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Minitexts: A Window into Early Medieval Manuscript Culture

edited by

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*Preface**

The culture of a place and time is told through its short texts. Whether they be graffiti on the walls of first-century Pompeii, or tweets sent on the twenty-first-century internet, literate societies produce written statements whose evidentiary value is outsized compared to their length. Those texts may be excerpts of longer documents or entirely new sentiments, but attempting to understand the history of such places would be impossible without engaging with these brief messages from the past. That applies as much to early medieval Europe as anywhere else. Among the most extensive and underutilised of the short writings available for the period are the minuscule texts ('minitexts') added to manuscripts. These ephemeral notices do not tend to appear in catalogues or editions and are thus normally overlooked and poorly understood. This special issue of *Scrineum* brings these minitexts into the spotlight, drawing upon the insights of the work carried out by the ERC-funded 'Minuscule Texts: Marginalized Voices in Early Medieval Latin Culture c. 700–c. 1000' and the NFR-funded 'Voices on the Edge: Minuscule Texts in Early Medieval Latin Culture' projects at the University of Oslo, both led by Ildar Garipzanov.

The complexities and nuances of the minitext are set out by Ildar Garipzanov in the opening article of this special issue. Here he introduces the historiographical development of the concept of minuscule texts before offering a provisional taxonomy to classify and analyse the numerous varieties of writings that the term encompasses. Such an enterprise is not an end unto itself, but rather a means to using minitexts as windows into the early medieval world, as he shows in the examples with which he concludes. The other contributors have taken this example to heart, and in their work demonstrate the many different ways in which minitexts can be valuable tools for the study of the past.

The minitext is the natural home for the sort of knowledge that was not distributed through more formal or extended genres of writing. Among these we might include practical information, such as the transaction notes explored

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by Garipzanov in WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1370 and MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14508, in which the nuts and bolts of the early medieval Bavarian economy can be encountered. More esoteric and potentially subversive material also circulated as minitexts, as Yitzhak Hen discusses in his article looking at the transmission of early medieval magical material. His minitexts show a world where Christian priests were expected to wield unorthodox powers in the service of their flocks. Thus the minitext provides access to different kinds of knowledge that can otherwise be hard to discern.

Minitexts can also illustrate the use and reorganisation of bodies of knowledge. Sometimes they were the first draft of future masterpieces. In her contribution Rosamond McKitterick follows the development of a dossier on consanguinity which later circulated independently, showing in the process the way in which the intellectual concerns of those who used manuscripts can be traced through the texts they added. Other times minitexts reveal the after-life of new ideas. A similar attention to their situation within manuscripts and their wider intellectual environment allows Bernhard Hollick to reinterpret an apparently insignificant poem in LONDON, British Library, Add. MS 11852. Far from being a mere colophon, these verses reveal much about the reception of Greek philosophical ideas being taught in St Gall around the year 1000.

The distribution of ideas frequently relied upon ephemeral means of communication that are unlikely to survive to the present, such as *libelli*. Minitexts can offer a means of following that movement. Giulio Minniti considers these opportunities in his article which examines the troped masses added to PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 2846. He uses the gradual accumulation of these texts not only to identify specific tropes long before they are elsewhere attested, but also to explore the way they were distributed. Ideas were not the only thing that moved. Books did as well, in ways that can sometimes be hard to track. Minitexts can offer valuable information about the manuscripts that host them by providing clues about provenance or use. In this issue Gionata Brusa employs the liturgical minitexts contained in the manuscripts of the Vercelli Chapter Library to identify their places of origin and discuss their provenance. In doing so, he is not only able to fill in gaps in our understanding of the contents of one library, but also reveals a network of links connecting Vercelli to places elsewhere in Italy and beyond.

Minitexts can also be employed to counter the uneven survival of material from the early medieval past. Whether through deliberate destruction or unhappy accident, the libraries of many of the most important intellectual centres of our period have been lost or scattered. By offering a clue as to the

broadness of material available to people at the place the manuscript was kept, minitexts can reveal a much broader hinterland. In this way Arthur Westwell demonstrates in his article that the minitexts of CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 567 can be used to shed vital light on Sens in the tenth century. The history of intellectual life in Sens in the period has had to be written by inference. By examining the rich collection of annalistic notes, classical texts and divinatory material, Westwell reveals a community that was not only familiar with a vast array of intellectual material, but deeply conscious of its own history.

While tenth-century Sens was known to be a major episcopal and political hub, the north-eastern frontier of the Visigothic world at the time of the Arab Conquests has generally been perceived as an intellectually barren place, far from the centres of Iberian culture and beset by conflict. Sam Ottewill-Soulsby challenges that perspective by looking at the Visigothic minitexts contained in AUTUN, Bibliothèque municipale, MS S 129 that were added in this period in the vicinity of Urgell. These show a lively environment where Frankish and Gothic legal and poetic cultures met and mixed. But minitexts can reveal more than just previously overlooked intellectual activity. In his contribution, Michele Baitieri uses pen trials in diplomatic script to demonstrate the existence of a flourishing chancery *milieu* in Lyon during the second half of the ninth century, thus uncovering an underappreciated centre of power. As these papers show, minitexts reveal much about the places their manuscripts stayed in.

Even this cursory survey of the papers to come speaks to the diversity of minitexts that can be identified, varying in genre from liturgical pen trials to annalistic notes, to poetic verses and any other type of writing that can be imagined. Given the multivarious nature of the minitext, it is inevitable that it should prompt debate and divergent practices amongst scholars. Within the harmonious choir of this issue, McKitterick's article raises stimulating challenges for the models set out in Garipzanov's opening gambit. The contributions that follow are not intended to be the final word in the study of the minitext, but rather to be an invitation for others to consider their possibilities for understanding the early medieval world.

Ildar Garipzanov

Early Medieval Minuscule Texts as a Subject of Study: Tentative Taxonomy, Codicological Contexts, and Related Social Practices

Abstract

This paper overviews early medieval textual additions, defined as minuscule texts, to Latin manuscripts produced before c. 900; when appropriate, it draws parallels with Petrucci's discussion of early medieval 'occasional microtexts' (*microtesti avventizi*). The overview is based on the corpus of early medieval minuscule texts assembled by the MINiTEXTS project and currently comprising more than 4000 entries. Thereafter, the paper outlines two typologies of early medieval minuscule texts: one based on their placement within the diachronic stratigraphy of a manuscript, as well as their other codicological features, and the other structured by their textual contents. The essay argues that their appearance in the margins of early medieval manuscripts was closely related with concurrent social, economic, religious, and cultural practices. The latter point is exemplified with three case studies of minuscule texts and their broader historical contexts.

Keywords

Minuscule texts; Textual additions; Pen trials; Codicology; Latin manuscript culture; Early Middle Ages

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Earlier drafts of this paper have been presented at medieval seminars and workshops in Oslo, Stockholm, Oxford, Cologne and Vienna. I would like to thank the participants of those events as well as the members of the MINiTEXTS research group at the University of Oslo for their stimulating questions and comments. This publication has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 101018645).

Vat. Lat. 5359 is a Vatican manuscript well-known to students of early medieval liturgy and law because it preserves a ninth-century collection of the Lombard laws and Italian capitularies of Lothar I and hides the fragmentary palimpsest of an earlier psalter¹. Standard descriptions of this manuscript also mention short prayers added to the final page and accompanied with a line of stylized letters², an identification ultimately deriving from a description two centuries ago by Georg H. Pertz, the first editor of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*³. In reality, the final page contains a subversive textual charm with occult signs of Eastern origin (*charaktêres*), a Greek abecedary, and an exorcistic incantation deviating from normative Christian formulas⁴. Filling the blank space on the periphery of a legal manuscript and misidentified in codicological descriptions, these texts have been considered irrelevant by legal historians and too marginal to be of interest to specialists of early medieval culture. This story epitomizes the current situation with many short Latin texts that were added to empty spaces of early medieval manuscripts left blank after the copying of designated texts. Often devoid of headings in capital or uncial letters, transcribed in humble, and in some cases amateurish, minuscule script, and lurking at the edges of parchment books, sometimes in rather bad condition, such texts commonly lack a detailed description, transcription, and sometimes even proper identification in manuscript catalogues and standard codicological descriptions. Yet, if studied *en masse*, such texts may arguably offer a unique ‘bottom-up’ perspective on evolving early medieval social, economic, religious, and cultural practices and related assumptions, attitudes, and values of early medieval society as a whole.

1 CLA, no. 23; GAMBER 1988, no. 1606.

2 MORDEK 1995, pp. 881-883.

3 PERTZ 1826, p. 246.

4 GARIPZANOV 2021.

Early medieval minuscule texts: An overview

Such short textual additions lack a common designation in academic literature, having been described variously by manuscript scholars as ‘additions’⁵, ‘microtexts’⁶, ‘*marginalia*’⁷, ‘guest texts’⁸, ‘attachments’⁹, and ‘annotations’¹⁰. Due to the lack of a common scholarly term, I have chosen to refer to them as minuscule texts in order to underscore their two important features. Firstly, they are minuscule, that is, very short, in size. Thus, I also follow Andrist, Canart, and Maniaci in defining the text as «*une suite écrite de mots dans une séquence significative*» («a series of written words in a significative sequence»)¹¹. Secondly, the vast majority of such textual additions, about 93%,¹² are transcribed in minuscule scripts, although some of them may use other scripts in their headings.

Another significant feature of such minuscule texts is that they lack a direct connection to the manuscripts’ main texts. In this regard, they are different from marginal annotations, a type of additions that has been studied extensively in the past decades¹³. Minuscule texts are also different from texts added with the purpose of complementing the main texts, often with the addition of new leaves or a quire – in other words, in those cases whereby we deal with the purposeful augmentation of existing codices. By contrast, most minuscule texts are formally extraneous to the manuscripts’ main texts, and their addition to such manuscripts was primarily due to the scarcity of writing materials and often motivated by the need to preserve some useful practical knowledge in a written form. Their existence bears witness to the need to maximize the use of available parchment surfaces in a world of limited economic resources. After all, from the eighth century onwards, papyrus was hardly available north of the Alps, and papermaking had not yet become known in early medieval Latin Europe¹⁴.

⁵ CLA; RUDY 2016.

⁶ MANIACI 2002.

⁷ FERA 2002.

⁸ GUMBERT 2004b.

⁹ TEEUWEN 2017.

¹⁰ LIED 2018.

¹¹ ANDRIST - CANART - MANIACI 2013, p. 51.

¹² The numbers referring to data related to early medieval minuscule texts are based on the corpus assembled by the ERC MINiTEXTS project, which currently includes slightly more than 4000 entries.

¹³ E.g. CONTRENI 1978; GANZ 1990; BASWELL 1992; COPELAND 2012; TEEUWEN 2014, 2016, 2017, 2019.

¹⁴ MCCORMICK 2001, pp. 704–708; BLOOM 2017. For more details on the transition from papyrus

Each quire and folio were counted in early medieval manuscript production, as can be illustrated by a short text added in the tenth century to a late ninth-century codicological unit from southwestern Germany (FULDA, Hessische Landesbibliothek, MS Aa 2, fol. 36r): «Sunt de nobilissimo pargameno quaterniones XV, de bono pargameno XX quaterniones ad actus apostolorum et apocalipsin, et VII epistolas XII <quaterniones> et IIII folia. Sunt inter omnes de modolo maiore XLVII quaterniones, et de minore modolo VIII quaterniones IIII folia ad regulam et martirilogium scribendum, de parvo modolo XXIII quaterniones et IIII folia ad antifonarium»¹⁵. The text thus lists a precise number of quaternions and folios allocated to specific commissioned texts. 47 quaternions and 4 folios of good quality parchment and of a larger size (probably in folio) were allocated for the production of the texts of the New Testament. 8 quaternions and 4 folios of a smaller format (probably in octavo) were allocated for a monastic rule and martyrology, 24 quaternions and 4 folios of a small size (probably in quarto) were assigned for the production of an antiphonary. If in the process of the copying of such designated texts, a page or two remained empty, it was often furnished with a so-called ‘filler’ text or a later textual addition.

The minuscule size of such texts and their somewhat accidental relation to the manuscripts’ main texts have ensured that they have attracted little attention from Latinists and specialists in early medieval manuscript culture. Our embryonic knowledge about minuscule texts is also due to their substantial diversity: some represent excerpts from well-known texts, whereas others preserve unique texts of varied nature that lack any substantial history of textual transmission and are often transcribed in faulty Latin. The sheer variety of such texts, ranging from a few lines to a few pages, has meant that textual scholars have seldom approached them as a single corpus, and the nature of their production, use, and transmission has almost never been examined systematically in early medieval manuscript studies.

One rare exception is Armando Petrucci’s discussion in 1999 of ‘occasional microtexts’ (*microtesti avventizi*) in blank spaces of early medieval manuscripts, which was based on the limited data assembled in the *Codici Latini Antiquiores*.¹⁶ ‘Occasional microtexts’ as defined by Petrucci are similar to our minuscule texts in that both are extraneous to the main texts around which

to parchment as the main writing material in early medieval Western Europe, see INTERNULLO 2019; INTERNULLO 2023.

¹⁵ On the main codicological unit, see BISCHOFF 1998-2014, vol. 1, no. 1313.

¹⁶ PETRUCCI 1999.

they were written down, and, in that sense, they are different from peritexts and paratexts such as scholia, annotations, and critical signs. Petrucci distinguished among four groups of ‘occasional microtexts’: (1) purely graphical additions, namely, pen trials (*aggiunte meramente grafiche*); (2) additions with the full or partial record of a document, letter, or earlier literary texts, with a purpose of preserving them over time (*aggiunte di registrazione*); (3) memorial additions with a limited preservation purpose such as a list of names, goods, expenses, books, treasures, servile dues, or short annalistic entries (*aggiunte di memoria*); and finally (4) authorial drafts of textual passages or letters (*aggiunte di minutazione*)¹⁷. This is a valid differentiation with a focus on purpose and meaning of textual additions, but it does not take into account the external features of such texts and their location within manuscripts. Yet the codicological contexts of minuscule texts constitute an important parameter for their proper understanding. As argued by the proponents of Material or Structural Codicology¹⁸, the place of a text within the codicological ‘stratigraphy’ as well as the form it takes in a given manuscript is significant for its proper understanding. This methodological perspective is especially relevant for minuscule texts, most of which can be described as ‘guest texts’ added into existing codicological units¹⁹. Their externality to the main texts is expressed not only by difference in subject matters, but also difference in exterior characteristics and their location in a codex.

If we are to classify minuscule texts with reliance on their exterior features, I suggest differentiating between four major types. **The first group** is not a part of Petrucci’s ‘occasional microtexts’. It is constituted by the so-called ‘filler’ texts added on the last pages of the final quire at the time of a manuscript’s production, often by the hand that transcribed the main texts. Such ‘filler’ texts could take a page or two at the end of a manuscript or codicological unit. Minuscule texts that appear in the first codicological unit in BERLIN, Preussischer Kulturbesitz zu Berlin, MS Phillipps 1776, fols. 1-92v are representative of that group. This part of the manuscript was produced in France at the turn of the tenth century²⁰, and it contains the letters of late antique bishops, with those written by Roman popes constituting its largest part. Yet its final page (fol. 92v) is filled with two alleged excerpts from capitularies of the

¹⁷ PETRUCCI 1999, pp. 983-984.

¹⁸ GUMBERT 2004a; ANDRIST 2013; DA ROLD - MANIACI 2016.

¹⁹ GUMBERT 2004b, p. 42.

²⁰ BISCHOFF 1998-2014, vol. 1, no. 427.

Carolingian rulers, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, dated to 779 and 826. In reality, these excerpts were created by the mid-ninth century, as part of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals (Benedict Levita, 1, 341 and 2.383). Both excerpts deal with acts of plundering by soldiers inside their own kingdom during military campaigns. Both have no direct connection with this epistolary collection, but they appear in the same sequence in the materials of the Council of Quierzy held in the West Frankish kingdom in 857²¹. The excerpts were important enough that, after finishing the commissioned texts, the scribe chose or was ordered to transcribe the two excerpts on the final page, which would have been left blank otherwise.

The second group is represented by texts of a similar size added at a later date by hands different from those used in transcribing the main texts. They appear commonly on flyleaves as well as blank pages or other blank spaces left between different texts in manuscripts. In some cases, such minuscule texts are similar to the manuscripts' main texts in that they are furnished with titles in capital letters and follow the original layout. BERLIN, Preussischer Kulturbesitz zu Berlin, MS Theol. Lat. Fol. 322 provides an illustrative example here. It was produced in Corbie in the second third of the ninth century and preserves the letters of Gregory the Great²². At the end of the tenth century, a list of bishops of Cologne was added on its final page (fol. 127v), following the layout of original texts in that manuscript; this list was updated with new names in the following centuries. Moreover, in this particular case, a late-tenth-century scribe intentionally emphasized the identity of the added text by placing it on the final, separate page even though, at this point in time, there was blank space available on the preceding page (fol. 127r). That blank space was filled in with a list of abbots of Werden later in the high Middle Ages.

In other cases, scribes had no desire to present such textual additions on par with manuscripts' main texts, but still considered them important enough to be preserved for the record or for later practical use. They often lack titles, show complete disregard for original rulings, and were written in haste, as in CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, MS Vat. Lat. 5359, a ninth-century manuscript produced in Verona or nearby and mentioned at the beginning of this essay.

The third group is represented by shorter textual additions, often limited to several lines of words that appear on flyleaves or in margins. In the ninth

21 HARTMANN 1984, p. 396.

22 BISCHOFF 1998-2014, vol. 1, no. 453.

and tenth centuries, outer margins began to be quite consistently employed for annotations and critical signs, and in this period minuscule texts of this type appear more often in upper and lower margins as well as flyleaves and blank pages. In such cases, no attempt was made to incorporate such minuscule texts within the previous structure of a manuscript. They can even appear upside down or as a vertical line in outer margins, thus underscoring their disregard for the structural order of their host manuscripts. For this reason, codicological catalogues often label them pen trials, which is somewhat misleading. These texts commonly lack headings and represent excerpts from Latin texts or practical notes of various natures that their transcribers thought useful enough to be written down. Flyleaves added to BRUSSELS, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 9850-52, a late-eighth-century Carolingian manuscript associated with Soissons, are rife with this kind of minuscule texts. Added in the course of ninth and tenth centuries, the texts include an accounting note for specific amounts of rye and oats distributed to certain individuals, probably by a monastic cellarer, as well as liturgical verses with neumes, both written upside down by different individuals (fol. 3r).

The final, fourth, group of minuscule texts are proper pen trials that appear as a line or two of expressions or quotes familiar to scribes, sometimes repeated several times. Such textual snippets, which were written not only to try a pen but also as didactic, mnemonic, or devotional exercises, similarly appear on flyleaves, blank pages, and sometimes in upper and lower margins. Since most of them were left by monks and priests, many pen trials represent the beginning of psalms, prayers, and chants familiar to their transcribers from liturgy and readings. For example, cathedral priests in Würzburg often wrote a line about the sinner in Psalm 9.26, popular among Anglo-Saxon scribes: *omnium inimicorum suorum dominabitur* («he will rule over all his enemies»). Influenced by their own monastic school, monks of St Gall often wrote the first words of the mnemonic school verse *Adnexique globum zephyri freta kanna secabant*. This pen trial is a hexametric paraphrase from the work of Pomponius Mela, *De Chronographia*, meaning «The ash-grey straits cut through the bulk of the Zephyrium [mountains] attached [to Sicily]»²³. Monastic students apparently memorized this verse while learning all the letters of the Latin alphabet.²⁴

Not every early medieval manuscript contains minuscule texts. For example, lavishly decorated codices tended not to attract such texts for two main rea-

²³ SCHNOOR 2013, p. 46.

²⁴ For a detailed discussion of the connection of such pen trials with didactic practices, see BRISCHOFF 1966-1981.

sons. Some of them, such as richly decorated Gospelbooks, were kept in church treasuries, in areas with limited access. Others belonged to owners whose high social status ensured easier access to parchment material compared to other book users. Research conducted by the MINiTEXTS project shows that, out of approximately 9500 Latin manuscripts and manuscript fragments produced before c. 900, over 1800 codices contain minuscle texts added before c. 1000²⁵. A large number of relevant manuscripts feature more than one minuscle text, and, in exceptional cases, there could be more than ten such short texts added to different blank spaces in a single manuscript. As a result, the MINiTEXTS corpus currently includes over 4000 entries for such textual additions; some entries include several minuscle texts of the same kind. The data accumulated by the MINiTEXTS project also demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of minuscle texts (approximately 99% of all entries) were added after c. 700, and most of them in the ninth and tenth centuries (approximately 95% of all entries). These data correspond to Petrucci's earlier observations that the earliest 'occasional microtexts' of the sixth and seventh centuries were of a limited nature, and that the scribal practice of adding extraneous textual additions gradually spread in Western Europe in the course of the eighth century. Consequently, minuscle texts became a widespread phenomenon in Latin manuscript culture only in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Petrucci also argued that earlier 'occasional microtexts' were primarily derived from scriptural, liturgical, and patristic sources, and were produced in scholarly environments in which the practice of writing was separate from reading. After the transitional eighth century, according to him, the nature of such textual additions greatly expanded, with single letters, various lists of names, goods, objects, facts, and economic and administrative notes being added to manuscripts in the ninth and tenth centuries. In this later period, 'occasional microtexts' thus fulfilled memorial, conservative, documentary, and didactic functions, and they were produced within a scribal culture where reading and writing were intertwined²⁶. Petrucci's general observations are certainly correct, but they may create a deceptive image of a profound change in the nature of textual additions in the Carolingian period, especially in terms of their content.

²⁵ Latin manuscripts produced before c. 900 have been examined via their digital facsimiles online or *in situ* in most European and North American manuscript collections. So far, we have been unable to examine fewer than 200 non-digitized codices, including those in the larger manuscript collections in St Petersburg, Ivrea and New York.

²⁶ PETRUCCI 1999.

In contrast to Petrucci's general picture, liturgical additions and pen trials played a major role throughout the early Middle Ages, and they constitute the largest group of the entire MINiTEXTS corpus ($\approx 36\%$). The majority of minuscule texts of liturgical nature were made by people celebrating various forms of liturgy on a daily basis, which means that liturgical practice remained directly or indirectly the major driving force for many textual additions and pen trials. This is due to the fact that most surviving manuscripts were kept or circulated within ecclesiastic settings and their readers and 'occasional' writers were monks and priests for whom various liturgical performances constituted a crucial aspect of daily existence. The identified liturgical additions to non-liturgical manuscripts are highly diverse. Many of them preserve local liturgical rites and formulas that cannot be found in the surviving liturgical books of the ninth and tenth centuries, or they represent the earliest textual witnesses of new liturgical developments attested later in the high Middle Ages. What is clear so far is that the vast majority of them were created in response to actual liturgical practices to serve as practical guidelines, as memory aids, or as records of internalized liturgical knowledge.

Furthermore, in his discussion, Petrucci did not mention liturgical additions with musical notation, which represent almost two fifth of liturgical minuscule texts ($\approx 14\%$ of all entries or $\approx 92\%$ of minuscule texts with neumes). Most additions with musical notation ($\approx 92\%$ of minuscule texts with neumes) originate from the tenth century when, as Giulio Minniti's contribution to this volume indicates, textual additions with neumes were written in margins, flyleaves, and other blank spaces not only for didactic or mnemonic purposes, but also as unique records of musical innovation. Correspondingly, like other types of liturgical material, they often represent the earliest surviving witnesses to liturgical chants, sequences, and other forms of medieval liturgical music that resurface in liturgical manuscripts only in the high Middle Ages.

Another group of additions that Petrucci did not mention in his overview of 'occasional microtexts' includes texts that were related, in one way or another, to care for body and soul, which according to our preliminary data constitute about 10% of the entire corpus. These additions appear in various blank spaces and include medical recipes, healing charms and incantations as well as various forms of prognostication such as lists of Egyptian days (*dies Egyptiaci*) and prognostic spheres (known as *sphaera Apulei* or *sphaera Pythagori*), exorcistic formulas, and various forms of protective incantations. Many charms and incantations were created by priests and monks familiar with Christian liturgy and, hence, such minuscule texts often included Christian formulas and prayers employed in contemporary liturgy, such as the Lord's Prayer or the

Apostles' Creed. This heterogeneous group of minuscule texts defy the modern clear-cut distinctions between medicine, religion, and magic, and it reflects the fact that care for soul and care for body were not easily distinguishable in medieval cultures of healing²⁷. For example, many acts of exorcism in the early Middle Ages were directed against demonic possession manifested by insanity or some form of physical impediment. This group of minuscule texts offering practical solutions to various problems is also representative of early medieval focus on practical know-how over medical or liturgical 'theory'.

As to Petrucci's third and fourth groups of additions, namely, memorial additions and authorial drafts, they constitute only about 15% of the entire corpus. They include various kinds of socio-economic lists and notes of a practical nature such as lists of relics, treasures, books, and servile dues.²⁸ They also consist of a small number of authorial drafts and copies of letters and charters, which reflect the process of initial preparation or later utilization for such forms of texts. To the same two groups belong various historical and para-historical lists and notes such as minor annals and the lists of early medieval kings, popes, and bishops, as well as some short additions of historical nature.

There are four other groups of minuscule texts that deserve to be mentioned in this overview. The first group consists of additions and pen trials that can be loosely defined as 'encyclopedic' and didactic (≈13,7% of all entries). They include among other things encyclopedic excerpts and notes, expanded alphabets, and various didactic texts and pen trials. Another, slightly smaller group contains poetic additions and pen trials, which tend to appear at the beginning or end of manuscripts (≈11,6% of all entries). These two groups of minuscule texts mirrored the growth of cathedral and monastic schools in the ninth and tenth centuries, with both teachers and students leaving their imprints in the margins of manuscripts they gained access to. Another group consisting of various religious excerpts and pen trials that were primarily derived from the Scripture and the church fathers accounts for approximately 10% of the entire corpus. Finally, textual additions of legal nature account for about 3,4% of minuscule texts. These include chapters from capitularies, canonical excerpts, and various prayers for judicial ordeals. The appearance of the latter type of minuscule texts reflected the growing popularity of judicial ordeals starting from the early Carolingian period onwards. In the absence of an established textual tradition for the masses, prayers and blessings paramount for conduct-

²⁷ HORDEN 2019; LEJA 2022.

²⁸ For a general overview of socio-economic lists and notes, see GARIPZANOV 2024.

ing judicial ordeals, manuscripts' margins became the primary medium where the practical knowledge related to this evolving judicial practice was recorded.

All in all, this overview of taxonomy of early medieval minuscule texts added to Latin manuscripts produced before c. 900 suggests that Petrucci's focus on the changing relationship between writing and reading as the main explanatory model for the development of 'occasional microtexts' in the early Middle Ages is somewhat deficient. I would suggest instead that their intimate relationship with concurrent evolving social practices played a much more important role in the development of this textual phenomenon in early medieval manuscript culture. When minuscule texts were added to existing codicological units, they represented unique moments in the social lives or 'life cycles' of the manuscripts in which they were written²⁹, and many of them reflect the diverse, day-to-day personal and communal needs of their transcribers and/or broader social, economic, religious, and cultural realities. The following three cases of minuscule texts and their historical contexts will exemplify these points.

Case 1: A transaction note in WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1370 and an exchange pattern in Carolingian Bavaria

The first case relates to a pastoral miscellany produced in the Abbey of Mondsee in the first half of the ninth century. In the tenth century, according to Bernhard Bischoff³⁰, a simple economic note was added to the blank space of its final page, either in Mondsee or somewhere not far from it: «Truzonem, servum Gotesmanni, vendidit (Adalhart *added above*) pro uno caballo rubeo ad Uuieninam» («Adalhart has sold Truzo, a slave of Gottesmann, for one reddish stallion at Wienina»)³¹. This transaction was obviously of some importance for the people partaking in this event, which caused it to be written down in a margin of this manuscript. This short record of two lines involving two persons with Germanic names and a slave of a likely Slavic origin is interesting for three specific reasons.

First, it must be one of the earliest mentions of Vienna in early medieval sources, which seems to remain unnoticed by Austrian historians. The standard histories of Vienna usually refer to the mention of *Wenia* in the Contin-

²⁹ JOHNSTON - VAN DUSSEN 2015.

³⁰ BISCHOFF 1998-2014, vol. 3, no. 7214.

³¹ WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1370, fol. 120v.

uation of the Salzburg Annals preserved in a mid-twelfth manuscript from Admont Abbey³². In 881, according to this set of annals, the Franks fought a battle against the Hungarians near this settlement on the eastern border of the Frankish realm³³. The second known early mention of Vienna appears in a high medieval annalistic text, *Annales Altabenses*, under the year 1030 when this city was captured by the Hungarians³⁴. The name of the settlement in our minuscule text fits the variability of spellings for the name of Vienna in this period, and this minuscule text therefore preserves not only the second earliest mention of that city in early medieval sources, but also the earliest mention in surviving manuscripts.

More importantly, the content of our minuscule text suggests that some kind of market existed at this settlement in the tenth century. This is hardly accidental since we know about thriving trade between East Francia and the territories to the east, and a Frankish toll station was located on the Danube at Raffelsletten, further west of Vienna. *The Inquisition on the Raffelsletten Tolls* compiled in the early tenth century testifies to slaves and horses being important staples of trade across the border along the Danube River. *The Inquisition* lists these staples side by side and mentions an identical toll of one gold tremisis for a female slave and a stallion, and one fourth of that amount for a male slave and mare³⁵. Our note suggests that in the tenth century some male slaves could have been valued on par with female slaves.

Finally, this transaction fits the pattern of a somewhat limited use of coins east of the Rhine, and in medieval Bavaria in particular, in the ninth and the first two thirds of the tenth centuries. Those territories had only one active mint in the late ninth century, namely, in Regensburg, and the situation changed only after the development of silver mines in the Hartz mountains in Lower Saxony in the last third of the tenth century. Limited monetary exchange was compensated by barter transactions as the one testified by our economic note, which was probably recorded in the first half of the tenth century. Another possible option was the use of salt as a means of payment and exchange.

The latter suggestion can be corroborated by another minuscule text written in Carolingian Bavaria. It appears in a miscellany with an exposition on

³² E.g. CZENDES 2014, pp. 62-65.

³³ ADMONT, Benediktinerstift, MS 718, fol. 31r: «881. ... Primum bellum cum Ungariis ad Ueniam (corrected to Uueniam) ...». See also MGH, Scriptores, 30.2, p. 742.

³⁴ *Annales Altabenses maiores*, p. 791: «1030. ... et Vienni (corrected to Wienni above) ab Ungris capiebatur ...».

³⁵ *Inquisitio de teloneis Raffelslettensis*, cap. 6, p. 251.

Sunday orations and legal and canonical texts written in northeastern France in the third quarter of the ninth century, a codicological unit held in the library of St Emmeram of Regensburg by the fifteenth century (MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14508, fols. 64-148)³⁶. What is more important for our discussion is that, by the late ninth century, this codicological unit arrived in Carolingian Bavaria, since around that time a small list of payments was added to its final, originally blank, page (fol. 148v), by a hand trained in southern Germany³⁷. The list seems to be an *ad hoc* list of payments in bags of salt, either to the Abbey of St Emmeram in Regensburg or another ecclesiastical foundation in this region³⁸. In some cases, these are payments received for manufactured objects, probably produced in an ecclesiastical workshop, such as spears (*lanceae*), a sickle (*falx*), a golden vessel (*bacina*), and a veil (*calumma*). Alternatively, a half price was paid as assurance or advance payment (*wadium*) for objects such as a spear or decorated necklace (*musca*), produced in that workshop at someone's request. In other cases, payments are some kind of dues owed by various people. Some of them are identified by their profession, such as a baker (*pistor*) or artisan (*faber*), or by kindred relationship, such as «the younger son of Adelhelm» or «Perehtrih, brother of Chazon». Others are identified by the places they lived in, which suggests that their place of residence was rather distant from the ecclesiastical institution in which this minuscule text was recorded. One of them, a certain Gundolf, was from *Perindorf*, which has been identified as Pörndorf near Aldersbach in eastern Bavaria, about 90km southeast of Regensburg³⁹. Another person, Perahart, came from *Hasalpah*, which probably

36 BISCHOFF 1998-2015, vol. 2, no. 3223.

37 BISCHOFF 1980, p. 243.

38 «Uuisiricus II sec. de sale (*to the right to this line* Insimul fiunt sec. LXXXVI.) / pro Ia falce II sec. de sale / pro I lancea II sec. (*to the right to this line* XXXVI) / pro altera lancea II sec. Uuihbri-
cus II modii / pro I bacino III sec., similiter Fonamuntri / Erchanbertus II sec. / doletoris IIII et
I secura sec. I / decoria sec. I / Reginolfus I sec. / Tephit sec. II de sale / Perehtrih frater Chazoni
II sec. / Ceizolf II sec. II sec. / Deotmunt faber sec. I / Inno I sec. faber sec. I / Amulpert pistor
I sec. / Stilzinc I calumma / filius Adalhelmi minor I sec. uuadium, lancea / Ata sec. I, uuadium
I musca / Gundolf de Perindorf I sec. / Hrodmont de Porta I sec. / Perahart de Hasalpah I sec.»
The abbreviated units of accounts (*sec.*) probably refer to the *secel*, a unit of volume that glosses on
measures written in Bavaria or southern Germany in the second half of the ninth century (MÜN-
CHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14747, fols. 88v) identify as *aimpre*/eimbari in Old High
German. Du Cange lists *sechil*/*sekil* as an Old High German for *marsupium* and *pera* (bag, purse).
I will discuss the Bavarian measures of volume used in this minuscule text and listed in the above-
mentioned glosses in a separate paper. It suffices to state here that the use of these unique measures
of volume for accounting corresponds with references to unique Bavarian units of exchange in the
The Inquisition on the Raffelsletten Tolls.

39 VON REITZENSTAIN 1990, p. 46.

refers to Haselbach, a settlement located 50km east of Regensburg. *The Inquisition on the Raffelsletten Tolls* mentions foreign ships with salt coming up the Danube, with this mineral item being exchanged at salt markets located somewhere close to Linz, nearly 200km southeast of Regensburg. Bags of salt traded at such markets were probably used as a means of exchange and payment in this region, which would explain the content of the added economic list. In short, these two minuscule texts provide representative snapshots of socioeconomic practices in Carolingian Bavaria where monetary transactions were of little significance and barter and specific commodities like salt played a major role in economic exchange in the ninth and first half of the tenth centuries.

Case 2: Minuscule additions to early medieval manuscripts at the Rheinau library and the emerging cult of St Blaise

The second case takes us further up the Danube; it is related to minuscule texts reflecting the tenth- and eleventh-century consolidation of the cult of St Blaise (*Blasius*) in the early medieval monastery of Rheinau in modern northeastern Switzerland. This third-century Eastern physician and bishop became quite popular in Western Europe by the high Middle Ages, and he has been invoked against illnesses, especially against throat problems. His body was brought from Rome to Rheinau around 855 and placed in the so-called ‘white cell’ (*Albzelle*)⁴⁰. His cult gained popularity in Ottonian Germany during the reigns of Otto II and Otto III, and by the mid-eleventh century *Albzelle* was transformed into an independent abbey of St Blaise in the Black Forest in Baden-Württemberg⁴¹. Yet it was Rheinau where the liturgical Office of St Blaise most popular in high and late medieval Germany was first documented in an early twelfth-century Ordinal⁴². Also, the early stage of the cult in Rheinau between the *translatio* of St Blaise’s body from Rome and the establishment of the independent abbey of St Blaise in the mid-eleventh century is more obscure due to the fact that the surviving manuscripts from Rheinau with the liturgical Office of St Blaise postdate this period. In this perspective, a few minuscule texts that were added to Rheinau manuscripts before the mid-eleventh century provide us with unique glimpses at the earlier history of the liturgical veneration of the saint in that abbey.

⁴⁰ JAKOBS 1983.

⁴¹ SAUER 1911, p. 67; EBERL 2011.

⁴² HÄNGGI 1957, pp. 85-86; ALTSTAAT 2021, pp. 4-5.

The first such text appears in the Sacramentary of Rheinau (ZÜRICH, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. 43), produced in northeastern France, probably at the end of the ninth century⁴³. This manuscript was definitely in Rheinau by the early eleventh century when a list of relics from that monastery was added in the lower margin of the sacramentary's Canon of the Mass (p. 18): «Haec sunt reliquie quae (hic *added above*) continentur: sancti Blasii martyris et sancti Ypoliti, de lapide sancti Stephani, de corpore sanctae Walpurgae virginis, de mensa Domini, de monte Synai, / de lapide, de ligno Domini nostri Iesu Christi» («These are relics that are kept here: of St Blaise the martyr, of St Hippolyte, from the stone of St Stephen, from the body of St Walpurga the virgin, from the Lord's table, from the Mount of Sinai, from the stone,⁴⁴ from the wood of Our Lord, Jesus Christ»). It is noteworthy that the relic of St Blaise takes the first place in this list, thus indicating its elevated status in Rheinau at that time. The list includes the relic of St Hippolyte, which probably arrived from Rome too, precious relics from the Holy Land, and a relic of the Anglo-Saxon female saint St Walpurgis. The latter relic came from the cathedral of the Bavarian city of Eichstätt to which the body of that female saint was translated in the late ninth century. The fact that this list of relics was recorded in the margins of a manuscript kept in Rheinau and referred to as «kept here» suggests that, by the turn of the eleventh century, the White Cell and the cult of St Blaise were still under the firm control of Rheinau Abbey.

The translation of St Blaise's body from Rome to the White Cell led to a gradual development of his liturgical veneration in Rheinau, a process that also left traces in the margins of the manuscripts kept in that abbey. The first example is a ninth-century manuscript with the Rule of St Benedict from the Rheinau library produced in the Lake Constance area (ZÜRICH, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. III)⁴⁵. Sometime in the late tenth or first half of the eleventh century, one of its monastic readers wrote a prayer to the Lord in the lower blank space following the last page of that rule, a prayer emphasizing the intercessory role of St Blaise: «Domine Iesu Chiste, verus Deus noster, per oracionem sancti servi tui Blasii festina in adiutorium meum. Omnipotens Deus me benedicat et animam meam vivificet, Iesus Christus cor meum inluminet et visitat, et spiritus sanctus paraclitus sensum meum semper declaret, et in viam rectam me dirigat. Amen.»

⁴³ BISCHOFF 1998-2014, vol. 3, no. 7614

⁴⁴ It is unclear a particle of which particular stone from the Holy Land this item refers to.

⁴⁵ BISCHOFF 1998-2014, vol. 3, no. 7633.

The first sentence of that prayer appears as a pen trial in another manuscript from the Rheinau library, namely in a composite manuscript made of several independent codicological units (ZÜRICH, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. 81), three of which, according to Bischoff, were produced in different Carolingian regions during the ninth century and were bound together in Rheinau, probably in the tenth century⁴⁶. This compilation contained hagiographic texts addressed to monastic readership. Sometime in the last quarter of the tenth century or the first quarter of the eleventh, one such reader in Rheinau added the aforesaid sentence to the manuscript⁴⁷, and this sentence also happens to be a responsory verse for the feast of St Blaise, on February 3rd, attested in the early twelfth-century Rheinau Ordinal⁴⁸. During the same period, another hand added an antiphon with neumes on the final page of that manuscript, the text of which has considerably faded away. This antiphon belongs to the second Vespers of the Rheinau Office of St Blaise, with East Frankish neumes typical of the Lake Constance area, which record melodic nuances lost in the later sources, such as *quilisma* and *episema*⁴⁹. Around the same time or slightly later, chants with neumes (*O Blasi dilecte* etc.) for the same Office were added between two joint codicological units in another Rheinau manuscript (ZÜRICH, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. 50)⁵⁰, and another eleventh-century liturgical manuscript from Rheinau also contains chants with neumes for the feast of St Blasius (ZÜRICH, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. 132)⁵¹.

In short, the liturgical additions discussed above provide unique witnesses to the early stage in the liturgical veneration of St Blaise, and monks of Rheinau utilized the marginal spaces in the manuscripts from their monastic library in devotional and mnemonic practices related to his Office. This process seems

⁴⁶ BISCHOFF 1998-2014, vol. 3, nos. 7625-7627.

⁴⁷ «Domine Iehsu Christe, verus Deus, per oracionem sancti servi tui Blasii festina in adiutorium meum, Domine Deus Iesu Christe verus Deus» (p. 328).

⁴⁸ Cantus Database, ID no. 601100a, accessed at <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/chant/334762>.

⁴⁹ «Haec eo orante vox ad eum de caelo facta est omnem pedicionem tuam adimplebo Blasi atdecta dilectissime mox spiculator eiiciens eum a praetorio cum duobus puerulis amputabit [capita] eorum foras muros Sebastiae urbis ita completo martyrio migravit ad Dominum sancte Blasi memento nostri» (p. 379). Whereas the presence of, at least, one *quilisma* is certain, the presence of *episema* is less clear due to a pure preservation state of this musical addition. I am thankful to Giulio Minniti for clarifying the neumatic peculiarities of that minuscle text.

⁵⁰ MOHLBERG 1951, pp. 180-181.

⁵¹ MOHLBERG 1951, p. 224. Also, somewhat later, a folio from an antiphonary with chants for the feast of St Blaise was added as a flyleaf to a twelfth-century poetic compilation from Rheinau: MOHLBERG 1951, p. 184.

to have been complete in Rheinau Abbey by the early eleventh century, before it was transmitted to other ecclesiastical centers and popped up in the earliest external manuscript witness that has been recorded in the Cantus Database, namely, a manuscript that was written in Würzburg in the late eleventh or the first half of the twelfth century (KÖLN, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan und Dombibliothek, MS 215). This also suggests that the Rheinau Office of St Blaise developed around the same time as a different liturgical Office of St Blaise was created in the Cathedral of Eichstätt in the late tenth century, in the decades when the relics of St Blaise were sent to different German cathedrals and when his cult received backing from the Ottonian rulers⁵².

Case 3: A minuscule text in HEIDELBERG, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Pal. lat. 52 and giving to the saints in the early medieval world

The third case relates to a minuscule text in a codex with Otfrid of Weissenburg's Old High German *Evangelienbuch* produced in Weissenburg Abbey around 870 (HEIDELBERG, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Pal. lat. 52, fol. 202v)⁵³. Later, in the tenth century, an anonymous scribe added what seems to be a list of saints with small amounts of money allocated to each of them. The manuscript catalogues do not mention this badly preserved note, which has no connection to the manuscript's main content. The recent German edition of the *Evangelienbuch* and its manuscript tradition transcribes it without any attempt to explain or contextualize it⁵⁴. As Rudolf Schützeichel pointed out in 1982, the names on the list probably refer to churches dedicated to each particular saint, and since they are written in a dative case, they clearly represent recipients of sums of money following each name. He dated this addition to the second half of the tenth century, closer to 950, and associated them with churches in the Upper Rhineland and the Lake Constance area.⁵⁵ What he did not realize is that the name of the Holy Savior at the beginning of this list that he thought referred to a specific church is followed not by a mysterious «vallis [?] ...» but by an abbreviation •VAL•, indicated by dots on both sides. This seems to be a shortened form of the classical Roman abbreviation *votum animo libens* [*solvit*] referring to votive offerings, which were promised and given in the classical

⁵² For more details, see ALTSTAAT 2021.

⁵³ BISCHOFF 1998-2014, vol. 1, no. 1512.

⁵⁴ KLEIBER 2010, 12.

⁵⁵ SCHÜTZEICHEL 1982, pp. 39-46.

world to specific deities. Such votive offerings were usually connected to matters of health or other urgent circumstances demanding divine intervention. This tradition was transferred to the Christian world in the form of votive offerings to saints as the holy intercessors of the Savior. For example, Einhard's text on the translation of relics of St Marcellinus and St Peter tells us about a certain Willibert who suffered from extreme feebleness in his body and lost any hope for recovery. Preparing for an imminent death, he then distributed his wealth among various holy places and promised the price of a pig to St Marcellinus and St Peter, whose relics were kept in a church nearby. After making this vow, he fully recovered, came to their shrine, and placed the price of a pig, that is, 40 denarii, into the crypt of these saints.⁵⁶

Our list probably represents a similar kind of votive offerings when a vow was given to the Holy Savior, and money was promised to specific saints by a sick or dying person: «Sancto Salvatori •VAL• ... [sanctae] Mariae solidum I et denarios II / et Sancto Urso ac Sancto Mar[tino sol]idum I et Sanctae Verenae denarios II / et Sanctae Cruci II et Sancto Petri II et Sanctae Margaretae II et Sancto Ypolito II / et iterum Sancto Martino II et Sancto Nazario II et Sancto Sulpicio IIII» («In the fulfilment of a vow to the Holy Savior, to St Mary 1 solidus and 2 denarii, to St Ursus and St Martin 1 solidus, to St Verena 2 denarii, to the Holy Cross 2, to St Peter 2, to St Margaret 2, to St Hippolyte 2, and again to St Martin 2, to St Nazarius 2, and St Sulpice 4»). As mentioned above, the names of saints refer to specific churches possessing their relics, and the total amount of money, namely, 3 solidi and 8 denarii (equivalent to 44 denarii), is surprisingly close to the sum mentioned in Einhard's text.

The fact that this manuscript was produced in the Abbey of Weissenburg and dedicated to Bishop Solomon I of Constance and Otfrid's friends in the monastery of St Gall, Hartmut and Heribert, in conjunction with the paleography of this minuscule text, suggests that the note was added somewhere in southern Germany or eastern Switzerland. The fact that St Mary is mentioned first on our list and her shrine received the highest sum, namely, 14 denarii, points to an ecclesiastic foundation of some prominence, and Constance Cathedral dedicated to St Mary fits this description. Its appearance at the beginning of our note's spiritual route corresponds to this church serving as a departing point for many later pilgrimage routes to Switzerland, and even further to Santiago de Compostela. This identification also suggests that the note was probably written down in Constance or its vicinity. St Ursus, an early

⁵⁶ *Historia translationis Marcellini et Petri auctore Einhardo*, p. 249.

martyr connected to the Theban legion, was venerated across Switzerland, and his body was kept in an early medieval collegiate church in Solothurn. Perhaps this church also possessed a relic of St Martin⁵⁷. St Verena, also known as St Verena of Zurzach, is a female saint also linked to the Theban legion, and she was especially venerated in Switzerland. Her first *vita* was composed in Reichenau in the late ninth century, and her grave in Bad Zurzach was a pilgrimage destination point since the late Carolingian period⁵⁸. A parish church of the Holy Cross exists in Sarmenstorf, about 37km south of Bad Zurzach, and the earliest foundation of that church derives from the Carolingian period⁵⁹. Approximately 30km east of Sarmenstorf is the church of St Peter in Zürich, with an earliest church dated to the eighth and ninth centuries. About 45km northeast of Zürich is St Margaret's chapel in the municipality Münchwilen. This church can be traced back to the high Middle Ages⁶⁰, and its earlier foundation could possibly be as early as the tenth century. St Hippolyte may have referred to Rheinau near Constance, since, as noted above, a later list of relics from that abbey mentions his relic right after the relic of St Blaise. It is possible that the cult of St Blaise had not yet gained traction in southwestern Germany by the time this practical note was written down. The final three names are more difficult to attribute to specific churches in eastern Switzerland, but the amounts of money allocated to each saint suggest that they were rather smaller places, not the grand foundations that kept the bodies of those saints, namely, Lorsch Abbey (St Nazarius), St Martin of Tours, or the Abbey of St Sulpice of Bourges.

Two other important aspects of this list are worth mentioning. First, they all lay within the bishopric of Constance. Second, they seemingly omit Reichenau and St Gall, imperial abbeys independent of this bishopric, except the time of Bishop Solomon III (890-919). These features suggest that the list could have been composed, later in the tenth century after his term in office, by a cleric connected to the see of Constance, perhaps to its cathedral chapter. One may still wonder why such an unusual list had to be written down on a fly-leaf of the manuscript with Otfrid's Old High German poetic rendition of the Gospels. Vows to the Savior were usually made orally and it is their fulfillment in practice that really mattered. The most logical explanation would be that

⁵⁷ SCHÜTZEICHEL 1982, p. 41; VOGT 2007.

⁵⁸ SCHÜTZEICHEL 1982, p. 42; REINLE 2014.

⁵⁹ WOHLER 2011.

⁶⁰ SPUHLER 2012; cf. SCHÜTZEICHEL 1982, p. 42.

someone, a sick person, perhaps even at his deathbed, made a vow to be fulfilled by another person or persons capable of visiting those prominent shrines lying within the bishopric of Constance. Such a note would have been written so that the money could be distributed according to a sick person's will in order to precipitate his recovery or make a posthumous charitable act for the salvation of his soul. In the latter case, the four lines served as a form of testament. Although the identity of its author remains elusive, the practical note itself clearly displays the importance of local shrines with saints' relics in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods, a point that can be overlooked if one places an excessive focus on well-known accounts of pilgrimages to Rome and the Holy Land. As this minuscule text displays beyond any doubt, one did not need to go so far to fulfil a vow to the Savior in the early medieval world. Ecclesiastical foundations with holy shrines were always within reach for those who needed them for spiritual and bodily well-being.

To conclude, the three cases presented above clearly underscore one important aspect of most early medieval minuscule texts, namely, their close connection to various social practices, and I use the term 'social' here in a very broad meaning of that word. Many minuscule texts preserved either explicit practical knowledge or otherwise elusive 'tacit knowledge', that is, knowledge employed in, and derived from, everyday activities and rituals and written down only occasionally. Minuscule texts thus have their own 'social logic' that sets them apart from manuscripts' designated texts, and they should be seen as 'signifying practices' that offer a form of indirect access to early medieval reality. For this reason, manuscripts scholars and historians should pay more attention to this largely overlooked textual corpus while studying early medieval society and its heterogenous culture.

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Rosamond McKitterick

*Minitexts as Informal Written Interventions:
The Case of Cambridge University Library
Kk.5.16, Vat. reg. lat. 1127 and Namur MS 11*

Abstract

This paper offers three case studies on ‘minitexts’ added to eighth- and ninth-century manuscripts and suggests that such informal interventions need to be recognized as part of a communication process between readers, scribes and their books in early medieval culture. The additions, comprising a vernacular poem, canon law, epistolary and homiletic material and kinglists suggest an association of ideas between main text and added minitexts. Yet they also expose a variety of sources for the minitexts, from a written record of oral memory, a summary of one aspect of a well-established text as in the case of Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae*, and the reproduction of papal rulings which were part of another widely-circulated collection of canon law, to some interesting chronological summaries which appear to reflect a reader’s engagement with the entire codex in which the minitext was inserted. They indicate too how much we can learn in general about early medieval intellectual culture from pursuing both the engagements with knowledge represented in readers’ additions to their manuscripts, and the questions they raise.

Keywords

Historiography; Canon Law; Consanguinity; Kinglists; Communication

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In this paper I offer three case studies of historiographical texts being supplemented by minitexts in the form of a vernacular poem, ecclesiastical legislation, and what may be either epistolary or homiletic material. One consideration is the degree to which there is any association of ideas between the main text of the host codex, and the added minitexts. Another is whether these additions are spontaneous, individual and original creations or adapted from already existing texts. A third is whether a minitext has an afterlife, either becoming a recognized short text in its own right or part of what is presented as the integrated text. These examples, furthermore, provide an opportunity to consider the interaction between texts, readers and scribes in early medieval culture.

The identification or categorization of what might qualify as a minuscule text or ‘minitext’ is not straightforward, and can be roughly summarized as ‘when is a minitext not a minitext?’. Ildar Garipzanov initially suggested that a minitext can generally be thought of as a ‘short text added to a Latin manuscript ... often of a liturgical, religious or didactic nature, occasionally practical ... seldom by an identifiable author or with a traceable history of textual transmission, or [which has been] neglected or compartmentalized within a specialized discipline’¹. He has further refined the notion of minuscule texts in his suggestion that minuscule texts usually lack a direct connection to the main text of the manuscript to which they were added². The first part of this paper, therefore, will look at possible examples of such minitexts, their manuscript context, the degree to which they are or are not related to the remaining contents of each codex, their possible textual sources, and the implications thereof. As will be seen, preoccupations with both chronology and consanguinity in these minitexts may reflect contemporary concerns on the part of subsequent readers of each of the manuscripts discussed. These examples, however, also raise methodological questions concerning processes of identification and the basis for our judgement of the minitexts’ purpose and significance. The con-

1 GARIPZANOV *Minuscule texts*.

2 See GARIPZANOV 2024 in this volume.

cluding part of this paper, therefore, will explore whether, or to what extent, these additions provide some understanding of the early medieval readers and users of these manuscripts.

The ‘Moore Bede’: Cambridge University Library Kk.5.16

First of all, let us look at the additions made on the final leaf, fol. 128r-v, of the early eighth-century ‘Moore Bede’. This is the famous copy of Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum* copied in Wearmouth-Jarrow c. 737, later in the possession of Bishop John Moore of Norwich and bought by King George I, along with the rest of Moore’s printed books and manuscripts, for presentation to Cambridge University Library in 1715. The current shelf mark is Kk.5.16³. The additions on these pages raise useful questions about ‘minitexts’, both generally and in relation to my other two case studies of NAMUR, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS II and CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, BAV, reg. lat. 1127.

The last six lines on fol. 128r of the ‘Moore Bede’ comprise the short set of Northumbrian annals for 731-734 known as the Moore annals, unique to this codex and elucidated by Joanna Story. In her words they ‘seriously unsettle Bede’s harmonious narrative of the present state of Britain’, and they could be said to form an appendix after the *explicit* of Bede’s history⁴. The first three lines on fol. 128v are also apparently straightforward. Like the Moore Annals they have been very extensively discussed, for they provide an Old English text of Caedmon’s hymn for which Bede provides a Latin version in the story about Abbess Hild of Whitby in *Historia ecclesiastica* Book IV, chapter 24. Line 4 on fol. 128v confirms the attribution of the hymn to Caedmon⁵. The next eight lines offer a short Northumbrian kinglist and some calculations of the number of years that had elapsed since various Northumbrian events, such as sixty-three years since the foundation of the monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow. These notes are all written by the same scribe who wrote the entire preceding text of Bede’s History, and make it plausible to date them, and thus the completion of the entire codex, to c.737 or soon thereafter. This is consistent with the palaeographical indications. The completion of the text of the history, as distinct from the concluding notes a little before that date, cannot be ruled

³ In addition to CUL MS Kk.5.16 dig., <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-KK-00005-00016/1>, consulted 31.03.2023, this manuscript is also available in a facsimile, HUNTER BLAIR 1959.

⁴ STORY 2009.

⁵ PLUMMER 1896.

out, but in terms of scribal activity this might just as well be counted in hours, days or weeks as in months or years⁶.

The added notes might themselves qualify as two or three minitexts, or perhaps as a connected set. The Old English text of the hymn serves as the sandwich filling for the annalistic entries; it is in the Northumbrian dialect (in the *'aelda'* recension), and was added by the scribe of the main text. In the other eighth-century English copy of Bede's text, the St Petersburg Bede (ST PETERSBURG, Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia Biblioteka MS Q.v.I.18), however, a slightly different Northumbrian version (the *'eordu'* recension) of Caedmon's text appears on fol. 107r as a marginal gloss to Bede's Latin rendering given as part of the narrative⁷. The gloss is supplied by the same Wearmouth-Jarrow scribe (Parkes' Scribe 'D'), who wrote this final portion of the main text⁸. Caedmon's hymn also appears as a marginal or interlinear gloss to the Latin text, but in a West Saxon dialect, in English copies of Bede's History dating from the tenth century onwards⁹. Although the 'Moore Memoranda', that is, the added Northumbrian king list and chronological notes after the hymn in the Moore Bede, place the scribe's work in his own specific location and historical context, they could have been added sequentially over an indeterminate period¹⁰. Yet they appear to reflect a train of thought, and now appear to form collectively an elaborate addition to the text in a format that is unique to this manuscript.

The relative chronology of the Moore and St Petersburg manuscripts proposed by Malcolm Parkes in 1982, in contradiction to the suggested dating hitherto of each codex – 'not long after 737' and 'c. 746' respectively – moreover, may need revisiting as far as the additions are concerned, despite the wealth of comment they have already generated. Parkes acknowledged that the apparent date indicators in each codex could have been taken over from their exemplars. His palaeographical analysis of the St Petersburg Bede led him to conclude that the work of Scribe 'D' (fols. 68v (*recte* 69v)-161 (*recte* 162)) predated that of the scribes of fols. 1-63v (*recte* 64v) and was 'sometime after 731'¹¹. The Old English

⁶ This is worth emphasizing, for too often 'later additions' are often assumed to be many years after the original, despite palaeographical contra-indications.

⁷ Illustrations in OKASHA 1968 and ARNGART 1952.

⁸ PARKES 1982, pp. 93-120 at p. 98, note 27, reporting a personal communication about the Old English then received from C.J.E. Ball.

⁹ CAVILL 2000; PARKES 1982, pp. 97-106 on the St Petersburg Bede.

¹⁰ The classic study is HUNTER BLAIR 1950.

¹¹ PARKES 1982, p. 101. The alternative numbering is due to two leaves having been numbered 51.

of the Caedmon hymn in the gloss on fol. 107 of the St Petersburg Bede has been variously described. Parkes, for example, characterised it as ‘more consistent’ and Katharine O’Brien O’Keefe as ‘particularly careful’, whereas Olaf Arngart considered the Moore Bede version to contain ‘notable archaisms’ in comparison with the St Petersburg version which he regarded as consistently mid-eighth-century in its language¹². That may indicate the copying of the Moore Bede version before the St Petersburg marginal note rather than after it as Parkes surmised; St Petersburg’s manuscript’s scribe may have regularised the first effort of the Moore Bede scribe. It may be significant that the later West Saxon versions of the hymn also appear as sometimes apparently fortuitous glosses to the story of Hild and Caedmon on the text rather than reproduced at the end of the manuscript. Alternatively, the gloss in the St Petersburg manuscript could have been adapted as a separate text in the Moore Bede¹³. It is also possible that neither scribe knew of the other’s rendering of the hymn.

The placing of the original minitext of the Caedmon hymn, therefore, reflects different individual interactions with the original text of Bede from which each of these codices was copied. It has prompted extensive discussion of the way in which the presumed oral memory of the original hymn was retained over the seventy years or so before the composition of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, and thus the process of the reception of the hymn. From its initial appearance as a minitext, the hymn itself in due course acquired its own status as a short vernacular text removed from its original narrative context¹⁴.

The Moore Bede served thereafter as the redaction of Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* from an intermediary copy of which, made at the Frankish court, many Continental copies of it descend¹⁵. The unique set of supplementary texts written in insular minuscule in the Moore Bede, however, was not transferred either into the hypothetical intermediary copy made at the Carolingian court, or into any of its descendants.

The next few lines on fol. 128v of the Moore Bede are a very different matter as far as both their content and afterlife are concerned. They are written in a caroline minuscule. This script, once thought to be dateable to the tenth

12 O’BRIEN O’KEEFE 1990, pp. 23–46; ARNGART 1952, p. 31.

13 In contrast to the extensive discussion of the St Petersburg Bede, however, Parkes only refers to the Moore Bede in passing in three footnotes: PARKES 1982, p. 100 n. 35, p. 101 n. 42 and p. 111 n. 111.

14 Both are written in prose form and raise the issues of the ‘cultural movement from orality to literacy’: see again the enlightening discussion by O’BRIEN O’KEEFE 1990, especially pp. 32–46 and her account of earlier scholarship on the manuscript records of Caedmon’s hymn.

15 BEDE, *Historia ecclesiastica*, pp. xliii–xlv.

century, was identified by Bernhard Bischoff, in his classic paper in 1965 on the ‘court library’ of Charlemagne, as written in a hand very similar to that of the Harley Gospels in LONDON, British Library, Harley 2788, that is, by a scribe associated with the court school of Charlemagne. This Carolingian addition is thus dateable to c. 800 and Bischoff suggested that it indicated that this copy of Bede’s History had been among the books available at the Frankish royal court by the end of the eighth century. Bischoff further postulated that the Carolingian descendants of the Moore Bede, written in West Frankish centres near Tours, probably Flavigny and Auxerre, in the Loire valley, as well as further north, possibly at Stavelot, were the outcome of distribution of the text from the court. Many of them include the Carolingian additions as well, as we shall see¹⁶.

The texts in caroline minuscule on this final page of the Moore Bede comprise, first of all, an extract from Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae* Book IX, 6: 28-29 on consanguinity. In manuscripts of Isidore this discussion is often accompanied by consanguinity tables (IX. 6, 28)¹⁷. The tables also appear in some Carolingian lawbooks. Two examples among many can be cited: the ninth-century law books now CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, BAV, Vat. reg. lat. 1127, fols. 3v-4r and LEIDEN, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 114, fols. 1v-2r each contain the tables in differing layouts¹⁸. In the Moore Bede codex, however, rather than the tables, the scribe has attempted a brief and highly selective summary description in his own words, and with variable spelling of the different degrees of relationship (particularly for the word and suffix ‘nepos’), as follows (indicating line changes and punctuation):

Beatus hysidorus de consanguinitate sic loquitur cuius series vii gradibus dirimetur hoc modo .i. filius & filia .ii. nepas et neptis .iii. pronepus & proneptis .iiii. abnepus & abneptis .v. adnepas & adneptis .vi. trinepos & trineptis .vii. trinepotis filius & trinepotis filia

Blessed Isidore speaks thus of consanguinity, whose series of 7 grades can be set out in this way: .i. son and daughter .ii. grandson and granddaughter .iii. great grandson and great granddaughter .iiii. great great grandson and great great granddaughter .v. great great great grandson and great great great grand-

¹⁶ See BISCHOFF 1965-1981, pp. 149-169, at pp. 160-161. English translation: BISCHOFF 1994, pp. 56-75 at pp. 67-68.

¹⁷ ISIDORE, *Etymologiae*, ed. LINDSAY (not paginated).

¹⁸ For digital reproductions see https://www.digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.1127 and <https://www.digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl>, accessed 21st March 2023.

daughter (OR son/daughter of an *abnepos*) .vi. great great great great grandson and great great great great granddaughter (OR son/daughter of the *abnepos*) .vii. son/daughter of the great great great great grandson and great great great granddaughter.

This comes before the quotation of Isidore's text from IX. 6, 29:

Haec consanguinitas (!) dum se paulatim propaginum ordinibus dirimens usque ad ultimum gradum subtraxerit, et propinquitatē esse desierit, eam rursus lex matrimonii vinculo repetit et quodammodo revocat fugientem. Ideo autem usque ad sextum generis gradu consanguinitas constituta est [OMITS ut sicut sex aetatibus mundi generatio et hominis status finitur] ita propinquitatē generis toto gradibus terminaretur.

While this consanguinity diminishes towards the last degree, as it subdivides through the levels of descent, and kinship ceases to exist, the law recovers it again through the bond of matrimony, and in a certain way calls it back as it slips away. Thus, consanguinity is established up to the sixth degree of kinship [so that just as the generation of the world and the status of humankind are defined by six ages] so kinship in a family is terminated by the same number of degrees¹⁹.

A similar attempt at summary is evident in the next section of this added text. It comprises extracts from Pope Gregory II's Synod of Rome 721 on prohibited marriages in which clauses 1-6 of the eight relevant original statements of this synod are reproduced. These raise questions about the social conditions in Rome in the early eighth century which made such specific prohibitions appropriate, and still more questions about why they should have attracted special interest at the court of Charlemagne at the end of the eighth century. The clauses chosen threatened anathema to anyone marrying women of different status. The first mentioned is a *presbytera*, which could mean the wife or former wife(?) of a priest, or a widow who had taken the veil. The other women mentioned are a nun (two terms are used), a spiritual co-mother (that is, the mother of one's godchild), a sister-in law, a niece, a stepmother, and a son or grandson's fiancée.

HUCUSQUE HYSIDORI procedit sententia. Item ex decreto papae Gregorii iunioris, qui nunc romanam catholicam regit matrem ecclesiam, quid de hac causa quam inquiritis sancxerit sancta et vera auctoritas intimamus.

I Si quis presbiteram duxerit uxorem anathema sit.

II Si quis monacham vel Deo sacratam quam Dei ancillam appellant duxerit in coniugium anathema sit.

III Si quis cum matrem spiritalem duxerit in coniugium anathema sit.

19 ISIDORE, *Etymologiae*, English translation, p. 210.

IIII Si quis fratris uxorem duxerit in coniugium anathema sit.
V Si quis neptam in coniugium sociaverit anathema sit.
*VI Si quis novercam aut nurum duxerit in coniugium anathema sit*²⁰.

This interest in consanguinity is echoed in a note (part of it was cut off by a later binder) added in a Carolingian Tironian note to the margins of fol. 17v of the Moore Bede. There it forms a reaction (unfortunately not precisely dateable) to the *Historia ecclesiastica* Book I, 27 that is, the supposed response Pope Gregory I made to the questions about who might marry whom (the fifth of the queries addressed to Gregory by Augustine of Canterbury)²¹. This is Bede's version of the famous *Libellus responsionum*, which also had a separate transmission in two other formats²². The texts on fol. 128v have generally been understood as material related to this discussion. I propose in addition that this text, together with the Isidore extract, could even be described as a small dossier that a Frankish reader inserted in the book, addressing a particular topic discussed in Bede's history, namely, the prohibited degrees of marriage, which was regarded as pertinent at the time. In this respect, there is still more to be said.

As already noted, folio 128v in the Moore Bede is the final page in the codex. There was once an extra leaf to complete the quire (Quire XIII), but only the stub of what would have been fol. 129 is visible. Some text therefore may be missing. That it is missing becomes clear from the extant work of Frankish scribes making copies of the Moore Bede in the ninth century. They copied these Frankish additions as well, though as already noted, they chose not to reproduce either the Moore annals and the Old English version of the Caedmon hymn, or the Northumbrian king list and chronological notes.

In the copy of Bede's history in PARIS, BnF, lat. 5227A from Saint Julien de Tours, written in west Francia in the second quarter of the ninth century²³,

²⁰ Synod of Rome 721 (clauses 9-17 of this synod address other topics).

²¹ See STORY and WESTWELL Notes.

²² Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* I, 27, pp. 78-103. See ELLIOT 2014: I am very grateful to David Wills and Kate Faulkner of the Squire Law Library in the University of Cambridge, and Yanning Rao of Cambridge University Library for their help in securing a copy of this article.

²³ CAMBRIDGE, University Library MS Kk.5.16 was at 'St Julien' judging from the note on fol. 128v in a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century hand. This has always been assumed to be St Julien, Le Mans. The manuscript was acquired by Hautin and thereafter was bought by John Moore. But PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms (hereafter BnF) lat. 5227A has a ninth-century *ex libris* on fol. 217v a note in a ninth-century minuscule that it belonged to Saint Julien: *hic liber est sci iuliani*. One wonders, therefore, whether the Moore Bede actually was also at the monastery of St Julien of Tours in the ninth century where it and its appendix were copied, rather than the cathedral of Le Mans.

for example, the texts have become integrated continuations after the end of Bede's text. Here, moreover, this little dossier on consanguinity has been extended by adding, not only the remaining two of the clauses from the 721 Synod concerning marriage, but also a third short text, also related to marriage and degrees of consanguinity. These extra lines also appear in BERLIN, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps MS 1873, fols. 114r-114v (a Frankish codex possibly from the Trier region)²⁴ and LONDON, British Library, Harley 4978, fols. 148v-149r (a codex dated s.IX 2/4 by Bischoff, from central France, possibly Flavigny, subsequently at Reims)²⁵. In the latter, Harley 4978, the texts on consanguinity even appear before the *Explicit* to Bede's History and are presented as if they are part of Bede's text²⁶.

The extra text supplied by these Frankish copies of Bede's History comprise two from the Roman Synod of 721 forbidding marriage to first cousins and other relations, followed by a comment on the problems of marriage of people related in the fourth, fifth and sixth degrees, but insisting that those related in the second or third degree should not marry, and should be separated if they had done so. It reads as follows:

VII Si quis consobrinam similiter in coniugium duxerit anathema sit.

VIII Si quis de propria cognatione vel quam cognatus habuit duxerit in coniugium anathema sit.

Hucusque ex decreto praedicti papae.

Invenimus etiam in aliorum decretis, quod si nescientes sicut et solet ecclesiasticam constitutionem

²⁴ BISCHOFF 1998, no. 440, p. 93; ROSE 1893, no. 133, pp. 296-297.

²⁵ BISCHOFF 2004, no. 2483, p. 122, revises his opinion to 'central France'. BISCHOFF 1965-1981, p. 161, also noted how many manuscripts descended from this Tours copy: BERN, Burgerbibliothek MS 49 – Loire region which I have so far been unable to examine; BnF lat. 5227 – France; LONDON, British Library, Harley 4978 – Flavigny; BnF lat. 5226 – Loire (incomplete and breaks off in the middle of the list of Bede's own works); BERLIN, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1873 – Auxerre; BRUSSELS, Bibliothèque royale, MS II 2295 – Stavelot which I have so far been unable to examine. In an earlier study of the additions, MACHIELSEN 1963a, also noted them, or excerpts thereof, in the late eleventh-century codex BnF lat. 12943 and in three later ninth-century penitentials, KARLSRUHE, Landesbibliothek Aug. CCLV, fols 106v-107v, CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, BAV, Barberini lat. 477, fols. 72-72v, and FIRENZE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 82, fols. 25-27.

²⁶ More texts, the first of which are credited to Jerome and Ambrose and comprise extracts from the former's commentary on Ezekiel and from a sermon of the latter, were subsequently added to the Harley codex by a different, slightly later, hand and occupy two further folios of the codex, fols. 149r-151v. The texts' identification is offered in the description accompanying the British Library digital version of the book: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_4978, consulted 24.03.2023; they would merit further work.

*per negligentiam nostri temporis sacerdotum in quarto vel in quinto vel in sexto gradu cognationis
id est cumsanguinitas (!), in coniugium copulati fuerant, non separentur, sed tamen istud non legitime
sed veniabiliter concessum esse noscatis. Idcirco prius cavendum est, ne hoc omnino proveniat.
In tertio vero vel secundo quod absit gradu, si contigerit talis copula separari oportet. Videte,
filii karissimi, quale nobis incumbit periculum si tacemus, absit. Absit ut nostrum silentium
vestrum fiat exitium.*

In commenting on this third text back in the early 1960s, before Bischoff's study of Charlemagne's court library was published, and thus with the mistaken notion that the additions were tenth century and to be located to Tours, Lambert Machielsen considered all three parts of this addition to be a single text. He related them to discussions, at mid-eighth-century Frankish councils, of Christian marriage within the Frankish social context as well as what he regarded as a missionary context. Because of the address to the *fratres carissimi*, he suggested it/they might even be part of a lost sermon, or a lost letter. He ventured the further suggestion, accepted by many, that it could be credited to the circle of Boniface of Mainz, if not Boniface himself, echoing other extant letters of Boniface and the popes in the middle of the eighth century about marriage and the prohibited degrees of consanguinity²⁷. Certainly, the assembly at Leptines in 743, presided over by the mayor of the palace Carloman (brother of Pippin III) and Boniface, refers to following the canonical decrees concerning adultery and incestuous marriages contrary to law²⁸, and the Council of Rome in 743, presided over by Pope Zacharias, makes explicit reference to the decisions made in the time of Pope Gregory II²⁹. The clauses of this synod, judging from the manuscripts recorded by Werminghoff, were widely distributed across the Frankish realm and in Italy but, like the clauses of 721, can occur in different contexts³⁰. There are also similarities between the final part of the Moore Bede dossier and an anonymous homily on the degrees of consanguin-

27 MACHIELSEN 1963a and MACHIELSEN 1963b. See the summary of the discussions in UBL 2008, pp. 240-251. Compare Boniface's reference in 735 to the legality of marriages between Christians related in the third degree in a letter to Archbishop Nothelm of Canterbury with Gregory I's replies to Augustine of Canterbury (thus from independent knowledge of the *Libellus responsionum*), Ep. 33, ed. TANGL 1916, p. 57. But see the discussion by ELLIOT 2014, who establishes that Boniface misread the *Libellus responsionum* and thus needlessly doubted the authenticity of the chapter on incest in Pope Gregory I's method of counting the degrees of consanguinity.

28 *Concilium Liftinense*, c.3 ed. WERMINGHOFF, p.7.

29 *Concilium Romanum* 743, c.15, ed. WERMINGHOFF, pp. 19-20.

30 WERMINGHOFF 1906, pp. 10-11.

ity preserved in a canon law manuscript (CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, BAV, pal. lat. 577, fols. 8r-8v), written at the turn of the eighth century in 'Continental-insular' minuscule, possibly at Hersfeld, and later at Mainz³¹.

The third element could even be regarded as directed at future readers, though a homiletic origin is also conceivable. The court context is the more likely first of all, because the dossier itself, as well as all other witnesses to the third part of the text, date to the turn of the eighth century. Secondly, uncertainty, and therefore variable practice, persisted during the eighth and ninth centuries, about whether the 'Roman' or 'canonical'/'scriptural' methods for calculating degrees of consanguinity or affinity should be the ones to use.

If we consider the context in which the decrees of the Synod of Rome of 721 are usually transmitted, moreover, the interest in consanguinity in the Moore Bede codex and its descendants is completely in accord with the extensive discussion of incest prohibitions that Karl Ubl has established were so prominent in Carolingian ecclesiastical legislation and early medieval Christian marriage law³². These discussions centred on precisely those degrees of consanguinity discussed by Isidore of Seville, and by Gregory I in the *Libellus responsionum*. The latter had its own transmission history independent of Bede's version, for it had been included in many canon law collections since the seventh century³³. The method of counting, whether according to the Roman method underlying the 721 synod's decrees, or in the 'scriptural' (also known as 'canonical' way) that Gregory I favoured, is the crucial element³⁴. Discussion of the marriage of relatives also included concern with the impediments of the spiritual relationships created by godparenthood³⁵.

It is not only the Moore Bede's dossier that suggest that this discussion can be more precisely associated with the Frankish royal court circle. That the 721 synodal clauses were widely distributed from the later eighth century onwards is clear from extant canon law collections. The first eight clauses of the Synod are to be found forming the concluding section of the canon law collection known as the *Dionysio-Hadriana*, sent to Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian in 774, but probably compiled in Rome before 731. This is suggested by its refer-

31 MACHIELSEN 1961 at pp. 496-8; *CLA* I, 97; MORDEK 1975, pp. 563, 774-779; and see also GLATTHAAR, 2004, pp. 88-91 and 388-9.

32 UBL 2008, especially pp. 217-383. See also D'AVRAY, 2012.

33 ELLIOT 2014, pp. 64-65, 94-101.

34 UBL 2008, pp. 17-18 and 237-240.

35 See LYNCH 1986, and JUSSEN 1991.

ence to Pope Gregory as Gregory *Iunior* who was succeeded by Pope Gregory III in 731. The *Dionysio-Hadriana* mostly comprised the earlier collection of oecumenical and African conciliar canons and papal decretals known as the *Dionysiana*, but also included Gregory II's Roman synodal decrees concerning marriage prohibitions³⁶.

The *Dionysio-Hadriana* survives in a great many ninth-century copies of this collection copied throughout the Frankish realms, including a significant number which date to the late eighth or beginning of the ninth century³⁷. Two late eighth- and early ninth-century examples are from the scriptorium which produced the 'a-b' script, that is, possibly Jouarre or Chelles which had close links to the Frankish court, and Freising respectively³⁸. Of particular interest in relation to the Moore Bede additions, as Karl Ubl has noted, is the codex now KÖLN, Dombibliothek, MS 115, written in the time of Charlemagne's archchaplain Hildebold archbishop of Cologne, for it contains additional material – the Rome Council of 743 and an excerpt from Pope Gregory III's letter to Boniface of Mainz – relating to marriage prohibitions from the middle of the eighth century³⁹. This codex reinforces the possibility that the *Dionysio-Hadriana* collection was indeed available for consultation by members of the court circle, and that it was a topic of immediate interest.

Further, marriage according to the norms of Christianity and Roman observance (*iuxta ritum et normam christianitatis et religionem Romanorum*) is also one of the issues alluded to in Pope Zacharias I's responses to Pippin III's queries in 747, preserved in the *Codex epistolaris Carolinus* compiled at the court of Charlemagne on the king's orders c. 791⁴⁰. This makes it all the more compelling that there were concerns with Christian marriage laws at the Carolingian court at the time of the insertion of these 'minitexts' in the Moore Bede manuscript. We may imagine, therefore, that whoever compiled the short dossier on consanguinity on the last two leaves of the Moore Bede drew on a number of other texts to hand, probably at that stage in the royal library.

³⁶ The *Collectio Dionysiana* in full has been edited from different manuscripts: STREWE, 1931, (from BAV pal. lat. 577) and JUSTEL, 1628 and 1643, from Oxford Bodleian Library e Mus. 103, reprinted in PL 67, cols 137-316. The *Dionysio-Hadriana* has not been fully edited. See also FIREY, Carolingian law project.

³⁷ KÉRY 1999, pp. 14-17.

³⁸ MCKITTERICK 1992 reprinted in MCKITTERICK 1994, Chapter VII.

³⁹ BISCHOFF 1965, pp. 17-35; UBL 2008, pp. 295-297.

⁴⁰ *Codex carolinus*, 3, c. 22, ed. GUNDLACH, *Codex carolinus* (MGH Epp. III), p. 485; *Codex carolinus* English translation, CC 5, c. 22, p.178.

Their subsequent repetition during the ninth century in both the additions to later Carolingian copies of Bede's history and of the *Dionysio-Hadriana* collection of canon law, as well as in other independent assemblies of ecclesiastical legislation, suggests a continued anxiety to observe the rules of consanguinity. LAON, Bibliothèque municipale Suzanne Martinet, MS 201, for example, is a codex dated to the middle of the ninth century and was given by Bishop Theoderic of Cambrai (831-863). It contains an independent compilation of canonical as well as capitulary and theological texts, namely, extracts from Isidore's *Etymologiae* VII, 9:15-18 and 28, and IX, 6: 102 on divination and *sortilege*, and the beginning of the discussion on paternal and maternal relatives, a glossary (fols. 31r-29v), canons from councils of Carthage, Vaison and Ancyra, excerpts from the council of Aachen 816, the *Collectio canonum Laudunensis*, fols. 38r-94v and excerpts from Carolingian synods. On fols. 110r-111, a different hand has added a 'minitext' in the form of twelve clauses in abbreviated form from Pope Gregory II's synod of Rome in 721⁴¹. Further, Mordek records a partial copy of the Laon manuscript's fols. 30r-112r in a codex that seems to be a priest's handbook, extant in ST PETERSBURG, Rossiiskaia Natsional'naia Biblioteka, Q.v.II.5 fols. 11-53r. It too preserves the clauses from the 721 Synod of Rome on fols. 52r-v⁴².

Given the treatment of Isidore and the 721 synod in the 'minitexts' consanguinity dossier in the Moore Bede and its descendants, and despite the body of opinion favouring the mid-eighth-century Bonifacian context, the implications of the dating from the late eighth century onwards of all the manuscript witnesses need to be given greater weight. The Moore Bede dossier appears to be an instance of an independent, if very derivative, summary of opinions – little more than jottings – which can be associated with the Frankish court during the reign of Charlemagne. It subsequently enjoyed an afterlife in the course of the ninth century and beyond, possibly helped by the references to the authority of both Isidore and Pope Gregory II.

The Moore Bede's minitexts have thus provided a number of different types: the insular additions offer an individual continuation made by a scribe rather than the author of the original text but augment the text. The Old English Northumbrian version of Caedmon's hymn was presumably based on oral

⁴¹ I am grateful to Sam Ottewill-Soulsby for bringing this manuscript to my attention. He has established that the Synod of Rome is a slightly later ninth-century addition to the manuscript. For a description and detailed list of contents, but without differentiation between stages of production, see MORDEK 1995, pp. 195-200. On the *Collectio canonum Laudunensis* see REYNOLDS 1983.

⁴² MORDEK 1995, pp. 698-702 at p. 701 and KÉRY 1999, pp. 166-167.

memory of a text given in Latin by the original author and had some afterlife both as a gloss and, from the tenth century, in a West Saxon dialect version. The caroline minuscule consanguinity dossier reflects a reader's engagement with a particular aspect of the original text, drawing on other existing texts, two of which at least had a wide and independent transmission of their own, both at the time and subsequently, in contexts in which the permitted and prohibited degrees of marriage remained important considerations for the compilers.

Namur, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 11

Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* prompted other associations. The composite history book, now NAMUR, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11 was probably written at St Hubert and was dated by Bischoff to the middle or third quarter of the ninth century. It appears to be formed of two parts. Fols. 1-60v contain a copy of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, this time combined on fols. 61r-222r with the *Historiae* of Gregory of Tours in its 'C' version to which the fourth book of the Chronicle of (ps)-Fredegar and the Continuations have been added. Further, a chapter sequence starts at Book X chapter 1 of Gregory's Histories and continues through Fredegar and the Continuations to 'Chapter CVIII' and the death of Charles Martel. Charles Plummer used this manuscript as one of his principal four in editing Bede's History, under the impression that it was an eighth-century codex, but he stated baldly that 'for the settlement of the text it is quite worthless'⁴³.

The Caedmon hymn in this codex remains in Latin (fol. 42v) with no Old English gloss, and the Moore Annals and other material added in the Moore Bede are also absent⁴⁴. Helmut Reimitz is currently working on the version of Gregory's Histories in this manuscript, but the association of the narrative of the conversion of the English to Christianity with Gregory's particular emphases in his Frankish history by this scribe would also merit further consideration for which this is not the appropriate place⁴⁵. It is in the portion containing

⁴³ PLUMMER 1896, pp. lxxxvi-lxxxvii.

⁴⁴ On fol. 60v there is an eleventh-century addition of an extract from Augustine's *Soliloquies* included in Books of Hours for the night office: «Deus pater noster qui ut oremus hortaris qui et hoc rogaris prestas siquidem cum te rogamus in melius vivimus. Exaudi me palpitantem in his tenebris et michi dexteram tuam porrige pretende michi lumen tuum revoca me ab erroribus et te duce in me redeam et in te. Per dominum nostrum iesum christum filium tuum».

⁴⁵ I am grateful to Helmut Reimitz for bringing this manuscript to my attention and for kindly sending me a complete set of photographs of it.

Frankish history that we find another precious indication of a reader's response to the main text in the form of a minitext. In this instance the writer of this minuscule addition actually includes information to be found nowhere else. If we turn to the final page, fol. 223v, the bottom portion of which is missing, a late ninth-century scribe has extracted information about the Merovingian and Carolingian rulers in order to form a kinglist from Clovis to Charlemagne with the length of their reigns, preceded by a brief note to record the number of years from the beginning of the world according to the Hebrew calculation as verified by Jerome, to the fourteenth year of Heraclius. The leaf is truncated, so that the detail about the number of years is missing. Similarly, whether any kings were added after the 46-year reign of Charles king and emperor is recorded is not known, for the bottom section of the leaf is also missing. A second hand has then inserted the names of the sons of many of these kings. It is as if a reader were trying to keep track of the complex succession pattern of the Frankish kings. Its position on the recto of the final leaf of the quire may have made it something the reader could jot down by moving back and forth in the text. The listing of so many sons makes this kinglist unusual and appears to be unique to this manuscript⁴⁶. What kind of oral, even gossipy, information in circulation, or perhaps something more formal in local memory, might such an intervention signal? That is something that further investigation of any further minitexts in the form of kinglists may establish. The list as a whole is not to be classified as an appendix or specific location record like the list in the Moore Bede. It may nevertheless have been designed to aid the memory and to function as a crude index to the principal protagonists in the history. It certainly reflects readers' engagement with the main text of the codex.

BAV, reg. lat. 1127 and its implications

One final example, CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, BAV, reg. lat. 1127, dated to the second quarter of the ninth century and of Angoulême provenance, prompts some observations about minitexts in general. This manuscript largely comprises conciliar decrees, papal decretals and an epitome of the *Liber pontificalis*. On fol. 10v, there is a brief world history which also seems to function as a dating clause. On fol. 11r is the first page of the unique copy of the *Annales engolismenses*, which are very well known but which were in fact bound into

⁴⁶ For the wider context see HLAWITSCHKA 1979. POHL 2016. For other examples see PERTZ 1829, WAITZ 1881, and KRUSCH, *Catalogi*.

the manuscript sometime after it was owned by Alexandre Petau in the sixteenth century. There are many references to attacks by the Northmen, and the Breton ruler Nominoë and the monastery of Angoulême are also mentioned⁴⁷. These *annales* are not mentioned in Petau's list of contents and the structure of the book makes it quite clear that the leaf containing the annal entries and the following leaf comprise an inserted bifolium (fols. 11r-12v). This could of course have been an addition to some other codex of which we are now ignorant, and needs to be considered as a minitext that has become detached from its original context. There are, moreover, clues in connection with Ademar of Chabannes and his own manuscripts that could be pursued on another occasion⁴⁸.

The short paragraph added on fol. 10v reads as follows.

*Ab exordio mundi usq; ad diluvium
sunt anni duo milia. CCXL et duo
Ad diluvio usq; ad natiuitate
Abrabe sunt anni DCCCCXLII
Passum autem dnm nrm ihm xpm
p(er)actis ab ortu mundi quinque
milia CCXX et VIII anni
A passione dni nri ihu xpi usq; ad sedem
beatissimi marcellini pape sunt anni
CCLXXVI m VIII
De apostolato iam facto xpi martyris
marcellini usq; te(m)pus gloriosissimi
dom karoli regis xxv anni regni eius
Hoc est usque VIII kl April
sunt anni CCCCXC ƿ menses III⁴⁹*

The note reproduces a standard calculation about the number of years from the Creation to the Flood, from the Flood to the birth of Abraham, the passion of Christ, and the years since the Passion. It apparently brings the reader to his own time and the 25th year of the reign of Charlemagne, that is,

⁴⁷ *Annales engolismenses*, p. 5 and compare MGH SS 14, Hanover, 1883, p. 485; Löwe 1973, p. 615, n. 506.

⁴⁸ One of the manuscripts of Ademar of Chabannes, BnF lat. 2400 (explicit fol. 102v) and partly in his own hand, is an early eleventh-century codex which also contains Amalarius of Metz, *Liber officialis*, the canon law collection known as the *Collectio herovalliana*, *ordines*, and Ademar's version of the *Liber pontificalis* among other shorter texts. Indeed, fols. 173v-182v also appear to have been copied from the *canones* section of BAV, reg. lat. 1127, fols. 52v-56v. See DELISLE 1896, pp. 296-301, and LANDES 1995, pp. 362-365.

⁴⁹ MAASSEN 1870, p. 614, edited this short note from BnF lat. 1451 where the papal list also ended with Hadrian †795.

793, but with an interesting extra marker before that, chosen to note the reign and martyrdom of the 30th pope Marcellinus (295-303). Why this pope is mentioned is a puzzle. If the note's date be correct, it is too early to be connected with the gift of the relics of Pope Marcellinus to Redon in 848-849 recorded in the *Gesta sanctorum Rotonensium*⁵⁰. Perhaps the *Liber pontificalis* epitome's entry on Marcellinus in this same codex, with the report of his repentance after offering incense at a pagan sacrifice during the persecutions of the emperor Diocletian, and Marcellinus's execution may have prompted it. Alternatively, it may indicate some special reverence for Pope Marcellinus in the place where the book was written. The *Liber pontificalis* on Marcellinus is quoted in Conwoion's *Gesta sanctorum Rotonensium* after all.

In its position on the page, the paragraph looks a little like an afterthought. It is placed after a list of popes that ends with Paschal I (817-824). It could be that the empty column in the top right of the page was deliberately left blank to accommodate the names of subsequent popes. The disparity between the date at the end of this paragraph and the last pope in the papal list, suggests, however, that the 793 date was taken over from an exemplar, where it could have been either a marginal note or again a formal integrated note as it seems to be here. In fact, there are two other manuscripts containing most of the texts in this Vatican codex. These are DEN HAAG, Huis van het Boek. Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum, MS 10.B.4 of the second half of the eighth century from the ecclesiastical province of Bourges⁵¹, and PARIS, BnF, lat. 1451 from the Tours region and dated to the first quarter of the ninth century⁵². Both manuscripts contain the copies of the so-called Felician epitome of the *Liber pontificalis*⁵³. Michael Eber has studied them in detail because they also contain the canon law collection known as the *Collectio sancti mauri*. It is the manuscript in The Hague which could have been the exemplar for the Paris and Vatican copies but unfortunately the relevant preliminary pages are missing⁵⁴. One other Carolingian codex with this assembly of texts is now lost, formerly LAON, Bibliothèque municipale, Suzanne Martinet MS 36, but a record of it was made by Etienne Baluze⁵⁵.

⁵⁰ *Gesta sanctorum Rotonensium*, ed. BRETT, pp. 174-82, and SMITH 2000, pp. 333 and 336, SMITH 2001, and HERBERS 1996, pp. 320-326, 373-378.

⁵¹ Mistakenly identified as being from Reims in MCKITTERICK 2020, p. 197.

⁵² *CLA* X, 1572a and 1572b, and *CLA* V, 528.

⁵³ MCKITTERICK 2020, pp. 195-198.

⁵⁴ For full discussion see EBER 2023, pp. 172-229.

⁵⁵ EBER 2023, pp. 319-321, and CONTRENI 1980.

The little chronological note perhaps originally had a similar function to the chronological notes added by the scribe of the Moore Bede, in that it was the way in which the scribe placed his own history in relation to the events reflected in the other texts he was copying, and in this case especially the papal succession. The fact that we can see the note being taken up and recopied, even though not updated, nevertheless may make a comparison of the same minitext occurring in different contexts possible. This, and perhaps also the inserted *Annales engolismenses*, alert us to the need, by checking the codicological contexts, to ascertain whether the minitexts are not themselves becoming part of the context rather than reactions to or comments on it.

Conclusion

These case studies of Latin historiography supplemented by a vernacular poem, canon law, epistolary and homiletic material and kinglists, therefore, suggest an association of ideas between main text and added minitexts. Yet they have also exposed a variety of sources for the minitexts, from a written record of oral memory, a summary of one aspect of a well-established text as in the case of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, and the reproduction of papal rulings which were part of another widely-circulated collection of canon law, to some interesting chronological summaries which appear to reflect a reader's engagement with the entire codex in which the minitext was inserted. The dossier of minitexts on consanguinity had an afterlife, becoming a part of what is presented as the integrated text. The short chronological summary in BAV, reg. lat. 1127 appears in more than one manuscript as already integrated by the scribes, which may indicate that it started life as an independent minitext. These examples, moreover, have underlined not only the complex network of texts, interconnections and communication underlying the creation and transmission of a minitext, but also how sometimes they can be associated with an immediate context of contemporary preoccupations. They indicate too how much we can learn in general about early medieval intellectual culture from pursuing both the engagements with knowledge represented in readers' additions to their manuscripts, and the questions they raise. In the specific instances considered in this chapter, preoccupations with marriage prohibitions, consanguinity, and relative chronology in response to particular historical texts and events have been exposed. Minitexts, therefore, may be understood as snatches of conversations which draw on a great deal of other material current at the time, often remembered rather imperfectly and incompletely, and probably with no intention for them to continue to be copied. It may be imposing

too formal a status on particular texts if they are categorised too dogmatically as 'sermons' or sections in canon law manuscripts. Rather than solid bricks in the transmission of a text, they need to be recognized as more informal written interventions in a book as part of a communication process between readers, scribes and their books in early medieval culture.

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Yitzhak Hen

What Has Magic to Do with Prayer? Unorthodox Minitexts in vade mecum Prayerbooks for Priests

Abstract

In recent years, a growing number of studies of smaller, simpler and much tattered liturgical manuscripts that were produced for the use of missionaries, priests of small churches and itinerant preachers, have contributed immensely to our understanding of early medieval liturgy, and of what pastoral care really consisted of in the early medieval West. Many of these *vade mecum* handbooks for priests also contain some small, unorthodox texts of magical nature. Notwithstanding the fact that throughout Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages such texts and the worldview they represented were repeatedly questioned, denounced and condemned by Christian authorities and policy makers, they were copied into, or attached to, Christian handbooks for priests. This paper looks at a few examples of such texts, and attempts to explain their presence in liturgical codices by referring to the nature of magic and magical practices in the early medieval West.

Keywords

Magic; Liturgy; *Sortes sanctorum*; Charms; Fortune telling

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One of the most significant developments in liturgical studies during the past generation has been the ever-increasing role that small, tattered and unattractive manuscripts have come to play in understanding the nature of early medieval liturgy and the context in which it was produced¹. In the past, whenever liturgists or historians wished to examine the liturgical developments and characteristics of a certain period or a certain region, they turned directly and without any qualm to lavishly produced liturgical manuscripts. This circumstantial anomaly created a misleading bias in liturgical studies, for it forced liturgists to concentrate on a select group of *de-luxe* or well-prepared volumes, which were produced, to a larger extent, for well-established ecclesiastical institutions, or for obscenely rich private patrons, but again with a central ecclesiastical institution in mind². However, luxurious liturgical codices could not have been the bulk of the liturgical productivity of early medieval *scriptoria*. A huge number of liturgical manuscripts of a lesser artistic or codicological quality, but not necessarily of inferior liturgical importance, were also copied and distributed, despite the fact that very few of them survive intact.

In recent years, the burgeoning interest in smaller, simpler and much cheaper liturgical manuscripts that were produced for the use of missionaries, priests of small churches and itinerant preachers, have contributed much to our understanding not only of early medieval liturgy, but also of the nature and limitations of pastoral care in the early medieval West³. The so-called Bobbio Missal is one of the most illustrious examples of such a book⁴. Copied in south-eastern France in the last decades of Merovingian rule, the Bobbio Missal is, to cite Elias A. Lowe, ‘the work of a private individual – a cleric who made a copy of the service book of which he stood in need, and which, to judge

1 HEN 2016a, especially pp. 77-79; HEN 2016b.

2 See, for example, the so-called Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, discussed in HEN 2001a, pp. 138-146.

3 See, for example, HEN 1999; HEN 2001b; HEN (in press); MEEDER 2005.

4 PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 13246. *CLLA*, n. 220. For its edition, see *The Bobbio Missal* 1920.

from its size, he probably carried about with him in his travels⁵. Thus, judging from the script, the manuscript layout, and its content, the Bobbio Missal can justifiably be described as a *vade mecum* of a Merovingian priest⁶. When compared with the splendid Merovingian sacramentaries of the late seventh and eighth century⁷, the Bobbio Missal seems poor and unpretentious.

In an important paper titled ‘Célébration épiscopale et célébration prebyterale: une essai de typologie’, the liturgist Niels Rasmussen suggested a new way to arrange the typology of early medieval liturgical manuscripts. According to him both the material aspects and the layout of a manuscript, as well as its liturgical content can help us to determine the manuscript’s destination and function. Sacramentaries, for example, were produced for monastic, episcopal and presbyterial use, and only by examining their external form and liturgical content can one determine to which of the above-mentioned categories a certain manuscript belongs⁸. A good example which elucidates Rasmussen’s observations is a small liturgical manuscript from Brussels⁹. The modesty in the preparation of this volume (very much like the Bobbio Missal), its small and handy form (similar to a Penguin paperback), and the peculiar character of the short sacramentary which it accommodates, containing the prayers for only eleven major feasts of the liturgical year, all suggest that it was produced for a priest of some small church¹⁰.

Following Rasmussen, I have suggested two more criteria that can be added to Rasmussen’s double yardstick. First, the content of the entire manuscript and not just its liturgical section can disclose the manuscript’s functional destination. Second, the combination of two or more types of liturgical books, together with some canonical material in one manuscript indicates a destination far from an ecclesiastical or a monastic centre. Indeed, both the Bobbio Missal and the Brussels manuscript illustrate this point, for their liturgical section is juxtaposed with a plethora of canonical and doctrinal material, which is usually absent from *de-luxe* liturgical manuscripts. The liturgical section of both handbooks is composed from a selection of different liturgical pieces, and con-

⁵ LOWE 1924, pp. 67-68.

⁶ See the various papers in *The Bobbio Missal* 2004.

⁷ On these manuscripts, see VOGEL 1986. See also BERNARD 1996; HEN 2001a; SMYTH 2003, and see the references cited there.

⁸ RASMUSSEN 1987.

⁹ BRUXELLES, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 10127-10144. *CLLA*, nn. 856 and 1320. The sacramentary of this manuscript was published as *Liber sacramentorum excarpus*.

¹⁰ HEN (in press). See also RASMUSSEN 1998, pp. 436-439; BULLOUGH 1999, pp. 48-49.

tains a unique combination of a sacramentary, a lectionary, and in the Brussels manuscript also an antiphonary, several *ordines* and various other ceremonial instructions. These peculiarities imply that such manuscripts were composed with a view to assisting a local priest of a small church or an itinerant priest, providing him with a selection of liturgical and doctrinal material he might need in order to execute his job¹¹.

Similar studies have yielded similar conclusions. For example, Helen Gittos' analysis of the so-called Red Book of Darley¹², and Victoria Thompson's discussion of a late Anglo-Saxon liturgical miscellany¹³, clearly demonstrate that both eleventh-century books were compiled with a local priest in mind, and both were designed to assist this priest in executing his pastoral duties¹⁴. The Red Book of Darley, as pointed out by Gittos, 'seems to contain almost everything that the putative parish priest required'¹⁵. Whether these texts were selected and copied by the original owner of the book for his personal use, as suggested by Chistopher Hohler¹⁶, or whether the compilation was prepared in a well-established centre for the use of local priests, is, unfortunately, impossible to gauge. Similarly, the carefully selected texts in Oxford miscellany suggest that it was designed to help the clergy in administering their ministry to the sick and dying¹⁷.

The focus on modest liturgical manuscripts, rather than on *de-luxe* and lavishly produced ones, is proving to be seminal for our understanding of medieval liturgy and its religious as well as cultural significance¹⁸. The main principle that guided the production and compilation of such *vade mecum* prayer-books was functionality. They had to be handy, manageable, and contain a core of liturgical material that a local priest may need. Given the fact that each of these manuscripts is different, and no archetype (or archetypes) could be postulated, it would be safe to conclude that each and every *vade mecum* for priests was a unique individual compilation, designed and probably executed by its owner, or commissioned by him from a centre that produced such books.

11 HEN (in press); HEN 1999; HEN 2001b; HEN 2016b; VAN RHIJN 2016; VAN RHIJN 2022, pp. 52-83.

12 CAMBRIDGE, Corpus Christi College, MS 422.

13 OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 482.

14 See GITTOS 2005; THOMPSON 2005. See also PFAFF 2009, pp. 94-96.

15 GITTOS 2005, p. 69.

16 HOHLER 1972.

17 THOMPSON 2005.

18 See also the comments in PALAZZO 2009.

Since these handbooks were intended for practical use, each of their owners could, and in many cases actually did, add some new material they deemed appropriate, and even insert some texts of their own if they were only capable of composing new ones. No wonder, then, that the vast majority of these booklets contain numerous minitexts, which were scribbled on the margins and empty leaves, or inserted into these codices as flyleaves and smaller scraps. These were living compendia, constantly updated and supplemented. What is noteworthy about these minitexts is not so much the fact that they were added to these manuscripts in the first place, but rather the fact that a high percentage of these addenda were scraps of unorthodox texts, of which the lion's share refers to magical lore and divination, practices that were denounced and condemned unequivocally by Christian authorities and secular legislation.

Let me give some examples. A short text on divination by thunder was added to an empty space in a liturgic-canonical handbook, that was copied in West Francia around the third quarter of the ninth century¹⁹. This manuscript was later deposited in the library of Fleury, from where part of it was stolen by Guglielmo Libri, and nowadays it is divided between Florence and Orléans²⁰. In a similar compendium, this time from central Francia and dated by Bischoff to 813-815²¹, a small section from the so-called *Sortes Sanctorum* was copied in between an explanation on the solstice and one on the new moon²². A charm for revealing the identity of a thief was added on a small scrap to Ælfwine's prayerbook²³; several pagan charms in Old High German were copied, possibly in Fulda, on a blank page of a small liturgical handbook²⁴; and, to give just one more example, at the end of the Irish Stowe Missal, someone added three spells in Old Irish – one for a bad eye, one for a thorn, and one for the disease of the urine²⁵.

These examples are only the tip of an iceberg, and they represent a widespread phenomenon that could also be found, although to a lesser extent, in lavish liturgical manuscripts from the early Middle Ages. The Gellone Sac-

19 FIRENZE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Ashburnham 82, fols. 16v-17r.

20 See HEN 2001b.

21 BISCHOFF 1998-2017, III, p. 82. See also MORDEK 1995, p. 430-432; CARTELLE 2013, pp. 41-42.

22 PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2796, fol. 107r. For its edition, see CARTELLE 2013.

23 LONDON, British Library, MS Cotton Titus D XXVII, fol. 79v.

24 MERSEBURG, Domstiftsbibliothek, Codex 136, fol. 85r.

25 DUBLIN, Royal Irish Academy, MS D II 3, fol. 67v. *CLLA*, n. 101. For its edition, see *The Stowe Missal* 1915, p. 39, with an English translation on p. 42.

ramentary, for example, contains a list of Egyptian Days that was copied on a blank space, just before the beginning of the Martyrology²⁶. This list of unlucky days was later incorporated into most of the calendars from the Carolingian period²⁷. Similarly, a short text on bad days was inserted to a lavishly produced Anglo-Saxon Psalter²⁸, where one could also find a charm against the theft of bees.²⁹ Another charm, this time to pacify a swarm of bees was added to a splendid copy of the Apocalypse in ninth-century Lorsch³⁰.

The large number of references to magic and divination in liturgical books, and more so in *vade mecum* handbooks for priests, is puzzling. What immediately comes to mind is Tertullian's wonder – 'What has Athens to do with Jerusalem? The Academy with the Church? or Heretics with Christians?'³¹ – which was echoed a few centuries later by Alcuin of York in a letter to Bishop Speratus – 'What has Ingeld to do with Christ?'³² Following their footsteps, one should ask: 'what has magic to do with prayers?' and 'how could we explain the presence of magical lore in Christian prayerbooks? The widespread phenomenon of inserting magical minitexts into liturgical manuscripts merits some consideration.

If taken at face value, the references to various magical practices and divinations in liturgical manuscripts and prayerbooks for priests accord extremely well with Valerie Flint's observations on the rise of magic in western Europe during the early Middle Ages³³. Adopting the paradigm of rise and fall, suggested by the title of Keith Thomas' seminal study of magic in early modern Europe³⁴, Valerie Flint has argued for the rise of magic in early medieval Europe, not as a mere revitalised 'pagan survival', but as Christianised pagan practices that were adopted by the Church and its representatives³⁵. In her book, Flint maintains that the Church, after rejecting all forms of magic,

26 PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 12048, fol. 26iv. *CLLA*, n. 855.

27 See BORST 2001, *passim*.

28 LONDON, British Library, MS Vitellius E XVIII, fol. 9r.

29 LONDON, British Library, MS Vitellius E XVIII, fol. 15r.

30 CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 226, fol. 58r. On the cultural context of these charms, see JOLLY 1996.

31 TERTULLIAN, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, c. 7, p. 98.

32 ALCUIN, *Epistolae*, n. 124, p. 183. For an English translation and discussion, see BULLOUGH 1993.

33 See FLINT 1991.

34 THOMAS 1971.

35 See FLINT 1991.

realised how important it was for the people, and therefore ‘rescued’ it by incorporating some magical practices into Christianity’s own world of beliefs, perceptions and attitudes³⁶.

This is not the place to discuss all the flaws in Flint’s argument, but one has to be mentioned up front. Flint had adopted a baffling synoptic approach, making little allowance for chronological or geographical differences. Hence, for her, the problems that Roman magic raised for late antique bishops, such as Ambrose of Milan and Augustine of Hippo, were basically the same kind of problems that the so-called Germanic paganism raised for missionaries and churchmen in Carolingian Francia or late Anglo-Saxon England. The ways of coping with these practices, according to Flint, was different. Whereas the former merely condemned magical practices and classified them as pagan and diabolical, the latter ‘rescued’ these practices, Christianised them, and adopted them. In both cases magic was tolerated and allowed to be transported across centuries, in what seems like a continuous saturnalia of magical lore³⁷.

With all due respect, I beg to differ. The multiplying references to various magical practices and divination in the sources from the fifth to the tenth century, and foremost among them in *vade mecum* handbooks for priests, must not be taken to imply that magic was on the rise in western Europe during the early Middle Ages, nor that it was ‘Christianised’ in some sort of an official move. I would suggest that the study of magical practices and divination within the Christian society of the early medieval West, requires a preliminary mental readjustment. We must temporarily abandon familiar cultural territory and radically question received intellectual categories. Early medieval society was fundamentally different from our own, and the concepts that we employ to describe contemporary religious phenomena are necessarily ill adapted to the analysis of what medieval people regarded as the divine sphere.

In a superbly provocative paper, cheekily entitled ‘Mandatory retirement: ideas in the study of Christian origins whose time has come to go’, Paula Fredriksen throws into the dustbin of history four much-used terms that routinely appear in scholarship on early Christianity – conversion, nationalism, *religio licita*, and monotheism. These terms served scholars of ancient Christianity both as a kind of academic shorthand and as interpretative concepts, but they also import anachronism and distortion into historical descriptions of the cultural context of Christianity and its origins, ultimately obscuring precisely

³⁶ See FLINT 1991, especially pp. 59–84.

³⁷ See FLINT 1991, pp. 87–328.

the evidence that they are mobilized to illuminate³⁸. I think it is about time to throw our modern concept of magic into that bin as well.

Let me demonstrate my point by recurring to one of the texts we have already encountered, the so-called *Sortes Sanctorum*. This practice of divination by casting lots (*sortes*), in both its pagan and Christian forms, was unequivocally condemned as superstitious by various Christian authors and policy-makers from the time of Augustine onwards³⁹. For example, in the first council of Orléans, which was convened in 511 under the auspices of King Clovis⁴⁰, the Merovingian bishops resolved (among other things) that:

If any cleric, monk or laymen shall think he should observe divination or auguries or casting the lots (*sortes*), which they say are ‘of the saints’ (*sanctorum*) to whomever they should believe they should make them known, they are to be expelled from the Church’s communion with those who believe in them⁴¹.

This canon is simple and straightforward. It rules against any form of divination or fortune telling, and it clearly associates the use of the *sortes* with unorthodox superstitious behaviour, a reminiscent survival of the pagan past. The fact that a peculiar practice called *sortes sanctorum* was listed in the very same canon along other forms of condemned divinations, must not be taken to imply that the *sortes* were somehow Christianised. The *Sortes Sanctorum* were also condemned in an uncompromised language, and this resolution was subsequently repeated by several regional and ‘national’ Church councils, numerous penitentials, and secular legislation⁴².

Notwithstanding the ‘official’ ecclesiastical position, it should come as no surprise that *sortes* continued to be used by all. In his *Ten Books of History*, Gregory of Tours relates how Merovech, King Chilperic’s son, consulted the *sortes* to check whether he would inherit his father’s kingdom as was predicted by a certain female soothsayer;⁴³ and in a different passage he relates how King Chlothar I consulted the *sortes*, this time in an attempt to reach a political de-

38 FREDRIKSEN 2006.

39 On the *Sortes Sanctorum*, see FLINT 1991, pp. 273–286; KLINGSHIRN 2002; CARTELLE 2013, pp. 9–40. LUIJENDIJK and KLINGSHIRN 2018. For an edition of the text, see CARTELLE 2013, pp. 65–131.

40 On the first Church Council of Orléans, see PONTAL 1989, pp. 47–58; HALFOND 2010, p. 223 and *passim*.

41 *Concilium Aurelianenses I*, c. 30, vol. 1, p. 88. I cite the English translation from HILLGARTH 1986, p. 103.

42 See HEN 2015, p. 195.

43 GREGORY OF TOURS, *Libri Historiarum*, V.14, pp. 271–271.

cision⁴⁴. Whereas the former incident could be dismissed as a deviant aberration, brought about by Merovech's own distress and insecurity, the latter is much more compelling. It was the priests of Dijon's cathedral who consulted the *sortes*, ignoring the unambiguous conciliar decrees just mentioned, and Gregory found nothing wrong in it⁴⁵. Could it be that Gregory, the ultra-conservative bishop of Tours, understood the use of the *sortes* as a harmless and non-threatening superstitious practice that has nothing to do with religious beliefs or pagan cults?

Condemned magical practices are one thing, and the persistent use of supposedly magical practices as part of society's cultural and social heritage is another thing. The difference between them is like the difference between a fictitious reality, created by means of Christian rhetoric, and the reality of everyday life. One should not confuse between the two, and any attempt to portray the everyday practices of a Christian society as the rise of magic in a Christianised form is idiosyncratic and anachronistic.

The case of the *Sortes Sanctorum* clearly highlights the inadequacy of modern terminology to describe and classify early medieval cultural-religious phenomena, and it emphasises how very fine, and often blurred, is the line that separates 'magic' from 'religion', *superstitio* from *religio licita*. The exchange between the anthropologist Hildred Geertz and the historian Keith Thomas, which appeared in the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*,⁴⁶ are extremely enlightening in this respect.

In her review of *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, Hildred Geertz has criticised Keith Thomas on account of the clear distinction he makes between 'religion' and 'magic', as two separable cultural complexes which can be in competition and whose fortunes may sometimes rise and fall separately⁴⁷. Geertz challenged Thomas' conception that, 'religion is a term that covers the kind of beliefs and practices that are comprehensive, organized and concerned with providing general symbols of life', whereas 'magic' is a label used to denote 'those beliefs and practices which are specific, incoherent, and primarily oriented toward providing practical solutions to immediate problems and

⁴⁴ GREGORY OF TOURS, *Libri Historiarum*, IV.16, pp. 212-213.

⁴⁵ For a discussion of these passages, see ZEDDIES 1999, pp. 260-270; Hen 2015, pp. 193-198. One should stress the fact that Gregory does not mention the *sortes sanctorum* explicitly, but he undoubtedly refers to a similar practice of divination by casting lots.

⁴⁶ GEERTZ 1975; THOMAS 1975. I have discussed this debate more fully in HEN 2015.

⁴⁷ GEERTZ 1975, p. 72.

not referable to any coherent scheme of ideas'⁴⁸. Thomas responded to Geertz that it was the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformers who first declared that 'magic is coercive and religion intercessory, and that magic was not a false religion, but a different sort of activity altogether'⁴⁹.

As far as the early Middle Ages are concerned, the early-modern categories of 'magic' and 'religion' are ill-suited to illuminate the complex reality of the Christianised West, not the least because the line between magic and religion is extremely frail and blurred, and therefore impossible to draw. Certain essential characteristics of early medieval Christianity, such as the cults of saints and relics, or even the sacraments themselves, would be viewed by Protestant reformers as magical, since they present a picture of incoherent, specific means of coercing supernatural power to achieve particular ends. A brief look at the so-called Old Gelasian Sacramentary (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*) will clarify that point⁵⁰. In the third book of the *Gelasianum*, which is dedicated to private and votive masses, one finds masses for those who embark on a journey⁵¹, for the death of animals⁵², for infertility⁵³, for all kinds of weather⁵⁴, for health⁵⁵, for trees⁵⁶, and for many other occasions. If looked at from a cynical point of view, this list of masses reads very much like a Christian replica of the eighth-century *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum*⁵⁷. After all, what is the difference between the Old Gelasian's *Orationes pro mortalitate animalium* and the bee charms in late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts? Whereas the former is an appeal to God to interfere and change the course of nature, the latter is an attempt to interfere with the course of nature by entreating unspecified supernatural powers. Obviously these two 'solutions' are on the same continuum,

⁴⁸ GEERTZ 1975, p. 72.

⁴⁹ THOMAS 1975, p. 96.

⁵⁰ CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 316 + PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 7193. *CLLA*, n. 610. For its edition, see *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*.

⁵¹ *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, III.xxiii.1308-xxiv.1320, pp. 191-193.

⁵² *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, III.xlii.1393-1397, p. 202.

⁵³ *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, III.xliii.1398-1401 and liv.1461-1470, pp. 203 and 212-213 respectively.

⁵⁴ *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, III.xliv.1402-1406, xlv.1407-1412, and xlvii.1418-1421, pp. 203, 204 and 205 respectively.

⁵⁵ *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, III.lxx.1539-lxxi.1543, p. 222.

⁵⁶ *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, III.xc.1606, p. 233.

⁵⁷ CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 577, fol. 71r-v. On this codex, see MORDEK 1995, pp. 774-779. For a discussion of the *Indiculus*, see HEN 2015, and see there for further bibliography.

and they both entice extraordinary intervention in everyday life. The elusive criteria that differentiate between them, and subsequently classify the one as a legitimate Christian act, and the other as a condemned magical practice, is not so much in the nature of the act itself, but in the eyes of the beholder.

Let me give just one more example to elucidate my point. In a treatise entitled ‘A Book against Irrational Belief of the People about Hail and Thunder’ (*Liber in contra insulsam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis*), Agobard of Lyon goes out of his way to refute the popular belief that certain *tempestarii* have the power to cause thunder- and hailstorms⁵⁸. The exact same practice is described by the addition to the Florence *vade mecum* adduced above⁵⁹. Who these *tempestarii* are, is not at all clear. Agobard, one should stress, does not associate them with paganism, or portray them, like many earlier authors, as remnants of an old and pagan magical lore. They could have been local men and women dabbling with magic, as suggested by Monica Blöcker⁶⁰; but, as suggested by Rob Meens, Agobard’s *tempestarii* were more probably local clerics, who pretended to control the weather and who exacted a kind of payment in return for their services – an aberrant clerical behaviour in the eyes of the rigorous bishop of Lyon⁶¹.

Agobard’s treatise against the *tempestarii* is, perhaps, the most conspicuous evidence of our inability to differentiate between magic and religion in the early Middle Ages. Any attempt to do so and to set up clear-cut boundaries, or to describe various supposedly magical practices in terms of ‘survival’, ‘rise’, or ‘Christianisation’, would result in a drastic simplification, not to say a travesty, of a much more complicated and nuanced situation. In ninth-century Lyon, as we have just seen, the categories of magic and religion were so inextricably mixed and confused that the perplexed bishop of the city had to gather his actions, arm himself with all the venomous arsenal of Christian admonition, and attack a practice that was otherwise sanctioned by various prayers, which were added by Benedict of Aniane (d. 821) at about the same time to the standard sacramentary of the Frankish Church⁶².

58 See AGOBARD OF LYONS, *De grandine et tonitruis*; On this treatise, see JOLIVET 2006; MEENS 2013.

59 FLORENCE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Ashburnham 82, fols. 16v-17r. On similar texts, see JUSTE and CHIU 2013.

60 BLÖCKER 1981.

61 MEENS 2013, especially pp. 160-166.

62 BENEDICT OF ANIANE, *Supplementum*, XCIII.1366-1369, p. 449. On the *Supplementum*, see HEN 2001a, pp. 76-78, and see there for further bibliography. For a more recent attribution of the

The so-called magical minitexts that were inserted on flyleaves or scribbled on the margins of liturgical and para-liturgical manuscripts, some of which were adduced above, demonstrate the sheer vitality and persistence of social practices among the Christian population of the early medieval West. Although the worldview these minitexts represent was often condemned as unorthodox or simply pagan, the practices they prescribed were social customs, detached from the pagan religious world from which they were originated. As historians of early medieval society and culture, our tendency to concentrate on canonical texts and de-luxe manuscripts, the vast majority of which were composed, produced or commissioned with orthodoxy in mind, will only yield a partial picture of the society we are looking at. It is only by adding the analysis of minitexts and tattered small manuscripts that a more accurate picture of the social, cultural and legal reality will emerge. Minitexts, more than anything else, bring us closer to the living reality of the society in question – it is as if they warn us that something very important, especially to the people who scribbled them, is missing from our vision.

To sum up, when considering the nature of magic and magical practices in the early medieval West, one has to keep in mind that magic was closely intertwined with the Christianised worldview of the post-Roman world. Reality was more complicated, nuanced and multi-layered than the dichotomy suggested in past scholarship, and the magical minitexts we find in *vade mecum* handbooks for priests are, perhaps, the most eloquent witness to the blurred boundaries between everyday practices and religious ideology.

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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 CITTÀ 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, CIT-TÀ 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-

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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 CIT-TÀ 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/btv1b100372893>.

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 These 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, Alpaida (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]trabit 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. 1v: «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 Pascasii 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 senonensis*; 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 februarii obiit Aiardus decanus et presbiter» and «Anno incarnationis domini nostri dcccclxi XVI kalendas februarii die dominica ora prima Ainfridi sancti Praeicti presbiter obiit» [961]; fol. 4r: «Obiit XVI Kalendas Februari Gerbaldus presbiter dedit nobis alodium in pagis senonico in uilla [...]. Inias 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 Iosephus 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[n]tiphona 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 tirannos improbos aduersarios et perscutores 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 Hildebrand 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 VIRGINEM». 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. Bissextus 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 INDICTIONEM 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: «Februrarius 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.

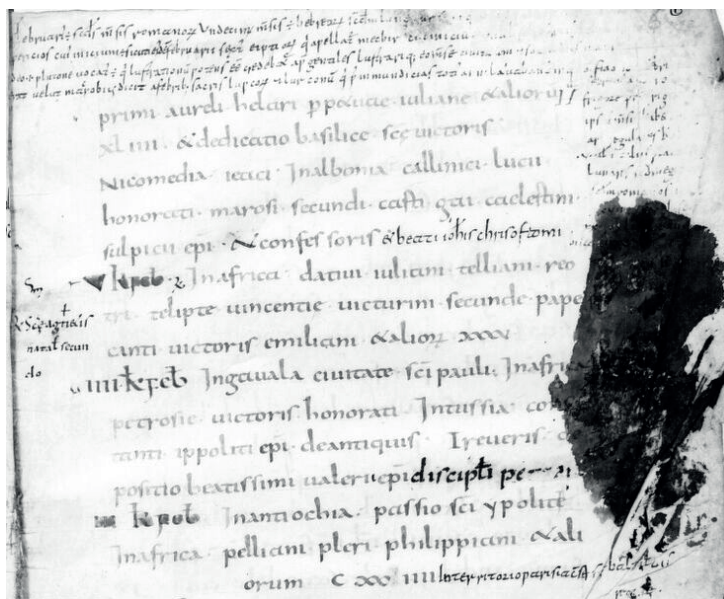


Fig. 1. Marginal notes about the month of February in the Sens Martyrology (tenth century). PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat.1604, fol. 6r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

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 veteres*): «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 Prüm (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: «Aegiptius 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 [pluviam]», 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 inherhenni. 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 erratae 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 mereamur. 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 molliiter 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 mamillarum 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 quare homines non possunt futuram prescire sicuti aves vel cur plus in illis sensus corpore iad praenoscenda 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 likes 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.

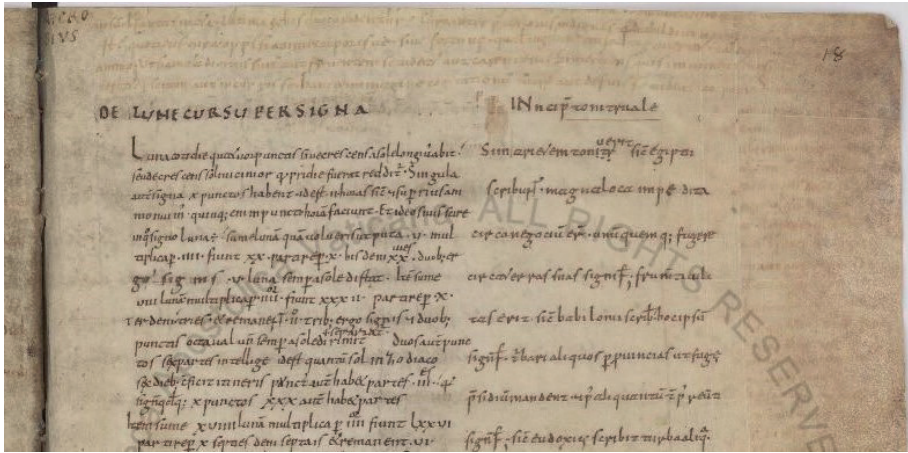


Fig. 2. Prognostication texts, commentary on dreams and a text on the moon written in the margins and over erased text of a computistical and liturgical manuscript made in Sens (ninth/tenth century). CITTA DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Reg. lat. 567, fol. 18r. By permission of Biblioteca 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[a]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?]mum 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 rectus [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 HERTOIGH 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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Gionata Brusa

Liturgical Minitexts as Clues to the History of a Manuscript: The Case of Vercelli

Abstract

There are more than forty manuscripts in the Vercelli Chapter Library that can be dated before the tenth century. Some of them are of local origin, others were produced in North Italy, others are of either Frankish or German provenance. These differences in production offer evidence for relationships that linked the bishops of Vercelli, mainly during the tenth and early eleventh centuries, with high-ranking ecclesiastical figures from beyond the Alps. Over the centuries several of these manuscripts received either annotations, or pen trials, often linked to the liturgical sphere and provided with musical notation (e.g. verses from the Psalter or short chants sung during the Mass or the Office). These minitexts can reveal a great deal to us: through the analysis of their content, such as their handwriting, textual variants, and musical notations, it is possible to formulate new hypotheses about the provenance of selected manuscripts among the Vercelli group, their history, and the route that brought them to Vercelli.

Keywords

Vercelli; Medieval Liturgical Manuscripts; Neumatic Notations; Leo Bishop of Vercelli

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Often when I speak about the analysis of a manuscript, I like to borrow a term and concept from a branch of geology: namely stratigraphy. Stratigraphy is the science concerned with the study of rock layers (strata) and layering (stratification). In the same way that the analysis of sediment deposits piled upon each other allows us to understand which geological phenomena affected a particular geographical area over time, the study of different layers of additions can shed new light on the history of a manuscript¹. Often the person who added new texts in the margins referred to short liturgical texts that he perpetually had in mind, the *ruminatio*, the continuous meditation on the words of the Psalter. At the same time, however, she/he conveyed information from the tradition and customs of the church in which she/he lived and was immersed. And by tradition I mean both the liturgical customs and the graphic practices of textual handwriting and musical notation. The identification of these two different types of additions and their dating may allow us to formulate some hypotheses about the history of a manuscript, hypotheses that must also be supported, as far as possible, by historical evidence. But theory must be followed by practice, and in this regard I would like to offer some tangible examples of the usefulness of this methodology when we approach a manuscript. These examples will be taken from Carolingian witnesses preserved in the capitular library of Vercelli. They will show how liturgical minitexts can provide us with clues about the history of a manuscript. A liturgical minitext may have several levels of interpretation: first, the presence of a particular chants or prayer may indicate to us when a manuscript entered the Vercelli orbit (for example the sequence for saint Eusebius in VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CXLIX); second, it is the precise analysis and identification of the musical notation, a more distinguishing element than the paleography of the text in the post-Carolingian era, that suggests to us through which routes a volume may have come to Vercelli.

Vercelli is a small city situated in Piedmont in northwestern Italy, halfway between Turin and Milan. Its Capitular Library holds one of the oldest

¹ This geological metaphor applied to the study of liturgical manuscripts was also used by BAROFFIO 2006.

and most important collections in northern Italy, with around 220 medieval manuscripts. The activity of its scriptorium can be traced back to its famous Codex A, the so-called *Codex Vercellensis Evangeliorum*². The history of the scriptorium is very long and can be followed up until the eighteenth century. Typically for a chapter library, most of its collection was copied on site. But not all the manuscripts are from Vercelli. Thanks to donations from bishops and canons over the centuries, or for other reasons that are not always easy to determine, manuscripts also arrived at the library from outside³.

The abundance of Carolingian manuscripts in relation to the total number of medieval manuscripts in the library at Vercelli is remarkable. Following Bischoff's publications⁴, especially his indications in the third volume of his *Katalog*⁵, and then further, more recent studies, especially by Simona Gavinelli⁶, and finally an on-site examination of the manuscripts, it is possible to estimate that 39 of its volumes were copied in the ninth century or shortly thereafter⁷.

Since it would exceed the scope of this article to make a complete survey of all the additions, I should like to focus here on just a few examples that I consider to be especially significant. I shall start with manuscripts with few problems, and then move on to more complex ones⁸.

VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CIX [Plate 1]

The first manuscript we shall consider is codex CIX, which contains Jerome's commentary on the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah⁹. The codex, dated by

2 VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare (hereafter as Bibl. Cap. abbreviated), Cod. A.

3 For a short introduction to the history of the Vercelli *scriptorium* and the increase of its funds over the centuries see: LEVINE 1955; FERRARIS 1995; CRIVELLO 2005; GAVINELLI 2005.

4 BISCHOFF 1966, pp. 124, 191-192; BISCHOFF 1967, pp. 294-297, 315, 320, 331; BISCHOFF 1981, pp. 30, 32, 33, 35, 213; BISCHOFF 1994, pp. 5, 10, 47, 49, 51, 54, 93.

5 *Katalog*, III, pp. 460-464 nr. 6978-7021.

6 LOWE 1947, nr. 467-471; GAVINELLI 2001; GAVINELLI 2007b; GAVINELLI 2009 and GAVINELLI 2020.

7 A provisional list of Carolingian manuscripts is offered in the Appendix.

8 For example, it has already been pointed out by Simona Gavinelli that the presence of the text of three antiphons in honour of saint Syrus, added by a first hand in the margin of f. 53v, could indicate Pavia as the place where VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CLXV was copied in the middle of the ninth century: cfr. GAVINELLI 2007a, pp. 66-67; GAVINELLI 2020, p. 266; see also *Katalog*, III, p. 463 nr. 710; LEONARDI 2017 and FACCIN 2020.

9 On this manuscript see: REIFFERSCHIED 1871, pp. 196-200; REITER 1960, p. 55; PASTÈ 1925, p. 104 nr. 109; *Katalog*, III, p. 462 nr. 6998.

Bischoff to the middle or third quarter of the ninth century, was written according to him in «northern Italy not far from Milan» (*Oberitalien, nicht fern von Mailand*). On f. 262r [Plate 2], a leaf that was originally blank, and the first of a new quire placed exactly at the junction between the two commentaries, an eleventh century hand has added a hymn in honour of Saint Eusebius, patron of Vercelli [Fig. 1].

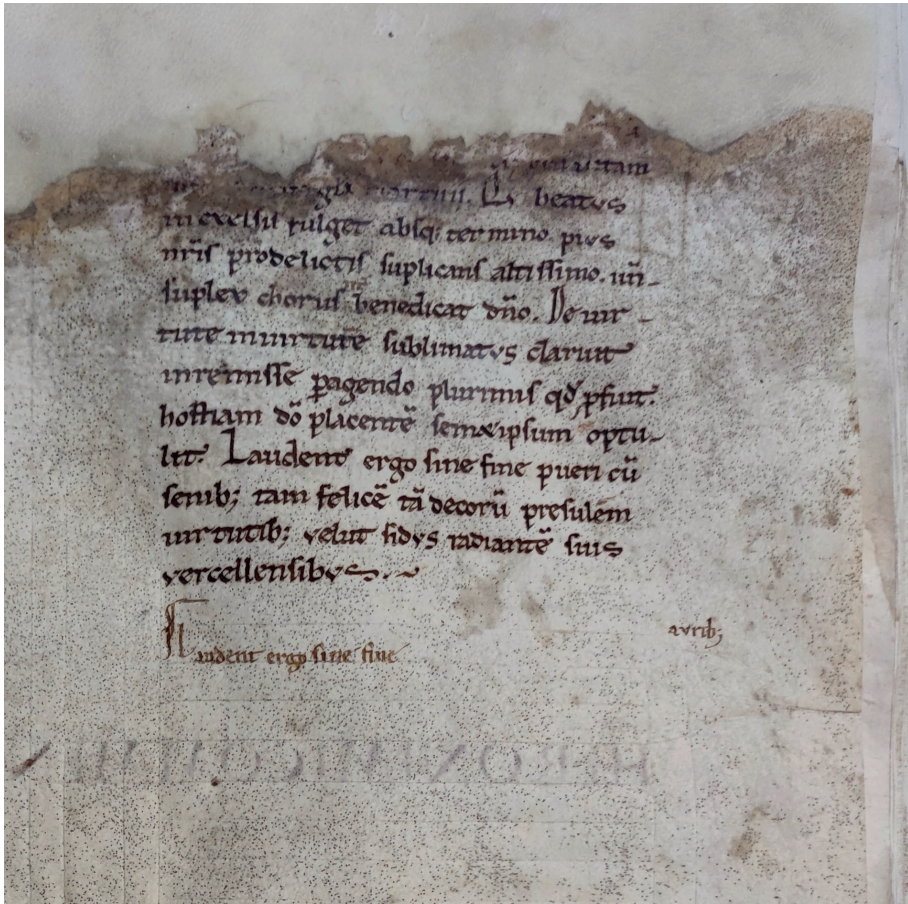


Fig. 1. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, CIX, f. 262r (part.). Hymn for St Eusebius of Vercelli.

The text is unfortunately not complete, since the manuscript – like many others in the Chapter Library – has suffered severe water damage along the upper margin. Although the name of Eusebius does not appear in the surviving text, a bishop and the city of Vercelli are explicitly mentioned in the last strophe:

[...] uitam [...] gloria martirii

Qui beatus in excelsis fulget absque termino
pius nostris pro delictis supplicans altissimo
unde suplex chorus noster (*add. interl.*) benedicat domino

De uirtute in uirtutem (*corr. ex uirtute*) sublimatus claruit
inremisse peragendo plurimis quod profuit
hostiam deo placentem semetipsum optulit

Laudent ergo sine fine pueri cum senibus
tam felicem tam decorum presulem uirtutibus
velud sidus radiantem suis Vercellensibus.

Here there is no doubt that the codex was in Vercelli at least as early as the eleventh century. More interesting would be to be able to understand the function of this hymn, which has never found a place in the liturgy of Vercelli Cathedral¹⁰. In any case, we are dealing with an example of how an added text can give us information on the presence of a manuscript in a specific area.

VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., XLVI [Plate 3]

The next manuscript we shall examine is the codex XLVI, a copy of the commentary on the Gospel of John attributed to Augustine¹¹. The writing of the manuscript is generally assigned to the third quarter of the ninth century. Again, Bischoff indicates that the codex was copied in an unidentified centre in northern Italy. He considers it at least possible, however, that the manuscript could have been present during the tenth and eleventh centuries in Novara, an episcopal see not far from Vercelli¹². How did Bischoff arrive at this hypothesis? Simply through the analysis of the manuscript's last entries. In fact, on f. 267v [Plate 4] appears a very interesting text provided with musical notation datable to the first half of the eleventh century: the hymn *Gentes gaudete* [Fig. 2]¹³.

¹⁰ This could be a perfect example of the process of liturgy in the making, but for reasons that currently remain unknown to me, this hymn has not assumed a place in the liturgical-musical tradition of Vercelli.

¹¹ REIFFERSCHIED 1871, p. 244-245 (erroneously listed among the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Novara); PASTÈ 1925, pp. 88-89 nr. 46.

¹² *Katalog*, III, p. 460 nr. 6984.

¹³ The text is discussed and edited by SCHWALM 1903, pp. 496-497, who does not exclude the possibility that the script of the text is an autograph of the bishop of Novara himself, and FERRARIS 1984, pp. 389-390 n. 157; see also SCHALLER - KÖNGSEN 1977, p. 253 nr. 5572.

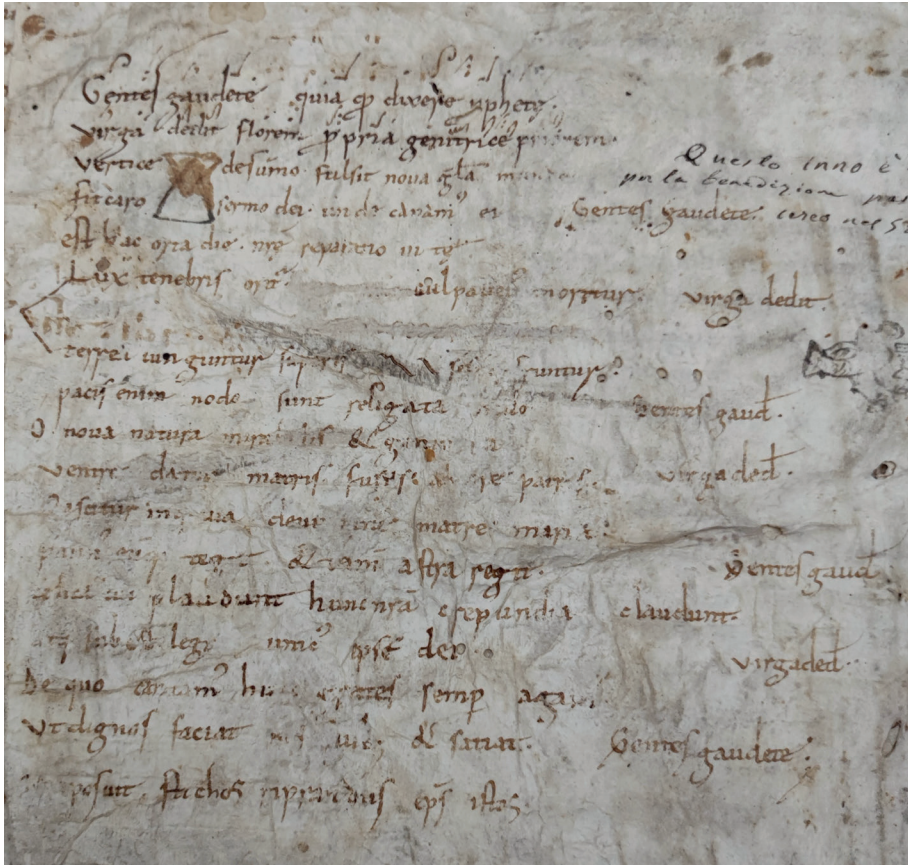


Fig. 2. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, XLVI, f. 267v (part.). Hymn with the refrain *Gentes gaudete*.

The text is in some places difficult to read, partly because of several erasures that no longer allow a clear reading of some words. Below I provide a new transcription of the chant, reporting in the critical apparatus where my reading diverges from Schwalm's or Ferraris's editions, or when I agree with the textual variant of one rather than the other:

[1.] Gentes gaudete quia quod dixere prophetę
Virga dedit florem propria genitrice priorem

[2.] Vertice de summo fulsit nova gloria mundo
Fit caro sermo dei unde canamus ei
Gentes gaudete

[3.] Est hac orta die nostrę reparatio uite
Lux tenebris oritur culpa uetus moritur
Virga dedit

[4.] Terrea iunguntur superis [...] [...]runtur
Pacis enim nodo sunt religata [mo]do
Gentes gaudete

[5.] O noua natura mirabilis et genit[ur]a
Ventre datur matris fusus ab [o]re patris
Virga dedit

[6.] Nascitur in[...]ia deus [...] matre Maria
Pannus eumque tegit et tamen astra regit
Gentes gaudete

[7.] Celica cui plaudunt hunc nostra crepundia claudunt
Atque subest legi unicus ipse dei
Virga dedit

[8.] De quo cantamus huic grates semper agam[us]
Vt dignos faciat n[o]s quibus et satiat
Gentes gaudete

[Com]posuit stichus Riprandus episcopus istos

1. dixere *Schwalm*] docere *Ferraris*: Ferraris' reading is undoubtedly incorrect.
4. terrea[a] *Schwalm*] terreni *Ferraris*: It is clearly *terrea* – s[ursumque] [fe]runtur *Schwalm*] solamine fruuntur *Ferraris*: An erasure makes the passage with deo *Schwalm*] modo *Ferraris* almost unintelligible. I prefer the reading offered by Ferraris, as it maintains the internal rhyme *nodo – modo*.
5. genitura *Schwalm*] generata *Ferraris*. Better is the reading of Schwalm, since it preserves the internal rhyme *natura – genitura*; fusus *corr. ex* fusis *Schwalm*] fuses *Ferraris*: I agree with Schwalm's version.
6. in[tacta] deus [...] *Schwalm*] in carnis (?) via deus *Ferraris*: The text in the manuscript is almost illegible, and neither version is completely convincing to me; eumque *Schwalm*] neque *Ferraris*: Ferraris' reading is undoubtedly incorrect.
8. cantamus *Schwalm*] canamus *Ferraris*: I agree with Schwalm's version; huic grates *Schwalm*] hi[mnum] gratiaS (?) *Ferraris*: The text is not easy to read, but Schwalm's version seems more convincing to me; Ut *Schwalm*] Uti *Ferraris*: Ferraris' reading is undoubtedly incorrect; [no]s quibus *Schwalm*] nos vitae *Ferraris*: I agree with Schwalm's version.

The chant's structure clearly recalls that of hymns which were sometimes used in processions, e.g. the famous *Salve festa dies* that accompanied the great Easter procession before the solemn feast, or the hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum* that was sung especially in the Germanic area, at least from the end of

the tenth century onwards, on Holy Saturday and/or on the eve of Pentecost during the procession to and around the baptismal font. The hymn has a cyclic structure, with the verses of the first strophe, *Gentes gaudete*, being repeated at the end of each subsequent strophe, alternating the first verse *Gentes gaudete* with the second *Virga dedit*. Thus strophe 2 ends with *Gentes gaudete*, strophe 3 with *Virga dedit*, strophe 4 again with *Gentes gaudete*, strophe 4 with *Virga dedit*, and so on. Moreover, only the first strophe was provided with music since, as is typical in hymns, the melody was repeated for each subsequent strophe.

Although on f. 267v a late eighteenth-century annotation wrongly attributes the writing of the hymn to Prudentius, «This hymn was written by Prudentius for the blessing of the Easter candle on Holy Saturday»¹⁴, there is a clear reference to the authorship of the work at its end: «Composuit stichos Riprandus episcopus istos». Bishop Riprandus assumed the episcopal seat of Novara in 1039, a role he held until his death in 1053¹⁵. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the information, yet we have no other clues about Riprando's activity as a composer of poetic texts. The notation does not help, although the morphology of the neumes would seem to differ from that peculiar to the notation of Novara, as for instance in the fragments of the Gradual-Tropar-Sequentiary NOVARA, Archivio Storico Diocesano, G 1a, dated to the second half of the eleventh century¹⁶.

On the next folio (f. 268r) of VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., XLVI [Fig. 3] we find another addition, one slightly later than the previous one. It is the antiphon *Regressus Lucianus presbiter* taken from the proper office of the *Inventio sancti Stephani*¹⁷. In this case, too, the neumatic script does not show any graphic characteristics for an attribution to one area rather than another in northern Italy¹⁸. In conclusion: the manuscript may have come from Novara, and indeed may have originated there, but at present there are no decisive elements to confirm this with certainty.

¹⁴ «Questo inno è di Prudenziò per la benedizione pasquale del cereo nel Sabbato Santo»; however, the hymn text seems to fit better with Christmas time.

¹⁵ For some information about the life and activities of the prelate of Novara see SAVIO 1898, pp. 263-264, and the bibliography listed in ANDENNA 1988, p. 221.

¹⁶ See BAROFFIO 2004, pp. 29-33.

¹⁷ CAO 4603 (The chant is universally used as the first antiphon of Lauds).

¹⁸ This *Historia* is not attested in the Vercelli sources.

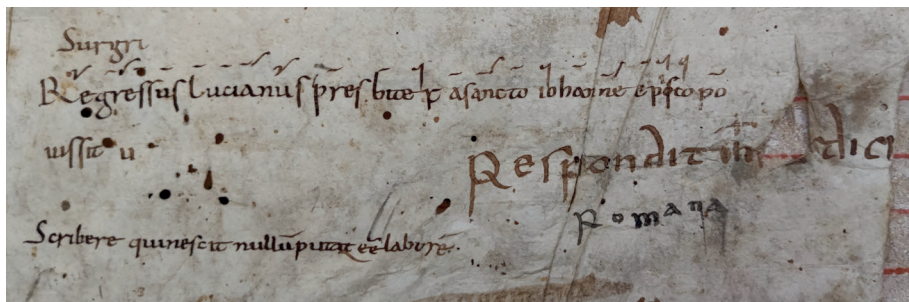


Fig. 3. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, XLVI, f. 268r (part.). Antiphon *Regressus Lucianus presbyter*.

VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CXLIX [Plate 5]

The manuscript Vercelli CXLIX is a perfect example of how marginal additions can reflect the complicated dynamics and relationships that connected even quite distant communities. The text transmitted, written by a single hand, is that of a Gallican Psalter copied in the middle or in the third quarter of the ninth century according to Bischoff¹⁹. It is provided with marginal glosses in the original hand, preceded by numerous prefaces, and closed by a *libellus de psalmis* attributed to Einardus, already published by Monsignor Vattasso in 1915²⁰.

The codex's arrival in Vercelli can be dated to the tenth century by means of a possession note on fol. 159r: «Liber iste est sancti Eusebii». This hypothesis, already formulated by Bischoff, is confirmed by a more recent layer of late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century additions of a liturgical character, in which a hand using a very dark and easily recognisable ink added some incipits of musical pieces²¹. An addition of great importance among these is the text added on f. 157v [Fig. 4], where we can recognise the first words of the proper sequence for Saint Eusebius, patron of Vercelli: *Omnis orbis Eusebii*²². This text is known through

¹⁹ BISCHOFF 1980, pp. 189-190; on the manuscript see also PASTÈ 1925, pp. 113-114 nr. 149; BROU 1949, p. 45; CLLA, p. 609 n. 1; SALMON 1977, pp. 33-39; COTTIER 2003, p. 220 n. 19 and 20, 221, 224, 225; KRÜGER 2007, pp. 198-199, 379-380, 705-718; GAVINELLI 2009, pp. 400-402, Fig. 4.

²⁰ VATTASSO 1915; on this topic see also SALMON 1977, pp. 39-52; LICHT 2009 and LICHT 2012.

²¹ Among the various non-liturgical additions there is also a curious reference to the total solar eclipse of June 3, 1239: «Anno dominice incarnationis M° CC° tricesimo nono feria VI tercio die intrante junio sol passus fuit, eclipsim in hora nona». This astronomical event supports the hypothesis that the manuscript was already in northern Italy at the time of the solar eclipse, which is not recorded by any German chronicle or annal; see CELORIA 1875, pp. 3-10.

²² AH 40, 182 nr. 206; BRUNNER 1985, p. 250.

a Gradual-Troper-Sequentiary copied in Ivrea or Pavia at the beginning of the eleventh century²³, three local Gradual-Troper-Sequentiaries²⁴, and a later indirect mention in the *Liber Ordinarius* of the Cathedral copied in 1372²⁵. It would thus seem to have rarely traveled beyond the confines of the Cathedral.

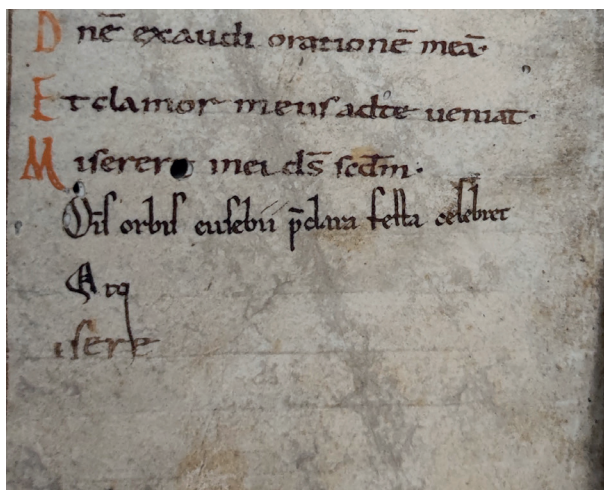


Fig. 4. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXLIX, f. 157v (part.). Incipit of the sequence *Omnis orbis Eusebii*.

The place of origin of the codex is more difficult to determine²⁶. Bischoff first indicates a broad region, described as «*oberösterreichisch-Salzburger Raum*»²⁷, using this generic term to refer to a territory now more or less congruent with Bavaria (the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg also included the dioceses of Freising and Regensburg at the time the codex was written). He then hypothesizes as a possible place of origin the diocese of Eichstätt²⁸, since, as we shall see, a later addition suggests a possible Eichstätt provenance. This new hypothesis is related

²³ IVREA, Biblioteca Capitolare, LX, f. 107r.

²⁴ Respectively VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CXLVI, f. 108r; VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CLXI, f. 128v and VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CLXII, f. 190r.

²⁵ VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., LIII, f. 59r: «*Officium: In virtute tua sicut est assignatum, et cantatur sequentia ab organis vel a duobus cantoribus*»; see *Usus psallendi*, p. 223 nr. 290g.

²⁶ Three Latin distichs appear on f. 10r, in which a priest named Engeboardolus is mentioned: «*Rex pivs et fortis bellator sive propheta / David Psalmorum inclitus auctor erat / hic petat auxilium fidei praestare tonantem / Engeboardvlo praesbytero / iugiter scribere Psalterium pulchre / qui fecerat istud / ad laudem Christi utilis ut maneat*».

²⁷ BISCHOFF 1980, p. 190.

²⁸ *Katalog*, III, 463 nr. 7007.

to one of the oldest added texts, namely the sequence for Saint Walpurga *Diem celebremus virginis die eia*, which can be read with some difficulty on f. 159v. Saint Walpurga, together with her brothers Willibald and Winnibald, is one of the patrons of the diocese of Eichstätt. According to *Analecta Hymnica* this sequence is attested only in the Gradual-Troper-Sequentiary OXFORD, Selden Supra 27, which has recently been attributed to the Benedictine monastery of St. Wunibald in Heidenheim, not far from the episcopal see of Eichstätt²⁹.

VERCELLI CXLIX, however, offers further points for reflection. From the point of view of the ornamentation, influences from the School of St. Gall have been observed. This can be explained by the fact that the codex is a typical glossed Psalter from the mid-ninth century. According to Margaret Gibson, during the second half of the ninth century, likely points of exchange for glossed Psalters, even in luxury versions, were the monasteries of Reichenau, St. Gall, and the court scriptorium of Louis the German in Regensburg, where Grimoald, Abbot of St. Gall (841-872), was intermittently his chancellor³⁰. This last observation helps to explain some peculiarities. For example, as Bischoff had already pointed out, on f. 157r Saints Peter, Benedict, and Emmeram are explicitly mentioned in a prayer added in the eleventh century³¹. All these saints are connected with Regensburg. Peter, although universal, is patron of Regensburg and titular of the cathedral, and Benedict and Emmeram are connected to the famous Benedictine abbey of St. Emmeram in Regensburg.

But there is a further important clue that seems to point to Regensburg, if not as the place of copying, then at least as a place of transit of the manuscript: namely, the addition between f. 102v and 103r of the antiphon *Simon dormis*, dat-

29 AH 40, 315 nr. 368; the manuscript is published in facsimile with a comprehensive introduction in SMOJE 2006. See also the more recent on-line catalogue entry at the following link: https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_8900.

30 GIBSON 1994, p. 80. See also GAVINELLI 2009, p. 401.

31 « Cotidiana oratio a fratribus canenda. Domine deus omnipotens qui elegisti locum istum ad seruiendum tibi, et ad tua sancta precepta custodienda, da nobis in loco isto pacem et sanitatem et tranquillitatem, et fac rectores nostros secundum voluntatem tuam et secundum necessitatem nostram, ut te timeant et tua precepta custodiant; custodi, domine, locum istum ab omni peccato et scandalo et ab omni perturbatione et ab omnibus insidiis et laqueis diaboli; tu, domine, qui hanc congregationem ad glorificandum nomen tuum sanctum in hoc loco adunare permisisti, da nobis famulis tuis adiutorium tuum sanctum de celis, ne patiamur detrimentum animarum nostrarum, et ne des hanc congregationem in dispersionem propter nomen sanctum tuum; domine, ne respicias peccata nostra, sed respice ad deprecationem piissimę genitricis tuę et per intercessionem sancti Petri et sancti Emmerammi atque Benedicti abbatis [follows an erasure of about one line] atque omnium sanctorum tuorum [follows an erasure of about one line] adiua nos sicut tu sicut tu uides necessitatem nostram. Qui uiuis».

able to the first half of the twelfth century [Fig. 5a and Fig. 5b]. What makes this addition particularly interesting is that the neumes are unquestionably German, but the text and melody are proper to the Ambrosian tradition. A quick comparison with the versions transmitted in the manuscripts LONDON, British Library, Add. 34209 (Ambrosian tradition) [Fig. 6] and PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 17296 (St Denis, Roman-Gregorian tradition) suffices [Fig. 7].

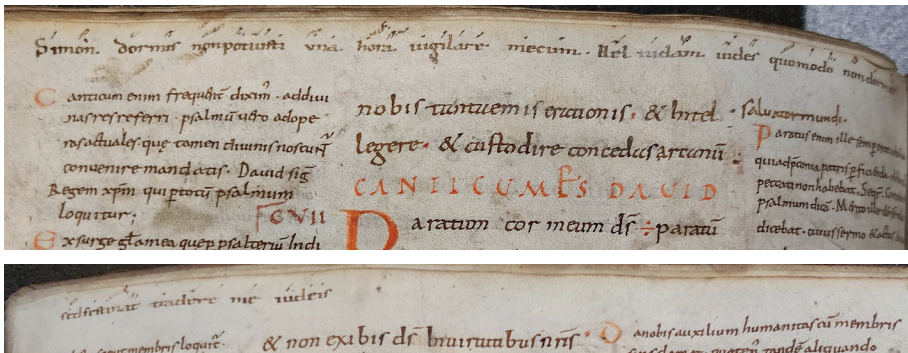


Fig. 5a and 5b. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXLIX, ff. 102v (part.) and 103r (part.). Antiphon *Simon dormis*.

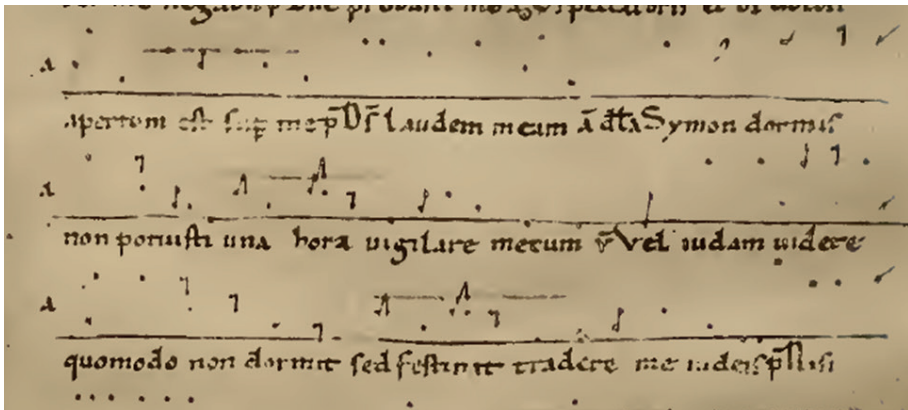


Fig. 6. LONDON, British Library, Add. 34209, p. 243 (part.). Antiphon dubla *Simon dormis* (Ambrosian tradition).

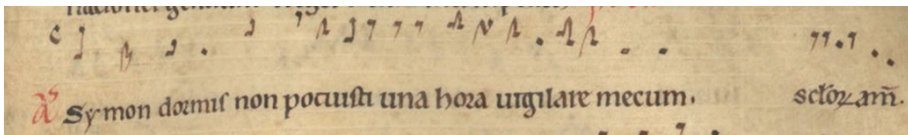


Fig. 7. PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 17296, f. 127r (part.). Antiphon *Simon dormis* (Roman-Frankish).

Vercelli	London	Paris
<p>Symon dormis non potuisti vna hora uigilare mecum. Uel Iudam uides quomodo non dormit sed festinat me tradere Iudeis</p>	<p><i>Antiphona dubla</i> Symon dormis non potuisti una hora uigilare mecum. <i>V. Uel Iudam uidere</i> quomodo non dormit sed festinat me tradere Iudeis</p>	<p><i>Antiphona</i> Symon dormis non potuisti una hora uigilare mecum</p>

Apart from a few initial melodic variants, the text and melody coincide with the Ambrosian, and not the Franco-Gregorian version. Knowledge of Ambrosian texts in the Germanic area is not so unusual³². It is sufficient to think of the Salzburg *Liber Ordinarius*, which mentions the responsory *Vadis propitiator*, whose composition is explicitly attributed to Saint Ambrose: «Canunt etiam aliqui ad salutandam crucem hoc responsorium sancti Ambrosii ex persona sanctae Mariae»³³. However, the melody proposed for *Vadis propitiator* is the adapted Gregorian one and not the more unusual Ambrosian one. In the case of the addition of *Simon dormis* to the Vercelli codex we are in the presence of a true Ambrosian text, and the presence of Germanic neumes excludes the codex's passage or use in the Milan area.

How can this be explained? One possible explanation can be found in Regensburg's links with Milan. In an article published about 70 years ago Walter Dürig states that shortly before the year 1130, the canons Paul and Gebeard of Regensburg expressed in a letter to the Milanese archbishop Anselm their wish to have the Ambrosian ordo alongside the Roman one³⁴. The two canons had stayed in Milan on a return trip from Rome in the year 1122 and had taken part in the Pentecost celebrations there. Paul and Gebeard, both enthusiastic about the Ambrosian rite, made a request to the *custos thesaurorum* Martinus for a sacramentary and antiphonary written according to Ambrosian custom: «Rogamus ut transcribi nobis faciatis Sacramentarium eiusdem sancti Ambrosii cum antiphonario eius» and then again: «Mitte ergo nobis Antiphonarium cum notulis et Sacramentarium cum solis orationibus et prefationibus ambro-

³² The Milanese recension of the antiphon is attested not only in the German area, but also in several Central European sources (Prague, Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Kraków and Gniezno): see KUBIENIEC 2004.

³³ SALZBURG, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. M II 6, f. 63v. On this manuscript see: PRASSL 1998, PRASSL 2007 and PRASSL 2017. An online edition of the text is available at the following link: gams.uni-graz.at/o:cantus.salzburg.sal.

³⁴ DÜRIG 1955; see also CARMASSI 2001, pp. 19-21.

sianis». We do not know whether the request was successful, since in Regensburg, with the exception of a fragment of the fourteenth century Ambrosian Antiphonary preserved in the Staatliche Bibliothek³⁵, we have no further evidence³⁶. But the addition to the Vercelli codex may shed new light. The dating of the piece is consistent with the request of the two canons for Ambrosian manuscripts. It is therefore possible that indeed an Ambrosian antiphonary arrived in Regensburg and from there the antiphon *Simon dormis* was copied into the manuscript of Vercelli.

VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., LXXXII [Plate 6]

A final manuscript, which extends chronologically beyond the period here studied, but which well represents the importance of the analysis of added writings, is offered by the Codex LXXXII. The manuscript contains the *Commentarium ad Isaiam* attributed to Haymo of Auxerre. It is a modest, medium-sized exemplar copied in the second half of the tenth century by two North Italian copyists³⁷. The *Commentarium* belongs to that group of Vercelli codices that were read and annotated by Leo, bishop of Vercelli from 998 to 1026. In its margins the characteristic *Nota Leo* appears, with autograph comments on the text made by the powerful bishop³⁸. Leo, an avid bibliophile in contact with the Ottonian imperial court and with strong ties to German prelates, imported several manuscripts to Vercelli. For this group of codices, studied in detail by Simona Gavinelli, there are no palaeographic characteristics that could suggest a more certain location beyond a generic northern Italy³⁹.

This is also the case with Codex LXXXII, but a careful examination of the flyleaves provides us with some interesting indications [Plate 7]⁴⁰. In the upper portion of the opening flyleaf a hand of the late tenth or early eleventh

³⁵ REGENSBURG, Staatliche Bibliothek, 2Script.349. I thank David Hiley for this information.

³⁶ A remnant of the Ambrosian Missal sent from Milan to Regensburg may have been preserved as the starting flyleaf of the manuscript MÜNCHEN, Staatsbibliothek, clm 14809. The fragment is dated to the mid-ninth century, and, more correctly, is a Sacramentary-Lectionary for the Mass. The text is edited in GAMBER 1959; see also BISCHOFF 1960, p. 60 and CLLA, p. 62 nr. 506.

³⁷ About the manuscript see: PASTÈ 1925, pp. 97-98 nr. 82; STEGMÜLLER 1951, II nr. 3083; GAVINELLI 2001, pp. 242-243; GRYSON 2014, p. 48.

³⁸ Leo's additions to this codex are recorded and discussed in GAVINELLI 2001, pp. 242-243.

³⁹ On the figure of Bishop Leo of Vercelli see: BLOCH 1897, DORMEIER 1993, DORMEIER 1999, GAVINELLI 2001, pp. 234-238 and GAMBERINI 2004.

⁴⁰ The flyleaves, a bifolium, share almost the same ruling pattern (mm 275 × 205 instead of mm 275 × 220), but the identical layout with two columns of 32 lines of f. 2r.

century has added a series of neumes (probably a melisma) followed by three incipits of liturgical import: «Sacerdos et pontifex», «Qui non habet in consilio impiorum», «Iustus germinabit». If for the last line it is clear that whoever inserted the annotation most likely had in mind the widely used Alleluia-verse *Iustus germinabit*, the relationship between the music and the first two lines of text is less clear. The well-known antiphon *Sacerdos et pontifex et virtutum artifex*, usually used as an antiphon ad Magnificat for the Common of a confessor, begins with the words *Sacerdos et pontifex*⁴¹, while for the second line the reference is clearly to Psalm 1, *Beatus vir qui non abiit*, with which Matins for a martyr or confessor starts. More surprising is the textual error, with *habet* in place of the correct *abiit*. Certainly the addition is of a mnemonic nature, and although the text of Psalm 1 was undoubtedly among those most often recited by whoever inserted the addition, it is not uncommon to find evidence of such misspellings. This leads one to ask, however, why, a little below, the same hand copied the same incipit of Psalm 1 with the correct textual version.

An examination of the few neumes written before the text also raises some questions concerning the economy of the page, as we shall see. The notation is clearly North Italian. Above all, the first neume presents points of contact with the *torculus* in the form of the Greek letter theta [Fig. 8].

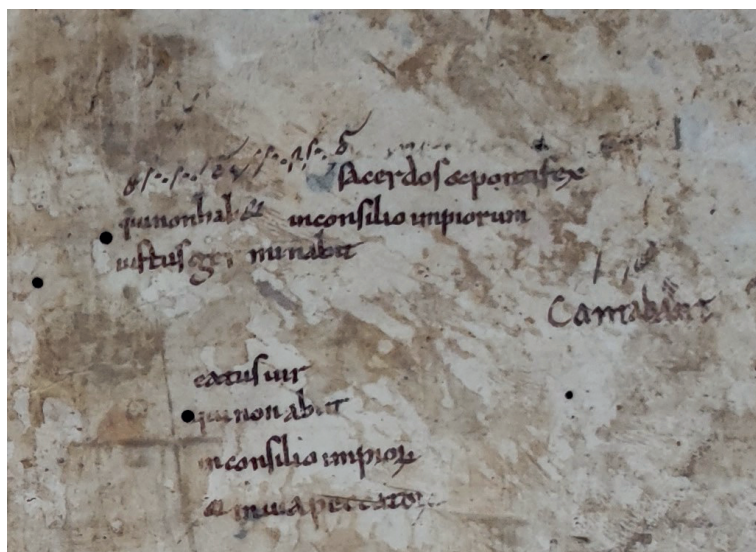


Fig. 8. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXXII, front flyleaf, verso (part.).

⁴¹ CAO 4673.

This neume is generally considered characteristic of the notation known as Novalesan⁴². However, one should not be too precipitous in affirming the hypothesis of a possible provenance or passage of the codex from one of the centres in the Novalicense network (Novalesa, Breme or Sant'Andrea of Turin): first of all, the graphic script is not very clear, and secondly, recent studies have confirmed that the theta-shaped *torculus* also appears in other North Italian and South France notations, and is not strictly typical of the Novalesan notation⁴³.

The second addition, written a little further below by a hand of the early eleventh century, provides us with considerably more information. The chant in question is the *Alleluia Iustus germinabit* [Fig. 9], transcribed here in all its elements: *Alleluia*, *iubilus* (the melisma on the last vowel, *a*) and verse⁴⁴. The provenance of the textual script is difficult to determine. But the musical notation is localizing. It is the typical form of Lotharingian notation that developed in the diocese of Como⁴⁵. The first attestations of this kind of notation date back to the first half of the eleventh century in connection with the founding of the monastery of Sant'Abbondio in Como. As part of the broader programme of spiritual renewal desired by Bishop Alberic of Como, that monastery would have been settled by monks from northeastern France, possibly from Metz. What graphically distinguishes the Como notation from the Lotharingian notation is the use of the hooked *tractulus* [Fig. 10]⁴⁶. The presence of this particular monosonic one-note neume is clearly discernible in the passage added to the Vercelli codex, though here with a particular “Y” form that does not occur in the other Italian manuscripts of Como, nor in the original Lotharingian notation⁴⁷. This distinctive *tractulus* appears both in isolated form and in composition.

⁴² On the so-called Novalesan notation, see CAMMARATA 2021 and the bibliography listed therein.

⁴³ For example, it is attested in Lyon, but also in the Transalpine area (Gap), in Provence, and in Catalan and Visigothic notations: see CAZAUX-KOWALSKI 2012 and CAZAUX-KOWALSKI 2015.

⁴⁴ SCHLAGER 1965, p. 122 nr. 119; the melody is quite common; it is also present with the same versicle in VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., CLXXXVI, f. 154v, a Gradual-Troper-Kyriale with tropes written for the parish church of San Vittore in Balerna, not far from Como [Fig. 10].

⁴⁵ On the manuscript sources, diffusion and characteristics of this type of notation see: SESINI 1932, HOURLIER 1951, BAROFFIO 2011, pp. 110-111, and ALBIERO 2016, where the Vercelli addition is listed on p. 27.

⁴⁶ See ALBIERO 2016, pp. 42-43.

⁴⁷ For the latter see PM 10.

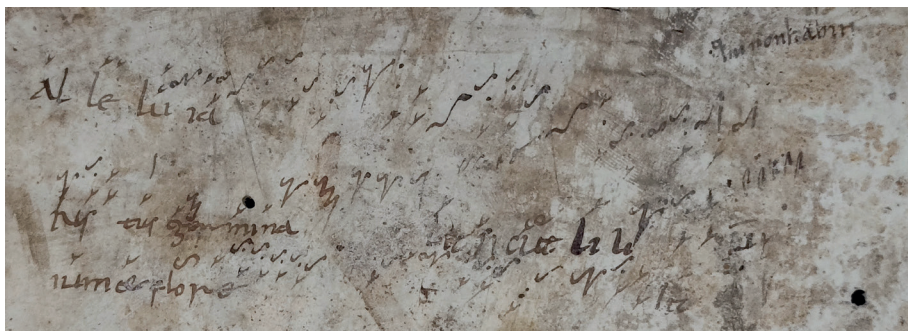


Fig. 9. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXXII, front flyleaf, verso (part.). Alleluia *Iustus germinavit*.

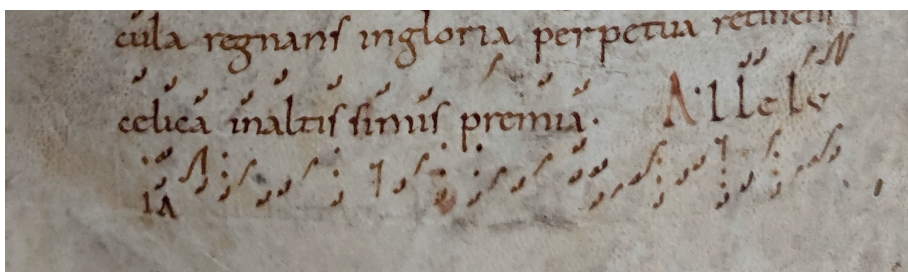


Fig. 10. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, CLXXXVI, f. 154v (part.). Alleluia *Iustus germinavit*.

In the case of such a peculiar and closely circumscribed notation, we can hypothesise that the manuscript at least passed through the diocese of Como before reaching Vercelli, where it was annotated by Bishop Leo. This leads to two further considerations: first, the codex must have reached Vercelli between 1010, the year of the foundation of the monastery of Sant'Abbondio, and 1026, the year of the death of Bishop Leo, who annotated it; second, we are in the presence of the first datable attestation of the Como notation, indeed perhaps the first attempt to encode Lotharingian neumes in their North Italian guise.

To conclude, the analysis of the minitexts carried out on some manuscripts of the Capitular Library of Vercelli has provided interesting results. First, through the identification of pieces particularly linked to the figure of Saint Eusebius, it makes it possible to establish or confirm a *terminus post quem* for the effective presence of a codex in the Vercelli area, as in the case of Mss CIX and CXLIX. Bischoff's hypothesis of the probable transit of Ms XLVI through the Novarese area has been confirmed, with the explicit attribution of the composition of the hymn *Gentes gaudete* to Riprando bishop of No-

vara being more than circumstantial evidence. In addition to the study of the texts, minitext analysis shows how the identification of musical notations can provide clues to the journeys a volume undertook in the course of its history. For example, the presence of Lotharingian notation with the typical characteristics it assumed in the area around Como leads one to think that the *Commentarium ad Isaiam*, today VERCELLI, Bibl. Cap., LXXXII, spent time in the diocese of Como. The earliest date of the addition makes it, together with that present in the manuscript Reg. Lat. 195 of the Vatican Library⁴⁸, one of the earliest examples of the adaptation of Lotharingian neumes to the Como style.

I hope this article has shown that if coupled with solid paleographical analyses of both the text and the neumatic notation, and supported as far as possible by historical data that validate without prejudice what emerges in the margins, the study of the various layers of additions written in a manuscript can offer telling new research perspectives.

⁴⁸ This is a Kyrie with neumes, partially in Greek characters, added to f. 23r, datable to the early eleventh century: see BANNISTER 1908, pp. 100-101 nr. 276 and Plate 56a and ALBIERO 2016, pp. 23, 27 and 33.

Appendix. A provisional list of ninth-century manuscripts in the Biblioteca Capitolare di Vercelli

Shelfmark	Typology	Datation	Place	<i>Katalog</i> , III
I	Glossarium Ansileubi	IX ex.	North Italy (Milan?)	p. 460 nr. 6978
XI	Bible	IX/1 or 2/4	North Italy	p. 460 nr. 6979
XV	Collectio canonum Anselmo dedicata	IX ex or X in	North Italy (Milan)	p. 460 nr. 6980
XXXVIII	Cassiodorus, <i>Expositio Psalmorum</i>	IX/1	North Italy (Milan)	p. 460 nr. 6982
XLVI	Augustinus, <i>In Iohannis evangelium tractatus</i>	IX 3/4	North Italy (Novara?)	p. 460 nr. 6984
XLIII	Palimpsest Bible	IX/2	North Italy?	p. 460 nr. 6983
XLIX	Gregorius Magnus, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>	IX 3/4 or 4/4	North Italy	p. 460 nr. 6985
LXII	Glossed Psalter (ff. 20r-166r)	IX 4/4	North Italy	p. 461 nr. 6986
LXII	Litanies, Libellus precum, Antiphonal-Lectionary (ff. 166v-180v)	IX 4/4	Vercelli	-
LXXI	Augustinus, <i>De civitate Dei</i>	IX 4/4	North Italy (Vercelli?)	-
LXXIV	Gregorius Magnus, <i>Moralia in Iob</i>	IX 2/4	North Italy	p. 461 nr. 6987
LXXX	Pseudo-Isidore Decretals	IX ex	North Italy	p. 461 nr. 6988
LXXXI	Evangelary	post 814	Central Italy	p. 461 nr. 6989
XCII	Cassiodorus, <i>Expositio Psalmorum</i>	IX/2	North Italy	p. 461 nr. 6990
XCIII	Cassiodorus, <i>Expositio Psalmorum</i>	IX 2/4	North Italy (Milan)	p. 461 nr. 6991
XCV	Beda, <i>In Lucae evangelium expositio</i>	IX 3/4	North Italy	p. 461 nr. 6992
CI	Cassiodorus, <i>Historia ecclesiastica tripartita</i>	IX 2/3	North Italy	p. 461 nr. 6993

Shelfmark	Typology	Datation	Place	Katalog, III
CII	Isidorus Hispalensis, <i>Etymologia-rum libri XX</i>	IX/2	South France (Lyon?)	p. 461 nr. 6994
CIII	Patristic-Computistic Miscellany	IX 3/3	North Italy	p. 461 nr. 6995
CIV	Augustinus, <i>De civitate Dei</i>	IX 1/4 or 2/4	Tours? and North Italy	p. 462 nr. 6996
CIX	Hieronymus, <i>Commentarii in Isaiam et in Hieremyam</i>	IX m or 3/4	North Italy	p. 462 nr. 6998
CXI	Collectio Dyonisiana-Bobiensis	IX 3/4 or 4/4	North Italy	p. 462 nr. 6999
CXXVIII	Isidorus Hispalensis, <i>Etymologia-rum libri XX</i>	IX-X	North Italy	p. 462 nr. 7001
CXXXIV	Evangelary	IX m.	(South) Germany	p. 462 nr. 7002
CXXXVIII	Scholastic Miscellany	IX-X	North Italy	p. 462 nr. 7004
CXXXIX	Amalarius Metensis, <i>De ecclesiasticis officiis</i>	IX 4/4	North Italy	-
CXLVII	Cassiodorus, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	IX/2	North Italy (Vercelli?)	p. 463 nr. 7005
CXLVIII	Gregorius Magnus, <i>Homeliae XL in evangelia</i>	IX in.	North Italy	p. 463 nr. 7006
CXLIX	Glossed Psalter	IX m. or 3/4	Eichstätt? Re-gensburg?	p. 463 nr. 7007
CLIII	Hrabanus Maurus, <i>Commentarium in Deuteronomium</i>	IX m.	Reims?	p. 463 nr. 7008
CLIV	Hieronymus, <i>In Hieremiam prophetam libri VI</i>	IX ex.	North Italy	-
CLIX	Orosius, <i>Historiae adversus paganos</i>	IX 4/4	North Italy	p. 463 nr. 7009
CLXV	Collectio canonum	IX ca. 840	North Italy (Pavia?)	p. 463 nr. 7010
CLXXIV	Angesius abbas, <i>Collectio capitularium</i>	IX/2 or 3/3	North Italy? St. Gall?	p. 461 nr. 7012

Shelfmark	Typology	Datation	Place	<i>Katalog, III</i>
CLXXV	Collectio Canonum Herovalliana	IX in.	France	p. 462 nr. 7013
CLXXVII	Iustinus, <i>Epitoma Pompei Trogi</i>	IX 3/4	North Italy	p. 462 nr. 7014
CLXXXVII	Cassianus, <i>Collationes</i>	IX 1/4 or 2/4	France or Italy	p. 462 nr. 7017
CCII	Isidorus Hispalensis, <i>Etymologiarum libri XX</i>	IX 3/4	North Italy	p. 462 nr. 7018
CCIII	Halitgarius, <i>Liber poenitentiale</i>	IX 4/4	North France	p. 462 nr. 7019

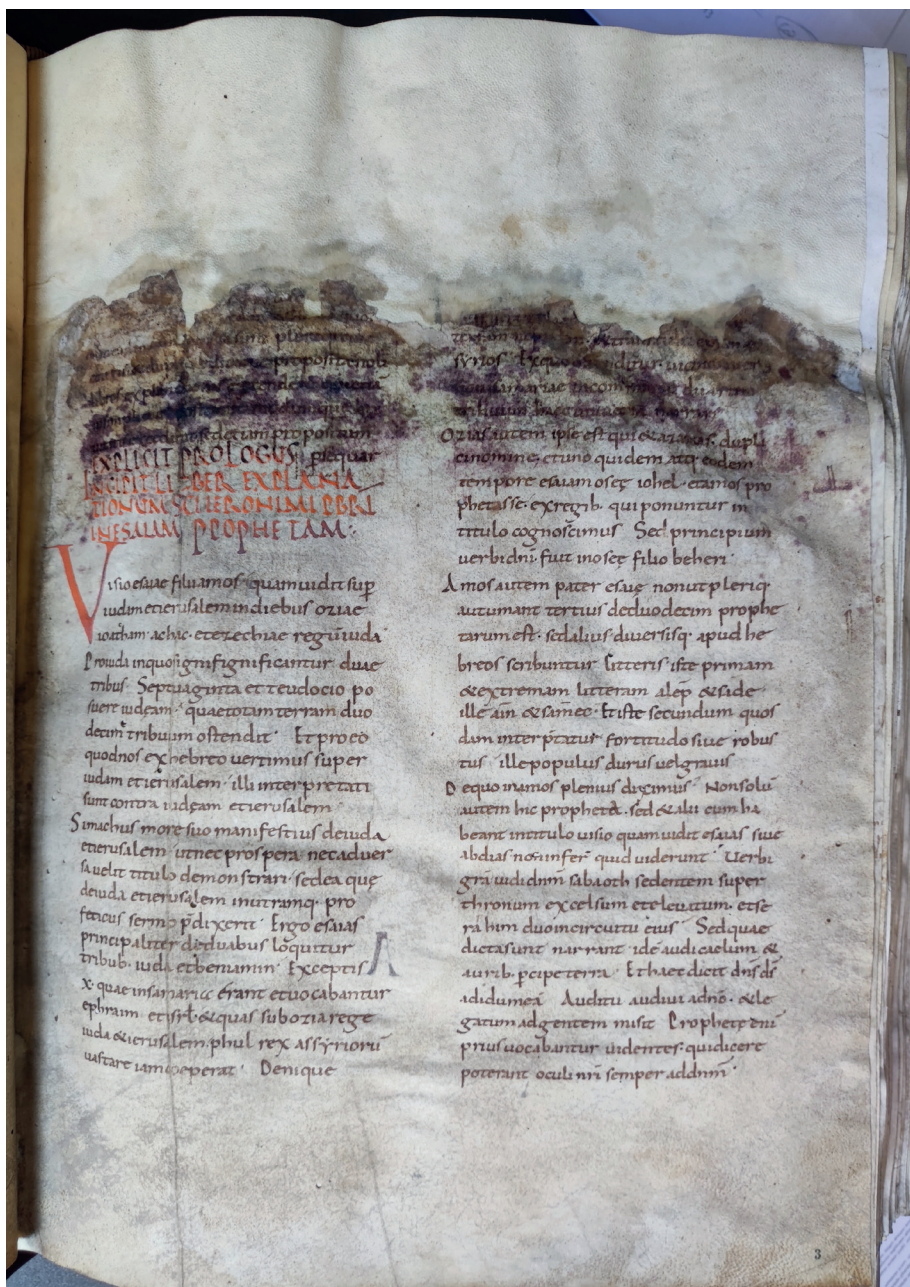


Plate I. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, CIX, f. 3r.

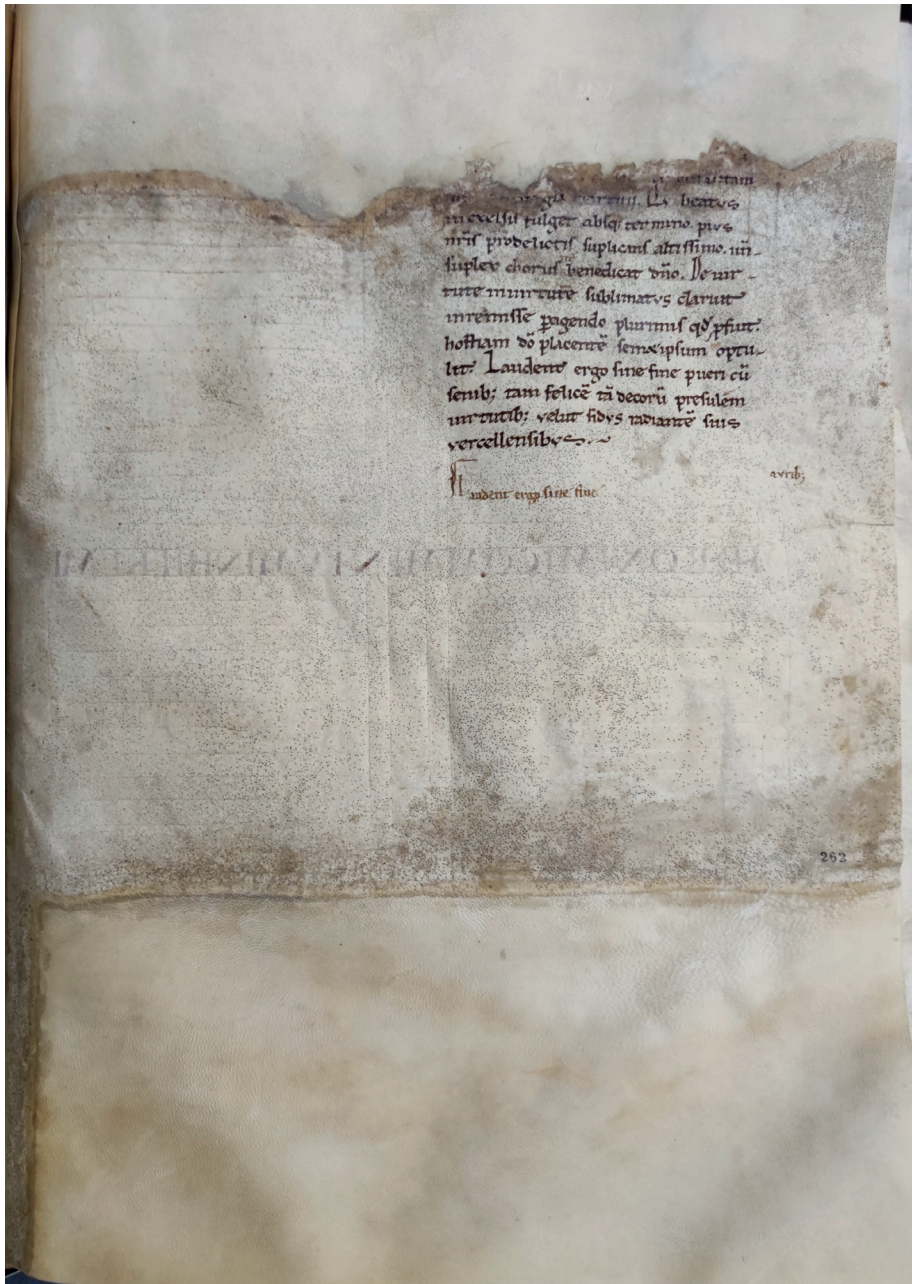


Plate 2. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, CIX, f. 262r.

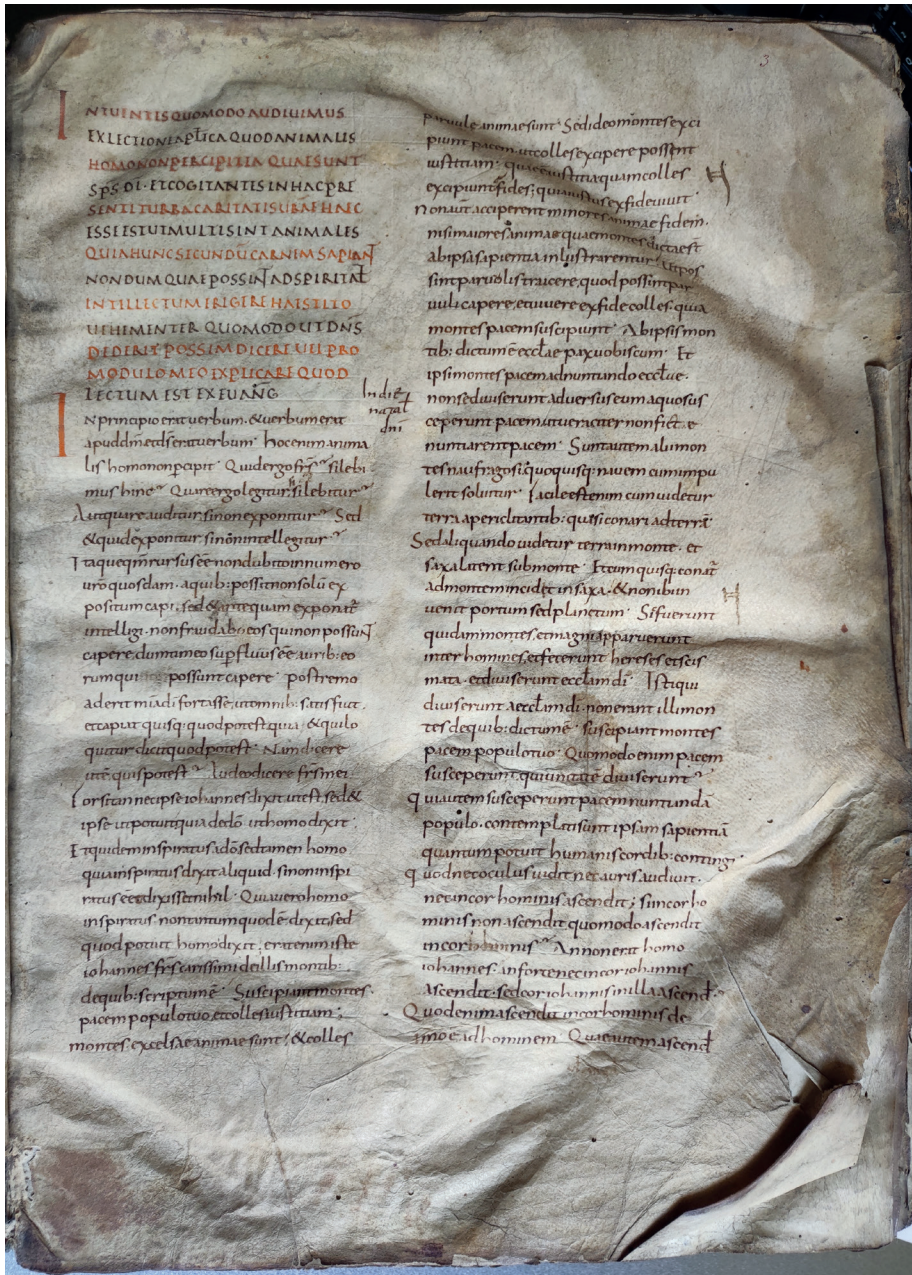


Plate 3. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, XLVI, f. 3r.

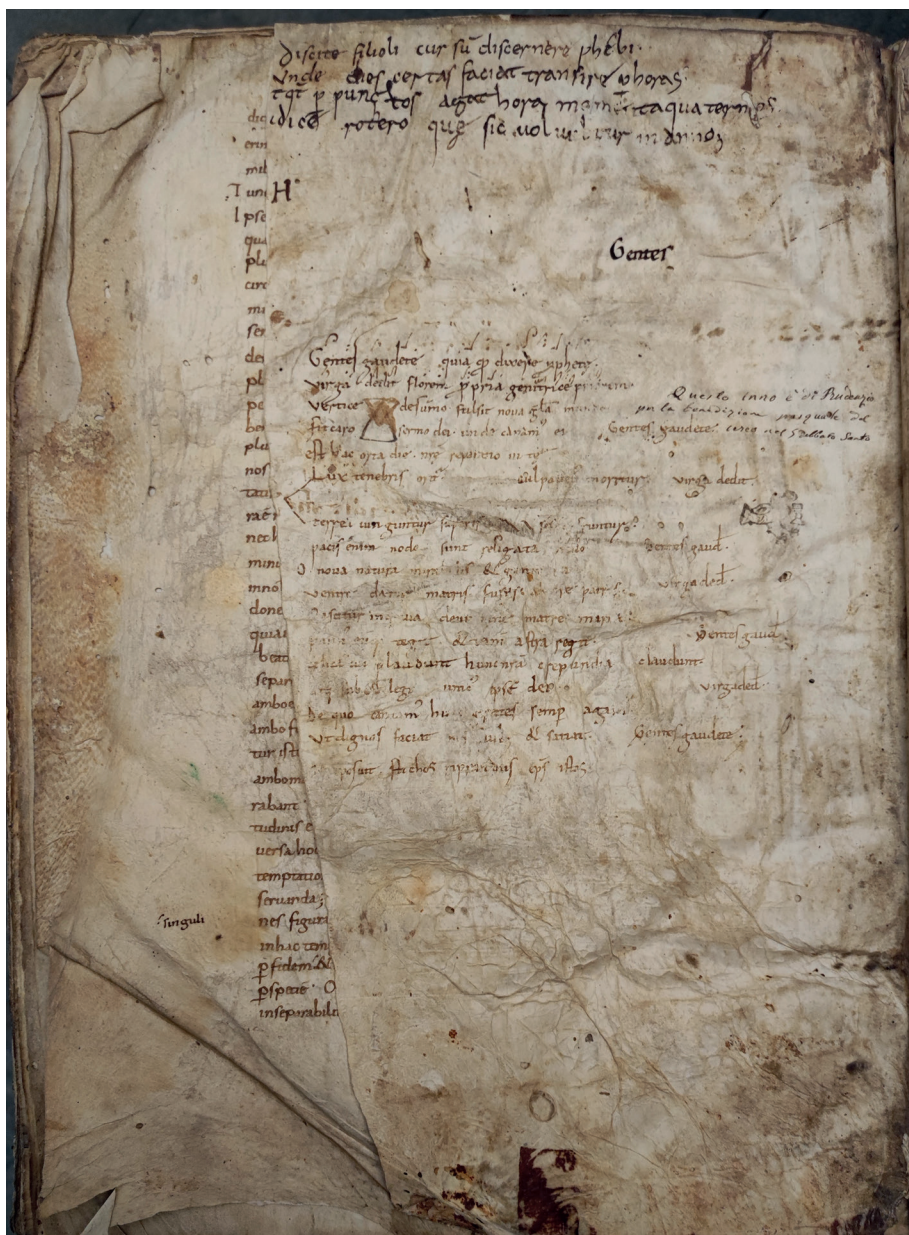


Plate 4. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, XLVI, f. 267v.



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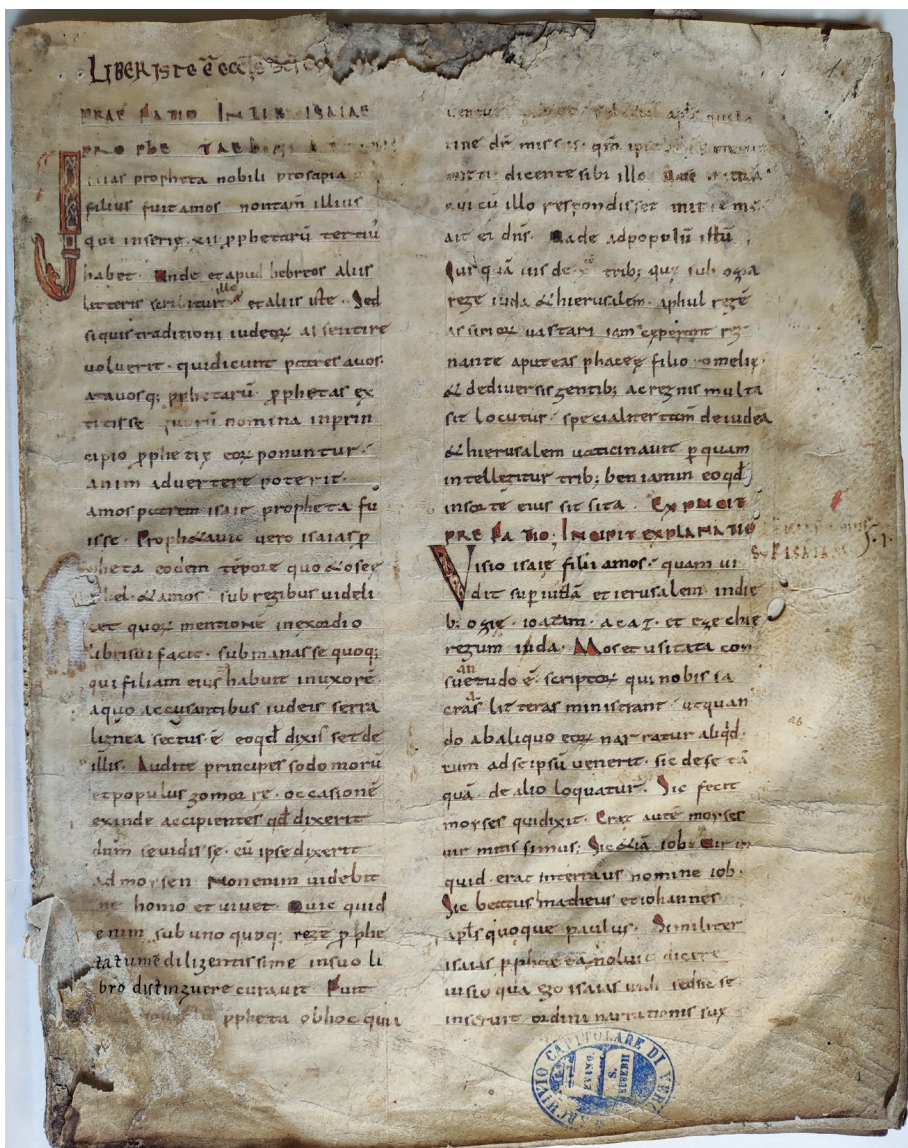


Plate 6. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXXII, f. 1r.

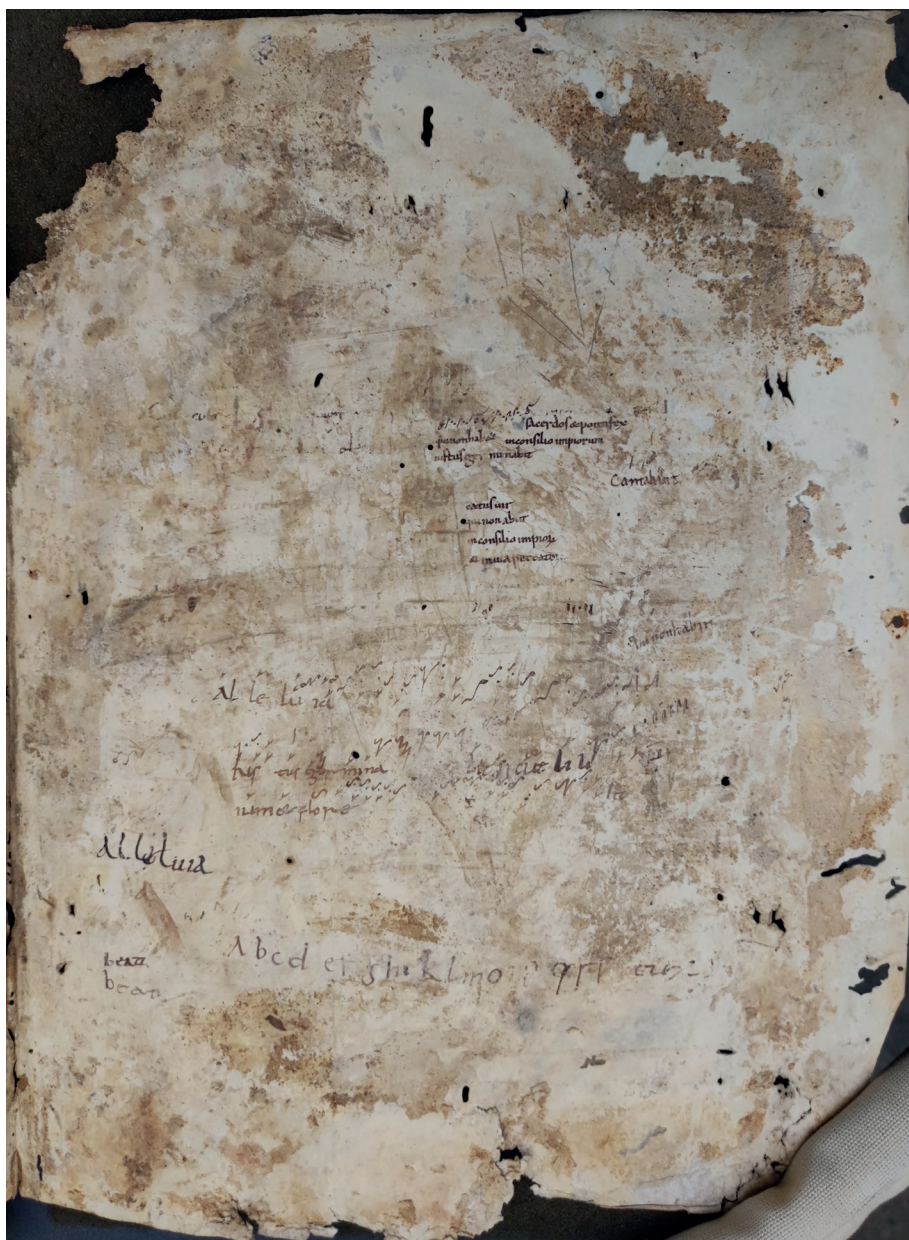


Plate 7. VERCELLI, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXXII, front flyleaf, verso.

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Giulio Minniti

An Unknown Tenth-Century Martyrs' Trope Collection

Abstract

In the blank space of the recto side of a folio in a ninth-century Frankish manuscript, now PARIS, BnF, Lat. 2846, a mid-tenth-century scribe entered a set of troped mass chants – an introit, an offertory and a communio – to be used in martyrs' masses. Not much later to judge by the script, two other scribes added yet more annotated troped introits to the verso of the same folio. Of the five trope sets adjoined to the five chants, one is now completely erased and illegible, another is found in two earlier sources, but, as this article shows, three of the trope sets here pre-date by about half a century the previously known sources. The comparison of our early source of tropes against those edited in the *Corpus Troporum* series, combined with paleographic and philological analyses and evaluation of its relationship with perishable and poorly understood trope *libelli*, reveals the importance of these previously unnoticed minitexts for the early history of tropes.

Keywords

Medieval Music; Tropes; *Libelli*

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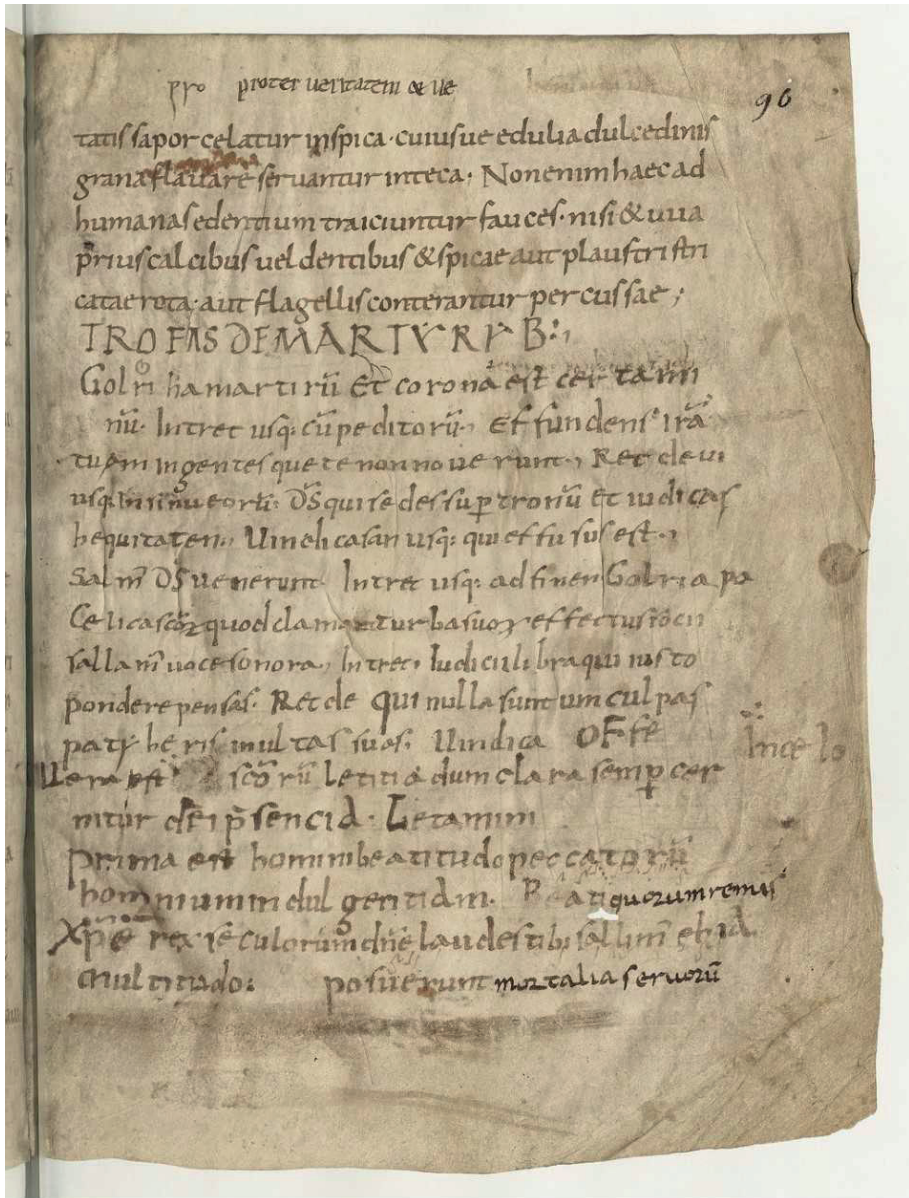
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Scavenging in the treasure trove of early medieval manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris [henceforth BnF], the MINiTEXTS project has discovered a remarkable, previously unnoticed and early collection of tropes for martyrs, written on fols. 96r-v of manuscript latin 2846. This composite volume contains no less than five codicological units over a total of 181 folios, transmitting theological texts, patristic writings and a lectionary. Bischoff localises the first codicological unit in Northeastern France and the remaining four in Northern France, dating them from the third quarter of the ninth century (the fifth and last unit, fols. 178-181), to the late ninth or early tenth century (the first one, fols. 1-96)¹. The trope collection is on the final folio of the first unit, which contains writings by Paulinus II, patriarch of Aquileia, a prominent Carolingian scholar (d. 802 or 804). Disconnected as they are from the contents of any unit, the tropes are legitimate ‘minitexts’ devoid of any meaningful relation with the whole book. On the basis of the palaeographic analysis of the three hands that I offer below, I date their entry from mid-tenth century at earliest to early eleventh at latest, putting some 30-80 years of distance between the redaction of tropes and that of the host codicological unit.

The BnF *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins* and MANNO, a project studying French neumatic notations in manuscripts of the BnF, provide the sole notices so far of this minitext². Both transcribe the incipits of the tropes on f. 96r alone, while MANNO also analyses the few neumes present and gives bibliographic references. The BnF catalogue proposes the dating of «XI^e s.», MANNO of «IX/X». However, the BnF catalogue offered the trope incipits in the effort of its systematic description of all manuscripts in the BnF Latin collection, while the focus of MANNO was rather on French neumatic notations as such. Thus, this minitext collection remained scholarly unassessed

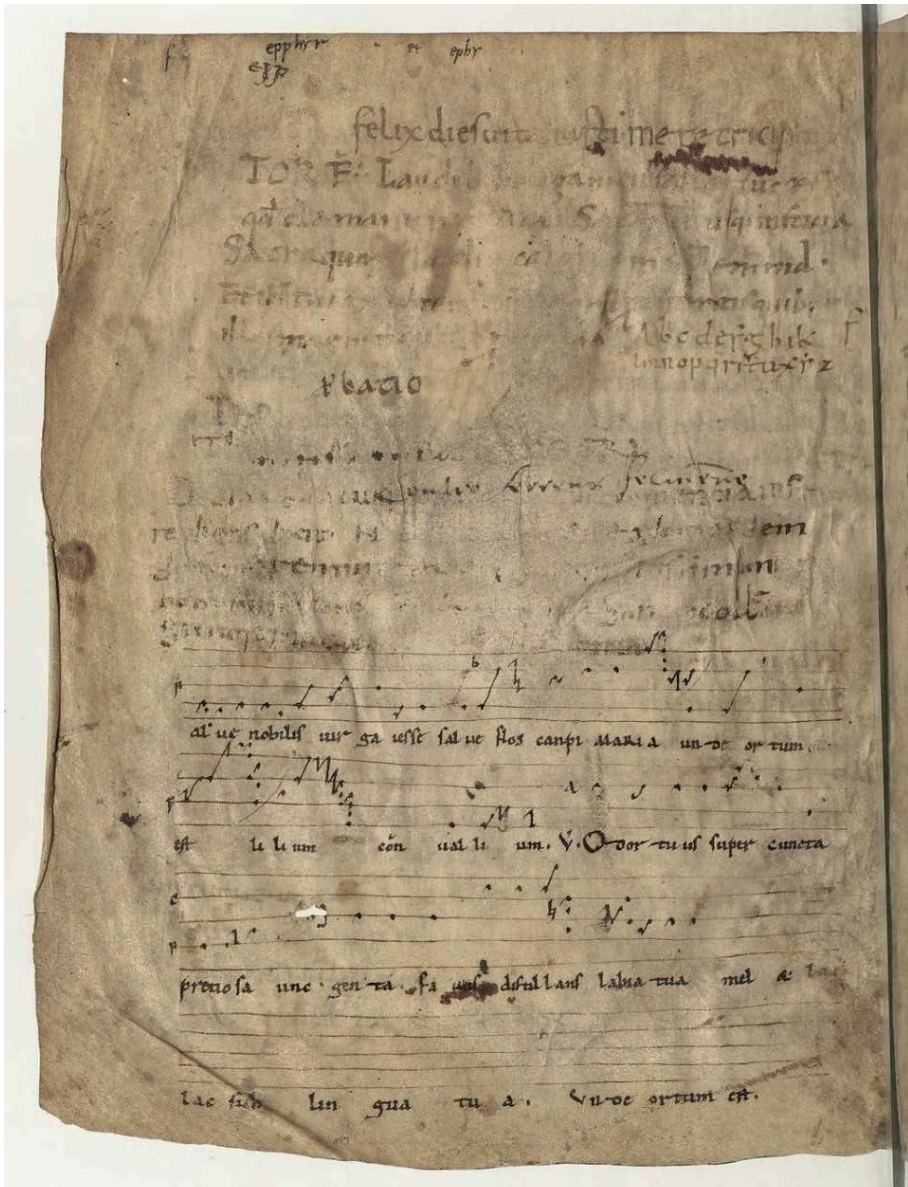
¹ BISCHOFF 2014, p. 84, entries no. 4244-4248. Complete manuscript description with links to digital reproduction at <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/>.

² PORCHER 1952, pp. 153-154; <https://manno.saprat.fr>. I wish to thank one of the project curators Dr. Christelle Cazaux (Muzik-Akademie Basel) for her kind help and for personally sharing the documentation of BnF Lat 2846 with me in a period when the website was temporarily down (Oct. – Nov. 2024).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Latin 2846

Fig. 1. PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 2846, fol. 96r. Reproduced with kind permission of the BnF.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Latin 2846

Fig. 2. PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 2846, fol. 96v. Reproduced with kind permission of the BnF.

until now. Consisting of tropes for five Proper chants for the Common of Martyrs, it proves to be a precious piece of evidence for the early dissemination of tropes in marginal spaces of Carolingian manuscripts. Indeed, of all genres of liturgical music developed from Carolingian times onwards, tropes seem to be that whose spread relied the most – and most characteristically so – on the circulation of ad hoc, unbound and materially short-lived *libelli*. Internal evidence to be assessed over the course of this essay allows to interpret this minitext as a fascinating and very rare link in the chain of editorial acts between the compilation of circulating *libelli* and of finished trope collection books known as ‘trovers’.

But before starting the discussion of this minitext, it will be useful to give a general description of what a trope is, and to briefly discuss the importance of *libelli* as means of dissemination of chant repertoires.

As for the former, it will be apt to cite the definition of Andreas Haug:

In a music-historical context, the term “trope” refers to any textual or melodic figure that is added to an existing chant without altering the textual or melodic structure of the said chant. The boundaries between the original chant and the added figures remain recognizable. ... In the succinct formulation of Adémar de Chabannes (ca. 1030), tropes, then, are “inserted chants” (“inserta cantica”)³.

It is also appropriate to refer to a more specific definition of the particular repertoire of tropes contained in our minitext, specific to mass Proper antiphons (i.e. introit, offertory, communion). This is taken from the tenth volume of *Corpus Troporum* [henceforth CTX], the reference editorial work on trope texts begun in 1975 at the university of Stockholm⁴. In the words of Ritva Maria Jacobsson, the editor of this tenth volume, tropes are

Latin chants – words and music – embellishing the Medieval mass chants; those of the proper concern the antiphons of the moveable feasts. Their verses were sung as introductions to and interpolations between those of the introit, the offertory and the communion⁵.

As for *libelli*, many more have come down to us for saints’ offices than for tropes – another reason for the relevance of this minitext. For example, two *libelli* containing saints’ offices from the first half of the eleventh century have been consecutively bound at the end of BnF Lat. 1240, a composite volume mostly

³ HAUG 2018 p. 263.

⁴ CORPUS TROPORUM I-XII, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1975-2014.

⁵ CTX, p. [4]. This tenth volume is freely available via the Stockholm University repository at <https://su.diva-portal.org/>.

known for its tropary: on fols. 183r–188v the first *libellus* presents an office for St Foy and on fols. 189r–193v the second *libellus* presents another office for St Margaret. I invite the reader to visually assess both at the provided link⁶. The stitching, the patently different contents, scripts and chronology, as well as the general alterity with regard to the rest of the composite volume all communicate very clearly the quality of what must have been typical chant *libelli*⁷. Scholars have posited the existence of trope *libelli* on the basis of external evidence rather than on direct documentary observation because of how few have come down to us. References in *epistulae*, philological assessments of the trope repertoire and codicological analysis suggest that travelling *libelli* were among the main means of disseminating chant repertoires. For one thing, sections of troopers often begin on a new quire, suggesting that each was a copy of a different *libellus*⁸. Yet *libelli* for tropes, as said, are so exceedingly rare that the history and analysis of tropes has almost exclusively rested on post-facto, retrospective collections, mostly from the second half of the tenth century⁹. Andreas Haug has provided a useful list of the twenty extant known sources of Mass Proper tropes written before the year 1000 (to which, however short, our minitext in BnF 2846 can now be added)¹⁰. Of these twenty, only two date to ca.900, both lacking musical notation (VERONA, Biblioteca capitolare, MS XC (85) and MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14843); five date to before or around the second half of the tenth century and, of these, only WIEN, ÖNB [henceforth Wi] 1609 is a legitimate *libellus*, one merely a binio long¹¹. The mid-tenth century SANKT GALLEN, 484 and 381 were intended from the beginning to have a substantial focus on tropes and sequences, the two genres of Carolingian music *par excellence*¹². Together with LONDON, British Library, Add. [henceforth Add.] 19768,

⁶ Digital reproduction available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

⁷ On the philological interplay of *libelli* and finished chant books see PARKES 2015, pp. 33–88, discussing a tenth-century collection of versified music that he calls “a book in motion” (p. 33). On the role of *libelli* in regards specifically to trope repertoires and troopers see HUGLO 1979 and 1986. See also VARELLI 2016, pp. 74–90 for the discussion of a *libellus* likely from Nonantola containing an office for St Benedict; and VARELLI 2022, especially pp. 15–18 for a discussion of the role of *libelli* for the dissemination of musical notation in the tenth century.

⁸ HUGLO 1979, 1986.

⁹ On the early history of tropes see the excellent *vue d'ensemble* in PLANCHART 2009, xii–liv.

¹⁰ HAUG 2018, p. 271 fn. 26.

¹¹ WEAKLAND 1958 provides an useful overall discussion of Wi 1609, but does not touch upon the status of this source as a *libellus*.

¹² On the concept of Carolingian music, see RANKIN 1993. On SG 484 and 381, see ARLT - RANKIN 1996.

they carry the largest number of tropes among tenth-century sources¹³. And yet tropes seem not to have defined the earliest books that contained them. The relationship between what we now retrospectively call troopers «[is] a question plagued by all kinds of circular uncertainty and obstructed by the famously unusual features of [these] books». ¹⁴ In fact, time and time again musicological studies through the last fifty years have proven that the transmission of tropes is a thorny matter. Not incidentally, this is entirely in line with the historical trajectory of newer Carolingian musico-liturgical genres as observable from the marginalia studied by the MINiTEXTS project. New genres hardly fitted previous liturgical procedures, and they found neither space in standard liturgical books, nor official recognition – so much so that they were often outright forbidden by councils and ecclesiastical figures¹⁵.

After this brief overview on the early history of tropes and of the role of *libelli* in this history, we can now turn to the minitext trope collection. While it does not clarify the overall picture, it nonetheless provides an uncommon perspective, since it represents a middle stage between a liminal *libellus* and a finished musical book with tropes.

Our minitext is the product of three main scribes (which I will call Scribes A, B, C). A fourth added a few lines of neumes on recto (Scribe D) and a fifth added only a few words (Scribe E). It appears as if Scribe A – the only main hand on recto – wanted to record tropes for all three mass Proper antiphons in a martyrs' mass¹⁶, as suggested by the heading in capitals that opens the minitext 'TROFAS DE MARTYRYBUS'¹⁷. He must have found some issues when it came to the final communio and its accompanying trope(s), but apart from that, his editorial programme of providing one trope-set for each of the martyrs' introit, offertory and communion chants is clear. Some time after and likely in the same institution, two other scribes added two more troped introits on the verso of the same folio. The two troped introits on verso faced heavy erasure that

¹³ On Add. 19768 see PARKES 2015, pp. 31-87.

¹⁴ PARKES 2015, pp. 38, 62.

¹⁵ PLANCHART 2009, pp. xii, xxix-xxx.

¹⁶ Introit, offertory and communion are the Mass Proper chants that receive tropes, whereas gradual and alleluia usually do not. PLANCHART 2009, pp. xxxii-xxxiii discusses the very few exceptions of gradual and alleluia tropes.

¹⁷ I could not find any record elsewhere of the same spelling for the word 'trope' in Latin. The second main scribe uses the heading 'TORF' with a abbreviation mark on top of 'f', an equally idiosyncratic spelling as far as I can tell. It is also noticeable that the straightforward spelling *tropum* appears twice in the non-musical context of the main text by Paulinus of Aquileia on f. 95r. On the naming of tropes in early sources see ODELMAN 1975.

now severely impacts their legibility¹⁸. The reasons for such erasures are hardly guessable, but clearing space for the Marian responsory added later in the twelfth century on the lower half of the page cannot be one, for several other inscriptions (late tenth century: '*probatio*'; eleventh century: an abecedary) were clearly written on top of what by then had already been erased¹⁹. Nonetheless, I could still reconstruct a good portion of both trope-sets by confronting the few readable words or portions of words with the texts edited in CTX. A major difference between the work of Scribe A and that of Scribes B and C is that the former clearly meant to provide a complete introit-offertory-communion set, whereas the latter two added their own introit set prompted by what they must have found on the recto. A fourth scribe was responsible for West Frankish musical notation added above the initial word of the offertory verse *Beati* and above the (more problematic) word *Posuerunt*. Whereas the neumes on *Beati* match the melody commonly found for this offertory verse, those on *Posuerunt* do not relate to the communion *Posuerunt* nor to any other chant with the same incipit²⁰, a detail to be further addressed later. To judge by the different tone of the ink of the neumes and by their very thin width, Scribe D did not otherwise write any other text. Lastly, Scribe E added the words *quorum remis<sionem>* and *mortalia servorum* to clarify two words that Scribe A left as cues, *Beati* and *Posuerunt*. *Beati* is the first word of the offertory verse, *Posuerunt* is related in unclear ways to the communion chant and its trope(s), as we shall see.

Several instances of misspelling also suggest that at least Scribe A might have been writing under dictation. Other than instances such as *Golriha* for *Gloria* and *bequitaten* for *equitatem*, the reading *nulla suntum* for *nullas sontum* is especially vocal with its agglutination of the final and initial 's' across the two words. The change of *sontum* into the meaningless but apparently plausible *suntum* also indicates a *lectio facilior* for which Scribe A might have misinterpreted the sound of the vocal 'u' for that of an 'o'. If writing under dictation is a correct hypothesis, it is easy to envisage a companion dictating from a *libellus* containing tropes. Unfortunately, as both texts on verso are almost completely illegible, it is impossible to say whether misspellings were present that would betray the same dynamics for Scribes B and C, too²¹.

18 UV reproductions obtained from the BnF did not improve readability.

19 I disregard other minor inscriptions on the verso as irrelevant for my current purposes.

20 After a query on <https://cantusindex.org>.

21 On medieval scribes writing under dictation see NARDINI 2012. Nardini focuses on musical scribes, but provides ample further bibliography pertaining to iconography and textual scribes as well.

Palaeography

A grounded palaeographic analysis is only possible for Scribe A since his entry – with the exception of the last erased and now irretrievable line – has survived almost intact and perfectly legible. As for scribes B and C on verso, their heavily effaced entries only allow for very general observations.

The writing of Scribe A is of a *Schulstil* that is far from rigorous, typical of many if not most minitexts in Caroline minuscule²². Such a *Schulstil* makes dating more difficult, although some elements of his writing do allow for a cautious evaluation. This scribe clearly puts attention into respecting a four-line system based on the pre-existing ruling of the page and is certainly consistent in using one way only to write virtually all his letters. The ‘a’ is uncial, although he executes it three times with a much taller shoulder, perhaps as an embellishment (lines 13, 15, 16²³). His ‘s’ goes below the dry line in two instances only, in both cases being the last letter of the line. In the first instance he even adds a second downward stroke to emphasize the effect (lines 5, 10). All other ‘s’ and all ‘r’ and ‘f’ do not descend below the writing line. The cursive ‘r(um)’ ligature is retained, appearing twice in line 8. The rising elements of ‘d’, ‘l’, ‘b’ and capital ‘I’ conclude with a pressing of the quill towards the left, resulting either in a slanting or in a thicker end that is also slightly tilted. Only in very rare cases letters such as ‘i’, ‘m’ and ‘n’ have the conclusive oblique element that is characteristic of stiffer and later Caroline script. The inclination is slightly tilted towards the right, and the overall disposition of the text is somewhat wavy, especially so towards the end. Word separation is rather inconsistent, in some lines being so little that these almost appear as if written in *scriptio continua* (e.g. lines 5, 8, 16), in others being quite ample (lines 3, 6, 7, 14). All these things considered, I would put Scribe A’s entry around the central decades of the tenth century, perhaps 940 - 970. The lack of the final oblique element on ‘n’ and ‘m’, the rather restrained separation of words and the absence of sensible compression of letters seem especially telling of a writing style that is perhaps more at home in the central decades of the tenth century, than in the final ones.

As for Scribes B and C, very little can be said given that their entries are very barely visible, and that no more than five words can be clearly discerned in their entirety, all in the entry of Scribe B. This scribe is certainly closer to

²² On the ‘hierarchy’ of accuracy in writing styles (from which I also take the term *Schulstil*), see AUTENRIETH 1978.

²³ Here and elsewhere I count lines starting from the first visible line of each minitext scribe, including majuscule headings.

Scribe A in his writing style – and quite possibly chronology – than Scribe C is. The features that Scribe B shares with Scribe A are the same tilting to the right, the 'm' and 'n' similarly lacking the final oblique elements, a very similar 'a' in its uncial form – also including one single instance with a taller shoulder (line 4) –, and the few visible 'r' that do not descend below the writing line. Word separation seems to be even less than what seen for Scribe A. No space is left in line 3 between *Sacra* and *qua[m]* and *celebremus* and *sollemnia*; in line 4 at *Et sanctis tui*; in line 5 at *illos magnificas[ti]*. All the letters appear regular in their character, quite uncompressed and well-formed. Certainly, the most versed of the three, Scribe B can be said to be contemporary to Scribe A – or at most slightly later for the simple reason that his entry follows on verso what was already on recto.

As for Scribe C, his entry is the worst preserved of the three, and no single complete word is discernible. Still, one notes a general verticality and compression, at least two 'r' and one 's' that go below the writing line (line 3 *rediens*, line 6 *nostrī*), and very pronounced final oblique elements in 'm' (line 3 *custodem*, line 4 *[co]nstantissimum*, line 6 *ma[ligni]*). These elements, however grounded on very little visible material, should be sufficient to put the entry by Scribe C in the last quarter of the tenth or first years of the eleventh century.

Contents and repertoire

This minitext is the earliest witness for all the tropes entered by Scribes A while the tropes that Scribe B entered were only known until now from a single later English manuscript, the mid-eleventh-century 'Cotton' troper bound as the first (fols. 1-36) of three fragmentary volumes now LONDON, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A. xiv [Henceforth Lo 14]. The tropes entered by Scribe C are the only ones for which earlier testimonies exist. These tropes are also significantly more common and widespread than the trope-sets of Scribes A and B. I think however that Scribes A and B – or people in their immediate proximity – were not themselves the authors of the tropes and that we are not confronted here with autograph original compositions. The fact that three different scribes added tropes in the margins of a book not pertaining to music in three different moments (however proximate in time they are) and that the third wrote a trope-set also found in sources earlier than his entry, also suggests that these are distinct moments in the accumulation of circulating tropes. Table 1 presents the relevant information of the entire minitext collection at a glance.

Table 1.

Folio	Scribe	Tentative Date	Mass Proper	Proper chant	Trope-set formula	Concordant sources	Regional diffusion
96 r	A	940–970	Introit	INTRET IN CONSPECTU	8a 9d 10fp ax 18a 19d 2of	6	Aquitaine
96 r	A	940–970	Offertory	LAETAMINI	10a 11p (12 from Off. <i>Constitues eos</i>)	Tr. 10–11: 3 Tr. 12: 2	Frankish but rare
96 r	A	940–970	Communion	MULTITUDO(?)	N/A	N/A	N/A
96 v	B	940–980	Introit	SACERDOTES TUI	(35 from Off. <i>Confessio</i>)a (36- <i>Conf.</i>)d (37- <i>Conf.</i>)e [...]	1	Previously only in Lo 14
96 v	C	970–1010	Introit	NUNC SCIO	13a 14[d] 15[e] 16[f] [...]	13	Frankish

I now come to analyse each of the five trope sets with the support of the tenth volume of *Corpus Troporum*. For each set I propose formulas similar to those of *CT* editions that indicate the succession of single tropes in each set. This should help to identify the matrices, diffusion and earliest instances of the trope-sets found in the minitext. In these formulas, each number indicates a single trope, while the letter that follows indicates the section of the original chant. Numbers in round brackets indicate tropes that *CT* records as pertaining to chants different than those in this collection. Any portion of a formula in square brackets indicates sections of the text whose presence I infer by comparison with *CTX* editions but of which not even a letter can be ascertained. After formulas, a transcription follows of the entire chant as it appears in the minitext. I indicate line breaks with forward slashes, whereas all other conventions are based on *CT* typesetting conventions: pre-existing *Proprium* chants are in small caps, scribal editorial information with italicised small caps, headings in minuscule text inside of angle brackets, text that scribes abbreviate in round parenthesis. The most frequent editorial information that scribes A and B provide is ‘usque’, that is, ‘until’. Therefore, what reads as “INTRET USQUE CUMPEDITORUM” is to be understood as “INTRET IN CONSPECTU TUO DOMINE GEMITUS CUMPEDITORUM”²⁴. I cite whenever possible the

²⁴ More common customs for this cue typical of tropes are either a middle dot instead of *usque* (i.e. INTRET • CUMPEDITORUM), or to write just the first word of the original chant, standing for the entire portion (i.e. INTRET).

provenance and dating forwarded by Andreas Haug in his abovementioned essay²⁵; if a source is not mentioned there, I take its dating from *CTX*.

Introit - Intret in conspectu

Edition: *CTX* volume A, pp. 224-225.

Formula: 8a-9d-10fp ax 18a-19d-2of.

Scribe: A, 940-970.

Transcription:

Table 2.

« Trofas de Martyribus »	
8	Gloria martyrum et corona est certami/num.
a	INTRET <i>usque</i> COMPEDITORUM.
9	Effundens iram / tuam in gentes quae te non noverunt.
b	REDDE VI(CINIS) / <i>usque</i> IN SINU EORUM.
10	Deus qui reddes super tronum et iudicas / hequitatem.
f	VINDICA SAN(GUINEM) <i>usque</i> QUI EFFUSUS EST. /
p	<i>Salmus</i> DEUS VENERUNT.
a	INTRET <i>usque ad finem</i> .
x	GLORIA PA(TRI). /
18	Celica sanctorum quod clamat turba suorum effectus socii / sallamus voce sonora.
a	INTRET.
19	Iudicii libra qui iusto / pondere pensas.
d	REDDE.
20	Qui nullas suntum culpas / patyheris in ultas suos.
f	VINDICA.

This introit and its two trope-sets 8-10 and 18-20 provide the following overall structure of ‘Troped introit with psalm verse’ > ‘Untroped introit with doxology’ > ‘Troped introit’. Out of the thirty sources that record *Intret in conspectu* in *CTX*, six provide both sets 8-10 and 18-20. Twelve sources carry set 8-10 without set 18-20 while three carry set 18-20 without 8-10. Set 8-10 is found both in Frankish and Aquitanian sources, each zone having its own melodies for this set; finally, set 18-20 is found only in Aquitanian sources: Björkvall

²⁵ HAUG 2018, p. 271.

even refers to it as «spécifiquement aquitaine»²⁶. Our minitext now becomes the only non-Aquitainian testimony to set 18-20. All the six Aquitanian sources that have both sets 8-10 and 18-20 invariably present set 18-20 before 8-10, as well as adding other sets either before (as in BnF, Nouvelles Acquisitions Latines, MS 1871: 24-27 > 18-20 > 8-10), or in-between (as in BnF Lat. 909: 18-20 > 21, 17, 22-23 > 8-10). BnF Lat. 1118 is the earliest of these six sources, dated ca. 1000. On the other hand, our minitext is the only source in which the two sets are not accompanied by other trope-sets, as well as being the only one in which set 8-10 precedes set 18-20.

Which melody was Scribe A familiar with for the trope-set? A cross-checking of *CTX* with digitised sources indexed in Cantus Database shows that set 8-10 was sung to two separate melodies, one Aquitanian and one Frankish²⁷. This geographical division of melodies for set 8-10 poses some questions. As set 18-20 was previously only known from Aquitanian sources, did our scribe have in mind the same Aquitanian melodies, or would he have known a different Frankish melodic tradition for set 18-20, as is the case for set 8-10? Here I offer three hypothetical relationships:

1. Set 18-20 originated in Aquitaine and reached Francia via a *libellus*. The Frankish redactors disregarded the Aquitanian melodic tradition and provided the set with local melodies, generating the same geographical distinction as seen in set 8-10.
2. Set 18-20 originated in Francia and then reached Aquitaine. The melodies now seen in Aquitanian sources for set 18-20 are the original Frankish ones. This hypothesis, chronologically possible given the dating of currently available documents, would also be in line with Huglo's 'Loi des doublets': when more than one liturgical composition is found for the same occasion, the newest tend to be superimposed over the older one(s), as if to give emphasis to its novelty²⁸.
3. Set 18-20 originated in Francia and then reached Aquitaine. The Frankish melodies were discarded in favour of a local style once they arrived.

The question must remain open for now.

²⁶ *CTV*, p. 167.

²⁷ See <https://cantusindex.org/id/g01310>. Aquitanian mss. consulted: BnF Lat. 903, BnF Lat. 1118, BnF Lat. 909 (unnotated). West Frankish mss. consulted: CAMBRIDGE, Corpus Christi College, MS 473, BnF Lat. 9448, BnF Lat. 13252, PARIS, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 1169.

²⁸ This seems to be especially valid for tropes. See the very clear, convincing scheme in HUGLO 1979 p. 78. Huglo first illustrated the 'Loi des Doublets' in regards to musico-liturgical documents in HUGLO 1971, p. 296.

Offertory - Laetamini**Edition:** CTX vol. A, pp. 232-233.**Formula:** 10a 11p (12 from Off. *Constitues eos*).**Scribe:** A, 940-970.**Transcription:**

Table 3.

« Offe »	
10	Vera est in celo sanctorum letitia dum clara semper cer/nitur Dei presencia.
a	LETAMINI.
11	Prima est homini beatitudo peccatorum / homnium indulgentiam.
p	BEATI (later hand:) QUORUM REMIS(SIONEM).
12- <i>Constitues</i>	Christe rex seculorum Domine laudes tibi sallimus ehia.

The tropes 10 and 11 for the offertory *Laetamini in Domino* are quite rare, appearing as a combined set in just three sources other than our minitext: Add. 19768, from Mainz, and the Aquitanian Apt 17 and 18, with the last two being related to each other. The Aquitanian manuscripts BnF Lat. 903 and BnF Lat. 887 have only trope 10 for the offertory since they lack its verse. After the offertory verse and its trope 11, our minitext calls for *Christe rex seculorum*, a trope that CTX records as number 12 for the St Peter offertory *Constitues eos*. This trope is in itself very rare, only appearing in the two Frankish sources PARIS, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal [henceforth PaA] 1169 and BnF Lat. 9449, respectively from Autun (996-1024) and Nevers (1050 ca.).²⁹ In both sources the space allotted for music was left blank³⁰, probably a sign of difficult transmission for the music of this particular trope. Indeed, if and how Scribe A came in contact with whatever melody *Christe rex seculorum* had is yet another question that must remain without an answer for now. But given that the text of *Christe rex seculorum* has a very general tone of thanksgiving to God and no relation to St Peter whatsoever, and that our minitext is earlier than the chronologically closest source PaA 1169, the hypothesis can be offered that the minitext records an earlier state in which this trope was not specifically attached to St Peter. The assignment of *Christe rex seculorum* to St Peter in the only two previously known sources might be better explained as the result of common transmis-

²⁹ CTX tome A, pp. 201-202.

³⁰ See PaA 1169, f. 46r and BnF Lat. 9449, f. 60v at <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

sion lineages across PaA 1169 and BnF Lat. 9449 than as an actual linking of the trope *Christe rex seculorum* to the figure of St Peter, since a text created for St Peter might reasonably be expected to refer to him.

Communion

Edition: N/A.

Formula: N/A.

Scribe: A, 940-970.

Transcription:

Multitudo posuerunt (later hand:) mortalia servorum / [...]³¹.

Unravelling the philological problems of the communion chant and its trope(s) proves virtually impossible. Three, perhaps intertwined, issues are evident. Firstly, two dots follow the word *Multitudo* and then, after more space than needed, the word *posuerunt*. Both the words *Multitudo* and *Posuerunt* begin two different and widespread communion chants for several martyrs³². Secondly, Scribe D added a few neumes over the word *posuerunt* and Scribe E added the words *mortalia servorum* after *posuerunt*. Thirdly, the line following was completely and successfully erased.

Two hypotheses seem at least logically plausible, although far from fully convincing. Let us assess first the word *posuerunt*. Taken as is, it could either be the first word of a trope for the communion *Multitudo* (read: *Posuerunt* <...>. MULTITUDO.), or the first word for the communion *Posuerunt* (read: <...>. POSUERUNT <MORTALIA SERVORUM>). If *posuerunt* were the first word of a trope for MULTITUDO, we would then be faced with an otherwise unrecorded trope. If so, the erased line could have been what came after *posuerunt* and the neumes above could have recorded the melody of this trope (although this is doubtful, set as they are in a continuous string rather than above each syllable). Then Scribe E, faced with this unknown trope, might have wanted to erase the unfamiliar words in the second line, adding *mortalia servorum* so as to link that initial word to an actual, well-known chant. The change in the eyes of Scribe E of the word *posuerunt* from an unrecorded trope to a communion chant could

³¹ I omit small caps in this transcription since it is uncertain which section of the text was intended to indicate the communion and which the trope. On the opposite, I indicate the erased line of text in square brackets since it is evident from the minitext layout that it must have had some sort of connection with the preceding line.

³² See <https://cantusindex.org/id/g00043> (Co. *Multitudo languentium*) and <https://cantusindex.org/id/g000472> (Co. *Posuerunt mortalia servorum*).

explain why the neumes added by Scribe D over it do not match the melody of the communion *Posuerunt mortalia servorum*.

The second possible hypothesis would have the erased line be the incipit of an actual trope for the communion MULTITUDO (read: MULTITUDO. / <...>.), albeit oddly placed after the chant incipit rather than before. *Corpus Troporum* reports two possible tropes for this chant: n. 1429 *Sedens in monte* and n. 1474 *Summa dei proles*³³. *Sedens in monte* is recorded in seven sources from Aquitaine and England, *Summa dei proles* in three Eastern ones. Hence, *Sedens in monte* would be the expected trope here based on this regional division. But the portion of the letter only feebly discernible at the beginning of the erased line cannot be the 'S' or 's' of either *Sedens* or *Summa*, and I am rather inclined to see it as the initial minim of either 'm' or 'n'. Could it then be that, unsatisfied with the trope he saw or selected, or noting how the trope beginning with 'm' or 'n' was not the expected *Summa dei proles*, Scribe A erased the entire line and proposed another communion – *Posuerunt* – to be troped altogether instead of *Multitudo*? This too however is difficult to argue, since *Posuerunt mortalia servorum* is not recorded in *Corpus Troporum* as a communion receiving tropes and also since, as said, the neumes above *posuerunt* do not match the usual melody of the Communion chant *Posuerunt*.

Whatever the hypothesis for what trope(s) came with what communion, the issue remains unsolved. Scribe A surely imagined a communion chant to be present in order to have a full set for an entire Martyrs' mass, but whereas the introit and the offertory chants posed no problem, the communion chant did. Perhaps he himself regarded whatever arrangement he penned as unsatisfactory, in which case the erasure further obscures a situation that he himself already considered garbled. (It is also possible that the person who erased the last line on the recto was the same person who cleared all of the verso. If this were the case, it would be equally unclear why they only erased the single last line of the recto.)

Introit - Sacerdotes tui

Edition: CTX Vol. A, pp. 259-260.

Formula: (35 from Off. *Confessio et pulchritudo*)a (36-*Confessio*)d (37-*Confessio*)e [...].

Scribe: B, 940-980.

Transcription:

³³ Respectively in CPX vol. B, p. 430 and p. 444.

Table 4.

« Torf »	
35- <i>Confessio</i>	Laudibus organicis sallamus voces / quod clamant prophetica.
a	SACERDOTES <i>usque</i> IUSTICIA. /
36- <i>Confessio</i>	Sacra quam hodie celebremus sollemnia.
d	ET SANCTIS TUI EXULTENT [...].
37- <i>Confessio</i>	[Premia] pro [me]ritis quibus / illos magnificasti.
e	PRO[PTER...]. /
[...]	[...]

Although badly erased – especially so towards the centre and the end – the first of the two troped chants on the verso is identifiable as the introit *Sacerdotes tui*, paired with a set of at least three visible trope elements. Scribe B almost certainly wrote a total of four or five tropes, since the introit would otherwise be structurally incomplete and because one more line of text to account for is now completely illegible. As said above, the *Laudibus organicis* trope-set was only previously known from the English troper Lo 14, where it was used for a different chant genre altogether, the St Lawrence offertory *Confessio et pulchritudo*. Ritva Jacobsson surveyed this and other unicum trope-sets in Lo 14. As a new and older source for the *Laudibus organicis* trope-set, our minitext allows for consideration that will link with and clarify her trope-sets.

Laudibus organicis is the second of two trope-sets for St Lawrence present in Lo 14. The first one, *Adest alma dies*, is also found in the Winchester troopers CAMBRIDGE, Corpus Christi College, MS 473 and OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 775. Jacobsson was quick to notice how both *Laudibus organicis* and *Adest alma dies* are of a «completely conventional [tone], without any mention of the particular category of saint occupied by Laurence. ... One gets the impression that they were just assembled casually from stock phrases³⁴.» This, together with other considerations pertaining to «style, versification and linguistic character of the unique tropes [in Lo 14]» brought Jacobsson to conclude that the scribe and compiler of Lo 14 had «access to a vast continental repertory [that ...] also includes much French material³⁵.» Jacobsson denies the unicum trope-sets in Lo 14 the status of original compositions, interpreting them as assemblages from previous «anthologies, ... *libelli*, or small sheets con-

³⁴ JACOBSSON 1993, pp. 31-32.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 43-44.

taining single tropes or groups of tropes». Clearly, the discovery of *Laudibus organicis* in our minitext proves her right in this hypothesis and allows us to observe an exemplar of such fleeting anthologies of the exact nature that Jacobsson had supposed. Moreover, in our minitext this trope-set serves a different chant from a different genre altogether – the generic Martyrs' introit *Sacerdotes tui* as opposed to the St Lawrence offertory *Confessio et pulchritudo* of Lo 14. The different destination – from several saints to one – is also reflected here by the use of the plural form *illos* instead of *illum* seen in Lo 14. Finally, it is also interesting to note how the two chants share a final on E, allowing from a melodic point of view, too, this transfer of a trope-set from one chant to another.

Introit – Nunc scio

Edition: CTX Vol. A, pp. 243-248.

Formula: 13a 14[d] 15[e] 16[f] [...].

Scribe: C, 970-1010.

Transcription:

Table 5.

« T[rofas ... Pet]ri » (?)	
13	Divina beatus [Petrus ereptus c]lemencia in se / rediens dixit.
a	N[UNC]
14	[Custo]dem / defensorem vit[e mee].
d	[...]
15	[Co]nstantissimum / nominis suis.
e	[...]
16	Sancti colle/gii nostri mali[gni pervasoris].
[f]	[...]

The introit for St Peter *Nunc scio* is the second chant on the verso and the last of the minitext altogether. Just as with the preceding chant and perhaps even more critically, its text is only very feebly legible. Most of what has survived after a very heavy erasure is in the two lateral areas, likely because the person who erased this text did so in a circular motion, concentrating the scraping towards the centre. Circumstantially, these lateral areas happen to report tropes but none of the original introit text. The single initial 'N' of 'NUNC' is the only visible element of any introit text. As a result, tropes 13 to 16 and the first letter of the chant are factually visible, but introit sections 'd', 'e', and 'f' must be assumed from the fact that tropes 13 to 16 are invariably bound to sec-

tions ‘a’ to ‘f’ in their thirteen occurrences in *CT*³⁶. The redaction might also be incomplete, since not enough text seems to be visible, scraped or not, that would accommodate the concluding section ‘g’ of the introit and its trope.

Of the thirteen sources of tropes 13-16, seven are roughly contemporary or slightly later than Scribe C; Add. 19768 and BnF Lat. 1240 are however earlier, being respectively dated to 950 and 930 circa and produced in Mainz and Limoges. It follows that tropes 13-16 to *Nunc scio* are the only ones in our minitext also recorded in earlier sources. Could this fact help to localise the region of origin for all of our minitext tropes? I do not think so, for while it is true that the entries of Scribes A and B stands closer overall to the Aquitanian source BnF 1240 than to the German Add. 19768, it still cannot be inferred that the origin of this minitext collection – or any of its single tropes – is directly linked to Aquitaine. For example, tropes 13-16 for *Nunc scio* were also circulating in Frankish regions at times even earlier than the date of BnF Lat. 1240 and Add. 19768. Wulf Arlt, in a thorough study on the troping of *Nunc scio*, concludes that the trope-set 13-17 must have originated in a zone between the Rhine and West Francia, but that it also soon reached Aquitaine³⁷. To which tradition Scribe C is indebted is impossible to say with certitude, since he did not provide musical notation – the melodies of the West Frankish and Aquitanian trope-set are different – and also because if he wrote anything after trope 16, it cannot be reconstructed today, whereas the two traditions split after trope 17. All things considered, and also when taking into account the repertoire of tropes provided by the two previous scribes, it seems possible to suggest that the presence of tropes 13-16 for *Nunc scio* is one more indication of a broadly understood West Frankish localization for the origin of the entire collection and the sourcing of its materials.

Conclusion

Notwithstanding its humble, even jumbled, looks, this minitext proves to be an important early document for the practice of troping for at least two reasons. For one thing, it is the oldest testimony for the tropes of three out of the four identifiable chants. Our minitext as a document fits the rapidly expanding process in the tenth century of additions to the sanctoral calendar in the West Frankish zone where it was produced³⁸. Another notable reason is that, as

³⁶ *CTX* vol. A, pp. 243-244.

³⁷ See ARLT 1993, pp. 13-93, esp. 45-49.

³⁸ On this aspect see GOUDESENNE 2002.

an addition in an unrelated, non-musical host manuscript, our minitext represents a medial stage between a transitory trope *libellus* and a well-organized trope repertory recorded in an actual troper (or a section dedicated to tropes within a larger music book). It cannot be demonstrated whether the tropes recorded here went on to be re-written at the same institution in one such specific trope book, or if they just served the performances of the cantor(s) they were written by or for without serving as models for further written recording. Yet whether they became part of an actual book of music or not, the argument does not change. This is a quintessential example of a minitext recording new music in the margins. It is easy to see how these new, cutting-edge compositions, travelling across the Frankish empire via perishable *libelli*, reached the institution where our minitext was produced and found favour with the cantors who eventually decided to include them in their chant 'portfolio'. The inexact spelling of the genre in the capitalized headings of Scribes A and B – *tor-fas* and *trofas* – and the insurmountable difficulties Scribe A seems to have had when it came to recording the communion tropes speak for the novelty, perhaps even unfamiliarity, of the practice of troping in the eyes of those involved in the creation of this document. Following the palaeographic assessment that posits that Scribes A and B were more or less contemporary and that Scribe C was writing some decades later, the history of this minitext collection would then result as follows. Possibly writing under dictation, Scribe A recorded a complete set of tropes for an entire mass for martyrs, making use of random but sufficient blank space left at the end of a codicological unit (whether this unit was yet bound in the current volume or not seems irrelevant). His material must have truly been new at the time of writing, since both of his legible trope-sets are here recorded for the first time as our documentary evidence stands. Scribe B must have entered his trope set shortly after, either because he knew from direct contact with Scribe A that the final folio of this unit or volume contained tropes already, or because he had or because he must have encountered the tropes upon reading and studying the Paulinus main text. He then decided to write a trope-set that he himself knew and whose contents and liturgical destination fitted the ones already present on the recto side. This hypothesis is easier to envisage than personal contact between Scribes B and A. Scribe C, probably writing some decades later, must have also entered tropes he knew and thought appropriate³⁹.

Moreover, that this minitext collection is the only source outside Aquit-

³⁹ I offer evidence for a similar case of scribes writing musical minitexts following their private study of the main book contents in MINNITI 2024, p. 157.

aine for the trope-set 18-20 for *Intret in conspectu* is certainly remarkable, but not entirely novel or exceptional when looking at the dissemination of newer chants from a ‘marginal’ perspective. Working for the MINiTEXTS Project, I have observed several other instances where chants that were previously recorded either exclusively or for the first time in Aquitanian sources actually appear as ‘hidden’ earlier marginalia in non-musical manuscripts of Central and Northern Francia⁴⁰. This is also in line with details observable from actual troopers that suggest a strong degree of dependence by the Aquitanian corpus of tropes on areas further north⁴¹. Lastly, the fact that two tropes of a very generic tone chosen here for generic martyrs – the single trope *Christe rex seculorum* for the offertory *Lactamini* and the trope-set beginning with *Laudibus organicis* for the introit *Sacerdotes tui* – became in later sources tropes for St Peter and St Lawrence also seems to suggest a ‘properization’ of tropes taking place in the late tenth and eleventh centuries⁴².

Addendum: a twelfth-century Marian responsory minitext

Sometime in the twelfth century, possibly its second half, a scribe wrote the Marian office responsory *Salve nobilis virga Jesse* with a later, diastematic type of Lotharingian notation on a five-line stave system. This notational family is entirely consistent with Bischoff’s localisation of this codicological unit in Northeastern France. As for the chant, it is recorded in Cantus Database in documents from around the same time but circulating exclusively in the Alemannic zone. In the twelfth century it is found in sources from Switzerland, Austria and Germany, whereas in later centuries it spread farther east⁴³. Yet this scribe had come across this chant and wrote it down complete with diastematic Lotharingian notation resulting in the only testimony of *Salve nobilis virga Jesse* outside of Eastern Europe and, notably, one contemporary to those same earliest eastern sources. This later minitext and its scribe are thus testimonies to medieval travel, and to the movement of learned people, from the perspective of liturgical music *in the margins*.

⁴⁰ See MINNITI 2024, p. 158, and MINNITI 2025 (forthcoming).

⁴¹ See e.g. EVANS 1970 (repr. in PLANCHART 2009), pp. 219–227.

⁴² I take the term ‘properization’ from MCKINNON 1995 (although his references are Temporale cycles, not the Sanctorale).

⁴³ See <http://cantusindex.org/id/007564>

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Sam Ottewill-Soulsby

*The Beginning of Time at the Edge of the World:
Visigothic Minitexts in Autun, Bibliothèque
Municipale, S 129*

Abstract

The disruption caused by the Arab Conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in 711 made the already poorly sourced northeastern fringe of the Visigothic world harder to see. This was a complex multiethnic and multifaith zone on the border with the Frankish kingdoms. Fortunately, surviving in AUTUN, Bibliothèque municipale, S 129 (107) are a large number of minitexts written in the late seventh-early eighth centuries in the vicinity of Urgell. These texts, ranging from psalms and legal formulae to poetry and computus, provide an extraordinary window onto the period. Taken together, they offer compelling evidence for a complex and intellectually involved world sat between the Visigothic and Frankish kingdoms.

Keywords

Minitexts; Visigoth; Frank; Autun; Urgell; Intellectual Culture

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Beyond Toledo, with its royal court and ecclesiastical councils, the wider Visigothic realm is poorly sourced in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. This is particularly the case for the north-east and Septimania, where the primary scholarly narrative is one of instability and neglect, dominated by rebellions such as that of Hilderic and Paul in 672¹. Septimania's position north of the Pyrenees, on the border between the Frankish and Iberian worlds, placed it in an ambiguous position that only intensified following the Arab invasion of 711. The sources for this latter event are largely concerned with affairs elsewhere, and the shadowy kings who ruled Septimania in the decade after the conquest are known only from coins and king-lists². Our surviving evidence paints a picture of turbulence in the north-east even after the Muslim conquest of Narbonne in 720, as Arabs, Aquitanians, Basques, Berbers, Franks and Goths battled over the region³. Although archaeology is beginning to allow us to say more about the area in this period, it remains poorly understood⁴.

Any source of light to illuminate this gloom is therefore to be welcomed. One such torch can be found in the minitexts contained in the manuscript AUTUN, Bibliothèque municipale, S 129 (107) (henceforth AUTUN S 129). The marginalia in this manuscript has been justly celebrated on palaeographical grounds as an unusual example of cursive in the Visigothic world⁵. What has not been appreciated are the way the contents of these texts can be used to the Visigothic north-east in the otherwise poorly understood years mentioned above. The wide variety of genres represented by these minitexts give us a

1 GODOY FERNÁNDEZ 2020; RIESS 2012, pp. 176-177; *Historia Wambae*, pp. 213-255; VELÁZQUEZ 2003, pp. 161-217.

2 COLLINS 1989, pp. 23-36; CHALMETA 2003, pp. 31-68; MILES 1952, pp. 40-42; RIESS 2012, pp. 221-223.

3 On the reputation of the period, see DÍAZ-POVEDA 2016, pp. 191-218.

4 RIPOLL LÓPEZ 1992, pp. 285-301.

5 MILLARES CARLO 1973, p. 23 n. 36. For the sake of clarity and to indicate that this is a cursive from the Visigothic world but not the later script formally known as «Visigothic cursive/cursiva visigótica» I will describe this as «cursiva visigoda». On the potential for confusion, see CASTRO CORREA 2020-2021, p. 180.

glimpse, however furtive, of an otherwise hidden world. What follows will take a look at this material and think about how it might be used to expand our understanding of the culture of this region.

The uncertainties surrounding this manuscript begin with how it came to the Visigothic world. AUTUN S 129 currently consists of 204 leaves. Two further pages can be found in PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. Acq. Lat. 1629 (fols. 15-16) having been stolen by Guglielmo Libri in 1841 or 1842⁶. The main text in the manuscript is Augustine's *Commentaries on the Psalms*, specifically Psalms 141-149, written in a neat half-uncial by a single scribe. Our understanding of the manuscript has recently been dramatically advanced by the work of Tino Licht. Whereas previously it was assumed that it had been written in the Iberian Peninsula, he has demonstrated that it was written in Ravenna, probably in the second half of the sixth century⁷. The journey this manuscript took between Ravenna and Autun is difficult to chart. Given the contacts between Italy and the Iberian world in the period it is not too hard to imagine ways the manuscript may have travelled⁸.

It was present in the cathedral library of Autun in 1709 and was taken to the Grand Séminaire of Autun with the rest of the collection in 1819 where it remained until 1909 when it was transferred to its current home in the Bibliothèque municipale⁹.

Before that, one relatively solid point can be found in the history of the manuscript. This was discovered by Rodney Potter Robinson in 1939, whose work remains the most important study of S 129¹⁰. He observed a note written in *cursiva visigoda* in the bottom margin of fol. 152v that recommended the contents of the manuscript to a Bishop Nambadus [fig. 1].

Robinson ingeniously deduced that this referred to Bishop Anambadus, who is known by a single, rather grisly, mention in the *Chronicle of 754*¹¹. The *Chronicle* tells us that the bishop was burned by the Berber leader 'Uthmān b. Naïssa, better known as Munuza, in about 731¹². This took place in what is

⁶ DELISLE 1898, p. 383.

⁷ LICHT 2018, pp. 201-208.

⁸ FERREIRO 2005.

⁹ GORMAN 1997, pp. 173-177.

¹⁰ ROBINSON 1939, p. 59.

¹¹ CARDELLE DE HARTMANN 1999, pp. 13-29.

¹² *Chronica Muzarabica* 1973, «nimium erat crapulatus Anambadi inlustris episcopi decoram iuventutis proceritatem, quam igne cremaverat» p. 41.

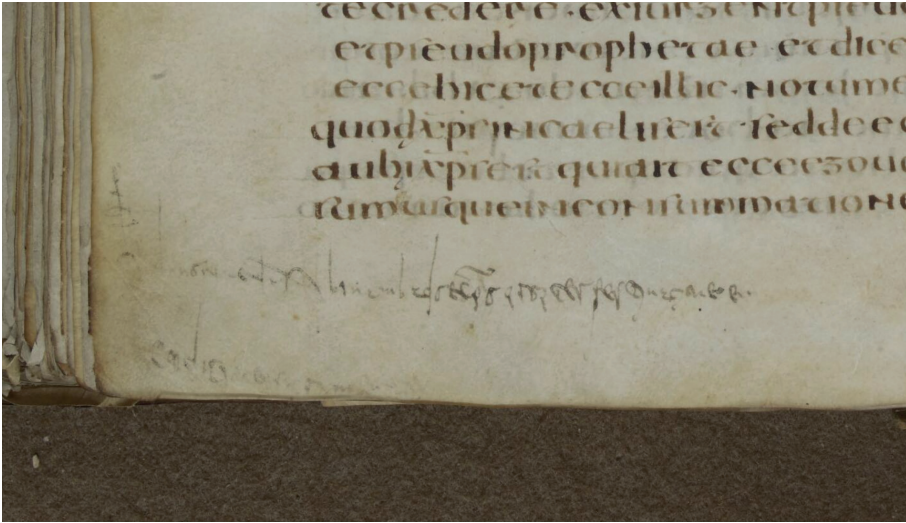


Fig. 1. AUTUN, Bibliothèque municipale, MS S 129 (107), fol. 153v, (Chrismon) «in nom[in]e domini tibi nambado episcopo propter festinatione et/condicionem sacr[am]entorum.».

now the town of Puigcerda, in Catalonia, right on the border with France¹³. While extremely unfortunate for Nambadus, this is a stroke of luck for historians. The bishop is described as having been young, which suggests that his episcopacy must have been relatively short, allowing us to probably date this note to the 720s. Because of the geography of his death, Nambadus is generally identified as the Bishop of Urgell, whose seat was about a day's walk west of Puigcerda¹⁴. This allows the manuscript to be placed in the vicinity of Urgell around 731.

How it got from there to Autun is still unclear. In 2007, Louis Holtz suggested that it might have travelled with Bishop Felix of Urgell in 799 when he was exiled from his see to Lyon for his Adoptionist beliefs¹⁵. This is a nice idea but does not take into account the large amount of Merovingian minuscule (fols. 31v, 32r) and cursive (fols. 24v, 129v, 202v) also present in the manuscript. There are few clues concerning the origin of this marginalia, the most striking of which is a unique chant celebrating New Year's Day in the name of an otherwise unknown St Nelida or Helida (fol. 129v)¹⁶. Nonetheless, these notes

¹³ DELCOR 1972, pp. 171-182.

¹⁴ CCI, pp. 15-17.

¹⁵ HOLTZ 2007, pp. 181-187.

¹⁶ ROBINSON 1939, p. 70.

suggest that the manuscript was circulating in a Frankish context for a decent part of the eighth century.

Generally, scholars have assumed that the manuscript was carried by Visigothic refugees fleeing the Muslim conquest. Other manuscripts, such as AUTUN, Bibliothèque municipale, S 29 and VERONA, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 89 appear to have travelled from the peninsula to Gaul and Italy at around this point in time¹⁷. This does not necessarily have to have been a response to the conquest. People and objects had been moving between the Visigothic world and Francia long before 711. While it's tempting to connect all of this to the immolation of Nambadus, it should be noted that 'Uthmān b. Naïssa was in rebellion against the government in Córdoba at the time, and had allied with Duke Eudo of Aquitaine, marrying his daughter¹⁸. This means that Nambadus might have been killed for being too loyal to Córdoba, rather than for opposing the Caliphate¹⁹.

Whatever the cause, AUTUN S 129 most certainly moved. Lyon is often suggested as an initial destination, being a place that had a large Gothic population²⁰. From there it would be an easy move to Autun, perhaps when Modoin became bishop there in 815²¹. Alternatively, AUTUN S 129 is often paired with another Iberian manuscript now in the Bibliothèque municipale, S 29, which seems to have spent time in Flavigny because missing parts of the text were replaced in a hand reminiscent of the Burgundian monastery²². Bishop Walter I of Autun is known to have taken books from the monastery when he reformed it in 992, which might provide another plausible context for the moving of the manuscript²³. Bischoff argued that the *cursiva visigoda* in S 29 might be by the same hands as those in S 129, a suggestion that seems doubtful in light of the striking differences in stroke evinced in both examples²⁴.

Having established this background, we can shift focus to the marginalia in *cursiva visigoda* that runs throughout AUTUN S 129. Robinson argued that nearly all of this could be attributed to one writer, named Honemundus, who

17 REYNOLDS 1997, p. 921. On VERONA, Biblioteca Capitolare 89, DÍAZ Y DÍAZ 1997, pp. 13-29.

18 SÉNAC 1998, pp. 52-53; SÁNCHEZ MARTÍNEZ 1999, p. 29.

19 ACIÉN ALMANSA 1999, p. 61.

20 See TIGNOLET 2019, pp. 49-61.

21 On the career of Modoin, see GODMAN 1985, pp. 250-253, 256-257.

22 BISCHOFF 1981, p. 19 n. 66.

23 AUTUN S. 26 (22) 22, fol. 191v. BOUCHARD 1991, pp. 82-86; GORMAN 1997, p. 172.

24 BISCHOFF 1961, pp. 317-344.

lived at the same time and place as Nambadus²⁵. The name Honemundus first shows up in the manuscript in the lower margin of fol. 46v, where we find the line «Honemundi vita Deus benedicat amen» preceded by a Chrismon [fig. 2].

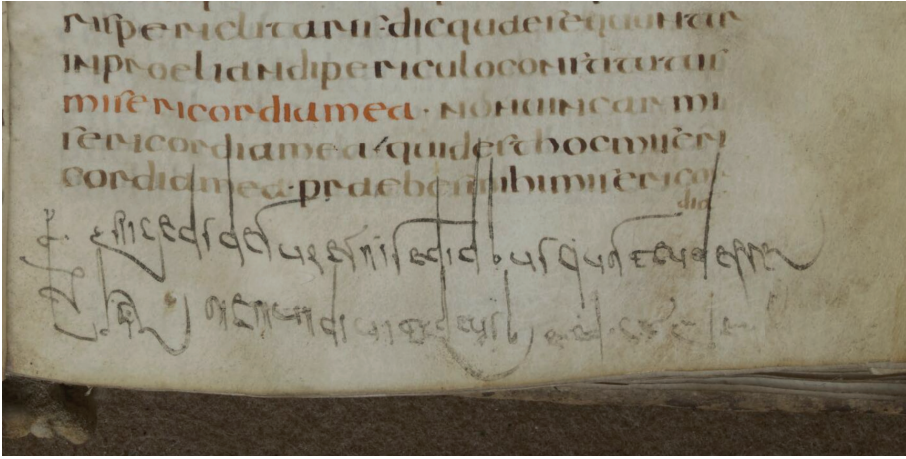


Fig. 2. AUTUN, Bibliothèque municipale, MS S 129 (107), fol. 46r, (Chrismon) «Honemundi vita Deus benedicat amen.».

It then reappears at the top of fol. 93v as part of a form for a witness testimony, «Hone[m]undus rog[a]tus ic testis suscripsi [Hon]emundus ic fui (?) et suc[ripsi]» again preceded by a Chrismon [fig. 3].

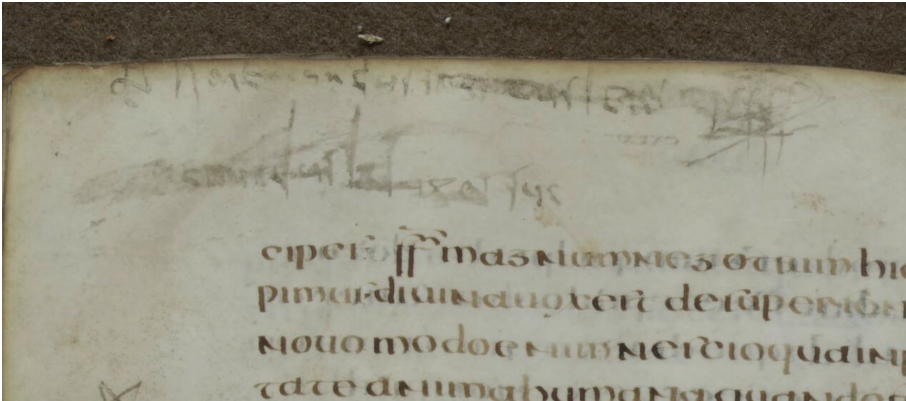


Fig. 3. AUTUN, Bibliothèque municipale, MS S 129 (107), fol. 93v, (Chrismon) «Hone[m]undus rog[a]tus ic testis suscripsi/ [Hon]emundus ic fui (?) et suc[ripsi] (?)».

²⁵ ROBINSON 1939, p. 60.

Closer inspection of the marginalia reveals considerable variation in the hands contributing *cursiva visigoda*. This is most obvious in the case of the note that mentions Nambadus, which is considerably more cursive than any of the other Visigothic writing. Given the number of later Merovingian additions to the manuscript, this is probably the most recent Visigothic minitext in the manuscript. The Nambadus note therefore stands on its own. The rest of the texts show deep inconsistencies in the same line, so determining how many different hands there are is difficult.

Nor is it clear that both references to Honemundus are by the same hand, with strong differences in both stroke and aspect being evident. A plausible hypothesis is that Honemundus himself was responsible for the witness template, but that a friend of Honemundus wrote the note asking for him to be blessed, perhaps because the manuscript was associated with Honemundus. This would imply a chronology to the hands, with the latter coming after the former. Another, different, hand can be identified by a series of pen trials consisting of a faulty quotation of the opening line of the fourth book of the *Disticha Catonis* («uir quicumque cupis perducere uita[m]» fol. 35v, fol. 41r, fol. 47r)²⁶. Going through the Visigothic minitexts, they can be divided into at least four hands: (1) The one who wrote about Nambadus, which is extremely cursive; (2) Honemundus, signing his name, with a distinctively large letter e; (3) the *Disticha Catonis* IV.1 hand, which was also responsible for quoting a number of psalms, with particularly tall ascenders; and (4) the assorted other texts, including the other quotes from the *Disticha Catonis* and a number of other texts we will talk about later. This last group may be open to challenge and might prove to be multiple scribes.

That said, there is reason to believe that all of these hands were close in time and probably at the same institution. First, there are certain common patterns in the material they share, including Honemundus' name and the *Disticha Catonis*. Second, with the exception of the Nambadus note, their Chrismons have the same basic form even if their execution is wildly inconsistent, which suggests a shared training. Because of this, it seems likely that all of these marginal notes were produced in the same place within a couple of decades of each other.

If the Nambadus note is the most recent, a terminus ante quem of about 731 can be identified. Going through the texts that can be identified in the marginalia, which include works by Venantius Fortunatus and Martin of Braga,

²⁶ *Disticha Catonis*, 4. Praefatio, «Securam quicumque cupis perducere vitam», p. 190.

the latest is the *de Sex Aetatibus Mundi* of Theodofrid of Corbie, the opening line of which appears twice in the manuscript (fols. 46r, 114v)²⁷. Theodofrid was appointed abbot of Corbie in 657 and appears in the source record as Bishop of Amiens in 681²⁸. That means the very earliest this could have been written is probably the middle of the seventh century. That date can probably be pushed back at least a couple of decades to give the poem time to travel and then become sufficiently embedded in a teaching curriculum. With that in mind, the *cursiva visigoda* should probably be dated to approximately 680-730. This could possibly be connected to the cathedral at Urgell, which emerged as a key centre on the frontier²⁹.

To review, AUTUN S 129 was originally put together in Ravenna in the second half of the sixth century before moving to the Visigothic world. In the last decades of the seventh or first decades of the eighth centuries, this manuscript was in the possession of a community that had links to the Bishops of Urgell. At some point after about 730 it then made its way into the Frankish world on its journey ultimately to Autun. The second half of this paper will examine the texts contained in the *cursiva visigoda* and think about what they tell us about this region and its intellectual culture in the last decades of the Visigothic north-east.

One starting point here is the name Honemundus. This is not a name found elsewhere in the Visigothic world, making it difficult to place. It is more commonly encountered several centuries earlier. Jordanes makes reference to a son of Ermanaric named Hunimund who ruled the Greuthungi Goths in the late fourth century³⁰. This Hunimund was praised by Cassiodorus for his beauty³¹. Another Hunimund features in Jordanes as a king of the Sueves who was active in the middle of the fifth century and he may also make an appearance in Eugippius' *Life of Saint Severinus*³². Neither of these were Visigothic figures, but given the migration of Sueves to the Iberian Peninsula in the fifth century and the often-tight connections between the Goths of Italy and Iberia, particularly in southern Gaul, this does not seem like a particularly problemat-

²⁷ THEODOFRID OF CORBIE, pp. 559-564.

²⁸ *Vita Sanctae Bathildis*, c. 7, p. 491.

²⁹ GASCÓN CHOPO 2015-2018.

³⁰ JORDANES, *Getica* c. 81, p. 77.

³¹ *Variae* 11.1.19, p. 330; HEATHER 1989, pp. 103-128.

³² JORDANES, *Getica* c. 273, pp. 128-129; EUGIPPIUS, *Vita Sancti Severini* 22.4, p. 19.

ic name³³. Because of his name, it is tempting to attribute an elite «Gothic» origin to Honemundus, although the complexity of early medieval ethnicity and identity advises caution with placing too much emphasis on such evidence³⁴.

The text that appears most frequently among the minitexts in this manuscript is the *Disticha Catonis*. As mentioned above, the first two lines of Book 1 appear four times in the manuscript (fol. 30v, fol. 65r, fol. 103v, fol. 120v), as do, in a different hand, a faulty version of the opening line of Book 4 (fol. 35v, fol. 41r, fol. 47r, fol. 137r). The *Disticha* is a collection of Latin hexameters purporting to be advice to a son from either Cato the Censor or Cato of Utica, which probably date to the first century AD³⁵. There is good evidence that it circulated in the Iberian world. Proverbs from the *Disticha* were quoted by Eugenius of Toledo (646-657) and Julian of Toledo (680-690)³⁶. Parts of the *Disticha* also appear in Iberian manuscripts, such as the *Azagra Codex* (MADRID, Biblioteca nacional de España, MS.10029, fols. 76r-76v), where they feature together with a collection of late antique poetry assembled in Córdoba in the ninth century³⁷.

There is thus nothing inherently surprising at finding quotes from the *Disticha Catonis* in a manuscript in the Visigothic world. Interestingly, they are all pen trials. In addition to full lines, there are also places where the writer has stopped after two or three words. Pen trials come in numerous varieties, but they are commonly school texts that the scribe encountered early in their career and become embedded in their minds, so they can be written automatically³⁸. The evidence of this manuscript suggests that multiple writers had a formative experience with the *Disticha Catonis*. The *Disticha* was indeed commonly part of the school curriculum right down to the sixteenth century, but it is normally assumed to have taken on that role in the late eighth century as part of a reform of education in the Carolingian period³⁹. Appearing in pen trials in AUTUN S 129 suggests that the *Disticha*'s use as a teaching text predates the Carolingian moment.

If the pen trials quoting the *Disticha Catonis* suggest a place of education somewhere in the northeast of the Peninsula, the legal formulas present in the manuscript also indicate one active in the world. As discussed earlier, there is a

³³ DÍAZ 2011; ARNOLD 2014, pp. 272-273.

³⁴ AMORY 1994, p. 14.

³⁵ CONOLLY 2012, pp. 119-130.

³⁶ *Disticha Catonis*, p. lxxiv. TIZZONI 2017-2018, p. 163.

³⁷ ALBERTO 2014, pp. 667-668.

³⁸ KWAKKEL 2013, pp. 231-261.

³⁹ GIANFERRARI 2017, pp. 4-5.

witness subscription at the top of fol. 93v in the name of Honemundus [fig. 3]. There is also a formula from a deed of sale on the lower margin of fol. 105v [fig. 4], with a less complete version begun on the lower margin of fol. 70r in the same hand:

ego ille vinditor ffratri illio emtori constat me t[ibi]/vi[n]d[e]ret iuris mei nomine illo natione illa n .. / - .. cep

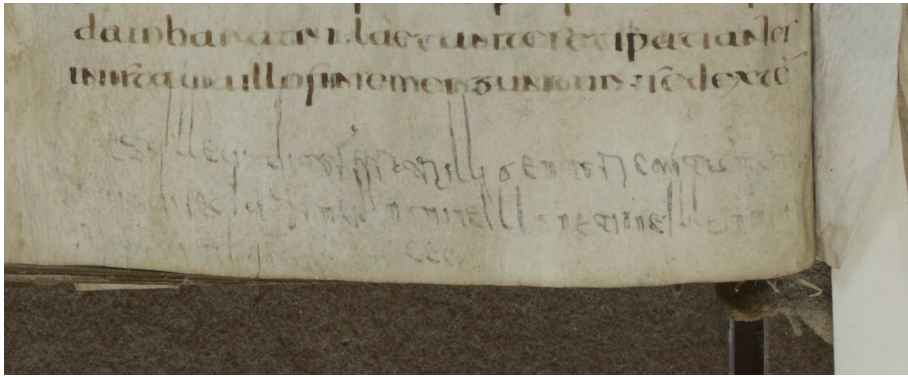


Fig. 4. AUTUN, Bibliothèque municipale, MS S 129 (107), fol. 105v, «ego ille vinditor ffratri illio emtori constat me t[ibi]/vi[n]d[e]ret iuris mei nomine illo natione illa n .. / - .. cep

This looks different from the Honemundus witness hand, but that may be a consequence of the scribe choosing to write the deed of sale formula in a manner that imitates the chancery style of Visigothic charters, with their very long ascenders⁴⁰.

While these may be pen trials, we may suspect that they were actually intended as models to be employed in legal documents drawn up by the community. That it looks like the scribe was copying the handwriting of legal documents as well as their content implies that real use was intended. This suggests an environment in which people were expected to witness legal documents and be involved in the sale of property on a relatively frequent basis.

There is no exact match for either of these formulae in any of the other sources of Visigothic law⁴¹. That said, their contents fit a wider Iberian context. The verbal elements used in the witness formula, *rogatus*, *testi* and *suscripsi*, appear frequently in other such Visigothic documents, particularly the slates found in the northern Meseta of Spain. A case in point is a fragmentary list of

⁴⁰ RUIZ ASENCIO 2007, pp. 265-312.

⁴¹ KING 1972.

subscriptions to a charter dating to the 670s found near the village of Diego Álvaro, near Ávila, where among the witnesses is one Alaric who «subscripsi» when «rogitus a suprascriptis» the transaction⁴². Another, even more fragmentary, list from the late seventh century was found in the nearby village of Martínez, where witnesses whose names have been lost «rogit++testis» to a further transaction⁴³.

The unusual language that appears in the formula for a sale also has Visigothic parallels. *Vendere* frequently becomes *vindere* in Visigothic Latin so *vinditor* meaning someone who sells is not unknown. It appears on another seventh-century slate from Diego Álvaro, where one Gregory describes himself twice as *vinditor*⁴⁴. *Emtor* for buyer, rather than *emptor*, appears in another seventh-century slate from Diego Álvaro, where one Argefredus is described as an «*emtor vini*» or purchaser of wine⁴⁵. This suggests that Honemundus and company were operating in a Visigothic legal context, even if they were on the far north-eastern context of that world. This is exciting for the study of Visigothic law, where much of our source base is extremely geographically concentrated in Toledo, Córdoba or the Meseta where the Visigothic slates are from, indicating that insights can be extrapolated from legal material elsewhere to the north-east⁴⁶.

Despite the strong Visigothic legal connections just discussed, this text also has parallels with Frankish material, most notably formularies⁴⁷. References to *fratri* appear throughout the seventh-century *Formulary of Angers*, as does the use of *vindere* to mean to sell⁴⁸. The *Formulary of Marculf* frequently uses similar language, as do a wide range of other Frankish formularies⁴⁹. The closest textual parallels appear in the formulary collection known as the *Formulae Salicae Bignonianae*⁵⁰. Formulae for the sale of slaves and land contain

⁴² VELÁZQUEZ SORIANO 2004, no. 44, pp. 248-250.

⁴³ VELÁZQUEZ SORIANO 2004, no. 94, p. 345.

⁴⁴ VELÁZQUEZ SORIANO 2004, no. 40, pp. 219-220, 225-226.

⁴⁵ VELÁZQUEZ SORIANO 2004, no. 66, pp. 312-313.

⁴⁶ COLLINS 1986, pp. 85-104.

⁴⁷ RIO 2009.

⁴⁸ *Formulae Andecavenses: fratri*, no. 4, p. 6; no. 9, p. 7; no. 51, p. 22; *vindere*, no. 4, p. 6; no. 9, p. 7; no. 21, p. 11.

⁴⁹ *Formulae Marculfi: fratri*, II.19, p. 89; *vindere*, I.36, p. 66; II.19, p. 89; *Formulae Salicae Lindenbergianae*: no. 8, p. 272; no. 15, p. 277; *Cartae Senonicae*: no. 2, p. 186; *Formulae Augiensis*, no. 39, p. 362.

⁵⁰ RIO 2009, pp. 126-132.

familiar elements to that found in the Autun manuscript, «Domino magnifico fratri illo, emptore, ego in Dei nomen ille, vinditur⁵¹.» The contents of this collection are generally from the eighth century, probably before 775, with some formulae predating Pippin III's assumption of the throne in 751⁵². This would tie in well with an early eighth-century dating for the minitext. The *Formulae Salicae Bignonianae* seem to have originated in a Frankish monastic centre, which may be a hint for the origin of the formula copied in the manuscript, but there are limits to how far this can be taken.

As a consequence, the language of the minitext could suggest either a Visigothic or a Frankish legal context. But being too prescriptive about which would be unhelpful. The very text of the formula indicates that it is being used in an environment where people of multiple legal *nationes* coexisted in the same space. This was not uncommon in the Frankish world⁵³. The *Lex Ribuaria*, issued in the seventh century, decrees:

that within the Riparian territory whether Franks, Burgundians or Alamanni or whatever nation one belongs to, let one respond when summoned to the court according to the law of place in which one was born⁵⁴.

The Visigothic state enacted stricter controls on outside legal codes, but the Arab Conquest made such a territorial monopoly much more difficult to enforce⁵⁵. The border zones between the Frankish kingdoms and the Iberian Peninsula were an area where multiple laws overlapped in later years. In 759 Pippin III guaranteed the Goths of Septimania the right to continue using Visigothic law⁵⁶. Both Frankish and Gothic law were used in Septimania and the Spanish March in subsequent centuries⁵⁷. If the formula dates to the early eighth century, then it significantly precedes the Carolingian conquests of the region. But Frankish influence predated Carolingian rule. The evidence of this manuscript may be to hint at a fluid frontier world, where multiple national laws were in play in the wake of the events of 711.

51 *Formulae Salicae Bignonianae*, no. 3-4, 229.

52 RIO 2009, p. 127.

53 WOOD 1990, pp. 63-67; COUMERT 2020, pp. 105-111; RIO 2020, pp. 489-507.

54 *Lex Ribuaria* 35.3, «ut infra pago Ribuario tam Franci, Burgundiones, Alamanni seu de quacunque natione commoratus fuerit, in iudicio interpellatus sicut lex loci contenet, ubi natus fuerit, sic respondeat», p. 87.

55 WOOD 2010, p. 165.

56 *Annals of Aniane*, a. 759, p. 118.

57 MCKITTERICK 1980, p. 14; AMORY 1993, p. 21.

There are a number of other interesting minitexts that suggest a Frankish context. One that has already been mentioned comes from the opening lines of the second stanza of Theodofrid of Corbie's *De Sex Aetatibus Mundi*, «aspice Deus de supernis sedibus quos Teudefre condidit versiculos», which appears twice in the manuscript at fol. 46r and fol. 114v⁵⁸. This is an unusual text to encounter here. Theodofrid spent his career in Luxeuil and Amiens, and had no obvious Iberian connection. Most of the early witnesses to the poem, such as SANKT GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod Sang.2 and LEIDEN, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS. Voss. Lat.Q.69, are connected to St Gallen⁵⁹. It is tempting to attribute its presence in AUTUN S 129 to Frankish influence in the Visigothic north-east⁶⁰.

That said, Theodofrid's poem would be of interest in a seventh-century Visigothic context⁶¹. The idea of six ages of the world was first applied to the writing of universal history by Isidore of Seville in his *Chronica Maiora*⁶². In 686 Bishop Julian of Toledo wrote a polemic against Jews on behalf of King Erwig which aimed to refute Jewish claims that the six ages of history disproved the idea that Jesus was the Messiah⁶³. In doing so, Julian maintained the six ages concept. All this suggests an intellectual environment where the idea of history being divided into six ages was well known and of great interest. In that context, Theodofrid's poem about the six ages fits rather nicely. As a consequence, far from being proof of estrangement, the evidence of familiarity with Theodofrid's work is a sign that the north-east was participating in the culture and debates of the wider Visigothic world, as well as being interested in Frankish poetry.

Theodofrid is not the only poet who made his living in the Frankish world who shows up in the marginalia. In the lower margin of fol. 99r we find the opening line to Venantius Fortunatus's poem to the Merovingian King Chilperic and his wife, Queen Fredegund, mourning the death of their sons to dysentery in 580, «aspera condicio et sors inrevocabilis ore que generis humano» [fig. 5]⁶⁴.

⁵⁸ THEODOFRID, p. 559.

⁵⁹ DÜMMLER 1879, pp. 280-281; HENNINGS 2021, p. 83.

⁶⁰ BISCHOFF 1961, p. 323.

⁶¹ PALMER 2014, pp. 87-92.

⁶² ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Chronica Maiora*; VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA 1961. KOON-WOOD 2008; WOOD 2019, pp. 157-159.

⁶³ JULIAN OF TOLEDO, *De comprobatione*, pp. 145-212; COLLINS 1989, p. 63; DREWS 2019, pp. 375-381.

⁶⁴ VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS, *Carminum* 9.2, «aspera condicio et sors inrevocabilis horae! Quod generi humano t[ristis]», p. 205. GEORGE 1992, pp. 88-91. See also BRENNAN 1984, pp. 1-11.

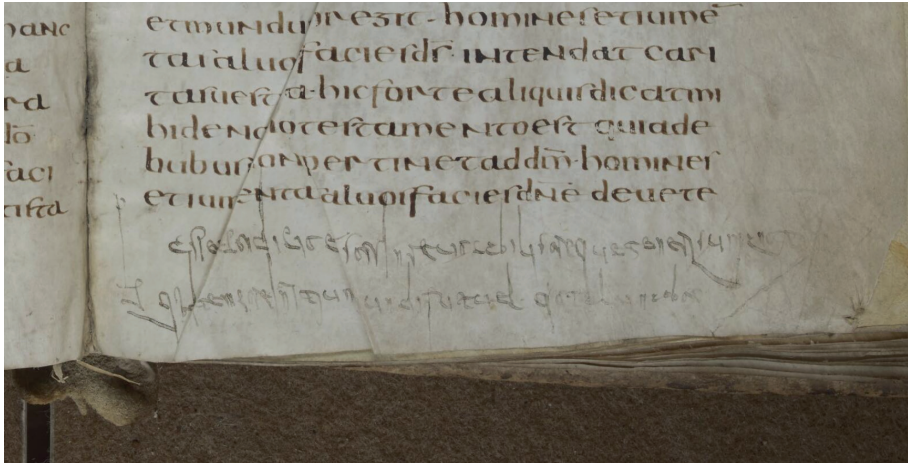


Fig. 5. AUTUN, Bibliothèque municipale, MS S 129 (107), fol. 99r, «aspera condicio et sors inrevocabilis ore que generis humano. / quod tempore initium mundi fuit vel q(u)ota luna ab oc[tavo].».

At first glance this is another slightly odd poem to appear here. Given that Chilperic was widely suspected of murdering his second wife, the Visigothic princess Galswintha, so that he could marry Fredegund in 568, we might expect sympathy for the Frankish ruler to be limited in the Iberian Peninsula⁶⁵. But Venantius had Iberian connections and had travelled through southern Gaul⁶⁶. Nor is this the only Iberian appearance made by this poem, which also featured in the *Azagra Codex* which also contains part of the *Disticha Catonis* (fols. 135r-137v)⁶⁷. This may suggest that the community that owned the manuscript also had access to a collection of poetry analogous to the ones gathered in this codex. Insofar as AUTUN S 129 demonstrates an interest in Frankish poetry, it was part of a wider interest shown across the Visigothic world⁶⁸.

Venantius was a major admirer of St Martin of Braga, and thus might have been pleased to share a margin with material attributed to the apostle of Galicia⁶⁹. This appears directly below Venantius in fol. 99r and is the opening of a text concerned with the Easter cycle, «quod tempore initium mundi fuit vel q(u)ota luna ab oc[tavo]» [fig. 5]. A longer version of this same line appears to

⁶⁵ GREGORY OF TOURS, *Decem libri* 4.28, pp. 160-161. On the vulnerability of Visigothic princesses, NELSON 1986, p. 5.

⁶⁶ BRENNAN 1985, pp. 49-78.

⁶⁷ ALBERTO 2014, pp. 667-668.

⁶⁸ On the wealth of the libraries of the Visigothic world, SÁNCHEZ PRIETO 2009, pp. 263-290.

⁶⁹ FERREIRO 1995, p. 209; MÜLKE 2020, pp. 339-342.

have been erased from the bottom fols. 180v-181r, from which we can reconstruct «quod tempore initium mundi fuit vel cota luna ab octabo kalendas abpriles quod factu mundi initium» or «at the time of the beginning of the world, the moon was in the position of the eighth kalends of April [25 March], which was the beginning of the world.»

The authorship of this text is open to dispute. It is unpublished, and the only other example of it appears in PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 609, a manuscript from 819 which contains the full text on fols. 54r-59r among a collection of other texts relating to computus and the date of Easter⁷⁰. This manuscript was probably produced in Catalonia or Septimania to judge by its Visigothic script, eventually ending up in Limoges as a gift from Charles the Simple in 923⁷¹. It is in this manuscript that the composition is attributed to Martin. Given the questions that have been raised about Martin's authorship of another text about the dating of Easter, the *De Pascha*, it would be wise to be cautious about assuming that what we have here is actually from the Bishop of Braga⁷². It seems likely that the writer of the minitext had access to a manuscript that was also the ancestor of PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 609, given the geographical proximity of the two surviving manuscripts.

Having all of these texts in AUTUN S 129 is interesting in itself, but at least some of them may be in conversation with each other. The two quotations in the bottom margin of fol. 99r come from two very different texts, one concerned with the death of two Merovingian princes, the other with the date of Easter. But the actual content included have a shared theme:

O harsh condition and irreversible destiny of time which its tragic origin bequeathed to humankind⁷³.

At the time of the beginning of the world, the moon was in the position of the eighth kalends of April [25 March], which was the beginning of the world⁷⁴.

Both of these lines are concerned with the beginning of the world and the origins of human history. There is no connection to the main text of Augustine on this page, and the author of this marginalia probably just found some

⁷⁰ MILLARES CARLO 1983, no. 9.

⁷¹ ALTÚRO 1994, pp. 185-200.

⁷² ALBERTO 1991, p. 184.

⁷³ VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS, *Carminum* 9.2, «aspera condicio et sors inrevocabilis ore que generis humano», p. 205.

⁷⁴ «Quod tempore initium mundi fuit vel cota luna ab octabo kalendas abpriles quod factu mundi initium.»

clear space where they could add the lines. These are not pen trials, but rather copies of quotes deemed relevant to a subject the copyist was interested in. It is interesting to consider Theodofrid's poem concerning the six ages in this context, as the first stanza of that text is also concerned with the origin of time:

Before the ages and the beginning of the world/ You, holy father, gave birth to a son,/ Who reigns with you with the holy spirit;/ You made nine angelic orders, God who is just and always praiseworthy⁷⁵.

However, the only lines that appear in this manuscript from that work come from the second stanza, calling for divine protection for Theodofrid, and the relevant quotation is placed at some distance from Venantius and Martin. It is unclear why the person who quoted the two passages on fol. 99r did so. But the fact that someone was putting together passages related to an important topic suggests both intellectual curiosity and ambition. Wherever they were, it was a place that had a library with a wide selection of material available.

This has been an essay characterised more by ignorance than by knowledge. It has argued that the texts in *cursiva visigoda* all come from a community somewhere near the modern border between France and Spain in the last decades of the seventh or the first of the eighth. Exactly where, or exactly when these minitexts were made is still unclear, or by who, apart from a few we might attribute to Honemundus. And yet, the Visigothic minitexts in AUTUN S 129 nonetheless shed light on the world in which they were created. This world, on the north-east of the kingdom, in the shadow of the Pyrenees, that would be the home and battleground of Goths, Basques, Franks, Arabs and Berbers was not a backwater divorced from wider intellectual trends, but a place of education and scholarship. This was a frontier region interested in both Merovingian and Visigothic culture, where multiple legal codes could be encountered. Most of all, despite the wretched fate of Nambadus, it was not a decadent confection waiting to be put out of its misery by the Arab conquest, but a living environment, filled with people involved in a wide variety of different activities⁷⁶. If the interest displayed in Venantius and Martin is anything to go by, this was a place more concerned with origins than with endings, and, to judge from the marginalia, very far from marginal.

⁷⁵ THEODOFRID, «Ante secula et mundi principio / Tu, pater sancta, genuisti filium, / Qui tecum regnat cum sancto spiritu; / Novem fecisti ordines angelicos, Deus qui iustus semper es laudabilis», p. 559.

⁷⁶ DÍAZ-POVEDA 2016, pp. 191-218.

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Michele Baitieri

Diplomatic Script and Pen Trials: The Case of Carolingian Lyon

Abstract

The scriptorium of Lyon represents a well-known case of uninterrupted learning throughout the early Middle Ages. Starting with the pivotal works of Tafel and Lowe, manuscript studies have greatly broadened our knowledge of this privileged writing centre. While further research is still needed to fully understand its Carolingian scriptorium, a substantial number of manuscripts have been convincingly located in ninth-century Lyon. This article looks at a handful of such manuscripts which contain pen trials written in diplomatic script, and specifically those executed in the elongated letters deployed in coeval royal and imperial diplomas. By discussing both pen trials and diplomatic evidence from Carolingian Lyon, the article uncovers the existence of a flourishing chancery *milieu*, and thus sheds new light on the cultural and political history of that learning centre during the second half of the ninth century.

Keywords

Carolingian Lyon; Pen trials; Diplomatic script; *Litterae elongatae*; Palaeography; Diplomatics

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In 1998 Armando Petrucci delivered a thought-provoking lecture in which he introduced his audience at Spoleto to the concept of *microtesti avventizi*, meaning the unexplored phenomenon of short texts cropping up in the blank spaces of already completed early medieval books which bear no direct connection with the main texts that those same books preserved¹. Pen trials pertain to the first of four categories put forward by Petrucci in order to group these texts and are defined as purely graphical additions (*aggiunte meramente grafiche*). Within this umbrella term Petrucci placed at one end of the scale single letters or short sequences of words for trying out the temperature and density of the ink, as well as the sharpness of the quill. At the other end of the spectrum, Petrucci identified more formulaic or familiar short texts. These latter additions also varied in the degree of writing competence from attempts by unskilled pupils to master the quill and enhance their knowledge of the alphabet through didactic or mnemonic passages, to incipits of literary, liturgical and documentary texts performed as an exercise by highly proficient writers². Ildar Garipzanov's discussion of "minitexts" in this volume, which are similar but not identical to Petrucci's "*microtesti avventizi*", also incorporates pen trials within his core categorisation of textual additions and stresses their practical, didactic, mnemonic, and devotional functions³.

Like all other "minitexts", pen trials emerged during the early Middle Ages, but they remained a significant feature of book culture in the following centuries. Often neglected, these short and somewhat erratic examples of writing tend to be marginalised in scholarly discussions, but much can be learned from careful examination as they provide invaluable insights into medieval written culture. The masterful study by Erik Kwakkel of pen trials in manuscripts produced at Rochester Priory in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest, for example, has revealed the presence at that writing centre of numer-

1 PETRUCCI 1999.

2 *Ibidem*, pp. 983-984. On didactic pen trials and their use in early medieval school settings see the seminal, BISCHOFF 1938.

3 See the article of Garipzanov in this volume.

ous scribes trained in various regions of the Continent, which in turn called into question established knowledge of book production and development of script in twelfth-century England⁴.

This article studies pen trials written in blank spaces of four manuscripts that can be convincingly located in Lyon during the ninth century, though not necessarily produced there. Specifically, what will be discussed are pen trials written in diplomatic script. Other pen trials appearing alongside them but written in different scripts or at a later point in time will be mentioned, yet the focus of the study is on those written in the elongated script deployed in contemporary sovereign documents⁵. They were the work of skilled writers, and it should be stressed that the presence of pen trials in this script is significant. Mastering this form of writing was a challenging task, and its deployment was limited to specific parts of royal and imperial diplomas; in other words, its usage pertained to the sphere of political communication at the highest levels. By delving both into the content and script of these so far neglected “minitexts”, this study aims to shed new light on the cultural and political history of Lyon during the second half of the ninth century.

To achieve this objective, the article will begin by examining the current knowledge of manuscripts available in Carolingian Lyon, followed by an overview of the Lyonnais “heroic age” and its protagonists. This is particularly relevant as three of the four manuscripts under consideration are associated with key figures of that period. Subsequently, the analysis will focus on the pen trials in elongated script. Each of the four manuscripts containing them will be described, and the pen trials will be discussed from both palaeographical and textual perspectives⁶. Finally, the article aims to establish a connection between these pen trials and the production of sovereign documents in the latter part of the ninth century, thereby contributing to a deeper understanding of the cultural and political history of Lyon during that period.

⁴ KWAKKEL 2013.

⁵ The classic overview on elongated script or *litterae elongatae* is still GÖTZE 1965, Carolingian and post-Carolingian period are discussed at pp. 34–70.

⁶ Another manuscript bearing a ninth-century pen trial in elongated script is LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 619. The biblical pen trial in question was added in the lower margin of fol. 39r and reads: «Devotione devovimus» (Acts 23.14). While the codex reached Lyon before the year 900, it was likely produced in Northern France during the second quarter of the ninth century, see BISCHOFF 2004, n. 2581. The decision to not include this manuscript in the discussion of pen trials in elongated script written in Lyon during the ninth century rests on the impossibility of determining whether the biblical pen trial on fol. 39r was actually written in Lyon or somewhere else in France. The manuscript can be accessed at <https://florus.bm-lyon.fr>.

Lyon and “its” manuscripts between Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages

Much of our knowledge of the scriptorium of Lyon and “its” late antique and early medieval manuscripts is built on the scholarship of two pupils of Ludwig Traube: Sigmund Tafel and Elias Avery Lowe. Tafel, whose life was cut short while fighting on the Belgian front in 1914, laid the foundation for ascribing numerous early books to Lyon. His work, posthumously published in English by Wallace Martin Lindsay, identified the hand of Florus (c.825-c.860) in them, thus providing the first study of the manuscripts available in Lyon during the ninth century, alongside a list of manuscripts produced there at that time⁷. The other pupil of Traube, Elias Avery Lowe, focused on the oldest manuscripts of Lyon dating from the fifth to the eighth centuries⁸. Lowe was aware of Tafel’s still unpublished endeavour and acknowledged its findings regarding the marginal annotations in the hand of Florus as solid evidence for placing various manuscripts, including some of the oldest codices, in Lyon during the ninth century⁹. However, for the period considered in his *Codices Lugdunenses Antiquissimi* (1924) Lowe was faced with the impossibility of clearly identifying a recognisable local style of Lyon. Some of the manuscripts under examination seemed to have been written in Italy or elsewhere and arrived only at a later stage in the French centre. As stressed by Malcolm Parkes, Lowe was thus inhibited from proceeding with definite attributions to Lyon¹⁰. This view was only partly revised in *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (1953), where Lowe appeared more open to the possibility of a “probable” local origin for some of the Lyonnais early manuscripts, an opinion he came to mostly based on the texts that they transmitted¹¹.

The quest for a local origin for the oldest manuscripts of Lyon continues, but the cautious approach of Lowe remains the safest and most sound way to approach this material¹². Nevertheless, by taking a closer look at marginalia, annotations and proper “minitexts” present in some of these codices, one

⁷ TAFEL 1925.

⁸ LOWE 1924a.

⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 9-10 and 14-15, Lowe only acknowledged the possibility that some of the marginalia may have been autograph of Florus, while stressing that more than one ninth-century hand can be discerned within the complex of marginal annotations of those manuscripts.

¹⁰ PARKES 2008, p. 11.

¹¹ CLA VI, pp. XIII-XIV.

¹² Tino Licht, for example, has recently argued against a local origin of the Half-Uncial manuscripts of Lyon preferring to talk of a Southern French style, LICHT 2018, pp. 228-269.

can trace their presence back to Lyon as early as the seventh and eighth century. This is exactly what David Ganz has shown in his superb examination of such additions written in Merovingian cursive, while also highlighting the exegetical, liturgical and legal interests of the clergy of Lyon prior to the ninth century¹³. It is worth noticing that some of these additions had been written in a Merovingian cursive displaying chancery features, something not lost on Ganz, who hints to the ties between bishops of Lyon and the royal court in the late Merovingian period¹⁴.

Moving into the ninth century brings us back to the marginal annotations penned by Florus and what can be considered his working library, which mostly coincided with the numerous manuscripts held at the episcopal library of Lyon at the time of his writing¹⁵. Tafel and Lowe called attention to specific features of such ninth-century marginalia: the K (*kaput*) to mark the beginning of a chapter, gamma and reversed gamma shaped paragraph signs for the beginning and end of a passage, abbreviated forms of biblical books to highlight a citation in the text, as well as the peculiar question mark shaped like an Arabic number three¹⁶. More conclusive evidence came with Célestin Charlier, who provided the final proof for identifying the ninth-century annotator as Florus. During his forced stay in the south of France in the last years of the Second World War, Charlier had time to direct his research towards the manuscripts of Lyon. His groundbreaking article demonstrated that there is a perfect correspondence between the passages marked out by the marginalia added to patristic and legal Lyonnais manuscripts and the same passages in several works attributed to Florus¹⁷. This had profound consequences on subsequent scholarship. Firstly, it allowed for the correction of several misattributed texts, restoring their paternity to Florus and thus inaugurating a long editorial sea-

¹³ GANZ 2019.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 44-45.

¹⁵ For a complete overview of the studies of these marginalia and their importance for subsequent research on Florus and its working library see, CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2016, especially pp. XXII-LXII. A considerable number of manuscripts available in Lyon at the time of Florus are still in that city today, within the holdings of the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, while the remaining are mostly housed in various European cities, especially Berlin, Paris and Rome. The manuscripts in Lyon can be accessed at <https://florus.bm-lyon.fr>

¹⁶ TAFEL 1925, pp. 40-48 and LOWE 1924a, pp. 14-15. In that same year Lowe published a short essay in which, building on his observations on the Codex Bezae, was able to stress another characteristic feature of Lyonnais manuscript production at the time, namely the rare use of blue ink for marginal rubrics and first word of sections, LOWE 1924b.

¹⁷ CHARLIER 1945.

son of his textual corpus¹⁸. Secondly, it provided scholars with a list of over one hundred manuscripts that were in Lyon at time of Florus and of which almost half bore traces of his hand¹⁹.

Although an in-depth study on the episcopal scriptorium of Lyon during the ninth century is still lacking, the identification of the working library of Florus made by Charlier constituted a turning point in research and has furthered scholarly knowledge on ninth-century Lyonnais manuscripts production²⁰. Once Florus's autography of the marginalia was demonstrated, the deacon's hand could also be recognised in several manuscripts copied by him and his collaborators, and thus their palaeographical and codicological features could be used to assign these and other ninth-century codices to Lyon. While not clearly stated, this underlying argument partly explains the rather extensive list of manuscripts regarded as products of ninth-century Lyon by Bernhard Bischoff²¹.

The Lyonnais “heroic age” and its protagonists

In a recent contribution, Pierre Chambert-Protat has defined the years spanning between the start of the pontificate of Leidrad (798) and the death of Remigius (875) as the Lyonnais “heroic age”²². Prominent figures active in that environment made Lyon a pivotal centre for theological, exegetical, literary, and legal learning. As previously discussed, more than one hundred of the codices these same figures would have had access to are still preserved, including those they personally donated, commissioned and annotated. Book donations show the episcopal support to Lyonnais scholarship throughout this period. This tradition, inaugurated by Leidrad and followed by his three successors to the see of Lyon, was memorialised by a seemingly generic expression saying that the books had been given to the altar of the cathedral church of St Stephen, sometimes paired with an intercessory/protective heptasyllabic tercet,

18 On this see the exhaustive, CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2016, pp. LII-LXII.

19 CHARLIER 1945, pp. 82-84. The best palaeographical discussion of Florus' autograph annotations, containing a useful distinction between the deacon marginal and interlinear writing is, HOLTZ 1994. For further appraisals of Florus's hand see, HOLTZ 2009 and HOLTZ 2013b.

20 Charlier's list is available in a revised form continuously updated by Chambert-Protat at <https://florus.hypotheses.org/liste-de-charlier>.

21 BISCHOFF 2017, pp. 303-304.

22 CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2020, p. 308.

which became a trademark of Carolingian Lyon²³. The *ex-dono* formula is not only significant for tracing the episcopal sponsorship of the school of Lyon, but it can also, as we shall see, provide valuable insight for discussing pen trials in diplomatic script. However, it is worthwhile to first briefly address the role played by the protagonists of the Lyonnais “heroic age”²⁴.

The Lyonnais “heroic age” began with Leidrad, who led the church of Lyon between 798 and 814; it was under his tenure, in 804, that Lyon became an archbishopric²⁵. The career of Leidrad started in his native Bavaria where he was ordained deacon of the church of Freising²⁶. A protégé of archbishop Arn of Salzburg and Alcuin, Leidrad became a courtier of Charlemagne, who appointed him to lead the ancient see of Lyon in order to restore and renovate a bishopric which had fallen in a ruinous state through the negligence of Leidrad’s predecessors²⁷. In his episcopal see Leidrad endeavoured to reform the cult of God and its material infrastructures. He created a school of cantors and one of lectors, while also prompting the restoration of numerous ecclesiastical institutions beyond Lyon’s cathedral complex²⁸. He was also involved in the struggle of Carolingian theologians against the Hispanic heresy of Adoptionism²⁹. It was Leidrad, alongside Nebridius of Narbonne and Benedict of Aniane, whom Alcuin sent to convince Felix of Urgell, one of the main advocates of this Christological position, to agree to an in-person debate. Moreover, after Felix recanted at Aachen and was deposed from his bishopric, it was to the custody of Leidrad in Lyon that the former bishop of Urgell was consigned for the rest of his life³⁰. Lastly, in terms of supporting ecclesiastical learning we have seen how Leidrad prompted the creation of a tradition of books donation to the church of Lyon; four manuscripts bearing his autograph *ex-dono* are still extant³¹.

23 *Ibidem*, pp. 315-316. The heptasyllabic tercet (still preserved in full in LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 463, fol. 1r and as incomplete pen trial in PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 11709, fol. 255v) reads: «Sit utenti gratia, / Largitori venia, / Fraudanti anathema».

24 For an overview on the church of Lyon and its protagonists in the Carolingian period see, RUBELLIN 2003, pp. 133-326.

25 For the biography of Leidrad see, DEPREUX 1997, pp. 287-288.

26 HAMMER 2007, pp. 226-227. For the hand of Leidrad and his graphic training see, HOLTZ 2013a.

27 DE JONG 2005, pp. 103-105.

28 RUBELLIN 2003, pp. 139-152.

29 CAVADINI 1993, in particular pp. 71-102.

30 *Ibidem*, pp. 81-82.

31 CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2020, p. 313. The manuscripts still bearing Leidrad’s autograph *ex-dono* are: CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, MS Pagès 1, fol. 1v; LYON, Bibliothèque

The successor of Leidrad to the see of Lyon, and previously his chorbishop, was Agobard. He led the church of Lyon between 814 and 840, though his succession was contested until 816. He had a fractious relationship with Louis the Pious, which resulted in his temporary deposition from the episcopal office (835-838)³². A prolific writer, Agobard left behind numerous works on wide-ranging topics, spanning from theological to legal issues³³. In line with his predecessor, he was engaged in the debate regarding Hispanic Adoptionism on which he wrote the well-known *Adversum dogma Felicis*³⁴. Again, in continuity with Leidrad's legacy, Agobard endeavoured to implement reforms in the diocese, as witnessed by the polemical work against the liturgical innovations introduced by Amalarius during his forced absence from Lyon and the restoration of various Lyonnais churches³⁵. Moreover, Agobard also kept donating books to the church of Lyon: three known codices bore his autograph *ex-dono*, two of which are still extant³⁶.

After Agobard, the deacon Amolo was elevated to the archbishopric of Lyon, which he held between 841 and 852³⁷. Amolo wrote a polemical tract against the Jews in continuity with Agobard's work³⁸. The fidelity of Amolo towards his predecessor can be also appreciated in the letter that Amolo sent in reply to a query of Bishop Theobald of Langres regarding the suspicious miracles generated by unauthenticated relics of two saints inside the church of St-

municipale 466 + PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 152, fols. 21-25 (*ex-dono* on fol. 25v); LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 599, fol. 1r and LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 608, fol. 1r. As mentioned by Chambert-Protat, Louis Holtz has suggested that a greater number of manuscripts may have borne Leidrad *ex-dono* on flyleaves which were later removed, HOLTZ 2013a, pp. 320-321. Amongst these manuscripts is PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 11709. On the upper margin of fol. 1r of that manuscript the beginning of Leidrad *ex-dono* was written as a pen trial in diplomatic script during the second half of the ninth century: «Leidrat licet indignus tamen episcopus». For the dating of this pen trial see, BISCHOFF 2014, n. 4705.

32 On Agobard's life and works see the classic, BOSHOFF 1969. For the fractious relationship between the archbishop of Lyon and Louis the Pious see, BOOKER 2009, pp. 99-105 and 129-182.

33 VAN ACKER 1981.

34 CHANDLER 2019.

35 RANKIN 2019 and RUBELLIN 2003, pp. 139-152.

36 The extant manuscripts bearing Agobard's autograph *ex-dono* are LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 471, fol. 1r and PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1622, fol. IIIr. An Evangelary bearing Agobard's *ex-dono* paired with the Lyonnais heptasyllabic tercet disappeared in modern times, CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2020, p. 315.

37 Chambert-Protat has argued that Amolo's pontificate may have ended in 850 and not 852, CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2016, pp. LXXXIII-LXXXVI.

38 HERBERS-RAUHUT 2017.

Bénigne in Dijon, at the time under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Langres³⁹. In his reply to his suffragan Theobald, Amolo condemned this disruptive cult and ordered the removal of the relics from the church of St-Bénigne. Amolo's decision was not only modelled on a letter of his predecessor Agobard on a similar matter, but what is more, Amolo signalled that a copy of that letter was sent along with his own⁴⁰. Furthermore, the correspondence with Theobald offers a glimpse into the challenges faced by the ecclesiastical province of Lyon in the shifting political landscape of the early 840s. At the end of the civil war amongst the heirs of Louis the Pious, Lyon was assigned to Lothar I, while Langres fell to Charles the Bald. Amolo's letter can thus be seen as an attempt to preserve the metropolitan authority of Lyon over its suffragans⁴¹. Amolo also took part in the theological controversy on double predestination condemning the unorthodox position of Gottschalk of Orbais, though in milder terms compared to other Carolingian theologians such as Hincmar of Reims⁴². Like Leidrad and Agobard, Amolo too endeavoured to give books to the church of Lyon, of which one bearing his autograph *ex-dono* is still extant⁴³.

Amolo's successor to the archiepiscopal office, Remigius, concludes the Lyonnaise "heroic age". Remigius was archbishop from 852 until his death in 875, and during the first part of his episcopate he was archchaplain to King Charles of Provence⁴⁴. His episcopate saw the involvement of the clergy of Lyon in the controversy on double predestination continuing and intensifying, until the debate eventually drew to an end⁴⁵. Though we have no worked penned by him, Remigius kept alive his predecessors' tradition of endowing the church of Lyon with books; two codices bearing his autograph *ex-dono* are still extant⁴⁶.

³⁹ EPISTOLAE 3, pp. 363-368.

⁴⁰ The letter of Agobard is published in VAN ACKER 1981, pp. 237-243. On Amolo's letter see WEST 2010. West rightly emphasises the different nuance given to the concept of parish in the letters of the two archbishops of Lyon, *Ibidem*, pp. 304-310. The two letters are only preserved in one manuscript (possibly an epistolary *libellus*), PARIS, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 717. For a detailed study of this manuscript see, BOBRYCKI 2017.

⁴¹ WEST 2010, pp. 298-299.

⁴² GILLIS 2017, pp. 160-164. For the Carolingian controversy on double predestination see also, *La controverse carolingienne* 2019.

⁴³ The only extant manuscript bearing Amolo's autograph *ex-dono* is LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 462, fol. iv, CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2020, p. 313.

⁴⁴ *Actes des rois de Provence*, nos. 7, 11 and 12.

⁴⁵ PEZÉ 2017, pp. 76-97.

⁴⁶ The extant manuscripts bearing Remigius' autograph *ex-dono* are LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 463, fol. 1r and LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 609, fol. 1r, CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2020, p. 315.

Alongside these prelates, stands the last protagonist of the Lyonnais “heroic age”, the deacon Florus. His activity (c.825-855) under Agobard, Amolo and Remigius resulted in a vast and eclectic production which makes him the epitome of the Carolingian school at Lyon⁴⁷. No work penned by Remigius has survived; the same is true for Aurelian, who led the church of Lyon from 875 to 895, and his successors in the tenth century. However, manuscript evidence suggests that the latter part of the ninth century as well as the tenth century did not represent a crisis for Lyon as prominent centre of learning⁴⁸. To echo Chambert-Protat: «books were being produced, texts were being copied and people were being schooled and educated» there; what changed is that discretion seems to have been the shared behaviour in the Lyonnais scholarly *milieu* in this phase «leaving posterity all the fruits of its scholarship, but little or no information on the actual scholars»⁴⁹. Bearing this in mind, we shall turn to the Lyonnais pen trials in elongated script and the manuscripts that preserve them.

PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS NAL 1740

To begin, a first group of Lyonnais pen trials in diplomatic script are found in a manuscript now held in Paris which contains part of the Old Testament (Deuteronomy to Ruth)⁵⁰. According to Lowe, the manuscript was written during the early eighth century in France⁵¹. While the great palaeographer did not attribute it to a specific writing centre, he did notice that the manuscript was written in the same French scriptorium that produced CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, MSS reg. lat. 11 (*Psalterium Duplum*) and 257 (*Missale Francorum*), as shown by the same artificial late Uncial displayed in these three books⁵². By the late eighth or early ninth century the manuscript

⁴⁷ On Florus see, ZECHIEL-ECKES 1999. For recent scholarship on the deacon’s vast production see, CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2016, especially pp. LII-LXII.

⁴⁸ CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2020. In this respect, it is worth noticing that over one hundred books were copied at the initiative of Manno († 893), provost of Saint-Oyen (a monastery under the direct jurisdiction of the archbishops of Lyon), several from now-lost Lyonnais manuscripts, TURCAN-VERKERK 1999.

⁴⁹ CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2020, pp. 323-324.

⁵⁰ PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS NAL 1740 can be accessed at <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

⁵¹ CLA V, n. 691.

⁵² CLA V, n. 691 and CLA I, nos. 101 and 103. For the two Vatican manuscripts McKitterick has suggested a possible origin within the constellation of convents in the Paris basin, MCKITTERICK 1992, pp. 20-21.

was in Lyon, where five leaves (fols. 193-197) were replaced in the roundish Lyonnais minuscule of Leidrad's time, probably by the same scribe who wrote LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 599⁵³. Both manuscripts were part of what can be considered the working library of Florus and are enumerated in Charlier's list⁵⁴. PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS NAL 1740 has attracted further scholarly attention due to the extensive early ninth-century glosses on Deuteronomy (fols. 1r-94r)⁵⁵. The anti-Jewish discourse pervading these marginalia shows the development of a local exegetical tradition which would later influence the works of Agobard and Amolo⁵⁶.

Less attention has been paid to further ninth-century additions appearing in other empty spaces of this same manuscript. Lowe noticed that ninth-century pen trials in elongated letters were written in the lower margin of fol. 162v and the upper margin of fol. 163r⁵⁷.

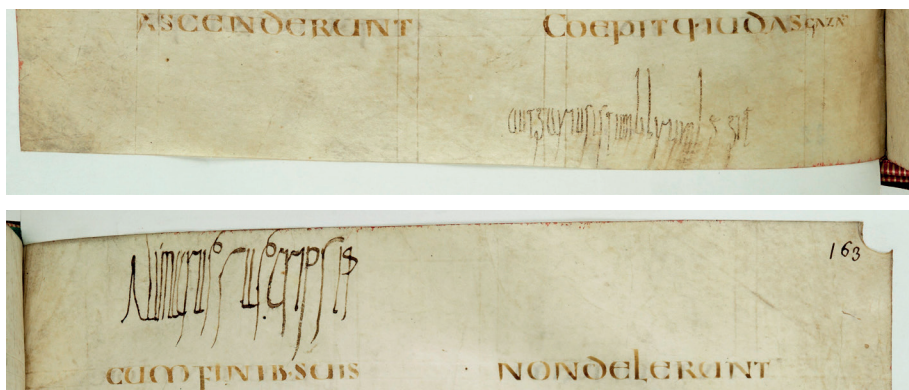


Figure 1. PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS NAL 1740, fols. 162v-163r.

These short notes read respectively: «Autgarius istum librum legit» and «Alimarus suscripsit». Both Autgarius and Alimarus were in all likelihood clerics of Lyon. The fact that they are not mentioned amongst the Lyonnais

⁵³ BISCHOFF 2014, n. 5113a, drawing on CLA VI, n. 780.

⁵⁴ CHARLIER 1945, p. 83. Of the two codices only LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 599 bears autograph notes of Florus. It is worth noticing that amongst the pen trials on fol. 1r, at the lower margin appears a ninth-century name (*Hilpericus*) written twice in diplomatic script. The manuscript can be accessed at <https://florus.bm-lyon.fr>

⁵⁵ FRANSEN 1997.

⁵⁶ LIU 2020, which also proposes amendments to Fransen's edition at pp. 231-232.

⁵⁷ CLA V, n. 691.

clerics listed in the *Liber confraternitatum* of Reichenau compiled at the time of Agobard suggests – though does not prove – that they may have been part of Lyon’s clergy at a later point⁵⁸. The script of both notes would accommodate a dating to the middle or second half of the ninth century. While a certain stiffness can be observed in the hand of Alimarus, Autgarius’ execution is more confident, and the ductus of his note suggests that he was an experienced writer.

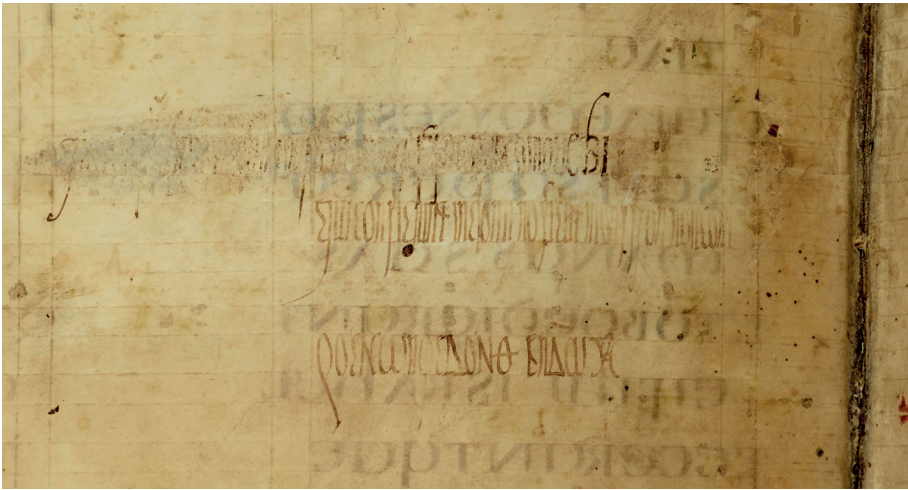


Figure 2. PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS NAL 1740, fol. 94v.

Roughly coeval to the notes of Alimarus and Autgarius, is a so far neglected series of pen trials appearing on fol. 94v. This page, located at the end of Deuteronomy and before the beginning of Joshua, was originally left blank. After the arrival of the manuscript in Lyon, three pen trials transmitting the opening words of Psalm 124 were added by two or three different hands. While the first line is almost completely effaced, the second displays a rather calligraphic elongated script reading: «Qui confidunt in Domino sicut mons Syon non com[movebitur]». Possibly the same scribe also wrote the third line, which shows an interesting attempt at rendering the first words of Psalm 124 in Latin using Greek letters. Line one, of which only the beginning and end are partly legible, was also written in elongated script and seems to transmit the same text as the following line. It was certainly written at a later point, as

⁵⁸ *Libri confraternitatum*, p. 257 and *Das Verbrüderungsbuch*, p. 226.

shown by its descenders running over the top portion of the second line. Furthermore, different ductus of letter q as well as inclination of the descenders in these two subsequent lines indicate the work of two different scribes, neither of whom can be identified with either Autgarius or Alimarus. Recitation of the Psalms was not only part of daily liturgical practices in both monastic and cathedral contexts, but the Psalter was also widely used for teaching Latin during the first years of schooling in ecclesiastical centres since Late Antiquity⁵⁹. Therefore, the choice of a psalm for writing a series of pen trials certainly befits an ecclesiastical environment such as the one of Carolingian Lyon. However, writing a familiar text in the attempt to master a challenging form of writing gives a clear schoolroom flavour to the pen trials at fol. 94v, a context confirmed by the attempt to render that same text in a foreign alphabet.

Lowe always took special care in recording donation and possession notes in the manuscripts that he was describing, as provenance can often throw light on the origin of a book. Therefore, it is not surprising that he recorded the presence of various notes at fol. 225v⁶⁰.

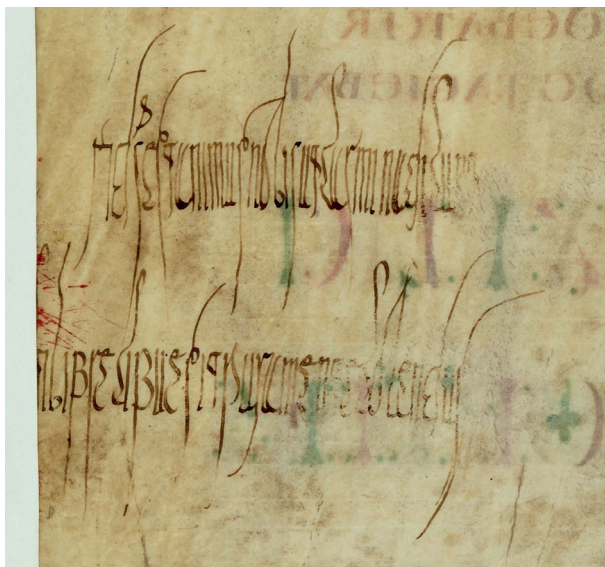


Figure 3. PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS NAL 1740, fol. 225v.

⁵⁹ BISCHOFF 1938, p. 10.

⁶⁰ CLA V, n. 691.

This page between Judges and Ruth, was originally left blank and only during the ninth century started to be filled with several additions. Chambert-Protat has recently discussed some of these short notes as signs of the enduring tradition of giving books to the cathedral library by clergymen of Lyon after the “heroic age”. He did so by describing the possession note of an otherwise unknown cleric Daniel written twice over three lines in crude Capitals and faulty Latin at the bottom of the page «ISTE LIBER ES DANIELE CERICE SANCTI / ISTE LIBER EST DANIELE CLERICE SANCTI / STEFANI EPISCOPATUM BONUM», alongside other pen trials transmitting the distinctive expression of the Lyonnais donation notes «Ad altare sancti Stephani» written in different scripts (clumsy Uncial, diplomatic minuscule and clumsy minuscule) by one or more hands during the ninth or tenth century in the middle and lower portion of the page⁶¹. Admittedly, the crude Capitals transmitting the note of Daniel are difficult to date, and they could be either from the ninth or the tenth century⁶², yet Bischoff describes the remaining notes with the distinctive Lyonnais phrasing of the *ex-dono* as ninth century⁶³. Therefore, the manuscript arrived in Lyon in the time of Leidrad and during the ninth century clerics active in that centre gradually started to fill this empty page with various notes.

Only Delisle remarked on the existence of another ninth-century pen trial on fol. 225v⁶⁴; the opening hexameters of the *Disticha Catonis* «Si Deus est animus nobis ut carmina dicunt / [Hic tibi precipue sit pura mente colendus]»⁶⁵. Written in the elongated script deployed for diplomatic usage in the latter part of the ninth century, this pen trial was likely the work of a Lyonnais cleric too. The *Disticha* provided proverbial wisdom as well as moral instruction to pupils, and it was an extremely popular text for teaching Latin in schools throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. Its use for a pen trial evokes a school-room setting, which in turn points to a didactic overtone as *fil rouge* encompassing all the pen trials in elongated script added to this manuscript. What is so striking though, is their cumulative effect. Over the course of half a century, they reveal the presence of five different clerics active in Lyon in their attempts at mastering the script of political communication at the highest level.

61 CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2016, pp. 512-513 and CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2020, p. 315.

62 Lowe described these lines as written in imitation Uncial of the tenth century, CLA V, n. 691.

63 BISCHOFF 2014, n. 5113b.

64 DELISLE 1895, p. 654.

65 *Disticha Catonis* l.l.

ROMA, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS E 26

A second group of pen trials in diplomatic script can be found in the well-known ROMA, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS E 26⁶⁶. According to Bischoff, this manuscript was produced in Lyon between the first and second quarter of the ninth century⁶⁷. Investigation of the subsequent history of the book have shown it was still in Lyon in the early modern period when, during the French Wars of Religion, was acquired by the Benedictine monk Jean Dubois, who brought it to Rome⁶⁸. In its current state the manuscript has 162 folios but was originally made of at least twenty-four quires. Of the lost pages, only ten folios have been found. Turcan-Verkerk has demonstrated how PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8680 was detached from ROMA, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS E 26 and corresponds to its missing quire XVIII and first two folios of quire XX⁶⁹.

The overall focus of the book is on computistical matters and includes excerpts from Bede and Polemius Silvius⁷⁰. Based on internal evidence provided by the computistical texts, Arno Borst has clarified the chronology of its creation putting it between 814 and 816, with further material being added to it during the following decade⁷¹. ROMA, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS E 26 owes much of its fame to the fact that it contains the so-called *Annales Lugdunenses* which include a group of autobiographical entries penned by Agobard⁷². Florus augmented these annalistic entries and drew heavily on the material for the calculation of Easter assembled in the book to write his *De pascha*⁷³. Moreover, recent research on several Lyonnais anonymous marginalia and additions made during the pontificate of Agobard, but prior to Florus's systematisation,

⁶⁶ The manuscript can be accessed at <http://www.internetculturale.it>

⁶⁷ BISCHOFF 2014, n. 5361.

⁶⁸ The manuscript has remained in Rome ever since Dubois brought it. For the troubled history of the book in modern times, including its theft and retrieval in Rome, see PANIAGUA 2016, pp. 170-171.

⁶⁹ TURCAN-VERKERK 2000, pp. 223-225. The discovery was not incorporated in Bischoff's catalogue, which describes the Paris portion as a separate manuscript, BISCHOFF 2014, n. 4558. PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8680 can be accessed at <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

⁷⁰ For a detailed description of the manuscript's content, including the Paris portion, see PANIAGUA 2016, pp. 168-170.

⁷¹ BORST 2006, pp. 285-286.

⁷² After much debate, the autography of Agobard's notes has been demonstrated in HOLTZ 2019, pp. 122-129.

⁷³ TURCAN-VERKERK 2003.

has shown how the manuscript served for a time as a repository of scientific knowledge created by communal effort aimed at perfecting the subtle techniques necessary for the calculation of Easter⁷⁴. While many texts within this manuscript, and particularly the *Annales Lugdunenses*, have been the focus of past and current scholarship, little attention has been paid to the pen trials in diplomatic script added to its empty spaces.



Figure 4. ROMA, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS E 26, fol. 1r.

On fol. 1r, originally left empty, alongside early modern and modern notes relating to the content of the manuscript and its history, there are three early medieval additions. In the middle part of the page is a tenth-century excerpt from the main body of the manuscript, the names of the months in Hebrew as transmitted by Polemius Silvius in his *Laterculus* and copied in full within the manuscript at fol. 137r-v⁷⁵. On the lower portion of the page are three lines in Rustic Capitals, written in the late tenth or eleventh century. They are an attempt at transliterating into the Latin alphabet two separate Hebrew texts. While the first line transmits the incipit of a liturgical hymn by Rabbi Shimon Ben Yitzhak (c.950-c.1020) «BARUC ADONAI IUM IUM», the two following lines are Genesis 4.15 «VAIOR MERLO ADONAI LACHEN CHOL O/

⁷⁴ CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2019.

⁷⁵ PANIAGUA 2016, p. 166.

REG CAIN SOBATHAIM IOKHAMO»⁷⁶. However, the earliest additions to the page can be found in its upper portion. Written in diplomatic script is a pen trial of the second half of the ninth century, the first three words of which have been rewritten by a different, but roughly coeval scribe, who also used diplomatic script. The text in elongated letters reads «*Quicumque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut*». Therefore, this pen trial transmits the opening of the so-called Athanasian Creed or *Quicumque vult*, a comprehensive exposition of Trinitarian doctrine that Carolingian theologians regarded as one of the fundamental statements of orthodox belief from the early church⁷⁷. Knowledge of this text, erroneously ascribed to the fourth-century bishop Athanasius but probably created in the fifth century, was encouraged amongst Carolingian clergy and its emphasis on the Trinity made it a key text during the Christological disputes against Adoptionism⁷⁸. From the early ninth century the *Quicumque vult* was certainly known amongst the clergy of Lyon as witnessed by its presence (fols. 109v and 114r-v) in a book donated by Leidrad to his Church and now held at the Vatican library (CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, MS Pagés 1)⁷⁹. Moreover, considering the involvement of the archbishops of Lyon during the “heroic age” in the debate regarding Adoptionism, the presence of these pen trials fits the cultural *milieu* of the Lyonnais church in the mid-ninth century. Based on the ink and ductus it seems likely that the second scribe who re-wrote the beginning of the *Quicumque vult* also drew the somewhat clumsy monogram of Charles in the upper part of the page as well as individual words/letters in elongated script like «Si q» and «b». The monogram should be considered as the one of a generic ruler Charles and not necessarily the one of the first Carolingian emperor, as from the mid-ninth century several of Charlemagne’s heirs named after him adopted, with virtually no changes, his cruciform monogram for diplomatic usage⁸⁰.

⁷⁶ I am indebted to Yitzhak Hen for the correct identification of these texts. Hen suggests that whoever scribbled these lines did it by ear as there are some inaccuracies in the orthography; furthermore, an Ashkenazi dialect/accents can be detected in the writing.

⁷⁷ The text was edited by TURNER 1910.

⁷⁸ Manuscript transmission of commentaries and explanations of this Creed suggest its widespread use in Carolingian times, KEEFE 2012, pp. 155-159 and 191-192.

⁷⁹ CLA IV, n. 417. For a detailed discussion of contents and codicology of this book see, RADICIOTTI 2008, pp. 121-133. The manuscript can be accessed at <https://digi.vatlib.it>

⁸⁰ GARIPZANOV 2018, pp. 256-264.

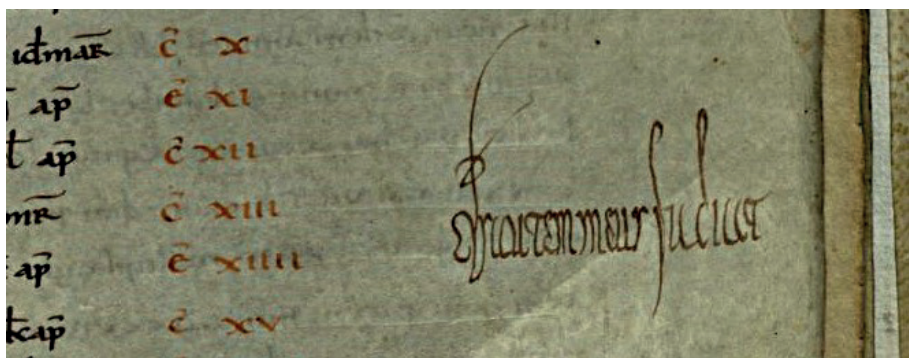


Figure 5. ROMA, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS E 26, fol. 160r.

A further pen trial in diplomatic script was written in the outer margin of fol. 160r, within a section of the manuscript (fols. 158v-162r) dealing with *De cyclis decemnovenalibus*. The overall morphology of the letters (in particular the crested letter c and the letter s) indicates a coeval but different hand from the ones observed at fol. 1r. The pen trial written in confident elongated letters reads «Deus autem meus faciat». While at a first glance this may appear to be a simple biblical pen trial from Genesis 43.14, its specific phrasing suggests a liturgical pen trial. The omission of *omnipotens* between *meus* and *faciat* corresponds with a responsory for the third Sunday of Lent⁸¹. The presence of a liturgical pen trial relating to Lent not only well fits a book primarily concerned with knowledge and techniques necessary for the calculation Easter, but also supports the idea that it was, like the other pen trials in diplomatic script appearing in empty spaces of this book, written within the clerical community of Lyon.

The last page of the book (fol. 162v) was also originally left empty, and it was gradually filled with pen trials in the course of the early Middle Ages. Amongst tenth- and eleventh-century additions, two stand out for their didactic flavour. Firstly, the intonation formula of the second mode «Noeais» with neumes at the bottom of the page written by a tenth-century scribe⁸². Secondly, the opening of the *Disticha Catonis* in the top right corner of the page executed by an eleventh-century hand. However, the first pen trials were added to this page in the ninth century. What immediately strikes

⁸¹ The responsory is listed on Cantus (<https://cantusindex.org>) with identification number 007769.

⁸² For a detailed discussion of these mnemonic and pedagogical formulas see, BAILEY 1974.



Figure 6. ROMA, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS E 26, fol. 162v.

the observer is the display of distinctive features of contemporary diplomas, namely another monogram of Charles and three different chrismons. Alongside them, and written around the same time, is a group of pen trials in diplomatic script that can be dated to the second half of the ninth century. Two of these are extremely short: the word «dinoscitur» in the top-left corner and the word «quicumque» at the middle of the page. While the word *quicumque* directly echoes the pen trials on fol. 1r in terms of textual con-

tent, the word *dinoscitur* does so with the script, as its ductus indicates that it could have been written by the same scribe who wrote the more extended pen trial of the *Quicumque vult* on the first page. The remaining pen trials in elongated letters are more conspicuous. The first, confidently executed, covers two lines and reads: «Adalsadus puerulus advena qui mihi facit bene / bene habeat et Deus illum adiuvet amen»⁸³. The second, written by a less proficient scribe, repeats the last part of the previous text, with some spelling oddities (missing h in *habeat* and use of letter t instead of d for *adiuuet*), after which it adds «Deo gracias dicite ei». It is worth noticing that the longer of these pen trials, the one mentioning the young foreigner Adalsadus, seems to allude to a school setting and it was probably written by the same scribe who wrote only the first three words of the *Quicumque vult* at fol. 1r.

Surveying the pen trials written in diplomatic script in ROMA, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS E 26 shows the presence of a group of clerics (at least five different hands) active in Lyon during the second half of the ninth century and their endeavours at mastering the elongated script of sovereign diplomas. What is more, the first and last folio of the book demonstrate an even closer link to a chancery *milieu* through the deployment of other features of diplomatic usage: Charles' monograms and three different forms of chrismon. Finally, the content of these pen trials points to a learned ecclesiastical centre which engaged with the main theological debates around Adoptionism in which the archbishops of the Lyonnais "heroic age" had featured so prominently.

LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 462

Further pen trials in diplomatic script can be observed in LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 462. In its current state the manuscript only has 32 folios, but was once together with LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 449⁸⁴. It contains Bede's commentary on the Book of Kings and according to Bischoff was written in Lyon during the first half of the ninth century⁸⁵. On the flyleaf (fol. 1) of LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 462 several additions and pen trials were added during the second half of the ninth century.

⁸³ This pen trial is listed in TAFEL 1925, p. 64.

⁸⁴ No pen trial in diplomatic script is present in LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 449. Both manuscripts can be accessed at <https://florus.bm-lyon.fr>

⁸⁵ BISCHOFF 2004, n. 2554.

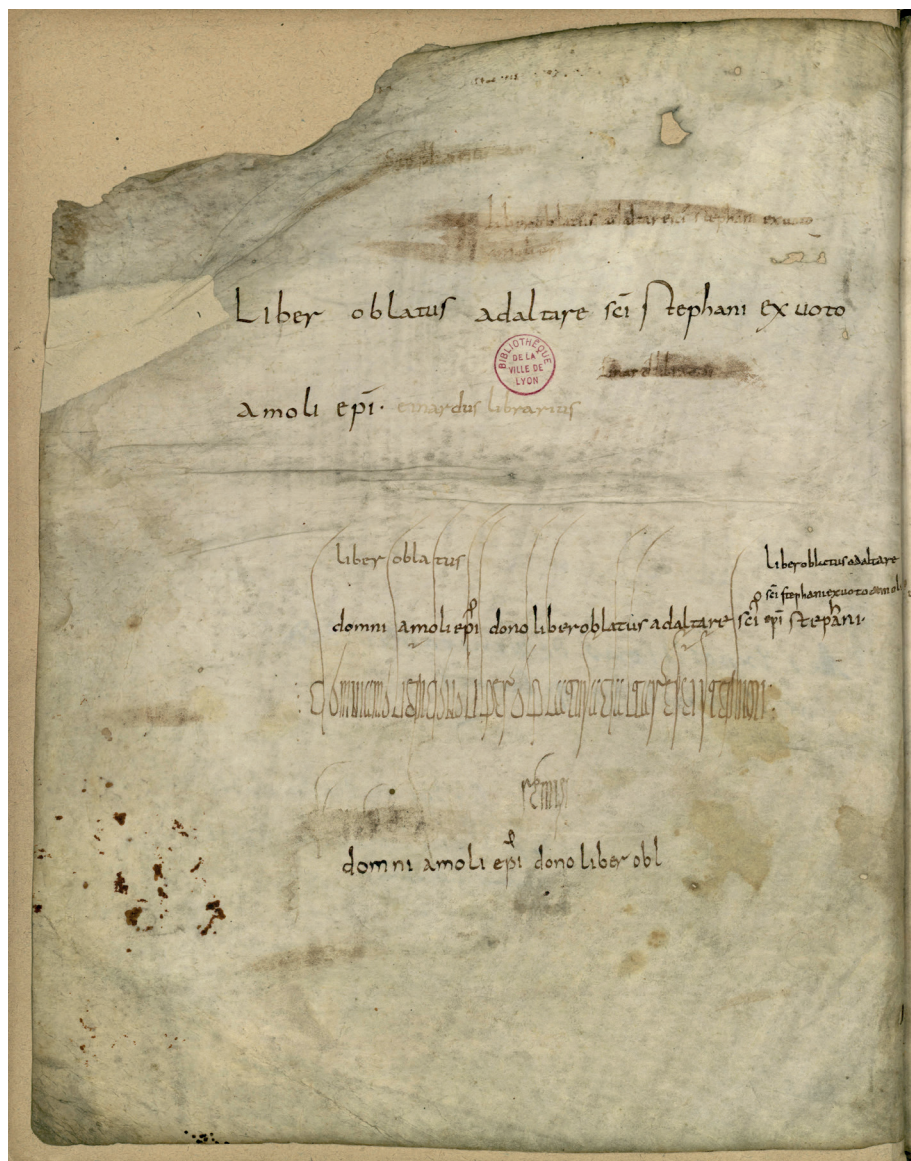


Figure 7. LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 462, fol. iv.

The *ex-dono* on fol. iv reveals that archbishop Amolo (841-852), donated this manuscript to the church of Lyon: «Liber oblatus ad altare sancti Stephani ex voto Amoli episcopi». This form of the *ex-dono* appears three times on fol. iv, though the instance in the upper portion of the page is barely legible. Tafel's

attention was caught by the fact that alongside the *ex-dono* there is an explicit mention to a librarian «Einardus librarius»⁸⁶. Therefore, aside from confirming the enduring episcopal sponsorship to the school of Lyon, this note also places the manuscript within the cathedral library. In the middle of the page another roughly coeval hand has provided a different phrasing of the donation note: «Domni Amoli episcopi dono liber oblatus ad altare sancti Stephani». This second version recording the donation made by Amolo was then written as pen trial in elongated script. The confident hand which rewrote that version during the second half of the ninth century shows similarities with the pen trial of ROMA, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS E 26 concerning the young foreigner Adalsadus (see fig. 6). In particular, the way in which the letters b and d are formed is quite distinctive and their resemblance in the two pen trials suggest that they may have been penned by the same scribe. However, the development of the ascender and descender of the letter s, as well as the use of drop-shaped letter o in the donation note, demands caution in decisively attributing both pen trials to the same hand. Following the pen trial based on Amolo's donation note, is a second pen trial in diplomatic script almost completely effaced. It starts with «Do», so is perhaps once again the beginning of a donation note. Alongside it, a coeval hand has written a name in elongated script «Remigi[us]», likely hinting to Amolo's successor.

LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 471

A final group of pen trials in diplomatic script can be found in LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 471⁸⁷. Produced in Lyon during the first half of the ninth century (but no later than 840), this manuscript contains Bede's commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah⁸⁸. As witnessed by the *ex-dono* on fol.1r, originally left empty, it was archbishop Agobard who donated the book to the church of Lyon⁸⁹.

Five pen trials in diplomatic script fill the entire verso of the final flyleaf of the manuscript (fol. 121v). Once again, they were all written during the second half of the ninth century in a script closely resembling the elongated letters of coeval royal and imperial diplomas. Moreover, four of the five pen trials were

⁸⁶ TAFEL 1925, p. 64.

⁸⁷ The manuscript can be accessed at <https://florus.bm-lyon.fr>

⁸⁸ BISCHOFF 2004, n. 2560.

⁸⁹ CHAMBERT-PROTAT 2020, p. 313.

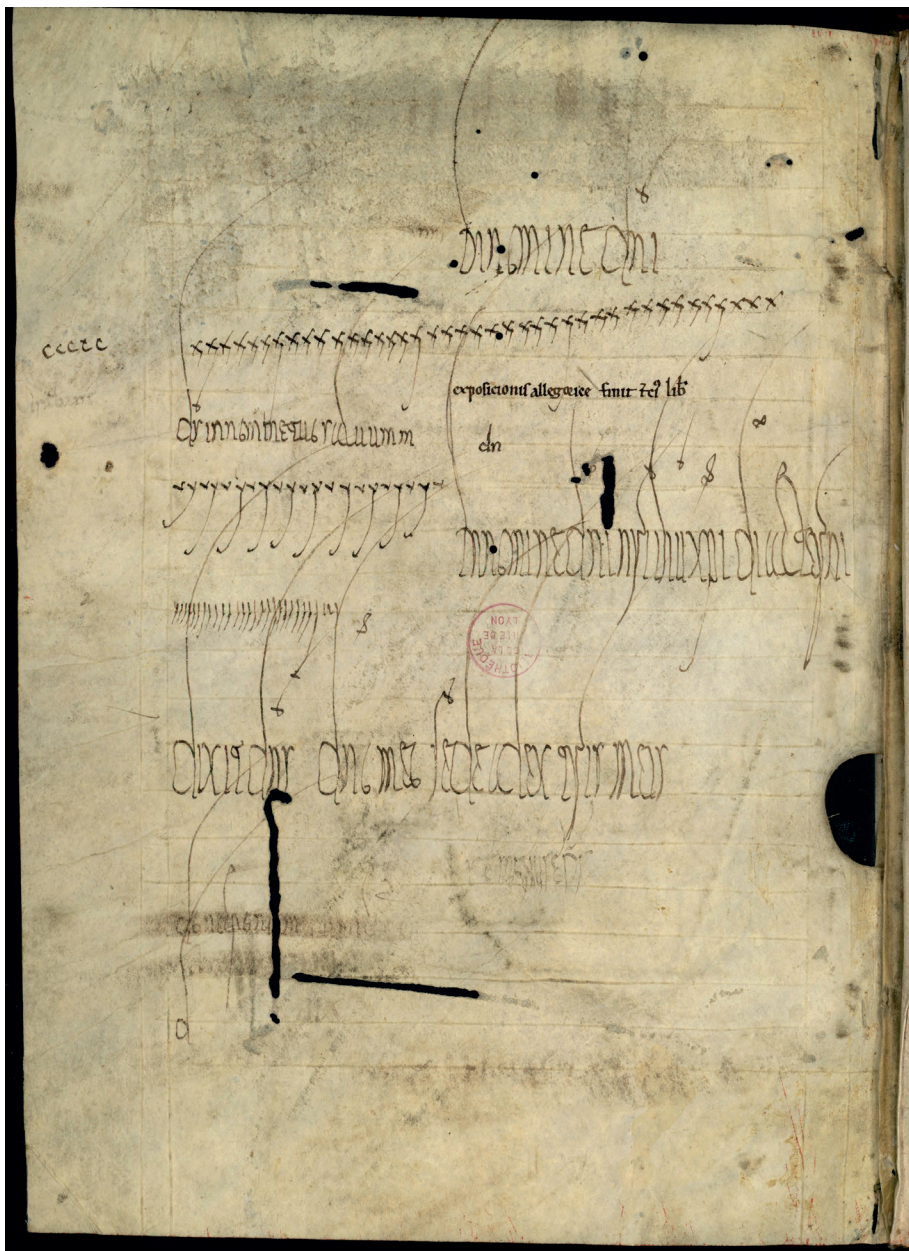


Figure 8. LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 471, fol. 121v.

probably executed by the same hand. Slight differences are due to their different size, but ductus, letter forms (in particular d, e and t), ligatures (especially om), and abbreviation signs for *nomina sacra* strongly point to the work of just one scribe. Starting from the top of the page, the first pen trial simply reads «In nomine Domini». This is followed by Psalm 53.3 «Deus in nomine tuo saluum m[e]». At the centre of the page is a more conspicuous invocation to God: «In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi Dei aeterni». The fourth pen trial is the beginning of Psalm 109: «Dixit Dominus Domino meo: Sede a dextris meis» continued below «donec ponam inimicos». The scribe who wrote these pen trials should be identified with the writer of the Adaladus pen trial in ROMA, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS E 26 (see fig. 6), as evidenced by overall aspect, ductus, letter forms⁹⁰, ligatures and abbreviations. Finally, another hand added, in roughly coeval elongated letters, the words «Remigius episcopus» between the two lines transmitting the beginning of Psalm 109. This addition likely hints to the pontificate of Remigius of Lyon (852-875), and a reference to this prelate also occurs as a pen trial in LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 462.

The use of psalm verses to write pen trials in diplomatic script, already encountered in PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS NAL 1740, fol. 94v, certainly fits an ecclesiastical setting like Carolingian Lyon, but also reinforces the impression that these pen trials have a certain didactic flavour to them, as in both manuscripts the scribes seem to be practicing charter script by writing texts known by heart. What is more striking in the case of this book, is that the scribe is also using a specific diplomatic formula. The *Invocatio* «In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi Dei aeterni», is not at all generic. During the ninth century it was only used in diplomas of three rulers: Lothar I (822-855) and his sons Charles of Provence (855-863) and Louis II (850-875)⁹¹. Considering that Louis II never exerted any direct control over the Lyonnais or issued diplomas for its ecclesiastical institutions, and that Lothar I only established his authority in the region in 843, this pen trial points to a very specific period of time: the mid-ninth century, an historical phase which mostly coincides with the pontificate of archbishop Remigius (852-875), whose name we have seen evoked in two of the Lyonnais pen trials written in diplomatic script.

⁹⁰ The only actual divergence is in the pen trial of Psalm 109 where the letter s at the beginning of «sede» does not rest on the baseline but shows flourishing in both its ascender and descender. However, considering that its use is not consistent within the pen trial, this can be put down to the scribe experimenting different letter forms.

⁹¹ DD Lo I, p. 43; *Actes des rois de Provence*, pp. XI-XII and DD Lu II, p. 29.

Diplomatic evidence

During the second half of the ninth century, Remigius (852-875) and his successor Aurelianus (875-895) actively pursued a policy aimed at tightening the episcopal control over various territories within their diocese⁹². An impressive chain of imperial and royal charters of donation, confirmation and restitution bear witness to their efforts at strengthening the position of the church of Lyon⁹³. What is considered in this final section is whether diplomatic evidence can substantiate an active engagement of the Lyonnais clergy in the production of sovereign documents during the second half of the ninth century. Two intertwined factors make this task particularly difficult: the constantly shifting political landscape of Lyon at the time and the manuscript transmission of the diplomatic evidence itself.

After the civil war among the heirs of Louis the Pious in 843, Lyon was assigned to the emperor Lothar I. Upon his death, it came under the control of his sons, first Charles of Provence (855-863) and then his older brother Lothar II (863-869). Lyon then fell under West Frankish control with Charles the Bald (870-877) and his son Louis the Stammerer (878-879), before becoming part of the short-lived kingdom of the non-Carolingian ruler Boso (879-880). The Carolingian response to the revolt of Boso brought Lyon back into West Frankish hands with Carloman II (880-884), and then under the rule of emperor Charles the Fat (885-887). Finally, Lyon passed to Boso's son, Louis the Blind (887-928), who revived the Kingdom of Provence for one last time⁹⁴.

This succession of rulers makes it difficult to detect active involvement of Lyonnais clergy in the production of royal and imperial charters within a large and disparate diplomatic tradition. Moreover, none of the twenty diplomas directed to the church of Lyon under the tenures of Remigius and Aurelianus has survived as an original⁹⁵. They have all been preserved in later copies, and while Theodor Schieffer demonstrated that they were genuine documents, their manuscript transmission impedes any palaeographical comparison with the Lyonnais pen trials in elongated script⁹⁶. Nevertheless, they can still pro-

⁹² RUBELLIN 2003, pp. 245-263.

⁹³ SCHIEFFER 1963. For a detailed study on power and authority of the Lyonnais archbishops in the ninth and tenth centuries see, GERNER 1968.

⁹⁴ RUBELLIN 2003, pp. 160-161.

⁹⁵ SCHIEFFER 1963, pp. 3-4.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 3-33.

vide fruitful evidence for the existence of an active chancery *milieu* in Lyon during the second half of the ninth century.

Recent scholarship on Carolingian diplomas has highlighted how the initiative behind the issuing of sovereign charters often came from the recipients, and thus the term “petitioners” may be more appropriate to define their role in the process that inspired the documents’ production⁹⁷. The fact that the group of diplomas for the church of Lyon was inspired by archbishops Remigius and Aurelianus demonstrate their efforts in securing and strengthening the rights of their church, but it does not prove a direct involvement of the Lyonnais clergy in the production of royal and imperial charters. This gap can be filled by considering a more nuanced picture of charter production. This builds on recent studies on early medieval diplomatic, looking at in particular the activity of local scribes who worked for the “recipients” and wrote diplomas which were then presented ready-written to the rulers for confirmation⁹⁸.

The stream of royal and imperial charters directed to the church of Lyon began under archbishop Amolo (841-852), who obtained the restitution of lands in the Lyonnais and Portoïs from emperor Lothar I. The surviving copy of this diploma lacks a precise dating clause, but according to its editor was written in the last years of Amolo’s pontificate⁹⁹. While Schieffer stressed that the diploma petitioned by Amolo did not see the involvement of the “recipient” in its drafting, the same cannot be said for the diplomas obtained by his successor¹⁰⁰. As argued by Elina Screen, the charters issued in 852, especially the diplomas of restitution (DD Lo I, nos. 124-126), show a shift in the balance of power within the Middle Kingdom, suggesting an attempt by Lothar I to create an alternative episcopal powerbase in the South of his domain¹⁰¹. Moreover,

⁹⁷ MERSIOWSKY 2015, pp. 781-782.

⁹⁸ The production of royal and imperial diplomas by notaries working for the recipient (*Empfängernotare*) is only one of the elements highlighted by scholarship on early medieval diplomatic for overcoming the idea of chancery as the centralised bureaucratic office envisioned by Sickel. Works appearing in the last decades, and especially Huschner’s study of the Ottonian diplomas, have depicted a more nuanced picture of charter production and of the role of the scribes (*Notare*) who drafted and wrote those same documents. On the role of notaries working for the recipient see, BAUTIER 1984. For the more nuanced picture of the production of royal and imperial diplomas during ninth and tenth century, see at least HUSCHNER 2003; GHIGNOLI 2004; BOUGARD 2011 and MERSIOWSKY 2015. Useful discussion of these new approaches and their deployment in ROACH 2022 and VIGNODELLI 2023.

⁹⁹ DD Lo I, n. 117.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, nos. 120-121 and 123-126.

¹⁰¹ SCREEN 2011, pp. 269-270. On the Middle Kingdom or *Francia Media*, meaning the territories ruled by Lothar I after 843, see *De la mer du Nord à la Méditerranée* 2011.

Schieffer argued that this entire group of diplomas was drafted entirely or in part by the “recipients”, meaning by members of the clergy of Lyon¹⁰².

At the death of Lothar I, in 855, Lyon became part of the independent (though not long-lasting) Kingdom of Provence assigned to Lothar’s youngest son Charles of Provence (855-863). Throughout this period and beyond, the two real power brokers in the region were the counts of Vienne and the archbishops of Lyon. As already mentioned, archbishop Remigius was the archchaplain of Charles of Provence. He obtained royal charters of donation, confirmation, and restitution from the young ruler¹⁰³. According to Schieffer, this group of diplomas also points to a direct involvement of the “recipients” in their drafting.¹⁰⁴ While the direct involvement of the “recipients” in drafting all or part of royal charters demonstrates knowledge of the language of political communication at the highest level amongst the clergy of Lyon, the fact that these diplomas have only survived in later copies impedes our ability to see whether this knowledge also entailed the mastering of chancery script. A diploma issued for the monastery of Île Barbe, the only original extant for the reign of Charles of Provence, indicates that this may have been the case¹⁰⁵.

This royal charter, petitioned by Remigius of Lyon and issued in August 861, confirmed a series of privileges to the Lyonnais monastery of Île Barbe¹⁰⁶. The diploma is entirely written by the notary Aurelianus, who within the *Recognitio* certified the document instead of Bertraus. The same *Recognitio* is found in the donation of properties issued a week earlier by Charles and directed to archbishop Remigius¹⁰⁷. As argued by Herbert Zielinski, while the notary Aurelianus should not be confused with the future archbishop of Lyon, he was in all likelihood a cleric of that city¹⁰⁸. Therefore, knowledge of the language and script of political communication at the highest level can be seen among the clergy of Lyon during the reign of Charles of Provence. Although no positive identification can be made for the notary Aurelianus within the pen trials in elongated script appearing on the Lyonnais Carolingian manuscripts exam-

102 DD Lo I, pag. 49 and SCHIEFFER 1963, pp. 29-30.

103 *Actes des rois de Provence*, nos. 1 (confirmation), 7 (donation) and 10-12 (restitutions).

104 SCHIEFFER 1963, pp. 12-13.

105 LYON, Archives départemetales du Rhône, 10 G 3125, *Actes des rois de Provence*, nos. 8 and pp. 125-126.

106 On this diploma and its fortuitous retrieval in 1914 see GUIGUE 1915 and RUBELLIN 2015, pp. 47-49. Facsimile reproduction in *Diplomata Karolinorum* 9, no. 1.

107 *Actes des rois de Provence*, n. 7.

108 ZIELINSKI 2013, pp. 28-30.



Figure 9. LYON, Archives départementales du Rhône, 10 G 3125.

ined in this article, noticeable similarities can be found between his hand and the one of the anonymous scribe seen at work in the manuscripts held in Rome and Lyon (see figs. 6 and 8). It is also worth remarking that those same pen trials show clear adoption of features of diplomatic usage, especially the monogram of Charles and the *Invocatio* (*In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi Dei aeterni*), which both find clear parallels in the diplomas of Charles of Provence.

When Charles died in 863, his brothers Louis II and Lothar II agreed to a division of his kingdom, which saw the Lyonnais and Viennois being incorporated into the kingdom of Lotharingia¹⁰⁹. Two diplomas issued from Mantaille and Lyon that same year marked the succession of Lothar II to his brother's

¹⁰⁹ On the Kingdom of Lotharingia and its fall see, AIRLIE 2011, MACLEAN 2013 and WEST 2023.

kingdom. With these acts Lothar was proclaiming his legitimate claim to throne, stating his acceptance of the division of the realm agreed upon with Louis II, and at the same time acknowledging the two main power brokers in the region: the count of Vienne and the archbishop of Lyon¹¹⁰. Remigius kept pursuing his policies under Lothar II and obtained four sovereign acts of restitution for the church of Lyon¹¹¹. According to their editor, all these acts show once again direct involvement of the “recipients” in their drafting¹¹². Further evidence pointing to an active engagement of the Lyonnais clergy in the production of royal diplomas under Lothar II cannot be found. Schieffer’s compelling suggestion that the notary Bernar, who was recorded in Lothar’s diploma for the monastery of Hornbach (865) and might have been previously a deacon in the service of archbishop Remigius of Lyon and afterwards bishop of Grenoble, is unfortunately impossible to prove¹¹³.

The death of Lothar II in 869 and the passage of the Lyonnais into West Frankish hands did not disrupt Remigius and his policy aimed at tightening the episcopal control over various territories within his diocese. As a matter of fact, he obtained three acts of restitution for the church of Lyon from the new ruler, Charles the Bald (870-877)¹¹⁴. However, unlike in the cases previously discussed, nothing in this group of charters indicate involvement of the “recipients” in their drafting¹¹⁵. The same considerations apply to the diploma issued by Louis the Stammerer (878-879) from Troyes in 878 confirming properties and immunity to the church of Lyon¹¹⁶. This royal charter is the first obtained by archbishop Aurelianus (875-895), who continued Remigius’ policy aimed at securing and strengthening the rights of the Lyonnais church.

Following the power vacuum created by the death of Louis the Stammerer in April 879, and the disputed succession which ensued, Boson of Vienne made his bid for the West Frankish Kingdom, and in October 879 had himself proclaimed king at a synod in Mantaille. Boson had a strong powerbase in Burgundy and Provence, was married to Ermengard, the daughter of the late emperor Louis II, and had been the most powerful and trusted man of Charles the Bald

¹¹⁰ DD Lo II, nos. 18 and 19. On these acts see, KOZIOL 2012, pp. 105-107.

¹¹¹ DD Lo II, nos. 15, 20-21 and 36.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, pp. 380-381.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, n. 24 and p. 376. On this theory also see, ZIELINSKI 2013, p. 64.

¹¹⁴ *Actes de Charles II le Chauve*, nos. 348, 355 and 385.

¹¹⁵ SCHIEFFER 1963, pp. 15-16.

¹¹⁶ *Actes de Louis II le Bègue*, no. 20. On which also see, SCHIEFFER 1963, pp. 16-17.

in Italy¹¹⁷. However, the unified Carolingian response to his bid for power put an end to his ephemeral kingdom by the end of 880¹¹⁸. While no diploma of Boso directed to the church of Lyon survives, his short reign provides nonetheless a clear link between the royal chancery and the Lyonnais clergy through its archbishop. As a matter of fact, Aurelianus not only anointed Boso at Mantaille, but was also his first archchancellor¹¹⁹.

The reign of Carloman II (880-884) passed without any diplomas issued for the church of Lyon. Aurelianus's policy can be seen in action again only under Charles the Fat (885-887). His diploma for the church of Lyon, issued in June 885, includes restitutions, confirmations and further donations all at once¹²⁰. Even though there is no direct involvement of the "recipient" in the drafting of the act, this far-reaching charter can be seen as the crown jewel of the policy aimed at securing and strengthening the rights of the Lyonnais church under the tenure of archbishop Aurelianus.

Upon the death of Charles the Fat, the Lyonnais fell to the son of Boso and Ermengard, Louis the Blind. His reign (887-928), saw the last revival of the Kingdom of Provence, which in the 930s would cease to exist. During the early years of reign of Louis, archbishop Aurelianus obtained his last royal diploma for the church of Lyon. The charter, issued in March 892, granted and confirmed various properties and rights to the Lyonnais church. It was issued from Lyon at the request of Louis' mother Ermengard and archbishop Aurelianus, described within the diploma as Louis teacher (*Aureliani nostri didascali*).¹²¹ The notary Warimbaldus, who recognised this act instead of the archchancellor Bernuin of Vienne, is otherwise unknown amongst the personnel of Louis' chancery. Zielinski has suggested that he may have come from Lyon¹²², and if that were the case the charter would provide further evidence for the engagement of Lyonnais clerics in the production of royal charters at the time.

The chain of imperial and royal charters issued in favour of the church of Lyon during the tenures of archbishops Remigius and Aurelianus clearly demonstrates knowledge of the language of political communication at the highest level amongst the Lyonnais clergy during the second half of the ninth century.

117 For Boso's career see AIRLIE 2000, pp. 25-41.

118 BAUTIER 1973 and MACLEAN 2001.

119 *Actes des rois de Provence*, n. 17. Aurelianus was soon replaced by Boso's old ally Adalgarius, bishop of Autun, *Ibidem*, n. 18.

120 DD KA III, n. 123.

121 *Actes des rois de Provence*, n. 29.

122 ZIELINSKI 2013, pp. 189-190.

Moreover, diplomatic evidence from the time of Remigius indicates that such a knowledge also entailed the mastering of the special script with which it was conveyed. Particularly striking in this respect are the clear parallels between the charter of Charles of Provence written by the notary Aurelianus, in all likelihood a Lyonnais cleric, and the pen trials in elongated script found in two ninth-century manuscripts from Lyon. The pontificate of archbishop Aurelianus substantiates the presence of a chancery *milieu* in Lyon through both his activity as first archchancellor of King Bosó, and the involvement of another probable Lyonnais cleric (Warimbaldus) in the drafting of the diploma issued by Louis the Blind in 892 for the church of Lyon. Therefore, diplomatic evidence suggests that during the tenures of Remigius and Aurelianus, members of the church of Lyon became involved in the production of diplomas of subsequent rulers.

Considering the more nuanced picture of charter production outlined above¹²³, it is also possible that the activity of these local draftsmen-scribes went further than their involvement in the production of diplomas for the church of Lyon. Even though the paucity of extant original diplomas means this cannot be proven, it seems rather likely that around Remigius and Aurelianus emerged a group of *Notare* who also wrote diplomas petitioned by these same Lyonnais archbishops for “third parties” or who was even involved in some form of more regular royal service. At any rate, the archiepiscopal policy aimed at strengthening and securing the rights of the church of Lyon prompted and at the same time rested on the activity, amongst the clergy of Lyon, of highly skilled draftsman-scribes who were not only versed in the language, but also in the script of political communication at the highest level.

Conclusion

During the second half of the ninth century a series of pen trials in elongated script was written on the blank spaces of four manuscripts convincingly located in Lyon at the time. The analysis of these “minitexts” from a palaeographical point of view has revealed a considerable number of clerics (more than ten different hands) active in Lyon and their efforts at mastering the challenging elongated script used to write specific parts of royal and imperial diplomas in that period. These short texts were the work of highly skilled writers practicing charter script by penning texts known by heart, hence their

¹²³ See footnote n. 98.

overall didactic flavour. The choice of texts used for practising charter script is nonetheless interesting, as liturgical snippets amongst these pen trials point to an ecclesiastical learning centre engaged with the main theological debates in which the protagonists of the Lyonnais “heroic age” had so prominently featured. At the same time, pen trials in ROMA, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS E 26 (figs. 4 and 6) and LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 471 (fig. 8) provide a clear link to a chancery *milieu* through the deployment of specific visual features of diplomatic usage (monograms and chrismos), as well as a specific diplomatic formula (*Invocatio*). The stream of diplomas granted in favour of the Lyonnais church under the pontificates of Remigius and Aurelianus has shown the direct involvement of local clerics in the production of diplomas of subsequent rulers and demonstrated their knowledge of language, as well as script, of political communication at the highest level. The pen trials in elongated script discussed in the article complement the diplomatic evidence, as they trace the activity of those same local draftsman-scribes on the books of the episcopal library. To conclude, when considered together, pen trials and diplomatic evidence shed light on the cultural and political history of Lyon during the latter part of the ninth century, providing a very rare glimpse into the flourishing of a chancery *milieu* within a prominent Carolingian learning centre¹²⁴.

¹²⁴ It goes beyond the scope of this article to ascertain whether this remained the case during the following century. Nonetheless, for determining the level of diplomatic knowledge of the Lyonnais clergy during the tenth century through the lens offered by pen trials written in diplomatic script one key manuscript should be considered: LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1502. According to Bischoff, this manuscript was written in Lyon in the late ninth or early tenth century, BISCHOFF 2004, n. 2589. On fol. 37r four lines in diplomatic script were added during the early tenth century, apparently deploying the language and script of the diplomas of Louis the Blind. The manuscript can be accessed at <https://florus.bm-lyon.fr>

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Bernhard Hollick

Drama tibi primae depango laudis usyae:

A Poetic Voice from the School of St Gall

Abstract

Medieval scribes and scholars filled empty spaces in their manuscripts with different kinds of minuscule texts. Not all of them served as direct commentary on the main text. But even when they did not, they were added often with clear intent, as can be seen with an anonymous poem written around the year 1000 or shortly after in one volume of the «Small Hartmut-Bible» (LONDON, British Library, Add. MS 11852, fol. 118^v). At first glance, the poem appears to be not much more than an elegiac colophon to the Pauline Epistles. But closer analysis reveals a consistent theoretical basis: the verses establish a link between the manuscript and predominant attitudes towards epistemology and theology in the school of St Gall. This paper will explore the content of the poem and will explain how it reflects the thought of Notker III and his pupil and successor Ekkehard IV. It will also shed light on the development and spread of ideas in the school milieu of a major Benedictine monastery.

Keywords

Notker III; Ekkehard IV; St Gall; Theology; Epistemology; Poetry

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Even though the manuscripts of St Gall have been subject to meticulous historical and philological research, they still have not revealed all of their secrets. Many of them comprise more than their original contents. Later readers filled the margins and other empty spaces with an occasionally thick web of short texts of various kinds¹. Their notes are a valuable source for the cultures of reading, writing, and learning in an early medieval Benedictine monastery.

One particularly fascinating case can be found in the codex LONDON, British Library, Add. MS 11852, a copy of the New Testament without the Gospels². On fol. 118^v, following the Ps.-Pauline *Letter to the Laodiceans*, a poem in elegiac couplets was added:

1 *Drama tibi primae depango laudis usyae*
Omni sub spatio pectore cum timido.
Pauli spermilogi duce te documenta relegi,
Qui caelo monitus est vir apostolicus,
5 *A nobis atqui summum fore te dat amari,*
Cerni non alibi et loca posse poli.
Ignaroque tui male te simul atque fatenti
Promittit varium dēnone supplicium.
Remata tanta sui semper me fac imitari,
10 *Aure quod audivi, insere corde mihi,*
Ut doctus de se valeam lemorem superare
Et possis, Uto, sic fore cum Domino.

(«For you, the first substance, I compose a song of praise, the whole time with a timid heart. Under your guidance, I have reread the letters of the word-sowing Paul, who, instructed by heaven, is an apostolic man. By all means, he imparts that you will be loved by us as the highest being and otherwise the heavenly realms cannot be seen. To the one who is ignorant of you and at the same time professes you badly, he [Paul] promises a manifold punishment by the Demon. Make it so, that I always emulate his great words, what I hear with my ear, engrave

1 While glosses have received significant scholarly attention, textual additions without direct connection to the main content of the manuscripts have rarely been studied as a single corpus. For more details see the contribution of Ildar GARIPZANOV in this volume.

2 Accessible digitally at <https://digital.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:/21198/zz002971c4> (accessed 12.09.24).

onto my heart, so that taught about him I will be able to defeat the Lemur and therefore you, Uto, can be with the Lord.»)

The poem did not go completely unnoticed; it was mentioned by Bernhard Bischoff in his catalogue of ninth-century manuscripts and published by Gabriel Silagi in the MGH *Poetae*³. A thorough study is still missing, though. At first glance, this lack of scholarly attention is not surprising. *Drama tibi* seems to be a nicely written, but rather conventional colophon to a biblical text. Yet this impression changes dramatically if the poem is considered within its historical context. Then it becomes an important source for the literary and intellectual life in one of Europe's major monastic centres. Not only does it share many aesthetic, philosophical and religious ideas with two of St Gall's most prominent scholars and teachers, Notker III Labeo, the German (d. 1022) and Ekkehard IV (d. after 1056), it also sheds light on the ways in which these ideas were spread in and beyond the abbey's school⁴.

Codicological and Palaeographical observation

Any contextualizing interpretation is based on a simple premise: One has to know the context of the text. Unfortunately in the case of *Drama tibi*, we are initially lacking any more specific information about its author and origin. However, a closer codicological and palaeographical analysis allows us to draw at least some preliminary conclusions. Add. MS 11852 belongs to the «Small Hartmut-Bible», a copy of Holy Scripture in ten volumes⁵. The eponymous abbot of St Gall was in office from 872 until 883, thereafter he lived as a recluse until his death in 905⁶. The codex was written during Hartmut's abbacy, as he himself reveals in an epigram on fol. 8^v:

*Iste liber Pauli retinet documenta sereni,
Hartmotus Gallo quem contulit abba beato.
Si quis et hunc sancti sumit de culmine Galli,
Hunc Gallus Paulusque simul dent pestibus amplis*⁷.

³ BISCHOFF 2004, pp. 94sq., *Drama tibi*, pp. 669sq.

⁴ On the school of St Gall in general, cf. among others: BERSCHIN 2005a, pp. 27sq., GROTHANS 2006, pp. 49-109, KINTZINGER 2009, OCHSENBEIN 1999b.

⁵ The other surviving volumes are St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 7, 19, 46, 68 (possibly also Cod. 42 and 50), and Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB II 20. Cf. VON EUW 2008, vol. 1, p. 104 and SCHMUKI - SCHNORR - TREMP - BERGER 2012, p. 28.

⁶ On Hartmut cf. DUFT 1991, pp. 64-68.

⁷ HARTMUT, *Versus* 4, pp. 1110sq., cf. BERSCHIN 2005b, pp. 174-177.

(«This book holds the letters of serene Paul, which abbot Hartmut offered up to Blessed Gall. If someone takes it away from the house of Saint Gall, Gall and Paul shall give him at once ample plagues.»)

Hartmut's verses also offer a clue about the formation of Add. MS 11852, since he mentions only the Pauline Epistles (fol. 5^r-118^v). Obviously, the second codicological unit with the Catholic Epistles and the Book of Revelation (fol. 119^f-215^v) was not part of the original plan. However, it was added not much later. When Ratpert lists the volumes of the «Small Hartmut-Bible» in his *Casus S. Galli*, he mentions *reliquorum librorum Novi Testamenti volumen I* («one volume with the remaining books of the New Testament»), following a now lost copy of the Gospels⁸. Therefore, Add. MS 11852 must have comprised today's textual arrangement already at the time when Ratpert's *Casus* was written, that is no later than the 890s⁹.

The question remains, though, when *Drama tibi* was added to the manuscript. There is little doubt that it was created exactly for that spot. Not only is there no other textual witness for the poem, but it also fits perfectly on that specific page. The length of the poem corresponds exactly to the twelve lines remaining after the Explicit of the *Epistle to the Laodiceans*. Moreover, the couplets mirror the admonishment to strive for God on top of the page (although they focus more explicitly on biblical studies)¹⁰. Verse 10 is almost a metric version of Ps.-Paul's words in line 8sq.: *Et quæ audistis et accepistis, in corde retinete* («and what you have heard and received, retain in your heart»)¹¹. But while the poem was carefully fitted to its manuscript contexts, it was not written simultaneously with either one of the two codicological units. Paleographical criteria suggest that it was supplemented long after the formation of Add. MS 11852¹². Bischoff and Silagi date *Drama tibi* to the tenth century¹³.

⁸ Cf. RATPERT, *Casus S. Galli*, p. 226.

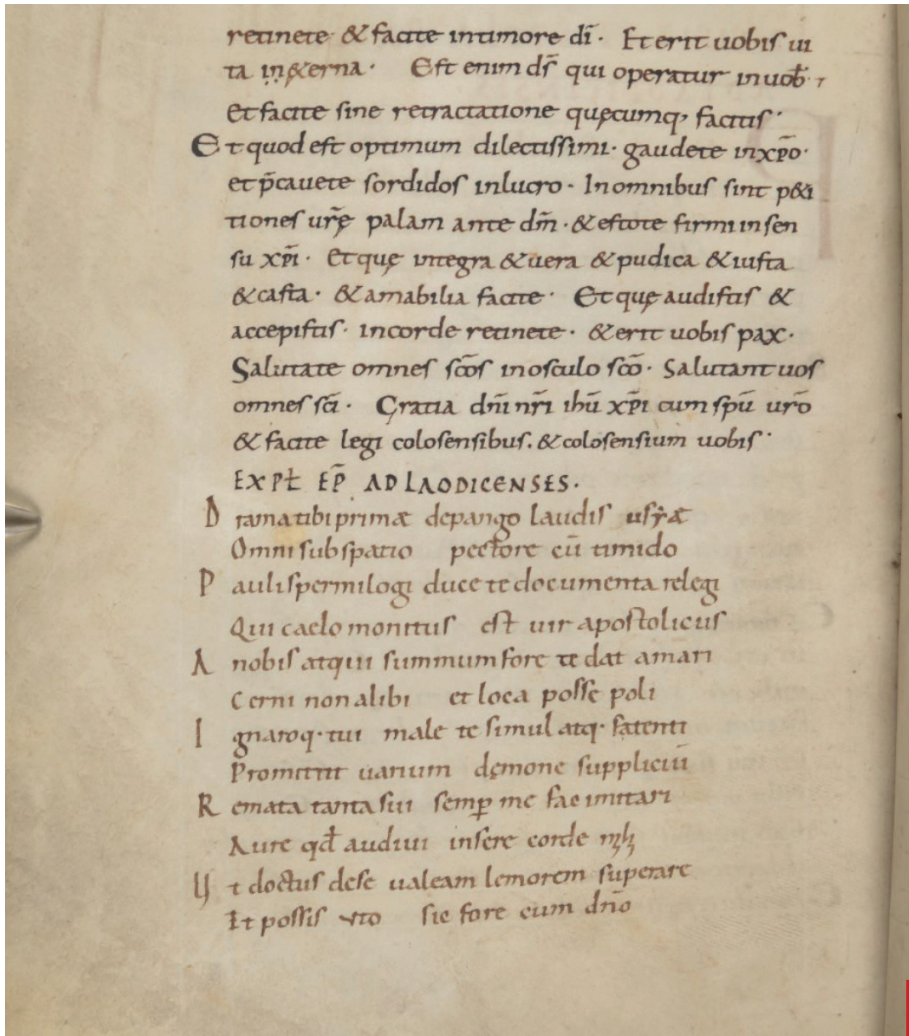
⁹ One the (not undisputed) date of origin cf. Hannes Steiner's introduction in RATPERT, *Casus S. Galli*, pp. 19-24.

¹⁰ Cf. *Epistle to the Laodiceans* 10-20.

¹¹ *Epistle to the Laodiceans* 16.

¹² Due to St Gall's uniquely well-preserved library, the development of its writing culture can be studied closer than in any other early medieval monastery, cf. BERSCHIN 1992, GROTHANS 2020, VON SCARPATETTI 1999.

¹³ Cf. BISCHOFF 2004, p. 95, *Drama tibi*, p. 669.



LONDON, British Library, Add. MS 11852, fol. 118v

Some palaeographic criteria point to the end of this period or even to the early eleventh century. The script is not of the highest standard known mostly from biblical and liturgical manuscripts, like the main text of Add. MS 11852 or later cases like Cod. Sang. 390 («Antiphonarium Hartkeri»). But it is still elegant and carefully executed¹⁴. The compression of the ascenders and descenders and

¹⁴ Occasionally, the St Gall scripts are subdivided into a book, a middle/documentary, and a school

the focus on the central, vertical parts of the letters as well as the very regular writing angle are characteristic of the «silver age» of the abbey's scriptorium, after the recovery from the Hungarian invasion in 926 to the mid eleventh century, giving the script an almost rigid appearance¹⁵. This is in obvious contrast to the passage from the *Letter to the Laodiceans* at the top of the page, but quite similar to books written in the late tenth or early eleventh century, such as Cod. Sang. 148. Further, some of the bows start to break: In the case of f and s, the difference from the lines on top of the page is evident, with a curve being replaced by a hook, composed of separate strokes. The form of the r, on the other hand, has shifted gradually from an already angular to a distinctively broken shape. The e has a tiny head, the middle vertical stroke of the m turns left while the two others are straight¹⁶. All these features appear in St Gall only from 975 onwards¹⁷.

These observations are supported by the only tangible historical detail offered by the poet: the name <Uto> in the last verse. Uto (Oto, Uoto, Huoto) was a common name, which shows up several times in documents from St Gall¹⁸. One of them makes an appearance in an early eleventh-century manuscript, Cod. Sang. 245 (Ambrosius Autpertus, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* VI–X), where two scribes left the following note on p. 526: *Hanc partem Gallo patrat Uodalricus et Uto* («Uodalrich and Uto carried out this portion for Gall»)¹⁹. Not only does this discovery support the palaeographic considerations about the date of *Drama tibi*, it also throws some light on the network of scholars and scribes, in which the poem was written. If the Uto in *Drama tibi* is identical with his namesake in Cod. Sang. 245, Silagi's assumption that the reference to him is a «Selbstanrede des Dichters» can be disallowed²⁰. A shift from the first to a self-referential second person in the very same sentence would be surprisingly bold, although not impossible. But the hand which penned down *Drama tibi* appears nowhere in Cod. Sang. 245. It is, therefore, more likely, that Uto was another St Gall monk,

style, cf. BISCHOFF 1986, p. 161. However, as VON SCARPATETTI 1999, p. 67, and GROTANS 2020, p. 204, point out, the boundaries between them became increasingly fluid particularly after 950.

15 Cf. GROTANS 2020, p. 210, VON SCARPATETTI 1999, p. 57.

16 In the lines from the *Letter to the Laodiceans*, both the left and the middle strokes of the m tend towards the left and the middle stroke is diagonal but not curved.

17 Cf. GROTANS 2020, p. 210, VON SCARPATETTI 1999, p. 57.

18 A well-known Uto in St Gall is the ninth-century librarian, who died a few years before the production of Add. MS 11852 and the other volumes of the Small Hartmut-Bible, cf. SCHAAAB 2003, p. 75, n. 227, and p. 211.

19 Cf. BRUCKNER 1938, p. 86.

20 Cf. *Drama tibi*, p. 670, n. to v. 12.

whom the poet appreciated enough to commemorate in his verses. Moreover, Uto and his fellow scribes were not the only ones who left traces in Cod. Sang. 245. Some of the glosses in the manuscript are written in the characteristic hand of Ekkehard IV²¹. Of course, one must not jump to conclusions. That Ekkehard glossed a manuscript copied by (one of the) Uto(s) does not necessarily imply any further relation between them. But the temporal and local coincidence is remarkable, even more so if we take into account that scribal work was often entrusted to pupils²². While none of these observations are a definitive proof, they strongly hint at the possibility that the author of *Drama tibi* was connected with the school circle at the time of Notker III and Ekkehard IV. This assumption can be invigorated by a closer analysis of the poem's style and content.

The Poem's Style and the School of St Gall

Dating and locating the manuscript and its different textual elements within it is not enough to establish a closer connection between the *Drama tibi*-poet and St Gall's school milieu. In a large Benedictine abbey, one can easily imagine a learned monk writing Latin verse outside that institutional context. However, the style of *Drama tibi* resembles in several important aspects the works of Notker III and Ekkehard IV. It is unlikely that one of them is the actual author. The hand in which *Drama tibi* is written in Add. 11852 corresponds neither to Notker's, nor to Ekkehard's²³. But even if one assumes that a professional scribe was involved, there are reasons which speak against the attribution to one of the two school masters. Notker is not known as a poet. Ekkehard, on the other hand, left a substantial body of poetry, mostly, though not exclusively, collected in the *Liber benedictionum*. Occasionally (e.g. in the second prologue to the *Liber benedictionum* and in *De lege dictamen ornandi*, a verse treatise composed for his brother Immo) he even meditates on poetics²⁴.

21 Cf. EISENHUT 2009, p. 421.

22 EKKEHARD IV, *Casus S. Galli* 89, p. 396, reports that such tasks were usually given to less capable students: *Et quos ad literarum studia tardiores vidisset, ad scribendum occupaverat et lineandum*. Cf. OCHSENBACH 1999b, p. 98.

23 There is no lack of evidence for Ekkehard's characteristic handwriting, beside the autograph of the *Liber benedictionum* (Cod. Sang. 393) one can find glosses and other notes in many manuscripts of the Stiftsbibliothek (for an overview, cf. EISENHUT 2009, pp. 419-424). Notker's hand, however, is much harder to identify – with one notable exception: two lines in Cod. Sang. 621, p. 321, to which Ekkehard remarks: *Has duas lineas amandas dominus Notkerus scripsit, vivat anima eius in Domino*. Cf. HELLGARDT 2010, pp. 164sq.

24 On *De lege dictamen ornandi* and the resulting literary practice cf. SMOLAK 2015.

This combination of theory and practice invite comparison with *Drama tibi*. Both stylistic and palaeographic reasons speak against his authorship. Elegiac couplets as in *Drama tibi* were part of Ekkehard's metric repertoire but he employs them only very rarely²⁵. In almost all cases, he resorts to hexameters. The leonine rhyme in *Drama tibi* is monosyllabic, Ekkehard, on the other hand, persistently uses its much more complex disyllabic form, which he describes in one of his glosses to the *Liber benedictionum* as *consonantia duplarum plerumque syllabarum* («consonance of mostly double syllables»)²⁶.

However, these differences are just one side of the coin. *Drama tibi* and Ekkehard's poetry (as well as, to a lesser degree, Notker's treatises) share several characteristic features, which when combined point to at least at the same scholarly milieu. The first similarity is the consistency with which leonine verse (despite the different forms) is used. Internal rhyme became popular in St Gall from c. 850 onwards²⁷. In the early years it was not always applied though, and not in all cases throughout whole poems²⁸. In *Drama tibi* on the other hand, in every verse the cesura rhymes with the end. This would have found the approval of the abbey's school around 1000: Ekkehard is equally rigorous in most of his poems.

The second palpable parallel between the two authors is their love of metaphors and learned vocabulary. In *De lege dictamen ornandi*, Ekkehard explains the underlying principle:

*Dictamen verbis assuesce polire superbis,
Quę sibi cognata pare fonteque sint generata*²⁹.

(«Get accustomed to make a poem shine with proud words, which are akin and stem from the same fountain.»)

25 E.g. EKKEHARD IV, *Liber benedictionum*, p. V, n. 1 (Notker *Theutonicus Domino finiter amicus / Gaudeat ille locis paradysiis*), and the verses in ID., *Casus S. Galli* 27, p. 206 (*In cruce quęsitam pretioso sanguine vitam / Des cui, Christe, locis in paradysiis*).

26 Cf. EKKEHARD IV, *Liber benedictionum*, Prol. II, gloss to v. 95 (p. 9). WEBER 2004, p. 69, stresses that Ekkehard IV composed his two-syllabic, leonine rhymes two or three generations before they became routine.

27 Cf. STRECKER 1922, pp. 243-247.

28 As STRECKER 1922, p. 245, states briefly, one example for a less consistent use of leonine and other forms of rhyme in the ninth century is Hartmann II of St Gall. A comparable example from the latter's pen, transmitted in the collection *Sylloga* 2, p. 318, comprises nine elegiac couples, of which six hexameters and three pentameters have a monosyllabic leonine rhyme.

29 EKKEHARD IV, *De lege* 1-2, p. 532.

In the following, Ekkehard lists numerous examples, like *gemini* for *bini*, or *remigium alarum* when talking about the wings of Icarus. The same semantic mechanism is applied in *Drama tibi*, e.g. when the Devil is referred to as demon or lemur. A comparable phenomenon is the use of Greek. In the twelve lines of *Drama tibi*, four Greek words are introduced: *drama*, here in the sense of «song» or «poem»; *usya*, «substance»; *spermilogus*, which changed its meaning from «babblers» to «someone who sows the word of God»; and finally *r(h)emmata*, «words, sayings»³⁰. The nameless poet fits in with a Hellenism which began to flourish in St Gall in the mid-ninth century and came to an end with Ekkehard IV³¹. In his *De lege dictamen ornandi*, the same Ekkehard comments only on Germanic loan words, which he rejects emphatically³². However, as is evident from the *Liber benedictionum*, his attitude towards Greek was entirely different³³. The respective vocabulary has an effect similar to metaphorical expressions: the verses sound more splendid than those in plain Latin school diction. Therefore, both *Drama tibi* and the graecising parts of Ekkehard's correspond to the latter's aesthetical program.

Drama tibi represents a distinctively Christian classicism, popular in St Gall's school milieu. The poem plays with Greek words and alludes to mythological creatures, the lemurs, but it does so while reflecting on (Ps.-)Paul's teachings. It is written in one of the most common meters of Roman poetry, the elegiac couplets, but decorated with the characteristically Christian leonine rhyme. This mixture of classical and Christian elements appears not only in other poetic works like the *Liber benedictionum* (e.g. in the ironical game of rejection and appropriation in the second prologue), but also in prose writings like Ekkehard's *Casus S. Galli* or Notker's *Rhetorica nova*, which knit a thick web of patristic and pagan authorities³⁴. Notwithstanding all differences, the *Drama tibi*-poet and the two school masters seem to follow one and the same scholarly and aesthetic program. The similarities between them are not constrained to the literary surface, though. They agree in central philosophical and theological questions.

³⁰ In part, these terms have specific philosophical meaning, but they are also simply a display of scholarship. The vocabulary of the poem belongs to the grey zone between terminological and ornamental Greek described by STOLTZ 2011, p. 321. Strictly speaking, *daemon* too is of Greek origin, but since it was so common in Christian theology, one might doubt that the poet consciously used it as a foreign word.

³¹ Cf. BERSCHIN 1980, pp. 175-180.

³² Cf. EKKEHARD IV, *De lege* 14, p. 533: *Teutonicos mores caveas nova nullaue ponas*.

³³ For Greek vocabulary in the *Liber benedictionum* cf. Egli's introduction to his critical edition of that text, pp. XXXVI-XXXVIII.

³⁴ Cf. GROTANS 2006, p. 90, and ALBU - LOZOVSKY 2021, pp. XIXsq.

I. Poetic Augustinianism in Add. 11852

Drama tibi is not only elegantly written; it also comprises coherent theological positions which are heavily influenced by Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*. Its main topic is the acquisition of religious knowledge, which is more than the multiplication of one's personal doctrinal inventory. A basic understanding of Christian teachings is the precondition for salvation. It enables one to see heaven (v. 6) and to defeat the Devil (v. 11). The poem's answer on where to find such salvific insights is clear: not in secular studies or philosophical speculation, but in Holy Scripture, most of all in the Pauline Epistles³⁵. The reminder that Paul was *a caelo monitus* is a reference to the events leading to his conversion as described in the Acts of the Apostles³⁶. But this phrase also hints at the heavenly origin of Paul's words.

He is a messenger of God, not a harbinger of worldly wisdom. Further, the interpreter of his Epistles is equally dependent on divine inspiration: only *duce te*, under your, God's, guidance, is he able to understand the sacred text (v. 3)³⁷. However, he is not just a passive receiver of biblical revelation. What he learns during his exegetical attempts requires a double response, one external and one internal. The external response is obvious: we must live according to what we read by imitating St Paul's words, that means doing good and avoiding evil (v. 9).

But outside deeds are not everything. Religious knowledge is not just a guideline for ethical behavior, the process of its acquisition leaves an imprint on the souls of believers. When the poet, alluding to the *Epistle to the Laodiceans*, writes that we should engrave the words of St Paul in our heart, he has more in

³⁵ Cf. AUGUSTINE, *De doctrina christiana* II 9,14: *In his omnibus libris timentes Deum et pietate mansueti quaerunt voluntatem Dei*.

³⁶ Cf. AUGUSTINE, *De doctrina christiana*, Proem. 6: *Caveamus tales temptationes superbissimas et periculosissimas magisque cogitemus et ipsum apostolum Paulum, licet divina et caelesti voce prostratum et instructum, ad hominem tamen missum esse, ut sacramenta perciperet atque copularetur ecclesiae*. The *Drama tibi*-poet was not the only one in St Gall to refer to this episode. In EKKEHARD IV, *Liber benedictionum* I 42,14 (p. 212), Paul is called *doctus et e cēlis* – there the phrase is used explicitly in opposition to worldly learning.

³⁷ While Augustine's main intention in *De doctrina christiana* was to demonstrate why and what we have to study as a preparation for biblical exegesis, he occasionally reminded his readers that, no matter how educated they were, they still depend on divine illumination, e.g. *ibid.* I 1,1: *Magnum onus et arduum, et si ad sustinendum difficile, vereor, ne ad suscipiendum temerarium. Ita sane si de nobis ipsis praesumeremus; nunc vero cum in illo sit spes peragendi huius operis, a quo nobis in cogitatione multa de hac re iam tradita tenemus, non est metuendum, ne dare desinat cetera, cum ea, quae data sunt, coeperimus impendere*.

mind than a florid phrase for memorizing³⁸. He demands a change of heart, as the emotional frame indicates. In the first couplet, the poet speaks about the fearful heart with which he addresses God (v. 2); later, fear is replaced by love (v. 5)³⁹. For the same reason, punishment is not only threatened to the one who commits actual sins, but also to the *ignarus Dei*, no matter his deeds, since he is unaware of the transformative process required for salvation. The love towards which human beings are led by correct understanding of Holy Scripture is first and foremost directed towards God, but it also extends to fellow human beings⁴⁰. At the end of his work, the poet mentions his concern for the soul of Uto (v. 12)⁴¹. Probably he has more in mind than an individual expression of friendship. His reference to Uto and his postmortem fate is a reminder of the social and pastoral responsibility which goes along with such insights. Those with a proper understanding of Holy Scripture must provide pastoral care for others⁴².

As short as it is, the poem outlines a consistent epistemology. It explains the origin and function of religious knowledge, its effects on the individual human being in this world, and the afterlife and its social implications. One might wonder, though, how such austere epistemological thoughts are reconcilable with the learned style of the poem. The key to the almost dialectical relationship between form and content is, again, to be found in *De doctrina christiana*. Augustine attempted to find a middle ground between an extreme anti-intellectualism which rejects all learning and teaching, and scholarly hubris in which the acquisition of knowledge becomes an end in itself. In his eyes, a certain education in the liberal arts was necessary to understand a complex text like the Bible, but such an education has no value beyond exegesis and homiletics, nor is it sufficient without additional divine inspiration⁴³. The

38 While this phrase mirrors the *Letter to the Laodiceans*, as mentioned above, it is worth noting that metaphors of hearing for the acquisition and internalisation of religious knowledge are widespread, too, in Augustine's writings, among others *auris/aures cordis*.

39 Augustine describes a seven-storey ascent from fear to wisdom in *De doctrina christiana* II 7,9-11; in addition, he uses metaphors like *purgatio* (ibid. I 10,10) and *curatio* (ibid. I 14,13) in the context of the acquisition of religious knowledge.

40 It is not easy to understand, though, how Augustine's claim that the law of love extends to God, the neighbour and oneself can be reconciled with his concept of *uti* and *frui*, cf. DUPONT 2004.

41 The fact that the poet introduces Uto as an addressee of the author's spiritual guidance does not necessarily hint at a hierarchy between them: there were cases of «horizontal learning» within one peer group in St Gall, cf. D'ACUNTO 2019.

42 AUGUSTINE, *De doctrina christiana*, prooem. 5: *Immo vero et quod per hominem discendum est, sine superbia discat, et per quem docetur alius, sine superbia et sine invidia tradat quod accipit.*

43 Cf. particularly the second book of *De doctrina christiana*, where Augustine discusses secular learning from basic language training to disciplines like logic and mathematics.

poem is, thus, a literary staging of such programmatic consideration, for it encourages readers to turn to Holy Scripture in search of truth and reminds them that their understanding of the biblical texts is in the end always and only granted by God. At the same time, it signals the value of secular learning: We need divine guidance on our path. But we still have to walk it⁴⁴.

1. The Status of the liberal arts

It is tempting to shrug off the Augustinianism of *Drama tibi* as a typical medieval mindset (even more so in the centuries before the reintroduction of the whole *Corpus Aristotelicum*). The reality of intellectual life in that period was more complex. Augustine's work was as copious as it was rich in ideas. While almost every medieval scholar relied on his authority, the motifs chosen (and those ignored) differed significantly from case to case. Epistemology is a good example of this selective reception. As a matter of fact, the influence of *De doctrina christiana* was surprisingly limited. Scholars like Alcuin of York and John Scottus Eriugena opted for much more inclusive concepts of knowledge. They stressed the inherent value of the liberal arts (although within a religious framework) instead of reducing them to mere exegetical tools⁴⁵. Augustine's early works like *De ordine*, not *De doctrina christiana*, were the preferred reference in this specific context⁴⁶. One would expect the same philosophical attitudes in St Gall given the effort the abbey's school put into secular learning. Notker dedicated a significant part of his life to teaching and writing about the liberal arts. Ekkehard followed in the footsteps of his teacher. His works as an historian, poet and glossator was, in one way or another, tied to the school⁴⁷. Thus, one would expect the two school masters to show a clear preference for a

⁴⁴ Cf. AUGUSTINE, *De doctrina christiana*, proem. 8, where he scoffed at those who still feel obliged to teach, despite their claim that all knowledge comes directly from God.

⁴⁵ On Alcuin cf. DREYER 2006, DREYER 2010, as well as ALBERI 2001 and WERNER 1998; on Eriugena CONTRENI 2020. It should be noted that epistemological discussions in St Gall and elsewhere in early medieval Europe were not occupied solely with the relationship between religious and secular knowledge. Another much-discussed topic was the internal organisation of philosophy, cf. GROTHANS 2023.

⁴⁶ Cf. CONTRENI 2020, pp. 31-33, and DREYER 2010, p. 74.

⁴⁷ The *Liber benedictionum* shows Ekkehard IV as both a pupil and a teacher. Some of the poems originated as homework composed under the aegis of Notker III and the whole anthology was compiled, among other reasons, for didactic purposes, cf. STOTZ 1981, pp. 2-5. In a marginal note on *Liber benedictionum* I 59 (p. 279), Ekkehard recalled how he found some of his school poems among the residue of his late teacher: *Hoc et cetera quę scripsi, ipse scribi iussit in cartis suis, in quibus ea post inveniēns in hac scēda pro locis ascripsi, ut iuvenes nostros in id ipsum adortaretur.*

concept of knowledge in which more space is granted to unguided reason and the disciplines based thereupon. But the opposite is true: Notker was a staunch Augustinian. In a letter to Bishop Hugo of Sitten (978-1017), he wrote:

*Artibus autem illis, quibus me onustare vultis, ego renunciaui neque fas mihi est eis aliter quam sicut instrumentis frui. Sunt enim ecclesiastici libri et praecipue quidem in scholis legendi, quos impossibile est sine illis praelibatis ad intellectum integrum duci*⁴⁸.

(«But I have renounced those arts, with which you want to burden me, and I am not allowed to enjoy them in any other way except as tools. For there are ecclesiastical books and particularly those which must be read in school, which cannot be understood fully without having tasted those (arts) in advance.»)

The liberal arts are devoid of any inherent value or pleasure; they serve solely as a hermeneutic tool for the interpretation of authoritative texts⁴⁹. In his Old High German version of the *Consolatio philosophiae* Notker is even more outspoken. He states that rational methods apply only to the created world but are unable to open an alternative route to God without Holy Scripture⁵⁰. However, such remarks on secular learning are balanced by the rest of the letter to Hugo. Immediately after subordinating the arts to exegesis, he elaborated at length and not without pride about his work as a translator and writer, including his Old High German versions of classical texts⁵¹. Evidently, the amount of secular knowledge required for the interpretation of the ecclesiastical books was quite extensive. This is fully in line with Augustine, who even has a biblical explanation for his educational program. Just as the Israelites took gold and silver from the Egyptians, Christians can use pagan knowledge for the sake of their faith⁵². But one might wonder then how it can

⁴⁸ NOTKER III, *Epistola ad Hugonem*, p. 348. Cf. HELLGARDT 1979, KING - TAX 2003, pp. 195-200, KÖSSINGER 2024, NIEVERGELT 2022, pp. 20-22, SCHRÖBLER 1948.

⁴⁹ The expression *libri ecclesiastici* is used inconsistently in medieval sources. According to HEHLE 2002, pp. 60sq., Notker refers to the Bible and exegetical literature, while KING - TAX 2003, pp. 197sq., also includes texts like the *Consolatio philosophiae*.

⁵⁰ NOTKER III, *Consolatio*, vol. 3, p. 216: *Sô uuîr êin fône ânderên errâten . âlso aristotiles lêrta . dâz îst raciocrinatio. Humana sapientia hâbet tie modos fûnden. Die uuêrdent tânne euacuati . sô mênnskôn ôugen bîmelisko indân uuêrdent . ûnde îro sîn ûf kezûcbet uuîrt . tiu ze bechénenne . diu nebéin ratio philosophica nebechénnnet*. Cf. GROTHANS 2023, pp. 80sq.

⁵¹ On the (only partly surviving) works mentioned there cf. DE RIJK 1963, pp. 50sq.; HELLGARDT 1979, pp. 184-191; KING - TAX 2003, pp. 198-200, MÜLLER 2000, pp. 335sq. As KING - TAX 1996, p. CXXIX states, the fact that Notker does not refer to some of his known works is important for the dating of the letter.

⁵² Cf. AUGUSTINE, *De doctrina christiana* II 40,60.

be that understanding the word of God depends to such a high degree on the acquisition of pagan knowledge? For that, *De doctrina christiana* offers another loophole in the form of a theological argument, with which Augustine supported his interpretation of the *spoliatio Aegyptorum*. All truth, he claims, originates from God: *Immo vero quisquis bonus verusque Christianus est, Domini sui esse intellegat, ubicumque invenerit veritatem, quam conferens et agnoscens etiam in litteris sacris superstitiosa figmenta repudiet* («But whoever is a good and true Christian understands, that truth belongs to his Lord, wherever he finds it; while he gathers and acknowledges that [truth] even in [pagan] sacred writings, he rejects superstitious figments.»)⁵³. The laws of rhetoric and logic, for example, were not created by pagan writers, but merely discovered by them⁵⁴. Even more, they can also be found in the biblical text⁵⁵. Therefore, the arts are not entirely foreign to divine revelation. Whoever relies on them while exposing Holy Scripture expands only a common exegetical method beyond the biblical texts; explaining part of the word of God by referring to another. Notker clearly understood the advantage of such ideas for his own exegetical education program. He utters similar thoughts in his Old High German *Consolatio*, where he suggests a divine origin for ethics and physics («logic», as a generic term for the trivium, is not mentioned here, probably because it was rather perceived as a method than as a content). The secular disciplines and theology are (albeit clearly different) branches of one and the same comprehensive philosophy⁵⁶. The latter is not understood as the product of human intellectual activity, but equated to the *sapientia Dei*, that is Christ⁵⁷. In this context, Notker does not elaborate on how secular learning can be a route to divine wisdom. But at least a clue appears in one of his Latin school treatises, *De arte rhetorica*, where Notker distinguished between *eloquentia naturalis*

⁵³ AUGUSTINE, *De doctrina christiana* II 18,28.

⁵⁴ Cf. AUGUSTINE, *De doctrina christiana* II 27,41: *Iam vero illa quae non instituendo, sed aut transacta temporibus aut divinitus instituta investigando homines prodiderunt, ubicumque discantur, non sunt hominum instituta existimanda*. He considers logic and rhetoric not as human institutions, cf. *ibid.* II 32,50 and II 34,54.

⁵⁵ It is probably not surprising that Augustine recognized the rhetorical quality of the biblical text (*De doctrina christiana* IV 6,9), but he attempts, too, to discover syllogisms in Holy Scripture (*ibid.* II 32,50).

⁵⁶ NOTKER III, *Consolatio*, vol. 1, p. 87: *Philosophia tēilet sih in diuina et humana. Diuina lērtōn . dīe ūns in būochen gōtes sēlbes naturam . ūnde dīa ueritatem trinitatis scriben. Dīe hēizent theologi. Tēro uuās iohannes euangelista ter fōrderōsto. Humana lērent ūnsih physici ūnde ētbici . táz chīt de naturis et moribus. Ter āltesto physicus uuās phitagoras . apud grecos*. Cf. GROTHANS 2023, pp. 78-80.

⁵⁷ Cf. BOLENDER 1980, HEHLE 2002, pp. 210-214.

and its *filia artificialis*, rhetoric⁵⁸. Only the former is flourishing again and might turn into a proper *ars*, that is, a discipline which can be taught based on rules taken from practical observation⁵⁹. In other words, the Christians do not follow a pagan tradition when they study rhetoric, but undergo a normal process in which the observation of natural talent becomes the basis for a rule-based discipline that can be taught and learned. Notker only hinted that the same principle is applied elsewhere: *ergo omnis ars inimitatio est naturę* («therefore every art is an imitation of nature») – of a nature, one might add, which is, together with all its laws, created by God⁶⁰. A similar tendency to blur the line between the secular and the divine is also apparent in his hermeneutic practise. While explaining Boethius and Martianus Capella, he aims to ease the tensions between his faith and his sources⁶¹. Such *interpretationes christi-anae* were not uncommon in the Middle Ages (after all, Notker himself build upon the work of earlier commentators like Remigius of Auxerre)⁶². But they were not a given: around 900, Bovo II of Corvey openly questioned the religious credentials of the *Consolatio*⁶³. Therefore, one can assume that Notker's harmonizing approach was a conscious decision, in line with his acknowledgement that all learning has to be focussed on exegesis, while reintegrating as much secular knowledge as possible into that agenda.

Ekkehard shared his teacher's only seemingly ambivalent attitude. While many of his writings bear witness to his dedication to the liberal arts, his most elaborate statements on that issue are three *Confutationes*, poetic rejections of rhetoric, logic, and grammar (in that order)⁶⁴. But both his praise and his

58 NOTKER III, *De arte rhetorica*, pp. 107+109: *Naturalis eloquentia viguit quousque ei per doctrinam filia successit artificialis, quę deinde rethorica dicta est.*

59 NOTKER III, *De arte rhetorica*, p. 109: *Hęc postquam antiquitate temporis extincta est, illa iterum revixit. Unde hodieque plurimos cernimus, qui in causis solo naturali instinctu ita sermone callent ut quę velint quibuslibet facile suadeant, nec tamen regulam doctrinę ullam requirant. Similes isti sunt his qui ab initio plurimum poterunt eloquio, quos deinde alii admirati et emulari conantes, dum observant eos loquentes, temptaverunt quendam huius rationis modum rapere et scripto legare, qui sibi et posteris pro magisterio reservaretur?*

60 NOTKER III, *De arte rhetorica*, p. 109.

61 In addition to the studies mentioned in n. 57, cf. SCHRÖBLER 1953, GLAUCH 2000, vol. I, pp. 226-277.

62 Cf. GLAUCH 2000, vol. I, pp. 87-98.

63 Cf. BOVO (II) OF CORVEY, *Commentarius* I, p. 99: *Terrebat insuper ipsa materia officio meo propositoque contraria, quia de Platoniorum magis dogmatum vanitate quam de doctrinae evangelicae veritate necessario erant aliquanta dicenda.*

64 EKKEHARD IV, *Liber benedictionum* I 40-42 (pp. 206-217). STOTZ 1981, p. 4, and ID. 2015, pp. 394sq., reminds of Notker's school lessons as the background of the *Confutationes*.

criticism are two sides of the same coin since the latter is not directed against the liberal arts as such. On the contrary, Ekkehard attempted to define their place within Christian learning. In the beginning of the *Confutatio rhetoricae* he states that *tres rhetorum causas fidei tenet actio clausas* («the agency of faith restrains the three cases of the rhetoricians»). But immediately he commented *rhetoricum verbum est actio, a quo tamen ecclesia sumpsit infra actionem* («Rhetorical speech is an agency, from which the church nevertheless makes use in liturgy»)⁶⁵. The danger of the arts is not in their inherent fallacy, but in their potential for abuse, as indicated in the *Confutatio dialecticae* which concludes: *Iam loyici cédant nullique sophisticę lédant* («the logicians should cede immediately and hurt no one with their sophisms»)⁶⁶. The very same thought also appears in a theological context in *De sancta trinitate*, where the poet warned against sophistic priests who use Aristotelian logic in order to trick people into heresy⁶⁷. Thus, Christians should actually study the arts, as Ekkehard claims in his *Confutatio dialecticae*, in order to beat their opponents with their own weapons⁶⁸. This redeployment of ancient logic is possible because there is no inherent conflict with Christian teachings. Instead, he characterised its misleading use by pagans and heretics as «sophistical», that is, fallacious and deceptive⁶⁹. Here the personal dimension which we have observed in *Drama tibi* comes into play again. The correct application of logic in exegesis and theology does not only depend on one's intellectual capabilities, but also on the right ethical habit. True believers are guided by love when drawing logical conclusions, not by pride as the pagans (the superscript words are Ekkehard's glosses to his own poetry):

⁶⁵ EKKEHARD IV, *Liber benedictionum* I 40,3 (p. 206). *Infra actionem* is a play on words: one could translate this phrase literally as «in [the church's] agency»; however, it is also a common expression for «in the (Roman) canon». Ekkehard hints in this verse at the rhetorical dimension of liturgy.

⁶⁶ EKKEHARD IV, *Liber benedictionum* I 41,44 (p. 210).

⁶⁷ Cf. EKKEHARD IV, *Liber benedictionum* I 41,37-40 (p. 273): *Ergo ratione pati imponunt deitati, / Qui sophię vanis brachiis [per sophisticam] luctantur inanis / Personis trinum deitate negantibus [i.e. brachiis] unum / Et per Aristotilem [artem Aristotilis] populum fallendo fidelem*.

⁶⁸ EKKEHARD IV, *Liber benedictionum* I 42,57-60 (pp. 215sq.): *Tempore quo ecclesia se grandinat inter oborta [vera cum semivera rixando] / Pernocuit [valde nocuit] fidei hereses [hereticos] trina arte [grammatica, dialectica, rhetorica] potiri. / Quis contra standum [a fidelibus] fuit artibus atque [eisdem tribus] studendum, / Ut fidei prestes [heretici] per eas [-dem artes] frangantur et hostes [multi-modi]*. Here, Augustine's interpretation of the *spoliatio Aegyptorum* shines through, even though Ekkehard does not mention it explicitly in that context.

⁶⁹ In medieval Latin, *sophisma* can have a variety of meanings, not all of them negative; Ekkehard IV, however, used the word in a narrow sense like e.g. ISIDORE, *Etymologiae* 2,28,1, who speaks about an *error decipiendi adversarium per sophismata falsarum conclusionum*.

Talia dum discunt^{virique fideles et heretici} *et acumina dupla*^{loyce verę et sophistice} *renescunt*
Hos^{fideles} *amor*^{caritas} *ędificat,* *in loyca* *hos*^{hereticos} *ampla scientia*^{in sophistica} *diffolat.*^{elevat 70}

(«While they [believers and heretics] learn such things and recognize two kinds of acumen [of true and of sophistical logic], love [charity] improves [in logic] these [the believers] and ample knowledge [in sophistry] inflates [puffs up] those [the heretics].»)

As long as they follow the right motifs and accept the superiority of faith, Christians can and should study the liberal arts:

Nos^{postumi illorum} *hodieque pari satagentes*^{studentes} *more doceri*^{artibus his}
Plurima temptamus, quę sunt rationis^{verę loyce} *amamus*
Amplius^{quam artes eloquii periculosi} *et gratam veneramur simplicitatem,*^{in qua periculum nullum}
*Quam Paulus non erubuit, Petrus ipse probavit*⁷¹.

(«While we [their descendants] are striving [struggling] towards being educated [in these arts] in the same way today, we investigate a lot of things, we love what belongs to reason [to true logic], and we adore more [than the arts of dangerous eloquence] the pleasant simplicity [in which no danger lies], for which Paul was not ashamed and Peter himself approved.»)

However, Ekkehard connected logic even closer with faith. According to him, guided by the Holy Spirit, Christians have a more profound understanding of classical logic than the ancient philosophers did⁷². Not only that – their repertoire of conclusions is larger since they have an additional *raciocinacio fidei* at their disposal to explain biblical teachings which otherwise might seem contradictory:

Circulus^{de sophisticis, sed verum} *egreditur fidei, qua ceptus initur.*
Quod pater,^{ingreditur} *id natus, id utrique par est quoque flatus.*
Quod flatus^{egreditur} *sacer, id natus, pater id quoque sanctus*⁷³.

(«The circular conclusion [sophistically, but true] of faith comes to an end at the starting point of the undertaking. What the Father is [starting point], that is the Son and that is, too, with both identical, the Holy Spirit. What the Holy Spirit is [result], that is the Son, that is also the holy Father.»)

⁷⁰ EKKEHARD IV, *Liber benedictionum* I 42,66sq. (p. 216).

⁷¹ EKKEHARD IV, *Liber benedictionum* I 42,68–71 (p. 216), on the third verse cf. STOTZ 2015, p. 359, n. II.

⁷² Cf. EKKEHARD IV, *Liber benedictionum* I 41,1–3 (p. 208): *Axioma [acumen loycom] flatus hic [spiritus in ecclesia] pręstruit ipse sacratus [lege Martianum], / Hic [spiritus] melius quinas [genus, speciem, accidens, differentiam, individuum] transversat agens ysagogas [introductiones], / Porphirius [Platonicus] mage [melius] quas norat [nosset], si se duce [doctore spiritu sancto] quęrat [Porphirius, hic quamvis baptizatus, hostis erat fidei atrocissimus et nemo umquam fidelibus acumine suo gravior in heresi fuit].*

⁷³ EKKEHARD IV, *Liber benedictionum* I 41,28–30 (p. 210).

One might wonder how convincing such circular conclusions are, but the underlying idea follows and develops the Augustinian-Notkerian line of thought outlined above. The arts are applied in exegesis not as something originally external to Holy Scripture, but on the contrary pagans managed to grasp by reason some fragments of skills and knowledge in the arts which are genuinely and more perfectly Christian⁷⁴. This attempt to anchor secular learning in revelation is put into practice in Cod. Sang. 830, a collection of Boethian and Ps.-Boethian treatises on logic, rhetoric and mathematics. On p. 488, Ekkehard added a panegyric colophon, according to which Boethius was divinely inspired also when teaching the liberal arts⁷⁵. He enforces this thought in an iconographic sketch on p. 490, in which seven biblical women become allegories each for one of the arts and one of the gifts of the Holy Spirit⁷⁶.

Thus, Notker and Ekkehard shared the same Augustinian epistemology which we encounter in *Drama tibi*. All three authors embraced the liberal arts but left no doubt that they are subordinated to and directed at the study of Holy Scripture. If they occasionally seem to disagree with each other, or as in the case of Ekkehard even to contradict themselves, it is due to genre, context, and audience of each specific text, not to actual dissent⁷⁷. They stress different facets of the same philosophical core. Epistemology is, however, not the only point of agreement. In the poem and other relevant sources, one can find a common concept of God's nature.

⁷⁴ Similar thoughts will play an important role in the fourteenth century, more precisely in WYCLIF's *De veritate sacrae scripturae*, cf. GHOSH 2001, pp. 47-54.

⁷⁵ The poem was first printed in CANISIUS, *Antiquae lectiones*, vol. 5, p. 788, although only partly: the poem is written in two alternating hands, with only every second verse doubtlessly added by Ekkehard IV. Danisius dropped the ekkehardian lines, seemingly considering them as an expansion of an older poem and indeed his short version still makes sense. However, the characteristic rhyme technique suggests that the whole text is a palaeographic and stylistic experiment by Ekkehard IV. The complete poem was published in DÜMMLER 1869, pp. 72sq. A direct hint at divine inspiration appears in vv. 5sq.: *Non pede Pegaseo satur aut de sanguine Thebeo, / Sed rivum clausit, qui fontem pneumaticis hausit*. Aptly, he describes Boethius's death as martyrdom in the final verse: *Tandem pro Christi nec amore pati [vel necem] timuisti*.

⁷⁶ Cf. WIRTH 1994.

⁷⁷ GLAUCH 2000, vol. 1, pp. 54sq., states a contradiction between Ekkehard IV (whom she attests a «antiwissenschaftliche Einstellung») and Notker III (described as «Liebhaber der artes»). This assumption, however, ignores both the heterogenous nature of the sources and the fact that some of Ekkehard's relevant works stem directly from Notker's classroom.

2. Divine being: substance, essence, nothingness

Although the poem is mainly concerned with the question of knowledge, it opens with a strong theological statement when in the first line it addressed God as *prima usya*, first substance. Other than in Aristotle's *Categories*, this expression does not refer to individual things in contrast to the genera and species (the «second substances»). Instead, it underlines the status of God as the first being, which precedes all creatures⁷⁸. The poet was not the first to use this classical ontological concept in Christian theology. Already in late antiquity, both Greek and Latin theologians referred to God as substance, mainly while discussing the Trinity. The Nicene and the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creeds bear witness that the Son is *consubstantialis patri* and *unius substantiae cum patris*. Sadly, no major treatise on divine being and the Trinity written in St Gall around the year 1000 survives. But the library holdings speak a clear language. The poet could have read about God as substance while studying *De doctrina christiana* in Cod. Sang. 174, where Augustine claimed: *Ita pater et filius et spiritus sanctus et singulus quisque horum Deus et simul omnes unus Deus, et singulus quisque horum plena substantia et simul omnes una substantia* («In this way, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are each single one of them God and at the same time all of them one God, and they are each single one of them a complete substance and at the same time all of them one substance»)⁷⁹. For a more profound study of Trinitarian theology, he could have relied on key texts available in the library such as Augustine's *De trinitate* in Cod. Sang. 175 and Boethius's *Opuscula sacra* together with the commentary attributed to Eriugena in Cod. Sang. 768. If the poet needed a more elementary introduction to the topic, he could have resorted to Alcuin's *De fide sanctae et individuae trinitatis* (Cod. Sang. 276). In this short treatise, based mostly on patristic sources, the relationship among the divine persons is described in words similar to the Augustinian formula quoted above. According to Alcuin, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are *et singulus quisque horum plena et perfecta et aeterna substantia et simul omnes una substantia* («and each single one of them a complete and perfect and eternal substance and at the same time all one substance»)⁸⁰. Alcuin's *De fide* is today known only to a few experts. In the Middle Ages and

⁷⁸ Cf. ARISTOTELES, *Categories* (transl. Boethii) 2a: *Substantia autem est, quae proprie et principaliter et maxime dicitur, quae neque de subiecto praedicatur, neque in subiecto est, ut aliqui homo vel aliqui equus. Secundae autem substantiae dicuntur, in quibus speciebus illae quae principaliter substantiae dicuntur, insunt.*

⁷⁹ AUGUSTINE, *De doctrina christiana* I 5,5.

⁸⁰ ALCUIN, *De fide* 1,4.

the early modern period, though, it was a bestseller as ca. 100 manuscripts and several early printed editions confirm⁸¹. One of its readers was none other than Ekkehard IV, whose poem *De sancta trinitate* closes with the lines:

*Sic Karolum docet Alwinus symmista polinus.
Katholicus trinum sobrie veneratur et unum*⁸².

(«So Alcuin, the heavenly priest, teaches Charles. A Catholic worships soberly the three-fold and the one.»)

Theological literature in a narrow sense was probably not the only source from which Ekkehard drew. The monks of St Gall came across similar ideas while occupying themselves with the liberal arts. In the *Consolatio philosophiae*, Boethius mentioned several times that God is substance, although only in the passing⁸³. The text was studied enthusiastically, as is illustrated by the copy in Cod. Sang. 844 with Latin and Old High German glosses and the equally bilingual, lemmatized commentary in Cod. Sang. 845 («Anonymus Sangalensis»), in which divine substance is a recurring topic⁸⁴. Notker's Old High German translation made sure that his pupils read (and most likely heard) both in their mother and father tongues about *tīu natura der gótes substantiē*⁸⁵. These remarks on the library holdings and their use support the assumption that «substance theology» was known and common in St Gall.

However, one might ask if this was not a matter of course, given that this position was held by highly revered authorities like Augustine and Boethius (not to mention the Nicene and Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creeds). But late antique and early medieval views on God's nature were more pluralistic. It did not go unnoticed that the attempt to describe God with concepts taken from an ontology of worldly things runs the danger of imagining the difference between creator and creation only as gradual, not as absolute. Consequently, some theologians were more reluctant to use classical philosophical concepts

⁸¹ On the transmission of *De fide* cf. CAVADINI 1991, pp. 124sq.

⁸² EKKEHARD IV, *Liber benedictionum* I 56,51sq. (p. 274).

⁸³ In addition to the passage referred to below, cf. e.g. *De consolacione philosophiae* 3, pr. 10,16; 3, pr. 10,42; 5, pr. 6,1. The *divinae substantiae* mentioned ibid. 5, pr. 2,7, on the other hand, are spiritual creatures between man and God. NOTKER III, *Consolatio*, vol. 3, p. 237, identifies them with the *angeli*, as HEHLE 2002, p. 222, explains.

⁸⁴ E.g. Cod. Sang. 845, p. 148 ([*Divinitas*] *multis nuncupetur nominibus, ipsa tamen substantia individua est.*) and p. 184 (*substantia Dei*).

⁸⁵ NOTKER III., *Consolatio*, vol. 2, p. 179. On Notker's translations in and outside the school context cf. GROTANS 2006, pp. 91-109.

in order to explore the divine. One of them was John Scottus Eriugena, who developed his own form of negative theology based on Greek sources. He did not deny the possibility of calling God a substance outright – after all, he could not contradict the creeds – but he considered it only as figurative speech. In the literal sense, divine being is ineffable⁸⁶.

Such thoughts were not unheard of in St Gall during the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Whoever was studying in the abbey's library at the time of Notker and Ekkehard was reminded of Eriugena's refusal to allow categorical thought into Christian theology, while he was reading exactly the text from which he learned his basic ontological concepts, the *Categoriae decem*, a late antique paraphrase of Aristotle's *Categories*. The *Categoriae decem* served as a standard school text in the first half of the Middle Ages – also in St Gall at least until the time of Notker, who chose the Boethian translation of Aristotle's text for his Old High German *Categories*⁸⁷. In Cod. Sang. 274 the *Categoriae decem* are preceded by two shorter texts, a paragraph from Eriugena's *Periphyseon* and a poem of Alcuin. The quotation serves as a hermeneutic paradigm, in as far as it explains the subject of the *Categoriae decem*:

*Aristoteles, acutissimus apud Grecos, ut aiunt, naturalium rerum discretionis repertor, omnium rerum quae apud Deum sunt et ab eo creata innumerabiles varietates in decem universalibus generibus conclusit, quae decem cathegorias (id est predicamenta) vocavit*⁸⁸.

(«Aristotle, the shrewdest among the Greeks, as they say, in discovering the way of distinguishing natural things, included the innumerable varieties of all things which are by God and are created by Him in ten universal genera which he called the ten categories, that is, predicaments.»)

The categories, including substance, refer only to the *res naturales*, to created being, not to God himself. At least one gloss in the manuscript – a variation derived from a standard set – follows that hint, while explaining the meaning of *permanens usia* in the *Categoriae decem* as:

⁸⁶ Cf. ERIUGENA, *Periphyseon* I, vol. I, p. 33: *Non enim tam facile ac fere absque ullo labore ad hanc categoriarum disputationem pervenire valuissemus, non posse scilicet proprie de Deo praedicari, nisi prius de primordialibus causis ab una omnium causa praeconditis, essentiam dico, bonitatem, virtutem, veritatem, sapientiam caeterasque huiusmodi ad purum conficeremus non aliter nisi translativè Deum significare.*

⁸⁷ With the choice of the Boethian translation, Notker was ahead of his time; before the late eleventh century, scholars usually turned to the *Categoriae decem*, cf. MARENBOON 2000, p. 25 and HEHLE 2002, p. 193.

⁸⁸ Cod. Sang. 274, p. 4 / ERIUGENA, *Periphyseon* I, vol. I, p. 32; in the manuscript one can read *apud Deum* instead of *post Deum* as in the critical edition. The passage quoted there continues with a remark that everything created falls under the categories and a list with their Greek names.

*id est quę permanent, dum mutantur eius accidentia. Sed melius permanentem usiam illam debemus advertere omnium ab esse Dei venire. Illud enim quod ab esse Dei venit, sine corruptione durat et est semper*⁸⁹.

(«that is what endures while its accidents change. But we must better grasp that this permanent substance of all [creatures] comes from God's being, since that, what comes from God's being, lasts without corruption and is always.»)

The gloss ties in with Eriugena's words in the beginning of the manuscript, in as far as God is no longer counted among the *ousiai* but considered as pure *esse* outside the categories. Yet there is little, if any, evidence that such radical positions found many followers in St Gall. The only notable exception is a short philosophical text with the title *De natura, quid sit*, in which God is described as a nothingness above being⁹⁰. It is part of a twelfth-century collection of some of Notker III's Latin works (including the only copy of his letter to Hugo of Sitten)⁹¹. More recent research is sceptical about its actual origin⁹². Indeed, writings safely attributed to St Gall point in a different direction. While the medieval scholars realized that the abyss between creature and creator might be missed if the same term is used for them, they did not turn to Eriugena and his negative theology. Instead, they relied on Augustine and Boethius, the authors who provided them with the idea of God as substance in the first place and who both insisted that God can be called substance only in a specific sense distinct from created being⁹³. In *De trinitate*, Augustine con-

⁸⁹ Cod. Sang. 274, p. 16; the gloss explains *Categoriae decem* 140,2-3, on its variants in other manuscripts, cf. MARENBOON 1981, pp. 187sq.

⁹⁰ Cf. PIPER 1882/1883, vol. I, p. XLIX: *Naturam duobus modis dicimus, vel Dei essentiam per quam cuncta procreantur vel procreationem hominum et ceterorum animalium que gignunt et gignuntur, id est usia et eius accidentia que sunt novem*. Shortly after this clear juxtaposition of God and the substances, he adds: *Deus nihilum dicitur, non quod aliquid non sit, sed propter excellentiam ultra quam nihil est*. On God as nothingness in the *Periphyseon* cf. DUCLOW 1977. In Piper's edition, the passage is tied with the following text, but it actually ends on p. XLX, after *quia terra est*, cf. DE RIJK 1963, p. 74.

⁹¹ BRUSSELS, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 10.615-729, fols. 58^r-65^v, written in twelfth-century Trier, cf. DE RIJK 1963, pp. 64-81, KAFFARNIK 2011, pp. 327-330+333). The history of the collection is uncertain, cf. GLAUCH 2000, vol. I, pp. 52sq.

⁹² While PIPER 1882-1983 included *De natura quid sit* (vol. I, pp. XLIX), it did find its way neither into the authoritative critical edition KING/TAX 1996, nor in the recent bilingual edition AMMER - NIEVERGELT 2024 – for very good reasons, cf. GAUCH 2015, p. 188.

⁹³ Boethius went as far as to speak of God as a *substantia ultra substantiam* in *De trinitate* 4; the allusion to PLATO, *Politeia* 509b8, where the idea of good is described as *epekeina tēs ousias*, comes close to the *via eminentiae* of negative theology. ERIUGENA, *In Boethii Opuscula*, pp. 40sq., elaborates on God as *ultra substantiam*, but without following through with this idea in the rest of the text. On other places (e.g. *ibid.*, p. 35, p. 46, or pp. 47sq.), God is referred to as substance.

templated the proper Latin equivalent for *ousia*. He preferred *essentia* since it does not imply being subject to accidents. But finally, he yielded to the already established terminology and accepted *substantia* as the more common term⁹⁴. Notker faced similar challenges while translating from Latin to Old High German. He suggested a variety of vernacular pendants to *substantia* – «wíst», «êht», «wíht», «taz ist» and «dázter ist» – only to stick with the original term in this version of the *Consolatio philosophiae*⁹⁵. It is not surprising that his pupil Ekkehard adopted Augustinian thinking on *ousia*, *essentia* and *substantia* in his theological poem *De duobus esse longe dissimilibus* («On two profoundly different kinds of being»). As the title suggests, a central motif is the opposition of *esse formis substans* and God as the *esse formas quasque superstans*. As a consequence, Ekkehard did not refer to God as *substantia*, although he spoke about his *summa essentia*⁹⁶. Since no larger treatise on the Trinity penned by him has survived (and as far as we know he never wrote one), it is hard to judge if his insistence on the distinction between *substantia* and *essentia* is limited to the specific context of this poem, or if he generally decided to be more Augustinian than Augustine himself. But Ekkehard clearly signalled that he understood the problems which came with the introduction of Aristotle's ontology into Christian theology. His solution was, however, not apophatic speech, but a more considerate use of classical philosophical terminology.

But how does the poem in LONDON, British Library, Add. MS 11852 fit into this picture? Obviously, each assessment is highly speculative since it is based only on two words in a single verse⁹⁷. The use of the term *usya* clearly indicates that the unknown author placed himself in an Augustinian-Boethian theological tradition. Given the historical context in which the poem was written, it is not too bold to assume that he chose the Greek instead of the Latin word not only on account of metrical constraints. His vocabulary corresponds to a linguistic caution which, as we have seen, was typical for St Gall's school milieu in that time.

⁹⁴ Cf. AUGUSTINE, *De trinitate* 5,8: *Dicunt quidem et illi ὑπόστασιν, sed nescio quid volunt interesse inter οὐσίαν et ὑπόστασιν ita ut plerique nostri qui haec graeco tractant eloquio dicere consuerint μίαν οὐσίαν τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, quod est latine, unam essentiam tres substantias. Sed quia nostra loquendi consuetudo iam obtinuit ut hoc intellegatur cum dicimus essentiam quod intellegitur cum dicimus substantiam, non audemus dicere unam essentiam, tres substantias, sed unam essentiam uel substantiam.* He touched on that topic several times in *De trinitate*, e.g. when he stated that it would be *melius* to use *essentia* instead of *substantia* (ibid., p. 3,10 and 5,2).

⁹⁵ Cf. JAEHRLING 1969, pp. 28–35.

⁹⁶ Cf. EKKEHARD IV, *Liber benedictionum* I 57, 4+12 (p. 274).

⁹⁷ It was, however, not unusual at St Gall to use single terms to invoke a much broader theoretical background, as WIRTH 1994, p. 114–117, explains regarding the expression *musa*.

III. Conclusion

The evidence collected in the present investigation is hopefully enough to support the claim that *Drama tibi* is a product of the school of St Gall under Notker III and Ekkehard IV. Yet this is not the only conclusion that can be drawn from the foregoing observations. If put into context, the poem offers much richer insights into contemporary intellectual life. Medieval education was centered around the study of authoritative texts, both secular and religious. However, reading and interpreting these difficult texts required careful preparation. The pupils in St Gall and other monastic houses were provided with the necessary education both by oral instruction and by an ever-growing body of written material that can be divided roughly into two groups: treatises, which convey the necessary background knowledge in a coherent way, and commentaries, which apply the respective knowledge to specific hermeneutic problems. Glosses, into which Ekkehard put much effort, were a very common form of commentary, Notker's explanatory translations another, more exotic, one. Occasionally, poetic dedications, colophons and similar texts also fall into that category. *Drama tibi* is more than a decorative element. Its six couplets remind the readers of Add. 11852 of the discursive context of biblical studies by locating the Pauline Epistles in a more comprehensive epistemological and theological framework. But in order to fully understand the words of the anonymous poet, one has to be aware of the thought of the two famous school masters. While his couplets help to make sense of Holy Scripture, they fulfill this function only in as far as they are embedded in a larger, multimedia classroom environment that included copies of patristic and early medieval works like Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, treatises, translations, glosses and poems from the school of St Gall as well as Notker's and Ekkehard's own lessons. In such a complex constellation of written and oral instruction, *Drama tibi* serves as a link between one individual manuscript and the surrounding cosmos of learning. This functional side makes the poem a particularly interesting source. It does not offer much in terms of philosophical originality. The author simply follows the Augustinianism prevalent in his monastery. But his verses and their transmission throw light on the mechanism of knowledge production and transmission in a large Benedictine house around the year 1000. They illustrate how local scholars and teachers established a highly interconnected space of knowledge, in which their pupils (as well as senior monks when consulting the same codices), were subject to constant guidance.

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