

Chapter 3

MISCELLANIES AND COMMUNITIES

RECENT RESEARCH BY Rutger Kramer and Carine van Rhijn has demonstrated the astonishing extent to which the Carolingians were concerned with the greater good.¹ The ultimate goal was, of course, spiritual salvation, but the road to this salvation was long and difficult. Above all, it was a social and communal enterprise that necessitated the willing participation of those involved in the day-to-day running of the empire. As Kramer has shown, during Louis the Pious' reign in particular there developed a kind of public conscience among the educated elite that was characterized by watchful self-consciousness, surveillance of others, and constant dialogue. Kramer put forward the key idea that constant conversations, rather than top-down decrees, were at the heart of the idea of the Carolingian reforms. This, ultimately, meant that everyone who could write was implicated in the reform effort. Compilers and editors—whether or not they were also the scribes—came to have a great deal of influence. This was because the constant compilation and re-compilation of books and texts, which proceeded at an enormous pace, contributed to the conversation. It *was* the conversation.²

As part of this cultural development, Carolingian miscellanies represented the rise of a new type of book. Miscellanies had their antecedents in antiquity but they acquired a new significance in the eighth and ninth centuries—like so many other aspects of written culture in this period. This significance was enshrined in their social function. Carolingian miscellanies were, first and foremost, living and flexible books. This meant that their textual contents were in the majority of cases excerpted or abbreviated in some way, often extremely so, as with a simple list of eight words from Isidore's *Etymologiae* in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Gud. lat. 148 (fol. 60r). This served two purposes: economy of space coupled with making as broad a use of the available library resources as possible; and the creation of a volume that was laser-focused in terms of the pastoral and educational needs of the geographically restricted community for which it was being created.

This chapter examines four eighth- and ninth-century miscellanies containing the *Physiologus* as case-studies of this new type of early medieval book. It focuses on the unique features and production circumstances of each miscellany, and examines each in terms of its implications for the dissemination of Christian learning. As books for use by local priests and monks within a restricted geographical range, miscellanies were able to develop into textual tool-kits for helping to consolidate faith among small or geographically restricted communities, and to promote the aims of Carolingian authority. To do so, the contents of these manuscripts became extraordinarily focused on the natural world as represented in the Bible, and on grammar and language.

1 Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*; van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*. See also Jebe, "Regeln, Schrift, Correctio."

2 On this process, see also Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity*.

The Whole Book

The origin of miscellany manuscripts in antiquity was demonstrated by Armando Petrucci, who observed that antique compilations were “organic” and “coherent.”³ The monastic practice of assembling miscellanies seems to have been begun by Cassiodorus at Vivarium. Cassiodorus described collections of primarily patristic and scriptural, but also medical, historical, rhetorical, and philosophical texts in one material “body” or volume (“in uno corpore”).⁴ According to Petrucci, a less “coherent” kind of miscellany—from which he excluded anthologies of excerpts or authoritative citations, as well as liturgical and composite manuscripts—came to the fore from the sixth century, partly as a result of new book models introduced by Irish *peregrini* (travelling monks).⁵ This new kind of miscellany was heterogeneous and therefore “unorganic”:

This phenomenon seems of great importance because the unorganic miscellaneous book ends up being one of the greatest and most significant novelties of book production in the eighth century. The most exasperating forms, which incorporated liturgical texts and patristic excerpts together with medical works and historical or grammatical compilations, covered almost the whole spectrum of contemporary monastic (more than ecclesiastical) culture.⁶

Petrucci made the important observation that early medieval miscellanies were a new and significant genre of manuscript, and that there was no way to categorize them all neatly. However, he saw the development of the miscellany as a natural, spontaneous, and unforced process. This was not the case: medieval compilation was highly controlled, a quality that it may well have inherited from antique practice. The “exasperating” diversity of content in medieval miscellanies was not due to reduced coherence when compared to antique compilations, but partly to new criteria for coherence, as well as a much greater diversity of use.

Perhaps the most significant shift in the production of books between antique and Merovingian monasteries, and those in the Carolingian period, was a conscious awareness of book-making as a political statement. The ecclesiastical and monastic centres that produced books and controlled script were, by the Carolingian period, using them to communicate specific identities, through the cultivation of house and regional styles. In many places, books and script became one of the means through which it was possible to exercise power. Texts and texts extracts, as found within miscellanies,

³ Petrucci, “Dal libro unitario al libro miscellaneo,” 185; Radding, trans., *Writers and Readers*, 16.

⁴ Cassiodorus, *De institutione divinarum litterarum* (ed. Halporn and Vessey as *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning*). See also Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*; Baldacchini, “In uno corpore continentur.”

⁵ Petrucci, “From Unitary Book to Miscellany.”

⁶ “Il fenomeno appare di grande importanza, in quanto il libro miscellaneo disorganico finirà per costituire una delle maggiori e più significative novità della produzione libraria del secolo VIII e proprio nelle forme più esasperate, che accorpavano testi liturgici a eserti patristici a opere mediche a compilazioni storiche o grammaticali, coprendo quindi quasi l'intero spettro della cultura monastica (più che ecclesiastica) contemporanea.” Petrucci, “Dal libro unitario al libro miscellaneo,” 185; Radding, trans., *Writers and Readers*, 16.

played a similar role in this period. It is well-established that the whole book—encompassing the contents, the script, and the overall look (from the size of the margins to the cover decoration)—became part of a broader statement about the identity, faith, and authority of the Frankish, Carolingian-controlled Church, within the context of the whole books in which they were copied and as part of the intellectual networks these books characterized.⁷

This socio-political re-orientation of the function of books is reflected in their numbers. There was a huge increase in manuscript production under the Carolingian rulers and their successors, who deliberately sponsored a wide-reaching program of study and literary culture within religious institutions to promote their authority. The often-cited figure to illustrate this comes from modern catalogues. We have ca. 1,800 manuscript codices or fragments for the entirety of continental Western Europe from before 800 CE. Conversely, we have over 9,000 manuscript codices or fragments from the 100 years between 800 to 900 CE.⁸ The figures during the early Middle Ages will have been significantly higher: as discussed in Chapter 2, much has been lost during the intervening centuries.⁹

It is not clear how many of these Carolingian manuscripts are miscellanies, since, as discussed in Chapter 1, the criteria for identifying a miscellany are fuzzy and must remain so. Nevertheless, it must have been a fair proportion of the overall number of books produced. Their contents are, as Petrucci observed, very variable. Some miscellanies were intended primarily as teaching tools; some had a more pastoral outlook; others were centred around key individuals, such as bishops, and their varied duties; still others were tools for an entire community, which needed a range from texts from the liturgical to the political. What brought their contents together, and made them a category of book in their own right, was two things arising out of the political re-orientation of manuscript production discussed above: participation in the conversation about salvation and reform, through the inclusion of relevant texts; and treatment of miscellanies as text collections “in uno corpore,” through the seamless integration of both full texts and extracts—which would occasionally form entirely new sense-units—using diverse strategies and insofar as diverse planning and production circumstances would permit. This is demonstrated using concrete manuscript examples below. The selection and arrangement of the text contents in miscellanies was, it should be emphasized, not governed by subject matter (as it was in eleventh and

⁷ The seminal work on this is McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, but there are many others; see the Introduction.

⁸ This figure is based on CLA and Bischoff's *Katalog*, as well as Bischoff's *Paläographie des römischen Altertums*, 271. It has been cited with minor differences in Davis and McCormick, “The Early Middle Ages,” 2; Costambeys, Innes, and MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, 16; Ganz, “Book Production,” 786; Brown, “Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance,” 34; and McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, 163–4. The figure for the Carolingian period excludes Visigothic manuscripts.

⁹ Buringh, *Medieval Manuscript Production*.

twelfth-century encyclopedias), but rather by the politically determined and locally variable ideas of what it was essential for Christians to know.

Since the early medieval approach to the codex was, in general, to treat it as a cohesive product, in which every part contributed to the formation of a single whole, it must be examined as such. That the complexity of medieval books in general requires a specific approach has long been acknowledged by codicologists, who have developed the concept of an archaeology of the book. It views the stages of production and stages of use as layers, sometimes with complex overlaps. This stratigraphy means that we end up not with a static set of pages between definitive hard cover boundaries, but rather with a still-evolving object whose layers accumulate over time, continually changing the whole.¹⁰ The codicological structure of medieval manuscripts has also been framed in terms of single-text and multiple-text mono-block and multi-block codices, which rightly foregrounds the book production process.¹¹ This approach to manuscripts is crucial for understanding miscellanies, which were sometimes very complex objects that could evolve in both structure and content over a decade or more, yet remain focused and coherent collections.¹² As a result, the manuscript analysis presented in this and subsequent chapters sometimes omits those units of multi-block codices which are not early medieval, although the descriptive catalogue in Appendix I includes the full contents.

Grammar

A key component of many miscellanies was grammatical texts. Together with logic and rhetoric, grammar was one of the pillars of the trivium, the foundational concept of antique and early medieval education. An elementary constituent of grammatical learning in this period was the idea (derived from ancient grammarians like Donatus and Priscian) that each letter had a shape (*figura*), a name (*nomen*), and sound (*potestas*). Every major work of grammar or metric, including those by Isidore and Bede, began with an explanation of these attributes.¹³ In other early medieval grammatical treatises this basic training was then supplemented with more allegorical explanations. Some texts, for example, give numerological interpretations for the number of

10 The term “stratigraphy” was first used for medieval manuscripts by Gumbert, “Codicological Units.” For an annotated bibliography of the relevant scholarship, see Andrist, Canart, and Maniaci, *La syntaxe du codex*, 11–41. See also Shailor, “A Cataloger’s View.” For a more detailed discussion of the codicology of complex miscellanies, see Dorofeeva, “Visualizing Codicologically and Textually Complex Manuscripts.” On manuscripts in the modern age, see Treharne, *Perceptions of Medieval Manuscripts*. For critical bibliographical approaches, see Nichols and Wenzel, ed., *The Whole Book*, and the double special issue of *Criticism* on “New Approaches to Critical Bibliography and the Material Text,” ed. Ozment and Maruca, especially Sargan, “What Could a Trans Book History Look Like?,” 571–86.

11 Maniaci, “The Medieval Codex as a Complex Container.”

12 Dorofeeva, “Visualizing Codicologically and Textually Complex Manuscripts”; Dorofeeva, “What is a Vademecum?”

13 Bede, *De arte metrica*; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 1.4.16.

strokes needed to copy each letter: the three strokes of A denote the three persons of the Trinity, the two strokes of b the two Testaments, the single stroke of C the Church, and so on.¹⁴ Especially during the early Middle Ages, these and other grammatical concepts were raised to a semiotic art, in which allegorical and spiritual interpretation based on grammatical and etymological evidence was widely taught and practiced.¹⁵

One of the most innovative aspects of this in miscellanies is that extracts on the natural world also began to be integrated with grammatical texts into independent sense-units. These collocations reflect an Isidorean “hyperliterate experience of the world through texts.”¹⁶ Early medieval compilers, who had themselves undergone grammatical training, found it both easy and natural to apply the interpretative methods of *grammatica* to find the symbolism of the natural world in the Bible. To understand the meaning of language was also to comprehend the essence of the world as created by God.¹⁷ The close connection between the natural world and grammar is exemplified in two eighth- and ninth-century manuscripts from Montecassino and Lotharingia which depict the disciplines of the liberal arts and their different parts mainly as animals and plants.¹⁸ This textual method, inherited by the Carolingians from ancient grammarians and the profound influence of the thought of Isidore of Seville, enabled scholars to bridge the biblical and real worlds for their audiences. It is demonstrated in the close manuscript readings in this and the following chapter.

Some of the clearest evidence for the use of the *Physiologus* in the early Middle Ages is associated with this kind of grammatical interpretation. It is found in glosses to Priscian’s grammar in a Bern manuscript dated to the third quarter of the ninth century and originating near Paris.¹⁹ Beside the chapter heading “On the divisions of gender” (“De divisionibus generum”), in the margin, is the following gloss: “The panther is a many-coloured but beautiful kind of animal. Physiologus [says] of it that it is the only enemy of the dragon. When it has eaten and has become full through various hunts.”²⁰ This remark, paraphrased from the *Physiologus* description of the panther, accompanies the first section of book 5 on nouns, “On genders” (“De generibus”), in which panthers are discussed among other words that pose difficulties when identifying their grammatical gender. Turning the manuscript leaf, we also find the simple gloss “panthera” in the margin. It refers to the following sentence in the main text: “If he were on earth, Democritus would laugh, whether a mixed creature such as a pan-

14 Ganz, “The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule,” 42; Hagen, *Anecdota helvetica*.

15 Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*; Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*.

16 Amsler, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse*, 134.

17 Nutton, “Early-Medieval Medicine,” 335.

18 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Patr. 61: <https://bavarikon.de/object/bav:SBB-KHB-00000SBB00000157>, and London, British Library, MS Harley 2637: www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_2637.

19 Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 1:113. Priscian, *Institutiones*, bk. 5.

20 “Panthaera genus animalis varium habens colorem sed speciosus. Physiologus de hoc quod inimicus est draconi solum. Cum ergo comederit et satiatus fuerit diversis venationibus.” Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 109, fol. 36v.

ther crossed with a camel, or a white elephant, attracted the eyes of the crowd.”²¹ This quotation from an epistle by Horace is a reference to human folly.

The Bern Priscian is a school text, but the annotations in this manuscript—most of them in Tironian notes—were done by one or more masters, one of whom may have been Heiric of Auxerre.²² The above glosses show complex cross-referencing of the term “panther” between those places in Priscian’s text when it is mentioned, and the *Physiologus*. The emphasis in the glosses goes beyond basic Latin grammar. Instead, the glossator is not only mining Priscian’s text for its rich literary allusions, but also supplementing them with their own memory of particular topics—here, the panther. The associations between the panther and the moral and allegorical conclusions that arise from these notes are, nevertheless, rooted in basic grammatical knowledge. A clear link is established here between the natural world as represented by the *Physiologus*, *grammatica*, and compilation.

What is gradually becoming clearer from these sources, then, is that they embodied a specific kind of early medieval intellectual innovation. Building on the peculiarly Carolingian emphasis on linguistic, grammatical, and literary learning, compilers of miscellanies containing this material also began to incorporate the *Physiologus* and other texts referencing the natural world of the Bible. This meant that those with literary and grammatical training also learned to “read” the natural world. This is explored further in the examples below.

A Communal Miscellany

The earliest full-length *Physiologus* miscellany, in the terms defined above, is St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230. It was copied in the late eighth century at St. Gallen, in a single hand writing Alemannic minuscule. It is extraordinarily long, running to 561 pages. For these reasons it presents some of the typical problems of early medieval miscellanies: how to characterize its contents in a meaningful way, and how to understand its historical function based on the large and seemingly chaotic arrangement of texts. Nevertheless, it is evident that the miscellany served two purposes: firstly, and most importantly, to provide a toolkit for fourfold exegesis (see Chapter 4), particularly its second, allegorical, level; and secondly, to provide a practical source of essential short liturgical and pastoral texts—homilies, prayers, lists, and sentences.

There are several points of entry into the dense thicket of texts within this manuscript. On two occasions its contents are arranged by type: items 15 through 19 are sermons; items 20 through 23 are commentaries on the Lord’s Prayer. (Here and throughout, item numbers refer to the descriptive catalogue in Appendix I.) The authorship of the commentaries is not acknowledged and is not identifiable except in the case

²¹ “Si foret in terris rideret democritus seu diversum confuse genus panthera, camelo sive elephas albus vulgi converterit hora.” Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 109, fol. 37v. Horace, *Ep.* 2.1.194–198. Trans. in Keane, *Figuring Genre*, 35. I am grateful to Meg Leja for her transcription of these notes, and for drawing my attention to them.

²² Contreni, “What was Emperor Augustus Doing.”

of item 21, which is by Cassian. These commentaries have evidently been grouped together because of their subject matter. The sermons, on the other hand, may have been grouped together in part because of Augustine's authorship, and in part because together they form a selection that concerns three successive Old Testament prophets: Abraham, Isaac, and Joseph. Item 19, extracts from Gregory the Great's Gospel homilies, may also belong to this group, to form a collection of sermon and homily material. Of the three possible principles of organization—authorship, biblical chronology, and text type—the latter seems to have been the most important, not only because of the addition of item 19 but also because item 14 apparently belongs to the group as well. This text is part of Jerome's commentary on Matthew, another chapter of which appears in item 40. The *incipits* of both items 14 and 40 show that the makers of the manuscript were aware of the text's author and title. It seems strange that the two items are not copied together in such a highly organized book, unless we again look at the *incipits*. Item 14 is listed as a sermon: "Sermon from the treatise of St Jerome the priest from the Gospel of Matthew."²³ Item 40, on the other hand, is given as a reading: "Reading from the treatise of St Jerome the priest on the Gospel of St Matthew."²⁴ The distinction is one of usage: the first is specifically intended as a public reading, while the second is simply a variant interpretation of that Gospel passage. *Sermo* and *lectio* are not being used synonymously, for the Carolingians normally used *sermo*, *omelia* (*humilia* in the case of St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230) and *tractatus* to designate sermons, with the first term being predominant.²⁵ *Lectio* was, by contrast, a word specifically associated with the reading of a particular passage and its exposition.

It is, moreover, unlikely that item 14 was the result of a mistake based on a casual reading of the first line of the text: "The Gospel reading which has been recited by us today, dearest brothers."²⁶ This direct address is a suitable beginning for a sermon and could explain the presence of item 14 next to the group of sermons. However, each sermon—unlike the texts before and after this group—carries a marginal description of its subject. Items 15 and 16, for example, are both marked "de abraham" (pp. 361 and 364). Item 14 is annotated "adpropinquante iesu iherosolymis" ("On Christ's entry into Jerusalem") in the same hand (p. 348). The ink of these annotations is darker, and the hand has a very different ductus to that of the principal scribe; however, the script is contemporary Alemannic minuscule, which indicates that the annotations were made not long after the text had been copied. Evidently, the users of the manuscript thought of item 14 as part of the annotated group of sermons represented by items 15 through 19.

The question that arises is why, if the sermons and commentaries in these two sections were brought together by type, this was not also done for other texts. The deliberate composition of the two text groups suggests that the manuscript's contents

²³ "Sermo de tractatu sancti hieronimi presbiteri ex euangelio mathei."

²⁴ "Lectio de tractatu sancti hieronimi presbyteri de euangelii sancti Matthaui."

²⁵ Mantello and Rigg, eds, *Medieval Latin*, 659.

²⁶ "Euangelica lectio quae nobis hodie recitata est, fratres dilectissimi."

were selected and arranged in advance of the copying process. Why were the biblical commentaries in the manuscript, for example, not grouped in the same way? In St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230, they—items 13, 14, 31, 40, and 45—are spread throughout the manuscript. However, item 14 aside, a look at the titles of the four additional commentaries suggests that they were simply not all thought to be the same kind of text: “Here begins the selection from the three Gospels” (13), “interpretation of the Song of Songs” (31), “a reading from the work on Jerome” (40), “likewise sentences of Isidore on Leviticus” (45).²⁷ The compiler has recognized the selective, expository nature of these texts, but does not see them as being part of the same genre. They are exegetical, but so are most of the texts in the manuscript. A further common feature, such as treatment of the same subject or passage, or the same specific form, seems to have been required.

It is possible, of course, that the two groups of texts in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230 have not been deliberately formed, but rather as a result of copying circumstances. The compiler may have made a selection from one or more exemplars that contained groups of texts pre-arranged in a similar manner, such as a sermon collection. This is all the more likely since such groupings are not usual among the manuscripts on the handlist. However, smaller groupings in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230 exist. Items 9 and 10 are questions and responses; 42, 43, and 44 concern psalms. Without knowing the exemplar or exemplars for this manuscript, it is impossible to judge the degree of organization; but the arrangement of texts into several groups, while not systematic, seems no accident of copying practices either.

Whatever the internal arrangement of the texts in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230, the whole manuscript is billed as a patristic collection in two particular lists. The first is its own list of contents on p. 1, which reads as follows:

In the name of the Holy Trinity [here] begins the collection of divine books on diverse questions which were bequeathed to us by the Holy Fathers, most learned and most erudite men; first [those of] Saint Isidore, the bishop of Spain, after which follow the other, younger works of Isidore; after which the books of Eucherius, after which the books of Augustine the bishop, after which those of Jerome the priest and those of other Fathers, that is of Gregory.²⁸

The last word, “gregorij,” is an addition in the margin underneath the main text, whose end is signalled by a short multi-coloured ribbon at the end of the final line. Unlike the list of contents itself, which is written in large multi-coloured (green, purple, red, and yellow) capital letters, the word “gregorij” is written in much smaller rubricated capitals. It is centered in the middle of the line, suggesting that the artist wanted to preserve the proportions of the lines and the harmonious impression of the overall page,

²⁷ “Incipit tr̃e euangelii excarpsum,” “interpretatio de canticis canticorum,” “lectio de tractatu sancti hieronimi,” “item sententias hisidori super leuiticum.”

²⁸ “In nomine sancte trinitatis incipit concollectio diuinorum librorum quae sancti patres doctissimi atque eruditissimi uiri tradiderunt de diuersis questionibus; in primis sancti hysidori hispanensis episcopi post hunc secuntur libri alii hysidori iunioris; de inde eucherii de inde agustini episcopi; post hos hieronimi presbyteri; et ceterorum patrum; id est gregorij.”

despite running out of space. This, in turn, implies that the word was a planned addition to the manuscript, just as the single Gregorian text itself (item 19). This internal list of contents is further evidence that the manuscript's texts were carefully selected.

The second list begins on p. 9 of St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 728, and is the earliest known (ninth-century) St. Gallen catalogue of books.²⁹ It is one of two lists preserved in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 728. This catalogue lists St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230 on p. 10 under the rubric "books of Isidore the bishop" ("de libris ysydori episcopi") and its contents are given in the last three lines as follows: "By the same, one book on God, and one book of *De officiis*; on the *Differentiae* of Eucherius, and on minor questions of Augustine, and on diverse excerpts, and on many other excerpts from small works of the Holy Fathers in one volume."³⁰ This list of contents attributes Isidore's *Differentiae* to Eucherius, who never wrote a work of that name, but otherwise it is a correct description of the texts in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230.

The emphasis in both the list of contents and the booklist in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 728 is on the patristic authority of the principal authors represented in this miscellany: that is, Augustine, Eucherius, Isidore, and Jerome. The miscellany's existence is validated by the fact that its excerpts derive from the Holy Fathers. On the one hand, therefore, the contents of the manuscript have been selected and arranged, sometimes in groups, following a set of particular principles. On the other hand, they have also been selected on the basis of authoritative authorship. The *incipits* to many of the anonymous or pseudepigraphic texts—9 and 13, for example—attribute them to a patristic author. These factors together guaranteed both the utility and reliability of the miscellany.

However, it did not seem to have been well regarded by at least one person. The hand of Notker the Stammerer, who annotated the booklist in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 728, marked this volume as extremely old, "uetustissimo," in the right-hand margin.³¹ For comparison, the cataloguer of Glastonbury Abbey from 1247/1248 also marked books as "old but can still be read," "good but old," "old but useless."³² Thus, for Notker, "antiquity was not necessarily a guarantee of quality."³³ But quality of what? Notker could not be questioning the orthodoxy of the texts in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230: the theology in texts attributed to Augustine, Eucherius, Isidore, and Jerome, as the contents of the book largely are, could not be "out of date."

29 Stansbury, "Sammelhandschriften."

30 "Eiusdem de deo liber i. et de officiis liber i. differentiarum eucherii. et de questiunculis sancti augustini. et de floratibus diuersis. et alia multa de sanctorum patrum opusculis excerpta in uolumine i." "De deo" refers to the chapter on God in the *Etymologiae*, which is part of item 5 in appendix I, and "de officiis" to item 49.

31 On Notker's comments in this catalogue, see Nasmith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum*; on his authorship see especially Rankin, "Ego itaque Notker scripsi."

32 Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, 73. Cambridge, Trinity College, Wren Library, MS R.5.33, fols. 102r–103v: <https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/R.5.33>.

33 McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, 154.

Other notes in the book catalogue indicate that Notker marked those codices whose contents he believed to be false or falsified (“falsatis”), untruthful (“mendacium”) or corrupt (“corruptus”). This was not the case with St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230. The note does not refer to the physical condition of the manuscript, which is exceptionally well preserved even today. It seems unlikely that Notker was commenting on the Alemannic script (or on the script alone); although it was out of date by the end of the ninth century, it was perfectly legible, and well-copied. Probably Notker, whose intent to evaluate the utility of the books in the catalogue is clear, was referring to the relevance of the manuscript to the monastery. On reviewing the booklist and the library itself, he found that the selection of excerpts in the manuscript was entirely redundant.

We can only speculate on why this might have been the case. Too little is known about the status of miscellanies and the principles of their production generally, let alone at St. Gallen, to make an informed guess. Perhaps Notker’s idea of what a collection of patristic excerpts should contain to fulfill the needs of his monastery simply differed from the idea of this miscellany’s makers, especially if almost a hundred years had elapsed since the production of St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230 at the end of the eighth century and Notker’s correction of the booklist towards the end of the ninth century (he was born ca. 840). If so, this is an indication that requirements of and tastes in miscellanies changed relatively often. The partial dependence of St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 125 on St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230 indicates that at the end of the eighth century at least, some of the contents of the latter were thought worthy of copying.

St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230 has been characterized as confusing.³⁴ This is the case only from a modern point of view. Those texts within it that could be grouped together, from an eighth-century perspective, were grouped together. The others were copied in no particular order that we can now see. However, in the case of St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230, this did not matter at all. This was a book whose entire contents were expected to be used; it was not a dip-in encyclopedia. A detailed index was no use without page numbers (and there were none in the eighth century). There was no need to arrange the texts in a logical order, especially when no clear order was evident. Today we would arrange the texts in the manuscript in alphabetical order by title or author; but many of them have no title or author. The only obvious groups are the sermons and the expositions of the Lord’s Prayer, which do appear together. As regards finding one’s way through the book, the texts are made easily legible and memorable using a clear system of colours and rubrication of new sections, questions, and responses. An example of the thought that went into this is in the list of *Physiologus* chapters on p. 510, which inserts the rubric “On birds” (“De auibus”) above the next five chapters in the list, which are all about birds (the charadrius or caladrius, the pelican, the night raven, the eagle, and the dove): something that does not appear

34 “Unübersichtlich.” Dorfbauer, ed., *Pseudo-Augustinus*, 232.

in the lists of *Physiologus* chapters in the other manuscripts.³⁵ Since it is numbered like the other chapters, this rubric has occasionally been mistaken as the name of a chapter which does not exist in the main text, making the *Physiologus* incomplete. It is, of course, simply a heading inserted by the scribe of this manuscript for greater clarity.

This clarity and coherence continue throughout the manuscript. The Isidorean extracts in item five are a good example of the range and logical arrangement of topics. The first part explains philosophical and theological subjects: God's immutability (p. 2), immenseness and omnipotence (p. 3), and invisibility (p. 4), the saints (p. 42), the signs of the coming of the Antichrist (p. 43), the one Trinity (p. 49), and so on. The second part covers astronomy and God, the saints, and Apostles. This first selection of extracts from Isidore is a very thorough compilation of information on all aspects of the order of being of God, humanity, and celestial bodies, as well as an explanation or summary of biblical, theological, and liturgical matters.

Many of the texts that follow are similar in content and arrangement. Two in particular are worth mentioning. The first is item 24b, a list of clerical grades also known as the Ordinal of Christ. It is a short list of ecclesiastical grades (among which are reader, exorcist, sub-deacon and priest) and how these relate to Christ's life. The Ordinals of Christ helped to explain the function and divine foundation of the ecclesiastical grades.³⁶ The same ordinal, in the same Hibernian version, also appears in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS lat. 225 + Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS lat. 233 + Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313 (the Bern/Orléans collection; see item 15 in this collection in Appendix I). This text offers a reference point for those learning to work within the hierarchy and theological framework prescribed by the Church.

The final text of interest for the definition of St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230 as a collection is the copy of the apocryphal prefatory letters of Jerome and Damasus from the *Liber pontificalis*: the book of papal biographies. These also appear in the Bern/Orléans collection. Rosamond McKitterick suggested that one of the purposes served by the letters in the *Liber pontificalis* is to establish the importance of Rome as the centre of Christian power, papal authority "and the temporal role of the pope."³⁷ This may be the role played by the letters in the St. Gallen manuscript as well. Unlike in the Bern/Orléans collection, they are not simply part of the *Liber pontificalis* text, but have either been deliberately copied separately from the *Liber*, or copied from some other source in which they also appear on their own. In any case, the letters were deemed important enough to include them in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230. The presence of these two works—the Ordinal of Christ and the letters of Damasus and Jerome—in both this manuscript as well as the Bern/Orléans collection indicates similar contexts for both. They contain dogmatic, exegetical, moral, and other essential works useful for the education of priests. All these texts could also be used for teaching orthodox belief and to reinforce the authority of the Church.

35 "De caradrio, de pellicano, de nictycorax, de aquila, de quodam arbore uel columba."

36 Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ*, 1–2.

37 McKitterick, "Roman Texts and Roman History," 27. See also McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention of the Papacy*.

The St. Gallen manuscript is, then, a true community miscellany. It represents one of the most impressively comprehensive early medieval compilations still extant, created to fulfil many of the fundamental textual needs at one of the largest known early medieval monastic houses. As evident from the table of contents, the arrangement of various texts groups as discussed above, and the shared features of layout, it was treated as a coherent volume. Interestingly, however, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 230 does not yet display a clear integration of the natural world in its subject matter, although many of the texts already have a strong focus on teaching allegorical interpretation. This is true not only for the *Physiologus* and for biblical extracts, but also the ecclesiastical grades, law, the Divine Office, and the singing of Psalms. The early date of production of this manuscript may well account for a relative lack of content related to the natural world, when compared to later miscellanies.

A Lexical Miscellany

In contrast to the St. Gallen miscellany, the ninth-century compilation Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14388 is much scrappier and is indeed more thematically focused. While the St. Gallen manuscript offered a broad range of texts and extracts in answer to the Carolingian reforms—suitable for the use of a large community such as St. Gallen—the Munich manuscript is a narrower lexical reference work, which nevertheless demonstrates significant scope for a broad range of organization strategies. These make it a highly innovative and tightly organized volume.

The current manuscript is a composite in three parts, bound together in the second half of the fifteenth century. Part II (fols. 8–112), containing Jerome's commentary on the letters of Paul to the Ephesians and Titus, was copied from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13038 (fols. 262v–387v), which was made at St. Emmeram, Regensburg. The copy in Clm 14388 was thought by Bischoff to have been copied not at St. Emmeram but in an unknown scriptorium in south-west Bavaria in the middle of the ninth century. The first quire of the manuscript (fols. 1–7), which constitutes part I, dates from the twelfth century and was added as a supplement to the otherwise incomplete part II. These two first parts of the manuscript will be omitted from the below discussion as they are not related codicologically to the third part.

Part III (fols. 113–238) dates from the middle of the ninth century and was tentatively located by Bischoff to north-west Germany. It was written throughout by one hand using a rapid, frequently rather cramped Caroline minuscule with regular abbreviations and ligatures. The manuscript is mostly very plain, except decorated pen-work initials, executed in the same brown ink as the main text and adorned with geometric patterns, natural motifs, and dots. The parchment has obvious hair and flesh sides, with frequent split holes. Occasionally the scribe has left spaces in the text to avoid sections of parchment that were particularly hairy and therefore difficult to write on (for example, on fol. 151v). These details together indicate that this was a utilitarian miscellany, created for the private use of the scribe or a small community around them.

The book contains five glossaries and one list of synonyms, together covering just under half (54 of 125) the folios in the original codicological unit. The first glossary, *Accipe*, has not been identified in any other manuscripts so far. According to its early twentieth-century editor Karl Thielo, however, it is probably an earlier and shorter version of the more widely used *Auctores antiquissimi* (AA) glossary from a cousin manuscript branch.³⁸ It received thirty-seven new glosses in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14388, which demonstrate specific early medieval strategies for organizing information. These glosses were written using the Greek alphabet. They are spread through *Accipe* and continue into the Hebrew/Latin onomastic word-list that follows. Notably, in *Accipe*, they appear to be additions to the beginning and end of each set of glosses on a particular letter. This placement coincides with poor alphabetization, in contrast to the middle of each chapter, where the glosses are highly alphabetized.³⁹ This suggests that a pre-existing, alphabetically arranged glossary was expanded from the Greek source.

This is borne out by the continuation of the Greek lemmata into the following glossary, an onomastic word-list based on the second book of the *Instructiones* by Eucherius of Lyon. The Greek words have been added in exactly the same way as in *Accipe*—that is, at the beginning or end of each group of words beginning with the same letter. For example, the section for the letter *r* ends with “rabbi magister,” a gloss also found in Eucherius’ *Instructiones* II.21. A further three glosses beginning with the letter *r* are then inserted, one of them Greek, from an unknown source.

This pattern is not quite so neat in other parts of the word-list. From the beginning of the first column on fol. 225v, for example, those glosses for the letter *s* that derive from the *Instructiones* are no longer arranged in the same order as the original text and are mixed in with glosses from another source. The *Instructiones* contain almost no nouns beginning with the letter *t*, moreover, so that section of the word-list is composed entirely of glosses from another source.

These features suggest that *Accipe* and the following onomastic list were paired together during an early phase in their transmission. Their shared pattern of expansion indicates that the additions to these two otherwise unrelated lists were made by the same person, who may have been working from an exemplar with notes inserted in available blank spaces, which were incorporated into the new copy. Judging from the copying errors evident throughout, these additions were made at a stage before the production of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14388, in one of its direct or indirect exemplars.

As well as weaving unrelated glossaries together through the addition of Greek words from a third source, this miscellany brought together unrelated texts to form a vocabulary on metrology (weights and measures). The first of these texts, a list of fifteen terms, is based on Eucherius’ *Instructiones* and is arranged alphabetically on fol. 227v. This short list, from “talentum” to “siclum,” gives the principal function and

³⁸ Thielo, *De glossario*.

³⁹ Dorofeeva, “Strategies of Knowledge Organisation.”

features of weights and measures. The other texts derive from the *Etymologiae*. One of them is *De ponderibus*, a short chapter presented here under the heading “[here] begin the Hebrew names of weights.”⁴⁰ It is followed on fol. 228r by five lines headed “On measures” (“De mensuris”).⁴¹ These two passages provide numerical lists of weights and measures (*dracma*, *untia*, *libra*, *gomor*, and others), and mathematical information about how these divide into each other. Both *De ponderibus* and *De mensuris* are rearranged and heavily paraphrased.

Lists of weights and measures are fairly common in miscellanies and in glossaries, for they frequently occur in the Bible. The names of weights and measures for liquids, volume, solids, length, distance and value, and their systems of division, were different in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and different again in the vernacular. The precise source and authorship of the Isidorean lists in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14388 is unknown—they may well have been transmitted from Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae*, reworked by one or more of their copiers over a series of books, before they were entered into this Munich manuscript—but they were clearly useful. They were needed in order to understand the Bible fully, and, most importantly, contained information that was not otherwise provided in the preceding Eucherian glossary. The metrological texts begin with a short description and definition of weights and measures, derived from one source, and continue with their mathematical values, derived from another source—paraphrased and rearranged. The neat coherence of these themed extracts is such that it does not matter whether or not they were brought together for the first time in this manuscript: even if they are not original to Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14388, the rationality of their pairing made them a valuable source of information.

The Munich miscellany is rounded off by two additional works. The first of these is a short paragraph about balms and spices on fol. 183v, entitled “De pigmentis nardi spicatae” or “On the balm of the spikenard.” Nard is mentioned several times in the Bible as an expensive perfume, notably in the story of Mary Magdalene drying the feet of Christ with her hair (John 12:3 and Mark 14:3) and in the Song of Songs (1:11 and 4:13–14). This paragraph is taken entirely from the Second Commentary on the Gospels from the school of Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury, composed between the mid-seventh and mid-eighth century and preserved in its fullest form in an eleventh-century manuscript.⁴² No Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the commentaries survive, which suggests that they were transmitted to the continent by missionaries during the eighth century.

It is not surprising that, in their edition of the commentary, Michael Lapidge and Bernhard Bischoff do not list Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14388 among its extant witnesses, since the short paragraph it contains is a patchwork of extracts from the full text that have remained unidentified until now. The paragraph is highly

⁴⁰ “Incipiunt nomina hebreorum de ponderibus.” *Etymologiae* 16.25.

⁴¹ *Etymologiae* 16.26.

⁴² Bischoff and Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries*, 1.

discriminating, choosing only those five parts of the commentary (which runs to 121 articles) on precious balms and spices, and compiling them into a single coherent entry. This demonstrates the same selectiveness that is evident in the glossaries in this manuscript. Moreover, the paragraph itself may have been intended to supplement the *Physiologus*. Like the *Physiologus* chapters, it deals with a feature of the natural world and provides an outline of its appearance and principal properties. It is copied in an otherwise empty space immediately after the *explicit* to the *Physiologus*. The paragraph also expands on the two entries for nard in the second Eucherian word-list on fol. 227r, where nard is listed as a spiky or lobed plant to be prepared by infusion.⁴³ As with the lists of weights and measures, the two texts supplement each other instead of providing variant readings.

The final works in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14388 are Pseudo-Cicero's *Synonyma*, a straightforward list of synonyms, and Pseudo-Jerome's *Expositio quattuor evangeliorum*. The *Expositio* is thought to have been composed in the late seventh century in Ireland or an Irish foundation on the continent.⁴⁴ Although its origin is much disputed, this particular copy, together with the abbreviated commentary on nard, suggests that Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14388 was made in a monastery with Insular connections.⁴⁵ The *Expositio* is an allegorical commentary on the four Gospels, but it reads like a glossary: "[He] blessed it, that is, the Gospel; [he] cracked it, that is, to the letter."⁴⁶ We are presented with the very vivid image of Christ cracking the holy Gospel like a loaf of bread: plumbing its mysteries to the smallest letters through his teachings. This evokes the breaking of bread at the Last Supper and the sacrament of Communion. All of the well-chosen word-lists in this manuscript are designed to help their readers to understand the Bible in the same way. They cover a broad range of subjects, are presented in a variety of arrangements—from collected glosses to the *Expositio*, which follows the Gospels in order—and range from the straightforward to the advanced (Hebrew, Greek, and allegorical).

The *Physiologus* has a rightful place among these word-lists. Within their framework, it too becomes a literal and allegorical exposition of the Bible and its contents. Thus, although not all the texts in this manuscript are glossaries, once all the contents of all the texts are considered in relation to one another, it is clear that this is a highly coherent linguistic miscellany. The natural world presented in this manuscript is very much a biblical one, containing only those items—whether ordinary or miraculous—that have some theological significance. But the inclusion of the *Physiologus* in such a

⁴³ "Nardum pisticum nardus fidelem idem sine inpositu [*sic*] grecum est"; and "Nardus spicatum ab e [*sic*] quod species ipsi nardi in modo spica sit quam infusa conficitur." CCSL 66.197, lines 190–93.

⁴⁴ Bischoff, "Wendepunkte," 205–73, esp. from 240; Kelly, "A Catalogue," 397–98 (no. 56A); Kavanagh, "The Ps.-Jerome's *Expositio* IV euangeliorum."

⁴⁵ For a summary of the historiographical disagreements about the Hiberno-Latin origin of exegetical texts, see Wright, "Bischoff's Theory of Irish Exegesis."

⁴⁶ "Benedixit, id est, Evangelium; fregit, id est, ad litteram." Pseudo-Jerome, *Expositio quattuor evangeliorum*, PL 30.572.

lexical compendium ranks its naturalistic contents as equal in importance to standard early medieval information about names, weights, measures, and Greek and Hebrew vocabulary (such as *rabbī*). What this miscellany tells us, crucially, is that the allegorical thesaurus of the natural world as represented by the *Physiologus* was, by the ninth century in Germany, part of the fundamentals of biblical learning.

Creating New Textual Contexts

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 19417 dates from the first third of the ninth century and has been preserved complete and in its original quire order. Its contents are fairly limited in scope, focusing on the Creed (with two copies and two separate commentaries) and on church councils (specifically the canons of the councils of Nicaea and glosses on a large variety of other councils). The *Physiologus*, two sermons, and a question-and-answer text (the *Joca monachorum*) complete the list of texts copied during the original production stint. McKitterick suggested that this manuscript, along with a group of others, was a deliberately designed handbook “for the bishop and priest to aid him in the running of the diocese and parish.”⁴⁷ It seems unlikely that Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19417 was used personally by a bishop, who would have had little need of the material contained within it. As we shall see below, its context was probably much more modest. However, the manuscript’s catechetical or pastoral use would have brought it within the bishop’s mandate. It was one of the tools necessary for day-to-day spiritual work by individual priests among the local population.

The material production of this miscellany is not entirely straightforward. We know that a new scribe (scribe two) took over from fol. 28v, beginning the quire numbering anew, which implies that the two scribes had different agendas, or that the two halves of the manuscript were not at first intended to form a unit. However, the change of hand is contemporary, and it takes place within the same quire, which means that the entire manuscript was copied in the same scriptorium around the same time. The change in quire numbering may have nothing to do with a change in agenda: it may have been an oversight, or the scribe may have thought it simpler to begin again. Many of the numbers are missing, suggesting that the scribe did not pay a great deal of attention to the quires (and the ink colour throughout indicates that it was indeed the scribe who numbered the quires). The final contemporary text, the Athanasian Creed, is unfinished, and the following blank folio was filled in much later, which indicates that the miscellany was intended to continue to grow.

The presence of only two hands throughout the codex supports this possibility. The principal hand—the scribe of the codex from fol. 28v—is unpractised in its movement. From the example of fol. 52r, we see its ascenders lean both left and right (*h* in *chorus*, l. 1, and *l* in *baiolauit*, l. 13), its descenders have an irregular length, its minims descend below the baseline (*firmitates*, l. 12), the letters have an uneven height at the headline (especially obvious in the increasing height of *hoc est*, l. 4), and the horizontal

⁴⁷ McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, 41–42.

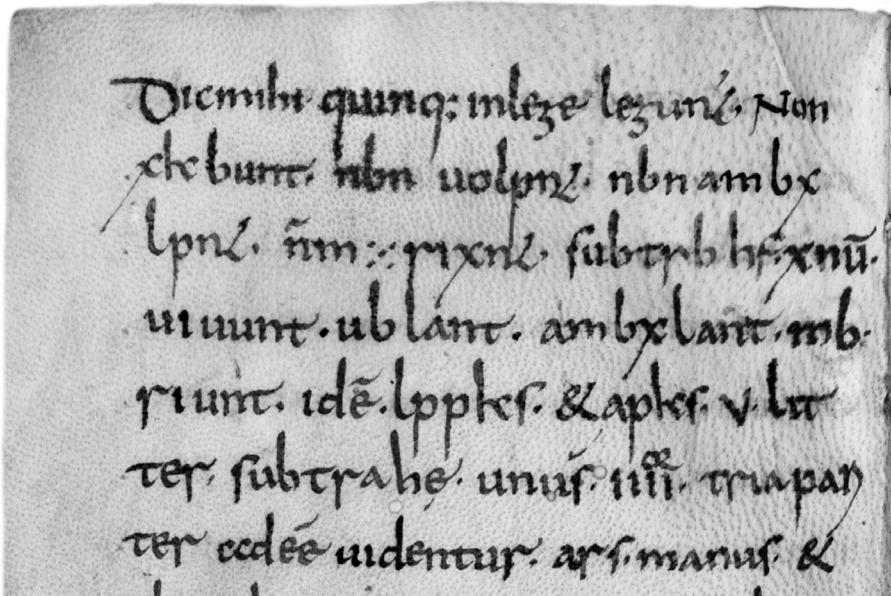


Figure 3.1. Beginning of ciphered *lapis* and *apis* riddle.
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Clm 19417, fol. 100v. Used with permission.

movement is generally rounded but irregular, as seen in the contrast between the consistently left-leaning minims and right-leaning up-stroke of long *s* (*enim se*, l. 7). Overall, this hand is neat but not especially accomplished. Its irregularity, coupled with the very small size of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 19417 (15 × 11 cm), indicates that this miscellany was most likely produced either for personal use, or for the use of a small rural community. The 180 Bavarian dialect words mixed in with the Latin glosses further characterize this miscellany as intended, from the beginning, for use only in a specific geographical zone.

Stories and story-like modes of communication, such as riddles and jokes, that touched on the natural world, were powerful tools of Christian teaching, and of encouraging cultural assimilation of the story content. The *joca*, riddles, *Physiologus*, credal texts, sermon on the Virgin and glosses on church councils in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 19417 together form a collection that points towards a catechetical, pastoral, or even missionary context. The manuscript was a handbook for those working within these contexts, extending their capacity to instruct by means of story-telling and providing them with the material to explain foundational features of Christian faith and Church history.

Probably the most interesting text in this manuscript is found on fols. 100v–101r (see Figure 3.1). It begins with a (somewhat erroneously) ciphered riddle, which asks “what does not die, fly or walk” for its first component, which has five letters; and “what *does* die, fly and walk” for its second four-letter component—to get which, we are told, you need to subtract one letter from the first answer. The answer is *lapis* and

apis: the stone and the bee. This riddle is followed seamlessly, as though they are a single text, by two very short excerpts from Augustine's first sermon on the mystery of the Trinity and of the Incarnation. These excerpts were evidently carefully selected, for they repeat the same theme: the first discusses the unity of music, composed of the trinity of art, hand, and string; and the second discusses a metaphorical nut produced from the rod of Jesse mentioned in Isaiah 11:1–2, which unites three substances: bark, shell, and kernel. The ideas in the sermon are Augustine's, but a completely original feature of the collocation of these three extracts is their clear numerological significance, which connects them and raises their joint meaning to a new level.

The riddle is a gateway text into the trinitarian extracts, explicitly teaching the reader to look at the numbers involved in the riddle's answers and in the Trinity, to pay attention to the triad of the clue and of the sermon extracts, and to understand how to read metaphorical and spiritual meanings in natural objects. Its cryptographic encoding not only makes it a game, but also slows down this learning process, making it more effective, and could even itself be regarded as a symbolic barrier between literal and spiritual knowledge. This use may have been mirrored in the *Physiologus* in this manuscript, which has a cryptographic *explicit* (see Appendix I). By repeating the same lesson in two different ways, the trinitarian extracts themselves not only demonstrate how this argument for the unity of God can be made, but also act as a meditation on the linguistic symbolism of *lapis* and *apis*. An educated reader of this riddle would have known (or been able to refer to) Isidore's etymology of *apis* as something born without feet (*pes*).⁴⁸ As the Augustinian extracts become more metaphorical, so the reader comes to understand that the bee and the stone are in binary opposition, perhaps representing the soul and the flesh (although this is not explicitly stated), and that language, particularly biblical verse, is an important way to understand such symbolism in God's Creation. Although only two pages long, therefore, these extracts were selected with a great deal of skill to create a complete lesson suitable for use in a variety of settings, including the monastic classroom or for sermon composition.

Regional Variation

We now move on to our fourth and final miscellany. Together with seven other manuscripts, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 225 + Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 233 + Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313 (hereafter the Bern-Orléans codicological unit) witnesses a Carolingian corpus of texts that may have existed in upwards of fifty codices.⁴⁹ The corpus could not have been put together in its principal form before 798, assuming

⁴⁸ *Etymologiae* 12.7.8.

⁴⁹ Gorman, "The Carolingian Miscellany," 336. These manuscripts are Albi, Médiathèque Pierre-Amalric, MS RES 39 (<https://cecilia.mediatheques.grand-albigeois.fr/idurl/1/114>); Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, MS 85 (<https://digital.dombibliothek-koeln.de/hs/content/titleinfo/168968>); Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Voss. lat. Q. 122; New York, Columbia University Library, MS Plimpton 58; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 614A (<https://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc62069f>), MS lat. 2175 (<https://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc60068x>), and MS lat. 10612.

this to be the correct date of Alcuin's letter—the key text of the core group of texts—and not long after the year 800, as the oldest manuscripts date from the beginning of the ninth century.⁵⁰ However, the major works of the corpus may have been compiled well before 800, “since collation reveals that the various texts seem to be distant from their archetypes and they are all rather ‘old-fashioned’ for the year 800.”⁵¹ The corpus may represent, therefore, an older collection expanded at the start of the ninth century.

The Bern-Orléans codicological unit contains the core corpus and a large number of other texts not listed in the two principal manuscripts used by Michael Gorman to determine the core. Isidore's *Prooemia* to the Old and New Testaments and *De ortu et obitu patrum* (on the lives and deeds of the Fathers) are added at the beginning. Further texts are inserted at the end, starting with the quires in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS lat. 225 and continuing with the remainder of Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 313:

1. First third of the *Liber pontificalis* (17): letters of Jerome and Damasus with lives of first 35 popes.
2. Jerome, *De uiris illustribus* (18): lives of Church Fathers.
3. Extract from Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (19): on sin and penitence.
4. List of clerical vestments (20).
5. Isidore, *Etymologies* VI.16 (22): on church councils.
6. *De decimis offerendis in genesi* (23): on the ten tithes due to God as described in Genesis, Leviticus, and other biblical books.
7. Homily on Matthew 6:24 (25): on greed (serving two masters).
8. Lists of church council canons (27): list of priests, bishops, emperors, and popes in office, and the number of chapters in each set of canons from Nicaea onwards, followed by a list of those condemned in each council.
9. Extract from a Roman *ordo* on Septuagesima Sunday (29): general instructions on preparing for Lenten days and ultimately for Easter.
10. Three chapters from the Rule of St. Benedict (30): on observance of Lent, the proper singing of psalms and reverence in prayer.
11. Summary of the creation of the world (31).
12. Extract from Venantius Fortunatus, *Commentum in symbolum Athanasianum* (32): the Fortunatus Commentary on the Athanasian Creed.
13. Exposition of the Lord's Prayer (33).
14. *Physiologus* (35).

50 Gorman noted that the astronomical reference to Mars in the invocation to Charlemagne accompanying Alcuin's letter was recorded in the *Annales regni francorum* for the year 798.

51 Gorman, “The Carolingian Miscellany,” 337.

These texts are not simply appended but are mixed in with some of the original collection: namely, the *Etymologiae*, the *Dicta Leonis* and *De diuinis scripturis*. Gorman concluded that the corpus as a whole was intended primarily for educating priests and thereafter as a reference work, containing as it does “elementary exegetical material...an introduction to the significance of names...some texts on the priesthood...a simple text on doctrinal matters...[and] a basic credal statement.”⁵² But this does not explain its popularity: eight extant manuscripts is a large number for a miscellaneous collection, and this one may have once existed in over fifty codices.⁵³ Nor does it explain why the collection was sometimes expanded, as in the Bern-Orléans unit. Gorman suggested that the corpus may have been put together by someone close to Charlemagne, which, together with its utility, guaranteed recopying for some time after the emperor’s death.⁵⁴ Yet there is no reason why anyone in Charlemagne’s circle would have required such an “elementary” set of texts. The day-to-day utility of the corpus was, most likely, its own impetus for wider dissemination.

The Bern-Orléans collection contains a good range of texts useful for foundational Christian learning, including exegesis of common biblical passages, Creeds, and the Lord’s Prayer, reference summaries and lists (of Creation events, biblical tithes, and characters, clerical vestments and grades, councils, popes, and Church Fathers), and moral, pastoral, and spiritual texts. As in other miscellanies, an effort is made to bring together otherwise unrelated texts that form new sense-units. For example, the dangers of avarice are discussed in the texts on fol. 232, an extract from the *Dicta Leonis episcopi*, and the following exposition on the Vulgate Matthew 6:24 on fols. 233–234. The former concludes “here end the Sayings of Saint Gregory on the wickedness of money” and the exposition of the latter begins with “Mammon translates as wealth.”⁵⁵ Here we find a very specific extract of the *Dicta* which was understood by the scribe or compiler to discuss the evils of greed for material wealth. The brief biblical exposition that follows on the same subject serves to complete what can be described as a lesson: an outline of the concept, followed by a biblical reference and an example interpretation. As in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 19417, this would have been ideal for sermons and homilies, as well as for a teaching text.

The expansion of the core collection in three of the eight manuscripts demonstrates the significant utility of the corpus, therefore, and the extent to which regional and local needs varied in terms of such compilations. One of these three manuscripts is the Bern-Orléans codicological unit and it is related textually to one of the others—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10612, which originated at the large Benedictine abbey of St. Julien in Tours, also in the ninth century.⁵⁶ These manuscripts

52 Gorman, “The Carolingian Miscellany,” 353; p. 336 for a bibliography on the corpus. Very little study has been made of it before or after Michael Gorman, apart from brief mentions in Wright, *The Irish Tradition*, 71–72, and Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ*, 70.

53 Gorman, “The Carolingian Miscellany,” 336.

54 Gorman, “The Carolingian Miscellany,” 354.

55 “Explicit dicta sancti gregori de mamona iniquitatis”; “mamona diuitio interpretantur.”

56 Gorman, “The Carolingian Miscellany,” 336 and 344.

are evidence of regional links between the abbey of St. Julien and the nearby, Fleury-adjointing monastery that produced the Bern-Orléans unit. Despite their relationship, the additions to Gorman's corpus contained in each are quite different. This indicates that, though copied from the same exemplars, the two manuscripts were needed for different purposes.

Therefore, while the core corpus was suited for teaching, this was far from its only function. This supplementary function differed in different centres. In the Bern-Orléans unit, the majority of the added texts appear to be lists, with some exegetical material as well. Such texts could be used for reference purposes, whether to consult the life of a particular pope or bishop's name, or to check the correct interpretation of a common topic, perhaps while composing a sermon. Other functions are of course possible. That the miscellany was intended for use in a monastic setting is evident from the chapters from the Benedictine Rule and the question-answer version of books 7–9.3.17 of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (8), where the chapter *De monachis* is the only one to be emphasized by the inclusion of a rubric.⁵⁷ However, the monks in training at St. Mesmin, the probable place of origin of the Bern-Orléans unit, would have had recourse to literary, patristic, grammatical, and other manuscripts from which to learn. This is evident from the fact that books were exchanged for copying between the monastery near Fleury and the monastery near Tours, from their proximity to important and wealthy monastic centres associated with those cities, and from the size and quality of the Bern-Orléans collection. These details speak of resources and the availability of training. The utility of the core corpus to monastic education is clear, but for the copyists of the Bern-Orléans unit, it was more important to create a collection to which monks, priests, and lay brothers could refer as they went about their duties, rather than one which could be used to teach. As a reference work, it would therefore have been consulted often, and (perhaps in conjunction with other miscellanies) used regularly in the intellectual activity of the monastery.

Conclusion

The Bern-Orléans collection, as well as St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang 230, demonstrate that miscellanies were not necessarily schoolroom books. Carolingian schools had plenty of manuscripts containing literary Latin texts read by pupils, and "textbooks" of the liberal arts.⁵⁸ While miscellanies frequently contained excerpts from such works, these were used in different contexts, or indeed included because continued learning—whether of Latin, the liberal arts, biblical content (e.g. the Psalms), or some other aspect of essential early medieval education—was a particularly important part of the community for which the miscellany was produced. As the above examples demonstrate, miscellanies were text collections for a broad range of users, who required not only basic works such as the Lord's Prayer but also complex exegetical exposition on diverse topics.

⁵⁷ Gorman, "The Carolingian Miscellany," 351.

⁵⁸ Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St Gall*, esp. chap. 2.

The conceptualization of miscellanies, the relationships between their texts, and especially the historical connections between these manuscripts and the communities that made them, often visible in the diplomatic evidence, require more research. Nevertheless, miscellanies were not, as this chapter has demonstrated, either poorly planned or heterogeneous. Instead, they were carefully organized, well constructed, and clearly laid out books. They were frequently used in a variety of ways, by a variety of people, and their contents varied significantly. However, viewed as a category of book, their contents indicate that they were all responding to a series of attempts at wide-ranging change. Clergy needed to learn the Roman chant thoroughly; to know and teach the Lord's Prayer and the clauses of the Creed; to be able to celebrate baptisms and masses; to know how to sing the Psalms, doxologies, and *Sanctus*; to keep the church, altar, and vessels in the proper manner; to preach against sin, especially hatred and avarice, and especially about the virtues and the resurrection of the dead; and to read only correct and canonical books. In this list of requirements—based on the *Admonitio generalis*—there is already the core outline for a miscellany. Many miscellanies include the Lord's Prayer, a Creed, liturgical texts of various kinds, Psalms, texts on sins and virtues, and excerpts from church councils, penitentials, and decrees. These texts would eventually be supplemented by suggestions taken from training manuals such as Hrabanus Maurus' *De institutione clericorum* (*On the Training of Clergy*), which he wrote at Fulda in the first half of the ninth century on the request of those of his brothers who were preparing to enter the priesthood. The first book of the treatise introduced the Church, ecclesiastical grades, sacraments, vestments, and the Mass. The second book summarized "the divine office, liturgical year, feast days, hymns, the Bible, and basic prayers and blessings, and heresies."⁵⁹

In these miscellanies, the natural world, seen through the lens of language and grammar, came to the fore. It received pride of place in the *Physiologus*, but it was also extensively glossed and commented in a range of texts, from sermons and homilies to short extracts that were re-contextualised to create new meaning. This not only enabled early medieval scholars to explain the Bible, but also gave them the tools to point out natural objects in the real world and explain their significance to God. This was a potentially very powerful means of consolidating both the faith and Church authority among local communities. It is explored further in the following chapter.

59 Contreni, "The Pursuit of Knowledge," 109.