

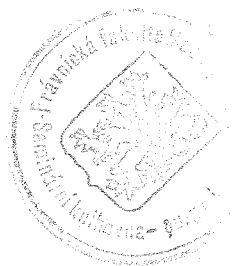
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PALAEOGRAPHIA LATINA

PART III.

EDITED BY
Professor W. M. LINDSAY.



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THE (EARLY) LORSCH SCRIPTORIUM.

BY W. M. LINDSAY.

I. — Preamble.

If we palaeographers got from some fairy a wishing-cap and one wish only were allowed us, that wish would be, I fancy, for "a full account of each great writing-centre, its history, the vicissitudes of its script, the abbreviation-symbols current there, the marks by which we may detect its products". A full account of an important scriptorium would fill a volume, such a volume as the German palaeographer, Dr. Tafel, was preparing on the Lyons scriptorium or the Belgian, Abbe Liebaert, on the Corbie scriptorium. But although anything on that scale cannot be attempted in this journal, I hope to print a series of articles on as many scriptoriums as possible, along with plates exhibiting the characteristic script of each. What a boon it would be, could we learn particulars of — let us say — each centre of Anglosaxon writing on the Continent, so that we could distinguish at a glance the Insular script of Fulda from, say, that of Wuerzburg, and could trace the Insular elements in the Continental minuscule of each place where English missionaries had once been! In the 'magnum opus' for which this journal tries to collect material, the great work on Latin Palaeography (which decade of this century will see its publication?), the chapter on Anglosaxon script cannot be written till all these details have been collected.

The collection of them is not easy. We may know (from

an 'ex libris' entry) that a MS. in the English hand formerly belonged to the library of e. g. Lorsch. But can we be sure that it was written at Lorsch? The famous English Homilies MS. of Vercelli (no. 117, of "saec. x ex."; cf. M. Foerster 'Der Vercelli-Codex CXVII' in *Studien engl. Philologie* *Z* [1913], p. 20) was hardly written at Vercelli; it may have been left there by a pilgrim on his way to or from Rome. Even a MS. whose provenance is certain may not exhibit the characteristics of its place of origin. Bruun of Fulda wrote at Wuerzburg the Rule of St Benedict MS. which is still there (Wuerzburg Mp. th. Q 22, saec. ix in.), a beautiful specimen of Anglosaxon minuscule. But he was a visitor there, not a resident; and his MS. shews the Fulda, not the Wuerzburg type. The subscription (fol. 57^r, in red) is: *Cognoscatis quod ego bruun scripsi istam regulam sci benedicti abbatis; lege felix feliciter et mementote mei in oratione vestra.* (He corrected *memento* to *mementote*, but left *lege felix* uncorrected). English (and Irish) monks were often wanderers, with no 'abiding city'; it is hard to localize their handiwork. Still, the more plates that can be published to exhibit Anglosaxon script of the Continent, the nearer we shall get to that chapter in the 'magnum opus'.

While nothing, practically nothing, has been done for the localisation of Anglosaxon script, Continental minuscule has not been quite neglected. Thanks to Delisle's 'Mémoire sur l'école calligraphique de Tours au ix siècle' (in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions* XXXII), Paris 1885, palaeographers can say without hesitation: This ninth century MS. comes from the Tours scriptorium; but few can recognize a MS. of Fleury, Rheims, etc., since of these scriptoriums it may be said 'carent vate sacro'. Delisle's work on Tours has been continued by Rand and Howe 'The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours' (with 14 plates; in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* I), Bergamo 1917, a monograph in which I miss the mention of two MSS. which seem to me to be mile-stones. One is the British Museum MS., Egerton 2831 Jerome on Isaiah. It is partly in Continental, partly in Anglosaxon minuscule; and this combination seems to have suggested to the New Palaeographical Society editors (two plates,

nos. 107 and 108) that it was written in Alcuin's time. Anglosaxon script at Tours before Alcuin's arrival seemed impossible. Why impossible? To me it appears that the script cannot be later than the middle of the eighth century. The other MS. is that mentioned in *Palae. Lat.* II 28, the 74 leaves distributed among no fewer than a score of scribes, Cologne 106 Alcuin Miscellanea. This *must* be the MS. hurriedly prepared for Arn by Alcuin in 802. It is a milestone for the Alcuin-stage of Tours minuscule, and I wish that Prof. W. Meyer had carried out his intention of publishing all its twenty variations of hand, Anglosaxon and Continental.

When a calligraphic type has finally been evolved at a scriptorium — the Tours minuscule of Alcuin and his successors, the Verona minuscule of Pacifico, the Cologne minuscule of Hildebald — localisation is easy. But the earlier products of the scriptorium, written before this happy consummation had been reached, do not proclaim their birth-place so unmistakably. We can claim the British Museum MS. just mentioned, Egerton 2831 (of "saec. viii med."), and the Tours Eugippius (Paris, nouv. acq. 1575, of "saec. viii in.") for the library of St Martin. But if we claim them for the St Martin scriptorium, there is a risk of our claim being challenged. That is a difficulty which threatens any investigation of a scriptorium's history. Take for example the Lorsch MSS. in the Palatine collection at the Vatican Library. A large number, belonging to the ninth century, shew a type which we are ready to call the Lorsch type of minuscule, but the earlier specimens, written before this type had been evolved, do not so clearly announce their origin. It is possible that, as palaeographical knowledge increases, we may be able to detect some birth-mark even in those earlier specimens. At present, we must treat them with due caution, although the balance of probability is always in favour of the Lorsch origin of any MS. of the Lorsch library.

The abbreviation-symbols current at each great writing-centre should be collected; and I must point out some difficulties in the way. A full collection is necessary. The short lists which accompany the plates of Chroust or the Palaeographical Society are inadequate. For example, Liebaert, in

his account of the *Liber Diurnus* of the Vatican Archives (New Pal. Soc. II 13) does not mention the 'us'-symbol in *gerimus*, the downward cross-stroke symbol (Notae Latinae, p. 385), which may (or may not) point to Northern rather than Central Italy. And he omits mention of its abbreviation-symbol of the final syllable *ur* (Notae Latinae, p. 378). The use of this 'ur'-symbol proves that the MS. cannot be so late as the second half of the ninth century, the date assigned by Mabillon and Petra, and favoured by Liebaert. Further, the list must be minutely accurate. In his list of the Verona abbreviation-symbols (in *Zentralbl. Bibl.* XXVII 531; cf. XXVIII 259) Spagnolo made a slip which threatened to obscure the chief Verona criterion. At many scriptoria *mā* denotes 'mea'; at Verona alone *mā* denotes 'misericordia'; and this use of *mā* 'misericordia' is proof positive that a MS. was written at Verona. Unluckily Spagnolo (on p. 533) mistook *māe* 'misericordiae' in one occurrence (fol. 40 of Verona XLIII) for 'meae', a most unfortunate blunder which however he corrected in the next volume of the *Zentralblatt* (The sentence in which the abbreviated word occurs is: *egentis etenim cor doctrinae sermo non penetrat si hunc apud eius animum manus misericordiae non commendat*). But the list, though aiming at fulness, must exclude what I call in my *Notae Latinae* (chap. III) capricious abbreviation and technical symbols; indeed, it may safely omit most *Nomina Sacra* (ibid., chap. II). It is mere waste of paper to record the thousand-and-one varieties of the abbreviation of *presbyter*, *propheta*, *apostolus*, *evangelium* — et hoc genus omne. And the abbreviation of *Deus*, *Dominus*, etc. is the same at every scriptorium. Further, if any symbol is of rare occurrence, its rarity should be mentioned, since it may be a mere interloper, transferred mechanically by a scribe from his exemplar. In all collection of abbreviation-symbols there is a danger of including symbols which were not really current at the scriptorium. This danger has not been sufficiently avoided in my *Notae Latinae*. At first I had a notion that the 'ancient notae' maintained themselves with little divergence in the cursive or unconventional script (what the Germans call *Bedarfschrift*) of all countries, and that the rarity of this or that symbol in this

or that locality merely reflected the unwillingness of scribes to allow it to wander from unconventional into calligraphic or book-script. The Insular 'haec'-symbol in that early specimen of Beneventan minuscule, Paris 7530, seemed to me merely a promotion of a cursive Beneventan symbol into Beneventan book-script. Too late I noticed that this and other occasional Anglo-Saxon symbols are confined to that portion (foll. 290-301) of the MS. which contains an English work, *Bede de Orthographia*. They must have been transferred directly from an English-script exemplar, possibly brought by Sturmi of Fulda to Monte Cassino (cf. Loew's *Beneventan Script*, p. 5), just as the German gloss *forboten* (instead of *forbotan*) has been transferred by the Monte Cassino scribe. (It glosses the word *interdictum*; see Keil's edition of *Bede's* work in *Gram. Lat.* VII p. 271, line 18). If a second edition of my *Notae Latinae* appears, the occasional symbols in all scripts will have to be revised. For example, I fancy that a re-examination of Ivrea 42 would shew that its Insular symbols (of *haec*, *tantum*, etc.) appear only in the first part, which contains *Bede's* treatise on the *Computus*. All the older MSS. of the *Liber Glossarum* (or *Glossarium Ansileubi*) retain (some more, some less) traces of the Spanish abbreviation used in that MS. of Isidore which the compiler of the glossary assigned to his scribes for excerption; e. g. a Lorsch MS., Vat. Pal. 1773, retains the Spanish 'per' symbol in an Isidore excerpt on fol. 31^r: *de quo Virgilius 'longum per inane secutus'*. Alien symbols like these must not be included in a list of the symbols current at Lorsch scriptorium (Similarly *aum* 'autem' on foll. 77^r, 78^r of Vat. Pal. 1746 comes from the Spanish archetype or exemplar of *Iulianus Toletanus*).

This preamble has been long, for many difficulties had to be mentioned. But these difficulties should not prevent the investigation altogether. Even if it fails here and there, at least a number of MSS. will have been discussed and described. And that will help the progress of Palaeography.

II. — The Library of St Nazarius.

This Benedictine abbey of the Heppenheim district, in the diocese of Mayence, not far from Worms, was founded in 764 by Chrodegang of Metz, who sent to it some monks of Gorze (near Metz). It soon became one of the most important abbeys of Germany, its possessions stretching to Holland, the Ardennes, Alsace, Lorraine, etc. (See Fr. Huelsen: *Die Besitzungen des Klosters Lorsch in der Karolingerzeit*. Berlin, 1913). How its splendid library was transferred in the sixteenth century by the Count Palatine (Kurfürst) to the Palatina at Heidelberg, and thence passed in 1623, as spoils of war, to the Vaticana at Rome, has been told by Falk 'Beitraege zur Rekonstruktion der alten Bibliotheca laureshamensis' (Beiheft XXVI of the *Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 47-75). And Lehmann 'Iohannes Sichardus' (IVi of Traube's *Quellen u. Untersuchungen z. lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, Munich 1912, pp. 133-158) has shewn how its manuscript treasures were used by sixteenth century editors. Good fortune has preserved for us two early Lorsch copies of the library catalogue (both in Vat. Pal. lat. 1877), one of which (on foll. 1-34) was written in the first part of the ninth century (see pl. i), the other (on foll. 44-79) somewhat later (see pl. ii). And the single quire of a (summary) catalogue prefixed to Pal. lat. 57 is equally old. They have been printed in Becker's *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885, nos. 37 and 38), and Gottlieb 'Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken' has attempted to identify with their items the older extant MSS. of the Lorsch Library. This identification I reproduce in this article, but within inverted commas, for it cannot be infallible. Becker's and Gottlieb's work will be improved in the great collection of German and Swiss medieval library-catalogues of which vol. I (Constance and Chur) by Lehmann appeared in 1918. A sample of the improvement has recently been given by Lehmann in a Dutch publication 'Het Boek' (1923, pp. 207-213). After the earlier of the two Lorsch library catalogues in Pal. lat. 1877 stands a subsequent addition

(foll. 33^v-34^r), a list of some two dozen MSS. which is entitled: *Hos libros repperimus in Gannettias quos Gerwardus ibidem reliquit et ab inde huc illos transtulimus*. This Gerward, who left lands and books to the abbey in the year 814 (during the abbacy of Adalung), lived at Gent in Holland (near Nimegen); and since one of the books in the list (Vat. Pal. lat. 210, the famous uncial Augustine) has on fol. 1 a list in Anglosaxon half-uncial (of "saec. viii ant.") of some twenty books, Lehmann connects Gerward's library with the books brought by English missionaries to Holland, and reminds us that the Vienna uncial Livy (Vienna 15), a former inmate of the Lorsch library (though not mentioned in the two catalogues) belonged to Theutbert, the eighth century bishop of Utrecht (*iste codex est Theutberti episcopi de Dorostat, fol. 193^v*) It was studied at Lorsch by Simon Grynaeus in the 16th century and used by him for the editio princeps of Livy XLI-XLV.

The latest of Gerward's books must be Vat. Pal. lat. 234, foll. 114-272 Augustine on Genesis, since it uses the 2-form of the 'ur'-symbol (see below). On the reverse side of its fly-leaf (fol. 114^v) stands a contemporary entry (by Flotbert?): *liber Gerwardi quem ei scripsit Flotbertus clericus suus*. The omission-marks in this MS. are:

(in text) hd or hid

(in margin) hp or hip or (fol. 115^r) hic p.

Various forms of the Lorsch 'ex libris' entry are mentioned in Falk's article, e. g. in verse:

*Reddere Nazario me, lector kare, memento,
Alterius domini ius quia nolo pati;*

e. g. in prose:

Iste liber est monasterii b. Nazarii in Laurissa;

or:

Codex de monasterio sci Nazarii in Lauresham.

Although the fly-leaf on which such entries usually stand is easily lost, quite a large number of MSS. have managed to retain their 'ex libris' notice, and Falk's list reveals the dispersion of this famous library. Two MSS. have found their

way back to Heidelberg and are now in the University Library, 864 (Gregory of Tours, "saec. ix") = "Becker 37, 87" and 894 (Florus, "saec. ix", = "Becker 37, 93"). Berlin (Staatbibl., Phillipps. 131; see Rose's catalogue) has the splendid Calendars (foll. 1^r-11^v written between 801 and 804) which, as Falk remarks, with their numerous entries attest the study of astronomy at Lorsch. Montpellier has the codex Pithoeanus of Juvenal and Persius (saec. ix, = "Becker 37, 427"; see Chatelain's Paléogr. Class. Lat. pl. cxxvii, a plate which suggests that both text and scholia were written in the Lorsch scriptorium), with the 'ex libris' note: Codex Sancti Nazarii Martiris Christi, and (twice) the malediction:

Qui cupit hunc librum sibimet contendere privum,
Hic Flegetontas patiatul sulphure flammas.

The Vienna Livy has been already mentioned; and Chroust (XI pl. 5) exhibits Lorsch script of the years 795 and 796 in his plate of foll. 1^r-2^r of the Annales Laureshamenses (Vienna 515, formerly Hist. prof. 646) written, by various Lorsch scribes from the year 794 to the year 803. Lehmann (Joh. Sich., p. 138) adds to Falk's list, e. g. some Bodleian MSS.

This article confines itself (excepting a mention of Paris 16668) to the ample material provided by the MSS. with the Lorsch 'ex libris' note in the Palatine collection (also Pal. lat. 202; see below) at the Vatican Library, and selects from them for consideration those ninth century codices whose claim to Lorsch parentage is least likely to be challenged. Of the Palatine Latin collection only numbers 1-921 are included in vol. I (published in 1886) of the Catalogue, the only volume yet published. I have used also (but not got any help from) a transcript (in the Vatican Library) of the unpublished (and incomplete) catalogue of Palatini latini by Mau (and Zangemeister). That catalogue, now at Heidelberg, is described by Sillib in Zentralbl. Bibl. XXXIX [1922], p. 417.

III. — The Scriptorium of St Nazarius in the Ninth Century.

A. The earlier MSS. I have already mentioned the similarity of script and vellum as claiming for the Lorsch scriptorium a number of the ninth century Palatini latini which shew the Lorsch library 'ex libris' note. And in the *Revue des Bibliothèques* XXIV [1914], p. 6 I have called a Lorsch peculiarity the omission-mark $\frac{1}{2}l$ (with a cross-stroke) though (as will be shewn below) this was not the only omission-mark used at the scriptorium of St Nazarius. Of course, its appearance in a MS. proves only that the MS. was corrected at Lorsch, but when it is contemporary with the text it proves also that the MS. was written there. I treat separately the MSS. written in the earlier part of the century, and I know no better test for separating these than their use of the apostrophe-symbol for the syllable *ur*. With the evidence collected in my *Notae Latinae* pp. 372 sqq., can anyone deny that the change from t' 'tur' to t' 'tus', t² 'tur' was made in Continental script in the early part of the ninth century? I have put there all the evidence then at my disposal and I can now add the following: in Vat. Reg. 846 (Orléans, before 814), the apostrophe; in Autun 5 and Lyons 378 (both Lyons, 840-852), the 2-mark; in Milan H 150 inf. (Bobbio, c. 810), the apostrophe; in Milan Trivulz. 688 (Novara, before 800) the apostrophe and also the arch, as in the Vatican Liber Diurnus (in which m' denotes *mur* while *mus* is expressed by the downward cross stroke through the tail of *m*); besides the Tours Livy, the Leyden Nonius used the apostrophe. The evidence seems to me quite overwhelming; and if any one pleads that a transcript may occasionally reproduce its exemplar's symbols, I reply: Not this symbol; for t' came to denote *tus* instead of *tur*, and the transcriber would feel the necessity for distinction. Notice that the earlier of the two Lorsch catalogues in Pal. lat. 1877 (that catalogue to which was subsequently appended a list of Gerward's books) uses the apostrophe, while the later uses the 2-mark. And the list

(in the same volume, Pal. lat. 1877) of Fulda MSS., a list strangely assigned by Falk to the twelfth century, uses the apostrophe. This Fulda list seems to be a stray quire, presumably of a full catalogue of the Fulda library and written at Fulda, not at Lorsch.

Of these ninth century products of the Lorsch scriptorium, with sturdy script on strong, well-scraped, whiteish vellum, script which still looks as if it had just come from the scribe's hand, I begin with the earlier group. And I cannot begin with a better example (though it lacks the *h l* omission-mark) than.

Pal. lat. 814 (= "Becker 37, 80") Josephus, in small folio (text 28.5×23 cm., i. e. $11 \frac{1}{4} \times 9$ in.), foll. 145, by two scribes (1-72, 73-145). Not merely the symbol *t* 'tur' but the symbol *om* 'omnes' too is unsuitable to the date assigned by Stevenson (and Mau). The second scribe conscientiously noted (at the top right-hand corner of the first page of the quire) the day on which he began (or finished?) each quire; and, in spite of the ruthlessness of binders, we can still read (113^r, imperfect) *viii* (? *xviii kl, apr.*), (121^r) *xi kl. apr.*, (129^r) *v kl. apr.*, (137^r) *non. apr.*, and learn that the rate at which the two columns of these large pages were steadily filled by his laborious pen was not too rapid. Plate iii (in natural size, like all plates in all Parts of this journal) shews his script in the upper half of fol. 121^r, with this dating in the top corner. Another interesting thing in this MS. is the marginal index, or rather marginal notes calling attention to notable points in the text. e. g. (2^v i) *dicit Adam diluvium prophetasse*, (2^v ii) *angelos dicit accipisse filias hominum*. They are contemporary with the text (as is shewn by their use of suprascript *u*, e. g. *loquta*, and of *t* 'tur') but are written (though the photograph obscures this feature) in a thin, scratchy script, and admit far more abbreviation (e. g. *dt* 'dicit', *loqr* 'loquitur') than the text of this part. (They last only as far as fol. 39). They are thus a continuation of the ancient practice which we find in uncial and half-uncial MSS. of, say, the sixth century. The marginalia in these ancient MSS. are written in a small, fine script which we call 'ancient minuscule', and which is the direct ancestor (or one direct ancestor) of eighth

century minuscule. And these ancient marginalia were forced by the limits of space to admit the 'ancient notae', the ancient abbreviation-symbols which were excluded from books (at least, from most books) until the gates of eighth century minuscule were opened to them (most freely in Ireland; see my *Notae Latinae*, pp. 1-4). Plate iv (upper half of fol. 27^r) shews this marginalia-script. In these pages the text does not use abbreviation to any great extent, though to a greater than most of the Lorsch MSS. of this time (in which some of the symbols appear only at the ends of lines, to avoid awkward syllable-division). But before the middle of the MS. is reached the need for saving space has asserted itself; the writing becomes more crowded, and abbreviation more common. On the 9th (?) century distich by a Fulda hand recording a loan of this book to Fulda, see Falk.

Pal. lat. 1753, *Marii Victorini Ars Grammatica*; *Probae Cento*; *Aldhelmi Ars Metrica*; *Symphosii Aenigmata*; *Bonifatius de Metris* (with the *h l* omission-mark), in oblong quarto, foll. 118, by many scribes. (The scribe of the sixth quire writes his last half-line in cursive, fol. 47^v. Anglosaxon script is used in a marginal supplement on foll. 99^r and 100^r). Keil (*Gram. lat. VI* edits Victorinus with the help of this MS., and two others (Paris 7539 and Valenciennes M. 6. 10), and gives in his preface a full list of its contents. My article on it ('A New Clue to the Emendation of Latin Texts' in *Classical Philology* XI [1916] 270) is accompanied by a plate (in natural size) of fol. 4^v (= Keil, p. 12, line 22 — p. 14, line 10). I argue that it was transcribed directly from an uncial exemplar which used 'ancient notae', e. g. *AT* 'autem', *2* 'contra', *ET* 'etiam', *I* (with oblique cross-stroke) 'inter', *QU* 'quamvis', *QS* 'quasi', *QA* 'quia', *QD* 'quidem', *TM* 'tamen'. The Lorsch transcription soon realized the hopelessness of the attempt to interpret these obsolete symbols or even to distinguish them from mere isolated letters of the alphabet. For example, in the sentence (on the photographed page): *nam 'concussus', QU a quatio habeat originem... at tamen per C quam per Q scribuntur*, how could a scribe distinguish *QU*, the abbreviation-symbol of 'quamvis', from *QU*, the letter-group? The transcribers (nearly always) bowed to the inevitable, and

contented themselves with reproducing exactly (in uncial letters) the symbols of the exemplar. Thanks to the conscientiousness (or the timidity) of these German copyists, we find the lost uncial exemplar, with its 'ancient notae', mirrored in this transcript, and learn that 'ancient notae' were not (as had been previously supposed) restricted to law-books (e. g. the uncial Verona Gaius), but were allowed in Grammars (and, presumably, other texts of a technical nature). Their use in cheap copies even of non-technical texts was revealed by the discovery of the Cicero-speeches papyrus fragments (Oxyr. Pap. 1097 + 1251 + Pap. greci e lat. 20). These fragments seem to belong to the fifth century, since Greek documents of that date were found beside them. The date of the Victorinus exemplar cannot be determined, nor may we ascribe to that uncial MS. (rather than to the archetype) the subscription FELICITER UTERE, STEPHANE SCRIPTOR, ET LECTOR (cf. the ending of the first half, FELICITER SCRIPTORI ET LECTORI). The 'ancient notae' do not appear in the part with Probae Cento Virgilianus, a part which contains (fol. 65^r) a German gloss (*andbrast* 'enituit' in the line: enituit loeto tanto surgentibus undis), nor yet in the Aldhelm - (cf. Ehwald's edition, pref. 37) and Boniface-parts. This discussion of early abbreviation is my excuse for including in the list here two other MSS. of the early part of the ninth century, although they seem not to be mentioned in the early catalogues and have not the *h l* omission-mark.

Pal. lat. 276 Isidorus in libros Regum et Beda in libros Regum, quarto, foll. 65. The Bede exemplar must have been an English MS. of Bede's own life-time. For this transcript, partly by mistaking the obsolete abbreviation-symbols, partly by reproducing them mechanically, enables us to ascribe to the exemplar such early Insular symbols (see my *Notae Latinae*) as: qs 'quasi' (54^r, 55^r), at 'autem' (54^v, 57^v), et 'etiam' (54^v, 56^r, 57^r, etc.), eg 'ergo' (55^r, 60^r), sp 'super' (57^v, 58^r), sla 'saecula' (62^r), tm 'tamen' (62^v), pt 'post' (miscopied 'preter' 58^r, 62^v), ppi 'populi' (54^v, 63^v). These symbols are usually expanded, or altered to the ninth century equivalent, by a corrector. On 57^v *in tertio ordine* has been miscopied *interque ordine* (with the 'que'-symbol, *q* with oblique stroke

through the shaft). Beeson 'Isidor-Studien' p. 140 doubts the identification with Becker 37. 335.

Pal. lat. 1588 Rhetorici, in large quarto, foll. 149 (but 39-41 are a later insertion), by many scribes. Good fortune has preserved for us the exemplar. It was an uncial MS. of Cologne library (now Darmstadt 166), but whether written at Cologne or written elsewhere and brought to Cologne, who can say? Let us hope that Dr. Lowe can, in his forthcoming book on Latin uncial. The 'notae publicae' of the uncial exemplar are often retained in the Lorsch transcript, e. g. (8^r = Fortunat. 95, 22 H.) *c. d.* (expanded in the margin to 'contra dicit'). Ex uno disce omnes. Generally the Lorsch transcript is all that survives of a text of old time, an uncial text of the ancient world. Our imagination must put beside the transcript an uncial exemplar, possibly brought, as Lehmann suggests, by some studious English pilgrim from Rome. In this transcript Victorinus is followed, without a break (except Incipit Liber Alius) by the astrological work of Censorinus, De Die Natali.

And now that the more interesting of the earlier ninth century Lorsch MSS. have been described, I will go through the full list in order of sequence:

Pal. lat. 57, foll. 8-172 (= "Becker 37, 76") Pauline Epistles; Augustine's Homilies (fragment), in octavo (23 × 15 cm.). Prefixed is one quire of a ninth century (summary) catalogue of Lorsch library. This catalogue was in a smaller size of octavo (21.5 × 14.5 cm.). Fol. 8, the fly-leaf of the Pauline Epistles, has later (eleventh century) accounts for church furniture (the beginning of these is lost). They begin now with the words: ruodinge quod aecclesiae rebus opera nostra augmentatum est. They end: praeterea quod uodilo clero nostro dedit; illud etiam quod domnus .uldinc huson et aruite nobis satis naviter adquisivit. It is an eleventh century hand which has added on the blank space (foll. 163^v-164^r), left between the Pauline Epistles and Augustine's Homilies, the Pig's Legacy, *Testamentum Grunnii Corococte Porcelli*.

Pal. lat. 175 (= "Becker 37, 204") Jerome on Ecclesiastes (with the *h l* omission-mark), in square quarto, foll. 66, with two columns to the page. The whole of fol. 2^r is filled by

the title (in black uncials). Fol. 1, an alien, is a leaf* (with figures) of Dynamius' Division of the sciences. This tractate of Dynamius was favoured at Lorsch, for we find it in full in Pal. lat. 1746 (see below), beginning at fol. 59^r (DINAMIUS GRAMMATICUS AD DISCIPULUM SUUM); and a scheme of the division appears also on fol. 108^v of Pal. lat. 1341. The last page of the MS. has a list (by a tenth century hand, according to Reifferscheid, *Bibl. Patr. lat. Ital.* I p. 277; but it may be earlier): *Breve de libris que (sic) Heilradi fuerunt*. They are some fifteen, mostly theological; but also *de grammatico (sic) II*. Underneath is a record of the destruction by fire in 1360 of the town of Heppenheim. Both the list and the record are printed by Reifferscheid.

Pal. lat. 188 (= "Becker 37, 120") Augustinus de Doctrina Christiana (with contemporary uncial entry on the last fly-leaf ADALUNGO ABBAS, i. e. the fifth abbot of Lorsch, 805-838), in oblong quarto, foll. 81, by more than one scribe.

Pal. lat. 198 (= "Becker 37, 108 or 109") Augustini Speculum (with the *h l* omission-mark), in square quarto, foll. 93, with broad margins.

Pal. lat. 201 (= "Becker 37, 104") Augustinus contra Faustum Manichaeum (with the *h l* omission-mark), in quarto or small folio, foll. 198, by many scribes. This MS., like Pal. lat. 814, has marginalia (by a contemporary, not the scribe) attesting keen and careful study. They are usually enclosed in a square or marked off by a paragraphus, e. g. (31^v) *solicite lege ut sex aetates saeculi cognoscas*, (84^v) *ecce veteri et novo testamento convinceris; et non erubescis*, Fauste?, (30^r) *tam grande mole testimonii*, Fauste, *oppressus quo ibis?*, (67^r) *hic Augustinus seras claustra portarum dicit; nos eras (?)*, (75^r) *quam occultum testimonium enoclate (!) ostendisti*, (99^r) *hic dicit apud Hebreos a solis scribis litteras Hebreas licuisse conscribi*, (124^v) *caute, lector, lege ut hinc ostendere possis angelos tunc esse factos quando lumen fecit*. At the end of one scribe's portion (fol. 45) the writing becomes cramped and full of abbreviations, which hitherto have not been much in evidence. At the end of another's (fol. 145) the writing is spaced, so as to occupy more room. At the end, in rude capitals (not by the scribe)

Hoc qui Lazarium libro fraudaverit alium
Sentiat ultricem districti iudicis iram.

Pal. lat. 246 (= "Becker 37, 224") Gregorii Moralia XI-XVI (with the *h l* omission-mark), in square quarto or small folio, foll. 110, by more than one scribe. Fol. 1^v (i. e. the verso of the fly-leaf) is occupied by the title in large red capitals. This lettering is also used for the Explicit of Book XIII (fol. 47^r).

Pal. lat. 249 (= "Becker 37, 228") Gregorii Moralia XXXII-XXXV (with the *h l* omission-mark), in oblong quarto, foll. 150, by many scribes.

Pal. lat. 266 (= "Becker 37, 235 or 236") Gregorii Epistolae (with the *h l* omission-mark), in oblong quarto, foll. 126, by more than one scribe.

Pal. lat. 276 (see above).

Pal. lat. 284 Bede on Proverbs and on Tobit (with the *h l* omission-mark), in large square quarto, foll. 77, by more than one scribe. The text begins on fol. 1^r, but the verso of the preceding fly-leaf is occupied by the title in coloured capitals: *INCIPIIT EXPOSITIO VENERABILIS BAEDAE PRESBYTERI IN LIBRO SALOMONIS QUOD DICITUR PROVERBIA*. This presentation of the title is normal in products of the Lorsch scriptorium. The Tobit commentary begins on fol. 70^r. On the twelfth century entry see Falk.

Pal. lat. 285 Bede contra Julianum et in Cantica Cantorum; Greg. in Cant. Cant., Moralia, etc. (with the *h l* omission-mark), in large octavo or oblong quarto, foll. 150, by more than one scribe. I ascribe this MS. to the early part of the ninth century on the evidence of the script, for the 'ur' — abbreviation is not found. Abbreviation is rare throughout, though we get a glimpse at a symbol used in the exemplar by mean of the transcriber's thrice repeated error (61^r, 99^v, 127^r) *tamen* for *tantum*. The Gregory-extracts begin on 139^v.

Pal. lat. 290, foll. 32-54 Ambrose on Tobit (with the *h l* omission-mark). The Explicit (54^r) is in rustic capitals (with blobs of red in them) *LIBER TOBIS (sic) EXPLICIT FELICITER SCRIBENTI PAX LEGENTI VITA*.

Pal. lat. 814 (see above).

Pal. lat. 822 (= "Becker 32, 79") Rufinus Hist. Euseb., in quarto, foll. 175, by more than one scribe. The adjuration

at the end of Book V is in majuscules (*adiuro te quicumque hos descripseris libros, etc.*); probably a feature of the exemplar, an eighth century codex (to judge from *nm 'nostrum'* in this adjuration).

Pal. lat. 920 (= "Becker 37, 88") Jordanes, in octavo, foll. 106.

Pal. lat. 1341, foll. 2-60 (= "Becker 37, 423") Boethius de Arithmetica (with the *h l* omission-mark), by more than one scribe. The fly-leaf (fol. 1) contains (see Neues Archiv IV 409) a letter of Theotrochus diaconus to Ootbertus presbyter on religious usage at Fulda (Theotroch became abbot of Lorsch in 863) and (like the list of Fulda books in Pal. lat. 1877 and the playful distich on the last page of Pal. lat. 814) is evidence of connexion between Lorsch and Boniface's foundation. The Boethius approaches to calligraphy with its red mathematical figures, etc., and has been carefully revised by a contemporary corrector. It attests the honour paid to scientific study at Lorsch.

Pal. lat. 1588 (see above).

Pal. lat. 1719, part I, foll. 1-19 Aldhelmi et Symphosii Aenigmata, by two scribes.

Part II, foll. 35-59 Varia, e. g. de Ponderibus (= Isid. Etym. XVI xxv), etc.; Fortunatianus Rhet. I, 1-14. The Rhetoric-part (50^v-59^r) (with its slanting *h* and arched suprascript m-stroke) suggests a Burgundian scribe. It has sketches, e. g. at Fortunat. I, 14 quod pictores consueverint multa pingere et publice proponere (59^r) of a boy riding on a crane and the epigram: Vidi equitatem puerum, Cui (*disyll.*) caballus gruis erat, Et ipse scurro cum sodalibus suis.

In Aldhelm's conundrum (no. XI) on the bellows his extraordinary *poalum* (see my edition of the Corpus Glossary; note on P 501) is wisely reproduced by *folles* (2^v) DE FOLLIBUS: Flatibus alternis vescor, etc. (so in some other MSS.; see Ehwald's app. crit.).

Pal. lat. 1746 (= "Becker 37, 416 + 417") Grammatici (see list of contents in Keil Gram. lat. V 313; they include Boniface's Schoolgrammar), in large quarto, foll. 184 by many scribes. The Incipits of Tatuinus (99^r-126^r) are written in Greek uncials (121^r, 123^r, etc.).

Pal. lat. 1753 (see above).

Pal. lat. 1773, foll. 22-349 (= Becker 37, 490) Glossarium Ansileubi or Liber Glossarum, in large folio, by many scribes. The title-heading is merely *INCIPIUNT GLOSÆ*, but the true title, (did it stand on the verso of the fly-leaf, and is that leaf now lost?) is rather that stated in the two catalogues, of Pal. lat. 1877, Liber Grandis Glosarum ex dictis diversorum coadunatus in uno codice. Since I have rotographs of the whole of this MS., I will describe it at some length. The preceding leaves (1-21), which contain (1-18^r) a (Glossary of Bible-names and (18^r-21) a Glossary of Greek words, are a later addition (with the 2-symbol of *w*). The part with which we are concerned may belong to the end of our period, so freely is the apostrophe-symbol also used for *us* (after any letter). But that it belongs to the earlier portion of the ninth century, and that Wilmanns (cf. Goetz 'Der Liber Glossarum' p. 18 = 228) was quite wrong in ascribing it to the tenth, is shewn not merely by the abbreviation *t' 'tur'* but by the use (by one of the scribes especially) of the s-form of suprascript *u* (Palae. Lat. I p. 56) and (by another) of other cursive usages which were in fashion in the eighth century but were avoided in the ninth, e. g. suprascript *a* (Palae. Lat. I p. 9). A number of scribes were employed on this enormous volume (the text measures 30 or 31 cm. × 38 or 39 cm., i. e. about 12 × 15 in.; each page having three columns); and the type of script, though similar, is by no means uniform. Greek words are written fairly well in Greek letters (without a stroke above). Although not so neatly penned as the Corbie (abscript) MS. (contemporary or slightly older), Paris 11529-11530, the Lorsch MS. is quite as valuable a witness to the text; and if some good fortune had preserved for us the Tours(?) MS. from which are derived Tours 850 and Vendome 113-113^{bis}, the trio would make a thoroughly satisfactory basis for an edition. All honour to Abbot Adalung for procuring so promptly this great glossary (a Corbie compilation, I think, of Charlemagne's time) and getting it transcribed so faithfully! The chief blemish of the transcript is the mistake made by the (very careful) copyist of (part of) the NO-section (foll. 209 sqq.). After copying two items correctly:

Non potui: ita non in potestate habui,
Non potui: non valui,

he skipped a leaf of his exemplar (was it there transposed?) and continued with O-words. These O-intruders end in the middle of the first column of fol. 210^r:

Omri: interpretatur crispans meus,

and a (subsequent?) corrector has written below: *hic finit*, as well as (at the third line of the page): *istud per omnia in sequenti O scribi debuit*. The Lorsch transcriber is clearly the guilty person, for the Milan MS., Ambr. B 36 inf. (written in North Italy presumably at Bobbio, about the middle of the ninth century) a 'frater gemellus' of Pal. lat. 1773, does not share the error. Nor does it share the omission of 69 items (Pretia — Preuius) in the PR-section, an omission whose cause is doubtful. Since the item preceding Pretia ends fol. 251^r, and the item following Preuius begins fol. 252^r, I suspect that the transcriber miscalculated the space at his disposal and had to write these 69 items on an inserted slip on parchment. This slip was subsequently lost. A leaf too has been lost in the AB-section (Ablatum — Abstrusa). Most of fol. 89^v was left blank, the scribe having ended his allotted portion of text in the middle of the first column (the final item is Cristate: cassides, while the CRO-words begin fol. 90^r); and the blank has been (long after) utilized for a long entry. Century after century this dictionary has been in use at Lorsch, as we see from the 'emendations' (usually wrong) and additions by various hands of various dates. The double quire-numbering clearly seen at the foot of fol. 210^v, .VII. q(uaternio) and .XXIII. may point to a three-volume exemplar, like the exemplar of Paris 11529-11530.

The use of a symbol like the Greek letter Theta, to indicate glosses of Greek words, is a feature also of Paris 11529-30, and therefore was a usage of the (Corbie?) compiler (similarly a triangle of dots indicates glosses on Hebrew words, i. e. Bible-names, etc.; see Goetz l. c.). It would facilitate the composition of Greek-Latin glossaries (like that on foll. 18^r-21), glossaries which furnished many a so-called 'Greek scholar' of the time with the only Greek he ever knew. And

the symbol like uncial Zeta (our Z) seems to have been the compiler's device for indicating the coherence of the various portion of a long gloss, e. g. 210^v in the long gloss Nota, called from Isid. Etym. I xxi):

Z Adversa cum obolo, etc.
Z Diple superne obolata, etc.
Z Recta et aversa superne obolata, etc.

or 209^v (in the long gloss Omne et Totum, culled from Isid. Diff. I 402):

Z Ita ut omnis homo omnes homines omne pecus dicimus.
Z Ergo totus homo si ad corpus referamus,
Z Omnis homo si de universis, etc.

Can it have been meant for the Diple recta et adversa (av-?) superne obolata (Isid. Etym. I xxi 20 ponitur finita loco suo monade, significatque similem sequentem quoque esse)? At any rate, it was a wise precaution against the 'splitting' of long glosses, since the ideal glossary would assign a separate line to each separate item of information. But a usage not found in Paris 11529-11530 is the cross at the end of the irreducible minimum of interpretation; e. g. 210^r (in the gloss Omonima, i. e. Homonyma, culled from Isid. Etym. I vii 15) a cross stands after *Omonima hoc est uninomia*, separating this brief interpretation from the longer explanation which follows (eo quod sit in uno nomine significatio plurima, etc.). It would facilitate the composition of abridged editions of this gigantic dictionary encyclopaedia.

IV. — Excursus on MSS. of Fulgentius and Hist. August.

Helm (pref. ix of Teubner edition 1898) mentions as the best MSS. of Fulgentius (Myth., Virg. Cont., Serm. Ant.) two 'fratres gemelli', Vat. Pal. 1578 and Vat. Reg. 1462. Unfortunately he ascribes the second to the eleventh century. Sickel (proll. 14 Lib. Diurn.) ascribed it to the eighth; Bannister (P. M. V.) calls it 'Scrittura longobardica del sec. ix, la seconda parte da un copista posteriore, ma di stilo somiglian-

tissimo'. The second part (foll. 39-50) is the famous collection (three lists) of Notae Juris, published by Keil Gram. lat. IV 300). The blank last page (50^v) has been used at a later time for that precious relic of Friuli Ladin, the 'Alba'. Bannister associates the script of the MS. with the script of the Cividale Paulus Diaconus. It is a form of what may be called 'pre-Carolingian' North Italian minuscule, current before the adoption of what is called Carolingian minuscule.

Pal. lat. 1578 was written in the early part of the ninth century (it has the apostrophe-symbol for *ur*) at Lorsch (it seems to be Becker's 37, 431) and, to judge from its occasional Insular abbreviation-symbols for *eius* (Helm 96 20), *enim* (Helm 49, 2), *est* (Helm 93, 12) *quae* (Helm 102, 1), *quasi* (qsi frequently), *tamen* (tn Helm 15, 15, etc.), from an exemplar in Insular script. It has not a Lorsch 'ex libris'. Helm should have followed its presentation of the poem (on p. 7 of his edition) in long trochaic lines (like 'Tiberianus' Trochaics, but less correct), e. g.

⟨H⟩innientis ⟨a⟩et⟨h⟩r⟨a⟩e cursu quam produxit ungula

(an imitation of 'Tiberianus' phrase: Pegasus hinnientem transvolaturus aethram), for the North Italian MS. (which uses capitals for this poem) agrees with the Lorsch MS. Helm seems to me to follow too meticulously the spelling of the common original of the pair when he prints *etve* here, in contrast to *ethram* on p. 33, line 16 (in the Tiberianus quotation). Surely *t* for *th* is a common scribal error. Yet it has misled Helm at 13, 9:

Iam Phoebus disiungit equos, iam *Cynthia* iungit;
Quasque soror linquit, frater pede temperat undas,

where Helm actually prints *Quintia!* 'Who is *Quintia*? what is she?' that she should be associated with the Sun-god?

On the other hand, the spelling of another MS. of this date (Helm says. "saec. XIII"!!):

Pal. lat. 886, foll. 164-187 (= Becker 37, 90) Fulgentius de Aetatibus Mundi, might have been followed with advantage, (Helm 129, 3) presertim, (129, 4) questu, etc. for (as Helm recognized too late) the letter A is tabooed by Fulgentius in

the Preface as well as in the first chapter of this rhetorical tour-de-force. Abbreviation is almost wholly eschewed in this MS., so that accuracy of spelling (a necessity for this book) was attainable. (Yet there are lapses, e. g. in chap. VII, the chapter where H is tabooed, *prophetam*, *Pharaonis*, instead of *profetam*, *Faraonis*). Since this MS. (unlike others) leaves a blank space (the lower half of fol. 187^v) after the Incipit (in red capitals) of chap. XV, it is the most faithful representative of the archetype. Bound up with this Fulgentius MS. is another (of rather later date) containing (foll. 125-141^r) Macrobius and (foll. 141^r-163^r) excerpts from the Historia Augusta. These excerpts are usually said (cf. Hohl in Klio 13 [1913] p. 258) to be taken directly from:

Pal. lat. 899 Historia Augusta (with the 2-symbol of *ur*), in square quarto, foll. 216 (see pl. 191 of Chatelain's Pal. Class. Lat.), the exemplar of Bamberg E III 19 (in Anglo-Saxon minuscule of "saec. ix"; see pl. 8 of Ihm Palaeogr. Lat.). But since Pal. lat. 899 offers quite clearly (fol. 6^v) tantū 'tantum', it is difficult to account for the mistake in Pal. lat. 886 in the same sentence (fol. 141^v *tamen*, with suprascript correction *tantum*). It is impossible to determine with such complete certainty the exemplar from which a mere collection of excerpts (a manual for the history-class; at Mayence?) was taken, as we can determine the exemplar which was fully transcribed (at Fulda? Traube assigns the Bamberg MS. to Fulda).

Finally I may mention a later MS.:

Pal. lat. 1579, foll. 1-16 Fulgentius' Continentia Virgillii, two quires of 21 × 13.5 cm., written in the eleventh (end of the tenth?) century (and therefore later than the two catalogues of Pal. lat. 1877). At the bottom of fol. 1^r is *Ad Laurissam* 1467, followed below by *mathias* (rest of entry lost). Of this Mathias Widmann de Kemnat, who has left his signature in more than one Lorsch MS., e. g. the Montpellier Juvenal (see Chatelain Pal. Class. Lat. pl. 127), Gottlieb has given an account in Eranos of 1893 (on p. 145). He was chaplain of Prince Frederic I.

V. — The Scriptorium of St Nazarius in the Ninth Century, etc. B. The later MSS.

Let me first remind the reader how obscure is the limit between the ninth and the tenth century script. The famous British Museum MS. (Harl. 2736) of Cicero de Oratore has been assigned by experts to the tenth century; but (as we shall learn in detail from Prof Beeson's long-expected book on Lupus) it is written throughout by the hand of the famous Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, who died in 862. Its script is identical with that of the corrections in Berne 366 Valerius Maximus (see the plate accompanying my article in Classical Philology IV [1909], p. 113 'The Archetype Codex of Valerius Maximus').

I begin with a MS in which both *t'* and *t²* are used for *tur*:

Pal. lat. 200 (= "Becker 37, 102.") Augustinus de Civitate Dei XVIII-XXII, in smallish folio, foll. 139, with two columns to the page. by many scribes. Plate V shews the last page of the text (fol. 138^v) with the subscription of the scribe (in alternate red and black lines of capitals). Donatus (who uses the apostrophe-symbol of *ur*) begins at fol. 87^v (the beginning of Book XXI) and continues to the end of the text. The Lorsch 'ex libris' entry on fol. 139^v is immediately followed by a few records of payments: Adelbertus de Ritten dedit quatuor solidos, Gerdrut de Budilisbac dedit sex solidos, etc.

Pal. lat. 178 (= "Becker 37, 206") Jerome Epist. in Ctesiphontem, Dial. adv. Pelagianos, in oblong quarto, foll. 82.

Pal. lat. 236 (= "Becker 37, 312 or 314") Prosper de Vocatione Omnium Gentium, in oblong quarto or large octavo, foll. 53. In the fly-leaf a tenth century hand has written an account (unfinished) of the dream of a Lorsch monk (fol. 1^r I quote the beginning, middle and end): Hoc vero somnium vel certa internorum visio oculorum angustiae meae sive anxietatis non modicae.. Putabam me ingredi aeclesiam sancti Nazarii ad orientem, et, cum ingressus fuisset, stetit quidam vir ammirabili ac terribili vultu.. et aio ad eum (*end*). The alphabet 'probatio pennae' on the fly-leaf ends: *x y z et* (ligature), *est*.

Pal. lat. 241 (= "Becker 37, 371") Faustus de Spiritu Sancto, in small octavo, foll. 37, by more than one scribe. The curious (9^v) *spm dnm ihm descendisse* (with *Spiritum* instead of *super*) suggests that the exemplar had the early (syllabic) abbreviation symbol *sp* 'super'. (On the later entry on fol. 36^v see Falk).

Pal. lat. 243, foll. 33-48 (= "Becker 37, 556") Eginhard's Vita Caroli Magni. See Falk's account of the other contents of this Lorsch 'recueil factice'. The Ferrandus (foll. 1-32) is more suggestive of the Lorsch scriptorium than the Eginhard and seems at least as old.

Pal. lat. 290, foll. 1-31 (= "Becker 37, 347") Alcuin on Felix of Urgel. The verso of the second fly-leaf has the title in rustic capitals: *INCIPIIT LIBER ALBINI QVEM EDIDIT CONTRA HERESIM FELICIS*. The recto of the first fly-leaf has a contemporary 'ex libris' entry (followed by a later: *Codex de monasterio sci Nazarii quod est in Lauresham situm (?) iuxta fluvio Wistchino (?)*, etc.).

Pal. lat. 485 Miscellaneous (with the *h l* omission-mark), in oblong quarto, foll. 113. (For the contents of this highly interesting MS. see Falk). A facsimile in Salzer 'Illustrierte Geschichte deutscher Literatur'. The famous Lorsch Confessional (German) occupies foll. 2^v (end) — 3^v. Astrological lore (an account of the *dies Aegyptiaci*: *oportet hos custodire per multas causas*, etc.) on fol. 13^v is followed by medical directions for the year (Mens. Mar. *bibat dulce, usitat agramen, usitet radices confectas manducare, asso balneo usitare, sanguinem minuare*, etc.); then (14^r) the Greek alphabet and its numerical denotation; then (14^v) Rules for Cryptic Speech and Script (*Si amicum inter insidiatores positum ut caute se agat ammonere desideras*, etc. = Bede Temp. Rat. 1). In the top margin of fol. 100^v *drutbidi* is written in cryptic script with dot-groups for vowels). The text below (a Penitential) refers to vomiting in church.

Pal. lat. 833, foll. 1-24 Bede's Martyrology, in small octavo (13.5 × 16 cm., i. e. 5 1/4 × 6 1/4 in.). There are obituary entries, contemporary or slightly later. The famous collection of inscriptions, with title *Epithavia (sic) Sanctorum*, bound up with this Martyrology, and occupying foll. 26-53 (= "Becker

37. 377"), is assigned by Falk to 8-9 cent. It is calligraphic. Falk says: "Mir drängte sich der Gedanke auf, ein Lorsch Konventuale habe diesen jenseits der Alpen fertig gestellten Codex bei einer Romfahrt erworben und in die Heimat mitgenommen". He therefore believed the epitaph collection to have been written in Italy (And certainly it shews I longa). The Martyrology script is clearly German, probably of Lorsch. The remainder (foll. 54-84) does not seem earlier than 10-11 cent.

VI. — Some Eighth Century MSS. of Lorsch Library.

I use as proof of this dating the older ligatures and superscriptions of letters. But since the Lorsch script of 795 and 796, exhibited in Chroust's plate (mentioned above), has none of these, it may be that some MSS. which I have already referred to the ninth century really belong to the eighth. Since the abbreviation of *nostr* is a clue to early dating (see Notae Lat.), it will be well to mention whether the older symbols (ni, etc.) or the later (nri, etc.) are found in each MS. (Notice on Chroust's plate of the 795-6 Lorsch script of the Annales Laureshamenses nri 'nostri').

I begin the list with a MS. whose use of the *h l* omission-mark enables us to assign it to the Lorsch scriptorium:

Pal. lat. 169 (= "Becker 37, 286") Ambrose on Paul Epist. Cor., in small folio, foll. 150, by more than one scribe (with ni and nri 'nostri'). Initials are in brown-red-yellow. The title (in Lorsch fashion) is on the verso of the fly-leaf (fol. 1^r) at the beginning of the volume; and the fly-leaf at the end of the volume (fol. 151) was used in the tenth century for Nomina Laureshamensis Caenobii Fratrum, beginning with *Gerbodo abb* (another hand has added *et pr*). This is Gerbod the abbot of Lorsch 951-972. I suppose it is this list which induced Falk to date the MS. "aus dem 9 bis 10 Jahrhundert"; unless he was comparing the script of the MS. itself (as he might be pardoned for doing) with Beneventan minuscule of these centuries. The full list is printed by Reiferscheid on p. 199 of vol. I of his *Bibl. Patr. lat. Ital.*

Pal. lat. 238 (= "Becker 37, 310") 'Prosper' (= Julianus Pomerius) de Vita Contemplativa, in oblong quarto, foll. 74 but foll. 1-2 are merely paper, part of the modern binding) (with ni 'nostri'). Initials are in black-red-yellow. The script is quite unlike that of Pal. lat. 169, and (like that of Pal. lat. 245) much more suggestive of the predecessor of Lorsch 9th cent. minuscule. After fol. 74, which is blank, are three leaves of a Martyrology (on which see Stevenson's Catalogue).

Pal. lat. 245 (= "Becker 37, 222") Gregorii Moralia, in quarto, foll. 179, by two scribes (1-92, 93-end) (with nri much more often than ni 'nostri'). Plates vi (of fol. 92^r, i. e. the end of Book II and of the eleventh quire) and vii (of fol. 93^r) shew the older and the newer phases of the script. A corrector has revised the spelling, altering. e. g. *inquoat* to *inchoat* (17^r, 22^v), *cogitationebus* to *-ibus*, *possedimus* to *possidemus*, *subolis* to *suboles*, *capud* to *caput*, *vagasse* to *vacasse*, and (throughout) *q*; (i. e. *que*) to *quae*. The 2-symbol of *ur* in the third last line of pl. vii (*penetratur*) is due to him. The scribe used the apostrophe-symbol.

Pal. lat. 966 Gregory of Tours, and the Annales Nazariani, in oblong quarto, foll. 59 (with nri 'nostri'). The script of the Annales Nazariani (foll. 53^v-59), contemporary, if not identical, with that of the Gregory, can be dated at 791 (see pl. 28 of Ehrle and Liebaert 'Specimina') and plate II of Mon. Germ. Hist. SS. I 21). The margins of foll. 30^v-31^r, 42^v-43^r shew a different, but contemporary, hand.

Pal. lat. 1547 (= "Becker 37, 381") Seneca de Beneficiis et de Clementia, in octavo or small oblong quarto, foll. 148, by many scribes (with nri 'nostri'). A new scribe begins at fol. 115^r and with him, a new quire-numbering (122^v . i. , 130^v . ii. , 138^v . iii. , 148^v . iii.). The script (see pl. 168 of Chatelain Pal. Cl. Lat.) often recalls that of Pal. lat. 169. A full account of this, the chief MS. for this portion of Seneca, will be found in the preface to Hosius' small Teubner text (1900). Neither in it nor in the other eighth-century MSS. in my list is the 'ti'-ligature used to indicate difference of pronunciation. How the ligature puzzled later readers may be seen from the corrections (see the plate of Chatelain) made for a subsequent (eleventh century?) transcription.

VII. — MSS. of Lorsch Library in Anglosaxon Script.

Pal. lat. 177 (= "Becker 27, 209") Jerome on Matthew, in narrow oblong small folio, foll. 123, by more than one scribe, "saec. ix ant.". At the beginning is a splendid initial P in bright yellow, dark brown, some red and green, with delicate ornamental interlacing. I longa appears in *in*, *ius*, etc., and sometimes in *ita*, etc., *cuus*, etc. The first scribe (1-18) affects the 'uncial' (Pal. Lat. I pl. I 61) and cursive round-shouldered' (ibid. pl. I 64) form of *r*, and often the 'uncial' form of *s* and *n*. His quotation mark has a V-form (is it meant for the letter *y*?); and the second scribe too often uses this form (with a dot inside), but usually a rounded 7-form with a dot to the left (Palae. Lat. II p. 20). Greek words are written in uncial, and a line is drawn above. Omissions are marked by

- (1) *hd* in text, *dh* before supplement in lower margin (e. g. 14^v, 30^r, 35^r).
 (2) *d* » , *h* » » » » (e. g. 33^r).
 (3) *dh* » , *hd* » » » » (e. g. 38^v, etc.).

The quire-marks (numerals) occupy the usual place, the centre of the lower margin of the last page of each quire. Plate viii (of fol. 61^r upper part) shews a marginal supplement (and corrections) in Continental script.

Pal. lat. 195 Augustinus de Consensu Evangelistarum. in small folio, "saec. ix in"). The second half (there is no break between the two halves), foll. 53^v-106, is by an English scribe Jacob, while the first half (1-53^r) is in Continental script. Under Jacob's subscription, *iacob scripsit*, at the end of the MS. another English hand writes: *Quandam partem huius (with I longa) libri non spontanea voluntate sed coactus conpedibus constrictus, sicut oportet vagum atque fugitivum vincire.* (How strange that this ebullition should have been permitted to remain!). Jacob (unlike the scribes of Pal. lat. 177) writes *z* in the true Insular fashion, with deep projecting spur (cf. Palae. Lat. I. 138). One form of *t*, lacking the right-hand half of the cross-stroke, he is very fond of. He does not use I longa, except sometimes in *in*, *iohannes*, etc. In both parts of this MS. the quire-marks appear in the centre of the lower mar-

gin of the first (not the last) page of each quire. Jacob uses the English quotation-mark, the 7-mark with two dots to the left. An omission in the English half shews (fol. 68^v)

h d in text *d h* in lower margin.

Similarly in the German half (36^v; but on 5^v the supplement is in the upper margin), where we also find (with *hd* in text) the peculiarly Lorsch *hl* in the lower margin (18^r), in the upper (10^v). Plate ix (of fol. 59^r) shews a contemporary marginal adscript in German minuscule.

Pal. lat. 202 Augustine on the Trinity (without the Lorsch 'ex libris'), in square quarto, foll. 182, by many scribes, "saec. viii-ix". One MS., though fol. 75^v is blank; for Book VI begins a new leaf (76) by a new scribe. The black ink on whiteish vellum suggests the Lorsch scriptorium; also the *h l* omission-mark (see below). Lorsch vellum had one defect. It was occasionally oily in parts. And about a third of fol. 30^v has been left blank on this account. (Calculators of the pagination of archetypes, please note). The 'mus'-symbol of German (and other Continental) minuscule, the downward cross-stroke symbol (Notae Latinae p. 385), suggests a Continental scriptorium. So does aut 'autem' (though the Insular symbol appears too). The quire-mark (a numeral accompanied by a transected *q*) stands (in part of the MS.) to the right of the lower margin of the last page of the quire. The quotation-mark is a variety of the 7-symbol, with a dot to the right (not the left). Greek words have a line drawn above them. The Greek Psi is used in *psalmus*. Omission-marks shew great variety:

- (1) *d h* in text and margin (6^v and 19^r, upper).
 (2) a mark like the Insular 'est'-symbol in text and margin (6^v, lower).
 (3) *h* in text and margin (15^v, and 19^v, upper).
 (4) *h d* in text and margin (31^v, 35^v, 53^v, etc., lower).
 (5) *d* in text, *h* in margin (89^v, lower).
 (6) *h d* in text, *h l* in margin (14^r, upper; 23^r and 27^r, lower).

There are so many scribes that it is impossible here to mention each peculiarity. For *z* the Insular 'pointed spur' form appears along with other forms; for *s*, both the 'uncial' and the 'minuscule'; for *r* the 'uncial' form is less favoured.

On 38^v I noted an initial C (uncoloured) with dragon-head ornament. A later corrector has stopped his (often detrimental) work on fol. 17^v, and has written on the margin *huc usque relegi*. If he was preparing the way for a transcription, the transcribers would be left to their own devices for the remaining part. Plate x (of fol. 82^v, lower part) shews a ninth century marginal supplement in Continental script.

Pal. lat. 220 Augustini Sermones; Dicta S. Efram, in octavo (21.5 × 15 cm. Falk says "folio"!), foll. 71, by more than one scribe, "saec. ix in". In the margin of fol. 58 is the famous relic of early German, the Lorsch Bienensegen; on 62^v, at the top of a blank page (later occupied by the Creed in ninth century German script) a list of names: Engilberaht, Waltger, Reginger, Suitger, Gerhart, etc. (see Falk). On 1^r a rude picture of Christ (?) blessing (yellow and red). On 5^r I noted a fairly neat initial Q (yellow-red-black); on 26^v, P (with interlaced ornament). Blobs of yellow and red mark the opening letters of sentences. There is no I longa. Falk mentions that a tenth-century hand has often entered in the margin the opening of a Nazarius-hymn. Plate xi (of fol. 31^r) is partly in Continental script. Ehrle and Liebaert's Specimina exhibit (pl. 22) fol. 33^r.

Pal. lat. 829 Orosius, in square quarto, foll. 115, the first part (1-44, i. e. nearly all Books I-III) in German minuscule, the rest (45-115) English, "saec. ix ant." (Zangemeister in his edition of Orosius says "exaratus est saeculo octavo, aut fortasse noni principio, simul a duobus librariis "See the rest of his description of the MS.) The 'furry' vellum thwarts the neatness of the script. In the English part *t* often lacks the right-hand part of the cross-stroke. The 'Insular cursive' *e* (of the 8-form; Palae. Lat. I pl. I 39) in ligatures (ibid. 41 and 42) catches the eye. At the end of Book V: Finit Liber Quintus; of Book VI: Explicit Liber Sextus. There is a separate quire-marking for the English part, but the numeration for the whole volume has been added beside it. Thus e. g. fol. 46^v shews (at the usual place) the numeral .i. and beneath it the numeral .iii.. Still, I do not think that the MS. is a mere 'recueil factice'. I may however confess that I should not venture to contradict anyone who argued that the

MS. was indeed corrected at Lorsch in the ninth century, but was written at Mayence, possibly at the end of the eighth. On foll. 113^v-115 Epistolae Sulpitii Severi ad sanctum Paulinum episcopum (cf. Zangemeister's preface, p. xiii). (Perhaps it is worth adding that Pal. lat. 828, foll. 89-172, is a twelfth century transcript of Pal. lat. 829, and has a list of books — e. g. Ovid's Metamorphoses — 'quos Bernardus proprio sumptu conscribi fecit').

Paris lat. 16668 (= "Becker 37, 281") Part I (foll. 1-40) in Continental minuscules of "saec. ix": Beda de Metrica; Carmina de Die Iudicii; Aldhelmi carmen de Virginitate; de Schematibus, etc. Part II (foll. 41-58^r, in Anglosaxon minuscule of "saec. ix") Themistius de Dialectica et 'Arthemisii' Rhetorica + (foll. 58^v-62, in Continental contemporary minuscule) Arth. Rhet. (finis); Decretum Gelasii papae de libris canonicis. There are German glosses in Aldhelm's poem (a poem which attracted glosses as a lamp attracts moths). In the English script (41-58^r) I longa is used in *in*, *inter*, etc., *maius*, etc. (usually), *igitur*, etc. (sometimes), but not in *ille*. To indicate a new paragraph a K-mark is often inserted between the lines or in the margin by a corrector (e. g. 49^v, 50^r). An obscured mark at the foot of fol. 51^r (the first page of a new quire) may be *xb* (see Palae. Lat. II p. 25). In the Continental part the list of Aldhelm 'glossae collectae' deserves mention (It occupies the lower half of fol. 40^v): Probrosus: contumeliosus, Levirum: *ceichur*, Municipes: *burgara*, etc. Aldhelm's preface (on fol. 23) is in coloured half-uncials. Plate xii (of fol. 58^r) shews the last page of the English script.

VIII. — Lorsch Ninth-Century Abbreviation-Symbols. (Continental Script).

Since the greater number of the MSS. which I have mentioned use abbreviation sparingly and are not sufficiently large for our purpose, I base my statistics on these three: Pal. lat. 814 Josephus, 822 Rufinus, 1773 Liber Glossarum, and mention the others only when there is occasion. So no inference 'ex silentio' is safe. To save the expense of cutting new types I refer the reader to the pages of my Notae La-

tinae where the form of a symbol is stated. A stroke stands above each symbol in the MS. (unless I mention another form). I may remind the reader that the earlier MSS. are 57, 175, 188, 195 I, 198, 201, 246, 249, 266, 284, 285, 290 II, 814, 822, 920, 1341 I, 1578, 1719, 1746, 1753, 1773; the later group comprises 178, 236, 241, 243 II, 290 I, 485.

AUTEM. Both au and aut in the earlier group; aut commoner than au in the later and universal in 178, 236, 290 I, etc.

DICO. dr 'dicitur' 814, 822, 175, 188, 276, 284, 1746, 485, 178; dt 'dicit' 814 (marginalia), 195 I, 284 (fol. 48^r), 188 (fol. 12^v). These are Insular symbols. dic 'dicit'; dix 'dixit'.

EIUS. ei 1773 (sometimes, e. g. fol. 203^r flos eius), 200 (fol. 45^r; the corrector substitutes the apostrophe).

ENIM. The Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 63) 822, 814 (fol. 17^r, at end of line), 1746, 290 I (fol. 3^r), 188 (fol. 30^r).

ESSE. ee (in all MSS.) EST (1) e (in all MSS.) (2) the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 69) 822, 1773, 814 (fol. 96^r, at end of line; fol. 49^r id est), 201 (fol. 196^r) 1341 I, 1746, 1753, 485, 284 (at end of line sometimes), 188 (ditto).

FRATER (see *er*). fr 'frater' 822 (fol. 103^r), 266 (fol. 98^r), 57 (fol. 40^r); frem 'fratrem' 814, 822; frm 'fratrum' 814, 822. And so on (frm 'fratrem' 485).

FRATRES (1) frs 814, 822, 485, 200, 249, 266. (2) ff 822 (fol. 107^v), 201 (fol. 113^r), 198 (frequently). (3) fres 200 (fol. 120^v, fol. 121^r).

GLORIA gla 243.

GRATIA gra 243.

HIC. In 1746 the Insular symbols hs 'huius', h with dot 'hoc', hc 'hunc'.

ID EST (see *est*). (1) id 1773, 1746. (2) i with Insular 'est'-symbol 1773.

LOQUITUR. loqr 814 (marginalia), 188 (fol. 49^r).

MEUS. ms 'meus' 814, 1773, 290 I (frequently).

MIHI. m with suprascript *i* 814 (fol. 71^v), 822 (fol. 28^r, fol. 89^r), 1719, 276 (fol. 40^v). This is an Insular symbol.

MODO. m with suprascript *o* 1746.

NOBIS, VOBIS. nob, uob 814, 822, 1773.

NOMEN (see *en*)

NON. n (often in majuscule form).

NOSTER, VESTER. nr 'noster' 814, 822, 1773; nri 'nostri'. And so on. The older ni (etc.) 'nostri' (etc.) appears along with nri (etc.) in 188 (the MS. belonging to Adalung, abbot of Lorsch 805-838). One scribe (presumably a Spaniard) of 172 uses the Visigothic symbol nsi.

NUNC. The Insular symbol nc appears occasionally, 822 (fol. 115^r), 200 (now and then), 1341 I (fol. 57^v).

OMNIS. 'omnes' (1) om 814 (always), 822 (far oftener than oms), 1753 (ditto), 195 I (ditto), 175, 1746 (usually oms), 198 (fol. 30^r; elsewhere oms). Never in the later group. For 'omnis' 276 (fol. 22^v o. exercitus disceret).

(2) oms (never in 814, except when a subsequent corrector has altered om).

(3) omes 178.

'omnia' oma.

'omnis' omis 1341 I (now and then).

And so on.

PATER (see *er*).

PER. p with horizontal cross-stroke through the shaft.

POST. (1) p with apostrophe 814, 822, 1753, 1719, 485, 243, 198, 188 (fol. 38^r).

(2) pt (the Anglosaxon symbol) 1746.

(3) p with semi-colon (the 'pus'-symbol) 822 (fol. 166^r).

PRAE p.

PRAETER (see *prae*; see *er*).

PRO. the usual symbol (Not. Lat. p. 175).

PROPTER (see *er*). (1) ppt 1773, 200 (fol. 21^r, fol. 69^r), 57 (fol. 70^r, fol. 148^r), 201, 246, 1746 (fol. 23^r), 236 (fol. 40^r).

(2) prop 1773, 201 (fol. 20^r *propterea*).

(3) pp 814, 1773, 246, 290 I (fol. 7^v), 1753, 200 (fol. 89^v), 198 (frequently), 57 (fol. 34^r; with abbreviation-stroke below, not above, fol. 98^r).

QUAE, QUAM (see *qui*).

- QUANDO. (1) qnd 1746.
 (2) quo 178, 200 (fol. 34^v = Aug. Civ. Dei II 361, 8) (expanded by a corrector). How can we account for this misuse of the 'quoniam'-symbol?
- QUASI. The Insular symbol qsi 822 (not frequently), 814 (fol. 73^v), 198 (fol. 87^r), 195 I (fol. 7^r), 188 (fol. 20^r).
- QUE. the usual symbols (Not. Lat. p. 228). One scribe of 1773 (the scribe who inserted part of the O-section into the N-section) is very fond of *q* with long oblique stroke through the shaft (Not. Lat. p. 228).
- QUI, etc. 'qui' *q* with suprascript *i* (the Insular symbol) 814, 822, 1773, 57 (fol. 29^r), 201 (fol. 45^v), 236, 200 (fol. 71^v), 284 (at end of line sometimes. Also *q* with suprascript *o* 'quo'; *q* with suprascript *a* 'qua').
- 'quae' (1) *q* 1746, 178.
 (2) the Insular symbol, *q* followed by a triangle of dots, 200, 201 (fol. 36^v), 266 (fol. 8^v), 246 (fol. 8^r).
- 'quam' the usual (Insular) symbol (Not. Lat. p. 215) 814, 201 (fol. 36^v).
- 'quod' (1) *qd* 814, 822, 1746, 178, 485, 57.
 (2) the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 254) 1341 I (frequently), 1746, 814 (fol. 64^r), 178 (sometimes).
- A curious feature of 920 is the scribe's symbol for 'qui', It resembles the Insular 'quod'-symbol, but while this has round curves at each end of the oblique line which transects the shaft of *q*, the scribe of 920 makes the transecting line of his 'qui'-symbol much less curved' in fact nearly straight. It is no unfamiliar symbol which he transferred from the exemplar. It must be his habitual symbol; he uses it so freely, e. g. (27^r) quidem, (41^r) quievit (58^v) nequivit.
- QUIA. (1) *q* with 2-mark (Not. Lat. p. 245) 814, 822, 1773, 200 (fol. 57^r), 246, 188 (fol. 72^r).
 (2) the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 245) 814 (fol. 68^r).
- QUOD (see *qui*).
- QUOMODO (see *quo*; see *modo*). qmdo 814 (fol. 73^r).

- QUONIAM (1) *qm* 814, 822 (the first scribe's only form), 1773, 57, 175, 188, 198 (but *quo* occasionally), 201, 249 (but *quo* fol. 133^v), 266, 284, 285, 1341 I, 1588, 200, 178, 236, 290 I, 485.
 (2) *quo* 201 (less often than *qm*), 57 (less often than *qm*), 188 (fol. 18^v), 246, 1341 I, 1719, 485, 236, 178, 241, 290 I (fol. 5^r).
 (3) *qnm* 1773, 822 (not frequent), 814 (once), 1719.
- QUOQUE. *qq* 814, 822, 188, 1341 I, 290 I, 1719.
- QUOT. the Insular symbol *qt* 1341 I (fol. 45^v, fol. 55^v).
- SAECULUM, — LI, etc. (1) *sclm*, *scli* 814, 822, 1773, 57 (frequently), 175 (frequently), 188 (fol. 8^r), 246, 1773, 200, 236, 485.
 (2) *seclm*, *secli* 1773 (less often than *sclm*, *scli*).
- SECUNDUM. (1) *secdm* 822 (fol. 84^r), 485.
 (2) *sedm* 1341 I (fol. 56^r), 485 (fol. 55^r).
- SICUT. *sic* 814, 1773, 822 (fol. 105^v), 57, 241, 485 (frequently), 1753, 290 (fol. 21^r), 284 (fol. 49^r), 188 (fol. 73^v).
- SUNT. (1) *s* 814, 822, 1773, 57, 201, 195 I, 188. With apostrophe instead of suprascript stroke 1746 (here and there), 920 (fol. 29^v).
 (2) *st* 814, 1773, 57, 485, 178, 1341 I.
- TAMEN. the Insular symbol *tn* 822, 1719 (frequently) 1753, 188, 814 (fol. 116^r).
- TANTUM. the Insular symbol *tm* 1341 I, 1746.
- TEMPORE. (1) *tempr* 1773
 (2) *temp* 246.
- TUNC. the Insular symbol *tc* 814, 200, 822 (fol. 112^v).
- VEL. (1) *l* with cross-stroke 814, 822, 485, 200, 1341 I.
 (2) *ul* 1773.
- VERO. (1) *u* with suprascript *o* 814, 822, 1341 I, 1746, 1719, 188.
 (2) *uo* 822 (fol. 118^r), 198 (fol. 22^r).
- VESTER (see *noster*).
- VOBIS (see *nobis*).
- SYLLABLES, etc.
- M. Nothing noteworthy.

- CON. (1) *c*.
 (2) the Insular symbol (a reversed *c*) 1746, 1341 I (fol. 45^r).
- EN. *m* 'men'.
- ER. *t* 'ter'; *b* with cross-stroke 'ber' 814, 822, 1773, 249; *u* 'ver' 814 (fol. 64^r *converterunt*, at end of line).
- IS. *b* with cross-stroke 'bis' 920, 1746.
- IT (see *dico*). *c* '-cit' 814, 1773.
d with cross-stroke '-dit' 1773, 814 (fol. 70^r *redidit*), 236 (fol. 15^r, fol. 27^r).
g 'git' 814 (fol. 55^r *collegit*).
p '-pit' 1773 (fol. 222^r *recepit*).
u 'vit' 1773, 200 (fol. 106^r, at end of line) 276 (*implevit*), 188 (*formavit*).
x '-xit' 814, 822, 1773.
- Also hab (with cross-stroke through *b*) 'habet' 1341 I (fol. 30^r).
- RI. 'pri'. The Insular symbol, *p* with suprascript *i*, 822 (fol. 46^r *primum*) may come from the exemplar.
- RUM. (1) *r* with cross-stroke through the arm 814, 822, 1773, 1753, 485, 200, 188.
 (2) *r* with apostrophe 1773.
- RUNT. (1) *r* with stroke above 1773, 57 (fol. 15^r), 249, 201, 284, 485. With apostrophe 814, 822, 57 (fol. 55^r), 201, 249 (fol. 82^r), 200, 195 I, 188 (fol. 24^r) 1753. With 2-mark 236, 241.
 (2) *rt* 822 (fol. 105^r), 201, 485.
- UR. 'tur' (1) *t* with apostrophe or 2-mark (see above). With arch (Not. Lat. p. 378) 1746.
 (2) *t* with suprascript *z*-mark 1773 (one scribe).
 (3) *t* with horizontal stroke above 1773.
- US. Final 'bus'. Nothing noteworthy.
 Final 'tus' (see above).
 Final 'cus', 'ius', 'pus'. The apostrophe symbolizes final *us*.
 Final 'mus', 'nus' (1) downward stroke through the extended tail of *m*, *n* 814, 822, 1773, 57, 188, 200, 246, 266, 1341 I, 1719, 1753, 290 I, 200 (changed by a later corrector to the apostrophe-symbol), 178

- (fol. 72^r, end of line), 236 (at ends of lines), 241 (ditto). The cursive 8-form of this symbol (Not. Lat. p. 389) appears sometimes in 1746; and similarly 'rus' in 920 (fol. 33^r *verus*, at end of line).
 (2) *m*, *n* with apostrophe 1773, 57, 284.

SOME NOMINA SACRA.

- DOMINUS. The misuse of *dni* in the sense of 'lord' (not 'Lord') is corrected in the margin of 246 (fol. 80^v *cum domini honoribus et rebus tument*).
- HIERUSALEM. *hierlm* 1773.
- ISRAEL. (1) *isrl* 1773 (usually), 57, 175 (less often than *irl*), 198, 201, 178, 200, 236.
 (2) *irl* 1773 (fol. 151^r), 175, 201 1753 (fol. 78^v), 285 (fol. 50^r, 284).
 (3) *ishl* 1773 (fol. 223^v), 249.
 (4) *irhl* 822 (fol. 125^r), 1773 (fol. 26^v, fol. 224^v).
 (5) *isrh* 201 (fol. 195^r, fol. 196^r).
 (6) *ihl* 1773 (fol. 283^r).

There is thus a large admixture of Insular (we may say English) symbols in these ninth century products of the Lorsch scriptorium in Continental scripts. But apparently none (or next to none) in those of the eighth century. In the eighth century MSS. of the Lorsch library which I have mentioned as claiming provenance from the Lorsch scriptorium the following points of divergence (or otherwise) from the ninth century group may be mentioned (the *nostris*, *vestris* symbols have been mentioned already):

- autem*. *au* (never *aut*).
- dico*. *dics* 'dicens' 245 (frequently).
- fratres*. (1) *ff*. 169 (oftener than *frs*).
 (2) *frs* 169, 238. In 245 this denotes 'fratris' (fol. 52).
- omnes*. (1) *om* 238 (never *oms*), 245 (never *oms*).
 (2) *oms* 966, 1547. In 1547 this denotes also 'omnis'.
- bropter*. (1) *pp* 238 (throughout).
 (2) *prop* 238 (now and then).

- que.* q with horizontal cross-stroke 245 (but usually the common symbol).
- qui.* (1) q with suprascript *i* 238, 245 (the *i* has apostrophe-form).
 (2) q with the S-mark (a ligature of *ui*) 245, 1547 (fol. 3^r *quia*).
- quod.* qd (never the Insular symbol).
- quoniam.* (1) qm 169, 238, 869, 1547. Clearly the predominant Lorsch symbol of this word.
 (2) qnm 169 (fol. 94^r), 869 (fol. 6^v).
 (3) quo 245, 869 (fol. 5^v).
- quoque.* qq 238.
- sicut.* sic 238, 245.
- sunt.* (1) s 169, 238, 245.
 (2) st 1547 (fol. 6^r).
- vel.* ul 245.
- con.* c 238, 245.
- um.* 'rum' r with cross stroke through arm 238, 245, 966, 1547. With the cursive 8-form of this cross-stroke 169 (fol. 59^r *illorum*, at end of line).
 'dum' d with cross-stroke 1547 (fol. 5^r *dicendum*).
- us.* 'mus' (1) m with vertical stroke through extended tail 169, 238, 245. With the cursive 8-form of this symbol 245, 1547.
 (2) m, n with apostrophe 245 (fol. 2^v, fol. 92^v).
- 'bus' (1) the usual symbols.
 (2) b with cross-stroke 1547.

Finally (though critics may cavil) rough details of the abbreviation in the Anglosaxon script of Lorsch Library MSS. in my list, with especial reference to the intrusion of Continental symbols:

- autem.* (1) the h-symbol 195 II (usually), 202 (usually), 220 (usually), 177 (rarely; only by the first scribe).
 (2) au 195 II, 202, 220, 829 (fol. 76^v, fol. 110^v). A Continental symbol.
 (4) aut 177, 195 II, 202, 829. A Continental symbol.

The early English symbol at 220 (fol. 32^v *nos autem dilectissimi quantum possumus*) presumably comes from the exemplar.

- dico.* (1) dt 'dicit' 177, 195 II, 202; dr 'dicitur' 177, 202, 220; dx 'dixit' 177, 202; dnt 'dicunt' 202; dnr 'dicuntur' 202.
 (2) dix 'dixit' 220, 177 (fol. 79^r). A Continental symbol.
 (3) dxt 'dixit' 202 (by one scribe, who also uses dx).
- eius.* the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 35) 202.
- enim.* the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 63) 202, 195 II (fol. 82^r).
- esse.* ee.
- est.* (1) the Insular symbol 202, 220, 829 (fol. 56^r).
 (2) e 177, 220, 829 (fol. 75^r).
- et.* the 7-symbol 220, 202 (fol. 72^r *et Spiritus et sanctus*).
- frater.* (1) fr 'frater' 177 (fol. 4^v); frs 'fratres' 202, 220; fri 'fratri' 202 (fol. 106^r); frem 'fratrem' 202 (fol. 105^v); fribus 'fratribus' 202 (fol. 104^r).
 (2) ff 'fratres' 202 (fol. 108^r).
- hic.* the Insular symbol of 'haec' (Not. Lat. p. 98) 202; hs 'huius' 202, 177 (fol. 54^r).
- meus.* ms 177.
- nobis, vobis.* nob 202.
- nou.* n 177, 195 II, 202, 220, 829.
- noster, vester.* nr 'noster' 177, 202, 220; nri, etc. 'nostri', etc. 177, 195 II, 202, 220. Notice nrs 'nostris' 202 (fol. 88^r *in cordibus nostris*; 88^v *a nostris Graecis*). The ni 'nostri' of 220 fol. 67^r (*Redemptoris nostri*) presumably comes from the exemplar.
- nunc.* nc 202, 195 II (fol. 60^v).
- omnis.* (1) oms 'omnes', 177, 202, 220; oma 'omnia' 202.
 (2) omes 'omnes' 220 (fol. 53^v).
- per.* (1) the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 179) 195 II, 202, 220, 829.
 (2) the Continental symbol 177, 202.
- post.* (1) pt 195 II.
 (2) p with suprascript *o* 202.
- prae.* (1) the usual symbol 177, 195 II, 202, 220, 829.

(2) p with apostrophe (i. e. the Continental 'post'-symbol) 177.

We have already seen (s. v. *sunt*, *-runt*) that at Lorsch the apostrophe was sometimes substituted for the suprascript stroke in symbols.

pro. the usual symbol. 177, 195 II, 202, 220. Not abbreviated in 829.

propter. (1) ppt 177, 195 II, 202, 829.

(2) pp 202, 220, 177 (fol. 78^r).

quando. qndo 202 (frequently).

quasi. qsi 177, 202.

que. Nothing noteworthy.

qui. 'quae' the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 208) 202, 220.

'quam' the usual symbol 202, 177 (only at end of line, 15^r, 82^r).

'qui' q with suprascript *i* 202.

'quod' (1) the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. p. 254) 177, 202.

(2) qd 177, 195 II, 202, 220, 829.

quia. the Insular symbol (Not. Lat. 245) 202.

quoniam. quo 177, 195 II, 202, 220.

May we therefore infer that at Lorsch the native symbol was qm and that quo was an English immigrant?

quoque. qq 177, 202.

saeculum. sclm 202, 220.

secundum. scdm 177.

sicut. (1) sic 195 II, 220 (fol. 9^r), 829 (fol. 101^r).

(2) sict 177, 202.

The sc of 202 (fol. 34^r, fol. 36^r, etc.) presumably comes from the exemplar.

sunt. st 195 II, 202, 220, 829.

super. sr 202 (fol. 34^r, fol. 35^r). From the exemplar?

tamen. tn 195 II, 202.

tantum. tm 202.

tempore. temp 177.

tunc. tc 202.

vel. l with cross-stroke 177, 195 II, 202, 220.

vero. u with suprascript *o* 202.

m. Nothing noteworthy.

con. (1) the Insular symbol, a reversed *c* 220.

(2) c 202 (fol. 61^r, at end of line).

en. m 'men' 177, 195 II, 220, 829. This is a Continental symbol.

er. t 'ter' 177, 195 II, 202, 220, 829.

is (cf. *nobis*).

it (cf. *dixit*).

ri. 'pri' p with suprascript *i* 202.

runt. rt 177, 195 II, 202, 220, 829.

um. 'rum' r with stroke above 195 II, 202, 829.

ur. 'tur' (1) the English symbol (Not. Lat. p. 373) 195 II, 202, 829, 177 (fol. 5^r). Notice that the Continental minuscule of 195 I, which admits many Insular symbols (*dnr* 'dicuntur', *dnt* 'dicunt', the 'autem'-symbol, etc.). never admits this.

(2) t with apostrophe 202.

us. 'bus'. Nothing noteworthy.

'mus', 'nus' (1) the German symbols (Not. Lat. p. 384) 202.

(2) m with apostrophe 220.

IX. — Some Usages of the Lorsch Scriptorium.

A. *Omission-marks.* Here are some statistics of the letters used in the Continental script of Lorsch as symbols of omission (in text) and supplement (in margin, — side, upper, lower —, the symbol always preceding the supplement). Let me premise that a small omission is normally marked not by letters, but by an oblique line (rising from left to right) with a dot on each side. Indeed longer omissions too are often marked so, e. g. 175, 198 (now and then), 284, 285, 290, 814, 1753.

(1) *h d* in text and in margin 169, 238, 200, 201, 822.

A long supplement in 188 (fol. 18^r) is dignified with the fuller *haec deest*.

(2) *d h* in text and *h d* in margin 188, 814, 1753.

(3) *d h* in text and in margin 188, 814.

- (4) *h d* in text and *h p* in margin 169, 1547. Notice that these are eighth-century MSS.
- (5) *h d* in text and *d h* in margin 238, 195 I, 266.
- (6) *d* in text and *h* in margin 238, 188, 249, 814. This is English usage.
- (7) *d h* in text and *h* in margin 238
- (8) *h d* in text and *h* in margin 1341.
- (9) *d* in text and in margin 814.
- (10) *h* in text and in margin 285, 1753.
- (11) *h l* in text and in margin 266, 1341.
- (12) *h d* in text and *h l* in margin 169, 175, 195 I, 198 (very frequent), 201, 246, 249, 266, 284, 285, 290, 485, 1341.

What a variety (though the last is — in the early ninth century, at least — the Lorsch usage par excellence)! Evidently such rigid uniformity was not imposed at the Lorsch scriptorium as — let us say — at the Monte Cassino scriptorium in Desiderius' time. And one gets the same impression of freedom, or laxity, or tolerance of individual preference, or whatever other phrase suits best, from the very script of Lorsch at its zenith of learning and activity, in Adalung's abbacy. (Notice the excellence of the Latin verses quoted above). Though one who handles the various MSS. may have little doubt that their letters, as well as their vellum and general appearance, proclaim Lorsch provenance, yet he must confess that the script shews a certain amount of variety of type and must be prepared for a reader's doubt: How can you venture to claim this script for Lorsch rather than for Mayence or Fulda or for any other German scriptorium? It is fortunate that there is the *h l* omission-mark to fall back on. That is the best criterion of Lorsch products.

I must beg to be excused from an attempt to describe the letter-forms of Lorsch ninth-century Continental script. I do not believe in the utility of such attempts. The tedious sentences which accompany the plates in this or that palaeographical publication bring no clear picture to the mind (at least, to my mind) and serve only to shew the inadequacy of language (at least, the describer's language) as a substitute

for things. A single photograph (in natural size) tells more than a dozen pages of description.

But let me record my admiration for what I would almost call (par excellence) the calligraphic Lorsch minuscule of Adalung's time, I mean the script exhibited in the plate from Pal. lat. 1753 which accompanies my article in *Classical Philology* XI 270. It is a free, uncramped, rounded type; and the letter in it which always catches my eye is the *p*, with a sweeping curve which suggests to me the 'pout' of a pouter-pigeon (I call this form of the letter 'pouter-pigeon *p*'). And the scribe of this elegant minuscule (he has written the greater part of the MS.) was no mean scholar, if I am right in supposing him to be the author (as the majuscule addition suggests) of the epitaph (fol. 116^v) on his teacher Dombercht, an Englishman and favourite pupil of St Boniface. The full poem is printed (but wrongly dated) by Duemmler in *Mon. Germ. Poetae* I 19. (It begins: *Funereo textu scribuntur facta priorum*). I quote parts here:

Hic iacet egregius nivea sub mole sacerdos
 Qui meritis caeli vivit in arce suis,
 Eloquio fulgens sacro cognomine dictus
 Dombercht qui mundi clara lucerna fuit
 Grammaticae studio, metrorum legibus aptus
 Plurima percutiens funere corda suo.

Artibus et meritis fulgens Bonifatius almus
 Pro Christo gladiis qui sua membra dedit,
 Hunc magno studio docuit nutrit amavit
 Complens quod sonuit vatis in ore pium.
 Francorum ad patriam tremulas venere per undas
 Anglorum pelagi germine de nitido.

At the end the scribe has written in uncials: *ROGO TE DOMINE PATER UT EMENDAS (sic) ET CORRIGAS*. Was it Dombercht, this world-famed authority on Latin Grammar and Verse-composition, who brought to Lorsch the uncial texts of the grammarians transcribed in Pal. lat. 1753, etc.? At any rate, we are reminded of the debt the Lorsch library and the Lorsch college (not to mention the Lorsch scriptorium) owed to English missionaries. Duemmler (p. 21. c.) suggests identification with Tumbert, abbot of Glastombury 744 A. D.

The same type (with 'pouter-pigeon *p*') appears in Pal. lat. 1746 (a great part), 188, 195, etc., MSS. in some (not all) of which we may recognize the handiwork of Dombercht's pupil. Also, but in smaller size (the size of the Anglosaxon minuscule of plate xii), on foll. 58^v-62 of Paris lat. 16668. (The Vatican Collection of Negatives has the negative of fol. 58^v, so that anyone who wishes can procure a photograph by applying to the Prefect of the Vatican Library).

B. *Quire-marks*. Normally numerals are used. But often (majuscule letters): 175, 200, 284, 920, 1746. In 814 (fol. 22^v) Q (with suprascript stroke, i. e. quaternio) C .III.. The quire-mark stands occasionally on the first (not the last) page of the quire: 201, 245, 285 (by the second scribe), 290 II (usually), 920. A curious feature of the Ambrose MS. 169 is the use of the letters of AMPROSIUS, e. g. (16^v) M .II., (24^v) B .III., (32^v) R .III., (48^v) S .VI..

C. *Shelf-marks*. I did not find any (early) shelf-mark in the Lorsch MSS. mentioned above. It is true that most of them have lost their fly-leaves, and the fly-leaves retained by the few are often too browned to be legible, often covered with later scrawls and 'probationes pennae'. Still, if shelf-marking had been practised, it would probably have left some trace of itself. In this connexion I may mention an entry (of the ninth or tenth century) in Pal. lat. 249. For it refers to a MS. not by this or that shelf-mark but by its place in the catalogue. The MS. contains the concluding portion of Gregory's *Moralia* and the entry (on the recto of the fly-leaf) is:

iste liber post sextum scribi debet quia pars est ultima.

In the first catalogue in Pal. lat. 1877 there is a correction to the same effect. For in the Gregory section, after the item:

Sexta quae et ultima continet libros quattuor

a subsequent hand adds the item:

Septima que et ultima continet libros quattuor.

Since the second catalogue in Pal. lat. 1877 exhibits the section in the erroneous form without correction of the error, we may assume that the official catalogue was the first (not the second) catalogue in Pal. lat. 1877.

D. *Title*. Adalung's scribes began the text on fol. 2^r and assigned fol. 1^v (i. e. the inside of the fly-leaf or rather cover) to the title. In the present numeration of the leaves this page is sometimes so numbered; but sometimes the numeration of the leaves does not begin till the next page, and this page must then be described as the verso of the fly-leaf (feuille de garde) not of 'fol. 1'. Here are statistics (Most MSS. have lost this leaf):

57 (leaf lost), 169 (title in black on fol. 1^v), 172 (leaf lost), 175 (title in black on fol. 1^v), 177 (none), 178 (none, or leaf lost), 188 (none), 195 (leaf lost), 198 (title on fol. 1^v), 200 (index on fol. 1^r), 201 (title in red on fol. 1^v), 202 (leaf lost? index on fol. 1^r), 220 (picture of Our Lord on verso of fly-leaf), 236 (leaf lost?), 241 (Vita and title on fol. 1^v), 243 (leaf lost), 245 (leaf lost), 246 (title in red on fol. 1^v), 249 (on fol. 1^v there is an 'ex libris' entry, and it is possible that the title has been erased), 266 (leaf lost), 276 (none), 284 (title in black on verso of fly-leaf), 285 (none), 290 I (title in black on verso of fly-leaf), 485 (leaf lost), 814 (none), 822 (leaf lost), 829 (title in red and black on verso of fly-leaf), 833 (leaf lost), 920 (contemporary 'ex libris' entry in rustic capitals on fol. 1^v), 966 (the text begins on fol. 1^v), 1341 (fol. 1^v contains Theotroch's report on the Fulda Mass; see above), 1547 (the text begins on fol. 1^v), 1578 (title in red and black on fol. 1^v), 1588 (leaf lost), 1719 (the text begins on verso), 1746 (leaf lost), 1753 (leaf lost), 1773 (leaf removed presumably when foll. 1-21 — a treatise written on a smaller size of leaves — were prefixed to the original work), 1877 (none).

E. *Explicit*. Normally Explicit. (Presumably the Finit of 822, etc.; comes from the exemplar).

F. *Require*. Either *R* or *r*, with stroke through the limb, e. g. 814, 966.

G. *Greek Words*. In uncial characters, with a horizontal stroke above the word.

H. *Deletion*. Notice the English usage of a triangle of dots over the syllable to be deleted in 822. (Another English usage is the surrounding of initials by red dots, e. g. 814 often, 1773 initial *D*).

I. *Punctuation*. Only the dot in the ninth century is normal. The additional punctuation seems due to a later corrector, except perhaps the interrogation-sign (corkscrew form) in 198, 238, 285, etc.

THE FARFA TYPE.

BY W. M. LINDSAY.

After Giorgi's paper (on some MSS. of the Liber Pontificalis) in 1897 (Archivio Società Romana di Storia Patria, vol. XX, p. 247) the name of 'the Farfa type' has been given to an Italian minuscule which reached its full development in the eleventh century. Giorgi cites as examples of this type some MSS. from the scriptorium of Farfa, a Benedictine monastery about 20 miles N. (or N. N. E.) of Rome. The three plates (xiii-xv) which illustrate this article of mine will shew, better than any laborious description, what the type is; and I hope that every librarian who has MSS. of this sort in his library will let me know. For a full knowledge of this important variety of Italian minuscule a list of all the extant specimens is the first thing required. Do not let us waste time in disputing about the name. 'The Farfa type' will do very well for a label. It is the name associated with this type since 1897 and does not imply that the script was current only at Farfa and at no other scriptorium, nor even that it was invented there. So far as is known at present, it was the script of Rome and all the Roman region.

Here let me digress and appeal to palaeographers to use the same names for the same things. Some years ago I brought to notice (in the *Revue des Bibliothèques* XXIV 15) an eighth century script of which five specimens were then known. Two of the five came from the Laon Cathedral-library, and the best name I could devise was 'the Laon az-type', since one prominent feature was an angular *a* and another a unicornhorned *z*. Two photographs accompanied my article, so that everyone might understand exactly what the script was; and the *z*-form has been exhibited in *Palae. Lat.* I, pl. I, n^o. 81. Yet, in the last twelve months three palaeographers have written about this script and have not given it its baptismal name. One has written 'the a-type',

another 'the North-French az-type', another 'the Laon type'. How is the unfortunate reader to know that all three are writing about one and the same thing? Palaeography will never progress unless we are loyal to nomenclature.

To return from this digression, I would try to excuse the inexcusable error in my *Notae Latinae* (p. 479, etc.) "Farfa in Umbria", instead of "Farfa near Rome", by the plea that I was misled by Chevalier's "Farfa, près Spolète (Ombrie), abbaye de Bénédictins fondée VI^e. s., restaur. 715".

The librarian of the Vallicelliana, to which library belong the MSS. represented in the three plates (pl. xiii, pl. xiv, pl. xv) which accompany this article, tells me that nothing is known of the provenance of the first MS. (Vallicell. B 10 Bible; but foll. 1-95 shew a different minuscule), and that Trisulti has been tentatively named for the second (Vallicell. B 23 Missal). The third (Vallicell. B 24; but foll. 118-200 are a later addition) is the famous Subiaco Missal of the year 1075. (Subiaco is about 25 miles East of Rome).

South Italian script has received full treatment in Loew 'Beneventan Script' (Oxford, 1914); to which Novak 'Scriptura Beneventana' (Zagreb, 1920) makes a useful supplement, tracing the spread of the Beneventan type in the regions East of the Adriatic. But neither Lowe nor Novak tell us much about the ordinary minuscule which competed there (and in the Southern half of the Italian peninsula) with the Beneventan. Did the Farfa type (like the Beneventan) cross the sea? The question has some interest for classical scholars. For our one and only MS. (now at Naples) of Festus 'de Verborum significatu' has the Farfa-type and was, according to one of its earliest editors, 'liber advectus, ut ferunt, ex Illyrico'. (It has been reproduced in facsimile by Thewrewk de Ponor, Budapest, 1893). In *Class. Quart.* X [1916] 106 I adduce evidence of a MS. of Festus at Ceneda in N. Italy when Grausus was bishop there (c. 1000 A. D.).

Will not some Italian palaeographer provide us with a book on Central Italian script (or scripts) like Lowe's book? The first thing to be done is to collect as full a list of Farfa-type MSS. as Lowe collected of MSS. in Beneventan minuscule. That, I repeat, is the purpose of these three plates,

to enable librarians to report the presence of this type in their library. Another plate (of Vat. lat. 3833) will be found in Ehrle and Liebaert 'Specimina' (pl. 35). Others (of Vat. lat. 4770) have just been published in part I of Carusi and de Bartholomaeis 'Monumenti Paleografici degli Abruzzi' (Rome, 1924; pl. x-xi) I hope that the New Palaeographical Society will let us have one of Eton 124. And we may look for a continuation of the *Monumenti Paleografici di Roma* for additional specimens; for, naturally, this type has great interest for Roman palaeographers, and both it and its various homes have received much attention in the last few years in Italian journals. Since however these publications (of the Roman Historical Society, etc.) may not be accessible to some of my readers, I have asked Mgr. Carusi to write a summary of what is now known of Farfa and Subiaco, as writing-centres. And so I quit the stage and give place to him.

CENNI STORICI SULL'ABBAZIA DI FARFA

PER E. CARUSI.

Dopo i lavori del Balzani e del Giorgi ⁽¹⁾ e dopo gli studi più ampi dello Schuster ⁽²⁾ si può dire che sappiamo tutto quanto è possibile conoscere intorno all'abbazia di Farfa.

Del suo primo fondatore, S. Lorenzo Siro, vissuto ai tempi di Giuliano l'apostata, e di sua sorella Susanna abbiamo notizie molto vaghe e incerte.

Il monastero distrutto dai barbari, forse ai tempi di Genserico, o piuttosto dai Longobardi, fu, verso la fine del sec. VII penosamente identificato, non senza l'aiuto divino, come narra la leggenda, dal savoiardo Tommaso di Morienna, che reduce con alcuni compagni dalla Terra santa, persuaso da visioni e apparizioni a rimanere in Sabina, rintracciò l'abbandonata basilica dedicata alla Vergine, presso il colle Acuziano, ai tre cipressi, e ivi protetto da Faroaldo II, duca di Spoleto, riprese l'opera di Lorenzo Siro, instaurando un cenobio sotto la regola di S. Benedetto.

La storia della badia dalle origini al IX sec. (an. 857) ci è narrata dal *Libellus Constructionis Farfensis*, pervenuto monco in un tardo lezionario del sec. XI.

In questo periodo i contatti con la coltura oltramontana si dimostrano dalla serie di abati franchi fino a Ilderico; prin-

⁽¹⁾ *Il Regesto di Farfa e le altre opere di Gregorio di Catino* in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia patria* vol. II (1879) pp. 409 sgg. L'opera di Gregorio di Catino è pubblicata nella *Biblioteca della Società Romana di Storia Patria* voll. 6; *Biografie Farfensi di Papi del X e dell'XI secolo* in *Archivio* cit. vol. 30, pp. 513 sgg.; e *Ancora delle biografie Farfensi di papi del X e dell'XI secolo*, ibid. vol. 44, pp. 257 sgg. Per le caratteristiche della scrittura Farfense vedansi *Appunti intorno ad alcuni manoscritti del Liber pontificalis* ibid. vol. XX (1897), p. 248 sgg.

⁽²⁾ *L'imperiale abbazia di Farfa. Contributo alla storia del ducato romano nel medio evo*. Roma, 1921 e anche *Reliquie d'arte nella Badia imperiale di Farfa* in *Arch. della R. Società Romana di storia patria* vol. XXXIV (1911) pp. 269 sgg.; altre op. cit. passim.

cipale fra questi l'amico di re Desiderio l'abate Alano (an. 761-769), che *inter alia bonae operationis exercitia multos etiam mirifice exaravit codices* ⁽¹⁾.

A lui successe, dopo il breve governo del rude e intruso anglosassone Guiberto, il Sabinese Probatò (772-779) alunno della « schola cantorum » Lateranense, e però a contatto intimo con la coltura romana ⁽²⁾.

In questo primo periodo della vita del monastero larghi furono gli aiuti dei re longobardi e franchi, a cui premeva senza dubbio avere un centro ecclesiastico a loro favorevole, non lontano da Roma ⁽³⁾, sicché lo sviluppo fu considerevole: da Farfa dipendeva, negli inizi almeno, anche l'abbazia di S. Vincenzo al Volturno, e numerose furono le donazioni di beni nei territori limitrofi di Sabina, Umbria e Abruzzi, e nel più lontano Piceno. Cresciute a magnificenza la chiesa e l'abbazia, questa ospitò papi, re, imperatori, mentre i duchi di Spoleto largheggiavano in offerte.

L'invasione saracena nel sec. IX fu inizio di danni e dispersioni considerevoli: l'abate Pietro I fu costretto a cedere di fronte alle minacce continue, sicché, avendo stabilito di abbandonare quel luogo, verso i primi mesi dell'898 divise i suoi monaci in tre schiere col relativo tesoro, una delle quali si diresse a Roma, l'altra a Rieti e la terza, con lui a capo, nel comitato Fermano. Ma neppure qui fu lasciato libero dai Saraceni, che avevano distrutta Farfa; si rifugiò quindi sul Matenano, dal monastero dei SS. Ippolito e Giovanni, e ivi morì nel 919.

Intorno alle vicende fortunate di questo periodo c'informa l'abate Ugo che narrò gli avvenimenti dei secoli IX, X e XI nella sua *Destructio*. Da essa sappiamo la storia delle ignominie dei monaci e abati Campone e Ildebrando, dei tentativi

⁽¹⁾ Cf. A. RATTI, *L'omeliario detto di Carlo Magno e l'omeliario di Alano di Farfa* in *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere* S. II, vol. 33 (1900) pp. 481 sgg.

⁽²⁾ SCHUSTER, *Storia del monastero* etc. p. 48, n. 2, dove si cita dalla *Constructio* la testimonianza su Probatò: *maxime vero sanctae romanae ecclesiae cantu a pueritia plene imbutus*.

⁽³⁾ U. BALZANI nella Prefazione al *Regesto di Farfa* vol. I (an. 1914) p. X-XI. Tranne il breve dominio di Adriano I, Farfa fu considerata sempre abbazia imperiale.

di riforma di Oddone di Cluny, e della serie di avvelenamenti e di miserie morali che afflissero Farfa, finché non salì sul seggio abbaziale Ugo, adoperando un mezzo non lodevole di simonia, che formò per lui continuo assillo di rimorso. Egli fu dotato di non comune energia e si mostrò deciso a ricondurre il suo monastero sulla via delle riforme. Aiutato da Odilone di Cluny si accinse a rinnovare la vita rilasciata dei suoi monaci; con grande energia riordinò il patrimonio, sostenendo lotte vivaci e adoperando mezzi molto persuasivi, quando ne sperava successo. Con lui Farfa risale all'apogeo della gloria, e l'opera letteraria sua si mostra non solo con la *Destructio*, ma anche nella singolare opera del *Querimonium*, dove si vede tutta l'anima battagliera di Ugo e, accanto a questa, la speciale sua attitudine a tessere la storia dei suoi tempi.

Ad Ugo, che morì nel 1039, successe Berardo I, il quale ebbe un lungo governo, e afforzò quella scuola da cui doveva uscire il principale storico farfense: Gregorio di Catino. Costui riassunse e continuò l'opera di Ugo, e nei poderosi volumi del *Regesto* mise insieme tutti i documenti creati con fatica e sacrifici dal grande abate; sicché, avvalendosi delle fonti monastiche precedenti, egli poté elevare su basi solide l'edificio meraviglioso della storia antica di Farfa e dei suoi tempi (1).

Oltre questa opera, Gregorio compilò il volume del *Largitorius* (2) o libro di concessioni fatte dal monastero, il *Chronicon Farfense* (3) e il *Floriger chartarum*, a cui pose mano vecchio ormai settantenne. In tutti questi scritti è singolare la sua cultura letteraria e il senso storico e giuridico, che mostra nella narrazione di fatti e nell'apprezzamento di questioni che ai suoi tempi agitavano fortemente gli spiriti. Si era allora nel pieno periodo della lotta per le investiture, e Farfa inclinava di più al partito imperiale, sicché a Gregorio di Catino si attribuisce pure l'opuscolo intitolato *Orthodoxia*

(1) V. *Il Regesto*, ed. cit.

(2) Ed. da G. ZUCCHETTI fra i *Regesta chartarum Italiae* promossi dall'Istituto storico italiano e dall'Istituto storico prussiano.

(3) Ed. da U. BALZANI in due vol. nelle *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* dell'Istituto storico italiano, 1903.

defensio imperialis, che al Balzani sembra piuttosto opera di un imitatore di Gregorio di Catino (1).

Malgrado la tendenza imperialista, Farfa non fece causa comune con gli antipapi; si accostò all'opera dei Cassinesi guidati dall'abate Desiderio, e cercò di allontanarsi dalle gravi colpe simoniache che inquinavano in quei tempi le corti.

Non è il caso di addentrarsi nelle vicende dell'abazia nei secoli XI e XII, or tristi sì da rinnovare le atrocità del sec. X, or liete da sollevare lo spirito in sfere di santità.

Allontanatisi dal comune di Roma, per liti territoriali contro i signorotti della città eterna, e soprattutto contro i Crescenzi, i monaci Farfensi si accostarono allo scismatico imperatore Enrico V; videro prigioniero nei loro possedimenti Pasquale II; ma tornarono con l'abate Adinolfo II alla causa Romana, ed ebbero cordiali fraterni rapporti con papa Eugenio III, con i Cisterciensi e con S. Bernardo, sì che il beato Gerardo di Farfa passò a Chiaravalle i suoi ultimi giorni.

Nel sec. XIII la decadenza si accentuò, i tentativi di riforma promossi da Gregorio IX fallirono; i monaci si videro devastati i loro territori dalle soldatesche imperiali di Enzo; deboli abati ne governarono le sorti e unica benemeranza è l'aiuto prestato al nuovo ordine dei mendicanti

Nel secolo successivo l'abazia divenne una commenda di nipoti dei papi; vi spadroneggiarono gli Orsini, vi ebbero influenza i monaci tedeschi di Subiaco, sostituiti dai monaci Cassinesi o di S. Giustina di Padova, finché attraverso il governo di commendatori, quali Cosimo Orsini dei Migliorati, Francesco Barberini e ultimo il Card. Luigi Lambruschini. Benedetto XV nel 1919 approvò l'unione dell'abazia di Farfa con quella di S. Paolo di Roma, decretata dall'abate Schuster, quello stesso che con tanto amore ha seguito attraverso i secoli l'origine e lo sviluppo di questa grande storica abazia.

* * *

Dell'archivio Farfense ha dato notizie il Kehr (2).

Ma oltre alle pergamene, codici numerosi e riccamente

(1) Prefazione al *Regesto* cit., p. XXVII.

(2) *Italia Pontificia* vol. I Roma nei *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, Berlino 1906, p. 57 sgg.

preparati uscirono dalla scuola scrittoria di Farfa, per cui non poca influenza si ebbe pure sulla scuola sublacense: frate Guittone⁽¹⁾ infatti dichiara di essere stato « eruditus vel enutritus... in venerabili monasterio sancte Dei genitricis Marie, quod ponitur in Farfa ».

Lo Schuster⁽²⁾ determina l'ubicazione della « Schola » e dello « scriptorium » nella sontuosa badia del sec. X, e dà notizie di quella Biblioteca monastica. Di Alano sappiamo che fece esemplare codici meravigliosi; l'abate Benedetto durante il IX sec. fu largo nel fornire la biblioteca di codici⁽³⁾; di un libro « qui appellatur comes » parla il Largitorio⁽⁴⁾. Tra i manoscritti tolti dal monaco Ildebrando nel 939 si ricordano « libros coopertos argento et deauratos IIII^{or} », e poi libri commentari sulla Genesi e sugli evangelisti, una storia dei Longobardi, una Cena di Cipriano ecc.⁽⁵⁾. La biblioteca dell'abate Ugo dovette essere molto ricca, a giudicare dalle citazioni bibliografiche delle sue opere. L'abate Almerico « ornamenta « et librorum volumina in hoc monasterio studiosissime auxit »... « Fertur enim quod artis grammaticae et scripturae divinae « libros quadraginta duos maiores minoresve hic accumulare « curavit »⁽⁶⁾.

Ma i codici ora dispersi un po' dappertutto sono, a volte, ricordati dagli autori che li hanno consultati.

Per comodità dello studioso riportiamo dallo Schuster⁽⁷⁾ il catalogo della vecchia biblioteca, come egli l'ha potuto ricostruire:

A. AUTPERTI - *Vita Tasonis, Tatonis et Paldonis* (M. G. SS. XI, 522 sgg.).

Regula S. Benedicti (*Destructio Farfensis* I, 50).

Constructio Farfensis (*Destructio Farfensis* I, 27).

⁽¹⁾ V. I. GIORGI, *Prefazione al Regesta di Farfa* p. XXXII, il sacramentario di Guittone è conservato nella Vallicelliana sotto la segnatura B. 24.

⁽²⁾ *Reliquie d'arte nella badia di Farfa*, nell'*Archivio della R. Società, Romana di storia patria*, vol. XXXIV (1911) p. 304 sgg.

⁽³⁾ SCHUSTER, *L'imperiale abbazia* ed. dal *Chronicon Farfense* I, 21.

⁽⁴⁾ Ed. cit. p. 138.

⁽⁵⁾ *Regesto* cit. vol. III, 84.

⁽⁶⁾ SCHUSTER, *Reliquie d'arte* etc. cit. dal *Chronicon Farfense* II, 118.

⁽⁷⁾ *Reliquie* etc. I. c., pp. 306 e 307, n. 1.

HUGONIS ABBATIS - *Destructio Farfensis* (op. cit. I, 20).

Eiusdem - *Exceptio Relationum de imminutione Monasterii* (Chron. Farf. I, 61).

Eiusdem - *Quaerimonium ad Imperatorem de castro Tribuco* (Chron. Farf. I, 73).

Eiusdem - *Relatio Constitutionis* (Chron. Farf. I, 55, 58).

HUGONIS ABBATIS (?) - *Sermo de S. Laurentio* (Chron. Farf. I, 19 sgg.).

GREGORII CATINENSIS - *Registrum gemniagraphum* (M. G. SS. XI, 548 sgg.).

Eiusdem - *Chron. Farfense* (M. G. SS. XI, 548 sgg.).

Eiusdem - *Largitorium Farfense* (M. G. SS. XI, 548 sgg.).

Eiusdem - *Floriger* (M. G. SS. XI, 548 sgg.).

Orthodoxa defensio imperialis (M. G. SS. XI, 548 sgg.).

BERALDI (III) *abbatis liber* (cf. K. HEINZELMANN *Die Farfenser Streitschriften. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites*, Strassburg 1904).

Super Genesim, libri duo (Chron. Farf. I, 325).

Scintillarem unum (loc. cit.).

Super Lucam (loc. cit.).

Super Iohannem (loc. cit.).

Historia Longobardorum (loc. cit.).

Coena Cipriani, librum unum (loc. cit.).

De Civitate Dei (loc. cit.).

Historiarum librum unum (loc. cit.).

Antiphonarium unum (loc. cit.).

Dicta patrum (loc. cit.).

Missalem maiorem cum tabulis argenteis (op. cit. II, 310).

Missale domni Oddonis (M. G. SS. XI, 578).

Textus Evangelii reginae Agnetis (M. G. SS. XI, 578).

Cottidianum Evangelistarium (loc. cit.).

Textus Evangelii, libri III (loc. cit.).

Epistolaria II (loc. cit.).

Orationale (loc. cit.).

Psalteria (loc. cit.).

Priscianum valde bonum (loc. cit.).

Nocturnale perfectum (loc. cit.).

Super Isaiam mirificum (loc. cit.).

Super Ezechielem (loc. cit.).

Ovidium (loc. cit.).

Liber comes valens solidos XXX (Chron. Farf. I, 322-3).

Liber Pontificalis (Chron. Farf. II, 234 sgg.).

Inoltre, omettendo i codici Farfensi conservati come fondo a parte nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, ricordiamo soltanto alcuni dei principali manoscritti segnalati dallo Schuster (*Reliquie d'arte* etc. loc. cit., p. 307, n. 1) e dal Giorgi, come esistenti in varie biblioteche, e precisamente:

- I. — 1. Cod. Vaticano lat. 296, sec. XII. Frammenti del *Liber pontificalis* in appendice alle opere di S. Ambrogio e di altri padri (cf. GIORGI *Appunti* etc. l. c. p. 273). I frammenti sono conservati ora nel Cod. Vat. 10935.
2. Cod. Vat. lat. 766. Frammenti del *Liber Pontificalis* di scrittura farfense o sublacense del sec. X-XI (cf. GIORGI, op. cit. 275). I frammenti sono ora nel Cod. Vat. lat. 10935).
3. Cod. Vat. lat. 3761. Sec. X-XI. *Liber pontificalis* (cf. GIORGI op. cit., p. 261).
4. Cod. Vat. lat. 3764. Sec. XI-XII. *Liber pontificalis* (cf. GIORGI op. cit. p. 366 sgg.).
5. Cod. Vat. lat. 6808. Sec. XI-XII. Miscellanea di varie opere; fra cui: Guido, monaco farfense, *Perfectus usus sive ordo ad ornandam ecclesiam*.
6. Cod. Vat. lat. 8487. Sec. XI. Regesto di Farfa.
7. Cod. Vat. Palat. 1811. Miscellanea descritta dal GIORGI op. cit., p. 276. I frammenti del *Liber pontificalis* sono ora nel Cod. Vat. 10935.
8. Cod. Vat. Chigiano A. V. 141. Sec. XI. Dialoghi di S. Gregorio.
9. Cod. Vat. Chigiano. A. VI. 164. Sec. XI. Evangeli e collezioni canoniche.
10. Cod. Vat. Chigiano. A. VI. 177. Sec. XI. Breviario monastico.
- II. — Bibl. Casanatense. Cod. 2010. Sec. XI. Canonici e frammenti del *Liber pontificalis* (cf. GIORGI op. e l. cit., p. 278 sgg.).

- III. — Bibl. Alessandrina. Cod. 234. *Diurnale monasticum* del sec. XIV ex., cf. E. NARDUCCI, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter orientales qui in bibl. Alexandrina Romae asservantur*, Romae 1877.
- IV. — Bibl. Comunale di Assisi n. 227 (cf. GIORGI *Biografie Farfensi* loc. cit. p. 516 n. 2),
- V. — Napoli. Bibl. Nazionale. Cod. Farnesiano IV. A. 3 (cf. LINDSAY *Sexti Pompei Festi De verborum significatione quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome*. Lipsiae, Teubner, 1913).
- VI. — Inghilterra. Eton College. Cod. 124 (cf. GRISAR *Die alte Peterskirche zu Rom in Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde*, IX, 237).
- VII. — Svizzera. Zurigo. Cod. 82. Sec. XI. Breviario monastico.

Altri codici riguardanti Farfa e la sua storia, di data recente, sono indicati dallo Schuster *Frammenti* loc. cit.

CENNI STORICI SUI MONASTERI SUBLACENSIS (1).

PER E. CARUSI.

Sul monte roccioso di Subiaco sovrastante una vallata incantevole ricca di acque e di selve s. Benedetto fermò la sua dimora prima ancora di portare a Montecassino il suo ardore di vita cristiana. Egli volle cambiare in santa la turpe vallata Neroniana, ma lo spirito del tiranno romano vi aleggiava ancora, se vogliamo prestar fede alla leggenda del prete Florenzio, nemico del santo.

Dopo s. Benedetto un altro santo resse le sorti dell'abazia, s. Onorato, come pare attestino le lettere di s. Gregorio I.

Ma vaghe e incerte notizie si susseguono; sappiamo così che il monastero o i monasteri benedettini sorti a Subiaco furono distrutti e invasi a riprese dalle orde dei Longobardi, dei Saraceni (an. 846), finché l'abate Pietro (an. 852) restaurò il monastero.

Si hanno allora dal *Liber pontificalis*, fra le altre fonti, notizie più precise sulle chiese del Sacro Speco e dei ss. Benedetto e Scolastica, la futura Badia, erette entrambi su altre più antiche.

Bisogna arrivare al sec. X per avere informazioni particolareggiate sul governo dell'abate Leone II, il grande amico di Teofilatto, quando cominciò la magnificenza vera di Subiaco, sotto la protezione di Giovanni X. Alberico, il grande senatore di Roma, ne accrebbe le ricchezze, e a sua istanza nel 936 Leone VII sottoscrisse un lungo diploma di concessioni. I favori di Stefano VIII, di Ugo re d'Italia, di Lotario e di Marozia ricompensano a iosa i danni arrecati dagli Ungari, e quando nel 963 morì Leone « Sanctissimus abbas »,

(1) Vedi *I Monasteri di Subiaco*. I. P. EGIDI, *Notizie storiche*; G. GIOVANNONI, *L'architettura*; F. HERMANIN, *Gli affreschi*. II. V. FEDERICI, *La Biblioteca e l'Archivio*, Roma a cura e spese del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. O. F. KEHR, in *Italia Pontificia*, vol. II, Latium, 1907, pp. 83 sgg.

Subiaco aveva raggiunto un periodo veramente grande di splendore.

A differenza di Farfa, con cui pure ebbe continui rapporti, Subiaco s'immischiò poco o nulla nella vita pubblica; l'abate Giorgio non prese parte attiva nella lotta delle investiture, e malgrado la decadenza religiosa per cui occorsero gli aiuti dei Cluniacensi e di Alberico, Subiaco difesa poi dai Crescenzi, si mantenne in viva ostilità contro i Tuscolani.

In questo tempo l'abate Umberto « natione Francus » parteggia per l'antipapa, ma viene costretto ad obbedienza da Ildebrando; e Desiderio di Montecassino lo scaccia a viva forza nel 1067.

Sotto l'abate Giovanni VII la biblioteca di Subiaco si arricchisce di codici scritti specialmente da Farfensi o educati a quella scuola, tale ad es. quel Guittone, l'opera del quale si ammira nel *Sacramentario* ora codice Vallicelliano B. 24.

Dopo Giovanni VII le lotte contro il vicino comune di Tivoli con l'abate Pietro (+ 1145), più guerriero che frate, la rilasciatezza dei costumi, conseguenza di un periodo vivace di lotte, produssero un decadimento a cui poco giovò l'opera di restaurazione di Innocenzo III. Si ha una sosta nel tempo degli abati Giovanni VIII e Lando, fedeli al papa, anche nei momenti più perigliosi di lotta contro Federico II.

Sotto di lui venne pellegrino a Subiaco, abbellita dall'opera dei Cosmati, s. Francesco d'Assisi; e al tempo di Lando vi si ritirò il vecchio papa Gregorio IX.

Poco dopo, la lotta dei due monasteri Sublacensi, l'attività nefasta degli abati Pelagio e Francesco di casa Caetani, la quale accentua il dissidio contro il comune di Subiaco, produce quel dissolvimento, che rende necessaria l'opera di amministratori apostolici, con cui s'inizia la vera decadenza dei monasteri Sublacensi. A nulla giovano i tentativi di salvataggio fatti dal Cassinese Bartolomeo e dall'abate Giovanni IX che ordinò sui suoi averi un censo per comprar libri, periodo questo di relativa tranquillità e di cultura, quando furono preparati numerosi codici, che forse ammirò Francesco Petrarca nella sua visita al Sacro Speco.

Subiaco sentì fortemente i guasti del terremoto del 1349 e l'opera deleteria dell'abate Pietro, del francese Ademaro,

dell'abate Corrado, che resero necessarie riforme purtroppo sempre passeggero e inefficaci.

L'abate Bartolomeo tentò un rimedio a tanti mali con un'immissione di frati tedeschi, espellendo gl'italiani; ciò favorì la preparazione di un riformatore della vita benedettina dell'Austria meridionale, l'abate Nicola d'Austria o Nicola di Matzen; ma le lotte interne, le ristrettezze finanziarie, malgrado le fusioni di varii monasteri anche romani, quali S. Erasmo sul Celio e S. Teodoro presso Porta Maggiore, affrettarono la rovina, e a nulla valsero le benemerienze del monastero per la restaurazione della potenza della Chiesa così energicamente tentata dal Card. Vitelleschi.

Callisto III nomina abate di Subiaco il fiero cardinale spagnolo G. de Turrecremata, sotto cui vennero a Subiaco i primi stampatori tedeschi Corrado di Pannartz e Arnolfo Schweyneim; a lui succede il cardinale Rodrigo Borgia, e dopo le passeggere e contrastate unioni dei Sublacensi con i Farfensi e i Cassinesi, il sistema della commenda si afferma decisamente, e attraverso insignificanti innovazioni si arriva al 1872, quando i Sublacensi formano una congregazione a parte, sviluppando le peculiari loro energie.

* * *

I manoscritti sublacensi dispersi in varii modi si possono far risalire, per il periodo più antico, al tempo dell'abate Giovanni VII (1068-1120) a cui appartengono il *Regesto*, il *Sacramentario sublacense*, il *Breviario monastico* e il *Salterio di S. Girolamo*.

Catalogi di manoscritti nei secoli XIV-XV, ricordi di donazioni in queste ed altre epoche posteriori sono raccolte dal Federici⁽¹⁾ che dei codici e documenti più numerosi sublacensi dà una sommaria, ma compiuta descrizione.

(1) FEDERICI. p. IV sgg.

COLLECTANEA VARIA

(Continued)

BY W. M. LINDSAY

IV. — Scribes and their Ways.

(Continued from Part II, p. 30).

I. A Satire on a Scribe.

Since (as I learn through Prof. Strecker's kindness), the satirical poem in Vat. Pal. lat. 153 has been, by some misfortune, overlooked in the collection of material for Mon. Germ. Hist., I print it here. The MS. (of "saec. ix ant.") contains Ioannes Constantinopolitanus in Epistolam ad Hebreos and is written by many scribes (of whom the first is the best) in the Tours type of minuscule. The whole MS. has been carefully corrected.

The poem stands on the fly-leaf (fol. 2^r), and has been altered here and there by the (chief) corrector of the MS.

- Hoc correxit opus d(om)ni
 — Iusserat hoc scribi sumptibus ille suis — ; (corr. ipse
 Codicibus multis coram residente magistro (corr. censente
 Rettulit ad priscam multa legendo fidem;
 5 Quod nisi fecisset, mendosum spernere librum
 Quilibet insignis vellet ab arte cito;
 Nam scriptor quidam — nomen ne quaere sodalis —
 Et quae vera capit mox ea falsa facit:
 Permemor ille sui nimium morisque vetusti (corr. Hic memor
 10 Pro quovis vitio sparserat usque decem.
 Quid faceret? corruptus erat per singula codex
 — Is doctis manibus saepe tenendus item — ;
 Plurima raduntur, partem ne trunca manerent,
 Plurima nec fuerant, plurima rursus erant.
 15 Consilio potuit non uno occurrere cunctis:
 Hic trivisse nimis tempora longa vides.
 Ardua praetereo; refugit iactare laborem
 Rite verecundus, maxima quaeque gerit.
 Non retices illum, bis bine quaternio, quanquam

20 Sit modo sollerti pagina versa manu;
 Praeterea parcat citius qui forte movetur
 Pagina quod sordet pumice rasa diu.
 At quicumque legens eadem scribensve probasti
 Dic 'mercedis ei sit, bone Christe, polus;
 Ignoscas etiam Rigulfo sponte precamur (corr. scriptori)
 Nam nunquam melius scripserat ille librum'. (corr. Nam melius nullum)

So Rigulfus was the scribe. And the author of this poem was the corrector of the MS.; and it is the author's own hand which has penned the marginal alterations of this poem. And the MS. was written at the order of — whom? The Prefect of the Vaticana applied a re-agent to the erased ending of the first line, but all that we could see (or seem to see) was a double name ...z f... , and even the final z and the opening f were not free from doubt.

Notes: 3. So the corrector was a young man, still dependent on his *magister*. 6. i. e. quilibet insignis ab arte. 7. The last word is rather Gen. than Voc. 13-14. i. e. deletion is practised by the corrector (1) of torso-sentences, (2) of insertions, (3) of repetitions. The first practice is alarming. If the transcriber ruined a sentence by omitting a part, did the corrector complete the ruin by deleting the rest of the sentence? I did not find any example of this recklessness in this MS. On the contrary, there were many long supplements of omissions.

19. The fourth quire is indeed crowded with corrections, some of them very radical; ex. g. *neque isti pedes sed animae ille quidem meditantes* is corrected to *neque isti bedes tantum sed insuper animae illi quidem ut meditentur*.

J. An old Recipe for Gold and Silver Script.

The Liber Glossarum or Glossarium Ansileubi, that enormous dictionary-encyclopaedia of Charlemagne's time, contains (s. v. Liber) an old recipe for gold script. Perhaps this item comes (as others certainly do) from Isidore's Liber Artium. It is labelled in the MSS. (P = Paris lat. 11529-30, L = Vat. Pal. lat. 1773) with his name.

(LI 158) Libri vocantur a libertate legentium; remotis enim olim ab hoc officio servis, solis tantum liberis studium

legendi dabatur. Scribebantur quoque et libri aureis vel argenteis litteris huiusmodi facta confectione: argenteas litteras facies si <a>eris flos et alumen <a>equis ponderibus in argento contriveris: aureas litteras facies si alumen et <a>eris flos et <a>equo pondere aceto infusum de auro in auro usque ad mellis Attici crassitudinem triti perduxeris. Aereum colorem litteris rebusque alii(s) facies si sal et alumen rotundum <a>equi ponderis in eo vasculo aceto infusum in aeramento teras usque mellis Attici crassitudinem. Hoc etiam ferrum facit.

a liberalitate P. olim om. L. aereamento L.

VII. — Deletion.

We delete a word, syllable or letter nowadays by drawing a stroke through it with our pen, but the ancient practice was deletion by dots (under, above or both) and *expungo* 'I cancel, is as old as Plautus (Cist, 189, etc.). My (desultory) notes on MSS. of our period provide a mass of statistics which hardly seems worth printing here. One or two details may be selected for mention.

A single dot below (or above) is easily overlooked, and this should not be forgotten when we test the claim of one MS. to be a direct transcription from another, especially if the posited exemplar be a corrected MS. It will not do to argue that A cannot be the exemplar of B, since B shares the erroneous reading of most MSS. — let us say — *victa*, whereas A offers the true reading *vita*. If what A really offers is *victa* with a dot of expunction under the *c*, a transcriber might easily overlook the dot.

A triangle of dots was often substituted as more recognizable (or ornamental) than the single dot; and my notes suggest that this was an Insular practice: Book of Armagh (when under, not above, the letter or syllable the triangle has its base uppermost); Wigbald Gospels (red dots; also a red bracket before and after an erroneous passage); Munich 14653 (Anglosaxon script of Ratisbon, "saec. viii"); Basle F III 15 d Consentius (Insular minuscule, "saec. viii"); Vat. Pal. lat. 202 (Anglosaxon, Lorsch, "saec. viii-ix"); Durham

A II 17, part I (e. g. 40^r *quis es* wrongly repeated); Boulogne 64 Augustini Epistolae (Anglosaxon, St Bertin, "saec. viii"; e. g. fol. 5^r).

Our cancelling stroke was however not unknown (e. g. Berne Horace, p. 129; Oxford lat. th. d 3), and I fancy that abbreviation-symbols like (the older) 'quidem' (Notae Latinae p. 251 qd with both letters traversed by an oblique stroke downwards from right to left), 'quam' (ibid. p. 215) 'dicit', etc. (ibid. p. 44), 'respondit', etc. (ibid. p. 274), 'res' (ibid. p. 273), etc., must often have been omitted by transcribers who believed them to be cancelled letters or letter-groups. Probably it was the danger of this confusion which led to the disuse, one after another, of these cross-stroke symbols. The scribe of the Milan (D 268 inf.) Ambrose avoids this danger by making the stroke (horizontal) above, not through, the word (e. g. fol. 15^r *virtutem*, wrongly repeated). But he merely runs into another danger, for he (like other scribes) has precisely the same method of indicating foreign words (cf. Palae. Lat. II p. 19). Similarly in St Petersburg Q XIV 1 (Anglosaxon script, Corbie) a line is sometimes drawn above a cancelled word, as above a foreign word. Sometimes it is drawn in this MS. below the cancelled word (as in Paris 13386, of "saec. viii"; Vat. Pal. lat. 829; Oxford Laud. lat. 92); and this is Ratbert's practice in St Petersburg F I 6.

In the half-uncial Paris 13367 (Corbie) a whole passage is cancelled on fol. 169^v, and the scribe (or contemporary corrector) writes in the margin TRANSI.

S^ci aug^u de trinitate .xviii. libro usque in fine
in uno codice

Lⁱber deabus suis Interrogationes s^ci aug^u de
questionibus fidei. Exemplar fidei s^ci hiero
nimi p^rbri. & symbolum quam composuit
theodorus archiep^s britannie insule. & lib
gregori nazanzoni in uno codice

A^ug^u ad ep^m eutropium & paulu de perfectione
iusticie hominis

I^{tem} eiusdem aduersus quinq; hereses

I^{tem} de libero arbitrio uoluntatis & de uera
religione in uno codice

Lⁱbris s^ci aug^u .iii. de utilitate credendi ad hono
ratum. & de eundem de gratia noui testamenti.
& de natura boni in uno codice

I^{tem} eiusdem de beata uita & de immortalitate
anime in uno codice

E^xcerptio prosperi ex libro de trinitate s^ci aug^u

Lⁱbris .vii. s^ci aug^u de baptismo in uno codice

Eⁱusdem de pastoribus

A^ug^u in libro geneseos contra manicheos

I^{tem} eiusdem de libero arbitrio lib. .ii. de uera religi
one liber .i. in uno codice

S^erho s^ci aug^u in epistolam ad romanos

I^{tem} eiusdem ad consentium lib. .i. & eiusdem
de mendacio lib. .i. in uno codice

S^ci aug^u de agone xpⁱano. & eiusdem ad auge
lium de opere monachorum in uno codice

Item eiusdem de octo questionibus
ex veteri testamento quæstio
In cap. generale iustit. & sic si
nuunt. sed iam arietos in grege
In uno uolum

Sermo sci aug. de euangelica
lectione id est de spū blasphemie.
liber sci fulgentii epi
de p̄dicatione admonimē
filium. Item sermo aug. de eo
quod scriptum est. si peccauerit
inter frater tuus corripe eum
inter te & ipsum & in salomo
ne inueniens oculis cū dolo
congregat hominibus; maesti
ciam quæ autē arguit palā
pacem fac. Item eiusdē
de eodem sermo contra
iudeos. Item sermo de bo
no iudicatis in uno uolum

EXCERPTIO PROSPER

ri ex lib. de trinitate sci
I De unitate patris & filii &
spū sc̄i qui sunt unus & so
lus ac uerus d̄s.

II Quod unigenitus d̄i filius
propt̄ formā sermo mi
nor a patre dicat̄ qui in
formā d̄i æqualis ē patri

III De regno qd̄ patris filius
dicitur traditur us

IIII Quomodo traditur us sit
regnū filius patri

V Quod discretionē intel
legendus sit. nunc æqua
lis patri filius nunc minor

VI De unitate p̄sonæ filii d̄i

& filii hominis siue in gloria
siue in humilitate

VII De his scripturæ locis de quibus
dubium est an p̄t̄ ad s̄ptam
creaturam minorē patre
inducant filiū an uero h̄ octan
tū qd̄ de patre sit doceant

VIII De his qui sp̄m sc̄m non minorē
patre inducant sed tantū qd̄ de

IX Quod clarificatio ⁊ patris sit
quæ sit inter patre & filium
& sp̄m sc̄m nullā differentia
in trinitate significant

X Quomodo intellegendas sit mis
sio siue filii siue spū sc̄i.

XI Quis sit quod nusquā legitur
pater maior spū sc̄o aut spū
sc̄i minor patre

XII De uisione danielis in qua ei
& patris & filii p̄sona appa
ruit specis corporali

XIII De prouidentia d̄i qua uni
uersitas regitur

XIII De opere d̄i quod omnis crea
tura administratur quo
& multa ordini consuetudinis

XV Essentiam ⁊ inseruitur
trinitatis nūquā oculis appa
ruisse mortalium sed p̄ subiectā
sibi creaturā significasse q̄ uoluit

XVI De finibus scientiæ xp̄iane que
quia de caritate oritur
non inflatur

XVII De gratia d̄i qua ei sibi humanā
genus reconciliat ut saluo
tur quod perierat

XVIII De simplo saluatoris qd̄ addit

205 u

dissoluitur ab eis regere uoluit; Tibi siquidem
 cogitans quis possit totius mundi tenere pr
 inapacitū. uolens dē regnatorum ostendere;
 huiusmodi somnium reuelocuit; Uidisti enim
 statuā ualde percerā. cuius caput quidem erat
 aureū humeri uero & brachia argentea.
 Venter autē & femora cerrea. crura pedesq;
 ferreū; Deinde uidisti lapidē de monte
 abruptū cecidisse sup statuā. eaq; pstrac
 tā ^{truisse} conteruisse totā. & nullam eius partē
 integrā relinquisse. Aurū uero & argentum
 & cer plura farinae contritum. & spū uehem
 te flante deceptū atq; dispersum. Lapi
 dem uero creuisse tantum. ita ut omnis terra
 ab eis uideretur impleta. Somniū itaq; qd ui
 disti hoc ē. cuius interpretatio hunc habet modū;
 Caput quidem aureum tē significat. & qui
 ante te Ingente babilonica regnauerunt;
 Duce inquit manus & humeri. Indicant
 qm̄ ad duobus regibus ur̄ possit dē dū princi
 patū; Illorum denuo Alter quidem ab occi
 dente erit destructurus imperium. Similit
 ceracinto. Cuius rursus regnum cessare faciet
 qui ferro uideatur aequalis. Tenebq; om̄a.
 quā ^{siq;} deferrī natura st robustior auro &

curate. sic enim filiarumq: quatenus
 & hebraei iustam imperare moneantur,
 & administrando solido faciare exercitu
 esse praem.

Haec enim raguel monere moyses libere
 excepit. & secundum eius modi dictum fecit non
 elans consilium eius. nec sum faciens illius su-
 asionem. sed ipsam rem eius omni populo
 manifestans. Nam & in lybris suis raguel
 conscripsit huiusmodi praedicta. Opus enim
 esse credens ut omnibus nota faceret ueritatem.

licet soli potuissent perire gloriae quae
 ab aliis in uisita facienda est itaque: quate-
 nus uirtus potuisset moysi & iam & haec uolun-
 tate cognosci sed de his quidem oportuna
 inscriptione alia declarabimus. Moyses
 autem conuocata multitudine ipse quidem admon-
 te sine raux se esse dicebat tamquam doman-
 surus & alia quidam uale percipiens a deo sic
 remeaturus. Illos uero praecipit iuxta montem
 tabernaculi suae ponere euicinatate diuinae

Haec cum dixisset ascendebat in montem **VI**
 sine qui excellens simus est in illis regionibus
 & pro palatium magnitudinis suae & scopu-
 lorum peritatem non solum hominibus; Inaccessi-
 bilis sed & iam qui uideri sine aspectu labore

moyses con-
 uocauit in populo
 centum milia
 & decem milia

Haec tamen septima erit sabbatū nr̄m.
 cuius finis non erit uespere. sed domini
 cus dies. uelut octauus aet̄nis. qui xp̄i re-
 surrectione sanctus est. aet̄nam non so-
 lum sp̄s. uerum & iā corporis p̄ requiem
 p̄figurans. ibi uocabimur & uidebimur.
 & amabimus. & laudabimus. Ecce quod
 erit in fine sine fine. nam quis alius nr̄
 est finis. nisi p̄ uenire ad regnum cuius nul-
 lus est finis. Uideor aut̄ mihi debitum in
 genas huius operis adiuuante dño reddi-
 disse. quib; parū t̄ quib; nimium est. mihi
 ignoscant quib; aut̄ satis est. non mihi
 sed dō mecum gratias congratulantes
 agant. A MEN. EX PL̄ DECIUINTE DI
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DONADIO SERUO

TUO SIDM̄

HABES

ADUIO

REM

compunctionis in uirtutibus efficit ^{nis} omni ^{re} pe
 tur p^recue suggestionis obmutat, Unde
 & sequitur, Et nemo loquebatur ei
 uerbum, uidebant enim dolo nec
 esse uehementē, Si tñ cor uere cit̄ dolo &
 lingua t̄ t̄n̄ nor uigā hā habet̄ cū plene uita &
 q̄tudinis quibz̄ sup̄ uas sua suggestio p̄curra
 tur obdurat, sepe aut̄ si for̄ q̄nor studio t̄ t̄n̄
 uitioy in cōt̄li uas t̄ngimz̄, ipsa diā uigā ad uerū
 uirtutis immutat, Nonnulli ornāq; ut corpore &
 sed hanc d̄rectionis subiciunt in cōt̄li uas t̄ngimz̄
 uasunt, Nonnulli supbia exēpt̄, Sed dū diuine for
 m̄ diuini hūmū inclināt̄, hinc ad deffensionē uisq; se
 in uas celibate aucto t̄ t̄n̄ nor immutat, Nonnulli
 fortitudo castit̄ in t̄ngimz̄, sed dū se & cōt̄li
 pur ep̄bz̄, corpore uas dūnt̄, Unde in quarta q̄r̄
 m̄t̄la p̄c̄m̄ sunt, Inde p̄b̄licis lucris m̄t̄r canit̄,
 Unde & b̄ne h̄rd̄m̄ beatur iob post multa cōtra
 mina hostiā p̄amicis immolat̄, quos t̄ t̄n̄ p̄ cōt̄li
 t̄n̄ione dūnt̄, Hostis p̄t̄lit̄, quid op̄t̄ficiū
 ciuit̄ redit̄ q̄sa dū uigōr̄ quibz̄; Cogit̄ q̄one subigēdo
 in uisq; uas t̄n̄, t̄ t̄n̄ p̄t̄ q̄onū ad uisq; studiū apl̄n̄ d̄ctionis
 hostiā quibz̄ ad m̄t̄oy cor d̄p̄mutat̄, h̄ t̄n̄ or̄ m̄t̄bz̄, uel
 m̄t̄bz̄; apl̄icē d̄t̄t̄ quibz̄ sufficit̄ sup̄ronāq; op̄bz̄ huius for
 do uelut̄ imolētiā uas, uel uas linguā d̄t̄t̄, ut
 q̄r̄ r̄c̄n̄ p̄ modū p̄t̄ singula se pedim̄ l̄olap̄ d̄c̄m̄, ut.

EXPLICIT
 TERTIUS

Qui & tū consideret & sensū sacrae locu-
 tionis ignoret non tam re eruditione in-
 struit: quā ambiguitate confundit.
 Qui a non nūquā sibi littere uerba con-
 tradicunt. Sed dū a sem & ipsis p̄ contrarij & ic-
 tē dissidēt. Lectorem ad intelligentiam ue-
 nit ut q̄ mittunt. Quid est dñi quod scilomon ait.
 Melius ē comedere & bibere. Et n̄ longē post
 subicit. Melius ē ipe cedere domū luctur. quā cedere
 domū conuiu. Cur luctū conuiuio praetulit
 qui p̄ huc ceterū potūq; laudat. Si enim p̄ elec-
 tionē bonū ē comedere & bibere. procul dubio
 erremelius debet cedere domū gaudi quā cedere domū
 luctu propter. Hinc ē quod iterū dicit.
 Luceat iuuenis incedatq; centitica tua. Et paulo post
 subicit. Adalg centice enim & uoluptas uanice
 sunt. Quid est hoc quod p̄ huc reprehenden-
 da praecipit. & post praecipit reprehendit.
 Nisi quod ipsis littere uerbis innuit. ut quid diffi-
 cultatē exortur p̄ctitur. uentur intelligat
 consideret quae sequatur. Quenimrū uertit in
 intelligentia. Cum p̄ cordis humilitatē querit. legendi
 assidua & tōteponit. Sic enī notorū hominū fecer
 cernimur & corda nescimus. Sed si familiaris locu-
 one conuigimur. usu conloqui eorū & iā cognoscimus

In sub occasione templi di in sacerdotum lucra cedebat. habet pessima
pharisaeorum traditio de alia.

quiescit est pater. Oblatio dñi praesponatur pauperum
muneribus. Uel ceptis propinentes. quae dō consecratae
conferant. Ne pater legi quamen incurrent declinat
et gerat compendebantur adque hoc pietate ut oblatio
liberorum dñi. i. vocat. sione usquebat. multa habentes
obligatos de re alieno. Anolentur sibi peditū reddere, de
ligebant sacerdotibus. ut ex parte pecuniae muneribus
templi et opū urbi; deseruunt. potest autē et hunc
breuiter habere sensū. Numus quod gemis est tibi pro
debet. Compellat inquit pater ut dicant pauperibus suis.
Quodcumq; donum oblatum est episcopo in tuos consumo cibos
abique prodest. Opater amate ut allimentes accipere
quod dō uidetur. moenipatum. In opem magis uelint utat
v ducere. quae comedere de consecrata. Non quod in hac
v mot communitate hominū Sed quod procedit. ex eo hoc
v communitate hominū. Uerbum communitate proprie
scribitur in ept. et propter ratione potestatem. popu
lur ludaeorum pater dñi esse locatam. Communitate cibos
uocat. quib; om̄i utuntur homines. uerbi gratia aquilla
capit. Opater. lapone. et ita ut modi communitate quae
unquam non pudent. pater. et ita ut punitam. Nec quae

Quid sit hodie dicitur
daemonia eius
& tria die dicitur

Perperuerat quippe in itinere suo donec ueniat in iherusalem atque illud quod
ait ecce ego daemonia & sanitates perpericio hodie & cras & tertia die con
summorum. Myrtae ab illo & perperuerat dicitur intelleguntur neque dnm eodie
parperuerat qui perit ab hoc die tertia cum continuo dicat oportet me hodie
& cras & sequenti ambulare cogit. propeccato etiam illud myrtae intellegi quod
ait & ui debet me donec ueniat cum dicitur benedictus qui uenit in nomine
dñi de illo suo aduentu quo in dazurata uenit perperit hoc significans ut illud
quod ait ego daemonia & sanitates perpericio hodie & cras & tertia die
consummorum. perperatur ad corpus perperit quod est ecclesia expelluntur dnm
daemonia cum uelociter perperunt super perperit omni; credunt in eum & tunc
& perperit tunc sanitates cum secundum eius perperit dicitur. postea
quam perperit diabolo & hunc saeculo renuntiatum usque in finem perper
perit omni. quatenus tertia consummabitur hoc est ad plenitudinem
angelicam perperit perperit etiam immortalitatem perperit ecclesia qua
perperit ordo item at tunc nequaquam putandus est malum aliquid esse
dignitatem perperit magis intellegendus est uel perperit occupare quae per
perit in iherusalem & perperit in tertia perperit: antequam eius
narratio dnm perducere in iherusalem aut eidem ciuitati iam perperit
quantem talia perperit monentibus ut caueret herodem qualem mat
theus eum dicit etiam tunc locutum cum iam perperit in iherusa
lem atque illa omnia iam perperit perperit quae supra narrata sunt

Lxxvi

omnes creaturas procreari
 eorum inordinem pumtione
 ant. & locis suis adquirebant.

Hæc igitur omnia quæ
 antedivina peccata sunt
 & unitatem quendam in se
 ostendunt. & speciem condi
 tionem, quæ quædam enim hō
 est. & unum aliquid est.
 sicut sunt naturæ con
 ponum. In genia anima
 num & aliqua specie
 ponuntur sicut sunt
 figuræ & qualitates conpo
 num de doctrina de tacter
 animarum. & ordinem
 aliquem potest dicitur hō
 sicut sunt pondus & collo
 cationes componum atq.

forma X.

arrimā delectatio. itaq
 illa tria. & ad se invicem detem
 minantur uidentur. ^{in infinita sunt} red huc
 in nobis componitur ceterum
 in componitur non tantum est
 non quantum terribiliter.
 & plura aliquid sunt duas
 quæ unæ sunt. & in se in fini
 tarunt. ite & singula sunt
 in singulis. & singula in omnibus.
 & omnia in omnibus. & unum
 omnia, qui uideat hoc exper
 te & speculum & enigmæ
 te. & uideat. cognoscent dñm.
 & sicut dñm honore & gloria
 agat, qui se non uideat. & tendat
 p̄ peccatam ad uidentum. n̄
 peccatam ad calumniandum.
 quō unus est dñs p̄ dñm trini

Hæc cetera in illa summa inordinata. tantum est una quædam terribiliter. ne plura aliquid sunt. & duas quæ una.

Lactantius

31

ueniam mereamur accipere. & inferni penam eu-
 dere. Et ad eternam beatitudinem peruenire. Hum-
 ilemus. leuimus. uigilimus. machinemur scientes quia
 cor contritum & humiliatum deus non spernit. Sicut enim a-
 postolus ait. castigo corpus meum & infer uirtutem sub-
 iugio. si laboremus per carnem. si laboremus & per anima-
 m. si ieiunemus per carnem. si satiamus carnem.
 ornamus carnem. quam post paucos annos
 ueremus deoperari sunt in sepulchro. Quan-
 to magis non debemus dispicere anima.
 quod est eangelis presentatum in celo. **C**or-
 rige spiritus carnis quia quando. caro copio-
 sa diligitur. satiatur. et abundantia uno
 nimis inficitur. paululum luxurie mini-
 stratur. et a uerum prouidetur. **I**t-
 em. **P**ropter hoc spiritus aspiciat ad sepulchra
 diuitum & quotiens iuxta illa transierit. Con-
 siderate et diligenter inspiciat. **M**isunt
 illorum diuites ubi ornamenta ubi honori

claudunt atq; ambiunt. Ita que sic ut sim p' esse at p' esse
 thal' eor' cir' locis' dialectic' cir' ubi p' p' p' p' e' cum
 t'ntur p' t' h' or' h' m' q' d' cau' ay' ex' cir' cum p' t' n' t' r' y'
 t' p' a' c' t' e' t' h' r' o' m' cir' cum p' t' n' t' r' y' a' r' g' u' m' e' n' t' a' p' r' u'
 m' e' d' i' c' t' a' e' s' t' e' a' b' u' m' u' l' t' i' p' l' i' b' u' s' a' p' m' p' l' i' c' i' o'
 p' r' i' m' o' c' o' m' p' o' s' i' t' i' o' n' e' q' u' i' r' u' n' t' d' i' a' l' e' c' t' i' c' i' d' i' a' l' e' c' t' i' c' u' s' u' e'
 p' r' o' q' u' i' p' r' i' o' r' e' s' t' p' o' t' e' s' t' m' o' r' e' n' e' n' e' z' s' i' n' i' p' r' i' s' t' i' q' u' a' n' d' o'
 l' i' c' i' d' o' m' t' q' u' e' r' t' i' o' r' p' r' o' n' a' t' e' r' c' u' m' p' r' i' n' c' i' d' i' u' s' d' i' a' l' e' c' t' i' c' i'
 c' o' a' d' p' r' o' b' a' n' d' a' m' p' r' a' m' t' h' e' r' i' n' c' a' u' s' a' C' i' r' c' u' m' p' r' a' n' t' i' u' s'
 l' i' c' i' d' u' s' t' u' n' c' d' i' s' t' i' n' c' t' u' m' p' o' t' h' e' r' i' c' u' s' u' t' a' t' u' r' l' o' c' i' s' I' t' a' q' u' e'
 l' i' d' i' a' l' e' c' t' i' c' i' s' l' o' c' i' s' I' t' a' c' o' n' t' i' g' i' t' a' z' t' i' n' e' a' r' g' u' m' e' n' t' a'
 p' u' m' u' n' t' u' r' l' o' c' i' s' t' a' b' i' p' r' a' z' e' n' t' i' u' s' n' a' t' u' r' a' p' r' o' d' i' n' e' t' h' o'
 p' i' c' i' a' b' o' z' t' i' n' e' q' u' o' d' i' l' l' i' g' i' t' u' r' e' s' t' d' e' q' u' o' a' z' t' u' r' n' e' c'
 a' n' a' t' u' r' a' z' t' i' n' e' p' r' o' d' a' n' t' p' a' l' i' e' t' i' p' r' a' q' u' a' z' e' n' u' s'
 e' s' t' p' r' o' d' u' t' p' r' o' z' i' u' d' i' a' t' u' r' p' a' t' i' o' n' i' s' e' o' p' t' i' d' e' n' t' q' u' o' d' n' a' t' u'
 r' a' z' t' i' n' e' a' n' t' e' s' e' c' o' g' i' t' u' r' d' i' u' s' p' r' o' d' i' n' e' t' u' r' a' n' p' u' e' n' t' a'
 l' i' q' u' i' e' b' n' i' u' s' d' i' c' t' u' r' p' r' o' p' o' l' l' e' p' a' u' e' l' i' m' u' s' I' t' o' n' p' u' i' s' s' e' q' u' o'
 n' u' l' l' a' i' n' e' o' l' u' x' u' n' i' e' r' a' n' t' e' c' o' r' r' e' p' t' e' p' r' o' d' e' r' i' c' o' m' i' n' i' u' m' q' u' i' c' u' m' l' u' x' o'
 p' i' e' r' e' b' n' i' e' t' a' t' i' s' q' u' i' q' u' o' d' a' m' z' e' n' u' s' p' r' i' m' o' l' u' x' o' m' e' r' n' u' l'
 l' a' p' u' s' p' r' i' m' e' e' b' n' i' e' t' a' s' q' u' i' d' i' u' s' p' r' i' m' o' p' o' n' d' i' t' e' s' c' a' l' t' e' r' o' ...
 c' u' r' i' n' i' m' p' l' u' x' u' s' u' s' n' o' n' p' u' i' s' s' e' e' t' n' o' n' p' o' t' u' i' t' s' e' u' a' t' u' r' a' z' t' i' n' e'
 p' r' o' d' e' m' o' n' s' t' r' a' t' u' r' q' u' o' d' d' i' a' l' e' c' t' i' c' a' p' a' t' i' o' n' i' s' u' b' m' i' n' i' s' t' r' a' t'
 U' n' d' e' l' i' m' i' t' u' s' a' b' e' s' t' i' n' d' e' e' t' i' a' m' p' r' e' c' i' s' i' s' a' b' e' s' n' e' c' o' r' p' o' q' u' o'
 z' t' i' n' e' p' r' e' c' i' e' s' n' o' n' p' e' l' i' n' q' u' i' t' a' d' e' r' i' m' i' l' i' b' u' s' q' u' i' d' e' m' a' d' e' c' o' n' t' r' a'
 p' u' s' E' o' d' e' m' m' o' d' o' l' i' n' q' u' i' b' u' s' m' a' x' i' m' a' s' i' m' i' l' i' t' u' d' o' e' s' t' l' i' c' h' e' p' o'
 t' h' o' m' i' c' o' r' a' c' d' i' a' l' e' c' t' i' c' o' r' l' o' c' o' r' d' i' a' l' e' c' t' i' c' a' l' i' m' e' x' p' r' i' s' q' u' a' l' i'
 t' a' t' i' b' u' s' p' o' t' h' o' m' i' c' a' e' s' q' u' a' l' i' t' a' t' e' p' u' r' e' s' p' i' l' i' t' i' b' u' s' p' e' b' u' s'
 a' r' g' u' m' e' n' t' a' u' e' r' g' a' t' u' e' d' i' a' l' e' c' t' i' c' o' r' e' x' z' e' n' t' i' e' i' d' e' s' t' e' x' p' r' a'
 z' t' i' n' e' p' r' o' d' i' n' e' t' h' o' m' i' c' a' s' e' c' a' q' u' e' z' e' n' u' s' e' s' t' d' i' a' l' e' c' t' i' c' u' s'
 e' x' s' i' m' i' l' i' t' u' d' i' n' e' p' o' t' h' o' m' i' c' e' x' s' i' m' i' l' i' d' e' p' r' e' s' e' p' a' r' e' q' u' a' e' s' i' m'
 l' i' t' u' d' i' n' e' l' i' c' o' e' s' t' E' o' d' e' m' m' o' d' o' i' l' l' a' s' e' c' o' n' t' r' a' p' a' r' e' t' a' t' e' h' i' s'

Abur zandan princeps exerci-
tus nabuchodonosor. qui sub la-
ta omnia tū succenturigni &
muros hierlīm destruxit dese-
rentedno. **xxxiii.**

Post mortem nabuchodonosor
successit alium rex nomine
milthedac. qui benecit cum
ioachum regē iuda qui cecit
decarete. **Explicit Ka-
pitula. Incipit liber
quartus.**

**REVA
RIGA
TUS
EST AUTEM
AB ISRAEL**

Post quā mortuus ē
aab. ceciditq; oozias
p cancellos cenaculi
sui qd̄ habebat in samā-
ria. & egrotavit. misitq;
nuntios dicens ad eos. Ite
consulte bebel zebub deū
accaron. utrū uisē queam

de infirmitate mea hac.
Angl̄ autē dñi loquutus est
ad helyam thesburn. Sur-
ge et ascende in occursum
nuntioꝝ regis samarie. &
dices ad eos. Numquid non ē-
t̄ misit ut eatis ad consi-
lendum bebel zebub deum
accaron? Quā obrem hec
dicit dñs. Delectulo sup quē
ascendisti non descender.
sed mortem morieris. Et
abur helyas. reuersiq; ē
nuntii ad ooziam. qui
dixit eis. Quare reuersi
estis. At illi responderē ei.
Uir occurrit nob̄ & dicit
ad nos. Ite & reuertimini
ad regem qui misit uos. et
dicitis ei. hec dicit dñs.
Numquid quia non erat dñs
misit mitens ut consu-
latur bebel zebub deum
accaron. Idcirco delectulo
sup quē ascendisti non de-
scender. sed morte mori-
eris. Quid dixit eis. Cuius
figura est et habitus uir
qui occurrit uob̄. et loqui-
tus est uerbum hoc. At
illi dixerunt. Vir pilosus

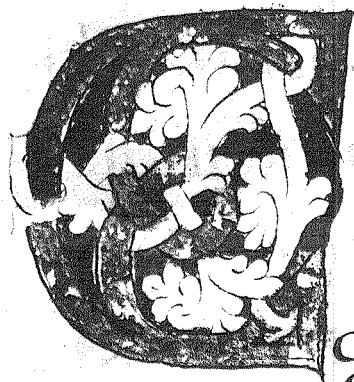
sensus. Reuersusq̄ ē in oc-
 cursū ei. & nuntiavit ei
 dicens. Non surrexit puē.
 Ingressus ē ergo helyseus
 domū. & ecce puer mor-
 tuus iacebat in lectulo ei.
 Ingressusq̄ clausit hostiū
 sup̄ se. & sup̄ puerū. & con-
 uit ad dñm. & ascendit &
 incubuit sup̄ puerū. Posu-
 itq̄ ossuū sup̄ os eius. & oculos
 suos sup̄ oculos ei. & manū
 suas sup̄ manus ei. & incū-
 bavit se sup̄ eū. & calefacta
 est caro pueri. Et ille reuer-
 sus deambulauit in domo
 semet huc & illuc. & ascen-
 dit. et incurbavit se sup̄ eū.
 & excitauit puer septies.
 & apertitq̄ oculos suos. At-
 ille uocauit gressū & dixit
 ei. Noca sunamitē hanc.
 Que uocata. ingressa ē ad eū.
 Cui ait. Tolle filiū tuū. uenit
 illa & corruit ad pedes ei.
 & adorauit sup̄ trā. Tulitq̄

filiū suū & egressa est.
 helyseus reuersus est ī galgal.
G **R**espice dñe in testam̄ tuū
 & animas paupum tuorū ne obliui-
 scaris infimē. **S**urgit dñe iudica
 causam tuā memor esto opprobriū ser-
 uorū tuorū. **S** **E** **S** **I** **V** **E** **S** **L** **V** **E**
N **I** **L** **I**. Ibat dñs ih̄s in
 ciuitatē que uocāt naim.
 & ibat cū illo discipuli
 eius. & turba copiosa. Cū
 autē adpropinquarent pōte
 ciuitatis. ecce defunctus
 efferebat̄ filius unice matris
 sue. Et hec uidua erat et
 turba ciuitatis multa cum
 illi. Quācū uidisset dñs
 miā motus sup̄ eā dix̄ illi.
 Noli flere. Et accessit. et
 tetigit locutū. In autē q̄
 portabant fletū. Et ait.
 Adolescens. tibi dico. surge.
 & resedit qui erat mortuus.
 et cepit loq̄. & dedit illū
 matri sue. Accepit autē
 om̄is timor. & magnifi-

cum semp̄ uteris. & nos tecum
in celis uiuere meream̄. Qui uis. *Sec̄*

SACRIFICIUM DÑE p̄ filii tui suppli
ces uenerabili nunc ascensione de
ferimus. ut & nos p̄ ipsum his com
merciis sacrosct̄s. ad celestia consur
gamus. *¶* eundem *Ad comp̄.*

RIBUE q̄s dñe. ut p̄ hæc sacra que
sumpsimus. illuc tendat nr̄s deuo
tionis effectus. quo tecum ē nr̄a
substantia. *¶* *Mis In Ascens̄ dñi.*



DONCEDE Q̄S OM̄PS D̄S.

ut qui hodierna die uni
genitū tuum redempto
rem nr̄m ad celos ascendisse credi
mus. ipsi quoq; mente in celesti
bus habitemus. *¶* eū *Sec̄.*

SUSCIPE dñe munera que p̄ filii
tui gl̄iosa ascensione defrimus.