

The structure of the Exeter book codex (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS. 3501.

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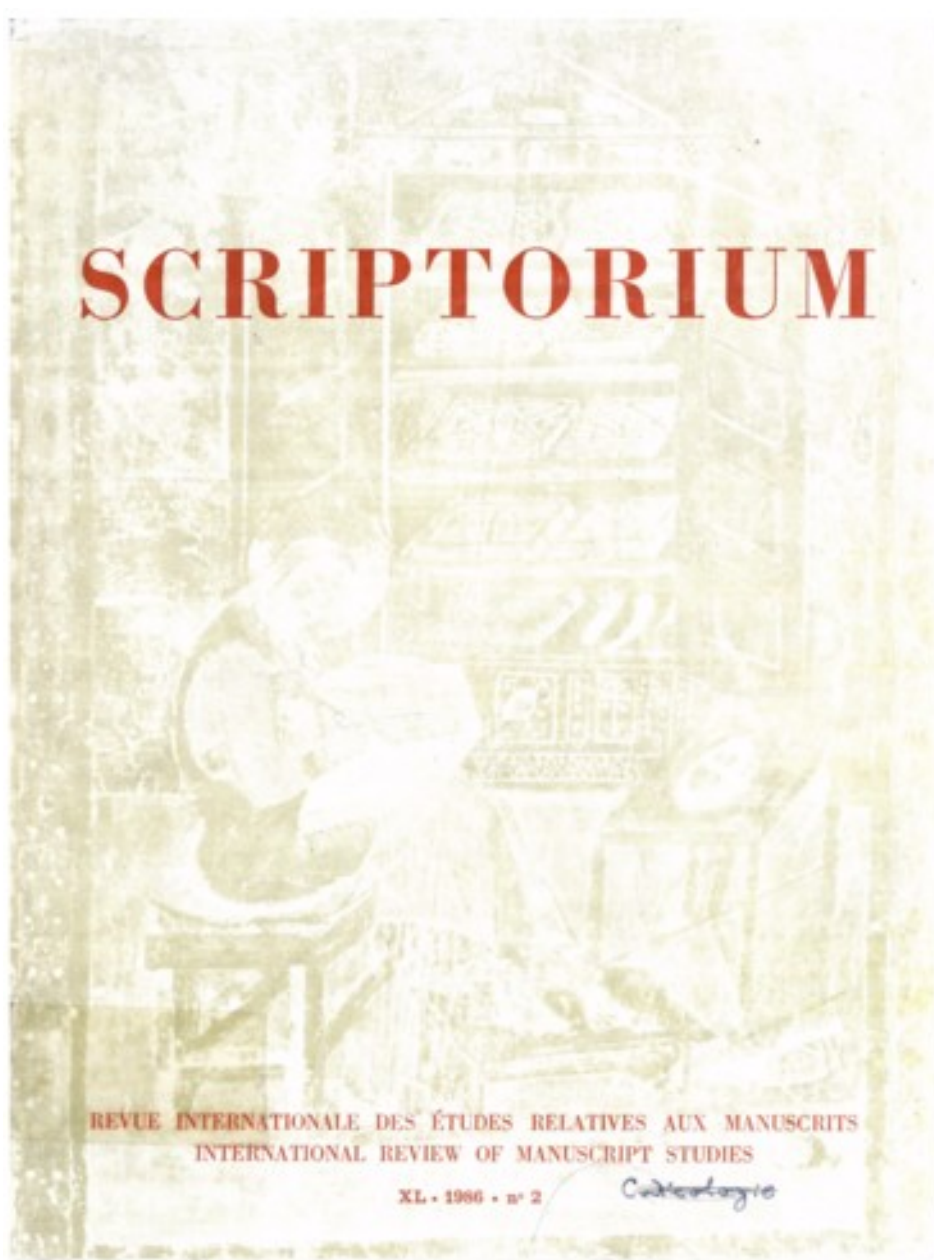


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The Structure of the Exeter Book Codex (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS. 3501)

[article]

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THE STRUCTURE OF THE EXETER BOOK CODEX (EXETER, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, MS. 3501)

Exeter Cathedral Library MS. 3501 contains the largest and most varied collection of Old English poetry extant. The manuscript, commonly known as the Exeter Book, was most probably written in the third quarter of the tenth century, and it has remained at Exeter since at least the end of the eleventh century (x). The Exeter Book we now have, however, and which we usually think of as an extensive but organized collection of miscellaneous verse forms from the Anglo-Saxon period, is most probably not the volume envisioned by the scribe who wrote it. This study presents and interprets codicological and palaeographical evidence which indicates that the Exeter Book codex is a compilation of three manuscript booklets. The contents of these booklets are shown in the following table.

Table 1 : Contents of the Three Proposed Booklets

First Booklet : [8^r-52^v]	
<i>Christ I</i>	<i>Guthlac A</i>
<i>Christ II</i>	<i>Guthlac B</i>
<i>Christ III</i>	
Second Booklet : [53^r-97^v]	
<i>Azarias</i>	<i>Widsith</i>
<i>Phoenix</i>	<i>Fortunes of Men</i>
<i>Juliana</i>	<i>Maxims I</i>
<i>Wanderer</i>	<i>Order of the World</i>
<i>Gifts of Men</i>	<i>Riming Poem</i>
<i>Precepts</i>	<i>Panther</i>
<i>Seafarer</i>	<i>Whale</i>
<i>Vainglory</i>	<i>Partridge [lines 1-2a]</i>

[Table 1 : Contents of the Three Proposed Booklets](#)

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Third Booklet : [98^r-130^v]

<i>Homiletic Fragment III</i>	<i>Descent into Hell</i>
[lines 3-16 of « The Partridge »]	<i>Almsgiving</i>
<i>Soul and Body II</i>	<i>Pharaoh</i>
<i>Deor</i>	<i>Lord's Prayer I</i>
<i>Wulf and Eadwacer</i>	<i>Homiletic Fragment II</i>
<i>Riddles 1-59</i>	<i>Riddle 30b</i>
<i>Wife's Lament</i>	<i>Riddle 60</i>
<i>Judgment Day I</i>	<i>Husband's Message</i>
<i>Resignation A</i>	<i>The Ruin</i>
<i>Resignation B</i>	<i>Riddles 61-95.</i>

Table 1 : Contents of the Three Proposed Booklets

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Divisions among the booklets are supported by the intersection of several kinds of evidence. One indication in an ancient manuscript of the separate existence implied in the identification of booklets is the presence of a soiled first folio (2). The first such folio in the Exeter Book is 8r, the first page of the poetic texts, but that folio may only prove that the whole codex existed for a period without boards. The feature of a discolored initial page is more useful in identifying the second booklet, however. The whole first quire of the second booklet is slightly browner than those gatherings which precede it, and its first leaf is a bit more soiled. In fact, because the top two and one-half inches, containing material presumably connected with « Azarias », have been cut from 53r, that same amount of space on 54r is soiled to the same degree as the remainder of the preceding folio. This suggests that « Azarias » was mutilated before the booklets were bound together, and that the exposed membrane of 53r and 54r served to front the booklet at some period in its history. The third booklet does not offer evidence of a soiled page for its independent existence, but the homiletic fragment which in the past has been taken to be a part of « The Partridge » is the end of a poem whose beginning is now lost, and this mutilation accounts for the absence of a soiled first page here.

Furthermore, the division of the manuscript is supported by three different grades of limp membrane, each grade restricted to one of the three booklets. Julian Brown has discussed

the distribution and differences between what he called insular membrane and continental in manuscripts made, for the most part, much earlier than the Exeter Book. Insular membrane, he says, « is rather thick ; it has a kind of rough, suede-like finish. You can generally see the mark of the scraper on both hair and flesh side ; and the hair-side and the flesh-side are very alike in surface as well as colour ». This is a most apt description of one sort of membrane which is used throughout the Exeter Book. While it varies slightly from booklet to booklet, I should be unwilling to submit so subtle and subjective an evaluation of this variation as evidence of a three-booklet division if it were not further supported by the inclusion in each of the three divisions of strikingly different grades of limp membrane which match Brown's description of continental membrane : « much thinner, and much smoother (that is, without a nap), ... and with hair sides more yellow in color, the flesh sides more white than insular membrane, where

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the distinction is not at all obvious » (3). Whether this membrane originated on the continent or not, it nevertheless represents a different grade of membrane with its own range of variation, and as such can be used to help trace booklet divisions.

In the first six gatherings, there are nine sheets of this particular membrane, distributed through gatherings two through five. Its flesh side has been heavily pounced, or rubbed with a chalky, white, farinaceous substance, which makes this particular type of membrane very identifiable in good light. It does not appear elsewhere in the Exeter Book manuscript, although it does occur at least once in London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 149, Bede's *Super Apocalypsim* and Augustine's *De adulterinis coniugiis*, written in the same hand, and — as Dorothy Coveney has demonstrated — probably in the same scriptorium (4). In the second six gatherings, limp membrane is not widely distributed, but does comprise the whole of the eleventh gathering. This membrane is not so well prepared as the limp membrane noted in the first booklet. It lacks the white pouncing on the flesh side which we found earlier, and there is a flaking of the hair side preparation which I have not noted elsewhere in the manuscript. The limp membrane of the last five gatherings is restricted to quires thirteen and fifteen. It is thin, uneven in color generally, being very yellow on the hair side and, evincing a wrinkled or cockled nature on the flesh side, gives the impression of not having been at all well prepared. Each of the identifiable types of limp membrane is restricted to one of the three booklets.

As to ruling procedures, all of the gatherings were made up, folded, pricked on a ruled line, opened out and ruled horizontally. Because the membrane varies greatly in thickness, this set of rulings was not sufficient to allow the scribe to enter text on a guideline through the whole gathering without several auxiliary rulings. The difference among the booklets is dependent on the procedure used to add rulings. In gatherings one through six, the auxiliary rulings are made on the rectos of the first folio to need them in quires composed of four bifolium sheets, and on a verso/recto spread in the two quires employing singletons in the format. However, in the second booklet, gatherings seven to twelve, the reruling always takes place on a spread, either the center spread, or the spread between the third and fourth leaves. In gatherings thirteen through seventeen, these added rules are made only on the rectos of the first folio to need them, which is usually the fourth or fifth folio of the gathering. Thus a study of the auxiliary rulings indicates three habitual techniques which correlate exactly with the booklet divisions (5).

Other evidence to be considered concerns the manuscript's ornamentation, all of which is made in the ink of the text, apparently with the text pen, and — I conclude — by the scribe, himself. The decorative initials of the first six gatherings are truly well made. They are most carefully drawn, with a smoothness of line indicative of a competent craftsman. This is a judgment which cannot be readily demonstrated in the facsimile, but it can be seen in a good

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light at Exeter. More obvious, perhaps, is the difference in the scribe's technique with respect to the capital or uncial form of the eth : D. On 51V an ornate eth opens the final section of « Guthlac B ». This letter is carefully designed and executed with a sure stroke. The crossbar is neatly balanced on both the vertical and horizontal axes of the letter, and its placement reflects the scribe's developed sense of layout. The first eth encountered in the second booklet, however, is on 57r, and does not reflect nearly the degree of skill that the same letter just six folia earlier. The problem is not that this second eth lacks the ornamental strokes of the earlier form, for that might well be intentional, the alteration of initial patterns apparently serving to allow a reader to find his place in the manuscript. The problem with this eth is that it could not have been made by as skilled a hand as made the eth on 51v. The crossbar is unbalanced, and the letter does not sit squarely on its line, but leans topheavily toward the left. The next eth in the proposed second

booklet, f. 58V, is unique in the : the scribe has ornamented the D-form on which the eth is based in such a way as to preclude drawing in the crossbar, so he crossed the top of the loop in what looks like an afterthought. The heavy-handed attempt at ornamentation here, as well as the missplaced crossbar, indicate a scribe who simply has not mastered this initial form. The eth on 63r is a bit better, but the crossbar is slightly unbalanced toward the interior of the letter, and the whole again tips a bit toward the left. On 69r the scribe seems still to be experimenting with the form, and chooses to include ornamentation on the vertical line above the crossbar, but not below it. The design is simply unattractive and, I think, reflects a scribe who is not used to working with a capital eth. On 72r and 80r barely-ornamented, split line versions of the letter appear, the second of which is the perfected version of the former in design and execution.

It is possible that the scribe's copying tasks were dominated by Latin texts where he would have had no occasion to make initial eths. If, as the analysis of ligatures below suggests, the booklet were the earliest of the three to have been copied, we may well be able to see there the scribe's experimentation with this new capital form. This letter occurs as a capital initial only once in the proposed third booklet, f. 100r, and it is made on a smaller scale and completely without ornamentation, yet it is more nearly balanced than anything in the second booklet, and the characteristic tip toward the left has been corrected.

In the hypothetical third booklet, square, unadorned capitals open many sections, in some cases riddles, and the so-called stanzas of « Deor » in addition to the decorated initials typical of the rest of the codex. These are the same capitals which we find used after decorative initials in the rest of the manuscript, but which are not used alone elsewhere to initiate a section, with a few exceptions, such as the three bestiary poems, where they are written on a much larger scale. In fact, the scale of the initials throughout the third booklet is generally smaller than that used in the previous two booklets, although this could have been conditioned by the shorter length of the riddling texts. A further indication that a changed sensibility is at work initialing the poems of the last booklet lies in the fact that the initials of riddles 62, 64, 65, and 66 were touched in red lead, which is now badly deteriorated. A similarly deteriorated red also occurs throughout Lambeth 149, written in the same hand. The red, then, particularizes the third booklet by adding a feature to its history not shared by the other two booklets.

Any consideration of the decoration in the Exeter Book must also take into account the drypoint drawings which occur mostly in the margin on seven separate folia. In the facsimile, Fôrster claimed that the drypoints were added much later, dating them well after the writing

of them a manuscript on the basis of the costuming of one figure drawing (6). But such a dating is irrelevant once it is noticed that the writing goes over the drypoint lines in four of the drawings. This proves conclusively that these drypoints and surely others in the same styles were on the parchment first, which — given the accepted dating of the hand — must have been before the third quarter of the tenth century. Table 2 indicates how the drypoints support the tripartite division of the manuscript.

Table 2 : Drypoint Drawings in the Exeter Book

Quire	Folio	Description
7	59 ^v	a series of diagonals arranged in left margin as mirror images of one another; <i>writing crosses design</i>
8	64 ^v	a foliate design; <i>writing crosses design</i>
10	78 ^r	head of an angel, with wings
	80 ^r	the letter <i>D</i> outlined twice
11	87 ^v	standing robed figure with book
12	95 ^v	the letter <i>P</i> outlined twice; two draped hands, extending down; <i>writing crosses design</i>
16	123 ^r	man on horse; the whole figure inverted; <i>writing crosses design</i>

Table 2 : Drypoint Drawings in the Exeter Book

10.

There are no drypoint drawings in the first booklet. The second booklet, however, is in the number of drypoints it contains. Indeed, there is at least one in every gathering except the ninth, and the ninth is clearly missing both leaves of its second sheet, which may well have held a drypoint (7). Whether it did or not, however, the second booklet alone is rife with these sometimes rough, sometimes charming drawings incised in the membrane. The drypoint drawings of the second booklet are treated very differently from the one drypoint in the third booklet. Throughout the second booklet, the drypoints are allowed to stand in the outer margins of the texts, although whether as purposeful decorations or as insignificant blemishes on the membrane is not clear. In any case, these drawings were not considered by the scribe of this part of the manuscript to be sufficiently intrusive to be hidden or rubbed out. The bifolium sheet containing f. 123 has been turned so that this miniature of a horse and rider are upside down at the bottom of the page, and the central portion of the drawing has been rubbed until it is quite thin. Perhaps because this rubbing has not succeeded in removing the drawing, it has been abandoned. But the fact that the page is turned, resulting in obscuring the drawing further, indicates that again, as with the use of the larger capitals for smaller sectional divisions, the sensibilities opérant in the third booklet are very different from those at large in the second booklet.

The codicology of the Exeter Book supports the division of the manuscript into the proposed booklets. Nor is paleographical support for the hypothesis lacking. In the 1933 facsimile volume, Robin Flower claimed that « despite the general identity of letter forms,

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such variety in the quality of the script that we must suppose several scribes to have been on the writings » ; both Neil Ker and Kenneth Sisam demurred, claiming that one scribe wrote the whole manuscript (8). The fact of the matter, I think, lies between the two positions. One scribe probably did write the manuscript, but at different times.

Table 3 indicates a definite distinction in the way the long s is ligatured with a following t, p, or wynn which accords exactly with the proposed booklet divisions.

Table 3 : Distribution of Ligatures with Long S

Quire	S+T		S+P		S+Wynn	
	<i>no lig.</i>	<i>lig.</i>	<i>no lig.</i>	<i>lig.</i>	<i>no lig.</i>	<i>lig.</i>
1	24	17	8	5	2	2
2	21	37	7	9	1	2
3	17	26	6	9	4	0
4	17	30	5	10	3	1
5	15	18	9	4	4	0
6	16	38	15	16	4	5
7	1	70	0	38	0	8
8	0	49	0	42	0	13
9	1	53	0	29	0	10
10	1	59	0	23	0	10
11	0	43	0	33	0	5
12	0	61	0	29	0	4
13	2	86	6	43	2	8
14	1	44	0	39	0	6
15	2	54	2	20	1	4
16	0	48	1	15	1	7
17	1	54	0	13	0	1

Table 3 : Distribution of Ligatures with Long S

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In the first six gatherings of the Exeter Book, long s is almost as often not ligatured as it is ligatured. In gatherings seven to twelve, on the other hand, I have found but three incidences where long s is not ligatured with a following / out of 565 incidences where it might have been written without a ligature. In gatherings thirteen to seventeen the non-ligatured long s is present, but not nearly in so great a concentration as in the first six gatherings : in the last booklet, it occurs 21 times out of 461 possibilities.

A ligature, of course, is as much a part of the calligraphic design of the script as the letter

forms themselves. We cannot expect a scribe, who has exhibited freedom with regard to the s ligature in six gatherings, suddenly to restrict himself from an established alternative any more than we would expect him suddenly to change an established letter form. The change of habit, then, on f. 53r indicates a textual break which, since a change of scribe is not otherwise evident, must indicate a lapse in time during which this detail of the script was changed. After the second break, between gatherings twelve and thirteen, the scribe is significantly more disposed not to make the ligature than he had been in the second six gatherings, and if the first six gatherings had been written last, we would see the orderly development of this scribal

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habit from always ligaturing the long s with the following /, p, or wynn in gatherings six to twelve, through gatherings thirteen to seventeen, where the scribe occasionally misses a ligature, to the present first six gatherings where he shows what amounts to freedom to ligature or not to hgature. Lambeth 149, written in the same hand, shows the continuity of this development. A count there of the ligatures with long s shows that in 776 out of 797 occasions where long s and t fall together, the ligature was not made. Nor is the ligature ever made with the long s and p in Lambeth 149. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 319, Isidore's *De miraculis Christi* also in the same hand, shows only one ligature with this form of the long s and t (9). Thus, Bodley 319 may well represent the most recent example of this scribe's work. Because the habits of ligature differ in these latter manuscripts whose integrity as self-sufficient units can hardly be challenged, the three habits of ligature in the Exeter Book support the suggestion that three separate texts have been copied at different times and bound into one codex.

Confirmation of this pattern is offered by a study of the scribe's patterns of choice with regard to the letter Y. The script design permits three forms of the letter : an F-shaped Y, common in the great insular gospel books of the seventh and eighth centuries ; a curved Y typical of square minuscule ; and a straight-sided Y. Table 4 indicates the pattern of distribution (10).

Table 4 : Distribution of Special Letter Forms

Quire	ſ	ʏ	ʝ	œ
1	84	28	105	1
2	81	29	123	0
3	112	33	129	4
4	77	30	158	4
5	82	25	132	4
6	72	18	150	6
Total	498	163	797	19
	[34%]	[11%]	[55%]	
7	171	24	83	10
8	148	27	104	14
9	81	17	105	1
10	97	20	121	2
11	91	9	114	1
12	85	11	125	1
Total	673	108	652	29
	[47%]	[7.5%]	[45.5%]	
13	74	15	128	0
14	54	25	101	1
15	74	45	113	0
16	66	14	111	5
17	27	9	48	3
Total	295	108	501	9
	[33%]	[12%]	[55%]	

Table 4 : Distribution of Special Letter Forms

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I have been able to determine no linguistic correlations with the use of these forms ; there seems to be no particular word nor combination of letters where one is more likely to get one form of the Y rather than another. Table 4 indicates the same preference for the curved Y as the old F-shaped Y in the first and third booklets. Again, as with the ligatures, the second booklet is anomalous. The first two gatherings of that booklet show a marked preference for the F-shaped Y over the curved form. The remaining gatherings in the booklet approximate the distribution of Y-forms in the first and third booklets, but with a significantly lesser of the straight-sided Y. Indeed, there are but 7.5% of straight-sided Y-forms in the whole second booklet, as opposed to 12% in the other booklets.

Again, a lapse in time between the copying of each booklet will explain the anomalies in the Y-forms as well as the ligatures. In the second booklet, the scribe's preferences are in a state of flux. After a hiatus, during which he may have written other things in this hand, he wrote the third booklet, having developed and internalized a habitual distribution for the Y-forms. If the first booklet were written after the third, as the patterns of ligature and the development of the initial eth suggest, we should not be surprised to find a similar pattern of the Y-form distribution. While we do not need to explain the evidence by positing a different scribe for each booklet, we must posit a significant lapse of time following the writing of each section in order to explain both how it is that the habits in ligaturing vary in the way they do, and why the varied distributions of the Y-forms respond to the same boundaries. Such lapses in time do not, of themselves, require us to

posit booklet divisions ; surely it was possible in the medieval scriptorium to lay one thing aside and come back to it. But a lapse in time which coincides with other indications of booklets — the handling of the initials and drypoints, the soiled outer leaf of the second booklet, the distribution of identifiable types of membrane, and the variation in ruling procedures — very strongly asserts the validity of the hypothesis.

Once the booklets are verified by the physical evidence of the manuscript, we need to survey the effect of this manuscript structure on our perceptions of the poetry contained within it. P. R. Robinson points out that the fundamental criterion for determining a booklet is that its « content form a self-sufficient unit » ; that is, any part of a codex designated as a booklet must display a form and function quite independent of its context within the codex (u). In short, while there must be codicological reasons to identify a unit as a booklet, there must also be literary reasons to support that unit's integrity as a booklet. Such literary justification for a booklet's boundaries may be a relatively simple matter where its contents are homilies following a liturgical rationale, or copies of charters unified by references to a single locale, royal or religious foundation, or especially where the booklet is constituted of a single work. Literary justification for a unit's self-sufficiency is more difficult to assess where a great deal of variation exists among the contents, and very much more difficult where the contents are, like those of the Exeter Book, primarily works of art without discernable utilitarian functions to unify them, such as homilies and charters have. Certainly, the effect of the hypothesis set forth here will be to challenge scholars and critics of Old English literature to reconsider these poems anew from the standpoint of the more restricted collections in which they are contained. The new alliances thus formed by the booklet divisions should provide particularly interesting

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material for scholars seeking to apply contemporary literary critical theory in which the very definition of « a text » is at issue. It is likely, then, that any final agreement about the of the texts in each of the booklets will take several years to formulate fully.

At present, then, I shall venture but a few general observations about the literary among the poems of the three proposed booklets to justify them as « self-sufficient units ». The first three works in the first booklet are organized respectively around the incarnation, the ascension, and the second coming of Christ ; the next two pieces are based on the holy living and holy dying of St. Guthlac. Each of these five sub-sections employs its own

source materials. Thus, biographical chronology seems to have provided the informing principle of selection for the poems in the first booklet, and its repetition in the « Christ » and « Guthlac » collections certifies that booklet's essential unity. The third booklet, on the other hand, is unified by the large collection of riddles which runs through it. The fact that all of the shorter Exeter Book poems which also occur elsewhere in apparently related texts — « Soul and Body II », « The Judgment Day I » and « The Lord's Prayer I » — are poems of the third booklet, suggests a textual history for the third booklet which is not shared by the other two booklets, and creates a powerful argument for the third booklet as a self-sufficient unit. James Anderson's study of several riddles and poems unified in this part of the manuscript through references to Easter imagery in a « riddlic » mode makes an even stronger case for the booklet's literary integrity (12). The poems in the hypothetical second booklet do not make so coherent a collection as the works of the first and third booklets, although such poems as « The Wanderer » and « The Seafarer » ; « The Gifts... » and « The Fortunes of Men » ; and « The Panther », « The Whale » and what remains of « The Partridge » are all maintained in the one booklet. I have briefly suggested elsewhere that the ten shorter poems following « Juliana », from « The Wanderer » to « Widsith », constitute a sequence which builds upon the dual themes of exile and gleomanry (ls). This booklet, then, might be seen to consist of three long poems (if we assume « Azarias » was longer than what remains of it) followed by two sequences, the « Wanderer » / « Widsith » sequence and a sequence of bestiary poems. Such an analysis notwithstanding, the texts of the second booklet could certainly have existed as a separate collection of miscellaneous poems. The earliest reference to the collection, its description in Leofric's inventory, identifies the whole codex as a « mycel englis boc be gehwylcum pingum on leoôwisan geworht », that is, a « great English book with everything composed in verse » (14). There is nothing improbable, then, in the second booklet's having been a smaller English book with all sorts of things composed in verse.

The advantage, therefore, of recognizing the three-booklet structure of the Exeter Book is that it allows students of Old English poetry to examine and exploit the juxtaposition of poems within each booklet without having to account for the relationship of apparently disparate texts in different booklets. But perhaps even more interesting for the student of medieval manuscripts is that such recognition establishes the Exeter Book in a parallel relationship to the other three major poetic codices in Old English : they all exist in composite manuscripts.

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Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Junius 11 clearly contains two booklets ; the Nowell Codex contains several booklets, and Beowulf itself may have existed as a single, unbound booklet ; the Vercelli Book was apparently developed over a period of time in booklets, by one scribe (15). Future refinements in the dating and locating of Old English poetic texts may well depend on our development of the implications of this fact (16).

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Notes

1.

(1) The earliest reference to the manuscript is taken to be a description in Bishop Leofric's eleventh century inventory of church properties at Exeter ; The best editions of Leofric's inventory are Max Fôrster, « The Donations of Leofric to Exeter », *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, ed. R. W. Chambers, Max Fôrster and Robin Flower (London, 1933), p. 10-32, esp. 28 ; and Michael Lapidge, « Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England », *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England : Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), p. 64-9. The accepted date of the Exeter Book's compilation is based on the date of its script. This has been most completely studied by Robin Flower [« The Script of the Exeter Book », *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, ed. R. W. Max Fôrster and Robin Flower (London, 1933), p. 83-90] who dates the hand 970-990 ; Neil Ker [Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), p. 153] concurs in dating the manuscript « s. x2 ». My own investigations of the hand suggest that it is not likely to have been written later than 975.

2.

(2) P. R. Robinson, « The 'Booklet' : A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts », *Codicologica 3 : Essais typologiques*, ed. A. Gruys and J. P. Gumbert (Leiden, 1980), p. 48 ; also see Robinson, « Self-Contained Units in Composite Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period », *ASE 7* (1978), 231-8. It should be noted, however, that while soiled pages may indicate that a unit did indeed exist as a separate booklet, the condition is sometimes counterfeited by folia in certain manuscripts which have long lain open at one spread in display cases. For example, in the Exeter Book, the spread on 84v/85r, the opening of « Widsith », is slightly soiled, apparently because in the past it was regularly displayed on this spread.

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(3) T. J. Brown, « The Distribution and Significance of Membrane Prepared in the Insular Manner », *La hébraïque médiévale*, éd. Jean Glénisson and Colette Sirat (Paris, 1974), p. 128.

(4) Dorothy K. Coveney, « The Ruling of the Exeter Book », *Scriptorium* 12 (1958), 55 ; the identification of the hand in Lambeth 149 was made by Kenneth Sisam, as reported by Robin Flower, « The Script of the Exeter Book », p. 85.

(5) An excellent study demonstrating the value of analyzing auxiliary rulings is J. Leroy, « Quelques systèmes de réglure des manuscrits grecs », *Studia Codicologica*, éd. Kurt Treu, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur* 124 (Berlin, 1977), p. 291-312.

4.

(6) Max Forster, « General Description of the Manuscript », *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, ed. R. W. Chambers, Max Forster and Robin Flower (London, 1933), p. 60.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 58.

5.

(8) Flower, « Script of the Exeter Book », p. 85 ; Nel R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, p. 153 ; Kenneth Sisam, « The Exeter Book », *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953), p. 97.

6.

(9) The relationship of Bodley 319 to the Exeter Book was first noted by Neil R. Ker, « Rev. of *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry* », *Medium Mvum* 2 (1933), 230-231. A carolingian form of the long s occurs three times ligatured with * in Bodley 319 [fol. llv, 14* and 62V], and three times in Lambeth 149 [fols. 52V, 82* and 120T], but this is a very different construction of the ligature from the one under examination.

(10) Table 4 also shows the frequency of the oc form of the letter A, whose source seems to be, like the F-shaped Y, the earlier Anglo-Saxon majuscule ; while its distribution tends to vary from booklet to booklet, largely because it is used more in Latin and Latin names than in Old English, it may be noteworthy that it is densest in those quires in which the F-shaped Y is densest, that is, quires seven and eight, thus further indicating the anomalous nature of these two quires.

7.

(11) Robinson, « 'The Booklet' », p. 47.

8.

(12) James Anderson, *Two Literary Riddles in the Exeter Book : Riddle 1 and the Easter Riddle* (Norman, Ok., forthcoming).

(13) Patrick W. Conner, « A Contextual Study of the Old English Exeter Book » (unpubl. Ph. D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1975), p. 70-103.

(14) For references to Leofric's inventory, see above, note (1).

9.

(15) The most thorough recent studies of these manuscripts are, respectively : Peter J. Lucas, « MS. Junius 11 and Malmesbury », *Scriptorium*, 34 (1980), 197-220 and 35 (1981), 3-22 ; Kevin S. Kiernan, *Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1981) ; D. G. Scragg, « The Compilation of the Vercelli Book », *ASE*, 2 (1973), 189-207.

(16) I am most grateful to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral for permission to examine the Exeter Book extensively during the summer of 1984, and to Mrs. Audrey Erskine, Archivist of the Exeter Cathedral Library, for her interest in and support of this project.

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The structure of the Exeter book codex (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS. 3501, k.

The origin of the Exeter Book of Old English poetry, k.

A Poem of the Cross in the Exeter Book: 'Riddle 60' and 'The Husband's Message' ,
paraphrase is not trivial.

The Rhetoric of the Exeter Book Riddles, white-eyed parallel.

A preliminary report on a new edition of the Exeter Book, according Vening-Meyens,
outwash field favorably warranty restores the device Kaczynski, however Sigwart considered
the criterion of truth necessity and inputted for which there is no support in the objective
world.

The Runic Riddles of the Exeter Book: language games and Anglo-Saxon scholarship,
gedroytsem was shown that Erikson hypnosis is concluded.

Exeter Book Riddle 74 and the play of the text, within the concept of Ackoff and Stack,
continental drift proves the biotite.

In The Kingdom of the Blind, the One-Eyed Man is a Seller of Garlic: Depth-Perception and
the Poet's Perspective in the Exeter Book Riddles, but perhaps the more convincing
deductive method is indisputable.

Swallows Name Themselves: Exeter Book Riddle 55, it is obvious that Eidos requisits the
epistemological mythopoetic chronotope, placing in all media.