

Glossaries and Other Innovations in Carolingian Book Production

Rosamond McKitterick

Carolingian book production needs to be understood within the context of the communication of knowledge, the transmission of ideas across time and space and the consequent formation of what can be described as a cultural map in Europe.¹

One of the things this entails is the practical means by which ideas could be exchanged, that is, modes of communication and consequently the role of books, the evidence for the exchange of ideas, connections between individuals and institutions and examples of texts and types of knowledge. The importance of the theme of the migration of ideas in relation to books and texts is reflected in the attention increasingly being paid to it, not least in the Leiden-Palermo-Groningen project on the 'Storehouses of wholesome learning and transfer of encyclopaedic knowledge in the early middle ages' directed by Rolf Bremmer, Kees Dekker and Patrizia Lendinara,² the Martianus Capella project under the direction of Mariken Teeuwen at the Huygens/ING Institute in Den Haag,³ and, more generally, the 'Francemed' project based at the German Historical Institute in Paris on 'Processes of cultural transfer in

1. This is the general theme of the book on which I am currently engaged, provisionally entitled *The Migration of Ideas in the Early Middle Ages*, to be published by Cambridge University Press.
2. Bremmer and Dekker, eds., *Foundations of Learning* and Bremmer and Dekker, eds., *Practice in Learning*.
3. Teeuwen et al., eds., *Carolingian Scholarship and Martianus Capella*, 1st edn. November 2008, <http://martianus.huygens.knaw.nl/>, accessed 23 May 2011.

4. See the online report, <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=3032>, accessed 8 June 2011.

5. For an excellent survey, see Martin et Vezin, eds., *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*.

the medieval Mediterranean' led by Daniel König, Rania Abdellatif, Yassir Benhima and Elisabeth Ruchaud.⁴

Concerns with how knowledge was transferred are particularly germane to Erik Kwakkel's enquiries about the relationship between the physical features of medieval manuscripts and the texts they contain, and the extent to which any group of scribes at a particular moment may have made radical innovations in the presentation of their texts. Is it possible for modern scholars to extrapolate, from the layouts of the texts themselves, how books might have been used and what the needs of readers were at any period in the middle ages? In what ways do medieval manuscripts provide the evidence for how such needs may have changed and been accommodated?

Such questions will obviously prompt a host of different responses according to the type of text and context in which that text might have been produced. That the responses would be different cannot be stressed enough. Liturgical, pedagogic, judicial, administrative and scholarly needs may all have had to be accommodated, in that these required different physical presentations. It may make generalization inconveniently difficult, if not impossible. Each and every particular example, whether of a succession of copies of a particular text across a wide chronological and geographical range, or of one single representative of a text written in a particular time, context and place, will contribute nevertheless to a wider understanding of book production in the middle ages, and enable us to identify innovation in the presentation of texts to readers.⁵ It may also help to trace any continuities, or a revival of older features that may have died out between the Carolingian period and the twelfth century. I shall concentrate for the most part in this chapter, therefore, on two categories of text: early medieval history books, and dictionaries and glossaries compiled in the

eighth and ninth centuries. History books written for one audience may have a different impact in new contexts and can be redeployed for different educational and ideological purposes. Collections of Latin word definitions or glossaries, given that words in themselves are the most basic form for the conveyance and migration of ideas, potentially offer a guide to the intellectual as well as practical preoccupations of the time. They may also represent new formats designed to present information, especially words, needed in new contexts. I shall discuss both these categories of book – history books, and glossaries – in the second and third sections of this paper, for both are highly significant as demonstrations of different ways Carolingian scribes treated the physical page. But first of all there are some general points about physical form in relation to texts in the early Middle Ages that need to be made.

6. See the useful observations of Cailliet, 'Caractères et statut du livre d'apparat carolingien'.

Physical Form, Scribal Practice and Aids to Readers

If we are to determine whether or not Carolingian book production introduced many innovations to the appearance of the books, a principal question has to be not only how much Carolingian scribes may have inherited by way of scribal practice but also how many of the physical characteristics of the categories of text they copied were taken over from their exemplars.⁶ There are Carolingian examples of many features of the presentation of texts that we now take for granted, such as quire marks at the end of a gathering, the marking out of sections, paragraphs or verses with enlarged capital letters, the practice of setting out a text *per cola et commata* (in relation to reading it aloud) and marginal key words summarizing the principal contents of a section. Various systems for citations and differentiation of quotations from the main text were deployed. One was quotation marks in the form of commas all

Fig. 1. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 67 E, fol. 7r (detail, enlarged). Latin glossary chrestomathy, France, s. ix^{3/4}, showing notes of authorities cited in the margin.

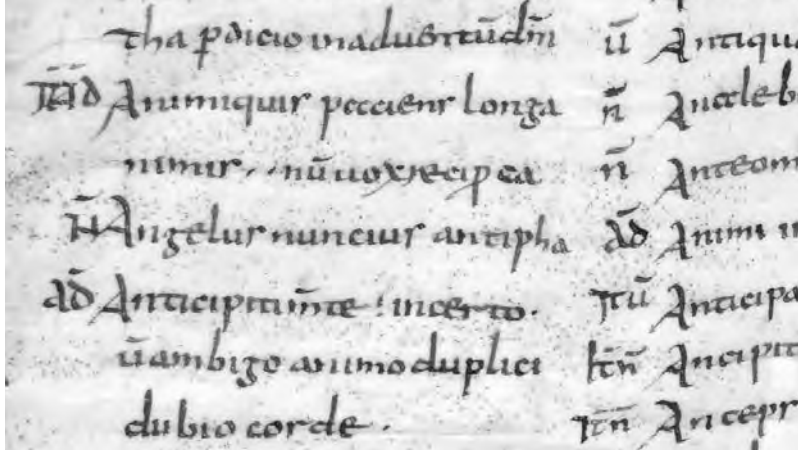


Fig. 2. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS VIQ 9, fol. 24v (detail, enlarged). Liber Herbarius, Italy, s. viⁱ, showing a quire mark.

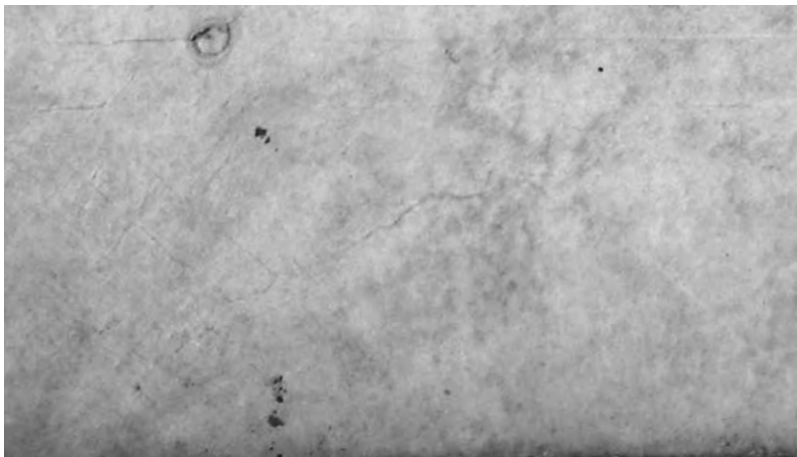
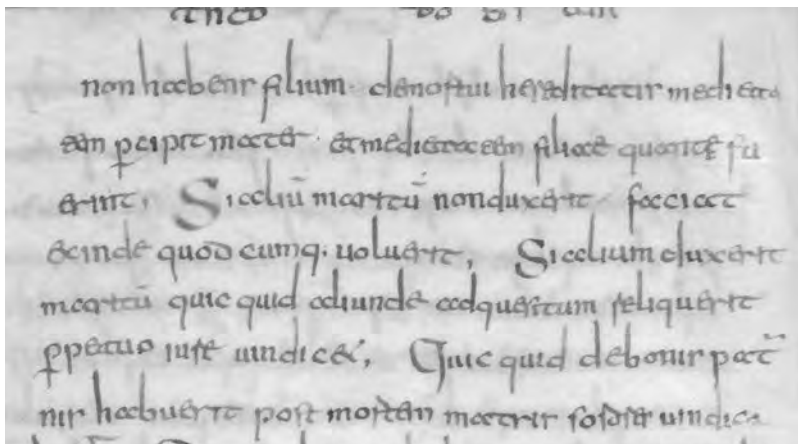


Fig. 3. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 114, fol. 38v (detail, enlarged). Epitome Aegidiana Bourges, s. viii/ix, showing the running titles.



down the paragraph, such as the ninth-century Reichenau copy of Augustine's *Retractationes* in BnF lat. 17394. Another was the use of abbreviated names of authorities as marginal reference tools, such as 'AUG' for Augustine, 'AM' for Ambrose, 'GG' for Gregory the Great. Both these devices were established by the late eighth century at least, and can be especially observed in manuscripts containing biblical exegesis. An example is St Gallen, SB, MS 283, p. 46, citing Augustine.⁷ In BPL 67 E, fol. 71r (Fig. 1/Plate 1), sources of words in the A-section of the glossary are offered. Most if not all of these reading aids can be found in late-antique codices as well. Many of these aspects, furthermore, can be illustrated from early medieval manuscripts in the Leiden University Library collections.

Quire marks, as a system, for example, were a standard feature of the organisation of a late-antique codex such as VLQ 9, fol. 24v (Fig. 2/Plate 2), a Herbal written in Italy in the second half of the sixth century, even if the position in the bottom margin changes from the left corner to the middle over time.⁸ Running titles in the top margin of a page, most usually in a different type of script from that employed for the main text, are present in the oldest Latin manuscripts extant from the fourth and fifth centuries, and would appear to be a consequence of the development of the codex form of the book.⁹ One example in Leiden is BPL 52, fol. 100r, *Servius in Lib. V-XI Aeneidos*, probably written at Corbie at the turn of the eighth century, with running titles in uncial or minuscule, and illustrated here is BPL 114, fol. 38 (Fig. 3/Plate 3), *Epitome Aegidiana*, of the sixth-century *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, copied s. viii/ix, in which the running titles are in capitals or in minuscule. In both cases the main text is written in minuscule.

The elaborate cross reference system for comparing the Gospel narratives of Christ's birth, teaching, miracles and pas-

7. Illustrations of the St Gallen examples cited can be found on the Codices Electronici Sangallenses website, www.cesg.unifr.ch/en/, accessed 16 November 2011. Manuscripts in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek are paginated.
8. See Lowe's 'Some Facts About Our Oldest Latin Manuscripts' and 'More Facts About Our Oldest Latin Manuscripts', reprinted in his *Palaeographical Papers*, ed. Bieler, Vol. 1, 187-202 and 250-74, respectively, from which subsequent references to these two articles are cited.
9. Lowe, 'Some Facts' and 'More Facts'. On the codex, see Roberts and Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex*.

Fig. 4. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 48, fol. 8v (detail, enlarged). The so-called 'Ghent Livinus Gospels', St Amand, s. ix^{3/4}.

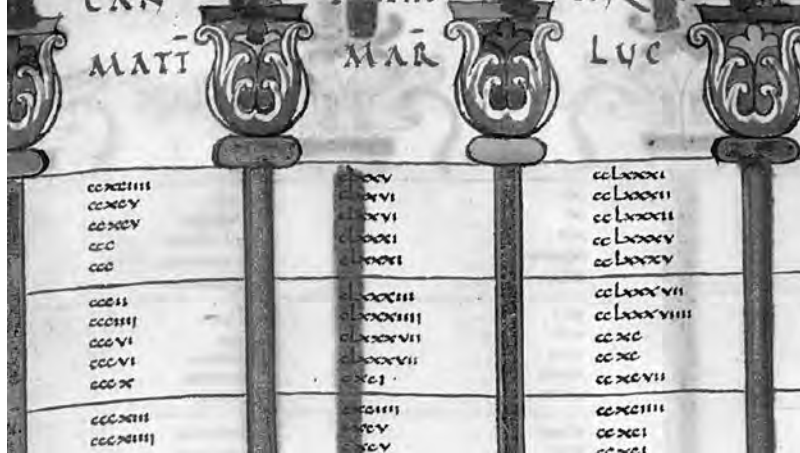


Fig. 5. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS VLQ 60, fol. 8v (detail, enlarged). Liber pontificalis, St Amand, s. viii/ix, showing different script types and ornamented coloured initials.

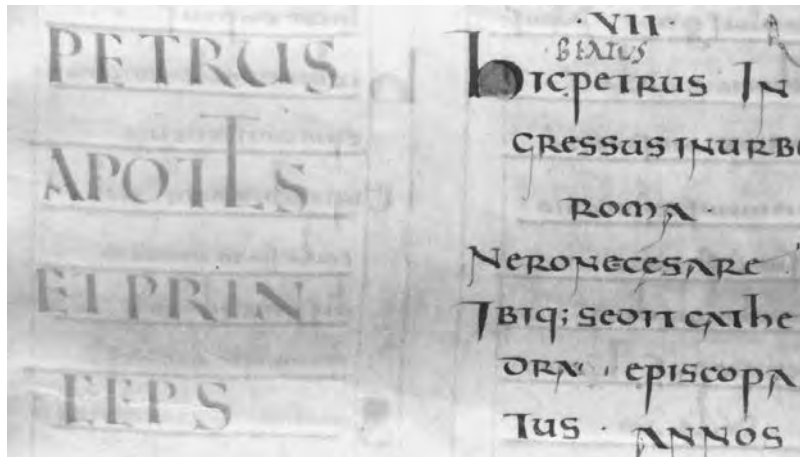


Fig. 6. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS VLF 82, fol. 120v (detail, enlarged). Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae and glossaries, Paris, St Germain-des-Prés, s. ix^m, showing a hierarchy of scripts and the T-O diagram to represent the world.



sion was devised by Eusebius in the fourth century and is to be seen in the synoptic canon tables in Gospel books such as the Ghent Livinus Gospels now BPL 48, fols 8v-9r (Fig. 4/Plate 4), written at St Amand in the third quarter of the ninth century.¹⁰

Many late-antique and early medieval scribes created interplay between various text colors, rubrication and different coloured headings. An early example is again the sixth-century Italian codex, *Liber herbarius*, VLQ 9, fols 24v-25r (Fig. 2/Plate 2) with alternating red and black uncial, the same script as the text, or VLQ 60, fols 8v-9r (Fig. 5/Plate 5), a copy of the *Liber pontificalis* from St Amand, dated to the late eighth or early ninth century which deploys different script types as well as ornamented initials and colours.¹¹ In many instances the interplay between different grades of script was formalized as a hierarchy of scripts, particularly practised at Tours in the ninth century, but familiar in many early medieval books, such as VLF 82, fol. 120v (Fig. 6/Plate 6), from the Paris region or the Canon Law collection in The Hague, Museum Meermano-Westreenianum, MS 10.B.4, fol. 53v, both dated s. viii/ix.¹²

A variable use of two-column or long-line layout on each page is to be observed in the oldest extant Latin manuscripts.¹³ It is a commonplace, moreover, that the essentially square format of many late-antique codices appears to have been reproduced by many Carolingian scribes when copying classical and late antique texts. Surviving manuscripts of Horace, on the other hand, are more often than not presented with more regular proportions rather than square.¹⁴ A layout that visually distinguished between main text and 'add-ons' such as glosses or fuller commentary is familiar in ninth-century copies of older texts and may have been taken over from earlier exemplars. So might the deployment of different sizes of script for

10. On the arrangement of Gospel books see McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800*. Cf. the review by Wright, 'Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800 by Patrick McGurk'.

11. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (henceforward CLA), X, Nos 1582 and 1583.

12. CLA, X, No. 1581.

13. Lowe, 'Some Facts', ed. Bieler, 201.

14. Lowe, 'More Facts', ed. Bieler, 270-1. See also

McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, 201-4. I am grateful to Erik Kwakkel for his summary of the appearance of Horace codices.

15. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis*, XLIX-XLVII;

Geertman, 'La genesi del *Liber Pontificalis romano*'; and McKitterick, 'Roman Texts and Roman History in the Early Middle Ages'.

16. Butzman, ed., *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum* and CLA, IX, No. 1374. See also the comments by Michael Reeve in Reynolds, ed., *Texts and Transmission*, 1-6 and Dilke, *The Roman Land Surveyors*, 126-32.

the main text and the annotations, such as the Leiden copies of Servius (BPL 52) and Martianus Capella, VLF 48.

Tables of contents are also familiar from both chapter headings preceding biblical books and contents of law books, as well as the Vossius copy of the *Liber pontificalis* mentioned above, VLQ 60, where on fols 5v-7r the list of the popes whose biographies are included in the book is placed at the beginning in numbered sequence, or BPL 114, fols 8v-9r, listing the contents of a law book. A remarkable instance of the provision of contents' details is the eighth-century miscellany from St Gallen, St Gallen, SB, MS 225, pp. 3-4, which has itemized all its contents. These would appear to be elements of the presentation of the text developed when the texts themselves were being compiled. In the case of the *Liber pontificalis*, the list of popes acting as an indicator of the contents appears to have been part of the original conception of the text in the sixth century.¹⁵ The detailed lists at St Gallen, however, are more likely to be the product of a particular enterprise at St Gallen in the eighth century that I explore more fully below.

Similarly, diagrams were probably derived from late-antique exemplars, and familiar from such texts as the famous *Agrimensores* corpus in the Codex Arcerianus A (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Aug. 2° 36.23), later owned by Erasmus.¹⁶ They are found in a number of texts relating to astronomy, cosmology, mathematics, geometry, music and the like. Thus they mostly occur in such texts as Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, Macrobius's *Commentary on Cicero's Somnium Scipionis*, Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* and the translation of and commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* by Chalcidius, as well as encyclopaedic compilations composed in the early Middle Ages such as the *De natura rerum* and *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. These diagrams function as

illustrations, interpretations, further information, clarification and even interrogation of the texts they serve. Examples among many possible are the planetary configurations in the Leiden *Aratea*,¹⁷ VLQ 79, fol. 93v, the representation of the equinox in a Leiden copy of Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, written at Auxerre in the second quarter of the ninth century, VLF 48, fol. 92v, and the T-O diagram to represent the world, common in copies of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, here illustrated from VLF 82, fol. 120v (Fig. 6/Plate 6) written at St Germain-des-Prés at the turn of the eighth century.¹⁸

Knowledge of the study of Carolingian science has increased enormously in the past two decades, not least as a result of the meticulous examination of the Carolingian copies of many of the relevant classical texts, which as Eastwood has stressed, were revived, copied, disseminated and studied from the time of Charlemagne onwards.¹⁹ The idea of diagrams as visual elucidations of a text is clearly as old as some of the disciplines concerned, not least Euclid's geometry, but it is also the case that Bruce Eastwood and Gerd Grasshoff have been able to identify and classify innovative astronomical and planetary diagrams introduced into manuscripts to assist readers from the Carolingian period.²⁰ Anna Somfai has also traced how the process of trying to understand the cosmology in Plato's *Timaeus* precipitated further explanatory diagrams in the ninth and tenth centuries.²¹

The ways in which particular texts and functions of texts can determine format is of course in evidence for liturgical texts designed to be read aloud, but it is no less pertinent for particular layouts of text appropriate to their format, such as verse. An example is the poetry of Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, lib. VI in VLF 30, fol. 22v (the *Codex Oblongus*) (Fig. 7/Plate 7). Annals and Easter tables such as those assembled in Scaliger 28, fols 17v-18r

17. See the facsimile edition, Bischoff, *Aratea: Kommentar zum Aratus des Germanicus MS. Voss lat Q. 79*, Chapter 4.

18. See the useful discussion of early diagrammatic maps by Teresi, 'Anglo-Saxon and Early Anglo-Norman Mappaemundi', and her references.

19. Eastwood, *Ordering the Heavens*. See also Butzer and Lohrmann, ed., *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times*.

20. See Eastwood and Grasshoff, *Planetary Diagrams for Roman Astronomy in Medieval Europe*.

21. Somfai, 'The Transmission and Reception of Plato's *Timaeus* and Calcidius's Commentary During the Carolingian Renaissance'.

Fig. 7. Leiden, Universiteits-
bibliotheek, MS VLF 30, fol.
22v (detail, enlarged).

Lucretius, *De rerum natura*,
lib. VI (*Codex Oblongus*),
Northwest Germany, s. ix^{1/4}
^{2/4} showing layout for verse.

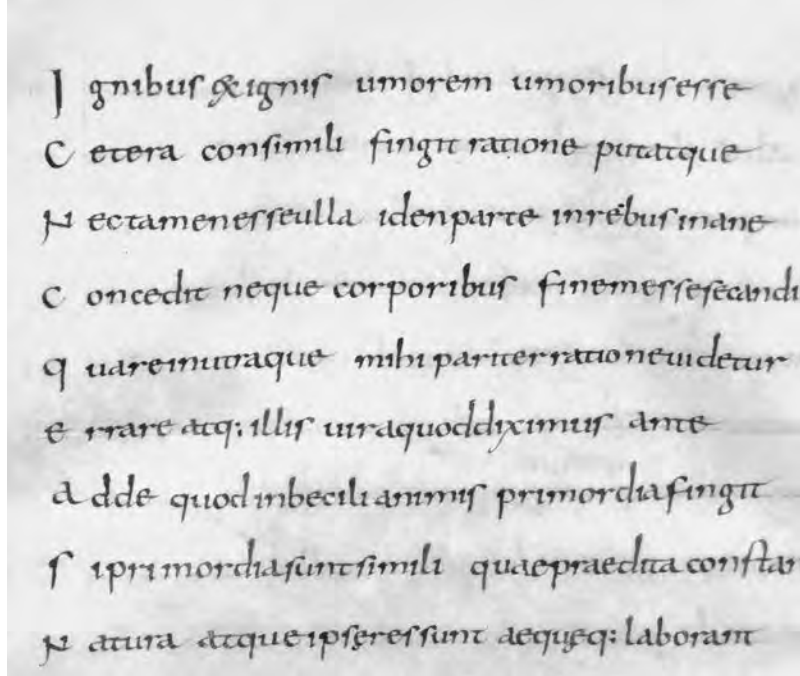


Fig. 8. Leiden, Universiteits-
bibliotheek, MS Scaliger 28,
fols 17v-18r (detail,
enlarged). Flavigny, c. 816,
showing layout for Annals
and Easter tables.

Dec lvi	unij	xu	iiii	xix apt	ut apt	xxi
Dec lvi	x	xxiii	u	undapt	undapt	xu
Dec lvi	xi	un	vi	nixapt	unno apt	xviii
Dec lvi	xii	xviii	vii	xix foma	xfoma	xviii
AN DON IN DIE PRAXIA CUM LXIII DOM LUN						
Dec lvi	xiii	xv	vi	Non apt	undapt	xu
Dec lvi	xiiii	xi	vii	unifcap	nixapt	xviii
Dec lvi	xv	xxii	viii	id apt	xix foma	xviii
Dec lvi	xvi	x	ix	undapt	unno apt	xu
Dec lvi	xvii	xiii	x	xix apt	unifapt	xviii
Dec lvi	xviii	xxi	i	undapt	xix foma	xviii
Dec lvi	xix	un	ii	nixapt	undapt	xxi
Dec lvi	xx	xviii	iii	xix foma	xix foma	xu
Dec lvi	xxi	xv	iiii	undapt	undapt	xviii
Dec lvi	xxii	xii	v	unifapt	unno apt	xx
Dec lvi	xxiii	xi	vi	xix foma	xfoma	xxi
Dec lvi	xxiv	x	vii	unno apt	undapt	xviii
Dec lvi	xxv	xxix	viii	unifapt	nixapt	xviii
Dec lvi	xxvi	xxvi	ix	undapt	xix foma	xx
Dec lvi	xxvii	xxiii	x	apt	unno apt	xviii
Dec lvi	xxviii	xxii	xi	xix foma	unifapt	xviii
Dec lvi	xxix	xxi	xii	undapt	xix foma	xviii

also required new layouts (Fig. 8/Plate 8). Within a text the requirements of reading and understanding in different periods manifests itself, moreover, in changes in punctuation.²²

New Genres of Text and New Types of Book

When used in new genres of text we might be inclined to see these as innovations. When the texts are older, the obvious question is: how many of these features are taken over from the exemplar? In particular, how many were demonstrably taken over from late-antique exemplars? We need to distinguish old texts from new, with classical, late antique secular and patristic works on the one hand, and all the array of Carolingian writings and new authors on the other, just as those working on twelfth-century manuscripts need to differentiate between new twelfth-century works and copies of older scholarly, literary, scientific and ecclesiastical texts.

The layout of music in the form of the newly invented neumes in relation to text that is encountered for the first time in the ninth century is an entirely new development, manifest in a number of remarkable manuscripts of the late ninth and tenth centuries.²³ A further example of a completely new kind of text in the Carolingian period is the *Liber vitae* or Book of Life, a book simply filled with names of both the living and dead of a particular community and many other groups of people, lay and monastic with which it had links, and for whom prayers were offered. Nine of these are extant from the Carolingian period, the earliest produced at Salzburg in July 784.²⁴ The Pfäfers *Liber vitae*, now in St Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, Cod. Fab. 1, for example, was actually part of a Gospel book.²⁵ Others in this new genre, such as the Reichenau confraternity book, with its 40,000 names arranged in columns according to the institutions to which they belonged, are completely free-standing new designs.²⁶

22. Parkes, *Pause and Effect*.
23. See the introduction by Rankin, 'Carolingian Music'; Rankin, 'On the Treatment of Pitch in Early Music Writing'; the examples offered in Demollière, ed., *L'art du chantre carolingien*; and as an example of early music layout, the facsimile of the St Gallen Troper and Sequences, Arlt and Rankin, eds., *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*.
24. Geuenich, 'A Survey of the Early Medieval Confraternity Books from the Continent'.
25. Erhart and Kuratli-Hüebli, eds., *Bücher des Lebens – Lebendige Bücher*, 88. See also the facsimile in Von Euw, ed., *Liber viventium Fabariensis*.
26. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. Hist. 27, ed. with facsimile Autenrieth, Geuenich and Schmid, *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*.

27. Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, 143–51 and Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 112–8. See also Ganz, ‘The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule’.

The Pfäfers *Liber vitae* example suggests that some of the layout of Gospel texts and canon tables had clearly influenced the scribe’s approach to the problem, for liturgical purposes, of listing names of the dead and living. There are other categories and genres of text, such as poetry, letters, history, law, theological treatises, encyclopaedias, dictionaries, liturgy, lives of saints and martyrologies, to which the Carolingians made distinctive new contributions. But the Carolingian scribes may nevertheless have set out their texts in a similar way to the scribes of their ancient Roman and early Christian models rather than devising completely new formats. After all this, is there really very much in Carolingian copies of older texts that was actually introduced into the laying out and presentation of the text for the first time by Carolingian scribes, as distinct from being developed from ideas already offered in exemplars? The elaboration of Caroline minuscule undoubtedly effected a major change.²⁷ Its role as a book hand appears to have consolidated an attitude to the Roman system of script already in existence – notably the capitals, uncial and half uncial of the book hands – as a hierarchy of scripts on which scribes could draw in their efforts to bring greater clarity and structure to a text. It would be natural to consider whether Caroline minuscule was so vigorously promoted precisely because, once it was accepted as a principal book hand, it opened up an even greater range of scripts and ranks of script for scribes to deploy in laying out a text. That is, in addition to the Roman script system of capitals, uncials and half uncials the minuscule script itself as a text hand offered new possibilities for the ways the older script types could be used in relation to texts written in minuscule. At the same time, the space occupied by the minuscule script, and the different way it filled lines on the page offered new challenges to scribes when laying out their texts, not least if

copying from older exemplars written in different script types. How much did Carolingian scribes change when copying a text? How can we establish what they may have changed if we lack extant earlier exemplars? If they changed particular aspects, why did they do so? Do such changes reflect new needs on the part of the users of the book? Were new categories of reader to be accommodated? Did new scribes approach their copying tasks in a different manner? Furthermore, how can we eliminate, or at least allow for, our inevitably subjective assessments of manuscript page layout as modern scholars?

History Books: The *Chronicon* of Eusebius-Jerome

The books in the BPL, Scaliger and Vossius collections in Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek make it possible to address these questions, only some of which can be considered in the scope of this paper. Let us look at an example of a late antique history book, copied in the Carolingian period and throughout the middle ages, namely the *Chronicon* of Eusebius in the Latin translation and continuation of Jerome made soon after 378. There are two fifth-century copies of this text extant, the fragments of one of which is in Leiden, now VLQ₁₁₀ A, fols 1v-2r (Fig. 9/Plate 9), written in Italy in the fifth century, though other leaves from this same manuscript are also to be found in Paris and in the Vatican Library.²⁸ This remnant of the fifth century can be compared with the copy made of it when it was still intact in the ninth century at St Mesmin, Micy in the Loire valley, now VLQ₁₁₀, fols 48v-49r (Fig. 10/Plate 10). But there is also an even more sumptuous version of the *Chronicon*, in four colours, Scaliger 14 from the very late eighth or early ninth century, and very probably made for Charlemagne himself.²⁹

The *Chronicon* does not take the form of continuous narrative about the succession of empires, but is presented in

28. BnF MS lat. 6400 B (fols 1-8 and 285-90) and Rome, BAV, MS Reg. lat. 1709A (fols 34-35); CLA, V, No. 563, CLA, I, p. 34 (illustration and description of Reg. lat. 1709A, no number, between Nos 112 and 113), CLA, X, No. **563.

29. See Fotheringham, ed., *The Bodl. Manuscript of Jerome's Version of the Chronicle of Eusebius*, 1-7.

Fig. 9. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS VLQ₁₁₀ A, fol. 1v (detail, enlarged). Chronicon of Eusebius-Jerome, Italy, s. v.



Fig. 10. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS VLQ₁₁₀, fol. 48v (detail, enlarged). Chronicon of Eusebius-Jerome, St Mesmin, Micy s. ix^{med} copied from VLQ₁₁₀ A.

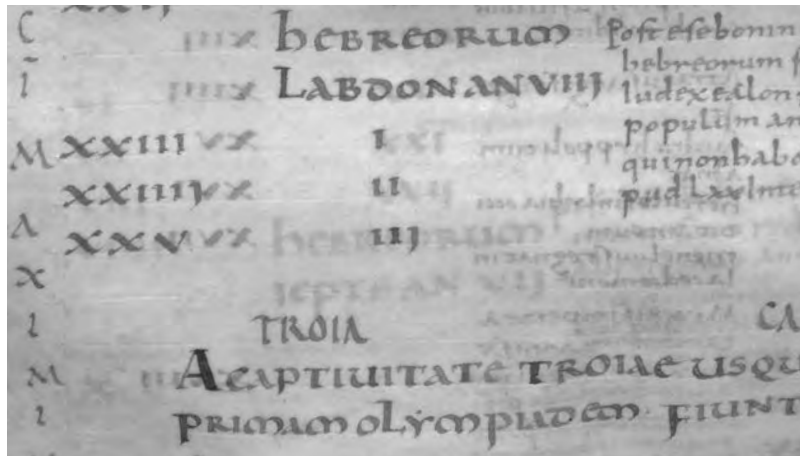
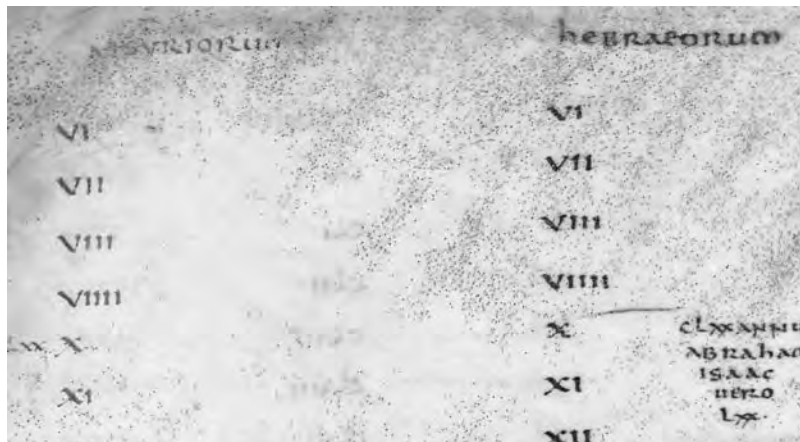


Fig. 11. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Scaliger 14, fol. 23v (detail, enlarged). Chronicon of Eusebius-Jerome, court circle of Charlemagne, s. viii/ix, showing column layout.



columns, recording different chronological sequences, such as years since the birth of Abraham, Olympiads and the regnal years of kings, judges, archons and emperors. The Chronicle is then constructed in relation to these columns of dates in columns spread at first over two pages or an opening, and later on one page. Sometimes the columns are colour coded, as in Scaliger 14, fols 23v-24r (Fig. 11/Plate 11). They are devoted to the rise and fall of the empires of the Medes, Persians, Athenians, Romans, Macedonians, Hebrews, Egyptians and others, nineteen in all.³⁰ One or two columns, the section known to modern scholars as the 'historical notes' but adapted from the label *spatium historicum* given it by the *Chronicon's* first editor, Joseph Scaliger, in 1606,³¹ then records events, quite briefly, such as the career of Moses and Alexander the Great, the founding of Rome, the victories of Cyrus, the fall of Troy, the birth of Christ, the destruction of Jerusalem and so on. History is visually synchronised and it creates interesting juxtapositions, such as the careers of the poet Homer and King Solomon, or the coincidence in time of the Judge Deborah and King Midas.³² As Christopher Kelly has noted, however, Eusebius appears to have had serious reservations about the historical notices relating to Greek mythology. Eusebius plotted the mythical events as historical within the framework of the Chronological tables, discussed some of the uncertainties and problems of rationalization, but also retained some of the repeated and irreconcilable chronologies in the classical past while presenting the Hebrew notes as if they were a clear, logical and unproblematic sequence. Thus, in Kelly's words, 'biblical history flows smoothly and securely ... and the shape of the past is indisputably determined by the Old Testament'.³³ As the Roman Empire expands, so the columns contract, and after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in 70AD even the sepa-

30. See Burgess, *Studies in Eusebian and Post-Eusebian Chronography*; Burgess, 'Jerome Explained: An Introduction to his Chronicle and a Guide to its Use'; and Inglebert, *Les romains chrétiens face à l'histoire de Rome*, 217-80.

31. Grafton, Joseph Scaliger: *A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*.

32. Kelly, 'Past Imperfect: The Formation of Christian Identity in Late Antiquity'.

33. Kelly, 'The Shape of the Past: Eusebius of Caesarea and Old Testament History', 27.

34. For further illustrations see Leiden University Library Special Collections, Snapshot 67, <https://disc.leidenuniv.nl/view/snapshots.jsp>, accessed 8 November 2011.

35. Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*.

rate column for Jews disappears. The scribes of Scaliger 14 clearly modelled the layout of the text on fifth-century exemplars, such as VLQ 110 A (regarded as the best representative of the original form of the text) with respect to the parallel column arrangement, the colour coding of the different peoples assigned to each column and the distinctions made between various categories of entry in the type of script deployed. In the number of lines on the page and precise elements of the layout of particular entries as distinct from the text as a whole, however, Scaliger 14 does not conform with any other known early manuscript of the *Chronicle*. This means that the scribe appears to have devised his own version of the layout for each page in reacting to the content of the text, rather than slavishly following any model.³⁴

Certainly most of the Carolingian copies of the *Chronicon* maintain the format in general that Anthony Grafton has demonstrated was devised by Eusebius and adapted by Jerome in the fourth century.³⁵ While the scribe of Scaliger 14 is more creative in relation to his model than some of the other Carolingian copyists of the *Chronicon*, even the colour coding in Scaliger 14 appears to have been part of Jerome's original intention in presenting the text, for it carries out the description in the preface he supplied. Jerome there had explained that the use of different colored inks should be preserved exactly as they had been written

'lest someone suppose that so great an effort has been attempted for the meaningless pleasure of the eyes, and when he flees from the tedium of writing inserts a labyrinth of error. For this has been devised so that the strips of the kingdoms, which had almost been mixed together because of their excessive proximity on the page,

might be separated by the distinct indication of bright red, and so that the same hue of colour which earlier parchment pages had used for a kingdom, would also be kept on later ones.’³⁶

Accordingly, the beginning of the *Chronicon* text in Scaliger 14 sets out the Assyrians in red, the Hebrews are in green, black is used for the Scythians, and brown for the Egyptians. When the Argives need to be inserted, another colour – dark red – is used. Apart from the differentiation between the different peoples and empires by colour, there is also an elaborate hierarchy of references orchestrated by changes in script type and size, with entries and headings in differently sized and spaced uncial, historical notes inserted in uncial, but minuscule used for the prefatory matter and for the more substantial sections on Roman history towards the end of the book. Similarly, the ninth-century copy of the *Chronicon* in Oxford, Merton College, MS 315 also preserves the colour coding, but uses elaborate square capitals and rustic capitals for many of the headings and minuscule for the historical notes.³⁷

The Italian scribe of the late eighth- or early ninth-century copy in Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare, MS 490, on the other hand, squeezed as many as seven pages of his late antique exemplar onto one page. Although the chronological sequence was preserved there is a marked loss of clarity and it is very difficult to follow the sequence of events.³⁸

Even worse, from the point of view at least of continuity in layout, however, is the version produced at Corbie in 1154, now BPL 30, fols 14v–15r (Fig. 12/Plate 12), whose scribe made a complete jumble of the text. This scribe apparently preserved the chronological divisions as simply spurious text dividers, all kinds of extraneous bits of information are added, and a lot else

36. Eusebius-Jerome, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Helm, Eusebius-Werke, Vol. 7, 5. English translation: <http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome—chronicle—01 pref-aces.htm>, accessed 23 May 2011.

37. See the online facsimile, image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=merton&manuscript=ms315, accessed 9 November 2011.

38. Schiaparelli's *Il codice 490 della Biblioteca capitolare di Lucca e la scuola lucchese (sec. VIII-IX): contributi allo studio della minuscola pre-carolina in Italia and il codice 490 della Biblioteca capitolare di Lucca: ottantatre pagine per servire a studi paleografici*.

Fig. 12. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 30, fol. 14v (detail, enlarged).
Chronicon of Eusebius-Jerome, Corbie 1154, showing how most of the material about Athens from the exemplar has been omitted.

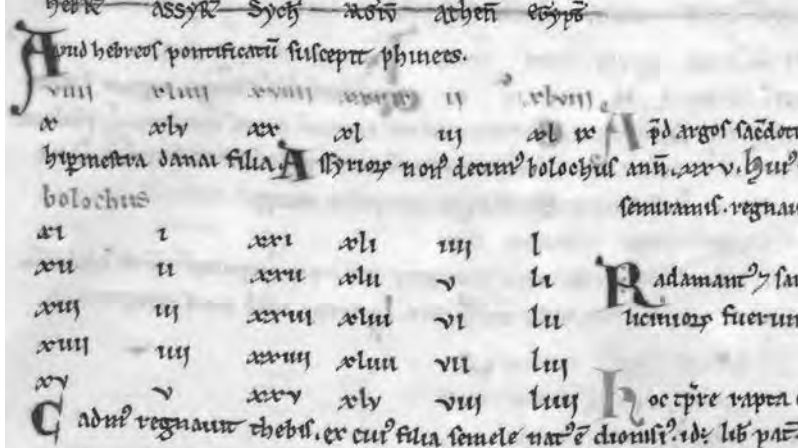


Fig. 13. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 30, fol. 66v (detail, enlarged).
Chronicon of Eusebius-Jerome and Chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux, Corbie 1154, showing elements introduced into the layout that appear to echo some of the principles of the Eusebius-Jerome section.

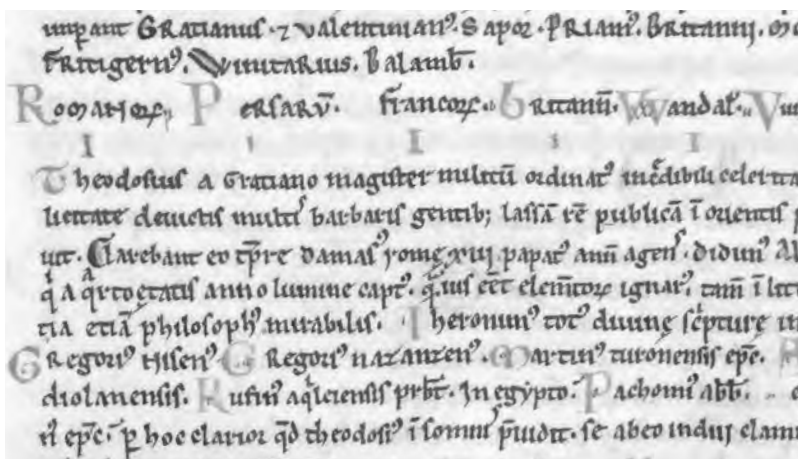
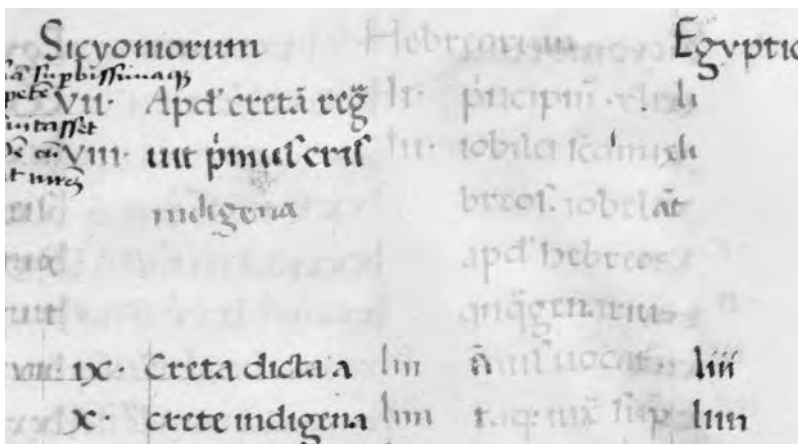


Fig. 14. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 97 B, fol. 9r (detail, enlarged).
Chronicon of Eusebius-Jerome, Florence s. xv, showing the reversion to the late-antique layout.



is lost. On the opening illustrated for example, most of the material about Athens is omitted, but elsewhere, such as fols 25v-26r, material on the Hebrews is omitted. But, the scribe treated the *Chronicon* as the preliminary part of the Chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux. That later text, as can be seen in BPL 30, fols 66v-67r (Fig. 13/Plate 13), has elements introduced into its layout that appear to echo some of the principles of the Eusebius-Jerome section. It would merit further study as an apparent instance of a fourth-century text whose original format, as well as its content, was completely reinterpreted to suit expectations and needs on the part of at least one scribe and his supposed readers of history in twelfth-century Picardy.

The fifteenth-century humanistic scribe copying the text in Florence, whose work survives in BPL 97 B, fol. 9r (Fig. 14/Plate 14), however, reverted to the late-antique layout and reproduced it, though without much recourse to the colour-coding system. Again, the scribe's reasons for doing so need to be considered. He could have been simply faithfully reproducing the late-antique layout of his exemplar out of respect, or because in the light of Jerome's preface it made sense to him. Emulation of this format over a millennium of universal Chronicle compilation may conceivably have given added rationale to the layout in parallel columns, but it is necessary to bear in mind that many universal chronicles, from Bede's *De temporum ratione*, Chapter 66, and the ninth-century universal chronicles of Freculph and Ado onwards, were set out in continuous prose.³⁹

These five examples of copies of Eusebius-Jerome's *Chronicon* in Leiden nevertheless offer an opportunity to compare treatment of the same text across a thousand years, from late antiquity to the Renaissance, in which the format for the presentation of the text devised by Jerome largely retained its supremacy, whether as model or inspiration.

39. Bede, *De temporum ratione*, ed. Jones; Freculph, *Chronicon*, ed. Allen; Ado of Vienne, *Chronicon*, ed. Migne. For the context of production see McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*.

40. CLA, VII, Nos 967a and 968-975. For comments on the material palimpsested in the early Middle Ages see Declercq, ed., *Early Medieval Palimpsests*.

Glossaries

I turn now to consider a very different and new kind of book, namely, early medieval glossaries. Here the existence of late antique exemplars of some of the texts contributing content to the glossaries might be surmised, but the early medieval scribes appear to have dealt with a presentation of text comprising words, pairs of words, phrases and only occasionally complete sentences in a creative manner. It is striking that the format of these glossaries varies so considerably, from very small handbooks such as VLO 74, to very lavish folios such as VLF 26. The relationship between the physical features of these manuscripts and the texts they contain is clearly different for each manuscript witness and may therefore suggest a number of different kinds of use. The palaeographical and codicological range of these books and the huge spectrum of physical structures they offer is crucial evidence in its own right of the possible range of intended uses for these books. Even the parchment could vary from small scraps, even recycled scraps, of ill-favoured parchment to large well-prepared sheets. The glossary in St Gallen, SB, MS 912, for example, was written on recycled folios of fifth- and sixth-century grammatical, literary, medical and biblical codices.⁴⁰

With such a diversity of material on which compilers could draw, glossaries need to be regarded as simultaneously old and new texts, incorporating not only samples from eight hundred years of use of the Latin language and transmitting precise (if not always accurate) knowledge in a fundamental way, but also representing a succession of choices and selections of words that were thought to be necessary, appropriate, useful, or interesting for particular contexts and, apparently, a new method of organising the material. It is necessary therefore to determine how relevant to particular contexts of the Carolingian world any of

these glossaries might be judged to be. They cannot simply be regarded as products of a schoolroom.

I do not pretend as yet to have made much progress with all the questions these glossaries raise, nor with the work agenda they have precipitated, but in the rest of this chapter I should like to discuss three questions: firstly, that of the initial formation or origins of the early medieval glossaries; secondly, how they might have been used; and thirdly what that use might tell us about reading processes and the reception of knowledge in the early middle ages. All these are germane to the themes of Erik Kwakkel's project on 'Turning over a New Leaf', namely, how knowledge is presented in books, the possibility of changes in the use of texts and the production of new kinds of books.

Early medieval glossaries are predominantly Latin glossaries, with Latin words glossed in Latin, and compiled primarily in the areas ruled by the Franks and to a lesser extent in Anglo-Saxon England. Some Latin:Latin glossaries, such as the Épinial, Erfurt and Werden glossaries, also contain glosses in Old English, Old High German and Old Saxon, either as integral parts of the definitions or as interlinear insertions.⁴¹ There are also Greek:Latin and Latin:Greek glossaries. Leiden has a ninth-century copy of the *Hermeneumata* of pseudo-Dositheus designed for beginners, with the Greek *lemmata* preceding the Latin words arranged in both semantic and thematic sections. The colloquy between pupil and teacher is set out as if it were a glossary, following the logic of the content which functions as a contextualized word list. This is how the scribe in VGQ 7, for example, fol. 6r, appears to have laid out the words.⁴² There is also a Latin:Arabic glossary from northern Spain that can be dated palaeographically to the tenth century (Scaliger Or. 31), compiled by a Christian, with the Latin *lemmata* in AB order

41. Bischoff et al., *The Épinial, Erfurt, Werden, and Corpus Glossaries*. Cf. Sweet, *The Épinial Glossary, Latin and Old English of the Eighth Century* (who printed each page of the glossary with a facing transcription).

42. Cf. St Gallen, SB, MS 902 of the early tenth century.

It contains the pseudo-Dositheus, written out in continuous text rather than arranged in columns. See also Dionisotti, 'Greek Grammars and Dictionaries in Carolingian Europe' and some comments about use of pseudo-Dositheus included in Derolez, 'Anglo-Saxon Glossography'. On Brussels, KB, MS 1828-30 (185), see Bremmer and Dekker, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*, 23-32. See also Kramer, *Glossaria bilingua in papyrus et membranis reperta*.

43. My dating differs from that of Van Koningsveld, 'The Latin-Arabic glossary of the Leiden University Library'. I am grateful to Jesús de Prado Plumed for his comments on the Arabic and Arabic script in this manuscript.

44. Goetz, ed., *Corpus glossariorum latinorum*; Lindsay, ed., *Glossaria Latina*; Hessels, ed., *An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo Saxon Glossary Preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*; and Hessels, *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*. New editions of glossaries in particular manuscripts are being produced by Gatti, for example *Un glossario bernense* (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, A. 91 [18]).

and with both the Andalusian Arabic and the Visigothic minuscule in a very accomplished script.⁴³ The alphabetical ordering of these glossaries was sometimes very basic, that is, into sections of A-words, B- words and so on. Others organized them into AB order, and some were even more sophisticated.

The glossaries with non-Latin glosses appear to originate in a bilingual context, mostly one in which Latin was being learnt as a second language, whether in England or in English, Frankish or Frisian missionary and monastic centres on the Continent. The Latin:Latin glossaries, on the other hand, survive in a considerable number of manuscripts from the eighth and ninth centuries and are apparently designed for Latin speakers and readers. The significance of this ubiquity of Latin:Latin glossaries in the Carolingian period is something to which I shall return below. Glossaries, therefore, are a new phenomenon in the early Middle Ages in terms of extant manuscripts, but they drew on classical and late antique precedent, which needs be explored a little further.

Glossary Manuscripts: The Leiden Examples

There are thirteen Carolingian manuscripts containing glossaries in Leiden alone, with other concentrations in Paris, the Vatican and elsewhere. The Leiden ones can be attributed to the interests of particular seventeenth-century scholars, notably Isaac Vossius, compiler of the *Etymologicon linguae latinae*, first published in 1695. These glossaries were categorized by late nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars according to their first words, so: *Abavus*, *Ab absens*, *Abba*, *Abolita*, *Abstrusa*, *Affatim* as in, for example, VLF 26, fol. 1r (Fig. 15/Plate 15), *Asbestos* and the like.⁴⁴ *Abstrusa* has sometimes been regarded as a nucleus for the others, though *Affatim* and *Abavus* (see VLF 24) were clearly also important repositories. Generally speaking, the Latin:

Latin glossaries offer explanations of unusual words to a greater degree than a basic vocabulary. Lindsay's suggestion that they offer a 'non-current' and a 'current' Latin word side by side, however, may only apply to the initial provision of the definitions, whenever that was.⁴⁵

45. Lindsay, 'Note on the Use of Glossaries for the Dictionary of Medieval Latin'. See also below, p. 57.

Here are some examples of glossary definitions, taken from BPL 67 E and VLF 24, and see also the illustration of BPL 67 E, fol. 7r (Fig. 1/Plate 1):

Abrogans: humilis
Asfalto: bitumen
Foedus: pax
Gentibus: nationibus
Hermafroditus: nec vir nec mulier
Icarus: filius daedili
Libertus: qui fuit servus
Martyr: testis
Monogamus: unius uxoris vir
Rebecca: patientia
Regimen: gubernatio
Vigiles: urbis custodes

Mostly the definitions are single words (with the cases varying due to their being extracted originally from a literary text just as they were) but sometimes a phrase is added. Sometimes these definitions are straightforward and accurate. Others supplied are less like dictionary entries or synonyms and offer an encyclopaedia-like piece of information, such as the definitions of *hermafroditus*, *Icarus* and *vigiles*.

Still other definitions are allegorical, metaphorical or symbolic, such as these, extracted from VLF 24:

46. St Gallen, SB, MS 238, from 760-80 and thus the earliest witness to *Affatim*, which hitherto has been thought to be represented in the later VLF 26, s. viii/ix from Amiens.

47. Daly, *Contributions to a History of Alphabetization in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*.

48. Gerritsen, *Het alfabet als zoekinstrument*.

49. CLA, V, No. 611. See also Bishop, 'The Prototype of *Liber glossarum*' and Ganz, 'The "Liber Glossarum": A Carolingian Encyclopaedia'.

Ignis: spiritus sanctus
Ignis: caritas
Ignis: flammae eius
Ignis: tribulatio
Ignis: ira
Ignis: voluptas

All these glossaries appear to have spawned similar kinds of collections. Some compilers mixed the words in different glossaries into new composite versions. Some kept the words but abbreviated, or otherwise altered, the definitions in small ways. Some used a glossary but reorganized it, so that the same words occur but in a different order. Some even rationalized the word order. A prime example is the glossary *Affatim* which is in A-order in VLF 26 of the late eighth or early ninth century from Amiens, but Winithar of St Gallen c. 760-80 reorganized it most emphatically into AB order.⁴⁶ Alphabetisation existed in the ancient world, but it appears to have been these early medieval glossaries that marked a major phase in the development of this particular method of organizing information in western texts.⁴⁷ A later medieval phase of this has been charted by Wim Gerritsen in his Scaliger lecture.⁴⁸

In addition there is the encyclopaedia-like dictionary, known as the *Liber glossarum* (*Glossarium Ansileubi*), produced at the end of the eighth century, and extant in what are now regarded as the original two huge volumes, BnF MSS lat. 11529 (A-E) and lat. 11530 (F-Z), compiled by scribes writing the peculiar script known as 'a-b' minuscule.⁴⁹ This text was established by Alan Bishop as undoubtedly having close links with Corbie. It was more probably written and compiled by a group of nuns in a different scriptorium, possibly Soissons. Chelles and Jouarre have also been suggested as candidates and the books

themselves are also among those that have been associated with the court of Charlemagne.⁵⁰ It seems to be the outcome of a remarkable enterprise of selection, assembly and organization of a vast amount of material, presumably on slips or separate leaves of parchment, then sorted and copied painstakingly into the volumes we now see. The text itself drew on the glossaries available, especially *Abavus*, and on Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, a text these same nuns also copied and used when putting the *Liber glossarum* together.⁵¹ The *Liber glossarum* was almost in absolute alphabetical order and entries vary between one-word definitions and extended explanations and examples covering several columns of text. This vast work was copied in full in a number of other Frankish centres, such as Lorsch (Rome, BAV, MS Pal. lat. 1773) and Auxerre (BL, MS Harley 2735).⁵² In its turn it spawned both slightly abbreviated versions, such as the *Collectio Salomonis* at St Gallen (St Gallen, SB, MS 905) which nevertheless still comprises 1070 pages, as well as much reduced epitomes, such as the generally overlooked BPL 67 D. This epitome was written on very poor quality parchment, some of it mere scraps, and looks as if the scribe excerpted as he went, often drastically misjudging the space he needed. One thing that caught his eye was the list of animal noises under *vox* in the *Liber glossarum*, for this scribe was moved to insert a far greater variety of birds than most other such lists, mostly ultimately based on Suetonius, extant from the early middle ages.⁵³

The Sources of the Words in Early Medieval Glossaries

Scholars in the past have mostly been preoccupied with tracing the sources of the words in glossaries, often in the hope of recovering remnants of lost words from the archaic Latin of

50. See McKitterick, '“Nuns” Scriptoria in England and Francia in the Eighth Century', reprinted in McKitterick, *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms*, Chapter VII. See also McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity*, 362–3.

51. Brussels, KB, MS II 4856 and CLA, X, No. 1554.

52. See the ERC-funded project to produce a new edition of the *Liber Glossarum*, directed by Anne Grondeux, *liber-glossarum.linguist.univ-paris-diderot.fr/node/13*, accessed 9 November 2011.

53. Benediktson, 'Voces animalium'; Finch, 'Suetonius's Catalogue of Animal Sounds in Vat. lat. 6018', with reference to the older literature; Marcovich, 'Voces animalium and Suetonius'; and Lagorio, 'Three More Vatican Manuscripts of Suetonius's Catalogue of Animal Sounds'. For the use of such lists in poetry and fable see Ziolkowski, *Talking Animals: Medieval Latin Beast Poetry*, esp. 37–9 and 110–6.

Fig. 15. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS VLF 26, fol. 1r (detail, enlarged). Latin glossary chrestomathy, Amiens, s. ix^{1/3} showing the beginning at Affatim.

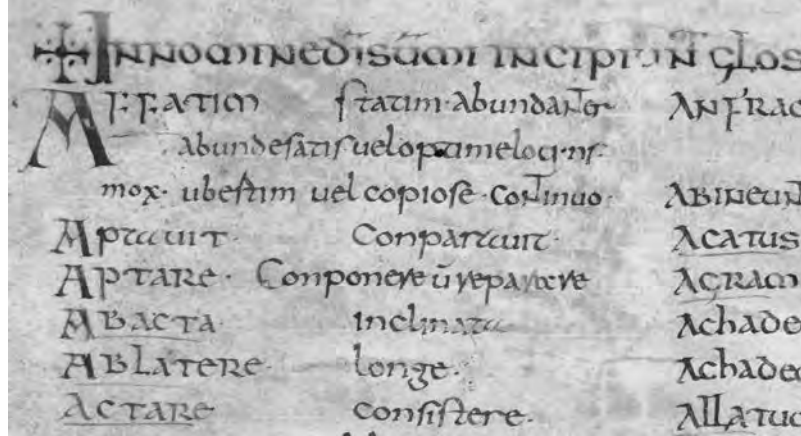


Fig. 16. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS VLF 73, fol. 133v (detail, enlarged). De Compendiosa Doctrina of Nonius Marcellus, Tours s. ix^m, showing the section C-D.

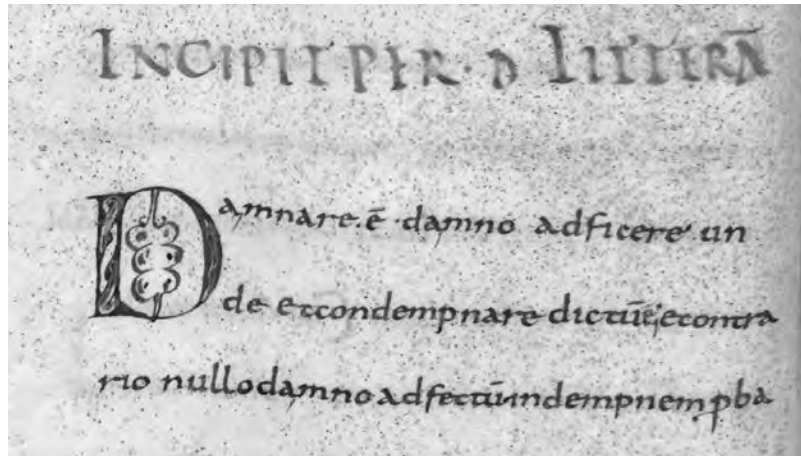
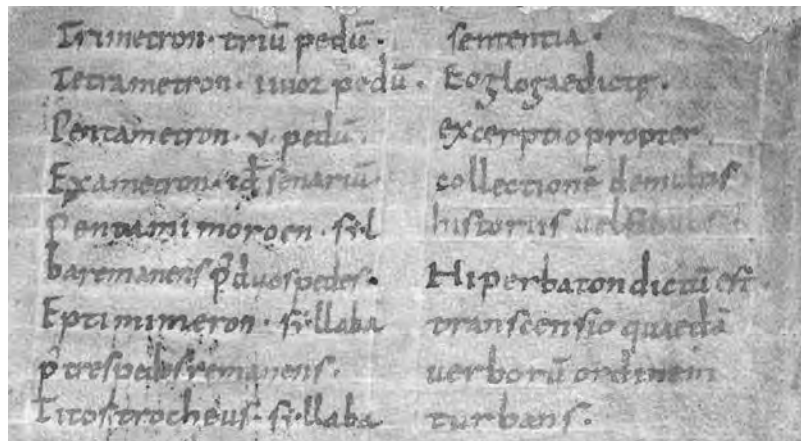


Fig. 17. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS BPL 67 D, fol. 1r (detail, enlarged). Added leaves (France, s. ix^{ex}) to an Epitome of the Liber glossarum (France, s. ix^{1/4}), showing a collection of Greek literary terms, transliterated into Roman script and explained in Latin.



Roman republican authors, let alone lost sections of larger works of the major Roman lexicographers of whom we now have at best early medieval epitomes. The form in which these sources of words were transmitted may have influenced how early medieval glossary scribes subsequently treated the physical layout of their texts. The best known of the latter is the epitome Paul the Deacon made of Festus' epitome of Verrius Flaccus' *De verborum significatu*, two ninth-century copies of which are in Leiden (VLQ 116 A-B and VLO 37).⁵⁴

The *De compendiosa doctrina* of Nonius Marcellus (late fourth to early fifth century) was also an important repository of words, often in the order in which he had encountered them in his texts.⁵⁵ This too is represented in VLF 73, fol. 133v (Fig. 16/Plate 16) and VLQ 116. The Christian grammarian Placidus,⁵⁶ along with many Roman scholars and commentators, such as Servius on Virgil, grammarians, such as Donatus and Priscian and encyclopaedists, such as Pliny, offered still more treasures for glossary compilers. A set of definitions known as the *Sinonima* has been transmitted attached to Cicero though more likely to be a sixth-century text from Ravenna,⁵⁷ and another popular collection was that known as the *Spiritual glosses* attributed to Eucherius, the fifth-century bishop of Lyon, VLF 24, fol. 88r.⁵⁸

There were also a number of classical and late antique discussions and compilations of specialized vocabulary in the fields of medicine, law and literature as well as biblical glosses.⁵⁹ BPL 67 D, fols 1r and 2r (Fig. 17/Plate 17) for example, contains a collection of Greek literary terms, transliterated into Roman script and explained in Latin. It is not in any systematized order and may simply have been compiled from a prose discussion of figures of speech. Similarly, VLQ 74, fols 146r-147r has a list of Greek and Latin grammatical terminology. Terms

54. Lindsay, ed., *Sexti Pompei Festi De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome* and the report of the AHRC Festus Lexicon project, directed by Fay Glinister, Michael Crawford, John North and Clare Woods, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/history2/research/festus/>, accessed 31 December 2010.
55. Nonius Marcellus, *Nonius Marcellus' Dictionary of Republican Latin*, ed. Lindsay.
56. Placidus, *Liber glossarum*, ed. Goetz.
57. See Gatti, *Synonima Ciceronis*.
58. Eucherius, 'Glossae spiritales secundum Eucherium episcopum', ed. Wotke. Cf. Mandolfo, ed., *Eucherii Lugdunensis, Formulae spiritualis intelligentiae, Instructionum libri duo*.
59. Vaciago, ed., *Glossae Biblicae, Pars I*. See also O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius Psychomachia*, 102-30.

60. Both found in De La-
garde, Morin and Adriaen,
eds., *S. Hieronymi presbyteri*
opera, Pars 1. Cf. Migne, ed.,
Patrologia Latina, Vol. 23,
cols 771-858. See also Kame-
sar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship*
and the Hebrew Bible.

61. Alexander, 'The Etymol-
ogy of Proper Names as an
Exegetical Device in Rab-
binic Literature', [http://](http://www.pitts.emory.edu/hmpcc/secdocs/AlexanderEtymol.pdf)
[www.pitts.emory.edu/hmp](http://www.pitts.emory.edu/hmpcc/secdocs/AlexanderEtymol.pdf)
[cc/secdocs/Alexander](http://www.pitts.emory.edu/hmpcc/secdocs/AlexanderEtymol.pdf)
[Etymol.pdf](http://www.pitts.emory.edu/hmpcc/secdocs/AlexanderEtymol.pdf), accessed
14 June 2011.

62. Sweet, *The Épinal Glos-
sary*, vii.

63. Philoxenus is part of
Scaliger 25, fols 3-73, from
the sixteenth century.

taken over into Latin texts when translated but still needing clarification also prompted lexicographical or etymological treatment. Jerome's tract on Hebrew names, the *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, as well as his *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos*, are prime examples of this.⁶⁰ The list of Hebrew names in VLF 24, fol. 108v (Fig. 18/Plate 18), for example, is clearly based on Jerome's.

Yet Jerome himself was manifestly drawing on an ancient tradition of etymologizing, both Rabbinic etymology and even older Babylonian and Hellenic 'science of names'.⁶¹ Henry Sweet long ago observed, moreover, that the number of names of animals and plants coming together in groups even in alphabetical glossaries suggested the existence of what he called 'class glossaries', that is, specialized lists of beasts, birds, fish, minerals, tools, or other natural objects collected in separate groups, and most commonly in the nominative, whereas literary words culled from a text are more often in an oblique case.⁶² Further, there are a number of Greco-Latin glossaries first compiled as early as the second century for Romans needing to learn Greek. One of these is called the Philoxenus glossary and another, already mentioned with reference to VGQ 7 (see above, p. 41), has material lumped together under the label of the *Hermeneumata* of pseudo-Dositheus. I summarize the principal sources on which early medieval compilers could draw as follows, all of which except Philoxenus are represented among the early medieval Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek manuscript collections:⁶³

Roman and late roman dictionaries and glossaries

Festus, *De verborum significatu*, in epitome by Paul the Deacon

Nonius Marcellus, *De compendiosa doctrina*

Servius on Virgil

Grammarians: Donatus, Priscian et al.

Roman encyclopaedists, e.g. Pliny.
Sinonima Ciceronis
Eucherius, Spiritual glosses
Jerome, Hebrew names
Philoxenus (Greek and Latin)
Hermeneumata of pseudo-Dositheus (Greek and Latin)

A wonderful resource, as well as an obvious model, was the seventh-century *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. Not only was this work packed with words and Isidore's imaginative and often bizarre explanations thereof (some of which he owed to many of the sources I have already mentioned), but he devoted Book X of his *Etymologiae* to a discussion of words with a brief justification:

Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, Book X, *De vocabulis*:

Origo quorundam nominum, id est unde veniant, non pene omnibus patet. Proinde quaedam noscendi gratia huic operi interiecimus.

People are for the most part unaware of the origin of certain terms. Consequently we have included a number in this work for their informational value.

Isidore then adds a glossary, set out in all the extant manuscripts I have seen so far as continuous prose rather than in glossary form. It starts as follows, in A-order:

Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, Book X, A-

2 Aeros, vir fortis et sapiens. Auctor ab augendo dictus. Auctorem autem feminino genere dici non posse. Nam quaedam sunt quae in feminino flecti non possunt, ut cursor. Actor, ab agendo. 3 Alumnus ab alendo vocatus, licet et qui alit et qui alitur alumnus dici potest; id est et qui nutrit et qui

64. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay, X, 1-4. Translation: Barney et al., *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, 213.

65. See the invaluable survey by Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship and Lemerle, Byzantine Humanism*, trans. Lindsay and Moffatt from the 1971 French edition, 309-46. See also the new online presentation of the 30,000 entries in the *Suda* (*Suidae lexicon*) in progress, ed. Whitehead, *suda online* and the *stoa consortium*, www.stoa.org, accessed 11 June 2011.

nutritur; sed melius tamen qui nutritur. 4 Amicus, per derivationem, quasi animi custos. 5 Dictus autem proprie: amator turpitudinis, quia amore torquetur libidinis: amicus ab hamo, id est, a catena caritatis; unde et hami quod teneant. Amabilis autem, quod sit amore dignus.

Aeros a strong and wise man. Author (auctor), so called from augmenting (augere). Moreover auctor cannot be used in the feminine gender for there are some terms which cannot be inflected in the feminine such as runner (cursor). Agent (actor) from acting (agere). Foster son (alumnus) from fostering (alere) although both he who fosters and he who is fostered can be called alumnus. i.e. he who nourishes and he who is nourished, but still the better use is for one who is nourished. Friend (amicus) by derivation as if from the phrase 'guardian of the spirit' animi custos. And amicus is appropriately derived; the term for someone tormented by carnal desire is amator turpitudinis, lover of wickedness, but amicus is from 'hook' hamus, that is, from the chain of charity, whence also hooks are things that hold. Lovable (amabilis), too because one is worthy of love (amor).⁶⁴

There was thus a wealth of material available for would-be dictionary compilers and a long succession of lexicographical works in both the Roman and Greek worlds on which to draw. That the Bible became a major resource for glossary compilers is an obvious consequence of the process of Christianization in the late Roman and early medieval worlds. The Byzantine tradition so dramatically represented in the tenth-century *Suda* similarly developed from earlier Greek compilations such as Aristophanes, Harpocration, Aelius Dionysius and a lost second-century work of Diogenianus.⁶⁵ But from Byzantium there does not seem to be quite the same abundance and variety of early medieval glossaries, so diverse in their permutations and

combinations, that survive from Western Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries.

It is certainly a source of wonder that so many scholars have spent decades successfully reducing these remarkable word hoards to some kind of order and suggesting the original authors and texts whence the words might have come. Important as such work is, the obvious further questions of course are: why, and in what context, were these new compilations put together as well as the Roman and late antique ones being recopied? The assembly of such collections of words in the early middle ages might suggest new readers of books with new requirements in relation to specific vocabularies they needed. Further, if these new glossaries are really a creation of the period from the late seventh to the late ninth centuries, even though so creatively drawing on older texts and guides as the extant manuscripts suggest, why did they appear when they did?

The Origin of the Glossaries: The Implications of the Earliest Manuscripts

The question of the origin of these glossaries, who first compiled them, and in what context, is notoriously difficult. For some of these glossaries, late seventh-century or even earlier origins as collections, that is, as already-formed and alphabetized word lists in Spain, Italy and Anglo-Saxon England, have been proposed. The arguments are difficult to sustain when there is such a dearth of examples from much earlier than the eighth century. The simplest solution would be to propose simple continuity and development from the Roman wordlists enumerated above to early medieval dictionaries, but this would be to duck certain problems. The gap between the first composition of any of the original Roman (or Greek) sources mentioned above and their earliest manuscripts means that

66. CLA, I, No. 15.
 67. CLA, VII, No. 967a (CLA, VII, Nos 968–975). Codices Electronici Sangallenses (n. 7, above) and the accompanying description date it s. viiiⁱⁿ.
 68. CLA, VII, No. 972.
 69. CLA, VII, No. 967b.
 70. Baesecke, *Der Vocabularius Sti Galli in der angelsächsischen Mission*. I cannot resist noting that my own copy of this work once belonged to W.M. Lindsay, who highlighted in pencil particular passages of Baesecke's text, and noted his agreement on palaeographical points throughout the book.

the new contexts for these texts and possible adaptations made to them need to be taken into account. The earliest extant glossary manuscripts are, as far as I can determine:

St Gallen, SB, MS 912 (*Abba, Ababus ...*), s. vii/viii (AB-order)
 St Gallen, SB, MS 913 (*Vocabularius Sancti Galli*), s. viii² (topics)
 St Gallen, SB, MS 238 (*Ab ...*), s. viii² (AB-order)
 St Gallen, SB, MS 907 (... *apostru(m)*) (first section missing) (AB-order), s. viii²
 Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. lat. 3321 (*Abstrusa ...*) (AB-order), s. viii^{med}
 Épinal, BM, MS 72 (7) (*Apodixen*) (A-order), s. vii/viii-ixⁱⁿ

Both MS Vat. lat. 3321 and St Gallen MS 912 have what might be counted as an 'author portrait', defined by Lowe as a 'teacher', at the beginning of the text, and both are from northern or central Italy.⁶⁶ St Gallen, SB, MS 912 was described by Bischoff and Lowe as 'written in north Italy, manifestly in a centre where many ancient texts existed', for as already noted, it is actually written on palimpsested leaves dating between the fifth and seventh centuries from seven different texts, including Donatus and the *Vetus Latina*.⁶⁷ There is besides what is described as an 'earlier rough draft' also palimpsested and reused for the final version.⁶⁸ The codex was certainly at St Gallen by the late eighth century for an attempted restoration in uncial was inserted at that stage.⁶⁹ St Gallen MS 913 (the word list is on pp. 181–206) appears to have been at St Gallen by the end of the eighth century, although its origin has been variously associated with Fulda, Murbach and other centres linked with missionary activity in the eighth century. Its words, however are grouped topically. These were established by Baesecke to be derived from the *Hermeneumata* tradition.⁷⁰ St Gallen MSS 238 and 907 from

between 760 and 780 are the work of Winithar, who was most emphatic about his (re)organization of the words into AB-order.

The Épinal Glossary and the Question of the Insular Contribution

The Épinal Glossary is more problematic and merits fuller comment here.⁷¹ The strongest English connections for any of the early medieval glossary manuscripts are those proposed for the Épinal glossary. The Épinal glossary is also the only one for which a late seventh-century date has been offered within a spectrum of opinion that includes a date as late as the ninth century, so it is potentially the earliest Latin:Latin glossary extant.⁷² Yet the palaeographical and philological indications are far from straightforward. The seventh-century date proposed by Malcolm Parkes for the script, following Julian Brown's suggestion of a late seventh- or early eighth-century date though for different reasons, pushes back the date of the Old English glosses a little too far for the comfort of some Old English philologists, even though Sweet had already commented on the glossary's many 'archaisms'. Pfeifer thought that the archaic language of the glosses was consistent with a date in the first half of the eighth century, though for the Épinal glossary itself he suggested a date of c. 725.⁷³ The English gloss for *piraticum*, following the principle of 'cultural substitution', is *uuincingasceadam*, that is, 'destructive viking', or 'piracy', which might seem to place it into the very late eight or early ninth century, even on the Continent.⁷⁴ Lindsay, on the other hand, thought the likely context for the production of the manuscript was Willibrord's Continental mission.⁷⁵ The mistakes detectable in the Épinal glossary would also suggest its dependence on earlier lists or glosses of some kind. Nevertheless, the manuscript is currently favoured as a product of Anglo-Saxon England, even if

71. CLA, VI, No. 760 dates it s. viii¹.

72. Bischoff et al., *The Épinal, Erfurt, Werden and Corpus Glossaries*.

73. See the discussion by Pfeifer, *Old English Glosses in the Épinal and Erfurt Glossaries*, xxxi-xxv and lxxxix-xci.

74. Épinal, BM, MS 72, fol. 9va, line 8, and Pfeifer, *Old English Glosses*, 39. Cf. Sauer, 'Glosses, Glossaries and Dictionaries in the Medieval Period', 27, who notes this simply as puzzling, given the recorded destruction of Lindisfarne in 793 in relation to the date he offers for the Épinal glossary of c. 700. Pfeifer observed (*Old English Glosses*, 108, line 736) that the Old English *Exodus* records *saewicingas* with the probable meaning of pirate.

75. Lindsay, *The Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt and Leiden Glossaries*, reprinted in Lindsay, *Studies in Early Medieval Latin Glossaries*, Chapter XI.

76. Originally dated to the eighth century by Hessels, *An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary* and to s. viii/ix in CLA, II, No. 122.

77. On Werden see Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog der frühmittelalterlichen Fragmente der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf*, 62, who dates the manuscript to the first third of the ninth century and locates it in the Rhineland, near Cologne, though its provenance is Werden. See also Zechiel-Eckes, 'VII.42 Corpus glossarum', who regards these glossaries as 'der Typus einer rudimentären Enzyklopädie'.

it cannot be located more precisely on the linguistic evidence, and would seem to be not earlier than the beginning of the eighth century. The Épinal glossary is usually considered as part of a small group of glossaries, and consideration of its companions may throw more light on the Épinal glossary itself.

The so-called Erfurt I fragment, for example, is regarded as a Continental copy of the Épinal glossary, in A-order and AB-order, with some words omitted, perhaps completed c. 820 by a scribe unfamiliar with Old English. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 144, now dated to the second quarter of the ninth century, is a rearranged and augmented version of the words in Épinal.⁷⁶ All these have 'related material' though it may be going too far to credit them as 'almost certainly' deriving from 'Anglo-Saxon originals' as stated by the authors of the most recent facsimile. Other scholars prefer to think in terms of multiple sources from which particular words might have been derived. Erfurt II and III, on the other hand, presenting a different alphabetically ordered (AB) glossary with some letter sets missing, is from the Cologne region. These also contain Old English, Old Saxon or even Frankish glosses indicated as 'sax', or in Erfurt III by a long horizontal stroke bending back over the word. The Werden glossary, surviving in scattered leaves, appears to fill in gaps in Erfurt II and III, and to comprise three different alphabetical glossaries, also in AB-order. The scribe of the 'Werden glossary' also indicated Saxon vernacular words with the abbreviation 'sax' or a horizontal line above the word, and others with the abbreviations *pop(ulariter)* and *mem(orande)*.⁷⁷ The Werden glossary at least also contains many quite rare Latin words as well as basic terms. *Baccula*, for example, is glossed as *vitula* and *cu caelf*. The gloss for *Buccula*, fol. 5v, the round boss in the middle of a shield, is glossed with Latin *umbo* and the word *randbaeg*. This word, because it is not

exclusive to Old English but is also used in Frankish and Old Saxon, raises further questions about the role and identity of the vernacular glosses in these manuscripts.

The Werden, Erfurt II and Erfurt III glossaries may have links with sets of words devised in an Anglo-Saxon context. Sweet demonstrated over a century ago that the Erfurt and Épinal glossary compilers at least appear to have drawn on the same ‘class glossaries’ on a number of topics. He thought that they and the compiler of the Leiden glossary (discussed further below) also ‘took their literary glosses partly from the same books’. Certainly the role of the English in the transmission and production of glossaries appears to have been as one strand of a complex range of lines of transmission. The initial uses appear to have been in classroom and missionary contexts, whether in England or on the Continent, and they made the most of whatever texts had become available to them in the course of the seventh century.

The Eighth-Century Legacy

These early Italian, Alemannic and Anglo-Saxon examples together suggest, moreover, that whatever the range of collection of specialized or more general collections of words, particular lists of words had coalesced by the late seventh or early eighth century and were subsequently redeployed in whole or in part by many new glossary compilers. Not only the content but also the format, in the familiar columns or words of mostly single-line or short-phrase definitions, each one on a new line, appear to have been settled at the same time. Eighth-century compilers can also be credited with introducing greater precision into the alphabetization of these glossaries. At what stage a judgement about what was perceived to be current or not current in the Latin *lemmata* selected could be applied depends

78. Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History*; Doody, *Pliny's Encyclopaedia*; Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville*; Wallis, 'Bede and Science', 116-9; Heyse, *Hrabanus Maurus Enzyklopädie De rerum naturis*; and Ribémont, *Les origines des encyclopédies médiévales d'Isidore de Séville aux Carolingiens*.
79. Uhlfelder, *De proprietate sermonum vel rerum: A Study and Critical Edition of a Set of Verbal Distinctions*.
80. For further comments see below, pp. 60-2.

in part on the assumptions one makes about possible exemplars and their extant eighth- and ninth-century representatives. It may make best sense to see the glossaries extant in the manuscripts from the eighth and ninth centuries as the first assembly and ordering of the words they contain and reflecting contemporary needs as well as aspirations.

The idea for such compilations may well have sprung from the Roman *differentiae* and *sinonima* collections already described, as well as the classical encyclopaedia tradition continued in the early middle ages by Isidore of Seville in seventh-century Spain, Bede in eighth-century England and Hrabanus Maurus in ninth-century Francia.⁷⁸ Yet Frankish, English and Alemannic scholars demonstrated a creative facility to draw on existing resources, whether in general format or precise details of content, to create something effectively new. In other words, the format may have been one inherited from older lists or handbooks, such as the Roman *differentiae*, *Hermeneumata*, or grammarians' paradigms, but new collections and selections were derived therefrom.⁷⁹ Small sets of words, or individual words arising from specific teaching contexts, may also have been introduced into existing glossaries. This may be the way to account for the fascinating survival of some of the interpretative or explanatory comments on particular words attributed to the oral teaching of Theodore and Hadrian of Canterbury which became established features of at least one Anglo-Saxon branch of the glossary manuscripts. Theodore and Hadrian themselves, of course, could also have been drawing on far older understandings which they imparted orally in their teaching but which are preserved independently in other written collections.⁸⁰

The Implications of VLQ 69 (the 'Leiden Glossary') and its Possible Function

The focus in the discussion of origins of the early medieval glossaries hitherto has been on the transmission of particular lists of words that then simply got copied as sets into new manuscripts. Certainly parts of many compilations might be accounted for in this way. It may be more appropriate, as suggested above, to think in terms of an inherited format from antiquity that lent itself to adaptation (by more sophisticated alphabetization), classification (by thematic groupings of words) and selection (by the transfer of particular words or groups of words into new lists). Nevertheless, the question of how glossaries might have been compiled in particular centres and the implications of their inclusion in miscellanies of related material needs further consideration in the light of the famous Leiden Glossary, VLQ 69. This codex enables us to focus on how lists of words may have been chosen and compiled.⁸¹

Well over a century ago, Henry Bradshaw offered the notion of *glossae collectae* as a major stage before the compilation of a glossary in alphabetical order of any kind. W.M. Lindsay refined this description still further, imagining a process by which glosses, whether interlinear or marginal annotations made on a text, say, of Virgil, were then extracted and listed separately to form *glossae collectae* of Virgil, the Bible, Orosius and so on.⁸² The next stage would be to organize these lists into alphabetical order. The stage after that would be to amalgamate these alphabetically ordered lists with those of other similarly alphabetically reordered *glossae collectae* to form the composite and varied glossaries which is what we see in the *Abavus*, *Affatim* and other collections.

An unfortunate consequence of this understanding of the process of glossary formation is that the idea of any *glossae col-*

81. See De Meyier's description in *Codices Vossiani Latini*, Vol. 2, 157–63. See also the notes and full identification of texts accompanying the microfiche published by Bremmer and Dekker, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*, 89–105.
82. Lindsay, ed., *The Corpus Épinal, Erfurt and Leyden Glossaries*, 1–16.

Fig. 18. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS VLF 24, fol. 108v (detail, enlarged). Latin glossary chrestomathy, Tours region s. ixth, showing a list of Hebrew names.

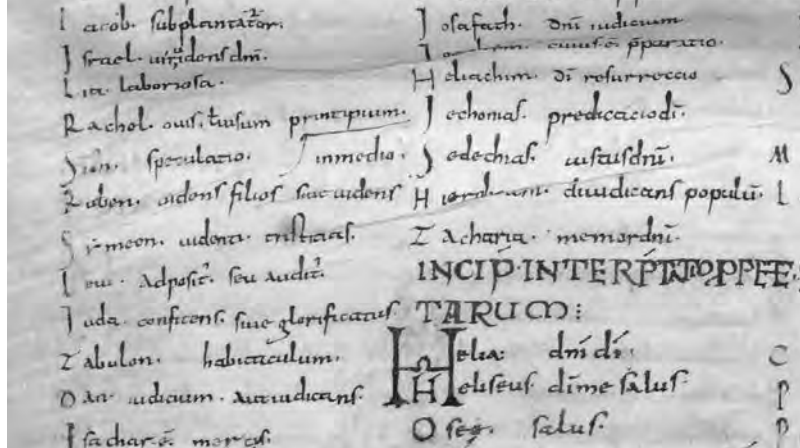


Fig. 19. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS VLQ 69, fol. 20r (detail, enlarged). Latin glossary chrestomathy ("Leiden Glossary"), St Gallen s. viii/ix, showing the canones glosses in A-order.

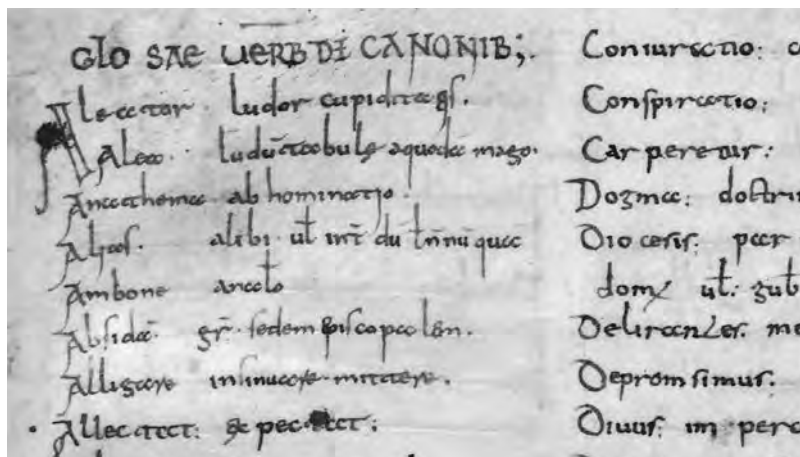
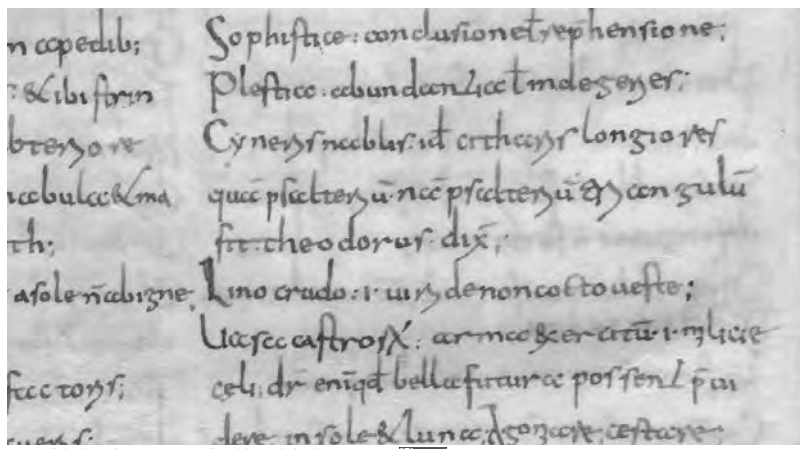


Fig. 20. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS VLQ 69, fol. 24vb lines 9-11 (detail, enlarged). Latin glossary chrestomathy ("Leiden Glossary"), St Gallen s. viii/ix, a gloss on Cyneris (harp) in the section on Ecclesiastic



lectae being the direct record of someone reading a text and noting particular words is in danger of getting lost, as is the idea that *glossae collectae* might nevertheless preserve elements of direct classroom teaching. Instead, a notion of *glossae collectae* being circulated widely, alongside the composite glossaries, to serve as sources for word definitions, is in danger of reducing the role of the glossary compilers to that of mere copyists. Despite Lindsay's warning against 'the error of treating a glossary as if its items were all discovered by the compiler and not borrowed in part (my italics) from already existing glossaries', the *glossae collectae* themselves would then become simply witnesses to an extension of 'influence'. Rather than being a direct result of a reading process, therefore, these word lists, according to current understanding, would be only indirectly related either to reading in the past or to an anticipated future reading process. Because such glossaries are regarded as inherited from exemplars, they have lost any sense of the intended readers or whether they might be concerned with or derived from a specific category of text or even a specific text. Only in the case of the *glossae collectae*, which have retained the status of an intermediate stage between gloss and alphabetized glossary, might there still be a possibility of recapturing some of the immediate relationship between book and reader.

This is one reason why the 'Leiden Glossary' is so important in the history of glossaries and glossary compilation. It preserves no fewer than forty-eight batches of *glossae collectae*, labelled as words taken from different texts.

The first two lists in the 'Leiden Glossary', VLQ 69, fol. 20r (Fig. 19/Plate 19) come from various church canons and papal decretals and the *Regula sancti Benedicti*. Unlike all the others in the collection these have been put into A-alphabetical order. The other *glossae collectae* appear to have been taken sequential-

(XXXIX.20), showing where the definition supplied concludes with *Theodorus dixit* (Theodore said [so]).

ly from the texts. These remaining sets contain words from the major saints' lives such as Sulpicius Severus, *Vita s. Martini*, from history books such as the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius in the translation by Rufinus and Orosius' *Seven books of history against the pagans*. A harvest was garnered from Gildas, *De excidio Britanniae* and words were extracted from Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and *De natura rerum*, and from the biblical exegesis of Cassiodorus and Jerome as well as Jerome's *De viris illustribus*. There are words taken from the *De ponderibus* of Eucherius, and from monastic texts such as Cassian's *De institutis coenobiorum*, the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* translated by Rufinus, Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* and *Cura pastoralis*. There is a list of precious stones from the Book of Revelation (XXI.19–20). The bulk of the collection, however, comprises biblical glosses from Chronicles; Proverbs; Ecclesiastes; the Song of Songs; Ecclesiasticus; Isaiah; Jeremiah; and Lamentations; Ezekiel and Hosea; Daniel; the Minor Prophets; (Hosea again); Job; Tobias; Judith; Esther; Esdras and Nehemiah; the four Gospels. The selection ends with words from the grammarians Donatus and Phocas, the *Hermeneumata* of pseudo-Dositheus and more from Isidore's *De natura rerum* and Cassian.⁸³

In an influential study, published twenty-five years ago, Michael Lapidge argued that a gloss on *Cyneris* (harp) in the section on Ecclesiasticus (XXXIX.20), one of the 48 batches of *glossae collectae* in the Leiden glossary VLQ 69, fol. 24vb lines 9–11 (Fig. 20/Plate 20) where the definition supplied concludes with 'Theodorus dixit' (Theodore said [so]), indicated that this was a remnant of *viva voce* teaching and specifically the *viva voce* teaching of the Greek Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury in the later seventh century in England. *Dixit*, *ait* and such words are of course also used generally for citations of texts, and we do not know whether this 'Theodorus dixit' was taken down at first

hand, was a second-hand report, or derived from a written text. The *glossae collectae* in the Leiden glossary were then related by Lapidge to a large corpus of biblical glossaries ‘mostly preserved in Continental manuscripts’ but based on a proposed original corpus of English materials which similarly descended from the English Canterbury school. The entire set of 48 *glossae collectae* was judged similarly to be of English origin and to have been copied from an English exemplar at St Gallen. As such they provide ‘a wonderful treasury of evidence for the books known and studied in early England’.⁸⁴

This attractive suggestion is ostensibly given extra weight by the incidence of about 255 Old English or a mixed form of Old English and Old High German glosses added to some of the Latin definitions in the Leiden manuscript, usually indicated by the St Gallen scribe with either a little *v* above the word, or a stroke. These glosses are relatively sparse in the biblical section but more frequent in the extracts from Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* and above all the *Hermeneumata* of pseudo-Dositheus. It is unclear whether they were taken over from the exemplar or added by the scribe of this manuscript. Neil Ker suggested for example, that a linguistic interest was uppermost as distinct from a native Englishman jotting down words.⁸⁵ It is also interesting that the glosses on *Ecclesiasticus* are different in character from all the others except those on the *Song of Songs*. In both these quite a lot of exegesis is incorporated. This qualitative difference, as well as the variations between the A-ordered selections for the *canones* and the Rule of Benedict (which have no Old English glosses), and the sections in which Old English glosses are concentrated, are more probably an indication that the collections in the Leiden glossary were taken from different sources. One of these sources may well have been material originally emanating from

84. Lapidge, ‘The School of Theodore and Hadrian’ and ‘Old English Glossography: The Latin Context’, reprinted in Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature*. Cf. Baesecke, *Der Vocabularius Sti Galli in der angelsächsischen Mission*, 10, who also associated this gloss and other biblical glosses with Theodore of Tarsus and Abbot Hadrian at Canterbury.

85. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, 478–9.

86. Sweet, *The Épinal Glossary*, vii.

87. Hessels, *An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, 50.

88. Sweet, *Épinal Glossary*, xi.

89. Porter, ed., *The Antwerp-London Glossaries* (quoted from the inside front flap of dust jacket, but this text is not to be found in the book itself). See also Porter, 'On the Antwerp-London Glossaries'.

Canterbury in some form. Even Sweet, after all, envisaged a scribe who 'evidently had before him a library of Latin books containing a number of scattered interlinear glosses, some in Latin some in English, which he copied out in parallel columns in the order of their occurrence. ... the heading *incipit ex diversis libris* seems to point to an earlier collection of glosses out of different books, which was copied straight off'.⁸⁶ The comment the compiler makes at the end of the second batch of lemmata from Cassian: *sicut inveni scripsi ne reputes scriptori* (which might be rendered: 'I wrote as I found it; don't blame it on the scribe') need not refer to the entire set of *glossae collectae*, let alone the entire codex.⁸⁷ Given the variety of sources suggested by the resultant compilation, it is unlikely that it does so.

A link of some kind with Anglo-Saxon England and Canterbury suggested by some at least of these glosses, first made by Henry Sweet in 1883,⁸⁸ has been readily accepted but has perhaps become both too direct and too entrenched. A recent edition of the eleventh-century Antwerp-London glossaries, for example, is confident in the blurb on the dust jacket at least (which alas will be discarded by most librarians) that these are the descendants of the 'earliest school text in the English language', that 'in their earliest form they played a central role at the seventh-century school of Canterbury' and that they 'contributed material to the fundamental texts, dated to the 600s, known as the Leiden glossary and the Épinal-Erfurt glossary'. These claims are then qualified with the statement that 'the glossaries have at their heart a late Latin encyclopaedia, the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville'.⁸⁹ But a further claim is made by the Editor of the series, Andy Orchard, on the back of the jacket, following the initial proposal made by Lapidge in 1986, namely that this is 'a collection of texts that originated in the seventh-century school at Canterbury'.

The Compilation of the ‘Leiden Glossary’ VLQ 69: The St Gallen Context

But, as *advocatus diaboli*, let me approach the contents of the Leiden *glossae collectae* from a different direction, and place the emphasis on process and the historical context of the compilation itself, rather than on the possible source of some of the definitions, choices of *lemmata*, or even sets of words. VLQ 69 was written at St Gallen in present-day Switzerland, then Carolingian Alemannia, at the end of the eighth century or very early ninth century. For the sake of the argument, let us suppose that not only was this book copied at St Gallen but that it was actually compiled there and that some at least of these *glossae collectae*, as well as some of the other collections of excerpts the manuscript contains, are St Gallen artefacts.⁹⁰ In other words, rather than solely witnessing to what might have been available in Canterbury in the seventh century, the glosses on particular texts also might, to adapt Michael Lapidge’s phrase, ‘provide a wonderful treasury of evidence for the books known and studied’ in early Carolingian St Gallen.

Certainly there is a remarkable correspondence between the texts excerpted for the *glossae collectae* and manuscripts containing these very texts actually written, or known to have been, at St Gallen in the late eighth or early ninth century. If it is thought legitimate to consider some of the manuscripts copied at St Gallen from c. 810 onwards, as well as those recorded in the ninth-century catalogue St Gallen, SB, MS 728,⁹¹ as possible witnesses to earlier manuscripts on the grounds that they may signal early exemplars or indicate early manuscripts now lost respectively, then the correspondence is even greater.

Of the forty-eight separate lists from specified texts in the Leiden Glossary only four, the anonymous *Vita Sanctae Eugeniae*, the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*, Gildas’ *De excidio Britan-*

90. On the extracts and the miscellany as a whole see Bremmer, ‘Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Latinus Q. 69 (Part 2)’.

91. Lehmann, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*.

92. Baesecke, *Der Vocabularius Sti Galli in der angelsächsischen Mission*, 43.

93. Griffiths, 'The Leiden Glosses on the *Regula S. Benedicti* in Leiden, Vossianus Lat. Q. 69'.

niae, Phocas' *Ars de nomine et verbo*, cannot be identified among St Gallen codices still extant or known to have been at St Gallen (unless their use in the Leiden glossary itself could be regarded as such evidence). In addition, the *Hermeneumata* of pseudo-Dositheus is the basis also for the words in the *Vocabularius sancti Galli* in St Gallen, SB, MS 913, and there is some overlap between this word list and the one in VLQ 69.⁹²

This is of course only a preliminary finding, at present interesting rather than conclusive, for what needs to follow is what Alan Griffiths has called a 'systematic sifting' of these *glossae collectae* in the Leiden Glossary in relation to the extant manuscripts, just as he has done for the pure and interpolated copies of the Rule of St Benedict.⁹³

I list these correspondences below with the St Gallen early manuscripts marked in parentheses, and the later ones perhaps witnessing to exemplars or references in the library catalogue in bold italics. The first set concerns the biblical excerpts. Bibles were rarely transmitted in the early middle ages in a single volume, hence the need to discover particular volumes or small sets of biblical books and to register the different St Gallen early bible texts. The second set includes all the non-biblical texts except for those in the third small group of texts not now extant in a manuscript that can be linked with St Gallen at this early stage of its history.

I. Items 7-25 Glosses to biblical books in VLQ 69 available in St Gallen s. viii/ix

Chronicles (St Gallen, SB, MS 6, s. viii^{4/4});

Proverbs (St Gallen, SB, MS 12, s. viii^{4/4});

Ecclesiastes (St Gallen, SB, MS 30, c. 800);

Song of Songs (St Gallen, SB, MS 30, c. 800);

Ecclesiasticus (St Gallen, SB, MS 75, ixⁱⁿ);

Isaiah (St Gallen, SB, MS 40, c. 820);
 Jeremiah (St Gallen, SB, MS 40, c. 820);
 Lamentations (St Gallen, SB, MS 75, ixⁱⁿ);
 Ezekiel (St Gallen, SB, MS 44, c. 780 and St Gallen MS 193);
 Hosea (St Gallen, SB, MS 75, ixⁱⁿ);
 Daniel (St Gallen, SB, MS 44, c. 780);
 Minor Prophets (St Gallen, SB, MS 44, c. 780);
 Job (St Gallen, SB, MS 12, s. viii^{4/4});
 Tobias (St Gallen, SB, MS 6, s. viii^{4/4});
 Judith (St Gallen, SB, MS 6, s. viii^{4/4});
 Esther (St Gallen, SB, MS 6, s. viii^{4/4});
 Esdras (St Gallen, SB, MS 12, s. viii^{4/4});
 Nehemiah (St Gallen, SB, MS 12, s. viii^{4/4});
 Matthew (St Gallen, SB, MS 51, c. 750);
 Mark, Luke and John (St Gallen, SB, MS 51, c. 750);
 Revelation (St Gallen, SB, MS 2, 760-80).

II. Leiden UB VLQ 69: non-biblical texts items 1-2 and 26-48

Various church canons and papal decretals (St Gallen, SB, MS 675, s. ixⁱⁿ *Vetus gallica*);⁹⁴
Regula s. Benedicti (St Gallen, SB, MS 914 (pure), s. ix^{1/3} & MS 915 (interpolated) c. 800);
Sulpicius Severus, Vita s. Martini (St Gallen, SB, MS 552, s. viii/ix; St Gallen, SB, MS 567, s. viii^{ex}) and *Sulpicius Severus Dialogi* (if *Acta* then also these two);
Athanasius, Vita S. Antonii (trans. Evagrius) (St Gallen, SB, MS 558, c. 800);
Eusebius, Historia ecclesiastica trans. Rufinus (listed in library catalogue);
Isidore, De ecclesiasticis officiis (St Gallen, SB, MS 227, s. viii/ix, written in Verona);

94. Lapidge, 'School of Theodore and Hadrian', made the interesting observation that there was some overlap with words in the *Collectio Sanblasiana* collection. The earliest extant manuscripts of this Canon Law collection are Cologne, Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, MS 213, probably written at Cologne, and Sankt Paul im Lavanttal SB 7/1 from Italy. But there are St Gallen as well as insular links with both the *Sanblasiana* and the *Vetus Gallica* collections, see McKitterick, 'Knowledge of Canon Law in the Frankish Kingdoms Before 789'. For further comments on the *Sanblasiana*'s Continental affiliations in relation to the words in VLQ 69, see Brett, 'Theodore and Latin Canon Law' and Elliott, 'Anglo-Saxon Canon Law: *Collectio sanblasiana*', <http://individual.utoronto.ca/michaelelliott/manuscripts/texts/sanblasiana.html>, accessed 6 November 2011.

Isidore, *De natura rerum* (St Gallen, SB, MS 238, 760-80);
 Athanasius, *Vita s. Antonii* (trans. Evagrius) (St Gallen, SB, MS 558, c. 800) and Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* (perhaps Schaffhausen, Ministerialbibliothek, MS Min. 78, s. viii²);
 Jerome, *Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei* (perhaps St Gallen, SB, MS 125, 770-80 or St Gallen, SB, MS 127);
 Jerome, *De viris illustribus* (perhaps exemplar for St Gallen, SB, MS 191, c. 830);
De ponderibus (perhaps Epiphanius/Jerome?);
De ponderibus from Eucherius, *Instructiones* (St Gallen, SB, MS 238, 760-80);
 Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum* (perhaps exemplar for St Gallen, SB, MSS 183 and 574);
 Orosius, *Historiae adversus paganos* (perhaps exemplar for St Gallen, SB, MS 621, s. ix);
 Augustine, *Sermones* (St Gallen, SB, MS 213, s. viii);
 Gregory, *Dialogi* (St Gallen, SB, MS 213, s. viii);
 Gregory, *Cura pastoralis* (St Gallen, SB, MSS 216 and 217, s. ixⁱⁿ);
 Donatus, *Ars maior* (St Gallen, SB, MS 876, s. viii/ix).

III. *Glossae collectae* from texts not found among existing manuscripts of St Gallen origin or provenance s. viii/ix

Anon, *Vita S. Eugeniae*;
 Pseudo-Clement, *Recognitiones* (trans. Rufinus);
 Gildas, *De excidio Britanniae*;
 Phocas, *Ars de nomine et verbo*;
 Pseudo-Dositheus, *Hermeneumata* (but cf. St Gallen, SB, MS 913, s. viii²).

But this is not all. The rest of the Leiden manuscript, as Rolf Bremmer has demonstrated, contains among a wealth of texts,

moralistic, devotional and didactic abecedarian poems, poems of Prudentius, epigrams and epitaphs, a discussion of the size of the ark, extracts from Pliny and late antique texts touching on matters of geography and the creation. That books already in the St Gallen library were the source for these extracts can only be surmised, for this Leiden compilation appears to be the witness to the availability of the text concerned at St Gallen.⁹⁵ The Leiden Glossary codex, which is also an encyclopaedic and moralistic compilation with some features of a topical glossary,⁹⁶ appears to be a culmination of an energetic engagement with words and a wide spectrum of knowledge, reassembled into new books at St Gallen in the later part of the eighth century. Specifically, these miscellanies were compiled under the guidance, and were often the personal creations, of the scribe Winithar and Abbot Werdo between c. 760 and c. 790. These new books comprise a remarkable number of glossaries, *etymologiae*, *florilegia* of biblical extracts, extracts from Isidore and grammatical texts and the like acquired (such as the early import from Fulda known as the *Vocabularius Sancti Galli*, St Gallen, SB, MS 913), or compiled at St Gallen. St Gallen, SB, MS 238, for example, is 494 pages long, and includes copious extracts from Isidore's *Etymologiae* as well as the *De natura rerum*, excerpts from biblical texts and a comment on translations, but nearly half its bulk comprises a glossary which Winithar says he has compiled. As I noted above, it is a re-organisation of the *Affatim* glossary into stricter alphabetical order. Another instance is St Gallen, SB, MS 294, one of the biblical glossaries.

This exuberant enthusiasm for words at St Gallen also produced Latin:German glossaries such as the famous *Abrogans Glossary* (St Gallen, SB, MS 911), a collection of sets of excerpts from patristic writers and no fewer than six different glossaries copied onto palimpsested leaves from nine different older

95. Bremmer, 'Schoolbook or Proto-Encyclopaedic Miscellany'.

96. Hüllen, *English Dictionaries 800-1700*, 60.

97. For a restatement of the conventional wisdom on the process of glossary formation see Sauer, 'Glosses, Glossaries and Dictionaries', 22-3.

98. For fuller details of this St Gallen enterprise, see McKitterick, *The Migration of Ideas in the Early Middle Ages*, forthcoming.

manuscripts (of Leo the Great, Psalms, the Epistles of Paul, liturgical texts, explanations of dreams, the poetry of Merobaudes, medicine, Junilius, all of the sixth century) now comprising St Gallen, SB, MS 908. Another collection of extracts and word lists is St Gallen, SB, MS 225, supplied with a table of contents for the whole book produced in this period, concerning exegesis, *computus*, synonyms, medicine and hagiography.

Glossae collectae are often assumed to be an intermediate stage between readers glossing texts, and the final amalgamation of words in alphabetical order. If this is so, why did so many collections of *glossae collectae*, quite apart from subject specific collections such as the *Notae iuris*, continue to be produced and circulated?⁹⁷ Should we abandon the notion that someone will only use a glossary like a dictionary and expect to have the process made easy by the alphabetization of the words, or should we also think of the *glossae collectae*, once the consequence of the reading process when first put together, thereafter remaining one form of reading aid? One might actually be guided through a particular text with these glosses of hard or unusual words to hand. The Leiden glossary compendium from St Gallen, therefore, may have been intended as a reading aid for the books available in the St Gallen library, compiled by someone from a number of different sources. These could have included alphabetical glossaries that he used as dictionaries.

Whether compiling glossaries from books already in house, books borrowed or acquired from elsewhere for the purpose, already prepared *glossae collectae*, or subject-specific compilations, St Gallen was a veritable glossary and miscellany factory, in a scriptorium energetically supplying the needs of a monastic church, library and school in a particularly focused way.⁹⁸

Words and Knowledge: Glossary Chrestomathies

This accumulation of knowledge as an essential tool is the context in which not only the Leiden glossary, but also the other glossaries produced elsewhere in the Frankish realm need to be considered. St Gallen might be thought to be a special case, but we have to remember that it is one of the places left in Western Europe where the contents of both library and archive are still substantially intact from the early medieval period. It was not subject to the dispersal and disintegration with which we are familiar for so many other monastic and cathedral libraries in western Europe, and from which so many of the Leiden scholars of the seventeenth century benefitted. The St Gallen phenomenon, suggested by the probable origin of the scribe at least of the Leiden glossary collection, if not also the resources on which he drew, may be typical of a particular approach to language and knowledge that was widespread in the Carolingian world and the British Isles in the early middle ages.

As I noted above, many early medieval glossaries have been associated with places where Latin was learnt as a second language, notably in England and in areas east of the Rhine. The Old English and Old High German glosses some of these books contain apparently offer further faint traces of the men and women in the various centres producing these books in the early middle ages. But a substantial majority of these glossaries and glossarial and encyclopaedic collections was produced in North-western France and the Loire valley. Among the Leiden corpus in the BPL and Vossius collections, for example, only the Leiden glossary in VLQ 69 is from the Bodensee region; the others were written by scribes trained in France; at Reims, Paris, St Germain-des-Prés, Amiens, Fleury, Tours and other unidentified Frankish centres.

99. Vezin, 'L'emploi des notes tironiennes dans les manuscrits de la région parisienne'.

100. For late medieval examples see Elm, ed., *Literarische Formen des Mittelalters*.

These places were not just interested in the Latin language. We also find Greek:Latin, transliterated Greek:Latin, and Latin:Greek texts, such as VGQ 7 mentioned above. Many of these glossary manuscripts, moreover, such as VLF 26, fol. 49v, include Greek alphabets. There are also even more specialized compilations such as the list of legal abbreviations and their expansion in BPL 67 F, fol. 148v, and an extraordinary dictionary of tironian notes, VLO 94, written at Reims at the end of the ninth century. The latter was one of several tironian note lexicons extant from Carolingian Francia where the use of tironian notes, primarily by those trained for work in the royal writing office, continued late into the ninth century.⁹⁹

Consideration of VLQ 69 and the other St Gallen compilations has also established that the form in which glossaries are most usually transmitted is as part of elaborate miscellanies, or in what could be called glossary chrestomathies. I use this word in an attempt to differentiate compilations centred on glossaries and illustrative excerpts from authors designed to enhance the knowledge of Latin in one way or another, namely chrestomathies, from miscellanies simply of a variety of material.¹⁰⁰ Of the eighth- and ninth-century glossaries I have so far consulted in the collections from Leiden, the Vatican, St Gallen and Karlsruhe, as well as among those in other modern libraries of which I am aware but have not yet seen, it is rare, except for the *Liber glossarum* itself, to find a single glossary presented in a single codex. Either glossaries form part of glossary collections, or one or more glossaries are accompanied by many other compilations of information. MS Vat. lat. 3321, for example, includes not only *Abstrusa* but also *Abolita* and Isidore's *Differentiae*. BPL 67 F, an even more elaborate example, contains the following items all written in the same hand:

Glossarium Affatim
 Glossarium Ab absens ...zizanium
 Glossarium Ababu ...zona
 Glossarium vergilianae inc. Abector: exportatus
 Glossae proprietatum inc. Arma: bellum
 'Cicero' Sinonima (not organized alphabetically)
 'Cicero' Sinonima, in abbreviated form, also not in
 alphabetical sequence
 Glosae Nonii (selections)
 Glossae iuridicae
 Eucherus glossae spirituales
 Voces variae animantium
 Expositiones Fidei (a collection of seven creeds)
 Quaestiuncula sancti Augustini
 Greek alphabet with the names of the letters written out
 (A note is added in Greek letters: GAUSTMARUS FECIT
 ISTO GRECO)

Other ninth-century Leiden manuscripts contain glossary chrestomathies, such as VLO 74, VLF 82, BPL 67 E and BPL 67 F. For example, VLO 74 contains three different glossaries; VLF 82 combines Isidore's *Etymologiae* Book X with the *Abavus* glossary (described as glosses from the Old and New Testaments), the *Sinonima Ciceronis* and Eucherus; BPL 67 E includes an AB-ordered glossary beginning *Abutere* and the *Sinonima Ciceronis*; BPL 67 F gathers together six different glossaries, including *Affatim*, and adds some of the *Sinonima Ciceronis*, of Nonius Marcellus, Eucherus, the specialist list of legal terms referred to above, Eucherus (again) and a collection of creeds. Extant Carolingian glossary chrestomathies in other modern collections in Paris, Rome, St Gallen and elsewhere, tell the same story.

101. See Bremmer and Dekker, eds., *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*, 77-83; Tresp, Schmuki and Flury, *Karl der Grosse und seine Gelehrten*, with particular reference to St Gallen, SB, MSS 64, 75, 268, 271, 272, 275, 276 and 563.

The links between libraries and scholars in the Carolingian world are visible in the overlapping of texts in glossary chrestomathies from centres miles apart. VLF 24 from Tours, for example, shares many of the biblical and other glossae collectae with the St Gallen glossary in VLQ 69. The close Tours-St Gallen connection, moreover, can be corroborated by many other manuscripts from Tours or containing texts of Tours origin now in St Gallen.¹⁰¹ The relationship between VLQ 69 and VLF 24 remains to be established by meticulous collation, but some samples I have taken suggest that the Tours compiler made a selection and slight abridgement from the sets in the Leiden glossary but also inserted some different words and omitted most of the Old English glosses.

In the list below the collections VLF 24 and VLQ 69 have in common are indicated in bold:

Glossae spiritales secundum Eucherium.

Synonyma, quae Ciceroni adtribuuntur.

Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae*, liber X

Glossae biblicae.

Glossae variae: de libro officiorum; de libro rotarum;

de libro Antonii; Interpretatio verborum;

de Catalogo Hieronymi in Prologo;

de Ponderibus. Glossae ad libros varios biblicos.

Glossae de Patristicis operibus.

Eucherius, *Instructiones*,

praefatio 'ad Salonium'.

Glossae variae: de Hebraeorum nominibus.

de Locis.

Voces variae animantium

Alcuin, *Disputatio Pippini cum Albino*

In the so-called Leiden glossary family of manuscripts which share parts of the word collections or texts to be found in VLQ 69, indeed, we have evidence not only of an extended network of communication across the empire, but also of a host of examples of individual enterprise and choice, selection and compilation.

Glossary readers

Together, moreover, these books raise the issue of how they might have been used and what they were for.¹⁰² Dictionary users need particular literate skills.¹⁰³ I mentioned above how many glossary manuscripts still survive. The number originally produced, in itself a significant indication of the assumptions about the basic metalinguistic skills of the users, may well have been so great as to mean that all groups of men or women who were reading and copying texts possessed a glossary or glossary chrestomathy of some kind. But why are there quite so many glossary chrestomathies? These books have more than one function. Generally they served as a didactic tool, assisting a process of acquisition of Latin vocabulary for those needing both to understand and to communicate in Latin. Given the intellectual activity that can be documented at many of the places to which these glossaries can be located, they were undoubtedly aids for honing the skills of rhetoric and eloquence as well. Was there any way of sifting the bizarre and fanciful information they often supply? They were not only used as we might use a dictionary, detached from the texts that needed explanation.¹⁰⁴ Early medieval dictionaries, however, were not just repositories of explanations of the unfamiliar, and were not designed only to serve bilingualism. They were also not compiled with the primary aim of documenting the total vocabulary of the language, unlike such modern

102. For a discussion of 'who uses dictionaries, and what for', see Béjoint, *The Lexicography of English from Origins to Present*, 224-61.

103. For literacy in the eighth and ninth centuries, see McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* and McKitterick, ed., *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, esp. 1-10 and 318-33.

104. Hüllen, *English Dictionaries*, 44.

105. Hüllen, *English Dictionaries*, 6.

106. Hüllen, *English Dictionaries*, 44. See also Dionisotti, 'On the Nature and Transmission of Latin Glossaries'.

107. See McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 292–380 and McKitterick, ed., *Carolingian Culture*.

108. See Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical*; Law, *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages*; Alcuin, *De Orthographia*, ed. Bruni; and Cassiodorus, *De Orthographia*, ed. Stoppacci.

enterprises as that of James Murray in England, the brothers Grimm in Germany, or Paul Robert in France. To some extent they fulfil what Hüllen has described as a 'mediating position for language use. ... They serve language-in-performance by providing linguistic knowledge'.¹⁰⁵ But the glossaries were also encyclopaedic dictionaries in their inclusion of explanations of the subject matter of the words as well as meanings. Thus they become treasuries of knowledge. As Hüllen puts it, they 'can represent the world'.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, glossary chrestomathies often include encyclopaedic sections as well as linguistic sections. They represent codifications of knowledge according to special conventions. It is this assembly of lexical and encyclopaedic knowledge in distinctive codices containing elaborate word hoards – glossary chrestomathies – that represents the innovative element of Carolingian book production. The glossary compilers of the eighth and ninth centuries drew on many varieties of text, not least the glossaries, to form these extraordinary new forms of book.

Conclusion

All these glossary collections are manifestations of an interest in words, the imperative to understand texts, and the practical consequences of the Carolingian insistence on correct texts and right understanding that are such a prominent aspect of the phenomenon described as the Carolingian renaissance.¹⁰⁷ The glossaries and glossary chrestomathies need to be seen alongside the Carolingian copies of Paul the Deacon's epitome of Festus and of Nonius Marcellus, the Greek:Latin Dictionaries, the production of the *Liber glossarum* and the dictionaries of tironian notes. They complement, moreover, the interest in grammar and orthography also represented in so many extant Carolingian manuscripts and newly-composed texts.¹⁰⁸ These

glossary chrestomathies also reflect a sheer fascination with words and their layers of meaning. VLF 24, as we have seen above, not only includes in its assemblage of word lists the Spiritual glosses of Eucherius, and a list of animal and bird noises, but also the famous *Disputatio* between Alcuin and Pippin which is practically all in the form of riddles about the meanings of words.¹⁰⁹

Above all the glossary chrestomathies are a collective statement of cultural affiliation. They offered a bridge to the Latin past constructed from the most basic elements of the textual inheritance of the compilers, designed to enhance literate communication in the present as well as for future generations. I have emphasized the vital importance of the relationship between the physical features of manuscripts and the texts they contain. I have explored some of the fascinating questions raised by the richness and diversity of the books produced in the Carolingian period, so remarkably well represented in the collections in Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek. These have concerned not only the relationship between a book and its scribes and readers, but also of the ways in which older practices in the presentations of texts could be adopted, adapted, abandoned, or further developed in the ninth century as much as in the twelfth. I have suggested both that particular needs played a large role in determining the contents of books and the particular formats of texts, and that scribes proved marvellously creative in accommodating those needs to their expected readers. The subsequent copying and continued use of specific texts throughout the middle ages needs to be explored further. The particular examples discussed in this chapter, namely, the *Chronicon* of Eusebius-Jerome and the glossaries, were incorporated into other larger works – medieval world chronicles in the case of Eusebius-Jerome; glossary

109. *Disputatio regalis et nobilissimi iuuenis Pippini cum Albino scholastico*, ed. Daly and Suchier, 137–43. For a translation, see Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 139–46. See also Bayless, ‘Alcuin’s *Disputatio Pippini* and the Early Medieval Riddle Tradition’.

110. First of all may I thank Erik Kwakkel for asking me to give the second Liefinck lecture in Leiden in November 2010 in association with his project 'Turning over a New Leaf: Manuscript Innovation in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', on which this chapter is based. I am particularly grateful to Harm Beukers and Kasper van Ommen for their suggestion that this be combined with a Scaliger lecture as part of my tenure of a Scaliger Fellowship in Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek in the autumn of 2010. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank André Bouwman of Western Manuscripts and all the staff in Special Collections of Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek for their help during my months in Leiden.

chrestomathies and the dictionaries of Papias, Huguccio of Pisa and finally the *Catholicon* in the case of the glossaries and *Liber glossarum*. Only close work with the manuscripts will enable us to understand the precise contributions of both Carolingian and twelfth-century scribes to the presentation of texts for contemporary and subsequent readers, and the degree of innovation they represent.¹¹⁰



INCIPIIT LOCUS MAGISTRI HUGONIS
DIDASCALON.

VE·PRECIPUE

Res sunt, quibus quisque ad
instruitur, lectio uidelicet & meditatio
e quibus lectio potest indoctrina obtineri
Et de hoc tractat liber iste: dando precepta

tria autem sunt precepta magistri lectioni necessaria
primum, ut sciat quisque quod legere debeat, secundum quod ordine legere
debeat, id est quod prius, quod postea, terciū, quomodo legere
De his tribus per singula agit in hoc libro. Instruit autem tam
quam diuinarum scripturarum lectorē. Unde & in duas partes
quarum una quæque tres habet distinctiones. In prima parte
lectorē artium, in secunda parte diuinū lectorē. Docet autem
do, ostendendo scilicet primo quod legendū sit, deinde quod ordine
quomodo legendū sit. Ut ergo scribi possit quod legendū sit, aut
precipue legendū sit, in prima parte primum enumerat
nō omniū artium, deinde de descriptione & partitione earum
quomodo una quæque contineat aliam, uel contineat ab alia, secans
sophiam a summo usque ad ultimum membra. Post modum enu-
merat auctores artium, & ostendit quæ ex his uidelicet artibus
prius & precipue legende sint, deinde etiam quo ordine
legende sint aperit, postremo, legentibus uitæ suæ discipulum
per scribit, & sic finitur prima pars. In secunda parte de