

Arthur Westwell

*Prognostication, Malediction, Memory
and the Ordering of Time: The Additions
in a Liturgical and Computistical Manuscript
from Sens Cathedral*

Abstract

A series of marginal notations were added in the tenth century throughout the manuscript that is today divided between CITTÁ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Reg. lat. 567 and PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 1604. The original content of these books comprises a martyrology, whose marginal additions locate it within the cathedral chapter of Sens, combined with a portion of a mass book, or sacramentary, which offers an *ordo* for the pre-baptismal scrutinies, set within Lent. Added throughout by various hands, the marginal notes extract from or cite authorities as broad as Pliny the Elder, Macrobius and Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, as well as Bede, Alcuin, Hrabanus Maurus, Wandelbert of Prüm and Isidore of Seville. The manuscript proves the intellectual resources available at Sens in the early medieval period, which is otherwise almost unattested in surviving manuscripts, and gives us precious access to what the canons there read, excerpted and pondered. Some texts may have had a role in the conflicts that engulfed Sens in the later tenth century. We also glimpse a focus on prognostication, and the manuscript offers no less than nine separate marginal texts for telling the future, particularly through dreams. The potential to see the future in dreams is also discussed, with erudite reference to classical texts, in otherwise unknown commentary or teaching texts added to the manuscript. This precious witness to the intellectual atmosphere of a key centre of Western Francia confirms that prognostication was not merely a folk practice in the Early Middle Ages, but rather a learned attempt to understand the world, which went on in dialogue with Christian teaching and classical science.

Keywords

Liturgy; Prognostication; Medieval Science; Ecclesiastical history

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Introduction

Marginal texts are unusually plentiful and diverse in the manuscript, *CITTA' DEL VATICANO*, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Reg. lat. 567¹. It was once in the library of Alexandre Petau (1610-1672), who may have acquired it from Fleury, before it became part of Queen Christina of Sweden's (1626-1689) collection, and thus came to the Reginensis collection in the Vatican Library². Palaeographically, it can be dated to the first half of the tenth century, or at the beginning of that century, while the marginal additions, as shall be demonstrated, makes it plain that it was written likely for or by the cathedral canons of Sens, and remained in use at the cathedral school there through the tenth century³. In fact, very few other manuscripts can be unambiguously located to Sens in the Early Middle Ages⁴. Though Sens was one of the most politically influential cities and bishoprics of the early medieval period, we can say relatively little for certain about ecclesiastical life in Sens, and about its clerical communities, and what they read and wrote. Nor is it easy to build up a picture of the palaeography of Sens that would help locate other manuscripts there, if these exist. Of the four other early medieval manuscripts known to be from Sens, three are liturgical, including the sumptuously decorated pontifical, *ST PETERSBURG*, Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia Biblioteka, Q. v. I. 35, written for the archbishops of Sens in the last third of the ninth century⁵. While such manu-

1 This research was undertaken during a project funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. – Projektnummer 442030444.

2 DELISLE 1886, pp. 162-166; EHRENBERGER 1897, p.186; EBNER 1896, p. 242; GAMBER 1968, p. 396, n. 866.; digitized at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.567.

3 BISCHOFF 2014, p. 432: «X. Jh, 1. Hälfte oder IX/X Jh».

4 BISCHOFF 2017, p. 185 lists six manuscripts that can be somehow associated with Sens in the ninth century, including Reg. lat. 567, but of only three does he conclude they were actually written there and none with absolute certainty.

5 On the Pontifical, BISCHOFF 2004, p. 84 « Wahrscheinlich Sens, IX Jh., 3. Drittel »; edited by STAERK 1910, pp. 151-173; also RASMUSSEN 1998, pp. 89-135; there is also another martyrology *CITTA' DEL VATICANO*, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Reg. lat. 435, fols. 1r-24v, with local Sens details in the main text, but lacking almost any marginal notices. Not identified by Bischoff explicitly is a

scripts have much of interest, and liturgical texts do need to be taken seriously as historical sources, our apprehension of Sens as an intellectual centre remains somewhat limited by this paucity⁶.

Our much plainer and more unassuming manuscript, Reg. lat. 567, possesses, however, an extra layer of interest that gives us some access to the canons of Sens which the other manuscripts do not, through its manifold marginal additions. In keeping with the potential of minitexts to record otherwise lost and vanished voices, these give us certain indications about the studies and practices of the Sens cathedral canons in the first half of the tenth century. The notices in Reg. lat. 567 are the current best attestations of the state of education, knowledge of texts, and interests of the clergy in one key ecclesiastical centre of the early medieval West Frankish kingdom during the tenth century. But the manuscript also reveals a sophisticated consideration of the potential and methods to tell the future, with particular focus on dreams. It makes it abundantly clear that the manuscript's numerous texts and methods for prognostication belonged in the same erudite clerical milieu in which the manuscript was otherwise used and annotated, including with references and citations of classical authors⁷. This challenges our preconceptions about the copyists and users of these kinds of "magical" texts. They also nuance our understanding of the place of these kinds of texts in the organisation of knowledge about the world and time in the Middle Ages, while posing questions about how we should interpret minitexts of this nature, and their relation to a liturgical and firmly Christian context that, at first glance, seems uneasy, or even possibly antithetical.

The Original Content of the Manuscript

Reg. lat. 567 comprises 57 folios, with two distinct types of content in the main text:

- **Part 1:** fols. 1-12v: A detailed calendrical martyrology that runs today from the 25th July to the 24th December, one of many descendants of the so-called

sacramentary of the end of the ninth century, today in two volumes as LONDON, British Library, Harley MS 2991 and 2992, likely written at the monastery of Saint-Columba in Sens, as the patron saint is named repeatedly, along with Lupus of Sens, and is decorated in « Franco-Saxon.» style, by an otherwise unknown atelier. This was soon in Nevers, and is noted at BISCHOFF, 2004, p. 118: « Gebiet des franko-sächsischen Stils, IX/X Jh. »; another deluxe « Franco-Saxon.» sacramentary, STOCKHOLM, Kungliga biblioteket, Holm. A 136, was also at Sens in the tenth century, and was used by the archbishops, but this was written at Saint-Amand monastery.

⁶ As undertaken e.g. by BOBRYCKI 2009 on the Pontifical's coronation *ordo*.

⁷ For the term prognostication, HEIDUK - HERBERS - LEHNER 2021, pp. 4-7.

martyrology of Jerome. It is followed by the authenticating pseudonymous letters of Chromatius of Aquileia to Jerome, and his reply.⁸ There come finally extracts of two penitentials which are attributed marginally (fols. 14v-15r) to both Egbert of York, with the extract beginning «Qui autem implere poterit quid in penitentialem scriptum est bonum est qui autem non potest consilium...». and to Saint Boniface, beginning «Item quidam dicunt in autumno hieme et inverno pro uno die c palmatas uel LXXX psalmos ualere...».⁹ The latter thus particularly concerns differences in penance according to the season, making particular sense in this context. Texts and diagrams relating to computus and astronomy end this section on fols. 15v-18. Some of these were partially erased for later additions.

As Delisle discovered, a first portion of this martyrology from 25th December to 8th June is still extant. It was originally part of the manuscript now ORLEANS, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 274, but it was stolen by Guglielmo Libri (1803-1869)¹⁰. With its restitution to France, it is today the manuscript PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouvelles Acquisitions Latins 1604¹¹. Unfortunately, someone spilled ink on the margins in several places since the copy Delisle consulted was made. One quire of the original manuscript, which lay between the two parts and would have covered the martyrology from 9th June to the 24th July, is still missing. When and how the two manuscripts were divided is not clear, but the portion that is today in Paris was held in the monastery library of Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire at Fleury in 1727 when the scholar, Abbé Jean Lebeuf (1687-1760) consulted it¹². However, the Vatican portion was already separated from it by that point, given that Petau had already acquired this in the seventeenth century.

- **Part 2:** Reg. lat. 567, fols. 19-57: A portion of a liturgical book, mass texts from the tradition of the Sacramentary. This portion has been edited by Adrian Nocent, as part of a study of baptismal rites in the archdiocese of Sens¹³.

8 *Ad Hieronymum; Ad Chromantium et Heliodorum.*

9 *Paenitentiale*, p. 601.

10 DELISLE 1886, pp. 166-167; On the Orleans MS: DELISLE 1883, pp. 47-49 and an edition of the Annals in the Appendix, pp. 67-70. As Libri had sold the manuscript on to Lord Ashburnham, DELISLE consulted a seventeenth-century copy that was still in Orleans.

11 DELISLE 1888, pp. 46-47; PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, NAL 1604 is digitized: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btvib100372893>.

12 *Lettres de l'Abbé Lebeuf*, 1867 p. 126, 132. Apparently, it had the shelfmark Fleury MS 215.

13 NOCENT 1967.

Part 2 covers a period in Lent between the mass for the third Sunday in Lent until the Saturday of the fourth week in Lent, with Latin mass sets celebrated on the days of Lent, combined with a detailed *ordo* of the baptismal scrutinies. The scrutinies were the meetings that happened during Lent, where those to be baptised, and their godparents, were exorcised, blessed and educated in the fundamentals of Christian doctrine, in preparation for baptism itself on Holy Saturday. In general, Reg. lat. 567's *ordo* for the scrutinies follows the text of *Ordo Romanus II* and the Gelasian sacramentaries¹⁴. As Nocent noted, the mass texts for Lent in Reg. lat. 567 generally also belong to the Family of the Gelasians of the Eighth Century (a type sometimes falsely regarded as liturgically outdated by this period), but, in many respects, the closest analogue is the Sacramentary made in Fulda, GÖTTINGEN, Universitätsbibliothek, cod.theol.231, dated around 975¹⁵. This is a complex liturgical book which mixes diverse traditions with great sophistication, but whose roots in Northern French liturgical compilation have remained underexplored. With the Göttingen Sacramentary, Reg. lat. 567 specifically shares an uncommon feature of this *ordo*, the introductory sermon before the first scrutiny «AD ELECTOS QUALITER DEBEAT CELEBRARE» with the incipit «Homo ille quem deus bona uoluntate condidit... » (fols. 19v-22r)¹⁶. The *ordo* in Reg. lat. 567 is unusually thorough in its representation of these scrutinies, more so than other sacramentaries and *ordines*. The scribes wrote out the lections and homilies in full, while prayers that are abbreviated elsewhere are also written out in full several times. Painstakingly, the Roman Canon of the Mass is also written out twice within this portion (fols. 30r-32v and fols. 53v-56v)¹⁷. Given the thoroughness of the representa-

¹⁴ *Ordo II* in *Ordines romani*, 1948, pp. 365-447; for new arguments that *Ordo II* is not from Rome, as was previously believed, but a Frankish compilation extracted from the sacramentary's rubrics, see WESTWELL 2024, p.140-177.

¹⁵ On the Gelasian, see VOGEL 1986, pp. 70-78; For the Göttingen Sacramentary, the edition is *Fuldense*, 1980; studies and dating in PALAZZO 1987 and WINTERER 2009.

¹⁶ *Fuldense*, pp. 330-332; edited from Reg. lat. 567 in GAMBER 1964. Here, also in GAMBER 1970, he argued that the sermon represented an extract of a lost theological work *De competentes* by Nicetas of Remensiana (d.420), but the manuscript witnesses are all late and exclusively present the text as part of the scrutiny *ordo*. It is only found in manuscripts from Northern France or drawing on sources from there, like the Fulda text, as it is also found in eleventh-century sacramentary from Nevers, PARIS Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17333. This makes the association with Nicetas unlikely.

¹⁷ This Canon is normally abbreviated in the scrutiny *ordo*, compare *Fuldense* pp. 344-345; incidentally, the prayer *Te Igitur* in both cases contains the interjection «et rege nostro», as one of the earlier examples of this intrusion of the monarch in a place previously reserved for clergy; on the significance of this, see FIGURSKI 2018, pp. 81-83.

tion of the scrutinies, and especially the complete Canon, that would be simply found at the opening of a normal mass book and was thus usually abbreviated in the texts for the scrutinies, it is quite possible that Reg. lat. 567 may not have been an portion of a once complete missal as Delisle or Nocent supposed, but rather originally an independent account of the liturgies for only the period of Lent with the scrutinies. There are also some neumes over the rubric “QUIBUS PERACTIS ITERUM ADMONENTUR A DIACONO” on fol.29r, which seem to represent, as Bannister noted, how the deacon would chant the admonitions to the catechumens that immediately follow “Orate electi. Flectite genua” and so on.¹⁸ This implies liturgical use.

The Marginalia in a School Context

Delisle and Bischoff also suggested that the two parts were the debris of two originally distinct manuscripts, though a martyrology and computus would not be unusual accompaniments to a Sacramentary, and it could also be that they originally belonged together¹⁹. The continuity in the script, appearance and preoccupation of the marginalia added in both parts of the manuscript show that these two sections were certainly united within the tenth century, when these marginalia began to be added. As we will see, we are likely to be able to locate this within a school or *scriptorium* context, both by the content and the format of many of these marginalia. Indeed, the assiduous harvesting of margins throughout could also perhaps be explained if it lay available in the *scriptorium*, and was used as needed there, including for pieces of scrap parchment. The many pen trials in the manuscript would suggest the same: Reg. lat. 567, fol. 2r «IN NOMINE DOMINI», the same on fol. 6r, or one with bizarre orthography on fol. 47r: «per poissione (sic.) sancti ioan... ». On PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 14v, «nuper fac» is even written upside down. As examples of pure miscellaneous trivia which would also suggest the ready availability of the manuscript in the *scriptorium*, we might also read the three notes on Reg. lat. 567 fol. 19r, down on the lower right margin under the indication calculation: the lowermost refers to the mother of Charles Martel, Alpaïda (c.654-c.714): «alfeida ipsa fuit...mater karoli mart(elli)», just above it comes a faded note with the visible word «dioretica», likely medicinal in nature, and

¹⁸ BANNISTER 1913, pp. 33-34.

¹⁹ DELISLE 1886, p. 162; BISCHOFF 2014, p. 241 counts PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604 and Reg. lat. 567, fols. 1-18 as a separate manuscript dated only «X. Jh?».

finally the uppermost note refers to the child whom Jesus stood in the centre of the disciples, quoting Matthew 18:3; «Quis fuit ille parvu[lus] quem statuit iesus in medio discipulorum suorum dicens [nisi] conversi fueritis [effic]amini sicut para[vuli non in]trabitis in regn[um...]gratius». It seems that, by this point, the margins of the combined martyrology/sacramentary had become a useful resource for recording scraps of information.

Memory and History in the Sens Annals

The martyrology in our manuscript is very clearly of Sens and offers enough proof of this to suppose it was likely written there. For example, on Reg. lat. 567, fol. 12v, the Carolingian re-dedication of the Cathedral of Sens is commemorated on the 10th December in the main text: «Senones dedicatio basilicae sancti stephani et matris ecclesiae tempore wainilonis constructa est»²⁰. But the additions to the martyrology inform us as well that the manuscript was still in Sens at this time the extensive marginalia were made. These include a series of annalistic texts and, especially, obits. The manuscript's marginalia as a whole have been generally dated palaeographically to the tenth century and none of these annalistic entries are dated later than this²¹. The obits include some of the ninth and tenth-century archbishops of Sens, and, in some cases, records of their ordinations as well²². Two counts of Sens, Frothar and Conrad, are mentioned, and Richard the Justiciar (858-921), father of King Rudolph (r. 923-936) and Duke of Burgundy, who was buried in Sens, was also com-

20 The reference is to a Carolingian reconsecration under Wenilo of Sens (841-847). On fol. 1v is found an interjection on the martyrs of Sens which notes that Savinian and Potentian were sent by the Pope to the same metropolis «directi eandem metropolim» and that Columba was martyred under Aurelian, with another added note saying that she was martyred «in villa qui vocatur erdona» (PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 2v). According to *Letters of Lebeuf*, p. 127, n. 4, Erdona is found at the Fontaine d'Azon in Saint Clément, and pilgrimage still occurred there in the eighteenth century.

21 NOCENT, 1967, p. 654, refers to a judgement by BISCHOFF that suggests all the marginalia are written in the course of the tenth century.

22 E.g. PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 14v «XIII kal. Aprilis. In pago Rotomogensi, sancti Uulfrani, Senonice civitatis episcopi» [c.740], and fol. 29r [now hidden by ink]: «IIII kal. Junii, Obii Egil, archiepiscopus Senonensis» [871]; BAV Reg. lat. 567, fol. 2v: «NONAS AUGUSTI. Obiit Gerlannus archiepiscopus [913] et Heldemannus archiepiscopus [958]», fol. 4v: «Obiit Guillelmus archiepiscopus» [938]; fol. 10r: «Ordinatio domni Hildemanni archiepiscopi» [954]; 11v «Obiit Gaulterii (add. majoris) archiepiscopi» [given as 921 in a later addition, though he died in 923]; fol. 12r «Ordinatio domni Gerlanii archiepiscopi» [938]; fol. 12v: «obitus Anseisi archiepiscopi» [883]; «Obiit Geremias senonicae urbis archipresul» [820]; the notes in Reg. lat. 567 were printed in JULLIOT - PROU, 1887, pp.149-152; and the obits also printed in MOLINIER 1902, pp. 1-3.

memorated²³. While there are curious omissions in who is commemorated of the tenth-century archbishops, and a certain partiality towards the Robertians may be visible, the missing quire, ink spills and lost margins makes it difficult to fully reconstruct the entire annals, and no dated event is later than the year 967, indicating that the entries probably ceased to be updated during or soon after that year²⁴. Finally, three further references to attacks, sieges and disasters in Sens in the tenth century continue on fol. 17r, the page with the computus material where there was originally an Easter table, which would have been a reference point for these historical events²⁵. As the Easter Table was mostly erased to make way for some later additions, these now hover marginally.

Among the more extensive marginalia in the martyrology are two references to a particular Church of Sens dedicated to the Saviour «in Campo Lango», and to a donor who was also provost of a community. They use an **at** ligature, also used commonly in the main text.

PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 2r: Pridie nonas Ianuarii. Senonis, dedicatio ecclesiae Sancti Salvatoris quae est in Campo Lango sita.

(trans: the day before the nones of January (4th January), the dedication of the Church of Saint-Sauveur which is found in the Campo Longo)

PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 2v: Anno incarnati Verbi DCCCCLXI, vii idus Ianuarii, obiit Bernardus, prepositus noster, qui dedit ecclesiae sancti Salvatoris que sita est in Campo Longo alodium in suburbio civitatis Senonsis, in loco qui dicitur Fossa Pascasii arp. I et in alio loco non longe abhinc campum qui vocatur Campus Rotundus, et ad stipendia, qui et iacet in Planciaco villa totam et ad integrum.

(trans: In the year of the Incarnation of the Word 961, on the seventh day after the ides of January (20th January), Bernardus, our provost, died. He gave to the church of Saint-Sauveur, which is in Campo Longo, alodium in a suburb of the city of Sens, in the place which is called

23 PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 15v «Obitus Couradi comitis ipsius civitatis» [882], Reg. lat. 567, fol. 4r: «obiit Frothmundus comes sennonensis» [948]; fol. 7v «obitus Ricardi comitis» [921]. The latter is listed as Count of Autun, identical to the notice in a necrology of Auxerre, in which the same death date of 1st September is also given (LEBEUF, 1860, p.17). He was father of King Rudolph (King 923-936), who might have been commemorated in the lost portion.

24 The mentioned archbishops of the tenth century, for example, were those closest to the Robertians, especially William (Archbishop 932-938), Gerland (Archbishop 938-954) and Hildemann (Archbishop 954-958) and only Odo (King 888-898) is named of the kings of the late ninth and tenth century (PARIS NAL 1604, fol. iv: «Obitus Odonis regis nostri»). BOBRYCKI 2009 discusses the partiality of the Archbishops of Sens against Carolingian claimants.

25 Reg. lat. 567, fol. 17r: «Hungari sennis uenerunt» [937] and «Senonis kalendas ianuarii ciuitas capta est a Ualtario et Gualone et sanguis...» [941]. A reference on Reg. lat. 567, fol. 18v, probably to a flood, is partially preserved «quoque anno ascendunt [...] magnitudinis [...] per Sequanam usque [...] Ledunensem Castum» (Château-Landon). The year meant is 961, according to the astrological notice above.

Fossa Pascasii, of one arpentum²⁶, and in another place not far from there, the field which is called the Campus Rotondus, and, as a stipend, that which lies in the town of Plancy, completely and in its entirety.)

The church mentioned is likely to be Saint-Sauveur-les-Vignes, founded by Magnus of Sens (Archbishop 800-818) which lay slightly outside the medieval city, but was destroyed in the eighteenth century²⁷. Historically this church served as the mausoleum for the cathedral clergy of Sens. Other churches in and around Sens were also mentioned²⁸.

In fact, these annals in our martyrology share an original ninth-century core with the *Annales sanctae columbae sennonensis* edited by Pertz, which are found in the margins of the easter table of a canonical and computistical manuscript, CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Reg. lat. 755²⁹. This is the final known manuscript which was at Sens in the ninth and the tenth century, and the only known non-liturgical manuscript likely to have been written there. Pertz located these annals to the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Columba of Sens, as the church of Saint-Columba is mentioned several times here, but these are specifically entries which the Saint-Columba annals do not share with those in Reg. lat. 567. The latter was, it seems, produced not at Saint-Columba, but at another centre in Sens, but based on a common source with the Saint-Columba text. The first layer of Annals, which both manuscripts share, is royal and Carolingian, and concerns the ninth century and earlier (Dagobert, Pippin, Charlemagne, Louis the Pious and Alcuin's obits are given in both texts), along with astronomical events in 806 and 808. The latest entry they share is the most dramatic one, an account of famine and cannibalism in the city in the year 868³⁰. After this date, the two Annals di-

²⁶ DELISLE 1883, p. 64, not working from the original manuscript, has here «Fosso Pescasii Arpii», but the e is incorrect, and the abbreviation «arp. I» refers actually to the arpentum, which is a measure of a vineyard see KOWALEWSKY 1902, p. 382, n. 1.

²⁷ FISQUET 1864, p. 21.

²⁸ PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 3r, the burial of the first bishops of Sens, Honobertus and Honulfus «requiescat autem in ecclesia sancti Desiderii qui est in suburbio senonensis» (today Église Sainte-Mathieu in Sens); Reg. lat. 567, fol. 4r «dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Dionisii Valliacensis» (most likely Saint-Denis-les-Sens) and fol. 9v «Castronantonis dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Seuerini abbatis monasterii agaunensis» (Château-Landon).

²⁹ *Annales sanctae columbae sennonensis*; manuscript is digitized at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.755.

³⁰ PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 4r: «XV kalendas Februarii. Anno incarnati Domini DCC-CLXVIII, indictione I cometes apparuit circa IIII kal. Februarii, dies circiter XXII, primo sub temone minoris arcturi, deinde progressa est pene usque ad triangulum. Exstitit eo anno fames et

verge. In our manuscript, the first layer of the Annals that is shared with Saint-Columba, is written in darker, thicker ink, and with a more regular script. The additional entries beyond the shared core are written in fainter ink and more cursive. This suggests at least two campaigns of entering annals into the manuscript. The earlier layer drew on a source common to the Saint-Columba Annals. The second one began to fill in more particular events and commemorations. The second layer includes most of the obits of the Sens archbishops and the mentions of specific Sens churches. These notices clearly were records of an ecclesiastical community, and likely of their friends and donors³¹. Apart from one abbot, none are named as monks, but the majority were in Holy Orders, including archdeacons, deans and provosts, which suggests we are dealing with the cathedral clergy³². Interestingly, some of those recorded were also active as priests in specific churches, and in villages outside of Sens like Baissey.

Beyond the annals, another note adds further historical details of events specific to the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne of Sens. This is written in a rougher

mortalitas inaudita per totam fera imperium Francorum....etc.». The famine came to an end during the Rogations; compare *Annales sanctae columbae senonensis*, p.103.

31 E.g. PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 1r: «Obitus Ardradi presbiteri», to which was added «932 anno Domini dedit nobis vineam in Basciaco» (today Baissey) and fol. 26v «XVI Kalendas IUNII obiit Anseisus laicus anno incarnatione domini dccccl. qui nobis aream dedit infra mures ciuitatis sennonensis qui de matre adquisiuit», fol. 28r «VII Kalendas iunii. Obiit Adalmannus archipresbiteri fratris Aglemundis propositi nostri, qui nobis in proprio fundo constructam dedit capellam quando suscepit a congregatione prebendam in uilla qui uocatur Curtis Morunculi in honore sancti Andrea et sancti Gengulfi dicatae» (today Courmononcle), also Reg. lat. 567, fol. 11v: «XII Kalendas ianuariis. Obiit Ragenarius laicus qui nobis dedit anzingam unam de terra (...) in suburbio civitatis senonensis in loco qui vocatur Mercatellum». We can likely assume other laypeople were friends of the cathedral, as in three dated entries on fol. 11r «Anno incarnationis domini dcccxxi KALENDAS MARTII obiit Gunduinus laicus» [921] and «Anno incarnationis domini dcccclvii. XI kalendis aprilis feria II obiit Ingelbertus laicus» [946] and fol. 29r «Pridie kalendas iunii obiit Lambertus laicus anno domini dcccclxvii» [967]. Some women also appear, as on fol. 7v «obiit Rodelindis deo sacrata» and «XVII Kalendis Iunii obiit Ermengardis de Masliaco domina anno domini dcccclv» [955], apparently a lady from Malay-le-Grand.

32 PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 3v «Anno incarnationis domini nostri iesu christi dccccl[?] xvii kalendas februaryi obiit Aiardus decanus et presbiter» and «Anno incarnationis domini nostri dcccclxi XVI kalendas februaryi die dominica ora prima Ainfridi sancti Praeicti presbiter obiit» [961]; fol. 4r: «Obiit XVI Kalendas februaryi Gerbaldus presbiter dedit nobis alodium in pagis senonico in uilla [...].nias et Aaron presbiter in Basciaco et Ago presbiter obiit»; fol. 4v «Anno incarnationis domini dccccli xii kalendas FEBROARII obiit Ratgisus presbiter atque decanus». [951]; fol. 14v «Obitus Iohannis archidiaconis» and fol. 15r «Obitus Eadaldi presbiteri et Ermandi diaconi» fol. 16v «Obiit Constantinus presbiter», fol. 21v «obitus Prodagii archidiaconi III Kalendas Mai»; Reg. lat. 567, fol. 2r: «Obitus Adam archidiaconi»; fol. 4r «Obit Uuarembertus leuita», fol. 9r «Obiit Fulcho subdiaconus», fol. 12r «obitus Rothardi presbiteri» and «Commemoratio Anthelmi et Rathari presbiteri archidiaconi» etc.

hand than the annalistic entries, with a thinner, spikier aspect, and in larger script. In the first line, the note seems to refer to an altar or perhaps a crucifix with the image of the Saviour on it³³. In the second line, the note discusses a linden tree («tillium», here «tillum») that was planted presumably in front of the Cathedral.

PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fols. 23v-24v (over the upper margin of two facing pages): Bernelmus et Bernunius habuerunt nomini qui vultum saluatoris qui est in ecclesia sancti stephani sennensis ecclesiae fecerunt. Richoius habuit nomen qui tillum sancti stephani sennensis ecclesiae plantatavit [sic.] et fuit vicedominus ipsius ecclesiae.

(trans: Bernelmus and Bernunius are famed for having made the image of the saviour that is in Saint Stephen's Church in Sens. Richoius is famed that he planted the linden tree of the church of Saint Stephen, and he was vicedominus of that church)

Therefore, it seems most likely that our manuscript was available to the Sens canons in the tenth century, and the notices were likely written by clergy writing and learning there. The martyrology was still serving a memorialising function for the community into the second half of the tenth century. But the margins were also put to much more varied use, in the other notes to which we now turn.

Ritual Life and Conflict in the Cathedral Close

First of all, some of the marginal notes reflect on the ritual and intellectual life of the same community. During the martyrology, customs for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday were described in a degraded note.

PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 16v: [In ce]na domini debemus [leg]ere. p[as]cha hebrorum nomen est grecum [...] Smaragdinum. [In para]sceue...tres libros legere debemus. primum lamentationes Ieremiae [secund]o libro Casiodoro. Eripe me de inimicis meis. tercio in Smaragdinum. Conuenientes ad stacionem (sic.) ecclesiae matris lectum contemlemus crucis.

(trans: On Maundy Thursday we are permitted to read: *pascha hebrorum nomen est grecum*...from Smaragdus. On Good Friday we are allowed to read three books. First the lamentations of Jeremiah, secondly in the book of Cassiodorus *Eripe me de inimicis meis* (presumably from his *Expositio in Psalterium* on Psalm 59). Thirdly in Smaragdus. Having read, we convene at the station in the main church, and we contemplate the cross.)

³³ Lebeuf even suggested this could refer to the medieval «table d'or», that was then still in Sens, see *Lettres de l'Abbé Lebeuf*, 1867, p. 132; and more boldly conclusive at LEBEUF 1838, p. 137; The «table d'or», which was probably actually from the twelfth century, was destroyed in 1760, see FAVREAU 2001.

The reference to a «statio», (station) in the cathedral on Good Friday implies that the clergy of Sens undertook stational liturgies during Holy Week, in line, for example, with those assumed by Chrodegang of Metz's Rule and part of urban liturgical life in many centres³⁴. By «Smaragdinum», the note meant the homiletical literature of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel (c.770-840), as Cassiodorus was read as well on Good Friday and as the quotation in the first part «pascha hebroeorum nomen est (non) graeca» is the incipit for the homily on Maundy Thursday from Smaragdus' *Collectiones in epistolas et evangelia*³⁵. Quite in another part of the manuscript, the same text is also quoted in another marginal note by the Lenten masses of Reg. lat. 567, fol. 22v. Here, it has no clear relation to this context at all, as the portion of Smaragdus quoted refers to the reading of the Epistle of James during the mass for the Great Litany held on the 25th April:

SMARAGDUS. Iacobus ille qui frater domini nominatus est filius Alfei fuit. tres enim sorores fuerunt Maria mater domini et mater Ioseph et mater filiorum Zebedei. tante enim sanctitatis iste Iacobus fuisse narratur . ut propter eius necem dicat Iosephus subversam esse Iherusalem. hic autem post passionem domini anno xxxmo suum feliciter consumavit martirium³⁶.

(Trans: SMARAGDUS: This James, who is called the brother of the Lord, was son of Alfeus. Three of whose sisters were Mary Mother of God, and the mother of Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee. It was said that so great was the holiness of this James, that Josephus said Jerusalem was conquered because of his death. But 30 years after the passion of the Lord, he was joyfully martyred).

The note witnesses the use of Smaragdus by the canons of Sens, particularly in Holy Week, adding to evidence of the canonical, as well as monastic, employment of the *collectiones*³⁷. The reference to James was more likely extracted from the text as mere trivia, as in other examples above.

A further addition contains a sequence of Chants for the Offices of the evening, among a number of such lists found in many manuscripts and, classed as minitexts, within the purview of the project. Like others, it is untitled and unassigned. But this is potentially the sole witness to chant in Sens in the Early Middle Ages at all, as no musical manuscripts survive from there either.

Reg. lat. 567, fol. 24v right and lower margin: Beginning «Ad uesperas . v[ersus] Dirigat A[ntiphona] Nereminis caris.... ». The first group of chants, such as «Deus qui sedes» (<https://>

³⁴ CLAUSSEN pp. 277-289; on stational liturgy in general, BALDOVIN 1987.

³⁵ *Collectiones in Epistolas*, col. 203.

³⁶ *Collectiones in Epistolas*, col. 305

³⁷ WITTERS 1975, p. 364.

cantusindex.org/id/006433) or «Dominus pars» (<https://cantusindex.org/id/006002>) are associated principally with ordinary Sundays of the year. The group at the end for Lauds and Vespers («Sero ad Uesperas») like «Sacerdotes Dei» (<https://cantusindex.org/id/004675>) or «Fidelis seruus» (<https://cantusindex.org/id/001634>) tend to be drawn from antiphons for the common of a confessor.

A final liturgical text added is more unusual and striking, but certainly bore directly on the defence and independence of the cathedral. This is a formula for ecclesiastical malediction.

Reg. lat. 567, fols. 48v-49r: «MALEDICTIO ADUERSUS ECCLESIAE DEI persecutores directa in galliis ab domno papae. Cognoscat uniuersalis ecclesiae hostes seuissimos et tyrannos improbos aduersarios et persecutores pessimos sancta dei ecclesiae eorumque commilitones ecclesiaticarum rerum peruasores...».

This text employs the same ecclesiastical cursing formula added after 977 to a Pontifical of Sens, ST PETERSBURG, Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia Biblioteka, Q. v. I. 35, fols. 105v-106r.³⁸ But Reg. lat. 567 incorporated this into a more detailed account of the entire excommunication ceremony. Our text includes rubrics and various details of the dramatic ceremony, such as «Teneant omnes lucernas in manu atque extinguant dicentes sicut extinguitur». Unlike in the case of the Pontifical, the marginal text in Reg. lat. 567 does not name the particular persecutors or describe the exact instance surrounding the persecution, and it gives the text a false history as an apparently papal use. According to the Pontifical's naming of perpetrators, the ceremony was originally devised under Archbishop Seguin (Archbishop 978-999) against Count Rainaud the Old (Count 948-996) and his son Frotmund (Count 996-1012), who prevented him from taking up his seat. It was written at that point or soon after, with the names of the excommunicated, into the lavish Pontifical devised in the ninth century and used by the Archbishops of Sens. This same text was apparently adapted into a now fully organised and broadly applicable ceremony copied into Reg. lat. 567, a manuscript that was principally a resource for the canons³⁹.

On Reg. lat. 567, fol. 27r there are also two canon law citations which would seem thematically to belong to that same period of lay persecution, as

³⁸ Malediction formula in LITTLE 1993, pp. 35-36, 72 also fig.4., partly edited from the Pontifical on pp. 254-255; HAMILTON 2019, pp. 291-292 and n. 80.

³⁹ LITTLE 1993 sees some relevance to the fact that the excommunication is copied in Reg. lat. 567 in the margins surrounding the text of the Creed, read during the third Lenten scrutiny. The homily that follows in the scrutiny explained that the Creed was an «invincible weapon» against the devil. Also, the ritual of excommunication might also have taken place during a Mass, just after the Creed was said.

well as episcopal depredation. The first long citation claims to be from the Council of Chalcedon «In concilio calcidonensis capitulo xxiitio. pastores gregem sibi commissum non ut proprium sed ite dominicum servare debent. Quia sunt plerique qui non paternum affectum crica gregem affectum...», and calls bishops to care of their dioceses and not their personal enrichment. But it was actually decreed in the Carolingian Council that took place in Paris in 829, and not at Chalcedon at all⁴⁰. Below on the same page, a shorter quote cites from the Council of Carthage: «Quisquis vero episcoporum presbiterorum vel clericorum cum in ecclesia (sic.) ei fuerit crimonus institutum... », and indicates that clergymen should not be tried in civil courts⁴¹.

In the Sens context of the second half of the tenth century, the first citation, with the attestation to Chalcedon, could have been directed at the notorious Archbishop Archembaudus (Archbishop 958-967), successor of Hildemann and pointedly not commemorated in our manuscript's martyrology. In the chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, written around 1108, Archembaudus was accused of selling the church's goods, as well as lodging his hunting dogs and falcons in the cloisters⁴². In the same chronicle, it is even described how a certain «canonicus Cadacher nomine, studiosus in philosophia» rebuked the archbishop by citing to him an inscription in Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, claimed to have been written by Venantius Fortunatus (c.540-c.610)⁴³. Meanwhile the same chronicle suggests that the next Archbishop, the saintly Anastasius (Archbishop 967-977), was persecuted by the Count Rainard the Old, the same count who was later excommunicated by Archbishop Seguin for preventing him from entering the city⁴⁴. Perhaps among such unspecified persecutions were attempts to try clergy in civil courts. These various depredations in the second half of the tenth century may provide some context for the interest of the canons in these canonical citations. They present the manuscript Reg. lat. 567 as a venue for collecting useful knowledge, and the presence of the excommunication rite, in particular, implies that this collection included texts that

⁴⁰ *Concilium Parisiense*, pp. 627-628.

⁴¹ *Concilia Africae*, p. 105.

⁴² *Chronicon sancti Petri vivi senonensis*, pp. 348-349 «uillas ornamentaque uendans, male distribuit, reliqua in usus proprios retinuit». At *Ibid.*, pp. 378-379, the chronicle also says that the election of Archbishop Leotheric (999-1032) was also opposed by some canons, though it does not specify why.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 360-361.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 356-357: «Multam etenim persequutionem sustinuit patienter a Rainardo comitis uetulo et ab aliis non Deum timentibus»; also pp. 364-365, reiterated on pp. 392-393.

served directly to defend the canons' rights and privileges in a historical moment. The particularly sustained and vicious rivalry of the archbishops with successive Counts of Sens seems to have spurred the Archbishop of Sens to devising and writing new texts, the excommunication rite of Seguin being quite an extraordinary witness. The canonical clergy of Sens were often caught between the two, vulnerable to both, and these two citations may have been among the resources mustered and pondered during this time by members of the community like the learned Cadacher.

Science and Literature among the Canons of Sens

The above treatment of certain of the marginalia has proven that the combined martyrology/sacramentary was variously available to the canons of Sens in the course of the tenth century. It first of all commemorated donors, friends and members of the community. It also was used to jot down some texts, which suggest the canons were using the margins as resources for practical purposes. Above, I supposed a *scriptorium* setting for the manuscript, due to the harvesting of parchment and pen trials. The consultation of authorities for the practical purposes noted above may have taken place in that setting. The further and extensive use of the text's margins to collect scientific knowledge is a further clue and the presence of the calendar explains the preoccupation of many of the notes with general knowledge about time and months.

For example, to each month of the year marginal notes referring to its names in Hebrew and Greek were added. One layer of additions in rustic capitals concern the four seasons, Reg. lat. 567, fol. 3r «AUTUMNUS INICIUM. HABET DIES XCI», and astrological notices fol. 5r «SOL IN UIRGINEM». These are continuous between the Paris and Vatican manuscripts, e.g. also in PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 7r «VERIS INITIUM HABET XCI DIES» and fol. 8v: «SOL IN PISCES». Other notes in minuscule recapitulate useful tidbits of information on the year's cycle, by February on PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 6r, we read: «Nox habet hora XV; Dies VIII» and on fol. 8r: «dies anni in idus februarii sunt xliii». These also continue into Reg. lat. 567 «Nox habet VIII; dies XVI».

There are also extracts from works of Alcuin and Isidore on leap years, placed at the end of February, Alcuin on PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 10r: «De MATERIA BIS SEXTI ID EST QUADRANTE Si nosse vis quomodo ille quadrans naturaliter ex horarum...» from Alcuin's *De Cursu et Salta Lunae* and Isidore on fol. 9v «ARGUMENTA DE BISSEXTO. Bissexus est per an-

nos IIII... » from the *Etymologiae* Liber VI, 17⁴⁵. On fol. 12r, Isidore's *Etymologiae* Liber V, 33: «Nundinae sunt publicae conuentiones...» is used to explain the term «*nones*»⁴⁶.

Notice of the Days of Creation were also included, employing Bede's *De temporum ratione*, at PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fols. 14r-v, and indicated as having taken place from the 19th (the second) to 23rd March (the sixth), e.g. on fol. 14r: «Secunda, firmamentum coeli in medio libravit aquarum». The same text was also quoted to discuss the moon's phases on Reg. lat. 567, fol. 17r: «De LUNA CURSU PER SIGNA. Luna cotidie quatuor punctis siue crescens...»⁴⁷. Extracts from an anonymous treatise also concerning the moon are found fol. 16r: «in uno quoque signo luna moratur ii diebus et vi horis...» and another from another anonymous text *De argumentis luna* on fol. 12r: «De Natiuitate Lune XIII Quota luna in kal. Ianuarii eodem anno fuerit tot dies tolle de Martio...»⁴⁸.

Otherwise, these additions are anonymous and unattributed, but of clear and obvious utility, summarising Carolingian general knowledge. Most of them seem to be the work of a single hand, with dark ink, and they use an uncial **d** and Anglo-Saxon abbreviation of **et**. They continue onto the first page of the Sacramentary portion, where the same style is employed to write a calculation of the indiction, at Reg. lat. 567, fol. 19r: «AD INDICATIONEM INUENIENDAM. Quota sit autem indictio eminebus. si annis ab incarnatione domini...», giving a date of 838, so from an older source⁴⁹. Under the computus table is also an exercise dealing with the months Reg. lat. 567, fol. 16r: CONCORDIA MENSIVUM «Iannuarium cum decembrio. Febroarius cum nouembrio currit. Martius octobrium picit. Aprilis cum septembris. Maius augustum imitatur. Iunium comparet iulio. taliter xii mensis concordant in oris». In the same way, there is some information about locating Easter next to some of the Lenten Masses in the Sacramentary: Reg. lat. 567, fol. 19r «[...]initium quadragesimae inuenies infra viii kalendas febuarii [...]marcii hub[...] II fuerit.[...]pascalem inuenies infra xii kalendas aprilis et xiv kalendas mai hubinima fu[er]it xiiii.».

The same broadly anonymous literature about the months likely supplied some of the trivia about each of the first four months in the Paris portion, sadly

⁴⁵ *De cursu et saltu lunae*, col. 998-999; *Etymologiae* I, p. 229.

⁴⁶ *Etymologiae* I, p. 194.

⁴⁷ *De temporum ratione*, pp. 337-339 and p. 464.

⁴⁸ *De Argumentis luna*; also SPRINGSFELD 2002, pp. 337-338.

⁴⁹ DELISLE 1886, p. 165.

quite degraded in every case which clearly gives their names in Hebrew, Greek and Egyptian, and where they fell in the year for each of these peoples, e.g. for February PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 6r: «Februaris est secundus mensis romanorum. Undecimus mensis est hebreorum... », but the extract on February rather extraordinarily quotes or paraphrases Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, with an added christianised sentiment, given in my quote in bold: «[Secundum mensem dicavit Februo] Deo qui Plutone vocatus est qui lustrationum potens esse credebatur **apud gentiles** lustrarique autem eo mense civitatem [hecesse erat]». This portion of Macrobius was also used, but is differently formulated, in Bede's *Opera de temporibus*, and our text is independent of Bede⁵⁰. For, unlike Bede, the note then refers expressly to Macrobius' description of the pagan festival of Lupercalia in February in the following line, «[...] erat velut Macrobius dicit a febris sacris lupercorum et lurconum qui prae inmundiciis totius anni lauabantur.... »⁵¹. No source for this text, which has sadly degraded and has ink spilled on it, could be found, suggesting the annotator, or the author of the text from which the note was copied, may have directly excerpted Macrobius.

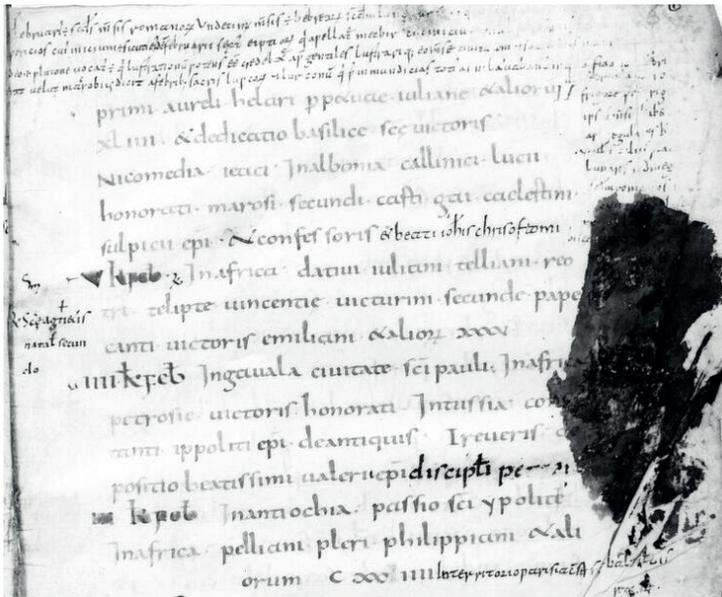


Fig. 1. Marginal notes about the month of February in the Sens Martyrology (tenth century). PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat.1604, fol. 6r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

⁵⁰ *Opera de Temporibus*, p. 207.

⁵¹ Quotation from *Saturnalia* I, 13 and *Saturnalia* I, 16, 6 at *Saturnalia*, p. 80.

There are several more unusual sources for general knowledge from classical texts:

- The fourth or fifth century *De Re Rustica* or *Opus agriculturae* of Palladius, Book VII, chapter X is also excerpted on fol. 21v, for a longer extract on the subject of agriculture: «QUALITER FRUCTUM VENTUORUM EXPER[IMEN]TA SUMANTUR. Greci assurant egyptios hoc more... salutem primi sit»⁵².
- Two further explorations of natural phenomena lie in the upper portion of fol. 19r. Both come from the Roman *Agrimensores* (the fifth century land surveys also known as the *Gromatici veterus*): «hora constat ex V punctis X minutis XV partibus XL momentis. LX ostentis» and «uincia est XII pars momenti»⁵³.

Next to them, and in the same hand, is a definition of an obscure Greek term.

«epicinii dies dicitur triumphales . epicinion autem triumphum palmamque significet».
(trans. *epicinii* are called triumphal days. but *epicinion* means triumph and palm).

The part with the second definition is basically the same as the definition from the prologue of Jerome's commentary *In Danielis*, which was also quoted by Bede's *De temporum ratione*, but the first definition is not found in either text⁵⁴.

Along with classical and biblical sources, Carolingian poetry was also excerpted into useful titbits. In the martyrology portion, the introductory clauses of two lines each concerning the labours of each month from the metrical martyrology by Wandelbert of Prum (c.830-850) were also taken up and copied. These introductory clauses appear here without the continuing description of the months' saints in the original text, each added marginally near the beginning of the month in question, thus Reg. lat. 567, fol. 7v, near the beginning of September: «Miti september pregustans pocula baccho. Quos aris uenerando colat memor et qui canemus»⁵⁵. These form another layer of additions that is significantly more cursive. Possibly belonging to the same layer is yet more exploration of computus, also in poetic form, at Reg. lat. 567, fol. 21v, an anonymous poem also used in Hrabanus Maurus' *Liber de Computu*:

⁵² *De agriculturae*, pp. 294-296.

⁵³ Both quoted by FRIEDLEIN 1869, p. 61, found in a Munich manuscript of the *Gromatici*.

⁵⁴ *In Danielis*, col. 620; *De temporum ratione*, p. 543.

⁵⁵ *Martyrologium*, pp. 578-602.

«Non. Aprilis norunt quinos//Octenae Kalendas assi depromunt//Idus Aprilis etiam sexis...»⁵⁶.

Especially striking are three citations of the *Natural History* of Pliny, describing the movement of the stars in October, laid out in an inverted triangle form at the upper margin of Reg. lat. 567, fol. 9r, and thus partly cut from the top (Pliny, *Natural History*, Liber XVIII, c.74): «Caesari fulgens in corona stella exoritur» and «[VII. id.] Oct. Atticae corona exoritur mane», and in the left margin «hedi [sic. haedi] occidunt vespere»⁵⁷. These appear at the beginning of October, and are thus part of the gathering of all kinds of knowledge about this month. A third triangle shaped citation of Pliny on the same subject is found on PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 12v: « orion exoritur et in atica.... ». This triangle form is also employed for some obits, e.g. PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 23v. Another triangle note in the same hand is found on Reg. lat. 567, fol. 10v: «Aegyptius mensis primum uocatus est Frofi», using an **at** ligature and abbreviation of **est**, **pri**, **men** and **tus**. In fact, the same ligatures are used directly below in the martyrology, particularly the **at** ligature, which adds evidence that main text and abbreviations were undertaken in the same place, that is, in *Sens* itself. Pliny was also used for astrological notices entered into the margins of the martyrology next to the dates Pliny indicated: PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 2r, «delfinus exoritur matutino» next to the 4th January, as in Pliny and, below it «fidicula matutino exoritur»⁵⁸.

But perhaps most interesting of all, given the presence of texts for prognostication elsewhere, is the note found in the upper margin of Reg. lat. 567, fol. 13r. This represents another more extensive quotation from Pliny's *Natural History*, Liber XVIII, c.79: «Nascens luna si cornu superiore strato [sic. obstrato] surget, pluuias....si nigra pluuias potendere creditur in XV. Cornua eius obtusa [pluuiam]», using many of the same ligatures⁵⁹. This is Pliny's own description of prognostication from the shape of the moon. It is not clear if the Pliny texts were, like some other notes, originally attributed to him, as the upper margins of the manuscript are all trimmed.

Thus, the manuscript contains a formidable arsenal of extracts from authorities, exploring, from various perspectives, the passage of time and early medieval understanding of the natural world, building on classical knowledge,

⁵⁶ *Liber de computu*, p. 719.

⁵⁷ *Naturalis historia*, p. 384.

⁵⁸ *Naturalis historia*, pp. 336-337.

⁵⁹ *Naturalis historia*, pp. 406-407.

but also excerpting and arranging the varied anonymous and pseudonymous literature on these subjects. It is difficult to say if all of these extracts were prepared and excerpted by the canons of Sens themselves, or simply found in other calendrical or computus manuscripts they had available. Nevertheless, there were clearly several campaigns of writing to add them, the activity of a number of scribes, which suggests, at the very least, consultation of several exemplars and sustained interest in these subjects.

Instruction in the Cathedral School

But there are, as well, some literary texts in the margins that have no obvious or plausible relation to the main text of the manuscript at all and do not bear on scientific measurement or calculating and understanding time. These, however, suggest a school context, and disclose a range of interesting texts that were available and of interest in that environment in Sens.

One striking example is a citation of another classical text, a quotation from Terence's *Eunuchus* Act 3, Scene I.

Reg. lat. 567, fol. 17v, in the upper margin: «tute lepes [sic. lepus] es et pulpamentum queris?»⁶⁰.

(trans. Are you a hare and yet seek game?).

There is also a partial copy of a Carolingian alphabetical poem about the martyrdom of Pope Alexander in a portion of the martyrology, otherwise attested in only one other manuscript. Each verse begins with a different letter, but this copy goes only up until the letter C. It originally spread over the previous page, whose upper portion is entirely trimmed, and we have only half of two lines, as well as ink damage to the end.

PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 21r: «[...]tis ornauerat . Agregauit casti christi bellatorum humilia. Bellatorum [...] corona inperhenni. Gloria. Claret cunctis armenensem [sic. Hermen esse] tali de colle[...]»⁶¹.

Some devotion to Alexander is suggested in that, later (fol. 22v), his name and his two companions Eventus and Theodulus are highlighted with crosses, but no specific reason for it at Sens could be advanced.

⁶⁰ *Eunuchus*, p. 119.

⁶¹ DÜMMLER 1880, pp. 152-153, which Dümmler found the poem also partially preserved up until the letter M in BERN, Burgerbibliothek, MS 102, fol. 200v under the title «*INCIPUNT VERSUS PER ALFABETUM CONPOSITI*».

Other notes concern Christian teachings, drawing from biblical and late antique hagiographical and homiletical literature, again with some rather rare texts evidently available. First is an extract from a fragmentary *Sententia*, possibly by Veranus, Bishop of Cavaillon (d.590) as part of a council on priestly chastity, which Sirmond edited from a single manuscript in Saint-Germain⁶².

Reg. lat. 567, fol. 14r: «VERANUS EPISCOPUS DIXIT. Utilior enim est in ecclesia pauc[orum] bonorum elect[a] congregatio . quam erraticae multitudinis presentia conglobata».

(trans. It is more useful to have in the church a chosen congregation of the few good people, than to have gathered together the presence of the whole erratic mob).

On fol. 22v (below the citation of Smaragdus), there are two unattributed quotations from hagiographical texts, one said by Germanus of Auxerre on the subject of the Last Judgement at the tomb of Saint Cassian in the *Life of the latter*:

«Ut autem tubae cantum exoptati (sic. expotati) clangoris sonum [ac sacrae] resurrectionis. Gaudia obtinere mereamus. Et pro nobis et pro hac plebe ut tantum intercede ad dominum iesum christum. Amen».⁶³

(trans: In order that we may be worthy to attain the joy of the holy resurrection and the sound of the longed-for blast of the trumpet. And intercede for us and for this people to the Lord Jesus Christ.)

The second quote is said by Saint Tibertius to Fabian in the *Acts of Saint Sebastian*, cap.XII:

«Revera hoc christianum vocabulum divinae virtutis est, sectatorum videlicet Christi, qui vere philosophati sunt qui [vere] Christiani iudicati sunt, qui [ad ob]terendas libidines [for]titer militarunt. Credisne, hunc esse christ[iani] qui in lenocinio [sui] molliendo capitatis fibras [com]mittit, qui tonsorem diligit, qui scapulas molliter gestit, qui fluxum gressum improbo nisu[sic. nisi] distendit, qui viros neglegenter agit, feminas diligentium intuetur. Numquam tales [Christus habere] dignatus est servos»⁶⁴.

(trans: Truly this term Christian refers to divine virtue, namely the followers of Christ, who are true philosophers, who have been judged to be true Christians, who have fought bravely to conquer their desires. Do you believe this person to be Christian who entrusts the fibres of his hairs to be softened by luxury, who esteems the barber, who carries himself delicately, who extends his languid steps with improper care, who deals negligently with men and gazes diligently at women? Christ has never deemed such people worthy to be his servants)

⁶² *Sententia*.

⁶³ *Vita cassiani*, p. 65.

⁶⁴ *Acta sancti Sebastiani*, p. 641.

Like the canonical citations, this second quote might have had practical use in a debate or rebuke of a worldly prelate, as in the case of the canon Cadacher who used the citation of Fortunatus to rebuke Archbishop Agembaudus.

Many of these additions appear to be school texts. Like the scientific examples, they encompass a range of texts from the classical to the broadly contemporary. Some have clear moral or religious meaning, which may, as suggested, have played a role in moral admonition, but especially the citation of Terence discloses that these were also likely exercises in practice of the Latin language.

A further set of notes seem to belong in the same context, yet, currently, cannot be attributed to a known source. First, on fol. 15v is a discussion of a type of large grapes («bumastae») mentioned by Virgil in the *Georgics*, and their resemblance to the udders of a cow, but a source for it has not yet been discovered⁶⁵. It runs:

Bumastae genus est uvis habens magnos racemos ad similitudinem mamillarum vaccae autem dicuntur bumastae quasi mammillarum vaccae.

(trans. *Bumastae* is a type of grapes that has large fruits which are similar to the udders of a cow and are called *bumastae* like the udders of a cow).

Directly underneath this is another text for which a source could not be found, but which explores the theme of prognostication again, this time referring to augury by birds⁶⁶.

Queritur quaere homines non possunt futuram prescire sicuti aves vel cur plus in illis sensus corpore iad praenosceda futura vigeant quid in hominibus qui ratione utuntur. ad quod dicendum quia avibus naturaliter in situm est ut pro qualitate aeros mutantur et quod nequeunt ratione. gestu et motu suo pandant homines vero pro voto suo. graves vel leti fiunt. et idcirco plus in illis quid in avibus viget rationalis sensus

(trans: You ask why humans cannot foresee the future like birds and why the latter in their corporal senses succeed in foreseeing the future more than those of humans, who use reason. To which it is said that this is because birds are naturally inclined to change their location according to the quality of the air, which they cannot do through reason. Humans, on the other hand, change motion or gesture by their choice and become serious or joyful. Therefore, the rational sense prospers more in them than in the birds.)

This note uses a form of shorthand, where vowels are sometimes represented by dots: one dot for a, two for e, three for i, four for o and five for u, which rendered interpretation of the obscure note more difficult. The same

⁶⁵ Compare the commentary by Servius on the *Georgics*, Liber II, line 102 «bumaste uva in mammae bovis similitudinem». In *Vergilii*, p. 228.

⁶⁶ On avimancy, RAPISARDA in HEIDUK - HERBERS - LEHNER 2021, pp. 439-440.

technique is visible in an even less legible note in the upper corner of the same page, and another the upper margin of fol. 19r. These forms of notation might suggest that someone was taking notes from dictation by a teacher, which might also explain the opaque Latin, which, like the *bumastae* definition, is also curiously repetitive. The same shorthand is also used on PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 9v for the useful maxim, placed above the 20th February «[...]calendarus diem attende si fuerit clarus et sine pluvia habibis tanto calentem nimum» (trans. on this calendar day, observe if it is clear and without rain, this will lead to very hot weather). This attests once again the unity in script and preoccupation in the marginalia of both parts of the now separate manuscript, and the repeated use of the margins by a number of varied hands.

It was, therefore, in the context of an engaged and learned *scriptorium*, or perhaps school, that we should likely situate the addition of the many prognostication texts in the manuscript. Before we turn to them, we might note that, in addition to Pliny and the anonymous note on auguries, some further erudite discussion of prognostication was also copied on fols. 18r-v, and this also made clear use of classical texts. The first identifiable portion is a long extract from Macrobius' *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1, III, with his name given as a citation in the corner, covering the margins of a page on which, in the centre, a text on thunder prognostication and a text on the moon from Bede had already been added, over the erased text of the continuing Easter Table⁶⁷. The extract is the upper portion of very faded text in **fig. 2**. Macrobius' commentary on the Dream of Scipio was one of the most influential expositions on dreams and dream interpretation in classical literature. In this portion, Macrobius discusses how to distinguish between visions that tell the truth and nightmares which simply result from physical ill-health and have no specific meaning.

Reg. lat. 567, fol. 18r (upper margin, right side and lower margin, running around the whole edge of the page, very faded and cut at the top) «[...] visum uel fantasmata. MACROBIUS Ultima ex his duo cum videtur cura interpretationis indigna sunt...effugisse videatur corporis. Si...». The rest is rather too faded to know exactly where the citation ends.

The verso of the same folio (fol. 18v) has more text in the same hand, also very faded. Partly deciphered, it reads:

Reg. lat. 567, fol. 18v (upper margin, left side around edge of page, very faded)...totam... quid veritas habeat quicquid intellegere conantur unde per corneam datur versim....lectus per hanc vero mittunt tunc Manes falsa somnia ad caelum id est perversum intellectum, et nil

⁶⁷ *Somnium Scipionis*, pp. 8-9.

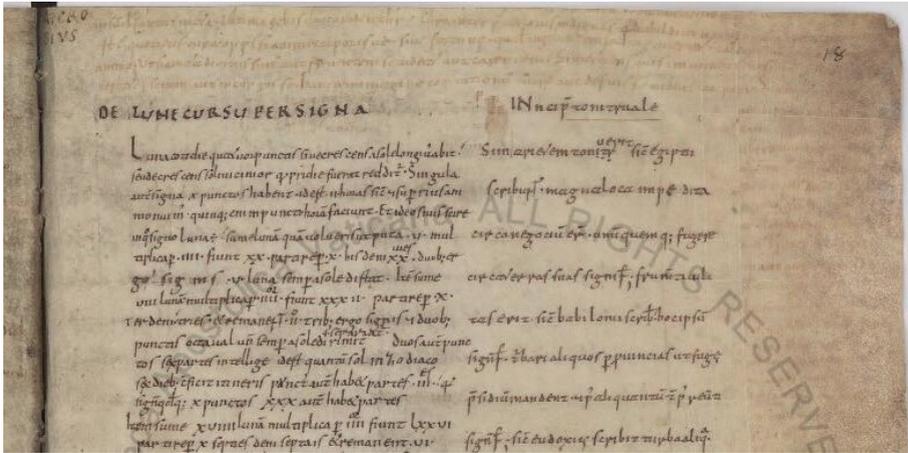


Fig. 2. Prognostication texts, commentary on dreams and a text on the moon written in the margins and over erased text of a computistical and liturgical manuscript made in Sens (ninth/tenth century). CITTA DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Reg. lat. 567, fol. 18r. By permission of Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, with all rights reserved.

habens veri... signantur utilia et veritatem pandentia . per eburneam terrena et vana somnia figurantur...

The rest of this text, running down the left margin of the verso, is illegible. Once again, a source could not be found, and this is not part of Macrobius, but it is clearly an interpretation of the incident in the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas is in the underworld (*Aeneid* 6, 893-98), and sees the two gates of sleep. The first of which, through which true dreams come, is of horn (*cornea*), but the second is of ivory (here *eburneam*) but the Manes, cthonic deities, send false dreams through it (in Virgil: «sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes», to which our text clearly refers). Again, this is clearly a commentary on a key piece of classical literature about dreams and the possibility of telling the future with them. It could represent either a lost commentary or some teaching undertaken on the possibility of true prediction through dreams in Sens in the tenth century. It seems also that the extract of Macrobius on the recto was only quoted, and signposted, as part of the same, longer text. The very first words on fol. 18r «visum vel fantasmata» do not belong to his text, and the text at the bottom of fol. 18r, so far as decipherable, does not seem to be part of the *Somnium Scipionis* either. The note over the recto and verso may have been continuous with one another, part of a larger commentary on the subject of dreams which used classical references, perhaps composed at Sens in the Early Middle Ages, and was specifically intended to differentiate false from

true dreams. One can decipher in the lower margin of fol. 18r the words «alter eburnea», which could also be referring to Virgil. In which case, the loss of so much of these marginal notes is regrettable, and a UV light investigation of the manuscript would certainly be a good next step. But in any case, such commentary on dreams begins to tie the notes through the whole manuscript together, drawing together the classical knowledge of the school of Sens, which the manuscript reveals was quite respectable for the time, and their interest in prognostication and future telling, that is also a hallmark of number of the manuscript's other marginal notes and to which we now turn.

Prognostication and Magic

In fact, Reg. lat. 567 also contains no less than nine separate texts concerning prognostication, using varied methods and layouts, beginning in the martyrology and computus material, but continuing principally through the margins of the Sacramentary portion⁶⁸.

Foliation	Incipit	Text
fols. 18r-v	«Incipit Tonitruale. Si in arietem tonuerit, sicut Egipitii scribunt...».	Thunder prognostication ⁶⁹ .
fol. 20r	«Transitus lunae persigna . In aries si tonitrum fuerit luna laborabit...»	Thunder prognostication, based on the position of the moon in the zodiac.
fols. 20v-21r	«[...] kalendas ianuarii si fuerint feria ii. hanno bella efficiuntur...».	Prognostication by days of the week, known as the <i>Revelatio Esdrae</i> ⁷⁰ .
fols. 30v-31r	«[...]maueris quid uideris ad gaudium veniet. Vel II et III nullus malus effectus est nec in corde...»	Lunar prognostication
fol. 33v	«...quo quicquid...videris...cras similiter in xxii»	Lunar prognostication
fols. 34r-37r	«[...]Aves in somni qui viderit et cum ipsis pugnaverit, lites aliquas significat...».	Alphabetical dream prognostication (The <i>Somniale Danielis</i>) ⁷¹ . The title referring to Daniel seems to have been originally present but was trimmed off.

⁶⁸ Four of the lunar prognostications are catalogued by DiTOMASSO 2004, pp. 26-29; he dates the additions «s.xi».

⁶⁹ This and the following text discussed in JUSTE - CHIU 2013 including our manuscript pp. 107-108.

⁷⁰ Discussed in ANN MATTER 1982; The partial title on Reg. lat. 567, fol. 29v [upper margin] seems to relate to the *Revelatio Esdrae* too: «[SOM]NIA AD ESDRE PROPHETE Revelatum fuit...somnia verii».

⁷¹ Edited with reference to this manuscript in *Somniale Danielis*.

Foliation	Incipit	Text
fols. 37v-41v	«...LUNATIONES NATIUITATIBUS HO[...]JUEL DE SOMNIIS UERITANDIS . Haec dies utilis est omnibus agendis. Puer natus erit [...] et signum habebit in ore [...] supercilio...».	Birth lunary.
fol. 42r	«INCIPUNT HOMINUM SIGN[...] put dolebus qui nascentur vitales sunt. qui fugerit... ».	Birth zodiologium
fol. 42v	«DE NATIUITATIBUS HOMINUM...III Praeclarus et luxuriosius...».	Birth lunary.

The «tonitruale» was written, along with the extract from Pliny on prognostication noted above, over an erased Easter Table, within which the Sens historical records had themselves originally been marginal additions. The rest of the prognostication texts, including the *Somniale Danielis*, are more cramped, and find space in the margins of the sacramentary portion.

At first glance, predictive and prognostication texts seem to us to be an uneasy accompaniment to the Christian and principally liturgical content of the main part of the manuscript. But the fact the manuscript also contains computus offers significant analogies to a number of other instances of similar association. Computus and prognostication are persistently transmitted together in a number of medieval books. To early medieval authors, such texts seem to have had a conceptual association. For the Anglo-Saxon world, which seems to have taken on the practice from continental exemplars, this association is well established in scholarship⁷². As noted in these studies, prognostic texts are fully explicable within a clerical or monastic context, and do not need to be brought out to «folk» or «pagan» practice, as distinct from the Christian, latinate and educated milieu, to which the other notes in the manuscript quoting Isidore, Bede, Alcuin, Pliny and Macrobius, belong. Like the complex science of computus, such texts were also attempts to observe and to understand the world, and dealt alike with reckoning and understanding of time.

In addition to the texts for prognostication, there are two notes in the manuscript which belong to the ambiguous category of charms, spells or incantations. One asks God to reveal something the reader wished to know.

Reg. lat. 567: fol. 44r: «adonay domine deus et [ter]rabilis fortis atque [po]tens qui ubique potes[tatae] tuam virtutem mani[fest]tare . v[i]rtutem tuae [po]tentiae mei peccato[...]

⁷² CHARDONNENS 2007; ARTHUR 2018.

hostendere dign[re] atque in hoc vir[.] ligno hostende quod ego peccator volo inquirere. per dominum.»

(trans. Adonai Lord God and of terrible force and power, who everywhere manifests the virtue of power. Deem it worthy to reveal me, a sinner, the virtue of your power and in this (green wood?) reveal what I, a sinner, wish to ask. Through the Lord)⁷³.

Another is an incantation which would be written on a page to form a textual amulet, then tied around the neck of an afflicted child:

PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604, fol. 19v. [orthography as in MS]: «[A]d in[f]antes m[ini?]mium plorantes [sc]ribis in c[a]rta et [a]d collo [li]gabit ei. israhel . israhel . israhel . gabriel . gabriel . gabriel . aduro te ut soperetur seruus tuus ill. in christo . in christo . in christo rctetus [sic. rectus?] es tu . exorcismus quem debes dicere . per dominum nostrum . Iesum christum filium tuum quem terra audium et tremuit . montes audierunt et humiliauerit se . pio pio petere nomen christi ut inuenerit cecus autem caludus et paraliticus . christus christus christus . maria genuit. alleluia . alleluia . alleluia . pax tecum. amen.».

It may be that the manuscript itself furnished material for such amulets, given that all of the other margins of the folio and the following one, as well as numerous other margins in the manuscript, have been cut away, as Hertogh suggested for other similar cases in an eye-opening presentation at the 2024 Leeds International Medieval Congress⁷⁴. In any case, these two texts perfectly show how what we might call «magic» was a common and accepted practice in Christian circles and understood and formed in Christian terms, in the Early Middle Ages, as it was since Antiquity⁷⁵. They demonstrate the ambiguity between the assumed categories of charms, incantations, prayers and exorcisms, as all are equally attempts to harness divine aid for a particular purpose. In our manuscript, they reveal that, like the varied techniques of prognostication, these texts coexisted in the same context with the highly intellectual work going on in the school, citing the classics and studying nature and time.

⁷³ On prognostication with wood (perhaps casting lots), BOYLE in HEIDUK - HERBERS - LEHNER 2021, pp. 62-63.

⁷⁴ Publication intended, see HERTOGH forthcoming. On Reg. Lat. 567 fol. 41v, where some parchment was cut off at the top, some of a charm might have been left behind with a cross sign then «scribe autem nomen....feminae»..

⁷⁵ FRANKFURTER 2019, pp. 3-20.

Conclusion

Though it is clear that the manuscript Reg lat. 567 and PARIS, BnF, NAL 1604 lay in a scholarly setting available to the canons of Sens during the tenth century, the notes in margins point in varied directions. But we can construct a chronology that may make some sense of them. The annals and obits suggest the ongoing use of the martyrology as a record of those deemed worthy of remembrance, at least up until around the late 960s, when the obits ceased to be updated. At around the same time, certain canons and saintly maxims were copied, which might have found a role in the controversies and conflicts with episcopal negligence and secular overreach at Sens Cathedral which grew more intense in this period, as, certainly, the excommunication formula was. The manuscript also began to gather the prognostication texts, as the Easter Table had to be erased to make way for some of them, implying the annalistic endeavour had now been abandoned. Palaeographically this was in about the same context, and thus likely not so much later than the later tenth century, as in Bischoff's verdict, and there are enough palaeographical similarities between the dated entries in the martyrology and the other kinds of marginalia to support this (e.g. the use of the same **at** ligature noted above, as in «piscatorio» in the right margin of Reg. lat. 567, fol. 20r or «natus» in the last line of the text in the upper margin of fol. 39r, also on fol. 18r in «quatuor» on the first line of the text in «De Lune Cursu» and on «circa terris» in the fourth line of the «tonitruale», both in fig. 2, these being in different hands otherwise). Nevertheless, the prognostication material clearly existed in continuity with and dialogue with the texts that the martyrological calendar had also naturally attracted, anonymous or unattributed pieces of wisdom about time and the months. Equally, the manuscript offered sophisticated justification and, it seems, tenth-century scholarly reflection on prognostication practices, using Macrobius and Virgil. Certain of the notes remain mere trivia, and suppose that the manuscript was, in some respect, a common venue to copy useful knowledge. But as we know almost nothing about the Cathedral School of Sens in the tenth century, or about the day-to-day lives of its canons, our manuscript furnishes a glimpse of the books they copied, excerpted and used, and it shows little evidence of decline in interest and engagement with sophisticated Latin literature compared to the ninth century.

A helpful analogous case might be a manuscript like CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Pal. lat. 485, written at the monastery of Lorsch.⁷⁶ This has been reconstructed as a manual for the training of clergy,

⁷⁶ Digitized at: https://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/bav/bav_pal_lat_485.

perhaps a model for excerpting texts for copying smaller priests' handbooks, and it includes, exactly like our manuscript from Sens, a calendar, excerpts of a penitential and excerpts of a Sacramentary, while being more abundant in its furnishing of liturgical *expositiones*.⁷⁷ But its margins and spare folios were also used to add various useful bits and pieces including historical, necrological and metrological additions in the calendar, and two texts for lunar prognostication on fol. 13v and fol. 15v.⁷⁸ Likewise here, a liturgical content of a main text seems not to have excluded that texts for prognostication were added to a manuscript, again stressing that the latter belonged firmly in the clerical world. In any case, given that the additions to our Sens martyrology commemorates priests in rural areas like Aaron in Baissey (above n. 31), where the canons also owned land according to one of the donations (n. 30) there was clearly interaction between the canons of the cathedral and the priests in surrounding parishes. Thus, our manuscript may have played a similar role to the Lorsch book, in that the marginalia might have furnished working priests with the kinds of useful knowledge that made them «local experts», including in the weather and healing⁷⁹. Charms and prognostications would seem to have belonged in that tool kit.

But uniquely, and unlike the Lorsch manuscript, the Sens manuscript also offers sophisticated classical justification for prognostication and some evidence of ongoing discussion of its merits and possibilities in the anonymous additions which may represent teaching going on in Sens, even perhaps a peculiar local expertise. This stresses once again the place of this form of knowledge firmly within learned circles of the Early Middle Ages. Interest in charms and future telling was thus not merely the preserve of the proverbial dull and superstitious rustic «local priest» operating in small villages and interacting with barely Christianised laypeople, as in the assumption of older scholarship, but these techniques of future-telling were also discussed, pondered and copied in erudite clerical circles in one of the most important sees of West Francia, the metropolis of Sens. These circles understood predictions as within the same types of knowledge as other investigations of the natural world, such as computus. As in other cases in this volume, close attention to marginalia, especially looking at them across a whole manuscript, rather than extracting only certain pieces in edited form, helps to challenge our preconceptions about what such texts meant and who might have used and written them.

⁷⁷ PAXTON 1990; PATZOLD 2015.

⁷⁸ DiTOMMASO 2004, pp. 21-22

⁷⁹ VAN RHIJN 2016.

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