear sometimes to have fiddled with Latin quotations to render them syntactically appropriate in the host-text. If a quotation is literally inaccurate but suits the host-text well, we can safely assume that that is an innovation made by the author or a subsequent redactor. However there is no telling, solely from that evidence, how the original read. We also need to bear in mind that many scribes may have known great parts of the Bible by heart and that they may, consciously or unconsciously, have replaced a quotation written in their exemplar with the one which they remembered.

Before I begin the discussion, I should like to add that, however odd they may look, all citations which I shall present in this paper are taken *literatim* from the EETS editions.

(1) (M126)⁸⁾

- A : ant ure lauerd seolf seið. *Dimittite ⁊ dimittetur uobis.* forʒef; ⁊ ich forʒeoue þe. as þah he seide. þu art endeattet toward me swiðe wið sunnen. [p.67]
- C : ⁊ vre lauerd seolf seið *dimitte ⁊ dimittitur uobis.* for ʒef ⁊ hit schal beo for zeue þe. As þach he seide. þuart andettet toward me swiðe wið sunnen. [p.102]
- G : þat nis anon ahongen. oþer ipurgatorie oþer iþe pine of helle. And ure lauerd seið. *Dimitte ⁊ dimittetur uobis.* forgef; ⁊ ich forgeue þe. as þach he seide. þu art andettet toward me; spiþe pid sunne. [p.3]
- N : ⁊ ure louerd sulf seið. *Dimitte ⁊ dimittetur uobis.* for ʒif ⁊ ichulle forʒiue ðe. ⁊ is as þauh he seide. þu ert andettet toward me swuðe mid sunnen. [p.55]
- P : in þe Godspel it seiþ. *Dimittite ⁊ dimittetur uobis.* Forʒieueþ. ⁊ I schal forʒiue ʒou wiltow better forward. þou arte endettet to me. of many synnes and fele. [p.48]
- R : Thinke qwat crist seis luce 6. *Dimittite ⁊ dimittetur uobis* Forgyf ʒe and it shall be forgyfen to ʒow. as if god seid þus to þe þow art endeted to me. þow owest to me agret summe; [p.32]
- T : And ure lauerd self seis. *Dimittite et dimittetur uobis.* forʒif; ⁊ ich forʒiue þe. As þah he seide. þu art endettet toward me swiðe wið sunnes [p.34]

7) The Vulgate from which I quote the Latin citations in this paper is *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam* (5th edn, Madrid 1977).

8) A number following M refers to a page of the equivalent part of *The Ancren Riwe: A Treatise of the Rules and Duties of Monastic Life*, ed. and trans. James Morton (London 1853).

F : et nostre seignour meismes dit. *Dimittite et dimittetur uobis*. Pardonez et ieo vous pardorreï Ausi come il deist. [p.103]

This example contains a quotation from Luke 6.37, *Dimittite, et dimittimini* ('Pardon, and you will be pardoned'). It is clear that CGN share an error, *dimitte*, the singular, where the plural, *dimittite*, is correct. When we note that FPT have the correct form here, the credibility of Dobson's stemma seems doubtful.

(2) (M136)

A : Þ is þ flesch þe awilgeð sone se hit eauer featteð þurh eise æ þurh este. *Incrassatus est dilectus æ recalcitrauit*. Mi leof is ifeatteð he seið ure lauerd. æ smit me wið his hele. [p.72]

C : Þ flesch þe awilgeð sone se hit fatteð þurch este æ þurch eise. *Incrassatus est dilectus æ recalcitrauit*. Mi leof is ifatted he seið ure lauerd æ smit me mit his heale. [p.109]

N : ðet fleschs þet awilegeð; so sone so hit euer uetteð þuruh este æ þuruh eise. *Incrassatus est dilectus meus æ recalcitrauit*. Mi leof is ivetted he seið <ure> louerd. æ smit me mid his hele. [p.60]

P : þat flesche sone so it euere fatteþ þorouz mete. oiþer þorouz dryk. oiþer þorouz eise. it bicomeþ wilde as I seide tofore *Incrassatus est dilectus meus. et cetera*. For sone so þe flesche haþ his wille he rigoleþ azein þe soule as a fatt Mare and ydel. [p.54]

R : þus þe seruant of god. shold hold his flesh so lowe. þat it drow. hym no downe. notably wen he sholde. be gostly ocupied þe scripture seis deuteronomii 32. *Incrassatus est dilectus. æ recalcitrauit* þat is to mene many a creature. þat are lufed of god and shold luf hym ageyn enterly qwen þey haue fatnes. or worldly riches. [p.34]

T : Þ flesch þ wildes. sone se hit fattes þurh este æ þurh eise *Incrassatus est uitulus meus æ recalcitrauit*. Mi leof ifatted he seis vre lauerd. æ smit me wið his hele. [p.39]

F : Le gras veel et trop sauage; Gras veel et trop saluage; est la char qi ensauagist; si tost come ele engressist par eise et par delices. *Incrassatus est dilectus et recalcitrauit*. Mon ami est engressi dit nostre seignour et me fiert de son talon. [p.113]

This example contains a quotation from Deuteronomy 32.15, *Incrassatus est dilectus, et recalcitrauit* ('my beloved grew fat and unruly'). The Middle English translation following the Latin quotation reads 'my beloved'; therefore, in this particular context the sentence ought to be complete with *meus*. However, the Clementine Vulgate does not have the pronoun. In addition, the passage does not seem to have been rendered word

for word into Middle English by the author. It is now, therefore, very hard to tell which is correct. If ACF share an error, then according to Dobson's stemma *meus* was already missing from the original (X). Since NPT have *meus*, the affiliation of R is inexplicable, although a scribe could have referred back to the original source and rewritten it or just jotted down the quotation from memory as he or she remembered it. On the other hand, if the original did not have *meus* from the beginning, innovation could have been introduced at point δ or ϵ , or somewhere near, in the stemma. A scribe might have inserted *meus* to go with the Middle English. This can be supported by reference to further development observable in T, that is, *uitulus* ('bull-calf') instead of *dilectus* ('beloved'), which fits extremely well the immediately preceding context: 'On ebreische ledene oloferne is þe feond þe makeð feble ϵ unstrong feat kealf ϵ to wilde. þ is þ flesch þe awildgeð sone se hit eauer featteð þurh eise ϵ þurh este'⁹⁾ ('In the Hebrew language Holofernes is the fiend who makes feeble and weak the fat and over-wild calf—that is, the flesh, which goes wild as soon as ever it gets fat through ease and through abundance').¹⁰⁾ In the context of Deuteronomy 32 'my bull-calf' does not make sense.¹¹⁾ In T many alterations were entered and omissions effected to make the text a male version (although they are not perfect);¹²⁾ we feel the redactor's strong intention to change part of the text as he or she thought more suitable.

(3) (M138)

- A : wið hearde disceplines. wisliche þah ϵ wearliche. *Habete inquit sal in uobis.*
Item. In omni sacrificio offeretis michi sal. þ is in each sacrefise he seið ure
 lauerd offrið me salt eauer. [p. 73]
- C : wið harde diciplines wisliche þach ϵ warliche ha bete. *Inquid sal inuobis. Item*
inomni sacrificio offeretis sal. þ is in each sacrefise he seið ure lauerd offrið me
 salt efer. [p. 110]
- N : mid herde disceplines. wisliche þauh ϵ warliche. *habete inquit sal inuobis. Item.*
in omni sacrificio offerretis michi sal. þet is. In euerich sacrifise he seið ure louerd.

9) A, p. 72.

10) *Ancrene Wisse. Guide for Anchoresses*, trans. Hugh White (Harmondsworth 1993), p. 68.

11) 'He made him ride on the high places of the earth, that he might eat the increase of the fields; and he made him to suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flinty rock; Butter of kine, and milk of sheep, with fat of lambs, and rams of the breed of Bashan, and goats, with the fat of kidneys of wheat; and thou didst drink the pure blood of the grape. But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked: thou art waxen fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatness; then he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation' (Deuteronomy 32. 13-15). It is interesting that the one which kicks is compared to another quadruped, a mare, in the text in Middle English just after the part which is cited in example (2)—see A, for instance: 'Sone se flesch haueð his wil; hit regibeð anan ase feat meare ϵ idle' (A, p. 72) (as soon as the flesh has what it wants, it kicks out at once, like a fat and idle horse) (*Ancrene Wisse*, trans. White, p. 68). See also text P in example (2).

12) *The English Text*, ed. Mack, pp. xiv-xvii.

offreð me euer salt. [p. 61]

P : wiþ harde discipline oþer penance wiselich ⁊ warlich for þe godspel seiþ. *Habete sal in uobis in omni sacrificio offeretis sal.* þat is. Hauēþ salt in zou in al sacrifice þat ze do to me. Lookeþ þat þere be salt wiþ al. [p. 54]

R : —

T : wið harde disciplines. wisliche þah ⁊ warli. *Habete inquit sal in uobis. Item. In omni sacrificio offeretis sal.* þ is. In each sacrefise he seis. vre lauerd; offres me salt eauere. [p. 40]

F : od iunes od veilles. od heire. od peisant... *Habete [inquit] sal in uobis. Item in omni sacrificio; offeretis sal.* Cest En chescune sacrifice ceo dit nostre seignour offrez mey touz iours seel. [p. 113]

The quotations of example (3) are from Mark 9.50, *Habete in uobis sal* ('You must have salt within yourselves'), and Leviticus 2.13, *in omni oblatione tua offeres sal* ('Every offering of yours is to be salted'). They are joined by *item*. Here is the same problem as that of example (2): although the Middle English translation contains *me*, we cannot tell whether that was in the Latin quotation in the original text. What we know is that CFPT lack *michi* while AN have it. If the original text included *michi*, as the rendering into English presupposes, then CFPT share the same error; tracing the error back to its point of origin, we reach β , where the error should therefore have originated. Then, according to Dobson's stemma, N ought to share it too, whereas it does not. On the other hand, if it is AN which share an error, CFTP constitute a problem for Dobson's textual history. Either way, Dobson's textual history seems to be undermined.

(4) (M138)

A : þ we mahten sone slean þ an wið þ oþer. *Augustinus. Natura mentis humane que ad ymaginem dei creata est. ⁊ sine peccato est. solus deus maior est.* Ant tis is an of þe measte wundres on eorðe. [p. 73]

C : þ he Machte sone slean þ an wið þ oðer. \wedge ⁊ þis is an of þemeste wundres on eorðe. [p. 112]

N : we muhten sone slean þ on; mit tet oðer. \wedge ⁊ þis is on of ðe meste wundres on eorðe. [p. 61]

P : we may sone þorouȝ vnwisdom sle þat on wiþ þat oþer. *Natura mentis humane que ad ymaginem dei creata est ⁊ sine peccato est. Augustinus deus maior et cetera.* And þis is on of þe most wonder on erþe [p. 57]

R : —

T : we muhten sone slan þ an wið þ oðer; *Augustinus. Natura mentis humane que ad ymaginem dei creata est ⁊ sine peccato est; Solus deus maior est.* And tis is an of þe maste wundres on eorðe. [p. 40]

F : Lymage nostre seignour meismes qe nous porrom tost tuer lun od altre. \wedge Cest vne des plus grantz meruelles en terre. qe la plus haute chose apres dieu; cest alme. [p. 114]

The quotation in example (4) is from Augustine's 'Against Maximus', 2. 25. APT contain the Latin whereas CFN do not. There are three factors which seem to suggest a possible interpolation of a marginal note in a common ancestor of APT. First, there is no Middle English translation. Secondly, the quotation does not appear to be related directly to the context. Thirdly, the scribe who wrote the text of C put down the citation in Latin in the margin as follows: 'Augustinus. Natura mentis humane [que] <ad ymaginem dei creata est ϵ > sine pare. Solus deus Maio[r].¹³⁾ In a footnote to his edition, Dobson remarked, 'Marginal citation of authority, in black, in A's own hand, preceded by blue and red paragraph-mark'.¹⁴⁾ He also added:¹⁵⁾

The citation...incorporated in text...by Corpus, Titus, Latin version, Vernon, and Pepys; incorporated before the sentence beginning *Wunder ouer wunder* in Trinity French version; omitted by F, Nero, Royal; passage not in Caius. But C is clearly right in preserving citation as marginal note, not as part of text.

If so, APT share the same erroneous addition, whereas CFN are correct. Despite his comment in the footnote, CFN thus cause a problem in Dobson's stemma. Even if we suppose, on the contrary, that the quotation was contained in the original text, in other words if CFN share an error of omission, β should have been the source of the mistake; then, PT should also have been in error, but they are not. Therefore PT do not stand in the correct place in the stemma.

(5) (M146-148)

A : ϵ seið þet men beoð wode þe trochið swa uuele. *magna uerecundia est grandia agere ϵ laudibus inhiare. unde celum mereri potest. nummum transitorii fauoris querit.* Muchel meadschipe hit is he seið don wel; ϵ wilni word þrof. [p. 77]

C : ϵ seið þ Men beoð wode þe trochieð swa uuele *Magna uecordia est grand<i>a agere ϵ laudibus in hiare. unde celum mereri potuit. Munuut transitorii fauoris querit.* Muche med schipe heseið hit is. do wel ϵ wilni word þer of. [p. 118]

G : —

N : ϵ seið þet men beoð wode ðet treouweð so vuele. *Magna uerecundia est gratiam agere ϵ laudibus inhiare. unde celum mereri potuit nummum transitorii fauoris*

13) *The English Text*, ed. Dobson, p. 112 and n. 3.

14) *Ibid.*

15) *Ibid.*

querit. muchel medschipe hit is he seið. don wel. ⁊ wilnen word ðer of. [p.65]

P : þou wost wel it ne falleþ nouzth to þe for to take likyng to þe, for a werk þat anoþer man doþe. *Magna verecundia est gaudia agere. ⁊ laudibus inhiare unde celum merere potuit nimium transitorij fauoris querit.* Michel goode seiþ Gregori it is to do wel. and to do wharfore to haue þe blisse of heuene. [p.63]

R : —

T : ⁊ seis þ̅ men beon wode þ̅ mangel swa uuele. *Magna uecordia. Grandia agere ⁊ laudibus inhiare. Vnde celum mereri potuit; nimium transitorij fauoris querit.*

Muche madschipe hit is he seis to do wel ⁊ wilni word þrof. [p.42]

F : et dit qe gent sunt forsanez qe si malement faillent. *Magna uecordia est grandia agere et laudibus inhiare. Vnde celum merere potuit nimium transitorii fauoris querit.* Grand deuerie est ceo dit. bien faire et voler dette loenge faire par quai il achate le regne de ciel; et vendre pur vne buffe de vent de renoun. [p.121]

Example (5) contains a quotation from *Moralia in Iob* by Gregory the Great, 8. 43, 70.¹⁶⁾ ANP are in error, as is also evident from the preceding Middle English translation: they read *uerecundia* instead of *uecordia*—in other words, ‘madness’ is replaced by ‘modesty’—, whereas CFT have the correct word. This is impossible in terms of Dobson’s stemma.

(6) (M300)

A : for swa hit is iwriten. *Omnia in confessione lauantur. Glosa super. Confitebimur tibi deus confitebimur.* Ant þ̅ wes bitacnet þa iudith wesch hire. [p.155]

C : for swa hit is iwriten. *Omnia in confessione lanantur glosa. Confitebimur tibi deus confitebimur.* Ant þeos wes bitacned þoa Iudit wesch hire. [p.222]

G : þis beod nu þreo þing. þat shrift ded oþe deoule. þe oðre þreo þing þat hit ded us seoluen beod her efter. *Glosa super confitebimur.* <s>hrift pesched us of alle ure fulþen. for spa hit is ipriten. *Omnia in confessione lauantur.* And þis pes bitacned þa iudith peosh hire ⁊ dispoilide hire of pidepene shrud. þat pes merke of seorhe. [p.7]

N : uor so hit is i writen. *omnia confessione lauantur. Glosa super. confitebimur tibi deus. confitebimur.* and tet was bitocned ðet iudit weosch hire. [p.135]

P : and so doþe schrift gostlich. *Omnia in confessione lauantur glosa confitebimur tibi deus confitebimur.* þis was bytokned þat Iudif wesche ⁊ despoiled hir of widewen schrude [p.129]

T : for swa hit is iwriten. *Omnia in confessione lauantur Glosa super. Confitebimur tibi deus confitebimur.* And tis. was bitacnet þa Iudith weosch hire. [p.105]

F : Kar issi est il escrit. *Omnia in confessione lauantur: Glosa super psalmum.*

16) *Patrologiæ [Latinæ] Cursus Completus*, ed. J.-P. Migne (221 vols, Paris 1844-64), vol. 75, col. 844.

Confitebimur tibi deus confitebimur. Et cest fut signifie quant iudith se laua [p. 212]

Example (6) which includes Psalm 74. 2, *Confitebimur tibi, Deus, confitebimur* ('We will confess to thee, God, we will confess'), needs careful treatment. CP lack the phrase *Glosa super*. AGNT appear to lack the object of the preposition *super*, especially when compared with F whose reading seems to make a perfect construction. On the other hand, it is also possible to assume that the object is the sentence as a whole after *super*. Therefore both possibilities—that the text originally had or originally lacked *Glosa super*—should be tried out. First, let us suppose that AGNT are incorrect but that CP have the sentence right. This does not fit the stemma at all. On the other hand, if CP share an error and AGNT are correct, that NT have this reading cannot be explained by the stemma. The affiliations which Dobson worked out are inappropriate either way.

In G the Latin quotation is not only shortened but also separated into two parts and these appear in two different places. This, again, might indicate the possibility that either the quotation after *Glosa super* or the gloss itself was originally a note in the margin: G would thus manifest a process of its interlacing into the text at some stage and raise the possibility that this was done independently on two or even three occasions (in G, in the source of CP, in the source of ANT).

(7) (M302)

A : ant sorhe nis bute of sunne. *lauit corpus suum ⁊ exuit se uestimentis sue uiduetatis.* Schrift eft al þ̅ god þ̅ we hefden forloren [p. 155]

C : ⁊ sorege nis bute of sunne. *lauit corpus suum ⁊ exuit se uestimentis uiduitatis.* Srift eft alþe god þ̅ we hefden for loren [p. 222]

G : þat þes merke of seorhe. And sorhe nis bute of sunne. *lauit corpus suum ⁊ exuit se uestimentis uiduitatis.* Shrift eft al þat god þat þe hefden forloren [p. 7.]

N : and seoruwe; nis bute of sunne one. *lauit corpus suum ⁊ exuit se uestimentis uiduitatis.* schrift zelt eft al ðet god ðet we hefden uorloren [p. 136]

P : ⁊ cloþed hir in haliday weden *lauit corpus suum ⁊ exuit se uestimentis uiduitatis.* iohel seiþ. Reddam uobis annos quos commedit locusta ⁊ brucus. rubigo ⁊ erugo. Schrift zeldeþ vs al oure lorne. [p. 129]

T : ⁊ sorhe nis buten of sunne. *lauit corpus suum et exuit se uerstimentis sue uiduitatis.* Schrift eft al þe God þ̅ we hafden forlorn [p. 105]

F : et dolour nest fors de pecche. *lauit corpus suum et exuit se de uestimentis sue uiduetatis.* Confession dereschief. tout le bien qe nous auom perdu [p. 212]

The Middle English translation followed by the quotation does not contain the pronoun 'her' before 'widowhood', but the Clementine Vulgate does: *et exuit se uestimentis uiduitatis suae* (Judith 10. 2). If CGNP, all without *sue*, share an error, it would have

originated in β ; the presence of the pronoun in FT would therefore cause a problem in the stemma. If the author knew a version of the Vulgate not having *sue* at this point, the reading of AFT is an innovation. Dobson's stemma could only be saved by supposing that each of the three witnesses displays an independent act of innovation.

(8) (M302)

- A : ant ure lauerd seið þurh zacharie. *Erunt sicut fuerant antequam proieceram eos.*
 Þ is. Schrift schal makie þe mon alswuch as [p.155]
- C : ε vre lauerd seið þurch zacarie. *Erant sicut fuerant antequam proieceram eos.*
 Þ is schrift. schal make þemon al swich as [p.222]
- G : And hure lauerð seit þurch zacarie. *Erant sicut fuerant antequam proieceram eos.*
 þat is. Schrift shal makien þe mon alsþuch as [p.8]
- N : and ure louerd seið þuruh zakarie. *erant sicut fuerant antequam proieceram eos.*
 þet is. schrift schal makien ðene mon alswuch ase [p.136]
- P : iudif schredd hir wiþ haliday weden ovrnementz bitokneþ blis as oure lorde seiþ.
Erunt sicut fuerunt ε proieceram. et cetera. Schrift schal make þe Man swich as
 [p.130]
- T : And ure lauerd seis þurh zacharie. *Erunt sicut fuerant antequam proieceram eos.*
 Þ is. Schrift schal makie þe mon al swuch as [p.105]
- F : et nostre seignour dit par Zacharie. *Erunt sicut fuerant antequam proieceram eos.*
 Cest confession fra lomme; autiel come [p.213]

The sentence from the Clementine Vulgate, 'Erunt sicut fuerunt quando non proieceram eos' ('they shall be as though I had not cast them off') (Zachariah 10.6), and also the Middle English translation in the text clearly indicate that CGN share the same error, that is, *erant*, the imperfect of the third plural, instead of the correct *erunt*, the future, found in AFPT. This is impossible in terms of Dobson's stemma.

(9) (M304)

- A : þear as seint Anselme seið þeos dredfule wordes. *Hinc erunt accusancia peccata. Illinc terens iusticia. Supra ; iratus iudex. Subtra patens horridum chaos inferni. Intus ; urens consciencia. foris ; ardens mundus. Peccator sic deprehensus in quam partem se premet?* O þe an half o domes schulen ure swarte sunnen strongliche bicleopien us of ure sawle morðre. [p.157]
- C : þer as seint anselme seið þeose dredfule wordes. *Hinc erunt accusancia peccata. Illinc terrens iusticia supra. iratus iudex. subtra patens orridum chaos inferni. Intus urens consciencia. foris ardens mundus. Peccator sic deprehensus. quam partem se premet ;* Oðe an half o demesdei. schulen vre swarte sunnen strongliche bicleopen us of ure saule mordre. [p.225]

- N : þer ase seint anselme seið þeos ilke dredfule wordes. *hinc erunt accusantia peccata. inde terrenis iusticia. subtus patens horridum chaos inferni. desuper iratus iudex intus urens conscientia foris ardens mundus. uix iustus saluabitur. peccator sic deprehensus in quam partem se premet?* oþe one halue adomesdei schulen ure swarte sunnen bicleopien us stroncliche of ure soule murðre. [p.137]
- P : þere seint anselme seiþ þise wordes. *Hinc erunt accusancia terrenis supra iratus iudex. subtra patrinus horrendum chaos inferni intus urens conscientia. foris ardens mundus peccator sic deprehensus in quam partem se premet.* On domesday schal þe deuel of helle stonde on þi rizth half þine blake synnes on þi left half æ biclepe þe of þi soule murþer [pp.130-1]
- G : þer as seint Anselme seið þeose dredfule pordes. *Hinc erunt peccata accusancia. Illinc terrenis iusticia. supra iratus Iudex. subtra patens horridum chaos inferni. Intus urens conscientia. foris ardens mundus peccator sic deprehensus in quam partem se premet.* O þen an half adomes dai shulen ure sparte sunnen strongliche biclepien us of ure saþle murþre. [p.9]
- T : þer as Seint Anselme seis þise dredfule wordes. *Hinc erunt accusantia peccata Illinc terrenis iustitia. Supra; iratus iudens. Subtra; patens horridum chaos inferni. Intus urens conscientia. foris ardens mundus. Peccator sic deprehensus. in quam partem se premet.* O þ̅ an half o domes dai schulen ure swarte sunnes strongluche bicalle us of ure sawle murðer. [pp.106-7]
- F : Dunt seint anselme dit ces horribles paroles. *Hinc orunt accusantia peccata. Illinc terrenis iusticia. supra; iratus iudex. subtus; patens horridum cahos inferni. Intus; urens conscientia. Foris; ardens mundus. peccator sic deprehensus in quam partem se premet.* Del vne part al iour de iuise; noz veirs pecchez forment nous accuserunt del mordre de nostre alme. [p.215]

This is a quotation from Anselm's 'Meditation', 1. Here many variations can be seen among the witnesses. Since the adverb, *subtus*, is the right word in the quotation, ACGPT share an error, *subtra*, which seems to be an innovated form to rhyme with the preceding *supra*. If so, this means, according to Dobson's stemma, that the original (X) contained a mistake; therefore FN ought to share this error, but they do not.

Another interesting feature about N is its word-order: only N reads 'subtus patens horridum chaos inferni. desuper iratus iudex', whereas the others (taking A as the example) read 'Supra iratus iudex Subtra patens horridum chaos inferni'. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the words *uix iustus saluabitur* are found uniquely in N. Is it therefore possible to save Dobson's stemma at this point by supposing independent improvement of the text in F and N?

Examples (1) to (9) show that Dobson's stemma is not perfect. The investigation,

though far from extensive, indicates that F does not share errors with the others. F does not seem to be affected by the mistakes found in the other texts, which means that F should stand higher in the family-tree. Otherwise we must suppose that it shows us a thorough and scholarly revision, perhaps in the context of translation. In addition, Dobson observed that the influence of the exemplar of A was felt on P in part IV; but it appears that AP are more closely related to each other than he assumed.

We have seen that marginal notes in Latin might sometimes have been incorporated into the text. These can provide us with valid clues to establish the affiliations, because it seems highly unlikely that, once they had been interlaced into the text, they could ever be returned to the margin. Sometimes it is less difficult than we might anticipate to deduce whether or not a quotation existed in the original if we carefully examine the context in which it occurs and see whether the quotation in question makes any sense there. We should also check whether a Middle English translation — beginning with ‘that is’, ‘which means’ and so on, or some interpretation— follows the Latin. Needless to say, this is a clear indication that the Latin citation was in the host-text.

We also know that sometimes the author or a subsequent redactor might modify Latin quotations to make them fit the host-text. This means that scribes did not always copy the text mechanically. However, once a change had been made, the new reading could have been passed on easily. The transmission of this kind of change is also important in the search for a better stemma.

Latin quotations can provide some very good clues, but what we have to do next is to return to traditional text-historical methods, building on those of Dobson’s insights into the relationships, which were determined with the aid of strictly comparable passages in English, Latin, and also French. The original text of *Ancrene Wisse* cannot be recovered until the textual history is firmly established.¹⁷⁾

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