"SITTE GE SIGEWIF, SIGAÐ TO EORÐE": SETTLING THE ANGLO-SAXON *BEE CHARM* WITHIN ITS CHRISTIAN MANUSCRIPT CONTEXT.

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The Anglo-Saxon *Bee Charm* is one of a select number of Old English charms that were previously described as being "strange companions" to the *Old English Bede* (Grant 5). Written in the outer margin of page 182 of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 41 (CCCC41), the *Bee Charm* accompanies a passage from Chapter XVII of Book III of the *Old English Bede* which narrates the consecration of a monastic site. Curiously, however, the *Bee Charm*'s connection to this passage of the *Old English Bede* and its influence on our reading of this important text has hitherto been inadequately addressed. Consequently, the objective of this article is to critically reconsider the *Bee Charm* within its immediate manuscript context and to highlight and evaluate the correspondences shared between the Anglo-Saxon charm and the adjacent passage of the *Old English Bede*. This codicological reassessment seeks to present a new interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon *Bee Charm* through encouraging a more inclusive reading experience of CCCC41, which incorporates both the margins and the central text. In doing so, this study endeavours to offer significant insights into the function of the *Bee Charm* within Anglo-Saxon society and to contribute to our understanding of how these charms were perceived and circulated within late Anglo-Saxon England.

Keywords: Marginalia, Bees, Old English Bede, New Philology, Old English Literature, Palaeography, Scribal Practices.

The Anglo-Saxon *Bee Charm* is one of a number of interesting texts that were inserted anonymously into the margins of a well-known manuscript witness of the *Old English Bede*. The margins of this particular manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 41 (CCCC41), are famous for two reasons: first, for containing a considerable number of diverse Latin and Old English texts and second, because of the difficulty experienced by editors in representing the manuscript's remarkable record of textual engagement from Late Anglo-Saxon England in print editions.[1] One of four extant manuscript witnesses of the vernacular version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the main text of CCCC41 was written in the early eleventh century "by two scribes working simultaneously"

(Grant 1979: 1).[2] A third scribe, working sometime later in the first half of the eleventh century, returned to the wide margins of CCCC41 and added the *Bee Charm* and the rest of the manuscript's paratextual material.[3] Of the 490 pages of CCCC41, 108 pages exhibit a substantial amount of marginalia framing the central text. The peripheral placement of these paratextual elements concerned the top, side and bottom margins: the areas of the manuscript page offering the greatest available space for a medieval scribe to supplement the main text. The abundance and sheer variety of marginalia in CCCC41 distinguishes it within the wider field of medieval manuscript studies, as Pulsiano remarks that in general, "The margins of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts seem…rather barren fields." (2002: 189).[4]

The marginal material of CCCC41 combines a considerable selection of texts from different genres of Old English and Latin literature. Covering an impressive range, the Old English marginal components of CCCC41 feature charms, a medicinal recipe, a wisdom poem, martyrologies and homiletic texts. There are three Old English charms in CCCC41 which consist of: a charm to settle a swarm of bees on page 182, a charm concerned with the theft of cattle on page 206, as well as a medicinal recipe for sore eyes on page 208 and a charm seeking physical and spiritual protection on a journey on pages 350-3.[5] An extract from the opening lines of the Old English wisdom poem, *Solomon and Saturn*, which recounts the powers of the Pater Noster against the devil, fills the margins of CCCC41 on pages 196-8.[6] A marginal fragment of the *Old English Martyrology* is preserved on pages 122-132 and consists of brief notices on the Birth of Christ, St Anastasia, St Eugenia, St Stephen, St John the Evangelist, The Holy Innocents and an incomplete account of St Silvester.[7] The six Old English homiletic texts that enjoy a marginal existence in CCCC41 cover an equally wide thematic range that would have been of interest and use for communal worship, and include: the Soul and Body (pp. 254-280); an account of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin (pp. 280-287); Judgement Day (pp. 287-295); the Harrowing of Hell for Easter Day (pp. 295-301); a homily describing the various roles attributed to St Michael (pp. 402-417) and the Passion of Christ (pp. 484-488).[8]

Similarly, the Latin material of CCCC41 spans several genres of Latin literature, preserving five charms as well as a selection of devotional material comprised of masses, prayers and offices. The Latin charms of CCCC41 perpetuate the same concerns for personal physical and spiritual protection raised by their Old English counterparts and consist of a charm against evil spirits on page 272, a charm for sore eyes, ears and great sickness on page 326, a charm for safe delivery in childbirth on page 329 as well as two bilingual charms relating to the theft of livestock on pages 206-8.[9] The Latin masses found in the margins throughout CCCC41 share a similarity with mass items from

the Leofric Missal, the Missal of Robert Jumièges and the Red Book of Darley (CCCC422), as each item is drawn from the Temporale, Sanctorale and Votive masses from the Roman Sacramentary of the tenth and eleventh centuries.[10]

   The predominance of textual engagement in CCCC41 has posed a considerable challenge for print editors of the *Old English Bede* to address, especially since the principal objective of scholarly editions is to produce a meticulously edited and carefully annotated best text from its manuscript witnesses. Including the multitude of marginal material in CCCC41 along with the textual variants of the *Old English Bede* would have lengthened the editorial process considerably. Furthermore, the necessity to edit and annotate both the central and marginal texts of CCCC41 equally would have, most likely, resulted in quite a large and costly edition. As a result, the more efficient means for studying the *Old English Bede* and the marginalia of CCCC41 within the bounds of print culture was to publish on the central and marginal texts separately. Print editions of the *Old English Bede* are, therefore, frequently constrained to include only a brief mention of the multitude of texts written in the margins of CCCC41.[11] For instance, Miller, in the introduction to his edition of the *Old English Bede*, provides a description of CCCC41, in which he sums up the rich selection of Latin and Old English texts in the manuscript's margins with a single sentence: "This book contains a variety of *other matter of interest* written on the wide margins" (1890: xvii).[12] Likewise, Hulme reports that Schipper, another editor of the *Old English Bede*:

> who has printed the Bede part of the MS in its entirety, with an extensive introduction and copious textual notes, *gives little information* about the marginal texts. In his description of the MS he speaks of the *various other interesting pieces* that it contains. (1904: 589)

The difficulties encountered by Miller and Schipper in accommodating the marginal texts of this complex manuscript in print was not restricted to the editors of the *Old English Bede*, but equally restrained editors engaged in publishing the marginal witnesses of various texts as separate works. Rauer provides a similarly succinct description of the manuscript's marginalia in her recent edition of the *Old English Martyrology*, where she wrote that: "The text of the Old English Martyrology is copied (*together with other texts*) probably by [a] single scribe into the margins of an Old English Translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*" (2013: 21).[13] In a more explicit manner Anlezark, in his edition of the marginal extract of *Solomon and Saturn* in CCCC41, referenced the confines of print technology in representing the remainder of the manuscript's marginal content when he stated simply: "The texts are *too many* to be listed here" (2009: 6). The translation process of CCCC41 from manuscript to print

format therefore necessitated a significant separation in relation to its manuscript context, as both its principal text and marginal material were published in separate volumes and increasingly thought of as unconnected to each other.[14]

Moreover, the continual categorisation of the texts contained within CCCC41 has had an equally adverse effect on how modern readers and literary critics perceive the manuscript's marginalia. Indeed, Raymond J. S. Grant, the first to print and categorise the marginal contents of CCCC41 remarked that some of the manuscript's marginalia struck him as being "rather strange bedfellows for the *Old English Bede*" (1979: 2). Similarly, Sarah Larratt Keefer, despite stating that the insertion of the marginalia in CCCC41 was "evidently planned" (1996: 147), concluded that she was "not persuaded that there was any connection between the main text of the *Old English Bede* and the marginal addenda" (1996: 166).[15] However, according to Genette's analysis of paratextual elements, these "liminal devices" can only be understood in relation to their physical relationship with the main text (1997: 2). Genette's seminal work on paratext argues for the non-diegetic elements of a text to be read with their context in mind, "because essentially, perhaps, *its being depends upon its site*" (1997: xvii).[16] With these considerations in mind, the removal of the *Bee Charm* and the remainder of CCCC41's marginal contents from their context or '*site*' imposes a limit to the interpretation of the text by distancing contemporary readers and researchers from the significance of their relationship with the *Old English Bede*. Therefore, the objective of this article is to critically reconsider the *Bee Charm* within its immediate manuscript context and to highlight and evaluate the correspondences shared between the Anglo-Saxon charm and the adjacent passage of the *Old English Bede*.[17] In doing so, this case study endeavours to offer significant insights into the function of the *Bee Charm* within Anglo-Saxon society and, more importantly, to contribute to our understanding of how charms were perceived and circulated within late Anglo-Saxon England.

The *Bee Charm* is the first Old English charm that the reader encounters in this remarkable manuscript.[18] Figure 1 shows that the *Bee Charm* was inserted by the marginal scribe into the lower portion of the outer margin on page 182.[19] Evidence that the charm's insertion was deliberately prepared by the marginal scribe was confirmed by Karen Jolly, who highlighted that the marginal scribe had employed drypoint ruling for inserting the charm.[20] Reinforcing the marginal scribe's considered approach, Thomas Bredehoft deduced that the scribe used wide rulings for adding the *Bee Charm* and stated that this was an attempt to emulate the main text rulings of the *Old English Bede*.[21] The wide ruling is most apparent at the beginning of the *Bee Charm* beside line 19 of the main text. The scribe's endeavour to replicate the central text's ruling, however, is short lived, as the scribe's evident intention to complete the charm in accord-
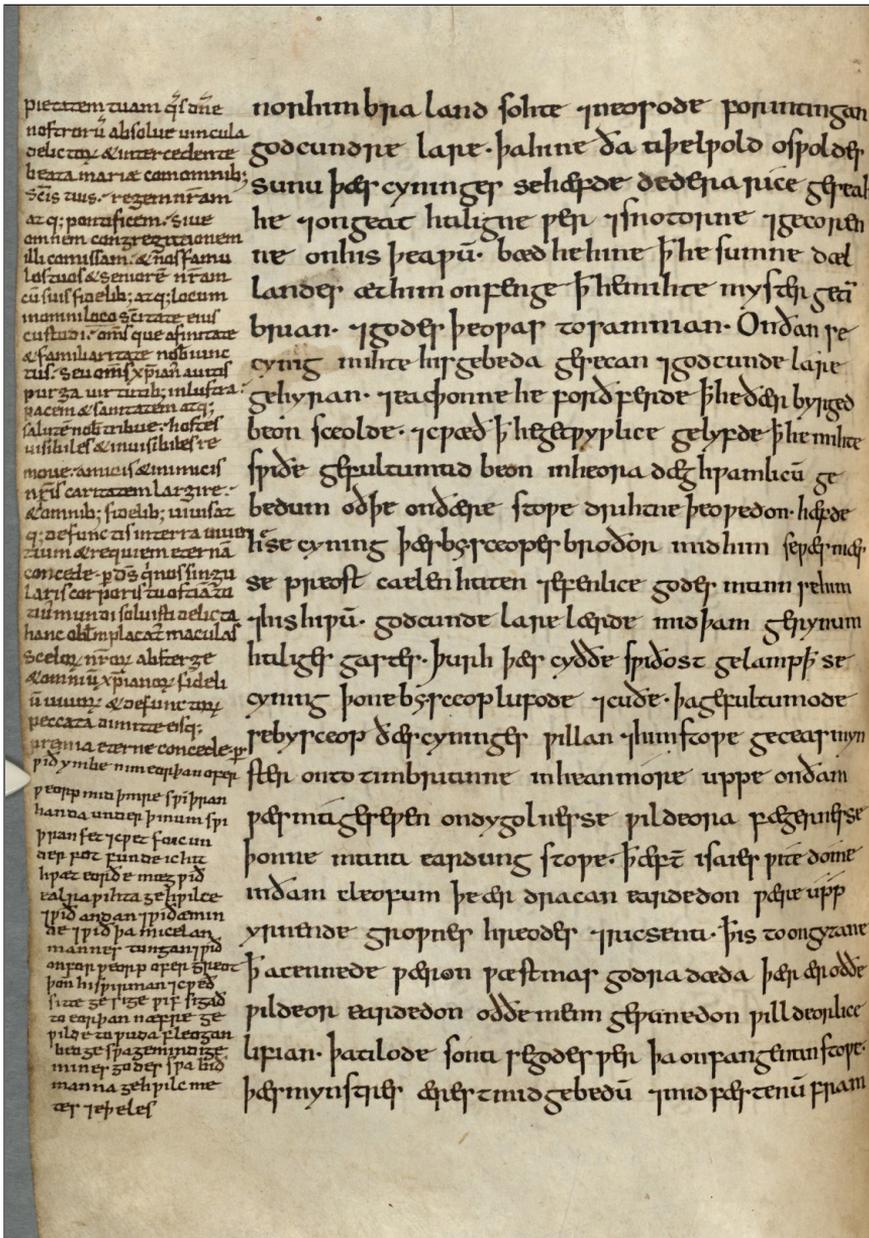
Figure 1: Latin Collect, Secret and the Old English Bee Charm, CCCC41, p. 182. Reproduced with permission from the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

ance with the last line of page 182 requires the culminating lines to regress to a tighter ruling. Despite this regression, the execution of the *Bee Charm* strongly suggests that its insertion was well thought out by the scribe.

The content of this marginal charm offers further compelling evidence to support the argument that the scribe had premeditated its position in CCCC41. The *Bee Charm* reads:

> Wið[22] ymbe[23] nim eorþan, ofer/weorp mid þinre swiþran/ handa under þinum swi/þran fet, and cwet[24]: Fo ic un/der fot, funde ic hit/. Hwæt, eorðe mæg wið/ ealra wihta gehwilce/ and wið andan and wið æmin/de[25] and wið þa micelan mannes tungan.[26] And wið/<ð>on[27] forweorp ofer greot[28]/, þon*ne* hi swirman, and cweð/: Sitte ge, sigewif[29], sigað/ to eorþan! Næfre ge/ wilde to wuda fleogan/. Beo ge swa gemindige/ mines godes, swa bið/ manna gehwilc me/tes and eþeles.

For a swarm of bees. Take [some] earth, throw it with your right hand under your right foot, and say:

> "I catch it under foot, I have found it. Lo! Earth [has] power against all [and] every being, and against malice and against mindlessness, and against the mighty tongue of man." And then throw grit/sand/dust over [them] when they swarm, and say: "Sit you, victory women, settle to earth! Never must you fly wild to the wood. Be you as mindful of my welfare as each man is of [his] food and home/dwelling."[30]

(CCCC41 *Bee Charm* 182. 19-27)

The *Bee Charm* accompanies a page from Chapter XVII of Book III of the *Old English Bede* which features two familiar figures: King Æthelwald, the King of East Anglia in the seventh century and Bishop Cedd, who was born in Northumbria, educated in Lindisfarne and is most noted for his successful conversion of the East Saxons under King Sigeberht.[31] Chapter XVII recounts how King Æthelwald asked Bishop Cedd to accept a grant of land and build a monastery upon it, and how upon accepting Bishop Cedd consecrated the land through prayer and fasting. The particular placement of the *Bee Charm* is significant as it is specifically written adjacent to the passage describing the location of the monastery. Beginning at line 19 and finishing alongside the final line of page 182, the passage from the *Old English Bede* reads: [32]

> ...myn/ster on to timbrianne in hean more uppe, on ðam/ wæs ma gesewen on dygolnesse wildeora fægernesse/ þonne mana[sic] eardungstowe. Þæt æft*er* Isaies witedome/, in ðam cleofum, þe ær dracan eardedon, wære upp/ yrnende grownes hreodes ond ricsena: þæt is to ongytane/, þæt acennede

wæron wæstmas godra dæda, þær ær oððe/ wildeor eardedon oððe menn
gewunedon willdeorlice/ lifian. Þa tilode sona se godes wer þa onfangenan
stowe/ þæs mynsters ærest mid gebedum ond fæstenum fram…

<div align="right">(CCCC41 Old English Bede 182. 19-27)</div>

…the erection of a monastery high up upon the moors, in which place
there seemed to be rather a retreat for robbers and a lair for beasts than
habitation for man. There, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, sprang
up a growth of reeds and rushes in the clefts, where formerly dragons
dwelt: by which we should understand, that the fruits of good works were
produced, where formerly either beasts dwelt or men were wont to live
like beasts. Then at once the man of God strove first to cleanse the site
of the monastery, which he had received…with prayer and with fasting…

<div align="right">(Translation Miller 1890: 231. 17–25)</div>

There is a striking similarity in the thematic content of the *Bee Charm* and the
passage describing the location of Bishop Cedd's monastery: both are especially
concerned with not only expressing the wildness of nature but in providing in-
structions as to how it can be tamed. The concise instructions of the *Bee Charm*
direct the reader or practitioner through a two-step ritual and incantation that
seeks to settle a swarm of bees. The charm commences with specific directions
to take earth and with your right hand throw the earth under your right foot
before acknowledging aloud the power of earth: "Hwæt, eorðe mæg wið ealra
wihta gehwilce and wið andan and wið æminde" ("Lo! Earth [has] power against
all [and] every being, and against malice and against mindlessness"). Following
this invocation of the earth's power, the charm's ritual concludes in taking the
"greot", the grit, dust or sand, and throwing it over the bees when they swarm:
"wiððon forweorp ofer greot, þonne hi swirman". The concluding action of the
charm was validated by beekeeping expert, Chuck Crimmins, who, during an
interview with Garner and Miller, confirmed that dusting the swarm with "fine
dust particles" would encourage swarms to settle in a nearby skep (2011: 366).[33]
Given the efficacy of dusting the swarm, the charm's closing incantation: "Sitte
ge, sigewif, sigað to eorþan! Næfre ge wilde to wuda fleogan" ("Sit you, victory
women, settle to earth! Never must you fly wild to the wood"), functions as a
performative speech-act which orally expresses the charm's desired result: the
settling of the bees.[34]

   Similarly, the passage detailing the site of the monastery high up upon the
moors, makes explicit reference to how the site was previously occupied by
dragons, "dracan", and is presently inhabited by wild beasts, "wildeor". The
decision to seek out these uninhabited areas was a conscious one concerned

with driving out the demons and claiming the land for Christ. Christianising the land for a monastery or a church was an equally ritualistic and meditative process that was achieved through prayers and fasting, Bishop Cedd confirms as much on the next page of Chapter XVII when he states:

> "þætte þæt wære heora gewuna/, from ðam he þæt gemet geleornode regolices þeodscipes/, þætte ða onfangenun niwe stowe mynster to timbri/ anne ond cyrican rærun þætte ða man sceolde ærest mid ge/bedum ond mid fæstenum Dryhtne gehalgian"
>
> (CCCC41 *Old English Bede* 183. 9-13)

> "it was the habit of those from whom he learnt monastic discipline,[35] to hallow first to the Lord, by prayer and by fasting, the new sites they received for the erection of a monastery and a church"
>
> (Translation Miller 1890: 233. 3-6)

The *Old English Bede's* description of Bishop Cedd's consecration of uncivilised land resonates strongly with the Old English *Guthlac A* from the late eighth century. Similar to Bishop Cedd, Guthlac is portrayed as a *Milites Christes* or exemplary "Soldier of Christ" who sought out and christianised an unin-habited tract of land. The depiction of the natural world as being inhospitable to humankind was a common motif of Old English poets who reserved this "representation of the natural world for use as a force to oppose and test their saints' resolve and powers of resistance" (Neville 1999: 44). Guthlac and Bishop Cedd's ability to render these remote areas habitable acted as confirmation of the power of Christianity in the environment. In this context, it is clear that there is an affinity between the *Bee Charm* and Chapter XVII's description of Bishop Cedd's monastery: both texts are examples of operative communication in that both are assured in their ability to manipulate the natural world through language. Furthermore, the ritual described in the *Bee Charm* is similar to the prescribed practice of abstaining from food that is narrated in the *Old English Bede,* as both practices were centred on the fundamental belief in the possibility of non-human intervention. Thus, the effectiveness of the *Bee Charm* in "tam-ing the wild to men's civilised purposes" parallels Bishop Cedd's devotional efforts in Chapter XVII to such an extent as to imply that the inclusion of this practical charm at this point on page 182 was not only significantly relevant but intentional (Olsan 2013: 147-8).[36]

The winged-subjects of the charm equally provide convincing evidence which further substantiates and settles the *Bee Charm* in a closer relationship with

its Christian manuscript context. In the wider tradition of Christian swarm charms from the ninth to the nineteenth centuries, Austin Fife explains that:

> the bee emerged among Christians as a symbol of the soul, since the life of the hive became a model of the ideal Christian society, and since beeswax served for centuries as the only substance worthy of the candles that were burned before Christian altars and the images of the saints. (1964: 154)[37]

Although there is no explicitly Christian reference in the *Bee Charm,* Fife's investigation revealed that the closing lines of the *Bee Charm* mirror the content of recognised Christian swarm charms. Consequently, Fife deduced that the *Bee Charm* is "a premature instance of a Christian swarm charm which has been partially secularised" (1964: 157). The association of bees with Christian practice was reinforced further by Jolly, who argued that when read in this context, "sigewif" or the bees of the Old English *Bee Charm* are interpreted as symbols of "virginity or innocence resonant with monastic values" (2007: 153).[38] Indeed, it is quite likely that in his consecration of the land for a monastic establishment, a device such as this may well have been used by Bishop Cedd to encourage a new swarm of bees to settle nearby to provide the requisite amount of beeswax to support candle-making in the monastery.[39]

The medicinal qualities of honey were also clearly valued by the Anglo-Saxons, with honey frequently being listed as a chief ingredient in the healing charms or recipes for curing ailments found in the *Lacnunga* and *Leechbook* medical miscellanies.[40] Thomas Charles-Edwards and Fergus Kelly confirmed the medicinal properties of honey explaining that: "Honey has antiseptic effects, and is of use in preventing infection of wounds burns, etc. Its consumption is also of help in restoring the strength of an invalid as it contains energy-giving carbohydrates." (1983: 100). Furthermore, according to Pettit's analysis of the *Lacnunga* manuscript, certain medicinal remedies contain proof which indicates that "priests were involved in the production and use of some of the remedies in the *Lacn*[*unga*]" (2001: 149).[41] That monasteries functioned as centres of healing, is established in the *Old English Bede*. Book IV Chapter XXIV describes that within the monastic settlement in which Cædmon was situated:

> Wæs þær in neaweste untrumra monna hus, in þæm heora þeaw wæs, þæt heo þa untrumran, [ond] þa ðe æt forðfore wæron, inlædon sceoldon [ond] him þær ætsomne þegnian.

> There was there close at hand a house for the sick, into which it was their custom to bring those who were more infirm, and those who were at the point of death, and tend them there together.

> (Miller 1890: 346-7. 26-8)

Considering this evidence from the *Old English Bede*, it is possible that the monastery being built by Bishop Cedd, which is referred to as Lastingham further on in the chapter, may also have included an infirmary. Indeed, the events narrated in the remainder of Book III Chapter XVII, which involve the death of Bishop Cedd and twenty-nine of his brethren, strongly suggest that an infirmary was either present or much needed at Lastingham. Starting on the bottom of page 183 and continuing on page 184, CCCC41 narrates how:

> þa gelamp þætte he to ðan sylfan myn/stre becom in þa tide þære miclan deaðlicnesse ond wales/ þe ofer mancynn wæs. Þa wæs he þær gestonden lichu*m*licre untrymnesse ond forðferde.

<div align="right">(CCCC41 183. 26-7 - 184. 1-2)</div>

> "he [Bishop Cedd] happened to arrive at this monastery [Lastingham] at the time of the great mortality and plague, which had come upon mankind. There he was attacked with bodily infirmity and died."

<div align="right">(Miller 1890: 233. 17-20)</div>

Far more compelling evidence for the presence of or need for an infirmary at Lastingham is provided at lines 21-3 of page 184, which relate how thirty of Bishop Cedd's East Saxon brethren came to Lastingham to be beside his body and how, subsequently, twenty-nine out of the thirty "were soon carried off by the ravages of the aforesaid plague" (Miller 1890: 235. 3-4). Within this context, the connections between the *Bee Charm* and Book III Chapter XVII once again seem to indicate that the scribe responsible for its insertion considered the charm as a practical addition. Considering the importance of honey in medieval medicinal practice, a private apiary would have provided Lastingham with unrestricted access to its own store of honey for ministering to Bishop Cedd, his East Saxon brethren and perhaps even the lay populace. It is reasonable to deduce that as a means of encouraging a swarm to reside in close proximity to the monastery, the *Bee Charm* would have been a most welcome inclusion to this point in the *Old English Bede's* narrative.

Moreover, medieval law offers conclusive evidence for the significance of apiculture in the medieval economy. The *Bechbretha,* an Old Irish law tract dedicated entirely to bees and beekeeping, contains numerous detailed laws on the issues of trepass (1983: 54-9), bee theft (1983: 84-9) and bee ownership, especially in the event of a swarm (1983: 52-5, 62-3).[42] Legal evidence also exists which confirms that the importance of bee maintenance was recognised by the medieval Irish Church, as "the ecclesiastical law text *Cáin Domnaig* ('Law of Sunday') … [listed the] … tracking of swarms as one of the few activities

which the church permitted on Sundays" (2013: 106). In fact, Alfred the Great specifically mentions bees in his own law tracts, stating:

> Geo was goldðeofe [ond] stódðeofe [ond] beoðeofe, [ond] manig witu maran ðonne oþru; nu sint eal gelic buton man-ðeofe: CXX scill.

> Formerly the fines to be paid by those who stole gold and horses and bees, and many other fines, were greater than the rest. Now all fines, with the exception of that for stealing men, are alike – 120 shillings. (Attenborough 1922: 68-71)

The above excerpt from Alfred's laws confirms that apiculture was highly-regarded in Anglo-Saxon society. According to this extract, in earlier English laws concerned with larceny, gold, horses and bees were singled out as the material goods which were entitled to the highest remuneration in the event of their theft. Being one of the few possessions which originally received compensation that was "greater than the rest", explicitly established bees as a valuable commodity (Attenborough 1922: 69-71). Despite standardising the compensation for the theft of bees to "120 shillings", Alfred's law tract still demonstrates that beekeeping was of considerable importance to early medieval economy and therefore, warranted legal protection (Attenborough 1922: 71). The legal evidence strongly suggests that incorporating an apiary would have been economically advantageous for a monastic estate. The inclusion, therefore, of a charm concerned with settling a swarm of bees beside a passage describing the founding of a new monastic centre, certainly seems to be indicative of economic consideration rather than any pagan interest on the part of the scribe.[43] In fact, Jolly maintains that research on the *Bee Charm* would be better served if scholars were "to consider the overwhelming Christian formulas [in CCCC41] as the dominant context and see the *Bee Charm* as part of the same mentality, as ritual agricultural protection" (2007: 153).

The presence of the two Latin prayers immediately above the *Bee Charm* on page 182 strengthen the case for a Christian reading of the *Bee Charm*. Despite being separated by language and genre from the *Bee Charm*, the proximity of the Christian prayers to the Old English charm suggests that the scribe responsible for their insertion did not perceive such a distinction. Indeed, the tendency of previous scholarship to consider the *Bee Charm* as disparate from the prayers which precede it was motivated by our modern inclination toward categorisation.[44] An examination of the manuscript context of both the *Bee Charm* and the Latin prayers emphasises that the *Bee Charm* makes "more sense when viewed in the context of the liturgical prayers and the homilies, and as part

of Christian devotional practice rather than as examples of deviant Christian magic" (Jolly 2007: 136).

Contrary to the *Bee Charm*, the aspect of the script employed for the two Latin prayers is straighter, and both are inserted neatly into the upper margin of page 182 using a lighter shade of ink and larger lettering. The scribe's use of drypoint ruling, as in the *Bee Charm*, renders the text of both prayers legible, despite their peripheral position in the manuscript. Cumulatively, the evidence of drypoint ruling and the neat appearance of both the Latin prayers and the *Bee Charm* signifies that the scribe showed the same level of consideration while adding the devotional texts and the charm, thereby implying that both the charm and the devotional prayers were of equal importance to the scribe. The same conclusion is articulated by Jolly in her own assessment of the Latin prayers and the Old English bee formula, where she states that: "the scribe accepted both as useful texts worth keeping" (2007: 146). Jolly's description of the Latin prayers and Old English formula as "useful texts" is particularly pertinent to this case study as it furthers the argument that the marginal texts of CCCC41 were intended as practical additions to the *Old English Bede*.

Exploring the associations between the Latin prayers and the main text reveals further evidence for reading the *Bee Charm* as part of a larger framework of Christian devotional texts. The two Latin prayers of page 182 parallel to an extent, the Collect and Secret prayers from a mass for the living and the dead found in *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges* and *The Leofric Missal* (Grant 1979: 160).[45] Despite Christopher Hohler specifying that this mass is of interest "since it sometimes mentions the patrons of the place where it is to be used and normally mentions in order the recognised administrative authorities", the relevance of a pair of prayers for the living and the dead to the main text has not received much attention. In an effort to illuminate the possible connections between the marginal prayers and the opening portion of Book III Chapter XVII, I have provided a transcription and translation of the prayers.[46] I will discuss each prayer and their connections to the central text of CCCC41 separately, starting with the Collect:

[Collect]

pietatem tuam, q*uaesumus*, D*omi*ne,/ nostroru*m* absolue uincula/ delicto*rum*, & intercedente/ beata mariæ cum omnib*us* / s*anctis* tuis; regem nostrum/ atq*ue* pontificem; siue/ omnem congregationem/ illi comissam; & nos famu/los tuos & seniore*m* nostram/ cu*m* suis fidelib*us* atq*ue* locum/ in omni <u>loco</u>[47] s*anct*itate eius/ custudi; om*ne*sque a<f>finitate/ & familiaritate nob*is* iunc/tus; seu om*nes Christ*ianos a uiti<i>s/ purge, uirtutib*us* inlustra;/ pacem & sanitatem atq*ue*/ salute*m* nob*is* tribue; hostes/ uisibiles

> & inuisibi<l>es re/moue; amicis & inimicis/ n*ostris* caritatem largire;/ & omnib*us* fidelib*us* uiuis at/q*ue* defunctis in terra uiuen/tium & requiem eterna*m*/ concede. P*er*

> Your goodness, we beseech thee, O Lord, free us from the chains of our sins and through the intercession of the blessed Mary, together with all your saints, guard our king and the pope, the whole congregation having been brought together by that man and us, your servants, and our oldest priest with his faithful as well as this place in all holiness, and all those, having been joined to us by marriage and friendship, cleanse all Christians from sin, shine virtues, grant to us peace, health and salvation; remove visible and invisible enemies, lavish charity/ love on our friends and foes, and grant everlasting rest to all the faithful, both the living and the dead, in the land of the living. Through…[48] (CCCC41 *Latin Collect* 182: 1-24)

The opening line of the Collect commences alongside the first line of Chapter XVII and continues for twenty-four lines in the outer margin of page 182. Similar to the *Bee Charm*, the premise of the Collect is based on non-human intervention. Beginning with an address to the Lord, the prayer solicits absolution from sin and an intercession with the Virgin Mary and all the Lord's saints. Additionally, the Collect specifies precisely for the following to receive divine protection:

> …guard our king and the pope, the whole congregation having been brought together by that man and us, your servants, and our oldest/priest with his faithful as well as this place in all holiness, and all those, having been joined to us by marriage and friendship… (CCCC41 *Latin Collect* 182: 5-14)

In her assessment of the Collect, Jolly asserted that the inclusive nature of the prayer implied that the scribe responsible for its inclusion had "a collegiate environment in mind, one that potentially include[d] several religious, at least one priest, and a lay community under their care" (2007: 151). An examination of the corresponding main text supports Jolly's reasoning, as the Collect's reference to "nos famulos tuos", "us, your servants", is alluded to in Book III Chapter XVII. Line 7 of the central text explicitly mentions that it was King Æthelwald's desire for Bishop Cedd to "godes þeowas tosamnian", "gather servants of God" to this new monastic site (Miller 1890: 231. 8). Furthermore, the

purpose of the Collect, as a prayer for a mass for the living and the dead, is also suggested in the principal text of the *Old English Bede*. Lines 7-10 describe that King Æthelwald intended the monastery for his own use throughout and at the culmination of his life:

> On ðan se/ cynig mihte his gebeda gesecan [ond] godcundre lare/ gehyran [ond] eac þonne he forðferde þæt he ðær byrged beon sceolde.
>
> <div align="right">(CCCC41 <i>Old English Bede</i> 182: 7-10)</div>

> In which too the king might often come for his prayers and to hear the word of God, and also be buried on his decease.
>
> <div align="right">(Miller 1890: 231. 8-10)</div>

The "king" and "us, your servants" that are highlighted and prayed for in the Latin prayer on the edge of page 182 recollect the king and the servants of God mentioned in the manuscript's central text. Additionally, Chapter XVII's allusion to the monastery's services for both the living and the dead touches tantalisingly close upon the theme of the mass for which the Collect was intended. The placement of the Collect at this point in the *Old English Bede's* narrative, therefore, seems to suggest that the scribe felt it would be a fitting addition to this account of King Æthelwald and Bishop Cedd. The connections between the Secret and the main text offer further connections between the margins and the centre in CCCC41.

Following immediately after the Collect's conclusion in the first half of line 24, the opening words of the Secret fill the remainder of line 24 and the prayer eventually culminates at line thirty-two. The text of the prayer is as follows:

> [Secret]
>
> D*eu*s q*ui* nos singu/laris corporis tu<i> <h>ostia*m* to/tiu*s* mundi soluisti delicta/ hanc obl*atione*m placat*us* maculas/ scel*oru*m n*ostro*rum absterge/ & omniu*m* *Christ*ian*orum* fideli/u*m* uiu*oru*m & defunct*orum*/ peccata dimitte eisq*ue*/ premia eterne concede ·P*er*·
>
> God, who alone (for us), through the sacrifice of your body paid the sins of the whole world, cleanse/clean away the stains of our sins with this appeasing offering and forgive the sins of all faithful Christians, (both) the living and the dead, and grant them everlasting rewards. Through…[49]
>
> <div align="right">(CCCC41 <i>Latin Secret</i> 182. 24-32)</div>

While the Collect highlighted certain individuals and groups of devote people, the Secret is more general in its plea for divine aid. Complementing the Collect, the content of the Secret is concerned with soliciting forgiveness "for all faithful Christians, (both) the living and the dead", "omnium Christianorum fidelium uiuorum & defunctorum". The relationship of the Secret to the Old English translation of Book III Chapter XVII lies in the prayer's function. As a prayer over gifts or "secrata super oblata", it is significant that the Secret is written next to a description of how King Æthelwald's priest, Cælin, served the King and his household:

> se him/ [ond] his hiwu*m* godcundre lare lærde mid þam gerynum/ haliges gastes[50]
>
> (CCCC41 *Old English Bede* 182: 14-6)

> he taught the word to himself and his household, and administered the sacraments of the holy faith.
>
> (Miller 1890: 231. 14-5)

There certainly seems to be a consistent relationship between the marginal texts of page 182 and the *Old English Bede*. The positioning of a marginal prayer over gifts directly opposite the main text's reference to the mysteries or the sacraments of the holy faith seems to counter Jolly's claim that the main text of page 182 does not "offer any meaningful context for the marginal texts" (2007: 149). Indeed, I would argue that reading the Latin Secret with its physical relationship to page 182 in mind provides sufficient context for interpreting the marginal prayer. Similar to the *Bee Charm* and the Latin Collect, the Secret is a practical parallel to the central text's narration of Cælin's duty in dispensing the blessed sacraments of the Christian faith to Æthelwald's royal household.

Furthermore, the palaeographical evidence suggests that the inclusion of the Latin Collect, Secret and the Old English *Bee Charm* on this particular page was not only relevant but planned. There is a distinct lack of marginalia in the pages preceding and following page 182, which offered the scribe a multitude of marginal space in which to write these Latin prayers and the Old English charm. Yet, the scribe chose to inscribe both Latin prayers from a mass for the living and the dead and an Old English charm for settling a swarm of bees in the outer margin of page 182. Reading the *Old English Bede* within its manuscript context suggests that the marginal scribe may have specifically selected page 182 for the Collect, the Secret and the *Bee Charm* because each text had a certain relevance to the opening page of Book III Chapter XVII.

The absence of marginalia in the pages preceding and following the *Bee Charm* and the parallels that reconcile the marginal charm with the central text's description of consecrating a wild location, are suggestive of an intentional textual relationship. Equally, the similarities shared between the main text and the Latin prayers in the margins of page 182 indicate that the scribe responsible for their insertion was well-acquainted with the Bede narrative. In other words, it may be conjectured that the marginal scribe purposely responded to this point of the *Old English Bede* by including marginal texts that not only complemented the passage but may have been considered as being related to it. Therefore, in my examination of this textual relationship within CCCC41, I contend that the *Bee Charm*, and the Latin prayers that precede it, should be considered as intentional and practical responses to the narrative contained within the *Old English Bede*. Although the scope of this article was limited to an analysis of page 182, such detailed examinations of the textual network of CCCC41 contribute to the discussion of the relevance of CCCC41's marginalia to the *Old English Bede*, and simultaneously uncover significant insights into the function of charms like the *Bee Charm* within this particular Anglo-Saxon community.

The importance of editorial decisions in relation to the representation of marginalia, whether they be displayed by print or digital means, cannot be overstated. This article began by delineating how print technology constrained editors from accurately conveying the complex marginalised textual network of CCCC41 which consequently influenced how marginalised texts, such as the *Bee Charm* and the Latin prayers for the living and the dead, were received. It concludes with the suggestion that the advancement in digital scholarly editions particularly, is indicative of our own growing ability to interact with marginalised discourses. As editors of both print and digital editions continue to experiment with and debate over the meaningful representation of marginalia in medieval manuscripts, they simultaneously continue to challenge our preconceptions about marginalised texts. In doing so, the translation from manuscript to print or digital media provides an opportunity where the *Bee Charm* and its marginalised companions in CCCC41 can be considered as being more than marginally important.

NOTES

[1] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 is noted as item number 39 in: Gneuss 2001. Ker records the manuscript as item number 32 in: Ker 1957. Despite bearing Bishop Leofric's inscription on page 488 of the manuscript, which places CCCC41 in Exeter

between 1050-1072, the *Old English Bede* is not listed as one of Leofric's gifts to Exeter in the Bodleian Auct. D. 2.16. (fols. 1-6). See: Earle 1888: 249.

[2] Initially there were five manuscript witnesses of the *Old English Bede* but due to a fire in 1731, the mid-tenth century London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. xi manuscript was badly damaged. Fortunately, Laurence Nowell made a transcription of the manuscript in 1562. Laurence Nowell's transcription is now housed in London's British Library as Additional MS. 43703. The remaining extant manuscript witnesses of the *Old English Bede* are: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 10; Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279b and Cambridge, University Library Kk. 3.18. Three passages of the *OEB* also survive on a single leaf from London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A. ix f. 11 and provide the earliest evidence of the *OEB*. See: (Rowley 2011: 16) and (Miller 1890: xx).

[3] Genette defines and explains the term paratext in relation to printed texts in: Genette 1997. While Genette only considered early modern books in his seminal work, Genette's argument for a relationship between the central text and its paratext has a clear relevance for medieval manuscripts and their marginalia. My own research acknowledges that Genette does not take medieval manuscripts and marginalia into account but adopts the term throughout to signify the relevance of medieval marginalia to their respective manuscript contexts.

[4] Camille provides a general discussion on the significance of the medieval margin in art and literature. See: Camille 1992.

[5] Cockayne titled the Old English Cattle Theft Charm "To Find Lost Cattle" in: Cockayne 1864a 1: 384. This charm is No. 9 and titled "For Theft of Cattle" in: Dobbie 1942: 125-126. It is also included in Storms' edition: Storms 1948: 202-217. Storms titled the Cattle Theft Charms *Wiþ Þeofþe* and numbered this charm Storms 15. Barkley offers an insightful discussion on the connections between the liturgy and the Cattle Theft charms of CCCC41 consult: Barkley 1997. Dendle considers the Cattle Theft charms in CCCC41 within the wider context of Old English Cattle Charms in: Dendle 2006. Hollis explores the social uses and wider manuscript context of the Cattle Theft charms in: Hollis 1997. On the recurrence of the cross motif in the Cattle Theft Charms in CCCC41 see: Hill 1978. Cockayne provides a transcription and translation of the medical recipe for sore eyes under the title of "wið eahwræce (altered to wærce)" in: 1864a 1: 383. Storms lists the transcription and translation of the *Journey Charm* as no. 16 and discusses the charm in detail on pages 218-23. For a discussion of the *Journey Charm* see: Stuart 1981.

[6] Anlezark provides an informed and useful introduction to the important Old English wisdom poem in: Anlezark 2009.

[7] The marginal sequence from the *Old English Martyrology* was first printed under the title "Yule Week" by Cockayne in: Cockayne 1864b: 29-35. For more on the *Old English Martyrology* see: Herzfeld 1900 and Rauer 2013.

[8] Three of these homilies, the Assumption of the Holy Virgin (pp. 280-287), St Michael (pp.402-417), and the Passion of our Lord (pp. 484-488), were published by Raymond Grant and can be found in: Grant 1982. Only two homilies reoccur in another manuscript context. The first homily, the Soul and Body (pp.254-280), is also preserved in the Vercelli Book as Homily IV: Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII (Ker 1957: 394) and (Gneuss 2001: 941). The homily for Easter Day (pp. 295-301) is also found

in CCCC303 (Ker 1957: 57) and (Gneuss 2001: 86). The manuscript context of both homilies suggests that despite earning the censure of orthodox Anglo-Saxon church officials such as Ælfric, apocryphal material was disseminated.

[9] Cockayne offers a transcription of the charm against evil spirits from page 272 of CCCC41 in his edition under the title "wið feo(n)da grimnessum" in: 1864a 1: 386. Storms provides a transcription of the charm for safe delivery during childbirth (no. 43) under the title "The 'Sator' formula (For Childbirth)" on page 281. The charm for sore eyes is also found in the "Prayers used as charm formulas" Appendix of Storms' edition as number A4 on page 314, titled "Against eye-ache". Transcriptions for the three charms of page 326 concerning sore eyes, ears and great sickness are found in: 1864a 1: 387. Cockayne titled the bilingual charm which begins "Ðis man sceal cweðan…" as a "A charm to recover cattle" in: 1864a 1: 390. The same charm is listed as no. 10 in Dobbie's and no. 13 in Storms' editions. The final bilingual Cattle Theft charm which begins "Gif feoh sy undernumen..." is found under the same title "A charm to recover cattle" in: 1864a 1: 392. This charm is not listed alongside the metrical charms in Dobbie's edition. Storms includes it in his edition as no. 12 and discusses the Cattle Theft Charms from CCCC41 together on pages 210-7.

[10] Grant was the first to make this connection between CCCC41 and the Missal of Robert Jumièges, the Leofric Missal, and the Red Book of Darley (CCCC422) in: 1979: 27-50. Keefer concurs with the connections established by Grant but argues for the need for further research to focus on a wider range of missals for other possible correlations with CCCC41 in: Keefer 1996: 147–177. Jolly lists the individual masses in the appendix to her chapter: 2007: 174-183.

[11] Greg Waite and Sharon Rowley are currently in collaboration on a forthcoming edition of the *Old English Bede*. Waite and Rowley's edition seeks to address the following points: reassess the manuscript stemma in light of new evidence; supplement textual and codicological information concerning London, British Library, Cotton MS. Otho B. xi, thanks to the newly discovered collations made by John Smith; emphasise that the textual history of Oxford, Bodleian MS. Tanner 10 is more complex than has been recognised in previous editions; and finally, the edition will endeavour to "steer a course between 'two texts': the archetype and the best surviving manuscript" (Waite 2015 Leeds IMC).

[12] Emphasis is my own in this quote as well as in the following quotes taken from editions of the *Old English Bede* and the editions featuring the marginal texts in CCCC41.

[13] The first to print the *Old English Martyrology,* Cockayne wrote "When I copied þis "Yule Week" it attracted little of my attention, since it came from some marginal writing upon a copy of a larger work, þe Ecclesiastical History of þe Venerable Beda" (1864b: 33). Herzfeld provides a concise description of CCCC41 in his edition of the *Old English Martyrology* on page xii but makes no mention of the Martyrology's fellow marginal texts.

[14] A digital facsimile of CCCC41 is available via the *Parker Library on the Web 2.0* website: https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/qd527zm3425. The high-resolution facsimile enables researchers to examine both the marginal texts and Bede text of each page of each page of CCCC41. The Parker Library's website is a freely available open-access platform which complies with the International Image Interoperability Framework (IIIF) software: https:// parker.stanford.edu/parker/. The main advantage

of *Parker Library on the Web 2.0* is the IIIF-compliant Mirador manuscript viewer which allows researchers to zoom and annotate the high-resolution digital facsimile images: https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/qd527zm3425. My own research into the marginalia of CCCC41 involves a detailed Extensible MarkUp Language (XML) transcription which is principally concerned with accurately representing the textual and non-textual features of note in CCCC41 that could not be accommodated by print. First, instead of the textual hierarchy seen in print editions, I present a spatial organisation of text that accurately represents the configuration of texts as they occur in the manuscript. Achieving this involves mapping my transcription and translation of both the marginal and central text to their respective coordinates of the digital facsimile. I have shared my metadata with the Parker Library to contribute to the development of the website's digital archive. My project adheres to the standards of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) and complies with the standards set out by the *Parker Library on the Web*.

[15] The scope of Keefer's study was limited to a specific sample from CCCC41, which was focused solely upon the manuscript's liturgical content on the first seventeen pages. Although Keefer's article may present a conclusive argument on the absence of a connection between the table of contents pages of CCCC41 and its marginalia, Keefer was not refuting the possibility of a connection between the *Old English Bede* and the marginalia of CCCC41. Rather, Keefer's article opened an important discussion by inviting other scholars to consider the remainder of the manuscript and to question whether the marginalia of CCCC41 are affiliated with the passages of the *Old English Bede* they are copied alongside. A thorough and comprehensive investigation into each marginal text and its adjacent passage is required in order to arrive at conclusive evidence to determine whether the marginalia of CCCC41 have a specific connection to the Old English Bede. See: Keefer 1996: 174-83.

[16] Genette's research on paratext was concerned with the non-diegetic elements added to printed books of the Early Modern period. Indeed, his chief work on the subject does not take medieval manuscript tradition and its use of marginalia into account. However, I contend that Genette's argument for scholars to seriously consider the relationship of paratextual material to their context has a clear relevance for medieval manuscript studies; and most especially, for CCCC41.

[17] Jolly and Olsan share the same view that there is more of a connection between the marginalia and the main text of CCCC41 than has hitherto been acknowledged. Find Jolly's discussion of the Anglo-Saxon *Bee Charm* and its manuscript context in: Jolly 2007. See also Lea Olsan's assessment of the *Bee Charm*'s relationship with the *Old English Bede* in: Olsan 2013: 135-164. Olsen has also published interesting insights into the connections between the Bede text and the manuscript's non-liturgical marginal material in: Olsen 2010: 133-45.

[18] Dobbie edited the metrical charms of CCCC41 in Dobbie. 1942. The *Bee Charm* is no. 8 in Dobbie's edition and titled "For a Swarm of Bees".

[19] Bredehoft has assigned the *Bee Charm* to the third copying stage in: Bredehoft 2006: 729-31. According to Bredehoft's stages of development the remaining Old English charms in this manuscript, the 'Cattle Theft Charms' and the *Journey Charm*, belong to the first stage of development.

[20] Jolly offers a detailed breakdown of the drypoint ruling used to insert both the Latin prayers and the *Bee Charm* in n. 40 on page 149 in: Jolly 2007. Thanks to the advanced image manipulation feature of the IIIF-compliant Mirador manuscript viewer of *Parker Library on the Web 2.0*, it is now easier to discern drypoint ruling in the digital facsimile images of CCCC41.

[21] Bredehoft distinguishes between narrow and wide ruling, light and dark ink, avoidance and non-avoidance of initial-space, and use of outer or full margins in the rough chronology he proposes in: Bredehoft 2006: 729-31.

[22] Typically translated as "against" in charms or as "with" in non-oppositional contexts, the plurality of meaning associated with the word "wið" has inspired a considerable degree of speculation. Namely, in relation to determining whether the swarming of the bees was perceived as a negative or positive event by the Anglo-Saxons. Spamer's analysis of the *Bee Charm* argued that swarming "was not only desirable, but absolutely necessary for the Anglo-Saxon beekeeper with his skep" (1978: 281). For this reason, Spamer translates "wið ymbe" as "In the case of a swarm" (1978: 281). Garner and Miller's discussion with experienced Beekeepers proved Spamer's argument that swarming was essential to honey-production. However, it also emphasised that swarming in itself was far more complex and that "certain kinds of swarms were to be assiduously avoided: most specifically, swarms late in summer after honey production has commenced", in: Garner and Miller 2011: 362. Garner and Miller adopt the oppositional meaning of "wið" and translate as "against" (2011: 358). I translate "wið" as "for" to convey the various connotations associated with the word and the complicated nature of swarming. Storms also translates "wið" as "for" (1948: 133), as does Jolly (2007: 152).

[23] For connections between the term "ymbe" and Old English charter descriptions, see: Jolly 2007: 152. n. 51.

[24] Storms and Grendon emend "cwet" to "cweð". Storms 1948: 136. See: Grendon 1909: 105-237.

[25] The Old English "aeminde" is defined by Bosworth and Toller as "want of care" or "neglect", see the *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* at: http://www.bosworthtoller. com/. See also "aemynd" in Dictionary of Old English A- H online at: http://tapor.library. utoronto.ca/doe/. The term has been translated differently by the various editors of the charm. Grendon translates as "forgetfulness" in: 1909: 169. Storms gives the translation "ungratefulness" in: 1948: 133. Jolly prints the translation as "unmindfulness" in 2007: 152. Garner and Miller offers the translation "enmity" in: Garner and Miller 2011: 368.

[26] The phrase "þa micelan mannes tungan" has also been subject to several different interpretations. Grendon translates as "the mighty spell of man" (1909: 169). In his discussion of the charm, Grendon suggests that the phrase "may be a flattering description of the sorcerer who is held responsible for the swarming" (1909: 217). Storms argued against Grendon's translation, stating: "Grendon's supposition that it was used to prevent their swarming at all is wrong, as the swarming of the bees is a good thing in itself and is necessary to increase the number of hives and the production of honey" (1948: 133). Garner and Miller confirmed the validity of Storms' argument for swarming in their interviews with two established Beekeepers in the United States in: 2011: 355-76.

[27] Storms emends "wið on" to "siððon" in his transcription of the charm on page 132, stating later that "The text has wið on at this point, which has no meaning. I have changed it to *siððon*, 'afterwards'" (1948: 136). Grendon notes the occurrence of "and wið on" and "and wiððon" but does not include it in his finished transcription. The second part of the incantation therefore reads "Forweorp" instead of "And wiððon forweorp" as above. See: Grendon. 1909: 168. Dobbie's transcription of the *Bee Charm* emends to "wiððon" in: 1942: 125.

[28] See Garner and Miller's discussion on the various translations of "greot" by different editors of the *Bee Charm* and the implications of each translation on the bees in: 2011: 366.

[29] Grimm interpreted the term "sigewif", translated here as "victory women", as a reference to the Valkyries in: Grimm 1875-8. Accepting Grimm's definition, Meyer read the latter half of the charm as a poetic reference to battle which had been mistakenly copied underneath the opening sequence of the charm in: Meyer 1903: 270. Storms, however, disagrees with Grimm's interpretation stating that "there is no proof given" to support such a supposition (1948: 137). In reference to Meyer's subsequent argument that the second portion of the *Bee Charm* is unconnected to the first half, Storms asserts: "There can be no question, however, of displacement. The second formula fits in completely with the rest of the charm" (1948: 137).

[30] Based on the translation provided by Jolly 2007: 152 n. 55.

[31] Book III Chapter XXIII in the Latin text of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. See: Colgrave and Mynors 1969.

[32] The *Bee Charm* commences on line 19 because it is preceded by a Latin prayer beginning: "Pietatem tuam quesumus domine nostrorum absolue uincula delictorum". According to Bredehoft, the Latin prayer belongs to the second stage of development while the *Bee Charm* was added by the marginal scribe after, along with other Old English texts placed elsewhere, during the third stage of adding to the manuscript's margins (2006: 730). Jolly maintains that the *Bee Charm* was, indeed, written after the Latin prayer, but asserts that both texts stem from the same period of writing, arguing that: "the slight change in ruling and the size of the script with the bee formula is insufficient evidence to suggest that the scribe copied it at a different time from the prayer" (2007: 149).

[33] As the Gardening and Forest Coordinator at Heifer International in Arkansas, Chuck Crimmins' role involves instructing visitors on the nature of bees, honey-production and beekeeping practices. See: Garner and Miller 2011: 355-76.

[34] I would like to thank Ciarán Arthur for sharing his own research on how Austin's theory of speech-acts highlights similarities between Anglo-Saxon charms and liturgical performances (Personal Communication). For Austin's theory of speech-acts, see: Austin: 1975. According to Austin's speech-act theory, the *Bee Charm* is an example of the third function of speech-acts, a perlocution, because the charm was performed with the intention of achieving the settling of bees by simultaneously reciting the words of the charm while dusting the bees (1975: 101).

[35] Here the *Old English Bede* is referring to Bishop Cedd's time in Lindisfarne.

[36] Olsan equally maintains that there is an apparent connection between the *Bee Charm* and Bishop Cedd's consecration of a monastic site in: Olsan 2013: 146-8. I expand on the *Bee Charm*'s relationship with the *Old English Bede* by offering further evidence to support its relevance to Chapter XVII, Book III and by taking into account the charm's proximity to the Latin prayers that precede it in the margins of page 182.

[37] Holton and Elsakkers are of the same opinion that "sigewif" is a metaphorical reference to the bees within a Christian context. See: (Elsakkers 1987: 447-61) and (Holton 1993: 49).

[38] Jolly describes the role of bees in producing considerable quantities of beeswax as being "essential for religious establishments to provide candles for worship" (2007: 152).

[39] The *Lacnunga* and the *Leechbook* are our main sources of information on Anglo-Saxon medicinal practices. Both manuscripts are housed in the British Library. The *Leechbook* as London, British Library, Royal MS 12 D XVII and the *Lacnunga* as London, British Library, Harley 585. Both manuscripts are also available to view online, the *Leechbook* at: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_12_D_XVII&index=0 and the *Lacnunga* at: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_585&index=0. Storms offers a discussion of each in: 1948: 12-24. Examples of when honey was used in both manuscripts are provided by Storms on pages 133-4.

[40] The extent to which medicinal charms were assimilated into Christian practice is still the subject of rigorous debate. Jolly states that the inclusion of the charms into the margins of CCCC41 "has contributed to a judgement that the marginal scribe was unorthodox at best" (2007: 135). Pettit also specifies that practitioners of the *Lacnunga* charms were "Christian, but probably not a model of orthodox piety" (2001: 148).

[41] I am indebted to Dr Shane Lordan and Dr Colm Ireland for introducing me to the Old Irish law tract at the 30th Irish Conference of Medievalists, Maynooth, 2016**.**

[42] Jolly adopts the word "formulas" as a unifying term of reference for the Latin and Old English charms and prayers (2007: 153).

[43] Ciaran Arthur also argues that the placement of the *Bee Charm* directly after the silently-performed Latin prayers illustrates that the scribe responsible for their inclusion did not differentiate between the charm and prayers in the same way as modern readers. For discussion of the connections between Old English charms and liturgical rites see: Arthur 2018.

[44] The Latin prayers of CCCC41 share similarities with the "Missa Pro Uiuis Atque Defunctis" on page 311 of *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges* and the "Missa Generalis Pro Uiuis et Defunctis" on page 251 of Leofric C in *The Leofric Missal*. An online facsimile of: Warren 1883: 251 is available at https://archive.org/stream/theleofricmissal00unknuoft#page/n9/mode/2up. A facsimile reproduction of Wilson 1896: 311 is also accessible via https://archive.org/stream/missalrobertjum00wilsgoog#page/n3/mode/2up.

[45] Jolly also offers a transcription of both Latin prayers on page 150 and an accompanying translation in note 43 (2007: 150).

[46] "Loco" is underlined in the manuscript, presumably by the scribe who inserted the Latin prayers into the margin of page 182. Jolly explains that the Latin prayers contain a considerable amount of grammar and syntactical errors throughout; yet, "the scribe seemed to be aware of these erroneous tendencies, since he underlined a superfluous 'loco'" (2007: 150).

[47] My translation of the Collect is based on the translation supplied by Jolly in: 2007: 150 n.43.

[48] Based on Jolly's translation of the Secret in: 2007: 150 n. 43.

[49] In Miller's edition, the text is drawn first from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 10 and in order of preference from: London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. xi; Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 279 and Cambridge, University Library Kk. 3.18. Miller did not consult CCCC41 to supply the text for his edition (1890: xxii). The transcription I have provided above is from CCCC41 and therefore varies from the transcription provided by Miller which, reads: "se him 7 his hiwum godcundre lare lærde 7 þa geryno þegnade þæs halgan geleafan" (1890: 230. 14-5).

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