

Appendix I

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS

THE CATALOGUE PRESENTED here describes the fourteen known manuscript collections containing the Latin *Physiologus* (full or fragmentary) that have been dated to the beginning of the eleventh century or earlier. They are:¹

1. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 225 + Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 233 + Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313 (266)*
2. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 318*
3. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611* + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10756*
4. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS lat. 10066–77*
5. Chartres, Médiathèque L'Apostrophe, MS 63 (125) [now lost]
6. Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 316 and MS 323
7. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 14388*
8. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 19417*
9. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. T.2.23
10. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 129*
11. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 1616* + Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 18 (*olim* 15)* + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 455*
12. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230*
13. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1074*
14. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Gud. lat. 148*

Two other manuscripts deserve a special mention. The first is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, MS 448.² It is an insular manuscript, of probable Worcester origin and twelfth-century provenance in Winchester.³

1 An asterisk (*) indicates that a full digital surrogate is available.

2 <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/kk233ff6415>. A facsimile and description based on James, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 2, 360–61 can be found at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/kk233ff6415>. The manuscript is also described in Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art*, 219–23; and Gneuss and Lapidge, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 38. A description based on James and Gneuss/Lapidge can also be found on the DigiPal website at www.digipal.eu/digipal/manuscripts/572. See also Conrad-O'Briain, D'Arcy, and Scattergood, ed., *Text and Gloss*, 173.

3 Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, 56n245. He had previously questioned the generally accepted date and origin of this manuscript in Dumville, "English Square Minuscule," 176.

It is divided into two parts as follows:⁴

Part I: Fols. 1–86, s. x¹ or x^{med}. Written in Anglo-Saxon square minuscule.

Part II: Fols. 87–103, s. xi or s. xi². Written in Anglo-Caroline minuscule by a single round hand. Rubrics in rustic capitals.

Part II contains the *Physiologus*. Its dating has caused some disagreement. Gneuss and Lapidge assigned a date of s. xi/xii, but Dumville characterized its script as Style I Anglo-Caroline of s. x/xi.⁵ Dumville noted his opinion in a short footnote and did not include a palaeographical discussion. He seems to be alone in suggesting a date as early as the tenth century: the principal scribe of part II also wrote fol. 41v onwards of London, British Library, MS Royal 13.C.V, which T. A. M. Bishop saw as an example of eleventh-century Worcester script.⁶ In a personal communication, Julia Crick noted the angled descender of the letter *g* (45 degrees from the baseline), found in post-Conquest manuscripts; and the double height of the *l* in the rustic capitals used as section headings, a feature of post-Conquest production.⁷ In her opinion, moreover, the use of the *ra*-ligature in this manuscript is not a twelfth-century feature, but the remaining evidence indicates that the manuscript originated at the end of the eleventh century. On the basis of these observations, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, MS 448 has been excluded from this study, as it cannot be taken as evidence of an early medieval, pre-bestialy manuscript production context.

The second manuscript is a fragment *sine nomine* which was recovered from a book binding and sold as a fragment of the *Physiologus* in lot 2 of the Christie's valuable books and manuscripts sale on 12 July 2017 (sale no. 14299).⁸ The fragment is 22 × 109 mm in size, showing three partial lines of text and part of the margin. The Christie's cataloguer thought it to be of tenth-century origin: "The script can be dated to the tenth century: the *s* is in the long form, the *t* is short with a wide crossbar, the *l* has a clubbed and notched ascender, and the *g* has the form of two closed loops." The sale catalogue description also indicates German origin.

The visible text on the recto is from the B version of the *Physiologus*, chapter XXXIII on the first nature of the elephant: "...[concu]piscientiam uero cogitur in semine / [me fetus habet]. Tempore suo cum uoluerit filios / [procrea]re vadit in orientem cum femina [...]" The previously unidentified text on the verso has been largely rubbed away and is difficult to decipher: "[...]atum / eutro[...] E[...] [...]ti [...] qui nunc seq[...]" Line two is most likely the phrase "Eutropii: Eleati nomen gentis qui nunc Sequani dicuntur" from the *Liber glossarum*. This gloss gives two alternative names for the peo-

4 Gneuss and Lapidge, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, 120.

5 Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, 56n245.

6 Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, 20n1.

7 Personal correspondence.

8 www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/an-early-fragment-from-the-physiologus-in-6089213-details.aspx.

ple of the Helvetii ("Eleati"). This is therefore a fragment of the *Liber glossarum* and not the *Physiologus*, and is for this reason also excluded from the below catalogue.⁹

Each entry in the catalogue consists of a description of a putative medieval collection or miscellany. The entries provide the codicological properties and list of contents for each manuscript, followed by an account of script, decoration, and provenance. The word "manuscript" refers to a bound volume held in a modern library. In cases where one or more manuscripts were originally bound together, they are listed as one entry and their relationship indicated by means of a "+."

The principles used to present the manuscripts are as follows:

1. Titles, classmarks and abbreviations: The Latin titles used here are those used in manuscript catalogues; where the title is not available because the text has not been identified, an English description of the text has been provided. All abbreviations in *incipits* and other quotations from the text have been fully expanded.

Manuscripts are identified by their classmarks, which consist of city, library, collection (where applicable) and number (*olim* numbers in brackets where applicable). Cities are listed in English, and libraries in one of the principal languages of the countries in which they are located.

2. Dating: The date of each manuscript or manuscript section is given in quarter or half-century intervals, or indicating the beginning, middle or end of the century. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611 + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10756 is the sole exception, since its (more or less) precise date is known. The standard Latin medieval manuscript catalogue dating system (abbreviations of "saeculo ineunte/medio/exeunte" and fractions) is used to indicate these intervals. For example, the beginning of the ninth century would be indicated as s. ixⁱⁿ. All dates are taken from the relevant manuscript catalogues as well as secondary scholarship. Where these disagree, a discussion and date range are provided in the manuscript description elsewhere in this book together with an examination of the palaeography, where relevant. Please note that there exists no consensus as to what precise dates these intervals indicate. They may have meant different things to different cataloguers and should be taken as a rough guide only.

3. Contents: Each individual text in the manuscript, whether original or a later addition, is numbered using Arabic numerals. Blank pages or folios are also numbered separately in order to avoid confusing the foliation or pagination. Codicological units broken up across different manuscripts have been listed as one entry, with the texts itemised in the original order as determined from quire numbers. The precise chapter or paragraph number of extracts have been identified where possible. When a text is listed as incomplete rather than as an extract, this indicates that a folio or folios are missing from the manuscript.

⁹ See entries EL32 (Helvetii) and EL97 (elephant) in the *Liber glossarum* online: <http://liber-glossarum.huma-num.fr/exist/apps/libgloss/index.html>.

4. Collation: Each manuscript entry begins with an indication of foliation or pagination, origin, dimensions and dating, and a short description of the manuscript. A collation formula is then provided in a separate section. In the formula, quires are listed in Roman numerals, in groups by quire type (ternio, quaternio, etc.). The number of leaves in each is given in an exponent, missing leaves are indicated in brackets, and additions are expressed in a bracket with a + sign. For example: I⁶ + 1 after 6 (wants 1, 5), II–VI⁸. As the example indicates, quires of the same type are grouped together, and the exponent is added only to the final quire of the group. Singleton parchment additions to a codex are shown by means of + I; single paper sheet additions are shown by means of + i. This applies equally to the formula and to the foliation/pagination.

5. Number of leaves, foliation, pagination: End-leaves, paste-downs, and additional leaves are indicated both in the collation and in the lists of contents. For foliated manuscripts, the lists of contents indicate recto and verso; for paginated manuscripts, the lists of contents indicate page numbers only.

6. Material: The primary support is parchment; any paper leaves are indicated in the foliation/pagination and collation formulae.

7. Dimensions: Page dimensions have been supplied for each manuscript. All text is in long lines unless otherwise stated in the list of contents.

8. Pricking and ruling: This is noted only in the case of empty but ruled folios. All ruling is drypoint unless otherwise noted.

9. Script, punctuation, and transcription: The principal script is Caroline minuscule, unless otherwise noted. Individual texts or titles in a different script are noted in the contents rather than in the manuscript description. A general description of the script of each manuscript is provided after the contents; it excludes textual additions made after the primary production stint of the early medieval codicological unit(s). The letters *u* and *i* are used to represent *v* and *j*, regardless of the form used by the various scripts and hands. These letters are not, however, replaced in transcriptions of post-medieval notes. Spacing has been inserted in *incipits* and other Latin quotations, but the original punctuation and capitalization of the manuscript have been preserved (this will be particularly evident in early modern inscriptions made in some of the manuscripts). Hierarchy of script has not been indicated in transcriptions. *Incipits* generally begin with the title or rubric of a text, where it exists, and continue with its first line. Lacunae are shown by means of a dot within angle brackets. The same brackets are used to supply missing letters where these can be deduced. The word *sic* in square brackets is used to show that the preceding word is quoted exactly as it stands in the original. Corrections are supplied in square brackets within or next to the word being corrected.

10. Decoration: The general decorative program and appearance of each manuscript are described in a separate section. Illustrations are noted but discussed only when they are relevant to the manuscript's localization or production circumstances.

11. Binding: In every case, bindings are modern or early modern. They are therefore not described or mentioned in this study.

12. Referencing: Where a reference to the *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (CLA) exists, it is indicated in a footnote. The CLA entry, together with the relevant catalogue or catalogues, form the basis of each manuscript description. All information provided has been checked against the physical manuscript unless otherwise noted; minor divergences from printed catalogues of spelling, dimensions, text titles etc. are not indicated. N. R. Ker's system has been followed in showing the relationship between the manuscript and an edition of a text it contains: in the relevant footnote, the word "pr." (printed) indicates that the edition is based on the manuscript, and the word "as" indicates that the manuscript was not used at all.¹⁰ Links have been provided to the online facsimiles of those manuscripts that have been digitised.

It should be noted that many of the catalogues in which the manuscripts below are listed date from the nineteenth or early twentieth century, and that their descriptions were therefore in need of amplification and revision. Occasionally the information they contain has been superseded by the scholarship presented in more recent editions and studies, which contradict the older catalogues or omit certain information depending on their aims. These contradictions have been noted or resolved insofar as this has been possible.

For reasons of space, secondary scholarship has been referenced sparingly, principally in those cases where it is available for the more obscure works.

In very many cases, this catalogue identifies texts and extracts for the first time. These new identifications are too many to note individually. The catalogue especially prioritizes the contents and form of anonymous texts, by describing them rather than simply providing a Latin title. Moreover, by placing these texts alongside smaller excerpts and marginal notes, the catalogue re-focuses attention on the whole manuscript as a textual collection in its own right, and as an important framework for the *Physiologus*.

¹⁰ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, xxii. See also Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*.

I. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 225 + Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 233 + Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313 (266)¹¹

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 225¹²: i + 103 fols. + i | 29 × 18.5–19 cm | 26–32 lines.

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 233¹³: i + i + 13 fols. + i + i | 31 × 19.5 cm | 29 lines.

Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313¹⁴: i + i + i + i + 255 pp. + i + i + i + i |
26.7 × 17 cm | 29 lines.

All parts from s. ixⁱⁿ, Loire region, possibly the monastery of Saint-Mesmin at Micy near Fleury. Bischoff dated Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313 more narrowly to s. ix ¼, while Pellegrin gave a broader date of s. ix.

Bischoff thought it possible that Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 233 and Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313 were part of the same manuscript.¹⁵ In-house codicological notes from the Burgerbibliothek confirm this and add fols. 88–103 of Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 225, a composite codex containing ninth, eleventh and twelfth-century quires (parts A (fols. 1–31), B (fols. 32–87), and C (fols. 88–103)).¹⁶

The composition of the original medieval codex can be reconstructed from the Roman numerals that appear on each quire:

1. Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313 (pp. 1–223): quires 1–14.
2. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 225 (fols. 88–103): quires 15–16.
3. Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313 (pp. 224–55): quires 17–18.
4. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 233 (fols. 1–13): quires 19–20.

Quire 19 in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 233 was initially marked XII in brown ink but this was corrected to XVIII by the addition of rubricated V and II, as noted by Bischoff. Quire 20 lacks the final page and so a quire number. The unit is well-decorated, the writing neat, and the text well laid-out.

Apart from the quire numbers, the evidence that these three manuscripts were initially one lies in their distinctive and colourful decoration, and their similar materi-

¹¹ Only the Orléans manuscript is digitized: <https://medietheques.orleans-metropole.fr/ark:/77916/FRCGMBPF-452346101-01A/D18012396.locale=fr>.

¹² Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium*; Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 2:351.

¹³ Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 2:351.

¹⁴ Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 2:351; Pellegrin and Bouhot, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 435–444; Pellegrin, “Membra disiecta Floriacensia (II),” 83. See also Everett, “The Interrogationes de littera,” 253. Images of the decorative elements also available online at http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?COMPOSITION_ID=3079&corpus=decor.

¹⁵ Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 2:351.

¹⁶ These notes were generously provided by Florian Mittenhuber of the Burgerbibliothek. See also Mittenhuber, “Die Berner Physiologus-Handschriften.” Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 225 is also listed as part of Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313 in Mostert, *The Library of Fleury*, 66.

ality.¹⁷ Moreover, all show water stains and tears to top outer page corners, most obviously on pp. 213–50 in Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313, fols. 88–94 in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 225 and fols. 3–13 in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 233. This means that quires 14 and 15 (Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313, p. 223; Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 225, fol. 88) have matching torn corners; while quires 16 and 17 (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 225, fol. 1; Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313, p. 255) have matching water-stained corners. This further suggests that the manuscripts were once bound together.

COLLATION

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 225: I–III⁸, IV⁸ (8 cut away),
V–X⁸, XI⁶ + 2 singletons before 1 and after 6, XII–XIII⁸.

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 233: I⁸, II⁴ + singleton before 1.

Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313¹⁸: I–XVI⁸.

CONTENTS

Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313

1. 1–24: Isidore of Seville, *Prooemia in libros ueteris ac noui testamenti*.
Inc. “Incipit liber praemiorum de libris noui et ueteri testamenti. Plenitudo noui et ueteris...”
2. 24–59: Isidore of Seville, *De ortu et obitu patrum*.
Inc. “Incipit uita uel obitus sanctorum patrum qui in domino praecesserunt. Item praefatio. Quorundam sanctorum...”
3. 59–93: Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae*.
Inc. “Domino sancto ac reuerentissimo fratri orosio esidorus. Quaedam notissima...”
4. 93–180: Pseudo-Jerome (Pseudo-Gregory), *Expositio sancti euangelii*.
Inc. “In christi nomine incipit expositio sancti euangelii edita gregorio papa urbis romae. Matheus sicut in ordine primus ponitur...”
5. 180–8: Alcuin of York, *Epistula 136 De gladio*. Missing prologue but with invocation on p. 188.¹⁹
Inc. “Item de gladio secundum lucam. Est enim locus euangelii...”

¹⁷ The arguments are summarised in Pellegrin and Bouhot, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 442. The authors themselves argue that the contents of Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 225 do not fit those of the Orléans manuscript, but this is not a convincing argument for miscellanies.

¹⁸ This manuscript is paginated; it has 256 pages, corresponding to 16 regular quaternions, but the pagination begins on the verso of fol. 1, since the recto is blank.

¹⁹ This invocation is missing from Dümmler’s MGH Capit. edition, but is present in several copies of the letter and was thought by Dolbeau to have been its genuine part. See Dolbeau, “Du nouveau sur un sermonnaire de Cambridge,” 256. The prologue, in which Alcuin responds to Charlemagne’s letter, did not normally circulate with *De gladio* in the ninth century. See Lauwers, “Le glaive et la parole,” 4nn16–17.

6. 188–90: Anonymous commentary on Isaiah 11:1. “De septiformis spiritu sancti.”²⁰
Inc. “Egredietur uirga de radice iesse...”
7. 191–5: Anonymous sermon on Luke 11.5–13.²¹
Inc. “Primo enim sciendum est quod omnes similitudines euangelicae...”
8. 195–204: Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, with a condensed question-answer version of books 7–9.3.17 of Isidore’s *Etymologiae*.
Inc. “Summum bonum deus est. Quid est deus. Deus igitur spiritus est...”
9. 204–6: First set of questions on “letters” from a northeastern Italian set of *interrogationes et responsiones* written in or before the eighth century.²²
Inc. “Incipiunt quaestiones de litteris uel singulis causis. Quia uideo te...”
10. 206–7: Second set, based on Isidore’s *Prooemia* with details from the *Etymologiae*.
Inc. “Incipiamus de sanctam scripturam. Et a [sic] sacrorum numero...”
11. 207–12: Third set, on the books of the New Testament.²³
Inc. “Item noui testamenti libri isti sunt. Primum euangeliorum...”
12. 212–13: Fourth set, initial section of the questions on Genesis.
Inc. “Incipit questio de libro genesis. Ubi primum in sacris...”
13. 213–18: Pseudo-Jerome, *Chronica sancti Hieronimi*.
Inc. “Hieronimus ait. De principio caeli...”
14. 218–22: Fifth set, on Exodus and other Old Testament books.
Inc. “Item de exodo. Quare moyses non alium signum...”
15. 222: Ordinal of Christ in the Hibernian Chronological version.²⁴
Inc. “Hii sunt grados septem in quibus christus aduenit. Primus lector fuit...”

20 Mistakenly printed as Isaiah 1:11 in Gorman, “The Carolingian Miscellany,” 338 (but given correctly on p. 350).

21 Also known as the anonymous *Omelia in laetaniis*. “Laetania” derives from Greek *λατρεία*: “supplication,” “litany” (in the sense of “litany sung during a procession”), and “in laetaniis” refers to the Rogation days, which involved public procession and the singing of litanies. This may have been a sermon intended for delivery during, or associated with, this period in the liturgical year. The sermon also appears in a ninth-century homily collection in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 102 Weiss. It was inspired by Augustine, *Quaestiones euangeliorum* 2.22 and *Sermo* 105.5–7. For more details see Gorman, “The Carolingian Miscellany,” 350.

22 Gorman, “The Carolingian Miscellany,” 351.

23 Not listed by Gorman as one of the texts in his corpus of exegetical miscellanies. However, it appears in the tenth-century manuscript Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, MS 85 (<https://digital.dombibliothek-koeln.de/hs/content/titleinfo/168968>), which is one of the codices in Gorman’s corpus, and it has the appropriate erotematic form. Gorman, “The Carolingian Miscellany,” 353.

24 As Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ*, 58.

16. 222–3: *Chronica sancti Hieronymi*, conclusion. Based on Isidore's *Differentiae*, followed by definitions of *liber*, *mundus* and four kinds of *dilectio*. Remainder of page blank.
Inc. "Dicamus de sacerdote. Sacerdos christus est..."

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 225

17. 88r–97r: First third of the *Liber pontificalis*, with the letters of Jerome and Damasus followed by the lives of 35 popes (Linus to Liberius).²⁵
Inc. "Beatissimo pape damaso hieronimus gloria..."
18. 97r–103v: Jerome, *De uiris illustribus*.
Inc. "Hortaris dexter ut tranquillum seque[n]s..."

Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313

19. 224: Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* chapters 80–1, 84.
Inc. "Poenitentiam abolere peccata indubitanter credimus..."
20. 224: Anonymous text on clerical vestments.
Inc. "De uestimenta sacerdotale. Quod nostris temporibus dalmatica dicitur..."
21. 226–8: Theodulf of Orléans, *De diuinis scripturis* (extract).
Inc. "Dilectissimi fratres, sanctissimi consacerdotes..."
22. 229–30: Isidore, *Etymologiae* 6.16. Preceded by a list of the four ecumenical councils and followed by a list of a further six councils.
Inc. "De canonibus conciliorum ex libro ethymologi[arum esidori]. Canon autem græcæ..."
23. 230–2: Anonymous text on the one-tenth tithe in Genesis (Gen. 14:18–20).
Inc. "De decimis offerendis in genesi. Et dedit ei decimas..."
24. 232–3: Leo I, *Dicta Leonis episcopi*.
Inc. "Dicta leonis episcopi. Credo in deum..."
25. 233–4: Anonymous commentary on Vulgate Matthew 6:24.
Inc. "Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire..."
26. 234–6: The same text as on pp. 229–30.
Inc. "De canonibus conciliorum. Canon autem grece..."
27. 236: List of church council canons, giving the number of bishops and priests named, and the number of chapters in each.
Inc. "Sub constantino augusto imperatore. Canon nicenis..."

²⁵ According to the Felician epitome, but omitting Pope Eusebius. The letters are known to be forgeries made by one or more of the sixth-century compilers of the *Liber*. See Davis, trans., *The Book of Pontiffs*, and McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention of the Papacy*.

28. 236–7: List of the emperors and popes in office during each council, and the number of Roman bishops who were present, followed by a list of those condemned in each council. With rubricated title in an irregular substitution cipher (“ef npnkoicxs dpndipsvm”), which may be read as “de nominibus conciorum [*sic*].”
Inc. “Primum concilium nicenum...”
29. 237–8: Extract from a Roman *ordo* on Septuagesima Sunday.²⁶
Inc. “Item de septuagesimo die. Deinde septuagesimo die ante pascha dominica tamen ingredient...”
30. 238–9: Three chapters from the Rule of St. Benedict.
49: On the Observance of Lent.
Inc. “Item de quadragensimi obseruatione. Licet omni...”
19: On the Proper Manner of Singing the Psalms.
Inc. “De disciplina psallendi. Ubi cumque...”
20: On Reverence in Prayer.
Inc. “De reuerentia orationis. Si cum hominibus...”
31. 239: Anonymous summary of the creation of the world.
Inc. “Dogmatum caelesticorum. Ante exordium creaturarum fundauit...”
32. 240–1: Extract from Venantius Fortunatus, *Commentum in symbolum Athanasianum*.²⁷
Inc. “Qui si sol aut ignis aliquid inmundum tetigerit...”
33. 242–3: Anonymous commentary on the Lord’s Prayer.²⁸
Inc. “Oratio dominica propria dicitur quia christus filius dei de inpenetrabile sapientia sua docuit discipulis suis dicens. Pater noster...”
34. 243–55: Gennadius of Marseille, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*.
Inc. “Incipit doctrina dogma ecclesiasticorum secundum niceum concilium. Credimus unum esse deum...”

26 As Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, 359–60. This Roman *ordo* can be found in full in Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l’École de Médecine, MS H 412 (s. ix). The Montpellier *ordo* is given in *Les “Ordines romani,”* ed. Andrieu, 1 (1931), 211–13, but the Bern-Orléans *ordo* is not.

27 Pr. Burn, *The Athanasian Creed*, 36.

28 Listed, together with the other manuscripts that contain this commentary, in Bloomfield, et al., eds., *Incipits of Latin Works*, 633.8699. This is the same commentary as St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230, item 20.

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 233

35. 1r: *Physiologus* in 37 chapters (B family).

Inc. "Incipit liber fisioloto exposito de natura animalium uel auium seu bestiarum.
i. De natura leonis..."

SCRIPT

Many different hands writing Caroline minuscule. Bischoff noted that the script of the principal hand is generally very flat and inclined, with frequent use of *cc-a*. This hand is broken up with one that is "brittle" (*spröd*). Quire signatures visible at the end of every quire. Clear hierarchy of script, with use of uncials and rubrication.

DECORATION

Decorated initials throughout in yellow and purple.

PROVENANCE

The collection was in Fleury until 1562, when it was taken away by Pierre Daniel along with many other books after part of the monastic library was burned by Calvinist protestants.²⁹ On Daniel's death in 1603 most of his library was bought at auction by Jacques Bongars (d. 1612) and Paul Pétau (d. 1614), while the rest went to private collectors. Bongars' heir Jakob Graviseth donated his collection to the Bern Burgerbibliothek in 1632, while Pétau's son sold his father's library, including his share of the Fleury books, to Queen Christina of Sweden, via Isaac Vossius, who also kept some volumes for himself. Vossius' manuscripts are now in Leiden and Queen Christina's have been at the Vatican since 1690. Pierre Daniel's Fleury manuscripts are therefore spread between Bern, Leiden, and the Vatican.³⁰ This history, and the fact that one part of the present collection is now at Orléans, means that it must have been taken apart soon after leaving Fleury—probably by Daniel, who is known to have disassembled some of the manuscripts in his possession—and certainly prior to the donation made by Graviseth to the Bern Burgerbibliothek.

²⁹ Carey, "The Vatican Fragment," 97.

³⁰ Pellegrin and Bouhot, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, xxiv.

2. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 318³¹

I + 131 fols. + I | 25.5 × 18 cm | 23–4 lines.

Made near Rheims (possibly in Hautvillers) in s. ix^{2/3}. With the exception of the additions, corrections and annotations, the manuscript is the work of a single scribe, presumably the Haecpertus named in a colophon on fol. 130r: "Haecpertus me fecit." In the last full quire (fols. 123–130), the written space changes to 190 × 120 mm and the number of lines increases to 24, which, together with a darker shade of ink, might suggest a change of hand. As Roger Collins pointed out, however, the difference is possibly due to the same scribe refining and narrowing their writing in order to fit in more text.³² A finer pen/nib would have been used for this purpose.³³ The final folio is an added singleton which has a written space of 210 × 130/40 mm and 26 lines, different from the rest of the manuscript, and is written in a pre-Gothic minuscule of the eleventh or early twelfth century.³⁴

COLLATION

I², II–XVI⁸, XVII⁸ + 1 after 8.

CONTENTS

1. 1r–5r: Antonius, *Life of St. Simeon the Stylite*.
Inc. "Incipit uita sancti symeonis syre serui dei qui in coluna stetit. Sanctus symeon ex utero matris..."
2. 5r–6v: Isidore of Seville, *De ortu et obitu patrum*.³⁵
Inc. "Incipit de ortu et obitu patrum. A. Adam pater generis humani..."
3. 7r–22v: *Physiologus*, illustrated, in 24 chapters (C family).³⁶
Inc. "Est leo regalis omnium animalium et bestiarum..."
4. 23r–125r: Fredegar, *Chronicle*.
Inc. "In nomine domini nostri iesu christi incipiunt capitula chronici libri primi. i. De inicum mundi..."
5. 41r: List of Egyptian days (s. ix addition).
Inc. "Incipiunt dies egyptiaci quos obseruare oportet. mens ianuarii..."

³¹ www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bbb/0318. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 1:122; Homburger, *Die illustrierten Handschriften*, 101–17; Mostert, *The Library of Fleury*, 71; Nees, *Frankish Manuscripts*, cat. no. 55.

³² Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, 66.

³³ Woodruff, "The *Physiologus* of Bern," 229.

³⁴ Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, 66.

³⁵ Homburger, *Die illustrierten Handschriften*, 57, noted that this text is numbered using Greek numerals.

³⁶ First listed, with notes, in Sinner, *Catalogus codicus*, 130–36.

6. 125r–130v: Unknown homily on Matt. 17.1–9.
Inc. “Sequuntur sancti euangelii secundi mattheum. In illo tempore....”
7. 125v–130r: Homily attributed to St. Ephrem, known as *In transfigurationem Domini*. Homily on the same passage as in item 6.³⁷
Inc. “Incipit tractus eiusdem lectionis effrem. De regionibus messis gaudii...”
8. 130v: *Probationes pennae*, two added lines of verse on the difficulty of writing (s. x or ix) and two medical recipes for palsy and headache (s. x).
Inc. “Ad capitis dolorem. ruta manipulus i; ueronica manipulus i...”
9. 131r–v: On the seven miracles of the world (s. xi–xiiⁱⁿ). Addition in pre-Gothic script.
Inc. “De septem miraculis mundi. Primum miraculum...”

SCRIPT

The script used by the scribe of the main text is Caroline minuscule, characterized by lightly clubbed ascenders and a slight slant to the right. According to Bischoff, it is “not typical of Rheims” (“nicht typisch reimsisch”).³⁸ Most chapter and section headings and numbers are written in uncial and rubricated. Brown ink is otherwise used throughout, including *litterae notabiliores* in uncial at the beginning of sentences and large initials in rustic capitals beginning new sections or paragraphs. The punctuation consists of the *distinctio* and the *punctus interrogativus*, used irregularly.

DECORATION

Skilfully executed illusionistic illustrations accompany most *Physiologus* chapters, showing figures of humans and animals in a landscape usually but not always framed by a thick band of red with a narrower black line on the inside. Apart from the *Physiologus* illustrations, there is no decoration, except an initial S on fol. 1r in light green, yellow and purple wash, with ornament in these colours as well as light red. Bischoff described the style as Franco-Saxon.³⁹

PROVENANCE

A note in an early fifteenth-century hand on fol. 131v indicates the codex then belonged to Ragonde Bachellier, a member of a prominent Rheims family.⁴⁰ The same hand has also made notes throughout the codex, particularly in Fredegar's *Chronicle*. By 1603 it had come into the hands of Pierre Daniel; on his death it was acquired by Jacques Bongars, whose heir, Jakob Graviseth, donated it to the Bern Burgerbibliothek along with the rest of Bongars' collection in 1632.

³⁷ Listed as an unusual (“merkwürdig”) homily by Ephrem in Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung*, 70.

³⁸ Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 1:122. Homburger however noted that the writing of the scribe of Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 318 is not in conflict, and in many cases coincides, with a list of characteristics of the Rheims script made by Frederick Carey. See Carey, “De scriptura Floriacensi,” and Steiger and Homburger, *Physiologus Bernensis*, 20.

³⁹ Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 1:122.

⁴⁰ Homburger, *Die illustrierten Handschriften*, 102.

3. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611 + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10756⁴¹

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611: 153 fols. | ca. 727 | 18–19 × 14–14.5 cm | 16–27 lines.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10756: i + i + i + i + 71 fols. + i + i + i | ca. 727 | 20 × 15 cm | 16–27 lines.⁴²

This collection has been localized to east Francia with Corbie influence.⁴³ The Paris codex was identified by Zeumer as one of three manuscripts containing formularies associated with Bourges (text 12b).⁴⁴ The date of the collection was established by Lowe from the computus on fols. 94r–96v, which states that 5928 years have passed since the beginning of the world to the present day, bringing it up to 727. Lowe believed this date to be “not incompatible with the palaeography of the manuscript,” whose Merovingian minuscule places it within the first three quarters of the eighth century.⁴⁵ Lindsay stated that the collection was “written, in part at least, before 721,”⁴⁶ although he did not specify why he thought this. In addition, formula no. 6 (part of item 11) is dated to the fourteenth year of the reign of an unnamed king, but this is vague and may have been taken directly from the exemplar text.⁴⁷ The Easter table on fol. 96r covers the years 727–48.⁴⁸

A quire of eight leaves has been removed after fol. 72 in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611 and currently forms fols. 62–69 in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10756, which also contains other, unrelated early medieval texts.

The collection consists of six separate parts:

I: Fols. 1–86 (quires 1–14, where quire 12 is in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10756).

II: Fols. 87–93 (quire 15).

III: Fols. 94–113 (quires 16–18).

IV: Fols. 114–115 (quire 19).

⁴¹ Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611: CLA VII.604a–e and VII.866–7, with a bibliography on p. 55; digitized at www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bbb/0611. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10756: CLA V.604; digitized at <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc724569>. See also Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 1:131, and Mostert, *The Library of Fleury*, no. 1167. I am grateful to David Ganz for generously sharing his comments and notes on this manuscript.

⁴² Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins*, 93.

⁴³ CLA VII.604e.

⁴⁴ MGH Form., 166; Rio, *Legal Practice*. The other two manuscripts are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 4629 and Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 114.

⁴⁵ CLA VII.604e.

⁴⁶ Lindsay, *Palaeographia Latina* 1:22.

⁴⁷ Rio, *Legal Practice*, 111.

⁴⁸ Ganz, “In the Circle of the Bishop of Bourges,” 274.

V: Fols. 116–145 (quires 20–24).

VI: Fols. 146–153 (quire 25).

A full codicological discussion is provided in the section on Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611 + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10756 in Chapter 2.⁴⁹

The first four folios are badly damaged with up to three-quarters of the page lost. Modern white parchment has been glued to their outer edges. On some pages, especially in the first quires, the text has faded to near-illegibility. Fols. 116–142 and 145 are palimpsest, as are fols. 143–144. The former contained the Life of St. Sebastian (s. vii) and the latter part of the Vulgate Gospel of Mark (s. v²). Both were probably written in Italy. Traces of damage from attempts to reveal palimpsest text chemically are evident throughout these folios.

COLLATION

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611: I¹⁰ (wants 3, 7), II¹⁰ (wants 4, 8), III² (wants 2), IV², V¹⁰ (wants 3, 6, 9), VI⁸, VII⁸ (wants 8), VIII–IX⁸, X¹⁰ (wants 1), XI⁶, XII⁸, XIII⁶, XIV⁸, XV⁸ (wants 3), XVI⁶, XVII⁸, XVIII⁶, XIX², XX¹⁰ (wants 2, 10), XXI–XXII⁸, XXIII⁴ (wants 1, 3), XXIV⁴, XXV⁸.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10756: Collation unavailable.

Based on the digital facsimile, the quires may be as follows: I–II⁸, III–IV⁶, V⁸, VI⁴, VII–IX⁸, X², XI⁶.

CONTENTS

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611

Part I

1. 1r–18v: Latin glossary “Abba” (D–Z). The start of the quire is severely damaged, suggesting that letters A–C and perhaps other texts have been lost.
2. 18v–19r: Latin glossary (A–H).
Inc. “Agellus modicus ager...”
3. 19r: Notes (some upside down) in a darker ink and pre-Caroline hand, listing named creditors or book-borrowers.
Inc. “Deodici <.>...”
4. 19v–20r: Birth lunarium.⁵⁰ Contemporary addition.
Inc. “L. i. qui natus fuerit uitalis erit...”

⁴⁹ See also Dorofeeva, “Visualizing Codicologically and Textually Complex Manuscripts.”

⁵⁰ This appears to be the same text as that in the following British Library manuscripts: Cotton Tiberius A.iii (s. ix^{med}); Harley 3017 (s. ix²); Cotton Titus D.xxvi, xxvii (s. xi¹); and in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 235 (s. xi); edited as part of a group of similar lunariums in Liuzza, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, 158–63.

Part II (from 20r)

5. 20v–26r: Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 5:39, *De descriptione temporum*.
Inc. “Prima aetas mundi in exordio...”
6. 26r–40v: Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 9:2 (sections 2–135), *De gentium uocabulis*.
Inc. “De diuisione gencium pauca dicamus...”
7. 40v–41v: Palladius of Hellenopolis (Paradisus), *Historia Lausiaca*, chap. 38 (life of Pachomius).⁵¹ This and the following text copied in a pre-Caroline hand. Contemporary addition.
Inc. “De libro qui apellatur paradisus. Quomodo beatus pagomeus...”

Part III

8. 42r: Poem on the winds (*Carmen de uentis*).⁵² Contemporary addition.
Inc. “Quattuor a quadro consurgunt limite uenti...”
9. 42v–72v: Asper, *Ars Asporii*.⁵³ Pen trials on 57v.
Inc. “Partes orationis quot sunt octo...”
10. 72v: Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 1.22 (incomplete). On Tironian notes.
Inc. “De notis uulgaribus. Uulgares notas sennius...”

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10756

11. 62r–64r: Five formulae: “Charter recording an exchange of property, the renewal of a precarial grant, a *mandatum* asking someone to record a donation to a monastery in the *gesta municipalia*, a *securitas* guaranteeing a grant to a bishop and a document asking an archdeacon to support a newly ordained priest.”⁵⁴ Tironian notes in the lower margins of fols. 62r–63r.⁵⁵
Inc. “Carta conmutationis. Quod conuenientibus partibus placida...”

51 From text family 1a, according to Wellhausen, *Die lateinische Übersetzung*, 158–63.

52 Pr. in Alberto, “The Textual Tradition.” This poem is similar to Isidore’s description of the winds (*De natura rerum* 37, PL 83.1006–8), but it is not clear if it was his source or if it post-dates him. See Obrist, “Wind Diagrams,” 49n82.

53 The section of the text from fol. 71r appears to be unique to Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611. Asper’s text is edited in Hagen, *Anecdota helvetica*, 39–61. Homburger, *Die illustrierten Handschriften*, 21–23, perhaps following Lowe, believed that the hand of this text was influenced by Corbie or Luxeuil.

54 Ganz, “In the Circle of the Bishop of Bourges,” 272.

55 Text edited in full from this manuscript in MGH Form., 169–71; and in Pardessus, “Notice sur les manuscrits,” 10–11, 20–22.

12. 64r: a. Jerome, *Contra uigilantium*, chapter XIV in Tironian notes (5 lines).⁵⁶ On the rightness of sending alms to monks in the Holy Land. Contemporary addition.
Inc. "Nec nos necamus cunctis pauperibus..."
 b. Formula of a mandate to register a donation in Bourges by the *ordo curiae*. In a pre-Carolingian hand over four drawings of circles.⁵⁷ Addition.
Inc. "Anno xiii regni domini nostri illius gloriosissimi regis..."
13. 64v–67r: Table of a 19-year lunar cycle.
Inc. "Kal. ian. luna..."
14. 67r: Section from a paschal cycle, attributed in the manuscript to Victorius of Aquitaine.
Inc. "Parte quaedam de cyclo uicturii..."
15. 67v–68r: Verses on the creation and end of the world, mainly in Tironian notes.⁵⁸ Contemporary addition.
Inc. "Catenus domino christo catenus honorem..."
16. 68v: Birth lunarium of 30 days. First line partially trimmed away. Contemporary addition.
Inc. "Incipit <.> quis qua<.> luna <.> uerum uitulis..."
17. 68v–69r: Dionysius Exiguus, *Argumenta paschalia* (argument 16 on the rationale of the leap day). Ends with two lines on 69r, the remainder of which is blank and unruled.⁵⁹ Contemporary addition.
Inc. "Incipit ratio bisexti. Non illum diem..."
18. 69v: Gregory I, *Regula pastoralis* III:12, on the admonition of the healthy and the sick. In Tironian notes.⁶⁰ Contemporary addition.
Inc. "Aliter admonendi sunt incolumes..."

56 PL 23.350. Edited from Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611 and discussed in Schmitz, "Tironianum."

57 The identification of this short text and of its script is that of Pardessus. See his "Notice sur les manuscrits," 21, 22.

58 Edited from Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611 in Chatelain, *Introduction*, 226–29. Thought by Schmitz to be a mixture of extracts from Christian and classical poets, put together by the compiler: "Tironianum," 77.

59 Cuppo believed Felix of Squillace to be the author of this text. Felix extended the Dionysian cycle by ninety-five years. See Cuppo, "Felix of Squillace."

60 Discussed in Schmitz, "Tironische Noten."

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611

19. 73r–80v: Latin *aenigmata*, known as *Aenigmata Bernensia*.⁶¹ A Greek alphabet with corresponding letter-names and Latin phonemes has been written into the bottom margins of fols. 77v–78r in a contemporary hand; underneath it is a Latin alphabet with numbers assigned to each letter, for the most part in accordance with the Roman numeral system.
Inc. “...[osten]dire possunt patulo sed flammas...”
20. 80v–81r: Metrical sentences, arranged alphabetically (A–T) and written partly in Tironian notes.⁶² Ruling partially ignored. Remainder of second page blank. Addition.
Inc. “Corpus ad longe positus...”
21. 81v: List of measurements for Noah’s Ark. In uncial.
Inc. “xviii. Arca noe dicitur habuisse...”
22. 81v–82r: List of various measurements and how they fit into the *stade* (stadium). In uncial.
Inc. “Stadium unum habet atropennes duo semis...”
23. 82r: Excerpt from Jerome, *In Daniele* 10:12–14. Contemporary addition.
Inc. “Noli meaierie [*sic* for *metuere*] daniel qia ex die primo quo posuisti...”
24. 82v–85v: Pseudo-Galen, *Epistula de febribus*.⁶³
Inc. “Epistula gallieni de febribus. Multa genera febrium...”
25. 86r: Jerome, *In Daniele* III (extracts). Contemporary addition.
Inc. “Si autem nabuchodonosor quus uolebat...”
26. 86v: Three epitaph formulae for abbesses. Bischoff believed they were based on real epitaphs.⁶⁴ Traces of two lines of Tironian notes in a darker ink visible in bottom margin. Addition.
Inc. “Hic tumulat artus hic...”

61 Ed. CCSL 133A.541–610. The Bern manuscript is the earliest witness of this text, extant in at least ten manuscripts, over half of which are from the early Middle Ages. The first riddle, *De lucerna*, begins in the middle of a word, indicating that it continues from a previous page. The missing page is no longer found in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611 or Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10756. Leipzig, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, Deutsches Buch- und Schriftmuseum, Klemm-Sammlung, MS fragm. 1966/Bl/95 (s. xi^{1/4}) represents a hitherto unknown fragment of the *Aenigmata Bernensia*.

62 Edited in full from Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611 in MGH Poet. 4:1, 648–51.

63 Flammini, “L’*Epistula* pseudogalenica ‘de febribus’”; pr. there and in Hagen, *Zur Geschichte der Philologie*.

64 Bischoff, “Epitaphienformeln,” 150. Bischoff also edited these formulae. The texts are partially translated in Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul*, 128.

27. 87r: Prognostics for a good or bad summer or winter (7 lines) in Tironian notes. The remainder of the page left blank.⁶⁵ Contemporary addition.
Inc. "Kalendas ianuaris si fuerint die dominico erit annus pessimus..."
28. 87v: Jerome, extracts (*In Matthaeum* V.12, 18, 29, 30; *In Jonam* II.2), of which a few words are written in Tironian notes. Contemporary addition.
Inc. "Non quaeras gloriam et non dolebis..."
29. 88r: a. Anonymous compilation of questions and answers on grammar, in 18 lines of Tironian notes. Contemporary addition.
Inc. "Ars quid est? Rei cuiusque scientia..."
b. Verse epigram by Taio, Bishop of Saragossa from the beginning of his *Sententiae*.⁶⁶ Contemporary addition.
Inc. "Epigramma operis subsequencis. Quisquis amas sacram..."
30. 88v–89r: Part of a Roman mass *ordo* containing an exposition of the Lord's Prayer.⁶⁷ Ends in Tironian notes. Copied in a pre-Caroline hand. Contemporary addition.
Inc. "Dominus et saluator noster discipulis suis..."
31. 89v: *In aurium apertione* Lent service for the induction of catechumens. Slightly adridged. Mostly in Tironian notes.⁶⁸ Contemporary addition.
Inc. "Euangelium dicitur proprie bona adnunciatio..."
32. 89v: Gregory I, *Moralia in Iob* XII.36 (4 lines) followed by his *Regula pastoralis* III.11 (2.5 lines). Contemporary addition.
Inc. "Praefixi dies singulis ab interna Dei prescencia..." and "admonendi sunt igitur simplices, ut sicut fallaciam..."
33. 90r: a. Gregory I, *Regula pastoralis* III.3 (7 lines). Contemporary addition.
Inc. "Dicendum est clericis ne prepositorum..."

65 Legendre believed the texts in Tironian notes on fols. 87r–v, 88r, 90v, 91v, 91r and 92r to have been anonymous homilies, but these passages have been identified and transcribed differently by Schmitz. See the relevant folio entry for details, as well as Legendre, *Études tironiennes*, 55, and Schmitz, "Schnellschriftliches," 360–67.

66 PL 80.730. Edited from Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611 in Hagen, *Carmina medii aevi*, 12. The name "Taio" is sometimes given in its Latin form, "Taius."

67 PL 74.1091–3. David Ganz noted that this text also appears in the Gelasian Sacramentary (personal correspondence). A detailed study and edition of this *ordo*, though without reference to Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611, is to be found in Odermatt, *Ein Rituale*, 264–66. The *ordo* is listed, though without reference to Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611, in Bloomfield, et al., eds., *Incipits of Latin Works*, 590.8245.

68 Discussed and edited from other manuscripts in Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, 110–12.

b. Isidore, *Sententiae* III.57. *De oppressoribus pauperum* (10.5 lines). Contemporary addition.

Inc. "De oppressoribus pauperum. Pauperum oppressores tunc se sciant grauiori dignos..."

c. Gregory I, *Moralia in Iob* XX.21 (9 lines).

Inc. "Magis mala facientibus quam mala patientibus..."

34. 90v–91r: Brief sentences from Jerome (*In Isaiam* 58, 66), Augustine and Isidore, almost entirely in Tironian notes.⁶⁹ Contemporary addition.

Inc. "Si abstuleris de medio tui catenam..."

35. 91v: Unidentified homily on penitence. Begins with text from Julianus Pomerius, *De uita contemplatiua* II.7. Largely in Tironian notes.⁷⁰ Contemporary addition.

Inc. "Ab ipsis confessa, nec ab aliis publicata..."

36. 92r: Unidentified homily in Tironian notes. Quotations from Amos and Zacharias; questions on penitence. Contemporary addition.

Inc. "In amos propheta..."

37. 92v–93r: Planned program of contents for unit III in uncial. Six lines of text have been added to the bottom of 92v from the *Moralia in Iob* V.22 of Gregory I, on the ant-lion. A gap has been left on 93r between item 15 and item 16.

Inc. "I. Ars donati exposita ab aspero..."

38. 93v: Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum*, wind diagram. Probably intended to accompany the poem on the winds on fol. 42r and perhaps a Carolingian addition. Remainder of page blank except a quire signature, later medieval or modern dry-point doodles (a four-square grid and the word "ggehana" (?)) and an extremely faded line of writing on the bottom.

Part IV

39. 94r–96v: *Computus*, given in dialogue form, based on the table of Victorius of Aquitaine.⁷¹

Inc. "Alius interrogare uolo de racione conpoti..."

40. 97r–v: Excerpt from Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* XI.4–7, XII.1–7.

Inc. "Sanctis isidoris in [illegible] officiis..."

⁶⁹ Pr. in Schmitz, "Notenschriftliches."

⁷⁰ Pr. in Legendre, *Études tironiennes*, 48–50 (with notes on the Tironian elements on pp. 85–87).

⁷¹ The literature on this computus is rather extensive and is not listed in full here. The principal works include Borst, *Computus: Zeit und Zahl*, 15, 42, 152; Borst, *Der Streit um den karolingischen Kalender*, 84, 168; Borst, *Schriften zur Komputistik*, 29:348–74; Krusch, "Das älteste fränkische Lehrbuch," 241; Krusch, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie*; Schmid, *Die Osterfestberechnung*, 82. For a fuller bibliography, see Warntjes, *The Munich Computus*, xxiv–xxv.

41. 98r–99r: Gregory I, *epistola* IX.213 to Brunhilde on the ordination of laymen as bishops (same shortened form as in the *Collectio Vetus Gallica*).⁷²
Inc. “Dominae gloriosissime adque precellentissime filiae Bruniheldam...”
42. 99r–100r: Gregory I, *Dialogues* IV.25.2–41.3. On purgatory.
Inc. “De anime iustorum si anti restitutione corporum in celo recipiuntur...”
43. 100r: Gregory I, *Moralia in iob* XVIII.54 (from line 5).
Inc. “Iob dicit abscondita est...”
44. 100v: Blank, ruled.
45. 101r–113r: Pseudo-Methodius, *De initio et fine saeculi* (*The Apocalypse*).⁷³ Title in uncial and text in two Merovingian and pre-Caroline hands. Last page ends with three lines of text and one line of pen trials, and is otherwise blank and ruled.
Inc. “Incipit facciuncola uel serm [sic] sancti methodii...”
46. 113v: Blank, ruled.
47. 114r–115r: Excerpt from Jerome, *Epistula de uirginitate seruanda ad Eustochium* (*epistola* 22.30 on Jerome’s dream about the temptation of classical literature). In a distinctive Merovingian chancery minuscule.
Inc. “In epistula sancti hyeronimi presbyteri ad eustochium...”

Part V

48. 115v: Blank, unruled. Traces of two lines of text visible.
49. 116r: Blank, ruled.
50. 116v–138v: *Physiologus* in 40 chapters (Y family). Heading, table of contents, and first part of chapter on lion in uncial.
Inc. “Incipit tractatus episcopi ortodoxi de natura animalium. Incipimu [sic] loqui de leone rege bestiarum...”
51. 138v–145v: Twenty-two Greek and African church canons on the election of bishops (the *Collectio Bernensis*).⁷⁴ Headings given in uncial for each extract.⁷⁵
Inc. “Excarpsum de canonis in canonem serdicensis...”

⁷² MGH Epp., 199. The version of the letter in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611 is discussed in Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform*, 108–9.

⁷³ As Aerts and Kortekaas, ed., *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611 is considered on pp. 50–4.

⁷⁴ See Ganz, “Bureaucratic Shorthand,” 69.

⁷⁵ Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform*, 107–9. See also Mordek, “Bischofsabsetzungen.”

Part VI

52. 146r–v: Gargilius Martialis, *Medicinae ex oleribus et pomis* 72–97. On the dietary effects of plum, medlar, mulberry or blackberry, hazelnut, chestnut, almond, and pine nut.
Inc. “Incipit de arte medica ad stomachum...”
53. 146v–147r: Pseudo-Hippocrates, *Dynamidia* II.9–10. On the dietary effect of wild garlic and henbane.
Inc. “Et stringus hoc est uva lopina...”
54. 147r–148v: Unidentified recipes, including those against headache and gout.
Inc. “De capitis dolorem aniti floris...” and “Incipiunt curas podagriorum...”
55. 148v: Pseudo-Oribasius, *Commentaria in aphorismus Hippocratis*.
Inc. “In aforismum. Medicina autem partitur...”
56. 148v–153v: Unidentified recipes, including those against gout and vertigo.
Inc. “Item ad cures podagriorum...” and “Antidotum qui sacr<.> ad virtigi...”

SCRIPT

Pre-Caroline and Merovingian minuscules (see the palaeographical discussion in Chapter 2).

DECORATION

With the exception of small flourishes on initial letters, the diagram on fol. 93v, and occasional rubrics, this manuscript is entirely plain.

PROVENANCE

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611:

Owned by Pierre Daniel (1530–1603), whose name is mentioned on a document dated 30.7.1571, formerly attached to the binding and now kept separately as Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 847.9.⁷⁶ Later owned by Jacques Bongars (1554–1612), whose name is entered in the margins of fols. 5r and 153v. Gifted to the Bern Burgerbibliothek by Jakob Graviseth in 1632.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10756:

A Fleury provenance is probable. Previous owners include Pierre Pithou and possibly Louis Le Peletier de Rosambo.⁷⁷ Eventually acquired by the Bibliothèque de Rosny, as evidenced by the ex-libris on the front pastedown with the arms of Marie-Caroline de Bourbon-Sicile, Duchess of Berry (1798–1870). Acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale de France on 14 December 1844 from Simonin de Nancy.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bbb/0847-09.

⁷⁷ On the history of Pithou's library, see Bibolet, “Bibliotheca Pithoeana.”

⁷⁸ Details from the online catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9065920c>, and CLA V.604.

4. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS lat. 10066–77⁷⁹

I + I + I + I + 162 + I + i + i | 25.5 × 17.5 cm | 27 lines |

2 columns (5r–8r, 89v–111v, 157v–160v), 3 columns (80r–85r).

The manuscript was made in northeastern France (fols. 5r–65r) and Belgium (probably the Meuse valley). The binding was restored in 1958, and the nature of this restoration has since made it impossible to determine the quire structure from the physical manuscript.⁸⁰ The structure given below is therefore based on the analysis of Hubert Silvestre, who examined the manuscript prior to its restoration and wrote a thorough codicological description.⁸¹

I was unable to examine this manuscript physically as it was being restored at the time. Unless otherwise stated, all details are therefore taken from the study made of it by Robert Babcock.⁸² Additional details are taken from the MA thesis of Valérie Mareschal, who examined the codex in 1997, and from the study made by Silvestre, on which Mareschal's thesis is partly based.⁸³

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS lat. 10066–77 is a composite made up of six independent codicological units, not counting fol. 88, which is an independent singleton:

1. 4v–65r: Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. Twelfth-century, five hands. Seven quaternios and a final ternio.
2. 66r–70r and 72r–79v: Richard of Saint-Victor, *Liber exceptionum*. Fifteenth-century. Ternio in one hand, quaternio in three. Text parts separated by blank folios.
3. 80r–87v: Glossaries; glosses; antiphons. Tenth–eleventh centuries (see list of contents).
4. 89r–111v: *Glossae collectae*. Fol. 88 was attached to these three quaternios. Tenth-century.
5. 112r–139r: Prudentius, *Psychomachia*. Tenth-century.
6. 140r–162v: *Physiologus*; Gerbert of Aurillac, *Scholium*; commentaries; glossary; *probationes pennae*; fragments. Tenth–eleventh centuries (see list of contents).

⁷⁹ http://images.kbr.be/multi/KBR_10066-77Viewer/imageViewer.html; Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 2:49–50.

⁸⁰ Silvestre, “À propos du ‘Bruxellensis’,” 132.

⁸¹ Silvestre, “À propos du ‘Bruxellensis’.”

⁸² Babcock, *The Psychomachia Codex*.

⁸³ Babcock, *The Psychomachia Codex*; Mareschal, “Un témoin latin illustré.” Silvestre, “À propos du ‘Bruxellensis’.” Many grateful thanks to Baudouin Van den Abeele for enabling me to read Mareschal's thesis.

The first and third units were joined in the fifteenth century at the Abbey of Saint Laurent in Liège, as evident from the ownership mark on fol. 2v (*Liber Sancti Laurentii prope Leodium*) and the fifteenth-century list of contents on fol. 4r, which mentions texts in both parts. Eighteenth-century shelfmarks, titles, and an explicit added to fols. 4r, 65r, 80r, and 89r confirm the location as the Abbey of Saint Laurent. The similarity of the hands on fols. 4r, 4v, and 70ra suggests that part II was also added to the manuscript in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century. The remaining units were brought together prior to the eleventh century.⁸⁴ The manuscript can therefore be divided into two halves by assembly date.

The *Physiologus* in this manuscript is occasionally referred to by scholars as Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS lat. 10074 after its classmark in the 1839 catalogue of Marchal, who gave each text in his catalogue its own separate class-number.⁸⁵ The classmark 10066–77 represents the two texts that are the first and last in the bound manuscript, according to the convention first used by the Brussels catalogue van den Gheyn. Silvestre noted that Hanns Swarzenski regularly referred to it as 1066–77.⁸⁶

The dating of some parts of this manuscript continues to be disputed. As O'Sullivan noted in her study of the *Psychomachia*, the present copy has been dated to the tenth century by Gaspar and Lyna, while Steinmeyer and Sievers dated both the poem and the *Physiologus* to the eleventh century, and considered fols. 4–65 to be twelfth century.⁸⁷ Van den Gheyn thought fols. 99–163 to be eleventh-century and the rest of the codex twelfth-century. The dating given by Silvestre, which is the most recent and is based on a thorough examination of the codex, has been followed here.

COLLATION

I–VII⁸, VIII–IX⁶, X–XI⁸, singleton, XII–XVI⁸, XVII⁶, XVIII–XXI⁸.

CONTENTS

1. 1r–3v: Breviary fragment.⁸⁸ From a larger fourteenth-century manuscript. Text partly trimmed away. Here serving as end-leaves (cf. fol. 162^{bis}).

Part I

2. 4r: Twelfth-century table of contents. Original folio cut away and replaced in the fourteenth century. With notes from s. xiv, xv and xviii.
Inc. "In ho volumine continentur subsequencia..."

⁸⁴ Mareschal, "Un témoin latin illustré," 25.

⁸⁵ Marchal, *Inventaire*.

⁸⁶ Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 2; Silvestre, "À propos du 'Bruxellensis,'" 131.

⁸⁷ O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 61; Steinmeyer and Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen* 2, 462–6.

⁸⁸ Listed by O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, fols. 163r–163v.

3. 4v: Preface to Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (s. xiv). In the same hand as table of contents.⁸⁹
Inc. "Doniam quidam impacientius pocius..."
4. 5r–65r: Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (s. xii). In two columns on 5r–8r. The explicit on 65r may be an eighteenth-century imitation of twelfth-century script, in the same hand as the notes on 4r, 80r, and 89r. Silvestre identified five separate hands in this text on the following folios: A = 5r–11v; B = 12 and 19; C = 13r–18v, 20r–22r (line 12), 22v (line 19)–23v (line 22); D = 22r (line 13)–22v (line 18); E = 23v (line 22)–65r.
Inc. "Indiculus capitulorum iulii solini rerum collectarium infra scriptarum sic. i. De origine urbis romę..."

Part II

5. 65v: Quill sketch of a gothic rose window with twenty rays.
Underneath: "Probatio Incausti / utrum bonum sit annon / Iudica Godefride." Folio otherwise blank. The scribe Godefrid may be the owner of hand E in Solinus' text (4).
6. 66r–70ra: Richard of Saint-Victor, *Liber exceptionum*. This first ternio (fols. 66–71), which is markedly whiter, finer, and smaller than the other quires bearing this text, contains book II, chapters 1–9 and 11–14 (also known as the *Allegoriae in vetus et novum Testamentum* I and II.1–15); the last chapter is unfinished. In two columns.⁹⁰ A hand of the late fourteenth or fifteenth century has continued the unfinished text on fol. 70ra. This continuation is also unfinished.
Inc. "Incipiunt allegoriarum obscuritates..."
7. 70rb–71v: Blank, unruled except for margins, which have been ruled with ink.
8. 72r–79v: Richard of Saint-Victor, *Liber exceptionum* (*Allegoriae in vetus et novum Testamentum* IV.4–VII.23). In two columns. Book VII lacks the poem on Solomon and is also unfinished.
Inc. "De altari quod construxit yosue. Iosue subuersis hostibus..."

Part III

9. 80r–84ra: Hebrew onomastic glossary (A–I, L–P, R–Z). Some 880 entries in three columns. Tenth century. The title *KK Interpretatio dictionum hebraicarum bibliae* in the upper margin of 80r was made by an eighteenth-century hand roughly imitating the eleventh-century script of the main text.⁹¹
Inc. "aron fons [*sic* for mons] fortitudinis..."

⁸⁹ The authenticity of this preface is in doubt, as it exists only in a handful of manuscripts.

⁹⁰ Listed by Migne among the dubious works of Hugh of Saint-Victor (PL 175.634–828), though it has now been established to be the work of Richard. For a more detailed discussion of the authorship see the seminal article by Moore, "The Authorship of the *Allegoriae*."

⁹¹ Mareschal, "Un témoin latin illustré," 27.

10. 84ra–85r: Greek–Latin glossary (A–C) in three columns.⁹² Tenth century. Contains some Hebrew words. Silvestre noted that this text, if completed, would have extended to fol. 87v.
Inc. “Absida lucida...”
11. 85v, 86r, and 87v: *Glossae collectae* on beginning and end of the *Psychomachia*.⁹³ Eleventh-century, but, according to Silvestre, posterior in date to the subsequent texts on 86v–87r. The scribe of these texts would have preferred facing pages, and the clean fol. 86v to the imperfect fol. 85v, which is marked with ink that has seeped through from 85r. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the second part of the *glossae* (on the end of the *Psychomachia*) is compressed entirely onto fol. 87v, using narrower lines and even marginal space to fit the text. Fols. 85v–86r, on the other hand, have regular spacing. Had the scribe been able to use fols. 86v–87r, the first and second part of the *glossae* would not have been separated in the way that they are, and the second part would have been distributed over more than one folio.
Inc. “Gloseę in prima et extrema parte sicyomachieę [sic] prudentis. Septem sunt...”
12. 86v–87r: Canonical office or *historia* of St. Nicholas (fragment with neumes). Eleventh-century. In two columns.⁹⁴ Heading in uncial.
Inc. “In natale sancti nicholai pontificis ad uersus. O pastor aeternae o clemens...”
13. 87r: Matins antiphon from an office for the Assumption of the Virgin (with neumes). Eleventh-century.⁹⁵ Heading in uncial.
Inc. “Antiphonum de assumptione sanctae mariae ad noctem canendo. Specialis virgo inter agmina virginum...”
14. 87va: Homily fragment (9 lines).
Inc. “Septem columnis septem signantur dona spiritus sancti...”

Part IV

15. 88r–v: Single leaf isolated from adjoining quaternions and probably once serving as cover. Various small tenth and eleventh-century texts, drawings, neumes, and *probationes pennae*, including:
 - a. A paraphrased extract from Macrobius, *In somnium Scipionis*.⁹⁶
Inc. “Fructum uirtutis in conscientia ponenti...”

⁹² Described in Silvestre, “Une copie.”

⁹³ From line 10. O’Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 61–2, does not record glosses on fol. 87v. Pr. Silvestre, “Aperçu.”

⁹⁴ Pr. in Jones, *The Saint Nicholas Liturgy*. See also a brief discussion of the authorship of the *historia*, with references, in Silvestre, “À propos du ‘Bruxellensis,’” 136.

⁹⁵ As Silvestre, “Antiennes de matines.”

⁹⁶ Pr. in Silvestre, “Une adaptation du Commentaire de Macrobe.”

b. 2 lines of verse in hexametre (a logogriph or word puzzle for the word *Saturnus*).⁹⁷
Inc. "Si caput abstuleris remanebit fortis in armis / et fit homo sanus medium si subtrahis intus."

c. Glossary to works by Vergil, Juvenal, Horace, and Lucan, with Germanic and Romance words. These derive from Wallonia, perhaps even from the region around Liège. Also on fols. 139v, 161va, and 162r. Eleventh-century.⁹⁸
Inc. "Omelia sermo ad populum..."

16. 89r–111v: *Glossae collectae* on books of the Bible. Draws extensively on the *Etymologiae*. In two columns from 89v. Title in the upper margin of 89r by a fifteenth-century hand imitating the tenth-century script of the main text. Includes three Greek words on 99vb, 100rb, and 100vb. Tenth-century.
Inc. "Hieronimus secundum quosdam super expositionem dictionum difficilium bibliae. Prologus id est praelocutio prohemium initium dicendi..."

Part V

17. 112r–139r: Prudentius, *Psychomachia*. Tenth-century, with contemporary glosses. Two twelfth- and thirteenth-century glosses written in the margins of fols. 137v and 138r, on the jewels adorning the temple of the soul (an allegorising tradition that derives from Bede's *Apocalypse*). Its illustrations cover fifty of the poem's tales, but the illustrative program was not completed. The illustrations were made before the text.⁹⁹
Inc. "Senex [uetus] fidelis [bonus] prima..."

⁹⁷ Pr. in. Silvestre, "Un cliché peu étudié," 256n3. The solution, *Saturnus*, is provided in the other manuscript known to contain this puzzle: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8088, fol. 195v. The wording there is more complete: "Si caput abstuleris remanebit fortis in armis / et fit homo plenus fuerit si calce minutus / panditur et sanus modum si subtrahis intus." See also Silvestre, "Une adaptation du Commentaire de Macrobie," 95n3. Finally, a similar riddle appears on the first page of the ninth-century manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 1260, as noted in Arévalo, *Sancti Isidori* 2 (1850), 846:8.

⁹⁸ See De Cesare, "Su di un gruppo."

⁹⁹ Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentius-Handschriften* I, 61–9. Stettiner saw the manuscript while one of its folios was detached; he consequently incorrectly stated that 46 verses (404–449) were missing between fols. 126 and 127. The missing folio was subsequently reattached as fol. 126bis so as not to interrupt the existing foliation. Silvestre further clarified that the last 23 verses (verses 427–449) on the verso of 126bis were a s. xi–xii addition. This means that 126bis was not the only missing folio, and that this lost folio was already absent by the eleventh or twelfth century. As Silvestre notes, this missing folio need not ever have formed part of the completed manuscript: it may have been lost when the codex was put together or passed over accidentally during the copying stage. He suggests three possible collations for quire XVII, which contains 126bis and the missing folio (labelled 126ter), in Silvestre, "À propos du 'Bruxellensis,'" 139–40. O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 62, noted that the text is missing verses 284–309 and 326–43. See also Woodruff, "The Illustrated Manuscripts," 33–79.

18. 139v: Glossary (see no. 3, 88r). Eleventh-century.

Inc. "Hornix gallina..."

Part VI

19. 140r–156v: *Physiologus*, illustrated, in 37 chapters (A family). Tenth century. Title in uncial. Fol. 146, containing the chapters *De uulpe* and *De unicorni*, is a twelfth-century replacement. Its illustrations cover thirteen chapters, but as with the *Psychomachia* the illustrative program was not completed.

Inc. "Incipit physiologus de naturis animalium et bestiarum. De leone rege bestiarum..."

20. 157r: Gerbert of Aurillac, *Scholium ad Boethii arithmetica institutionem* I.1–3. Eleventh-century.

Inc. "Locus in arithmetica hic quem quidam inuictum estimant sic resoluitur..."

21. 157v–158r: Anonymous commentary on Boethius' *De consolazione Philosophiae*.¹⁰⁰ Eleventh-century. In two columns and three hands. Influenced by the commentary of Remigius of Auxerre.¹⁰¹

Inc. "O qui perpetua mundum rationem gubernas..."

22. 158v–160v: Micon of Saint-Riquier, *Opus prosodiacum*. Tenth-century. In two columns, missing a number of verses.

Inc. "Hoc omnes discunt ante alfabetu puellae..."

23. 161r: Boethius, *Commentarius in Ciceronis Topica*. Extracts from beginnings of books I, II, IV, and VI. Eleventh-century.

Inc. "Exortatione tua patrici rethorum peritissime..."

24. 161vb: Calcidius, *Commentarius in Timaeum* (extract). Eleventh-century.

Inc. "Sunt igitur tam ignis quam..."

25. 161va–162r: Glossary (see no. 3, 88r). Eleventh-century. Several words written in bottom margin of 162r in a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century hand.

Inc. "Adumbium est male..."

26. 162v: *Probationes pennae* and drawings.

27. 162bis: Breviary fragment (cf. fols. 1–3).

28. 162ter (paper): Fragment about a possession in the village of Lith, North Brabant province, Netherlands. Fifteenth-century.¹⁰²

Inc. "Etira luodien habet quas villa..."

100 After comparing this commentary to one by Remigius of Auxerre, Courcelle argued that it showed Eriugenian influence (Courcelle, *La Consolation de Philosophie*, 27). Mareschal, *Un témoin latin illustré*, 35, followed Courcelle in identifying the author as Eriugena. However, the evidence for Eriugena's authorship is scant. He probably did write such a commentary, but it has not survived. For a brief outline of the arguments see Moran, *The Philosophy of John Scottus Eriugena*, 45.

101 McCluskey, "Boethius's Astronomy and Cosmology," 70.

102 Mareschal, *Un témoin latin illustré*, 28, noted that Lith is situated on the Meuse, some 18 km north of Bois-le-Duc (s' Hertogenbosch), on the northern edge of the medieval diocese of Liège.

SCRIPT

Caroline minuscule; pre-Gothic script and Gothic Textualis in parts I and II.

DECORATION

Decorated initials; marginal decoration: Animals on 91r+v, 96v, 101r; miniatures.

PROVENANCE

The manuscript bears marks of ownership from the Abbey of Saint Laurent, Liège (2v, 4r, 80r, all from s. xv–xviii). It also contains library stamps from the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne (3r, 4r) and the Bibliothèque nationale de France (1r, 3r, 161v). In the library of the Dukes of Burgundy by the eighteenth century.¹⁰³

5. Chartres, Médiathèque L'Apostrophe, 63 (125)¹⁰⁴

i + 92 fols. | 31 × 22.5 cm | 2 columns.

This tenth- or eleventh-century manuscript from France, like many others, was destroyed in the bombing of Chartres on 26 June 1944. No images survive. The below list of contents derives from the nineteenth-century catalogue, which lists *explicit*s for many of the entries. They are also included here.

- i. "Hic est liber Sancti Petri Carnotensis cenobii, quem fratres caritative de suis caritatibus emerunt a quodam Langobardo monacho. Quem si quis furaverit vel ingeniose abstulerit, pereat cum eis qui dixerunt domino Deo: recede a nobis." Note of ownership from s. xiiiⁱⁿ.
1. 3r: Ambrose, *Hexameron*.
Inc. "Tractatus sancti Ambrosii in Exameron. Tantumne opinionis adsumpsisse..."
2. 46r: Ambrose, *Oratio summa et incomprehensibilis natura*.
Inc. "Oratio sancti Ambrosii perpulera. Summa et incomprehensibilis natura..."
3. 48v: Vision of St. Epiphanius on the Mount of Olives and the discovery of St. James' tomb in Jerusalem.
Inc. "Apparitio sanctorum Jacobi apostoli et primi archiepiscoporum atque sacerdotum Symonis et Zachariae..."
4. 50r: Commentary on Genesis, making use of three levels of seeing (literal, moral, spiritual).¹⁰⁵
Inc. "Commemoratio Geneseos. Populus Irahel, audito decalogo ab ore Domini, rogavit Moysen..." *Expl.* "...pro nobis homo factus est."

103 O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses*, 62.

104 Omont, Molinier, Couderc, and Coyecque, *Catalogue général* 11, 30–32. Also previously described in Chasles and Rossard de Mianville, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 26–27.

105 Also appears in the late ninth-century manuscript Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS XXVII (25), 99r–138v.

5. 67v: *Physiologus*. Unknown recension (perhaps C family).
Inc. "Leo fortis significat Deus fortis, quia Deus verax est...Item de leone. Leo, cum dormit, oculi eius vigilant..." Further chapters of the *Physiologus* are listed: "De laena, de audolaps, de pelicano, de nocticorax, de aquila, de fenice, de uppupa, de vipera, de serpente, de formica, de onocentauro..."
6. 70r: Isidore of Seville, *Eymologiae*, book I on grammar.
Inc. "Domino et filio Sisebuto Isidorus... Dum te prestantem ingenio... De diebus. Dies est solisorientis presentia..." *Expl.* "...transitu ita lucere. Finit liber primus Isidori."
7. 83r: Isidore of Seville, *Differentiae*.
Inc. "Incipit differentiarum liber sancti Ysidori. Inter Deumet Dominum ita quidem..." *Expl.* "...peperit me mater mea. Explicit..."
8. 88v: a. St. Jerome, epistle 26 to Marcella on nouns used in the Bible. Incomplete.
Inc. "Marcelle Hieronimus. Nuper, cum pariter essemus, non per epistolam..." *Expl.* "...iam constet."
 b. Unidentified text on the ten names of God.
Inc. "Incipit de decem nominibus Dei. Nonagesimum psalmum legens in eodem loco..." *Expl.* "...Athenas, Thebas, Salonas. Expc. de decem nominibus."
 c. Unidentified text on the *diapsalma* (musical pause).
Inc. "Incipit de diapsalmatae. Que acceperis reddendacum fœnore sunt... *Expl.* "...scienciam nesciencium. Explicit."
10. 89v: St. Jerome, epistle 29 to Marcella, explaining the Hebrew words "Ephod bad" and "Teraphim."
Inc. "Incipit de Efot et Terafim. Marcelle Hieronimus. Infronte epistole tue, posueras..." *Expl.* "...fuisse monstratur. Explicit Derafim."
11. 90r: Paschal cycle attributed to Victorius of Aquitaine.
Inc. "Ratio paschalis Theophili, Cesariensis Palestine episcopi, ad ceteros episcopos CCCXVIII... ex iussione Victorii, pape urbis Rome. Cum omnes apostoli..." *Expl.* "...nec major quam XI."
12. 91v: Excerpts from Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, book 13 (on the world and its parts), beginning with chap. 36 on the winds.
Inc. "Ex XIII Ethimologiarum Isidori. Aer commotus et agitatus et per diversis partibus nomina diversa sortitur..." *Expl.* "...utilitatis austri."

6. Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 316 + MS 323¹⁰⁶

Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 323: i + 110 pp. | 25.7 × 18 cm | 34–35 lines.

Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 316: i + i + 142 pp. + i + i | 25.3 × 17.5 cm | 35 lines | pp. 23–37 and 49–142 in two columns.

These two units, 323 and 316 (always given in the discussion in reverse numerical order to prioritize the original quire order) date from the second quarter of the ninth century.¹⁰⁷ Newton believed that they were originally two separate volumes produced as a pair. He gave their origin as France, perhaps because, as he noted, their folio collation—in which hair side faces flesh side—was unusual in southern Italy at that time.¹⁰⁸ The appearance of the script and decoration strongly suggests Italy rather than France, however, so Bischoff's identification has been followed here.

Post-medieval ink foliation is now replaced by post-medieval pencil pagination in both manuscripts. Ruling is clearly visible on most pages. The fore-, top-, and tail-edges of both parts are painted black. The quire numbering is sixteenth- or seventeenth-century; the only original quire number is to be found on p. 54 in Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 316, where it is marked as "XXI." As this is actually quire XI in the present manuscript, at least ten quires were lost in either or both codices at some stage before the manuscript was paginated. To judge from the whiteness of the last page in both manuscripts, more quires have been lost from the end of both.

COLLATION

Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 323: I–IV⁸, V⁸ (wants 1, 8), VI–VII⁸.

Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 316¹⁰⁹: VIII⁶, IX (structure unclear), X–XI⁸, XII⁶, XIII¹⁰, XIV⁶, XV¹⁰, XVI–XVII⁶.

106 Inguañez, *Codicum Casinensium manu scriptorum catalogus*, 150, 161–3 (cat. no. for MS 316: F; ext. 316 e 458; int. 316 e 333. Cat no. for MS 323: KK; ext. 323 e 452; int. 817). There is a short entry in Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 2:195–6. The *incipits* and *explicits* have been printed in Reifferscheid, *Bibliotheca patrum latinorum italica* III, 411–13 (for Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 323) and 367–9 (for Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 316). The palaeography of both codices is also briefly described in Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library*, 373.

107 Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 2:196.

108 Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library*, 412 and 373.

109 The second quire appears to be made up of three singletons and a bifolium, but the binding obstructs a clear identification of the structure.

CONTENTS

Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 323:

1. Blank.
2. 2–34. Isidore of Seville, *De ortu et obitu patrum*.
Inc. “Incipit uita uel obitus sanctorum qui in domino præcesserunt...”
3. 34–56. Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae*.
Inc. “Domino sancto ac reuerentissimo fratri horosio esidorus. Quadam notissima nomina legis et euangeliorum...”
4. 56. Extracts from Jesse of Amiens, *Epistula de baptismo* (on baptism) and Hrabanus Maurus, *De ecclesiastica disciplina* (on the imposition of hands by a bishop).
Inc. “Ideo nouissime per impositione manus a summo sacerdote...”
5. 56–7. Explanation of the mass and its purpose, with extracts from Hrabanus Maurus, *De rerum naturis* IV.1 (on humanity).
Inc. “Ordo misse a sancto petro apostolum institutus est...”
6. 57–61. Explanation of Greek words on baptism and of a basic credal statement, to be recited by children in the children’s question and response section of an Alemannic Holy Saturday service (*Ordo in Sabbato sancto*). On baptism.
Inc. “De illa uerba greca quod uertunt in latina baptistari. Baptizo te hoc est intingo te...”
7. 62. a. On the seven winds.
Inc. “Incipit dicta de septem celos. Nomina eorum primus aereus...”
b. On the sun.
Inc. “Sol pro qua dicitur. Hoc est lumen christi...”
8. 62–3. On thunder.
Inc. “De t[r]onitrua. T[r]onitrua uero inter çreo...”
9. 64. Blank, except a *probatio pennae* of the letter *k* and a quire number.
10. 65–110. *Physiologus* in 34 chapters (B family).
Inc. “Iacob benedicens filium suum ait...”

Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 316:

11. 1–22. Eucherius, *Instructiones* II.
Inc. “Quoniam fili carissime superiore librum propositionibus tuis...”
12. 23–30. Latin glossary C–U, Z. In two columns: One containing the lemma, the other the *interpretamentum*.
Inc. “Caius. Humane fragilitas...”
13. 30–49. Pseudo-Cicero, *Synonyma*. Alphabetical A–G, K, L–U.
Inc. “Incipit sinonima ciceronis...”

14. 49–118. Glossaries on Old Testament books: Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kings I–IV, Isaiah, Micah, Joel, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Zachariah, Malachi, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, and Job.
Inc. “Phylo uir dissertissimus iudeorum. Origenis quoque testimonio...”
15. 118–142. Glossaries on New Testament books: Matthew, Mark, John, Acts; on the General epistles of Peter, John, and Jude; on the epistles of Paul to the Romans, Corinthians (I and II), Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians; on the epistles, attributed to Paul, to Timothy (I and II), and Titus; on Paul’s epistles to Philemon and the Hebrews; and on Revelation (Apocalypse).
Inc. “De nouo testamento. De matheo incipiunt homina ebreica. Abraham pater uidens populum...”

SCRIPT

Bischoff cautiously identified at least 2 hands (“anscheinend von wenigstens 2 Händen”), of which one is more experienced, and which appears in both parts. Both Inguañez and Newton identified a single hand, however.¹¹⁰

Bischoff characterized the script as a short, broad Caroline minuscule with a slight slant. There are thirteenth-century marginalia from Montecassino throughout.¹¹¹ Erasures have been preferred to expuncts.

DECORATION

Both manuscripts display a clear hierarchy of script. The largest titles are rustic capitals with the inner spaces of the letter curves, ascenders and descenders filled in red, blue, and yellow. The smaller uncial titles are generally filled in red or yellow, or in two colours (e.g. blue and yellow); occasionally they are also multicoloured. Rubricated uncial is used only for *Physiologus* chapter titles. In Montecassino, Archivio dell’Abbazia, MS 316 an early modern hand has sketched a large decorated hollow initial *A* fourteen lines tall in black ink (fol. 10).

PROVENANCE

At Montecassino since the early Middle Ages.

I 10 Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library*, 250.

I 11 Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library*, 250.

7. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 14388¹¹²

Part I: I + 1–112 fols. | 26.5–27.5 × 16.5 cm | 27–31 lines.

Part II: 113–238 fols. | 26.5–27 × 16.5–17 cm | 27–31 lines | 2 or 4 columns from 184r.

This is a composite manuscript in two parts, bound together in s. xv². Part I (fol. 8 onwards) was copied from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13038 (fols. 262v–387v), which was made at the abbey of St. Emmeram, Regensburg. Part I was thought by Bischoff to have been made not at St. Emmeram but in an unknown scriptorium in southwestern Bavaria at the beginning of the ninth century. Folios 1–7, obviously inserted to replace the missing first part of Jerome's text, are in a twelfth-century hand. Part II (fols. 113–238) dates from the middle of the ninth century and was tentatively located by Bischoff to northwestern Germany.

COLLATION

Part I: I⁸ (wants 1), II⁶, III–IV⁸, V⁶, VI–VIII⁸, IX², X⁸,
XI⁸ (wants 1, 3), XII⁸, XIII–XIV², XV⁸, XVI².

Part II: I⁸ (wants 1), II⁸, III–IV², V–IX⁸, X⁶ + 2 after 4 (wants 1 of the 2),
XI⁸, XII¹⁰ (wants 2, 8), XIII–XVII⁸.

CONTENTS

Part I

1. 1r–112v: Jerome, commentary on the letters of Paul to the Ephesians and Titus.
Inc. "<E>x prefatione Hieronimi in epistolam pauli ad effesios. <S>i quicquam est..."

Part II

2. 113r–172r: Pseudo-Jerome, *Expositio quattuor euangeliorum*.
Inc. "In nomine domini summi. Incipit expositio euangelii..."
3. 172v–183v: *Physiologus* in 48 chapters (A family). The *explicit* attributes the text to John chrysostom: "Explicit de natura bestiarum sancti iohanni constantinobolitane urbis antistinie. Liber conscriptus deo gratias amen."¹¹³
Inc. "Incipiunt capitula. i. De leone..."

¹¹² <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00022465/images/index.html?seite=00001&l=de>. Halm, von Laubmann, and Meyer, ed., *Catalogus* 4, 165; Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften*, 123; Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 2:164; Bergmann and Stricker, *Katalog* 3:1115–6; Helmer, *Katalog*, 414–19. See also Dorofeeva, "Strategies of Knowledge Organisation."

¹¹³ "Here ends the work on the nature of beasts by St John, bishop of the city of Constantinople. The book is written by the grace of God, amen." "Antistinie" is a mis-rendering of "antistes," a Latin term for "bishop," here presumably intended to be the genitive "antistitis."

4. 183v: Description of spikenard with a recipe for unguent.
Inc. "De pigmentis nardi spicatae. Nardus est arbor habet fructum..."
5. 184r–222v: "Accipe" Latin glossary (A–P). With added Greek words.
Inc. "Accipe audi cognosce..."
6. 223r–225v: Latin–Hebrew glossary based on Eucherius of Lyon, *Instructiones*, bk. 2. With added Greek words.
Inc. "Incipiunt nomina interpretatio de hebraico in latino quod exposuit beatus hieronimus. Adonai dominus significat..."
7. 225v–227v: Greek/Hebrew–Latin glossary based in part on Eucherius of Lyon, *Instructiones*, bk. 2
Inc. "De grecis nominibus. ΑΓω sanctus..."
8. 227v–228r: "De ponderibus." Contains many excerpts, some paraphrased, from book 16 of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*.
Inc. "Incipiunt nomina hebreorum de ponderibus. Minima pars est..."
9. 228r–230r: "Abauus" Latin glossary (A–C, F).
Inc. "Incipiunt glossae de A. Abauu pater proau id est auis aui..."
10. 230r–238v: Pseudo-Cicero, *Synonyma*.
Inc. "Incipiunt synnonima ticeronis. Cycero ueterio sio [sic]..."

SCRIPT

The early medieval folios are in ninth-century Caroline minuscule: by several hands in part I, by one hand in part II.

DECORATION

Initial P in brown ink pen on 1v. Several decorated initials, including two small, striated initials on 133v and 162r.¹¹⁴

PROVENANCE

According to an entry in the catalogue made by the abbey librarian Dionysius Menger, in 1500 or 1501 the codex was at St. Emmeram. In 1811, as a result of the secularisation of the Napoleonic period, the codex was transferred to the Bavarian State Library.¹¹⁵

I 14 Bergmann and Stricker, *Katalog* 3, 1116.

I 15 Bergmann and Stricker, *Katalog* 3, 1116.

8. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 19417¹¹⁶

I + 103 fols. | 15 × 11 cm | 14–15 lines.

This codex was produced in the first third of the ninth century, in southern Bavaria or Switzerland according to Bischoff, in southern Bavaria according to Bierbrauer.¹¹⁷ This manuscript has quire numbering, which begins anew with the change of hand on fol. 28v. This means that the two halves of the manuscript are numbered I–III and I–X. Quires I (in the first part), and V, VIII, and XIII (in the second part) lack quire numbers.

COLLATION

I¹⁰, II–VII⁸, VIII⁶, IX–XIII⁸.

CONTENTS

1. Ir–v: *De sancto mauritio*, eleventh-century liturgical hymn with neumes.
Inc. “V Dulce carmen et melodum...”
2. Iv and 1r: Two prayers for blessing and protection. Eleventh century. The incipit is faded to near-illegibility. Both prayers are additions to fill the space at the bottom of each page, and do not form part of the main text.
Inc. “Deus filius nos benedicere...”
3. 1r–14r: *Constitutio et fides Nicenii concilii*. Title in half-uncial. Begins with the Creed of the First Council of Nicaea (325 CE) and continues with the 20 canons of this council.
Inc. “Incipit constitutio et fides niceni concilii subditis capitulis suis. Facta est autem...”
4. 14r–24v: Venantius Fortunatus, *Commentus in symbolum Athanasianum*.¹¹⁸
Inc. “Quicumque uult saluus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem...”
5. 24v–28r: Commentary on Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.¹¹⁹ Originally composed in Spain in s. vii or France in s. viii, or perhaps southern Gaul in s. vi, against the Adoptionists.¹²⁰
Inc. “Credo in unum deum sanctam trinitatem...”

116 Online at: www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00036883?page=,1.

117 Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen* 1, 164; Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften*, 89. Bierbrauer saw a resemblance in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 19417 to manuscripts from Benediktbeuern-Kochel in south Bavaria.

118 Pr. in Burn, *The Athanasian Creed*, 28–39. Keefe, *A Catalogue of Works*, 155, noted that Scherrer was mistaken in thinking this was not Fortunatus' commentary. See Scherrer, *Verzeichniss*, 88.

119 Pr. in Jacobi, “Eine noch ungedruckte Bearbeitung,” 288–90; Hahn and Hahn, ed., *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 349–51; Parmentier, “Trying to Unravel Jacobi's Unknown Creed”; and PL Suppl. 4, cols. 1519–20.

120 For further information see Keefe, *A Catalogue of Works*, 93.

6. 25v–28r: Invocations against snakes. Tenth or eleventh-century addition in lower margins. The same scribe may have contributed to item 13.¹²¹
Inc. “In nomine sancta ales in nomine sancta sol ficiunt. In nomine sancti apostoli...”
7. 28v–71r: *Physiologus* in 47 chapters (Y family). Rubricated. Chapter 32 on beaver missing due to page loss, as is part of chapter 28 on the lion and panther. Explicit written in a cipher: “EXALKCKT: DFNBTXRA BFSTK.B.RXM. SCĪ KPHBNNF CPNSTBNTKNP. CPNSCRKASKT DĀ GRBTKBKS. AMFN.” This resolves to: “Explicit de natura bestiarum sancti iohanne constantino conscripsit deo gratias amen.”¹²²
Inc. “Incipimus loqui de leone primum rege omnium bestiarum. Iacob benedicens iudam...”
8. 71r–74r: *Joca monachorum*.¹²³
Inc. “Interrogatio. Quis est quod tangitur et non uidetur...”
9. 74r–100r: *Glossae collectae* from the councils of Nicaea, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangres, Antioch, Laodicea, Chalcedon, Sardica, Carthage, and Africa; and from the decretals of Popes Syricus, Innocent, Zosimus, Boniface, Caelestinus, Leo, Hilarius, Simplicius, Gelasius, and Symmachus.¹²⁴ Not rubricated but underlined in red. On fols. 74r–98v the Latin is mixed with 180 glosses in a Bavarian dialect.¹²⁵
Inc. “Glose canonum. De canone apostolorum...”
10. 100v–101r: Riddle about *lapis* and *apis* using cryptography (*notae Bonifatii*), linked by a kind of basic numerology to a following short text about the unity of the Trinity, excerpted from Augustine’s first sermon on the mystery of the Trinity and of the Incarnation (*sermo* 145, par. 2 and 5).
Inc. “Dic mihi quinque in lege leguntur...”
11. 101r–102v: Pseudo-Augustine, sermon 245 on the virginity of the Virgin Mary.¹²⁶ Excerpted and rearranged. The order of paragraphs as printed by Migne is as follows:
Paragraph 2: *Inc.* “Tria pariter adesse uidentur...,” *expl.* “...operatio tribus constat.”
Paragraph 5: *Inc.* “Esaías propheta apertius mariam sanctam...,” *expl.* “...intus fuit.”
Paragraph 3: *Inc.* “Et detestandus Manichaeus...,” *expl.* “...nec uirginis partum.”

121 The penultimate line on fol. 28r contains the word “saikarom,” which appears to be a garbled form of the magic word “sarisarco,” also found in a similar text in the eleventh-century manuscript Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 109 (see Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, 392).

122 “Here ends the work on the nature of beasts written by St John of Constantinople. Thanks be to God, amen.”

123 Pr. in Wilmanns, “Ein Fragebüchlein.” Discussed as a text in Wright, “From Monks’ Jokes to Sages’ Wisdom.” Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 19417 is listed in Suchier, *Das mittel-lateinische Gespräch*, 90.

124 This list appears in Halm, ed., *Catalogus*, 244, and in McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, 41.

125 Bergmann and Stricker, *Katalog* 3, 1256.

126 Part of the sermon *Legimus sanctum Moysen*, printed by Migne as Augustine of Hippo’s sermon 245 (PL 39.2196–98). Fassler noted that this sermon is actually a composite work, whose first half

12. 102v–103r: Athanasian Creed. In a different hand.

Inc. “Quicumque uult saluus esse...” Ends abruptly one third of the way through at “Ita deus pater...”

13. 103v: Two prayers in two late tenth- or eleventh-century hands. The second hand is possibly identical with that of item 6.

Inc. “Deo gracias semper tibi domine...”

SCRIPT

Two hands (1: 1r–28r; 2: 28v–102v), both characterized by clubbed ascenders, with item 12 in a third hand. The first hand uses a bold uncial in brown ink as part of its script gradation; the second uses red ink for lines of minuscule or majuscule script. The letters of the second hand are not especially carefully formed (descenders of differing lengths, for instance). Words well separated, frequent use of interpuncts.

DECORATION

Large decorated initial F in shades of red on 1r, which is typical of southern Bavaria and serves as the basis for locating the manuscript to that region.¹²⁷ Initials mostly small, in brown and occasional red ink, modestly decorated.

PROVENANCE

Benedictine monastery at Tegernsee, according to a fifteenth-century ownership inscription on the front cover board (also fifteenth century). Appears in two catalogues compiled by the monastery’s librarians: Ambrosius Schwerzenbeck’s 1483 catalogue (as CXX) and Konrad Sartori’s 1500 catalogue (as C55).¹²⁸

9. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.2.23 (S. C. 20618)¹²⁹

i + 156 fols. + i | 20 × 17 cm | 20–22 lines.

According to the *Summary Catalogue*, which does not give a place of origin, the entire manuscript is tenth-century. According to Bischoff’s catalogue, fols. 82–156 are s. ix^{2/3} and originated in eastern France (“ostfranzösisches Zentrum”); according to Bischoff’s research elsewhere, fols. 88v–90r are from Tours or “one of the places influenced by Tours” (“einer von Tours beeinflussten Stätte”).¹³⁰ Eastern France has been preferred here.

is taken from a letter written in 437 by the African Antonius Honoratus, and whose second half comes from *Sanctus hie*, another pseudo-Augustinian sermon (Fassler, “Mary’s Nativity,” 414n88).

127 Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften*, 169.

128 Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften*, 169.

129 Hunt, Madan, and Record, *A Summary Catalogue* 4 (1897), 434–5. Also described in Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts* 1, 34. Fols. 82–156 are described in Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 2:359.

130 Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 2:359; Bischoff, “Die lateinischen Übersetzungen,” 151.

The present manuscript is made up of four separate parts listed by the *Summary Catalogue* as A, B, C, and D. These parts are reproduced below with relevant notes from the catalogue. Pächt and Alexander modify the *Summary Catalogue* entry in that they tentatively date the manuscript to s. xi², list its place of origin simply as “East” and give its ninth-century provenance as St. Médard at Soissons. The whole manuscript cannot have a ninth-century provenance if it originated in the eleventh century, but it is unclear whether the cataloguers refer to the whole or to individual sections or folios, and what these sections are. Their catalogue pre-dates Bischoff’s identification of parts C and D (fols. 82–156, containing the *Physiologus*) as being ninth-century.

My list agrees with the *Summary Catalogue* and Bischoff (the *Summary Catalogue* has been followed for parts A–C and Bischoff for part D). The divisions given in the *Summary Catalogue* are supported by the appearance of the parchment: in parts A and B (until fol. 82r) it is poorly cut, with obvious hair sides and uneven thickness from folio to folio. The quality improves in parts C and D, and is of a relatively high standard by the *Physiologus*.

COLLATION

A: I², II⁸, III¹⁰, IV–V⁸.

B: VI¹⁰, VII–XI⁸.

C: XII–XVI⁸, XVII², XVIII⁸.

D: XIX–XXI⁸, XXII⁸ (structure unclear).

CONTENTS

1. 1v: Early modern list of contents:

Cassiodorus de anima

Augustinus de animae quantitate

S. augustini sermo de adventu domini. Tomo VI contra Iudaeos,

Paganos et Arrianos cap. XI

Dicta sibyllae magae

Ordo officii de vita christi

S ambrosii de navi the

Physiologus de natura animalium

Collectae pro rotundis tribulata

Part A

2. 2v–33r: Cassiodorus, *De anima*. Tenth-century. Titles, chapter numbers, and historiated initials in rubricated uncial. 2r is blank except for a title in a sixteenth-century hand: “Cassiodori de anima.” Several faces and *maniculae* appear in the margins of the text.

Inc. “Liber magni aurelii cassiodori senatoris de anima capitula. i. Quid amici requisierint....”

Part B

3. 33r–81r: Augustine, *De animae quantitate*. Fols. 33r–v, and a title on fol. 32v, are a twelfth-century addition, containing Augustine's *Retractatio* on the same text. A few twelfth-century interlinear and marginal glosses are scattered throughout. The upper margin has been trimmed almost completely away. Punctuation has been inserted on some folios in a darker ink and some phrases have been encircled or underlined in pencil (e.g. fol. 76r). Frequent use of the *nota* sign in the margins. *Litterae notabiliores* in rustic capitals. Copied in a variety of hands. Bottom margin of final folio contains partially erased Latin alphabet (A–H).
Inc. "Incipit retractacio b. augustini super librum de quantitate anime ab eo disputatum..."
4. 81v: a. Collect for St. Pancras, with neumes.¹³¹
Inc. "Iesu rex noster benigne qui beatum pancratium in primeuo flore..."
b. Hrabanus, *De rerum naturis* VII.8.298 (not in the *Etymologiae*). Paraphrased.
Inc. "Verba sancti hieronimi de anima. Sanguis animae origo est ut quidam uolunt de cuius natura disputandi..."
c. First line of St. Augustine, sermon 343.i: "Quid est inuidia, nisi odium felicitatis alienae?"¹³² In bottom left margin.
Inc. "Inuidia est odium felicitatis alienę..."

Part C

5. 82r–88v: Quodvultdeus, *Sermo de symbolo ad catechumenos*, chap. 11–16 (the last chapter abbreviated after the lines of the prophecy and the beginning of chap. 17).¹³³ Includes an acrostic Sibylline prophecy in hexametres from 87v (*inc.* "Iudicii signum..."). With rubricated titles and rubricated rustic capital initials at the beginning of each line of the prophecy.
Inc. "Incipit sermo sancti augustini de aduentu domini. Uos inquam conuenio iudei..."¹³⁴
6. 88v–93r: Two Sibylline prophecies. Contain:
 - a. A cento (includes acrostic CRISTUS in verses 77–83, 91v–92r). Ends on 90r.
Inc. "Incipit dicta sybillae magae. Non multi..."

131 Tenth-century hand according to the *Summary Catalogue* but twelfth-century according to Pächt and Alexander; the correct dating is that of the *Summary Catalogue*.

132 PL 39.1561.

133 Muntané, "Del 'Iudicii signum,'" 167.

134 Attributed to Augustine in the Middle Ages but now considered to have been written by the fifth-century African bishop Quodvultdeus. See Harmless, *Augustine and the Catechumenate*, 262.

b. The medieval poem *Prophetiae Sibyllae magae*.¹³⁵ In a single column, with rubricated titles and rubricated rustic capital initials at the beginning of each line. Third line left blank for a missing verse.

Inc. "Mundus origo mea..."

7. 93r–96v: Night office for weekdays. Only the first lines of the antiphons, verses, psalms etc. have been written down. The script was judged to be "regellos" ("irregular") by Bischoff. Tenth-century addition.

Inc. "Regem uenturum dominum. Antiphona missus est gabriel angelus..."

8. 97r–126r: Ambrose, *De nabutha israelita*. Contains faces and *maniculae* of the same style as in item 2, as well as contemporary marginal and interlinear glosses. *Litterae notabiliores* in rustic capitals. A set of neumes have been drawn in the left-hand margin of fol. 120v.

Inc. "Incipit de nabuthae. Nabuthae historia tempore uetus est usu cotidiana..."

9. 126v: Magical recipes: "for menstruation" (*inc.* "ad profluium"), "for a woman in childbirth" (*inc.* "ad partum mulieris") and several small others. Twelfth century. The bottom half of the folio is cut away, apparently without text loss.

Part D

10. 127r–155r: *Physiologus* in 30 chapters (B family). Dated to ca. 900 by Madan.¹³⁶ A large part of the first folio lower margin has been cut off. *Litterae notabiliores* in rustic capitals.

Inc. "Incipit liber physiologus de natura animalium uel auium seu bestiarum. i. De natura leonis..."

11. 155r–v: Mass for Rotlindis. Addition made at the end of the ninth century (according to Bischoff; ca. 1000 according to the *Summary Catalogue*; eleventh-century according to Pächt and Alexander).

Inc. "Dimite deus peccata nostra..."

12. 155v: Antiphon for St. Lambert, Bishop of Tongres (near Liège), with neumes. Eleventh- or twelfth-century according to Bischoff (twelfth-century according to the older catalogues).

Inc. "Magna uox laude sonora..."

13. 156r–v: *Probationes pennae*.

135 Not a translation from the Greek but rather an original creation, possibly from seventh-century Spain according to Dronke, "Medieval Sibyls," 615. Title given by Bischoff, who discovered it, in "Die lateinischen Übersetzungen." Bischoff noted that the text also exists in Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 404 (386), fols. 61v–62r (s. x) and Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, MS XIII.G.18, fol. 238v (s. xv); and that the manuscripts are closely related to Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. T.2.23 and to each other (p. 164). For a history of the texts, see Lendinara, "The *Versus Sibyllae*," 93; and for an analysis of their contents, Dronke, "Medieval Sibyls."

136 Hunt, Madan, and Record, *A Summary Catalogue* 4, 435.

SCRIPT

Various hands from various centuries, principally writing Caroline minuscule. The script of section D was characterized by Bischoff as a calligraphic minuscule. Modern foliation in pencil.

DECORATION

A sketch of a decorative line for a border appears on fol. 156r. Doodles of faces appear in the left-hand margins of fols. 40r, 97v and 105v, also acting as indications of lemmas. *Litterae notabiliores*, chapter numbers and titles are rubricated throughout parts A, C, and D. Part B is undecorated and unrubricated.

PROVENANCE

This manuscript belonged to the Jesuit College of Clermont at Paris by the sixteenth century, as attested by a note on fol. 2v: "Collegij Parisiensis Societatis Jesu." Its classmark then was MS 489.¹³⁷ It was acquired with a large number of others by Geraard Meerman in 1763–64, as evidenced by a note on fol. 3r: "Paraphé au desir de l'arrest du 5 Juillet 1763 Mesnil."¹³⁸ Geraard bequeathed his collection to his son Jan Meerman (1753–1815). Jan's library was auctioned at the Hague in 1824. The present codex was one of 58 volumes bought by the Bodleian.

10. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 129¹³⁹

i + 160 fols. + i | 28.5 × 22 cm | 26 lines.

This ninth-century manuscript from the Main river valley or its environs is largely unmentioned in *Physiologus* and bestiary scholarship.¹⁴⁰

COLLATION

I–XX⁸. A quire is missing at the beginning, as indicated by two (?) different systems of quire numbering, one in Roman numerals ('ii', fol. 8v) and the other alphabetic, presumably starting at 'a', but appearing only intermittently at the beginning of quires (I, fol. 57; l, fol. 73; m, fol. 81; p, fol. 105; q, fol. 113; s, fol. 129; t, fol. 137).¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 34.

¹³⁸ For an explanation of this note, see Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques* 2, 275.

¹³⁹ Digitized as part of the Polonsky German collection at <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/b96fd583-aba5-4848-affe-e067455c711c/surfaces/a1959129-797c-4d85-8f0a-a560cbd932cd/>. The catalogue description for this manuscript is based on Coxe, *Laudian Manuscripts*. It was updated during the digitization and is available online at https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6939. See this description for full information about the secondary literature. More recent printed catalogues that mention this manuscript include Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 2:373, no. 3834; Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts* III, no. 15, pl. I.

¹⁴⁰ Except Faraci, *Il bestiario medio inglese*. I am very grateful to Matthew Holford at the Bodleian Library for drawing my attention to this manuscript. I have not examined it in person.

¹⁴¹ My heartfelt thanks go to Matthew Holford for providing the collation.

CONTENTS

1. 1r–2r: Gregory I, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, Hom. 8 (20), extract (7–10) on bodily resurrection.
Inc.: “Nam semina arborum odorem uel saporum [sic] habent...”
2. 2r–4r: Homily on the meaning of biblical trumpets.
Inc.: “Sententie prophete sicut ipse dominus per illum testatur sacerdotibus. Clama ne cesses quasi tuba...”
3. 4r–5r: Homily on the fear and love of God.
Inc.: “De timore Domini. Seruite Domino in timore et exaltate ei cum tremore...”
4. 5r–8v: Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 10, extracts describing good Christian living as outlined in the Gospel; on the soldier; and on the fruiting vine.
Inc.: “In euuangelium. Igitur si quis uult discipulus esse mandata sua custodiat, humilitatem discat...”
5. 8v–11r: Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* XVII, extracts describing the Passion and how it relates to human salvation and sin.
Inc.: “Omelia sancti Augustini. Fratres karissimi, ad memoriam uestram reducimur...”
6. 11r–16r: Life of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.
Inc.: “Maximianus, Malcus, Martianus, Dionisius, Iohannes, Serapion, Constantinus. In illo tempore...”
7. 16r–v: Various questions and answers, including a long discussion of six sins.
Inc.: “Incipit de diuersis interpretationum. Interrogo te pro quid dicitur homo?”
8. 16v–22v: Life of St. Ciriacus (also known as the *Acta Cyriaci* or *Inuentio sanctae crucis*); paraphrased and abbreviated.
Inc.: “Incipit inuentio sanctae crucis. Anno ducentissimo trigessimio tertio regnante uenerabili dei cultore magno uiro Constantino...”
9. 22v–23r: Sermon contrasting peace and deceit.
Inc.: “Discretio tenenda. Pax uera tenenda est quae de filiis diabuli filios dei efficit, et de inimicis amicos, et de adversariis fratres...”
10. 23r–24r: Homily on heaven.
Inc.: “De uocat(ione). Tribus uocationibus uocauit Deus hunc mundum ad uitam. Prima uocatio in ueteri testamento per prophetam in spiritu dicentem, Ueni te filii...”
11. 24r–25r: Homily on the temptation of evil, using the story of the Tree in the Garden of Eden, and how it may be resisted, with Gospel proverbs.
Inc.: “De suggestione diabuli. Dixit Deus ad Adam de ligno scienti boni et mali: Ex eo morte morieris et mortuus est, et factus est per suggestionem diabuli...”
12. 25r–27v: Homily on Matt. 10:16: “Behold, I send you forth, as sheep among wolves; be you therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.”
Inc.: “In euuangelio. Ecce ego mitto uos sicut oues in medio luporum...”

13. 27v–31r: Eusebius Gallicanus, *Homilia ad monachos* V (serm. 40), on the ways in which the temptation and pleasure of sin can lead the soul astray.
Inc.: “Omelia sancti Caesarii episcopi. Scimus quidem spritale [*sic*] militiae cui nos mancipauius...”
14. 31v–32v: Eusebius Gallicanus, *Homilia ad monachos* IV (serm. 41).
Inc.: “Omelia item uerbis. Fratres karissimi ad hoc istum locum conuenimus ut domino nostro uacare possimus...”
15. 32v–34v: Eusebius Gallicanus, *Homilia ad monachos* IX (serm. 44).
Inc.: “Sancti Caesaris. Uidete uocationem uestram fratres karissimi...”
16. 34v–36v: Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 233.
Inc.: “Omelia sancti Cesarii. Sanctus et uenerabilis pater uester relegiosam fidem...”
17. 38v–41r: Eusebius Gallicanus, *Homilia ad monachos* (*Sermo extravagans* 6).
Inc.: “Incipit omelia sancti Cesarii. Ad hunc locum, fratres karissimi, non ad quietem, non ad securitatem, sed ad pugnam...”
18. 41r–42r: Ps.-Augustine, sermon about ten denarii.
Inc.: “Incipit interpretatio sancti Augustini de x talentis. Auditor hoc tempus per mulierem illam sollicitam quae habuit decem denarios...”
19. 42r–44r: Extracts from an anonymous Old Testament (Vulgate) commentary.
 - a. 42r–43r: Commentary on God’s promise to Abraham that his offspring would be as numerous as the stars (Gen. 15:5).
Inc.: “Erit semen tuum sicut arena maris, Et sicut stelle caeli. Haec loquitur pater omnium creaturarum...”
 - b. 43r–44r: Commentary on the Dream of Jacob’s Ladder (Gen. 28:10–19).
Inc.: “De scala illa quam uidit Iacob. Uidit Iacob scalam...”
20. 44r–86r: Isidore of Seville, *Quaestiones super uetus testamentum*.
Inc.: “De vietatibus [*sic* for aetatibus] mundi...”
21. 86r–87r: Text praising the singing of Psalms, beginning with a citation from the Life of St. Theodosia.
Inc.: “Psalmorum canticis laus ad animam refocilare. Quid enim in psalmis inuenitur quod non proficiat ad aedificationem...”
22. 87r–88r: Riddling text presenting facts about Christ’s birth as opposing pairs.
Inc.: “De natiuitate Domini et interpretatio. Sciendum est quare natus est iesus in octava kal. Ianuarii...”
23. 88r–89v: Ps.-Maximus of Turin, On the Assumption of the Virgin Mary I (serm. 11).
Inc.: “In natiuitate sancte Marie semper uirginis. Illum sacratissimum uterum ex quo homine [*sic*] deus unigenitus apparuit...”
24. 89v–91v: Sermon on Matt. 8:1, the large crowd following Christ when he descended from the mountain.
Inc.: “Descendit Dominus de monte ubi erant turbe...”

25. 91v–93v: Petrus Chrysologus, serm. 143 on the Annunciation of the Lord.
Inc.: “Incipit sermo de natiuitate Domini. Fratres karissimi ineffabile natiuitatis dominice sacramentum iam credi magis conuenit quam referri...”
26. 94r–96r: Allegorical interpretations of the branch emerging from Jesse’s roots (Isaiah 11:1).¹⁴²
Inc.: “De lesse. Exiet uirga de radice lesse...”
27. 96r–97r: Pseudo-Augustinian sermon on Easter.¹⁴³
Inc.: “Omelia sancti Augustini de pascha. Gaudemus, fratres karissimi, quia dominus noster Ihesus Christus uenit...”
28. 97v–99r: Explanation of the significance of the number and names of the 12 Apostles.
Inc.: “De nominibus apostolorum interpretatio. Sciendum est tamen...”
22. 99r–100v: Homily on the rewards of just death, based on Ps. 116:15.
Inc.: “De pretiosa morte iustorum. Pretiosa est in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius...”
23. 100v–101v: Anonymous sermon on the Wise and Foolish Builders (Matt. 7:24–27).¹⁴⁴
Inc.: “Explanatio sancti Gregorii pape. Omnis ergo qui audit...”
24. 101v–103r: Maximus of Turin, serm. 12 on the holy martyrs.¹⁴⁵
Inc.: “Omelia de sanctorum martyrum. Cum omnium sanctorum martyrum, fratres karissimi, natalem deuotissime celebrare debemus...”
25. 103r–104r: Caesarius of Arles, serm. 50. On the importance of the health of the soul over the body, and the avoidance of sorcery.
Inc.: “Omelia de sanitate animae. Nostis, fratres karissimi, omnes homines sanitatem corporis querere...”
26. 104r–105v: Augustine, serm. 326. On the birthday of the twenty martyrs.¹⁴⁶
Inc.: “Sermo sancti Augustini de sanctorum martyrum. Sollemnitas beatissimorum martyrum...”
27. 105v–107r: Caesarius of Arles, serm. 227 on the feast of a church.¹⁴⁷
Inc.: “Omelia in natiuitate et dedicatio ecclesie. Quotienscumque, fratres karissimi, altaris uel templi festiuitatem colimus...”

142 A similar commentary exists in Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313, pp. 188–90.

143 See Ps.-Augustine, *sermo* 156 (*De passione domini VII*), PL 39.2053–55.

144 This sermon is also found in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 27152, fols. 66r–67r (s. ix^{1/2}, www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb00031770?page=1); Linz, Bibliothek der katholisch-theologischen Hochschule, MS A 1/6 (MS 1), 95v–96v (s. ix); and in Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS 463 [Rh. 951], fols. 69r–71v (s. x–xi). See Quain and Plante, “Catalogue,” 447; Étaix, “Un manuel,” 126–28.

145 CCSL 23, from p. 41.

146 Augustine, *The Works of Saint Augustine*, trans. Hill and Rotelle, 170–2.

147 CCSL 104.897. Caesarius of Arles, *Sermons* 3: 187 – 238, trans. Mueller, 164–8.

28. 107r–108r: Meditation on vices and virtues, based on Galat. 5:16.
Inc.: “Predicatio sancti Pauli apostoli. Spiritu ambulate et desideria carnis non pericietis...”
29. 108r–109r: Homily on the fear of God.
Inc.: “De Dei timore. Timor Domini sicut dictum est: Initium sapientiae timor Domini...”
30. 109v–119r: Gregory I, *Dialogi*, extracts (II.4, I.12, I.11, IV.52–4, IV.51, IV.35–7, II.23, II.24, IV.57–60).
Inc.: “De monacho uage mentis ad salutem reducto...”
31. 119r–127r: Rufinus of Aquileia (trans.), *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (extracts).
Inc.: “Incipit de sancto Eulogio...”
32. 127r–131v: Rufinus of Aquileia (trans.), *Vitas patrum* III (or *Verba seniorum*) chapters 14, 37–38, 40, 61, 68, 157, 169–171 (extracts), 172, 173–4, 197.
Inc.: “Erat quidam monachus et habitabat in herimo [sic]...”
33. 131v–133r: Ps.-Jerome, *Verba seniorum* or *Liber adhortationum sanctorum patrum*, V.39, VI.21, IX.11, X.1 (?), V.30.
Inc.: “Sancti patres aliquando congregati prophetauerunt de ultima generatione...”
34. 133r–137r: Rufinus of Aquileia (trans.), *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, chap. 16.
Inc.: “Incipit de sancto pafnutio...”
35. 137r–v: Rufinus of Aquileia (trans.), *Vitas patrum* III (or *Verba seniorum*), chap. 29.
Inc.: “De sancto eulalio...”
36. 138r–149v: Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, selection.
Inc.: “De martirio” (I.23.1–3), “De antichristo” (I.25), “De die iudici” (I.27.1–10), “De gehenna” (I.28), “De penis impiorum” (I.29), “De resurrectione” (I.26.2–5), “De sapientia” (II.1, varies at end), “De fide” (II.2.1–8), “De caritate” (II.3), “De spe” (II.4, abbrev.), “De gratia” (II.5), “De conuersis” (II.7.4–11.7, abbrev.), “De conpunctione” (II.12.1–5, 8, varied), “De confessione” (II.13.1–18), “De manifestis oculisque peccatis” (II.20.1–4), “De desperatio” (II.14), “De peccandi consuetudine” (II.23), “De cogitatione” (II.25.1–8), “De conscientia” (II.26.2–3), “De mendatio” (II.30.1–10), “De iuramento” (II.31.1–8, abbrev.), “De continentia” (II.40, abbrev.), “De tribulatione iustorum” (III.58), “De iracundis” (III.40), “De amicitia munera orta” (III.30), “De odio” (III.27), “De tollerantia diuine correptionis” (III.4), “De temptationibus diaboli” (III.5.5–30), “De inuidia” (III.25.4–8).
37. 149v–158v: *Physiologus* (Y version) in 22 chapters.
Inc.: “Incipit de natura animalium de leone et animalium [sic]...”
38. 158v–159v: St. Jerome, commentary on the Song of Songs (excerpt).
Inc.: “Super cantica canticorum. Rex Dominus Ihesus aeclesiam id est dei sermo animam sub coniugis titulo appellauit...”

SCRIPT

Insular minuscule. Insular-influenced early Caroline minuscule on fols. 120v, 148v, 149r. Rubrics in uncial.

DECORATION

Decorated initials.

PROVENANCE

Part of William Laud's (1573–1645) third donation to the Bodleian in 1639. Medieval provenance unknown.

I I. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 1616¹⁴⁸ + Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 18 (olim 15) 149 + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 455¹⁵⁰

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 1616: i + i + 14 fols. + i + i | 25.3 × 17.2 cm | 27–32 lines.

Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 18 (olim 15): 188 pp. | 25 × 17 cm | 19–24 lines

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 455: I + I + 8 fols. + I + I | 23 × 13 cm | 27 lines.

The eight-leaf quire containing the *Physiologus* in MS Nouv. acq. lat. 455 was originally bound with Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 18 (olim 15); and with Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 1616.¹⁵¹ I was not able to examine any of these manuscripts personally. Pages 1–28 originally in the Orléans codex are now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 1616. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 455, which formed the end of the collection, is incomplete (ending partway through the *Physiologus* chapter on the ercine (*herinacius*)), meaning that further manuscript parts may exist. The whole Paris-Orléans collection was one of the books stolen by Guglielmo Libri (no. 45 in the original list of Libri's books, no. 74 in the account made of the thefts by Delisle).¹⁵²

148 <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc13524w>; Bischoff, *Katalog* 3:242. The identifications of the texts are from the IrCaBriTT project: <https://ircabritt.nuigalway.ie/handlist/catalogue/170>.

149 <https://mediatheques.orleans-metropole.fr/ark:/77916/FRCGMBPF-452346101-01A/D18010449.locale=fr>; Bischoff, *Katalog* 2:328–9; Pellegrin and Bouhot, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 19–20; Delisle, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 79–80.

150 <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc71179s>.

151 Delisle, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 79–80; see also Delisle, "Notice," 360. The binding of MS 18 is digitized at https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/resultRecherche/resultRecherche.php?COMPOSITION_ID=19734.

152 Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges*, 1:203; *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*.

Pellegrin and Bouhot identified Paris, MS Nouv. acq. 1616 as part of the original collection and gave the place of origin for the Orléans codex as western France. Bischoff did not link any of these manuscripts to each other (Paris, MS Nouv. acq. 455 and Orléans, MS 18 were linked by Delisle).¹⁵³ He thought that Paris, MS Nouv. acq. 1616 was from Brittany due to interlinear glosses in Breton on p. 1, l. 6–10.¹⁵⁴ Jacopo Bisagni noted that the text containing Breton glosses may have been copied from a Breton exemplar, perhaps by a Breton scribe.¹⁵⁵ This makes it possible that the Paris-Orléans collection originated at Fleury, for example, where it has a relatively early provenance, although a Breton origin cannot be ruled out. Bisagni also noted the idea that Paris, MS Nouv. acq. 1616, or its copy, could have been one of the computistical manuscripts brought to England by Abbo of Fleury.¹⁵⁶ I have therefore given the place of origin as western France, following Pellegrin and Bouhot.

It should be noted that despite Delisle's linking of Paris, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 455 and the Orléans codex, this may not be accurate. The Paris manuscript is significantly narrower than the other two, a feature which does not seem attributable to page trimming. I have cautiously treated the Paris manuscript as part of this collection, but further careful examination of all parts is required.

Bischoff dated Paris, MS Nouv. acq. 1616 to the ninth or tenth century, or to the first half of the tenth century. Pellegrin and Bouhot dated the Orléans codex to the first half of the ninth century. My own dating for Paris, MS Nouv. acq. 455 is the last third or last quarter of the tenth century (see discussion in Chapter 5). Item 3 in Paris, MS Nouv. acq. 1616 may provide a *terminus post quem* of 903 CE (the year which may be indicated in the text as the *annus praesens*).¹⁵⁷

The quires in Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 18 were rearranged before the twelfth century, when notes were added about their correct order. This order is as follows: 29–68, 81–96, 69–80, 97–227. Six quires from p. 131 have original quire signatures (A–F).

153 Delisle, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 80.

154 These glosses were given by Delisle, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, 278 and plate 6.2.

155 IrCaBrIT project: <https://ircabritt.nuigalway.ie/handlist/catalogue/170>.

156 Juste, “Comput et divination,” 111–12; IrCaBrIT project: <https://ircabritt.nuigalway.ie/handlist/catalogue/170>.

157 IrCaBrIT project: <https://ircabritt.nuigalway.ie/handlist/catalogue/170>.

COLLATION

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 1616: The structure of this manuscript is unclear. The description accompanying the digital facsimile specifies only that the first quire has 3 leaves and the second quire has 11 leaves. The original pastedowns were removed and are now in Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 192 (*olim* 169).¹⁵⁸

Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 18 (*olim* 15): I⁸ (wants 1, 8), II⁸ (wants 4, 5), III⁸–VI⁸, VII⁸ (wants 6, 7, 8), VIII⁴, IX⁸–XIV⁸.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 455: I⁸.

CONTENTS

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 1616:

1. 1r: Table on the lunar phases.
Inc.: "Cursus lunae per XII signa..."
2. 2v: a. Computistical *argumentum*.
Inc.: "Statutum invenimus in concilio Romanorum ut nec ante XI kalendas aprilis nec post VII kalendas maii pascha non debeat fieri..."
b. Computistical *argumentum*. Contemporary addition.
Inc.: "Si nosse feriam hoc est die septimane..."
3. 3r: Computistical *argumentum* for finding computistical data of the *dies praesens*.
Inc.: "Quod datarum est hodie per dies anni..."
4. 3v–5r: Computistical tables and diagrams.
5. 5v: Computistical excerpt about the seasons.
Inc.: "Ver a vertendo dicitur eo quod terram in flores vertit..."
6. 6r: Bede, *De temporum ratione*, 1:25–107, on finger-reckoning. With interlinear Breton glosses.
Inc.: "Cum ergo dicis unum minimum in leva digitum inflectens in medium palme artum infiges..."
7. 6v: Computistical excerpt.
Inc.: "De alterius modi compoto. Est et alterius modi compotus articulatum decurrens..."
8. 7r: Computistical excerpt about the lunar age in relation to the solar calendar.
Inc.: "Si vis scire per singulas [sic] lune aetates..."

158 <https://mediatheques.orleans-metropole.fr/ark:/77916/FRCGMBPF-452346101-01A/D18011385.locale=fr>

9. 7v: a. Brief dialogue.
Inc.: "Dicit mihi unum diem qui habet XII intentiones..."
b. Apuleian sphere.
Inc.: "Ratio spere Pthagor [sic] philosophi quam Epulegus descripsit..."
10. 8r–9r: Computistical tables.
11. 9r: Computistical poem on the names of weekdays.
Inc.: "Prima dies Phoebi sacrato nomine fulget..."
12. 9v–10r: Text on the invention of the clock.
Inc.: "Hieronimus invenit horologium, in duobus invenit, I. est in mensura pedum..."
13. 10r:
 - a. On the Nicene synod.
Inc.: "Sancta senodus ubi CCC et XVIII pontifices apud Nicenam civitatem Bithinae converunt [sic]..."
 - b. On calculating intercalary ratios. A summarised version of Bede, *De temporum ratione*, chap. 45, *De embolismis et communibus annis*.
Inc.: "Communium et embolismorum ratio ista est..."
 - c. On the date of Easter.
Inc.: "Legimus in epistolis Grecorum quod post passionem apostolorum sanctus Pachomius abba in Aegypto cum monachiis [sic] suis..."
14. 10v–12r: Lunar prognostics.
Inc.: "Luna prima. Qui incenditur in ipsa sanabitur..."
15. 12r: a. Egyptian days.
Inc.: "Incipiunt dies egyptiali [sic] qui in anno observandi sunt non itinere, non ambulare, non in vineam plantare..."
b. Blood-letting tract.
Inc.: "Tres dies maximi observandi sunt in anno per omnia..."
c. On the stages of human gestation. Contemporary addition.
Inc.: "De suggestionem formationis hominis in utero: VI dies in eodem calore fit, VIII in sanguine, XII in cruore..."
16. 12v: Wind prognostic.
Inc.: "Si in nocte fuerit ventus in nocte natalis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, in hoc anno reges et pontifices peribunt..."
17. 13r–v: Computistical argumenta (acephalous compilation).
Inc.: "De feria in terminis. Hoc ergo modo invenitur feria in terminis..."
18. 13v: Computistical table accompanied by Hebrew and Greek words associated with the names of God (*saddai, hel, eloim, eloe, sabaoth, elion, asiriee, adonaia, tetra gramaton*).

19. 14r: Prognostic text *De ragono subiecto* (sic, for *De <tet>ragono subiecto*).¹⁵⁹
Inc.: "De ragono subiecto. Si nosse vis de quolibet infirmo..."
20. 14v: a. Theological note. Contemporary addition.
Inc.: "Trinitatis in amore alme individue consors quidem sacerdotum reminisceni
[sic] Dominum, criminum preteritorum, futurorum operum..."
- b. Computistical note. Contemporary addition.
Inc.: "III observationes sunt que nobis requirende sunt in exploratione initii, I est si
annus bissexti fuerit..."

Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 18 (olim 15):

21. 29–127: Excerpts from the book of Isaiah (Is. 14:28–25:10, 28:2–63:1, 65:12–66:24) (*incipit* illegible).
22. 127–227: Excerpt from the book of Ezekiel (Ez. 1:1–30:25).
Inc.: "Incipit praeformatio Hieronymi presbiteri in Jezechiel prophetae..."

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 455:

23. 1r–3r: Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum* 26: *De nominibus astrorum*. A title has been written at the top of fol. 1r by a nineteenth-century hand: "De quibusdam stellis et animalibus fragmentum."¹⁶⁰
Inc.: "Legitur in iob dicente domino..."
24. 3r–8v: *Physiologus* in 16 chapters (Y family).¹⁶¹ Untitled.
Inc.: "Incipimus loqui de leone rege bestiarum..."

SCRIPT

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 1616: Copied by several hands writing Caroline minuscule, of very different character, most with an uncertain ductus.

Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 18 (olim 15): Copied by several well-practiced hands writing Caroline minuscule.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 455: Copied by three hands writing Caroline minuscule with Visigothic features. See Chapter 5 for a palaeographical analysis.

159 Also found in Laon, Bibliothèque municipale Suzanne Martinet, MS 40A, fols. 136v–137r).

160 "Fragment on certain stars and animals."

161 The chapter on the *ercine* seems to be from the A recension. Further textual study is required.

DECORATION

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 1616: Multiple computational tables and drawings. On 3r a face has been drawn inside the first letter, *Q*, a *littera notabilior*.

Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 18 (*olim* 15): Rubricated *litterae notabiliores* and chapter numbers throughout the text.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 455: Somewhat clumsy blue and yellow decorated initials on 1v and 2r; brown ink initial L on 1r filled with geometric designs. All other initials in brown ink, generally plain or lightly decorated with plant motifs.

PROVENANCE

This collection was one of the books stolen by Guglielmo Libri from French libraries between ca. 1824 and 1848 (see introduction to this handlist entry above). It was bought from him in 1847 by Lord Ashburnham and in 1888 acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Paris, MS 1616 has twelfth-century provenance in Fleury (medieval classmark P 3), which suggests that the whole collection was once there. Similarly, the Orléans manuscript had a Fleury exlibris on p. 1 which was erased by Libri.

12. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 230¹⁶²

i + i + 280 pp. | 21 × 13 cm | 28–31 lines.

The original codicological whole is complete and remains in its original quire order. Another manuscript—St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 125—partially depends on St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230 (pp. 137–248 are copies of pp. 348–437).¹⁶³ Since this latter codex is dated to the last third of the eighth century, Lowe's earlier date of s. viii² for St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230 is preferable to Scherrer's date of s. ixⁱⁿ. In addition, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 40 is written in a hand very similar to the hand of St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230, indicating a possible relationship.

The codex is tentatively given by Scherrer and others as originating at St. Denis.¹⁶⁴ While it contains the story of the passion of St. Dionysius and its decoration "recalls French ornamentation," according to Lowe, there is no further indication that it originated at that centre. Both Lowe and Bischoff locate the manuscript's origin to St. Gallen.

¹⁶² <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0230>; CLA VII.933. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230 is only briefly mentioned in Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 3:316. The principal catalogue for this manuscript is Scherrer, *Verzeichniss*, 83–4..

¹⁶³ For example, in Dorfbauer, "Der Codex St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 125," 5–7. CLA VII.933.

¹⁶⁴ For example, in Dorfbauer, ed., *Pseudo-Augustinus*, 232.

Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, in her extensive study of the books of St. Denis, noted that the passion of Dionysius in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230 was copied from a St. Denis codex, which is now lost, at St. Gallen. The French and Swiss abbeys enjoyed a good relationship from the eighth century onwards, perhaps begun by Waldo of St. Gallen when he became head of the Abbey of St. Denis in 782. The present manuscript is one of at least two (with St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 446) that are witnesses of this relationship.¹⁶⁵ That the entire manuscript, including marginal notes, was copied in Alemannic minuscule also suggests that it was copied by a St. Gallen-trained scribe at St. Gallen. Finally, the different colours, layout, and form of uncial headings throughout the manuscript resemble other books from St. Gallen (for example, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 229).

The codex has modern pagination from 1 to 571. This includes the end pastedown: although Lowe believed it to be unnumbered, it is now clearly marked “571” in pencil. The pagination is incorrect after 349, when it jumps ten to 360. Each quire is signed with hollow capitals or with minuscule or majuscule letters in alphabetical order followed by Roman numerals, some in colour and set off by dots or dashes. Most of the manuscript is written by a single hand, except page 564 onwards.

COLLATION

I-V⁸, VI⁶, VII-VIII⁸, IX¹⁰, X-XXXV⁸.

CONTENTS

1. Ir: Paper note by Ildefons von Arx, monastery librarian of St. Gallen 1823–33, recording the hand of Winithar in the second half of the codex: “Posterior pars hujus codicis manifeste scripta est abs Winithario presbytero, qui sub S. Othmaro vixit, et exaravit codices n. 907, et n. 70 ubi de eo plura leges.” Signed “v. Arx. Bibliothecarius et Regens Seminarii 1825.” The same hand has inserted “n. 238” after “n. 70” in a darker ink. The identification of the hand which copied items 47–49 as Winithar’s is doubtful.
2. Iv: Latin list of contents, unidentified nineteenth-century hand.
Inc. “Yn hoc codice continentur...”
3. iir: Small paper note in a modern hand recording the former presence of 4 strips of text from the *Edictus Rothari*, a seventh-century compilation of Lombard law, in the spine of the codex: “Aus MS 230 wurden im Rücken 4 Streifen mit Text des Edictus Rothari herausgenommen.” Verso blank.
4. 1–2: Original list of contents.
Inc. “In nomine sancte trinitatis incipit concollectio diuinorum librorum...”

165 Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis*, 59.

5. 2–144: Excerpts from works by Isidore of Seville: *Liber sententiarum* I (p. 2); *Liber differentiarum* II (p. 49); *Etymologiae* 3.42–71 (*On Astronomy*, p. 81) and VII (*On God, the Saints and Apostles*, p. 93); and *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I (p. 118).
Inc. “In nomine sancte trinitatis incipit liber sancti ysidori yspanensis patri quod deus summus et incommutabilis sit. Summum bonum deus est...”
6. 144–83: Eucherius, *Formulae spiritualis intellegentiae*.
Inc. “In nomine domini nostri iesu christi incipit liber sancti eucherii de grecis nominibus uel hebracis. Eucherius uerano filio in christo salutem dicit. Formulas spiritualis...”
7. 183–203: Eucherius, *Instructiones*, book II.
Inc. “Incipit interpretatio nominum liber secundus. Adam homo....”
8. 203–69: Eucherius, *Instructiones*, book I.
Inc. “Incipit de questionibus ueteris et noui testamenti. Apocripha recondita...”
9. 269–316: Pseudo-Augustine, *Dialogus quaestionum*. Dialogue on 65 theological questions between Augustine and Orosius.¹⁶⁶
Inc. “Incipit prologus de questiunculis sancti augustini. Licet multi et probatis...”
10. 316–25: Questions and responses based on the works of Isidore, especially books 6 and 11 of the *Etymologiae*, encompassing the books of the Bible, man, and portents; and on the *Differentiae* II.5.13, encompassing the Trinity.
Inc. “Incipiunt sententias de floratibus diuersis. Interrogatio...”
11. 325–31: “Octo pondera de quibus factus est Adam,” from the Anglo-Saxon prose dialogue *Solomon and Saturn*.
Inc. “Incipiunt de octo pondera. Octo pondera de quibus factus est adam...”
12. 331–41: The two letters of Jerome and Damasus from the *Liber pontificalis*.
Inc. “Damasi ad hieronymum. Quid sibi uult quae in genesi...”
13. 341–48: Anonymous commentary on selected passages from the Gospels, falsely (according to Migne) attributed to Arnobius of Sicca.¹⁶⁷
Inc. “Incipit tr̃e euangelii excarpsum hieronimi presbiteri. In principio erat uerbum...”
14. 348–61: Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei* III.21 and 16 (from p. 349).
Inc. “Sermo de tractatu sancti hieronimi presbiteri ex euangelio mathei. Euangelica lectio quae nobis hodie recitata est...”
15. 361–64: Augustine, *Sermo II de Scripturis*, attributed sermon on the calling of Abraham.
Inc. “Humilia sancti agustini de uocatione abraham. Modo cum diuina lectio legitur...”

166 Also known as *Liber quaestionum Augustini*, *Quaestiunculae Augustini* or *Quaestiones Orosii et responsiones Augustini*. For a discussion of the history of this text, see Dorfbauer, “Eine Untersuchung”; Dorfbauer, ed., *Pseudo-Augustinus*, 232–3; and Keskhiah, *Dreams and Visions*, 169–73.

167 See PL 53.569.

16. 364–67: Augustine, *Sermo VI de Scripturis*, attributed sermon on the immolation of Isaac.
Inc. “Incipit sermo sancti agustini episcopi de abraham et isac filium suum. Lectio ille fratres karissimi in qua beatus abraham isaac filium suum in holocausto...”
17. 367–70: Augustine, *Sermo XIII de Scripturis*, attributed sermon on Joseph.
Inc. “Incipit humilia de sancto ioseph. Quotiens uobis fratres karissimi lectiones de testamentis ueteri recitantur...”
18. 370–74: Augustine, *Sermo XVI de Scripturis*, attributed sermon on Joseph’s death and the sons of Israel.
Inc. “Incipit sermo de eo quod scriptum est mortuus ioseph et filii israel creuerunt. Audiuius in lectione...”
19. 374–408: Gregory I, extracts from the *Homiliaria in Evangelio*.
Inc. “Incipiunt sententias excarpas de humilias sancti gregori. Ecce mitto angelum meum...”
20. 408: Anonymous commentary on the Lord’s Prayer.¹⁶⁸
Inc. “Incipit expositio de oratione domini. Pater noster qui es in caelis. Patrem inuocemus deum...”
21. 408–12: John Cassian, *Collationes patrum in scetica eremo* IX.18–23. Exposition of the Lord’s Prayer.
Inc. “Item expositio de oracione domini. Pater noster. Cum ergo uniuersitatis deum...”
22. 412–17: Anonymous commentary on the Lord’s Prayer.
Inc. “Item expositio de oracione domini. Pater noster. Hic confessio intellegendum...”
23. 417–19: Anonymous commentary on the Lord’s Prayer.¹⁶⁹
Inc. “Item expositio de oracione domini. Pater noster qui es in caelis. Ut filius merearis...”
24. 419: a. Anonymous passage on the development and purpose of the Mass.
Inc. “De missa pro quid cantat sacerdos. Missam caelebrare primum a sancto petro...”
 b. Ordinal of Christ in the Hibernian Chronological version.¹⁷⁰
Inc. “De septem gradibus ecclesie. Primus gradus lector...”
25. 419–20: List of the significance and link with Christ’s life of each hour’s sung *cursus* in the Divine Office.
Inc. “De sancto matheo pro quales uirtutes cantatur omnis cursus. Primus cursus nocturnus propter hoc cantatur pro illa uirtute...”

168 Listed, though without reference to this manuscript, in Bloomfield et al., eds., *Incipits of Latin Works*, 647.8861. This is the same commentary as Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313 (*olim* 266), text 33.

169 Listed, though without reference to this manuscript, in Bloomfield et al., eds., *Incipits of Latin Works*, 643.8807.

170 As Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ*, 58.

26. 420–38: Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae*.
Inc. “In christi nomine incipit prologus sancti hysidori de floratibus. Domino sancto hac reuerentissimo...”
27. 438–41: Anonymous Irish text introducing fourfold exegesis of the Gospels by discussing the four sacred rivers, the tetramorph etc., with a short extract from the book of the genealogy of Christ (*Liber generationis*) and a passage on Jacob.¹⁷¹
Inc. “Incipit de quatuor euangeliiis seu de aliis questionibus. Primum quidem...”
28. 441–98: Defensor, *Liber scintillarum*. Attributed to St. Eligius in the text. Ends in the middle of chapter 76 (of 80).
Inc. “Incipit capitulorum libri huius. i. De caritate...”
29. 498–510: Gennadius of Marseille, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*.
Inc. “Incipit doctrine fides ecclesie. i. De fide trinitatis...”
30. 510–518: *Physiologus* in 14 chapters (Y family).
Inc. “Incipit interpretatio spiritalis de libro bestiarum. De leone rege...”
31. 518–19: Anonymous commentary on the Song of Songs, including a comparison with Is. 63:1.
Inc. “Interpretatio de canticis canticorum. Quis est iste qui uenit ex edom...”
32. 520–21: Anonymous exegetical passage on law, introducing David the law-maker; interpreting ten coins from Luke 15:8–10 as ten prophets and ten virtues, with the woman as holy law; and listing seven Christian churches and their virtues.
Inc. “Gloriosus et inlustris propheta dauid...”
33. 521–26: Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae* II:1, *On Wisdom*, II:7, *On Conversion* and II:29, *On the Sermon*.
Inc. “Hisidorus dixit de sapientia. Omnis qui secundum deum sapiens est beatus est...”
34. 526–29: Anonymous text on virginity, patience, sobriety, and drunkenness, the four virtues, the virtues of the saints, and the house of the Lord.
Inc. “De uirginitate agustinus dixit. Si uis regnare cum christo...”
35. 529–34: Proverbs and wisdom sentences from the Bible.
Inc. “Incipiunt sententias salamonis. Initium sapientiae timor domini...”
36. 534: List of the Ten Commandments.
Inc. “De decem uerba legis. Audi Israhel. Dominus deus tuus deus unus est...”
37. 534–35: List of the symbols of the four Evangelists.
Inc. “De quattuor euangelistis. Multo ante predicta hie...”
38. 535–36: Allegorical interpretation of the four Evangelists.
Inc. “Interpretatio quatuor euangelistis. Olim ostensum est denique ex genesi...”

171 Identified by Bischoff, “Wendepunkte,” 244. The text is partially dependent on Ps-Jerome, *Expositio quattuor euangeliorum*.

39. 536–37: Allegorical interpretation of the contents of Christ's tomb.
Inc. "De camara christi. Cum hominem dei hic est..."
40. 537–38: Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei* IV.25.1. On the parable of the ten virgins (Matt. 25).
Inc. "Incipit lectio de tractatu sancti hieronimi presbyteri de euangelii sancti matthaei. Paulo ante cum euangelica..."
41. 539–44: *Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*.
Inc. "Incipit decretale sancti gelasii pape urbis rome. Post propheticas..."
42. 544–46: Anonymous question and answer text on the use of the psalms by King David.¹⁷²
Inc. "Incipit inquisitio qualis psalmus primus a dauid fuisset cantatus. Psalterium inquirendum est..."
43. 546–47: Numerical list of the kinds of psalms.¹⁷³
Inc. "Dauid filius iesse..."
44. 547–48: Text praising the singing of psalms.¹⁷⁴
Inc. "Agustinus dixit. Canticum psalmorum..."
45. 548–49: Isidore of Seville, *Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum seu quaestiones in vetus Testamentum. In Leviticum* XIII.
Inc. "Item sententias hisidori super leuiticum. Inter haec etiam iubetur..."
46. 549–63: Explanatory text on the letters of the alphabet. Alphabetical A–O with frequent reference to Jerome and Isidore. The beginning is taken from Donatus, *Ars maior*.
Inc. "In nomine sancte trinitatis incipit uolumen de litteris abcnariis [sic] XVII. De littera. Littera est pars minima..."
47. 564–68: On the passion of St. Dionysius (incomplete). Later eighth- to ninth-century addition (by Winithar? See item 1).
Inc. "Passio sancti diunisi cum sociis suis quod est VII ides octubris. Post domini nostri..."
48. 569–70: Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei* III.21. The same text as on pp. 348–9. Later eighth- to ninth-century addition (by Winithar? See item 1).
Inc. "Sermo de tractatu sancti hieronimi presbyteri ex euangelio mathei. Euangelica lectio..."
49. 571 (paste-down): Isidore of Seville, *De officiis* I:27. On Palm Sunday. Later eighth- to ninth-century addition (by Winithar? See item 1).
Inc. "Dies palmarum ideo celebratur quia in eo dominus..."

172 As Ayuso Marazuela, *La Vetus Latina Hispana*, 342–3.

173 As Ayuso Marazuela, *La Vetus Latina Hispana*, 295–6.

174 As Ayuso Marazuela, *La Vetus Latina Hispana*, 324–5.

SCRIPT

The script is Alemannic minuscule. The headings and *litterae notabiliores* are in uncial. The single scribe separates words clearly, and frequently uses the *nt* ligature mid-word, as well as abbreviations such as the insular symbols for *enim* and *est*. Minor corrections have been made throughout. Other hands from the second half of the eighth century and the early ninth century have written the text from fol. 564 onwards.

DECORATION

Most titles and initials are multi-coloured or rubricated uncial hollow letters. Beautifully decorated large initials are often used at the beginning of texts (e.g. p. 332). These contain motifs of birds, fishes, leaves, and sinuous lines.

PROVENANCE

No information is available on the provenance of the codex. It is listed in the mid-ninth century catalogue of the library of St. Gallen abbey (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 728, p. 10), indicating that it was in St. Gallen within approximately fifty years of its creation, if not from the beginning.¹⁷⁵ It is probable that it has remained at the abbey library ever since.

13. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1074¹⁷⁶

I + 30 fols. i + i + 25 fols. + I | 17 × 10.5–11 cm (part I), 13.5 × 9.5 cm (part 2) | 30–31 lines (part I), 18 lines (part II).

Part I (1r–30av) of this manuscript was written in an area where West Romance was spoken, possibly in Catalonia, in s. x–xi.¹⁷⁷ It is foliated in a post-medieval hand; a modern hand has re-traced the numbers in pencil. Early medieval quire numbers were added to the end of each quire. The text contains accents (see the discussion in Chapter 5).

Part II (30br–54v) was copied on paper in France in s. xvi². It has seventeenth- or eighteenth-century foliation, with additional sixteenth-century foliation from fol. 30b. Folios 30a and 30b are twentieth-century paper inserts separating the two manuscript parts. The Roman binding is from between 1869 and 1878, when the two parts were first put together.

Walz lists the contents of fols. 23v–30r under the heading “Dogmatica in processionem sancti spiritus.” This is an umbrella heading for a group of texts that are given as separate items below.

¹⁷⁵ <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0728/10>.

¹⁷⁶ http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1074?ui_lang=ger. The primary catalogue is Walz, *Die historischen und philosophischen Handschriften*, 255–7.

¹⁷⁷ Located to Catalonia by Bischoff in a private letter to Walz.

COLLATION

Part I: I–III⁸, IV⁶.

Part II: I¹⁰ + 1, II¹⁰, III⁴.

CONTENTS

Part I

1. 1r–21r: *Physiologus* in 37 chapters (B family). Sixteenth-century title (“De naturis animalium”).
Inc. “Incipit liber phisiologi seu expositio de natura animalium et bestiarum. De tres naturis leonis...”
 2. 21v–22r: Excerpts from Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 16.10.1 on *margarita*, 12.7.24 on *psitacus* (with additions from various texts, including Persius, *Saturae*, prol. 1–13), 12.7.31 on *ercine*, 12.7.64 on *coturnix*.
Inc. “De ethymologiis. Margarita prima candidarum gemmarum...”
 3. 22r–23v: Anonymous, *Commentum in visiones Danielis* (Dn. 10.4–5; 10.7).
Inc. “Cum essem inquit iuxta fluuium magnum tigris...”
 4. 23v–24r: Profession of faith sent to Spanish bishops in 794 after the Council of Frankfurt in response to the Adoptionist controversy.¹⁷⁸
Inc. “Credimus in sanctam trinitatem id est patrem...”
 5. 24v–27r: Venantius Fortunatus, *Commentum in symbolum Athanasianum*.¹⁷⁹
Inc. “Incipit expositio in fide catolica. Quicumque uult saluus esse...”
 6. 27r–30r: Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Epistola de processione Spiritus Sancti*.¹⁸⁰
Inc. “Questio que de spiritum sancti processione est...”
 7. 30r–30v: Charlemagne, *Epistola ad Alcuinum anno 798 scripta*.¹⁸¹ The text breaks off at “ut aestimamus” and the remainder is lost.
Inc. “Incipit responsio de septuagesima, sexagesima, quinquagesima et quadragesima. Carolus gratia dei rex...”
- 30a (paper): Blank.

Part II

30b (paper): Blank.

8. 30br–54r: Pierre Gilles, *Descriptio noua elephantis*. Printed in Hamburg in 1614.
Inc. “Elephantis tam terrestres quam marini atque equi fluuiatilis...”

178 As MGH Conc. 2, 163–4.

179 Pr. Burn, *The Athanasian Creed*, 28–39.

180 Pr. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* 7, 252–5. As MGH Conc. 2.1, 236–9.

181 As MGH Epp., 228–29.

SCRIPT

Part I is written in a variety of hands using Caroline minuscule. There is frequent use of the *punctus uersus* and *punctus eleuatus*, and very frequent use of the acute accent throughout. The common mark of abbreviation is 2-shaped. Occasional text titles in uncial. *Litterae notabiliores* are in rustic capitals or uncial. Abbreviations are frequent and ascenders generally long and straight, with narrow, almost cramped letter forms. Many contemporary glosses and marginal notes. Part II is printed using a humanistic cursive type.

DECORATION

Plain, except for occasional modest pen drawings on *litterae notabiliores*. Rubricated chapter titles in the *Physiologus*.

PROVENANCE

Belonged to the castle library of Otto-Henry (Ottheinrich), Elector Palatine (d. 1559), then to the Heidelberg Heiligegeistkirche from ca. 1556.¹⁸² At Heidelberg in 1622 when the city was captured as part of the 30 Years' War by Maximilian of Bavaria; in recompense for the support given him by the papacy, Pope Gregory XV asked for the famous manuscripts of the Bibliotheca Palatina. Some 11,000 volumes, of which 3,600 manuscripts, were taken to Rome in 1623. This manuscript is one of them.

14. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Gud. lat. I 48¹⁸³

I + 124 fols. + I | 24 × 18.5 cm | 27–8 lines.

Identified by Bischoff as deriving from the same French scriptorium as Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 852, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2731A and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 5250.¹⁸⁴ Butzmann's identification of the place of origin as eastern France is used here.

This manuscript has been dated very differently by Bischoff (s. ix^{4/4}, France), Butzmann (s. ix^{med}), and Michsack (s. x) Bischoff's dating of the manuscript is the most recent and seems the most accurate, so it has been adopted here.

Quire signatures range from Q I A to Q XV P (where the *Q* presumably stands for *quaterni/quaternum*), indicating that the original codicological whole is unaltered and almost complete. The last pages of the last quires are missing and so lack a quire sig-

¹⁸² Walz, *Die historischen und philosophischen Handschriften*, xxiv.

¹⁸³ <http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=148-gud-lat>. The two principal catalogues for this manuscript are Butzmann, "Die Weissenburger Handschriften," 300–302 and Milchsack, *Die Handschriften*, 164–65. It also has a short entry in Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 3:502. Also pr. in Cahier and Martin, eds., *Mélanges* 2–4: In part 2 on pp. 107–223 (to chap. 14); in part 3 on pp. 238–85 (to chap. 19); and in part 4 on pp. 57–70 (to chap. 24). Translated and described in Steiger and Homburger, *Physiologus Bernensis*.

¹⁸⁴ Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 3:502.

nature. 1v has *f.* as a signature letter in the top margin. This was a s. xv² addition to all Weissenburg monastery books to divide them by subject. *F* was the group for religious literature not included in earlier categories (biblical texts and biblical commentaries).

COLLATION

I⁸ (wants 1), II–XV⁸, XVI⁸ (wants 6, 7, 8).

CONTENTS

1. End-leaf from an eleventh-century missal (one other leaf of which is the last end-leaf of Weissenburg 73).
Inc. "Gratiam sancti spiritus..."
2. Ar: Sixteenth-century Weissenburg ownership inscription. "Folios A et 1–123" written just underneath in a more modern hand. Otherwise blank, ruled.
Inc. "Liber monasterii sanctorum petri pauli apostolorum in wisszenburg In claistro."
3. Av: Fifteenth-century marginal list of contents.
Inc. "Juliani Episcopi Toletani prognosticorum..."
4. Av–59v: Julian of Toledo, *Prognosticum futuri saeculi*.¹⁸⁵ The preface is put together from the beginning of a letter of Julian to Idalius, Bishop of Barcelona, and the end of the letter the latter sent in reply.¹⁸⁶ Lists of chapters have been added after the preface and before each new book.
Inc. "In nomine domini et saluatoris nostri iesu christi incipit liber pronostocorum..."
5. 60r: Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 1.37.22–34. Short Latin glossary that explains the words *allegoria*, *enigma*, *tropologia*, *parabola*, *paradigma*, *prosa*, *dialogus*, *apologeticum*.
Inc. "Allegoria est alieni [alienum] eloquium..."
6. 60r–60v: Isidore of Seville, *Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum seu quaestiones in vetus Testamentum. In Deuteronomium* XVI.3. On the eight vices.
Inc. "De octo uiciis. De gastromargia namque nascuntur commessiones aebrietates..."
7. 60v–82r: Phaedrian fables in the Romulus tradition. 63 prose fables in 5 books, beginning with the letter of Aesop to Rufus. Also known as the "Weissenburg Aesop," and manuscript *W* in the family. Spaces for miniatures left between fables.
Inc. "Incipit liber Ysopi [Esopi] magistro rufo aesopus salutem..."

185 Sometimes also called the *Prognosticon futuri saeculi*. I follow the editor of Julian's works in calling it *Prognosticum* (CCSL 115).

186 PL 96.455 and PL 96.460.

8. 82r–98r: Alcuin of York, *Compendium in Cantica canticorum Salomonis*.¹⁸⁷
Inc. “Hunc cecinit salomon mira dulcedine librum. Qui tenet egregias...”
9. 84r: Note in upper margin recording the appearance of a new star and of a rainbow. The same hand has corrected and annotated the main text. Contemporary addition.
Inc. “Mense septembri .die VIII. [sabb. written above] .luna xxv. in die apparuit stella...”
10. 98v–108v: *Physiologus* in 25 chapters (C family). Butzmann noted that the text is the same version as that in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 318. Spaces left for miniatures in and between chapters.
Inc. “De natura leonis. Est leo regalis [rex] omnium animalium et bestiarum...”
11. 108v–123v: *Liber monstrorum*. Text includes a preface as well as books II and III of the *Liber*, entitled *De beluis* and *De serpentibus*.
Inc. “Incipit liber monstruorum [monstrorum] de diuersis generibus. De oculo orbis...”

SCRIPT

Well-formed Caroline minuscule in light brown ink, one hand. Frequent uncial *d*. Very many corrections by a Weissenburg hand of s. ix² (that is, a contemporary hand), and many words erased.¹⁸⁸ All headings and *litterae notabiliores* in red or black rustic capitals. *Incipit* and *explicit* lines in large rustic capitals.

DECORATION

On Ar black and red lines interchange; 4 lines are in majuscules and 6 lines in rustic capitals.

PROVENANCE

In Weissenburg abbey library in the fifteenth century (judging from the inscription on Ar). This library became a collegiate foundation in 1524. The manuscript was acquired by scholar and archaeologist Marquard Gude (d. 1689). He left his library to his son Peter Marquard, who auctioned it off gradually. In 1710 most of the manuscripts from this library, including Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Gud. lat. 148, were bought by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, the librarian of Duke Anton Ulrich von Braunschweig, and housed in the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, where they have remained.

¹⁸⁷ PL 100.639–64.

¹⁸⁸ Butzmann, “Die Weissenburger Handschriften,” 300.

Appendix II

PHYSIOLOGUS FAMILIES

- A:** Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS lat. 10066–77; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 14388.
- B:** Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 225 + Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 233 + Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313; Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 316 + MS 323; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. T.2.23; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1074.
- C:** Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 318; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Gud. lat. 148.
- Y:** Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611 + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10756; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 129; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 19417; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 1616 + Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 18 (*olim* 15) + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouv. acq. lat. 455; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230.
- Unknown:** Chartres, Médiathèque L'Apostrophe, MS 63 (125) (perhaps C family): “De laena, de audolaps, de pelicano, de nocticorax, de aquila, defenice, de uppupa, de vipera, de serpente, de formica, de ono centauro” (partial list from catalogue).

***Physiologus* Chapters by Family and Manuscript**

The chapters are listed in the order they appear in the main text of each *Physiologus*. If a manuscript copy has a list of contents, any chapters missing from the list are indicated. Where chapters do not have rubrics in the main text, they are taken either from the list of contents, or directly from the chapter if no contents list is available. Square brackets indicate chapters in the main text that are not listed in the list of contents. Angled brackets indicate missing or added text. Spelling is preserved as it appears in the manuscripts. The number of each chapter refers only to its numerical order in the main text of the manuscript (not to the numbers assigned to it by the scribe, or in the list of contents, as these are often inaccurate).

A FAMILY**Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS lat. 10066-77**

No.	Fol.	Chapter
1.	140r	leo
2.	140v	autolops
3.	141v	lapides igniferi
4.	142r	serra
5.	142r	caladrius
6.	143r	pelicanus
7.	143v	nycticorax
8.	144r	aquila
9.	144v	phoenix
10.	145v	formica
11.	146r	syrenae et onocentauri
12.	146bistr	uulpis
13.	146bistr	unicornis
14.	147r	castor
15.	147v	hyaena
16.	148r	dorca
17.	148v	onager
18.	149r	hydrus
19.	149r	simia
20.	149v	perdix
21.	150r	asida / isida
22.	150v	salamandra
23.	150v	turtur
24.	151r	columbae
25.	152r	epops
26.	152v	onager
27.	152v	uipera
28.	153r	serpens
29.	153v	herinacius
30.	154r	arbor peridexion
31.	154v	elephans