63. Martilogium. Item metra de contenio in byblia.
64. Legenda sanctorum notabilis, in pergamo.

II.


M. Bucerus tuus.

Nachtrag von der Hand Briefers:
Hunc librum dedi domino Marco Bärschzy plebano S. Leonardi mittendam ad D. M. Bucerum anno 1531.48 Marcii N. Briefer. Hic libere exiquis pretii erat.

Bazel.

8 St. Peter JJJ 1 sub dato. Originalpapierbrief, Spuren des Pochschaftsgeiges. Für freundliche Lesehilfe spreche ich Herrn Dr. H. G. Wackernagel meinen besten Dank aus.

* Anspruch auf die Berner Disputation von 1538?

THE Scriptorium OF Reims DURING THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF HINCMAR (845-882 A.D.)

FREDERICK M. CAREY

DURING THE PAST half century the School of Reims has assumed a most important role in the theories of those who are interested in the history of Carolingian miniatures. Almost every one who writes an article in this field has some new psalter or gospels to add to the ever-growing list of Reims manuscripts. From the comparative certainty of the Utrecht Psalter, the Gospels of Hincmar, St. Thierry, and Loisel, we are led to the somewhat less sure ground of the Douce Psalter, the Psalter of Troyes, the Gospels of Beauvais, Blois, Düsseldorf, Kleve, Yates Thompson, and the so-called schola Palatina (Gospels of Aachen, Xanten, and the Vienna Schatzkammer), to mention only the most famous. Further attributions to Reims are made for Terence by Jones and Morey, and for Prudentius by Helen Woodruff. The script of Reims, on the other hand, has received almost no attention at all; unlike her sisters at Tours and Cologne she has had no suitors. Some fifteen years ago when I was casting about for other scriptoria in order to find a basis of comparison for the study of manuscripts of Fleury, I noticed that about twenty manuscripts of Reims were marked with the ex-dono of Hincmar, the celebrated Archbishop of Reims from 845-882. So large a group of dated manuscripts of the ninth century from a single scriptorium seemed quite

For visiting European libraries and collecting materials concerning various scriptoria I am greatly indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for a Fellowship and for other grants.


2 The Illuminated Ms. of Prudentius (Harvard Univ. Pr.: 1930), p. 10.
the times of Archbishop Tilpin (753-800).10 Flodoard, II, 17: Sed et
sacrarum codicibus scripturarum, qui minus adhibet aliquibus quoque utinam,
hanic instruxit ecclesiam. There is also an interesting item about a sacra-
mentary, which seems to have been destroyed in the burning of the
monastery of St. Remi in 1774. It was written by Lambertus under the
direction of the priest Gaubelgauvis, who had offered it to the church of
St. Remi; the transcription began on March 22, 798, and was finished on
July 23 (or August 1), 800.11 Of the literary activity of the two succeeding
bishops, Vulfarius (808-816) and Ebo (816-835), Flodoard has nothing
to say. Mabillon gives specimens of two manuscripts of St. Augustine
from the monastery of St. Remi which are lost to-day, undoubtedly
destroyed in the fire just mentioned; one of these was written at the com-
mand of Vulfarius, the other at the order of Ebo.12 The best known
manuscript of the time of Ebo is the so-called Ebo Gospels, written prob-
bly between 816 and 835, now Ms. I. in the municipal library of Epernay;
it is famous for the influence of its miniatures.13 These three books attest
the activity of the Reims scriptorium during the first half of the ninth
century; some sixteen others will be added in the hand-list at the end of
this article.

Nearly half of Flodoard's History of the Church at Reims is devoted to
its greatest bishop, Hincmar (845-882), who was one of the foremost
men of the ninth century.14 This is not the place to go into his struggles
with princes both temporal and spiritual, his quarrels with Godescale,
with his nephew, Hincmar of Laon, his interest in the Church Fathers
and Canon Law, although all these elements have left their stamp on the
studies of the schools of Reims.15 For although Hincmar was not definitely

10 The dates of all bishops mentioned in this article are taken from Pius Bonificius Gams, Series
episcoporum (Ratisbon: 1873), p. 608.
11 Léopold Delisle, 'Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires,' Mémoires de l'Institut national de
France, XXXII (1880), 87-89. Ulysse Chevalier, Sacramentaire et martyrologe de l'abbaye de saint
Remi (Paris: 1900), pp. vii-xii.
12 Jean Mabillon, De Re Diplomatica (Paris: 1681), p. 362, tab. x and tab. x. Details in Gottlieb,
op. cit., p. 343.
13 Édouard Aubert, Ms. de l'Abbaye d'Hautvillers dit Église d'Ében,' Mémoires de la Société
nationale des Antiquaires de France, X, 4, série (1879), 111-172. Consult also in particular the articles
of Goldschmidt, Darrieu, Swarzewski, and Köhler, mentioned in Note 1.
14 On Hincmar of Reims cf.: Flodoard, Book III, Abbé Auguste Vid transparent, Hincmar de
Erzbischf von Reims (Freiburg im Breisgau: 1884). Max Manius, Geschichte der lateinischen Litter-
ratur der Mönche (München: 1911), I, 339-354. For his extensive works cf.: Migne, Patrologiae
Latinae, vol. 156.
15 Guy Carleton Lee, Hincmar, an introduction to the study of the revolution of the church in the ninth
century (Baltimore: 1879) (reprinted from vol. VIII of the Papers of the American Society of Church
History). Ferdinand Lot and Louis Halphen, Le Régne de Charlemagne (800-877), première
hostile to the study of the Classics, the practicality of his interests probably explains the absence of manuscripts of the Classics at Reims in our period. To quote from one of his biographers: "Seine Latinität zeigt keine Spur, dass er klassische Muster hätte auf sich einwirken lassen. Die Diktion lehnt sich stellenweise mehr an die des Volkes an, aus dessen Munde er manche sprachwörtliche Redensarten aufnahm. Er ist einer der ersten, bei dem (sic) sich ein Eindringen der "lingua rustica" in die Schriftsprache zeigt."

Hincmar's zeal for the welfare of the Cathedral and the monasteries, and for the discipline and education of the monks is often illustrated in Flodoard; three passages in particular concern us here.

Flodoard, III, 1: Is siquidem Hincmarus, a pueritia in monasterio Sancti Dyonyssii sub Hilduinno abbatte monasteriali religione nutritus et studis litterarum imbutus, inde qua pro sui tam generis quam sensus nobilitate, in palatium Ludovici imperatoris deductus, et familiarem ipsius notitiam adeptus fuerat; ibique, prout potuit, cum imperatore et praefato abbatte, sub ecclesiis ecumenicis auctoritate acta, ut ordo monasticus in praedicto monasterio quorundam voluptuosa factione diu delapsus, restauraretur.


Librum quoque sacramentorum sed et lectionarium quos scribi fecit, ebore argenteoque decoravit.

Flodoard, III, 9: Evangelium aureum litteris insignivit, ac parietibus aureis gemmarumque nitore distinctis munivit, versibus etiam auro inclytis praeclaruit; ... Librum quoque sacramentorum sub eburneis tabulis, argento praesignitum; sed et lectionarium ad missas librum, pari decore venustatum, ibidem contulit, aliosque libros et ornamenta nonnulla eodem venerabili loco delegavit.


12 Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms. Lat. 1300, fols. 70 ff. gives an account of an act of association between monks of St. Denis of Paris and St. Remi of Reims of the year 836. It is printed in d'Achery, Spicilegium, IV 239 (shorter edition of 1735: III 333/4). This institut pectorum, as it is styled, should be of interest to those who are trying to trace the spread of the Franco-Saxon type of illumination.

It happens that among the fifty or so manuscripts belonging to this period, of which twenty-two bear Hincmar’s ex-dono, there are two which are written in gold or silver letters: Morgan 728 and Reims 11.

The schools of Reims continued to flourish after our period under Archbishop Fulco (873-900), when Hucbald of St. Amand and Heirc of Auxerre could be counted among their teachers, under Archbishop Gerbert (991-998), and generally through the later Middle Ages. Except for the catalogue of the books belonging to Vulfadus, the friend of John the Scot, in Paris Bibliothèque Mazarine Ms. 567, fol. 219", written towards the end of the ninth century, and the tenth-century catalogue of the manuscripts of the monastery of St. Thierry, which the editor of the Catalogue général des Mss. des bibliothèques publiques de France, vols. XXXVIII and XXXIX, promised to publish in his preface, which never appeared, there seem to be no ancient catalogues of Reims libraries. In the thirteenth century a librarian of the monastery of St. Remi numbered the volumes of the library in red ink, usually at the top of the first page and again in one other place farther along in the book. About seventy manuscripts thus numbered in red have survived, of which two different manuscripts occasionally bear the same list. Before listing them I offer a single example from Paris, B. N., lat. Ms. 4789, fols. 1st and 32nd: Lib(er) s(an)c(t)i Remi(igii) vol(umen) vixit et ii. It will be immediately observed that the exponent xx survives to-day only in the French word for 'eighty'—quatre-vingt.

SAEC. XIII

NUMBER | PRESENT NUMBER | BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF CONTENTS
---|---|---
1 | Berlin lat. 84 (Philippus 1743) | concilia Galliae; paparum epp.
2 | Reims 90 | Augustinus in psalmos 50-100.
3 | 228 | Missale.
4 | Paris 4280 A1 cf. No. 9. | Canones, capitularia, etc.
5 | 9347 | Sedulius, Fortunatus, Juvenecus, etc.
6 | Vatic. Regin. lat. 1046 | Niceni concili secundi acta.
7 | Paris 2866 | Hincmarus de diverso Lotharii.

10 For the schools of Reims cf. P. L. Péchenard, De Schola Remensis Decima Sacra (Reims: 1876).
11 Abbé E. Cauly, Histoire du Collège des Enfants de l'Université de Reims (Reims: 1885).
13 Reims Ms. 477, fol. 127-128, Cai. 97. 1. XXXVIII (1904) 520.
Bernardus Silvestris; Hildebertus, etc.
Missale.
Claudius Taurinen. super Leviticum.
Passio S. Eugenii; Hincmar Epp. iv.
Missale.
Biblia.
Dionysii Euginii Canones.
Biblia.
Vita SS. Chrysanti et Dariae; Goarior.
Biblia.
Dionysii Euginii Canones.
Vita S. Basili.
Expos. Remigii super Psalterium.
August. sup. Psalmos grad.; homiliae.
Pars veteris et novi Testamenti.

Pars veteris Testamenti.
Radulphus de Flaix super Leviticum.
August. super Evangelium S. Ioannis.
Gregorii Moralia in Iob.

Caroli Magni Capitularium.
August. super Evangelium S. Ioannis.
Fulgentius; Dares Phrygius.
Nonius Marcellus, etc.
Novum Testamentum.
Leges Visigothorum.
Josephus.

Josephus.
Glossarium B.P (Abtrusum).
Gregorii epistolae.
Isidori Etymologiae.
Liber Pontificalis.
Burchardi Wormaten. Decreta.
Leonis papae homiliae et epistolae.
Concilii etc.
Vita S. Huberti.
Papiae elementarium doctrin.
Lectionarium.
Hilarion; Eusebii Chron.; Hier.; Fredeg.
Hyginus.

Concordia evangelistarum.
Excerpta Aluli ex Gregorio.
Liber legis Salicae.
Vita SS.
Libri prophetarum.
Libri Psalmorum notis Tironianis.

Gilbertus de S. Amande in epp. Pauli.
Compilatio tertia decretalium.
Breviarium decreto.
Horatius.
Isaac Lingones. canonum collection.
Vita S. Dion.; Hincmarus: Gesta Dagob.
Ars Petri grammatica.
Beda, etc.
Alcuini epistolae.
Synodi.
Vat. Regin. 191.
Isidorus, etc.
Paulus Diaconus.
Priscianus.

It is difficult to determine on what principle the enumeration was made on account of the many gaps in the series, but both size and content seem to have played a part; the series starts with sacred books (including canon law and councils) and ends with secular works (Horace, Priscian, etc.). At the beginning of the 18th century we are informed by two Benedictines that the library of St. Remi was the richest in the city of Reims, possessing between five and six hundred manuscripts, of which some were Greek.\footnote{Edmund Martineau et Ursin Durand, *Voyage littéraire de deux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint Maur* (Paris: 1817), I, partie ii, 79-84.} The fact that *Reims Ms. 1306* bears the old library number 558 would tend to bear out this statement. During the night of January 15, 1774, the monastery of St. Remi was destroyed by fire, an eye-witness of which, Dom Chastelain, says that from fifty to sixty manuscripts out of a total number of a thousand were thrown from a window of the library.\footnote{Henri Judart, *Journal de Dom Pierre Chastelain, Bénédictin Rémois, 1709-1784*, *Travaux de l'Académie nationale de Reims*, 110 (1900-1), II, 130-2.} An inventory of the monastery of the year 1759 lists 248 manuscripts as against 1500 for the period before the fire.\footnote{abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims. Inventaire des 28, 39, et 70 avril 1780. Document inédit publié par M. Paul Prevot, *Travaux de l'Académie nationale de Reims*, 131 (1917-3), 1, 378.} Whatever the truth may be, there are at present in the public library at Reims only about 100 manuscripts from the library of St. Remi. Among those which were burned were the famous Phaedrus\footnote{Anton v. Breuning, "Zum Codex Remensis des Phaedrus und Querulus," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Vereins für Bibliothekswesen*, 1 (1897) 1-7 (with one fac-simile).} and the two to which Mabillon
and interlinear glosses of saec. xii. Capitula on fols. 15'-17' are in a tiny hand. Illumination. Two lines of red uncials followed by two lines of red rustic capitals precede the beginning of the text on fol. 1'. The colophons are simple and not illuminated. Headings in brown rustic capitals. The uncials and rustic capitals are not yet fancy with finials. Reference. Cat. gen. XXXVIII, 41-2.

6. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 70. (Chap. A, ord. 1, no. 9.) St. Augustine, Rede, St. Jerome, fol. 1'-22' Praedestinatus, sive Praedestinatum liber, fol. 22'-35' liber nonogenesisae heresies. fol. 25'-51' sub nomine Augustini liber contra hereticos. fol. 52'-110' expositio ven. Bedae in libro Salomonis quad sic dictor Proverbia, fol. 110'-168' expositio Hieronymi in libro Ecclesiastica. fol. 169'-171' expositio Bedae in librum Tobiae (mutill.). 172 leaves (166 bi). 291 X 238. 1 col., 207 X 164. 29 lines. book-marks. The regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. 1', 24'-25', 48'-49', 72'-73', 96'-97', 118'-119', 142'-143', 163'-164'. Script. The typical straight, clear, solemn Caroline minuscule of Reims. Two or more main hands: A (1'-51'), B (32'-end, more or less). Hand B is less impressive but offers the same traitless type of script. Few abbreviations and almost no ligatures. A few glosses of about the year 900. Illumination. Headings in bright red uncials and rustic capitals. The uncials often have delicate finials. On fol. 1' there is a characteristic Reims initial Q in red and brown with a long underscore. Reference. Cat. gen. XXXVIII, 69-70.

7. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 83. (Chap. A, ord. 1, no. 5.) St. Augustin, fols. 1'-25' Augustini Retractationum libri VII in Genesi etc. fols. 25'-149' Augustini Quaestiones in eisdem libris. 150 leaves (74 bis). 316 X 267. 2 cols., 237 X 198. 34 lines. book-marks. The regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. 1', 8'-9', 16'-17', 40'-41', 72'-73', 111'-112', 139'-140', 148'-149'. Script. Small Caroline minuscule of the Reims type but of varying style. Three main hands: A (1'-79', more or less), B (97'-127', 144'-149', more or less), C (128'-143'). Hand A is fairly small and carefully spaced, with slightly rounding clubbings in the ligatures ra, re, it, et. Hand B is also fairly small but more cursive. Hand C, while more irregular than the other two, has more of the look of Reims. The scholars are in the ordinary Hincmarian style. This book shows more ligatures and abbreviations than most books of the period. Illumination. Headings, expliciti-inicia in red or brown rustic capitals. There seem to be no uncials in the book. Reference. Cat. gen. XXXVIII, 82-3.

8. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 99. (Chap. A, ord. 1, no. 7.) St. Gregory. (Moralia in Job libri I-V.) This Ms. plus Reims 100 and 201 form one work and belong together. 172 leaves. 298 X 223. 1 col., 211 X 144. 24 lines. book-marks. The regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. 8'-9', 10'-31', 24'-25', 32'-33', 40'-41', 56'-57', 64'-65', 72'-73', 80'-81', 88'-89', 96'-97', 104'-105', 112'-113', 120'-121', 118'-129', 136'-137', 144'-145', 152'-153', 160'-161', 168'-169', 171'-172'. Script. Full, ample, rich Caroline minuscule, the 'cream' of Reims. Three main hands: A (1'-49', 65'-137'), B (49'-56'), C (57'-64', 137'-172'). Hand A and C are of the good Reims type with careful, straight script, with almost no ligatures or abbreviations. Hand B is less ample and contains some st ligatures. Illumination. There seems to be but one line of uncials in the entire book and
that in red at the very beginning of fol. 1r. It is followed by two lines of red
rustic capitals and a line of red capitals. There is also a large initial D of the
interlaced Reims type in red and yellow with many red dots on fol. 1r. The first eight
and last two leaves of the book are somewhat stained and damaged. There
are red rustic explicitis-incipitss passim (fols. 35r, 72r, 95r, 134r). The red is of
the ordinary brightness variant so characteristic of this school. A few notes of sec. x.
276x220. 1 col., 178x155. 22 lines. book-marks. This book does not have the
regular Hincmar book-mark; since Reims 105 does not have it either, it is very
probable that Hincmar regarded the three volumes as a single manuscript.
Instead we read (with some mutilations): SCAE MARIAE / REMENSISS on fols.
16v-19r, 19v-20v, 40v-41v, 63v-64v, 78v-79v, 92v-93v, 106v-107v, 130v-131v, 143v-
144v. script. Small, somewhat cramped Caroline minuscule, similar to that of
Reims 83. Three main hands (hands A, C, and D, which fill the gaps, are of sec.
x): B (2-40v, 101v-108v), E (61v-100v, more or less), F (109v-167v). The hands
are fairly similar, although hand E is more in the normal style of the period with
its elimination of ligatures and abbreviations. Marginalia of sec. x. illumin.
ation. There seem to be no uncials in the book. The explicitis-incipitss are in
bright red rustic capitals. fols. 1 and 41-60, which fill in gaps, are of sec. x.
reference. Cat. gén. XXXVIII, 96.
lines. book-marks. Like the preceding manuscript this book does not have the
regular Hincmar book-mark. Instead we find: SCAE MARIAE / REMENSISS
ECCLAE on fols. 8v-9v, 86v-87v, 176v-177v, scarp. Several types of Caroline
minuscule common at Reims. Five main hands, more or less: A (1-40v, 125v-
128v, more or less), B (41v-112v, more or less), C (113v-124v, more or less), D
(129v-146v, more or less), E (147v-181v more or less). Hands A-C are in a fair-
sized, flowing, open style of the formal Reims type; ligatures and abbreviations
occur fairly commonly, however. Hands D-E are somewhat more cramped and
angular, like those of Reims 83 and 100. illumination. Bright red uncial explicitis-
incipitss are more common than those in rustic capitals in this book.
11. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 118. (Chap. A, ord. 2, no. 16.) Bede, St. Jerome, St. Gregory, Alcuin. fol. 1r-37v Bedae expositio in Psalmos. fol. 38v-53v Hieronymi
questiones in libros Regum. fol. 53v-67v Hieronymi expositio in Paralipomenon.
fol. 67v-79v Bedae questiones in libros Regum. fol. 79v-81v Bedae expositio in nomi
nibus locorum quae leguntur in Actibus Apostolorum. fol. 81v-90v Gregorii
Concordia quornundam testimoniorum saecv. Script. fol. 90v-102v Gregoryi expositio
super Canonicorum. fol. 103v-115v Alcuini expositio in VII Psalmos poenitentiales. fol. 116v-124v Alcuini expositio in psalmos graduales. fol. 124v-140
extraind faceret expositio in quosdam psalmos. 140 leaves. 278x225. 1 col.,
201x190. 29 lines. book-marks. This does not have the regular Hincmar book-
mark. Instead we read: HINCMARUS DACIO NATUS DEDIT STEPHANO
on fol. 1r, 58v-59v, 140v-149v B (a guard-leaf at the end of the volume). The capital
letter H with a vertical stroke like an I through the cross-bar occurs on fols. 1r,
4r, 38v, 103v. When it occurs in Ms. of Reims, I have found no difficulty in
assuming that it stands for Hincmar. On fol. 4r we find: STEPHANUS DEDIT
SCAE MARIAE REMENSISS. On fols. 11v-12v we find: LIBER SCAE MA-
RIAE / REMENSISS ECCLAE (perhaps later, sec. ix). I have no doubt that
the Hincmar in question is the famous bishop; in Reims 7 he calls himself
'abba' in giving a book to the monastery of St. Thierry. For Stephanus vide
Reims 74 and 87v. script. Various similar hands of a small, close, careful type,
with ligatures and abbreviations almost abolished. Eight main hands: A (1-27v,
a prefasc head, the 'milk' of Reims), B (4-4, 28v-37v, C (4-27v), D (38v-71v,
128v-140v), E (72v-102v), F (103v-104v), G (104v-115v), H (116v-127v). Hand D
is the only one which admits ligatures to any extent. illumination. Headings
and explicitis-incipitss are in brown rustic capitals. There is no red in the book,
and do there seem to be any uncials. fol. A (a guard-leaf at the beginning)
Scrabble: Roldanus. The same scribal occurs in another book written by a
Stephanus of the same period: Reims 74, fol. 121v. Reims 87v, the famous book of
John the Scot, was also given to the Cathedral Library by a Stephanus of this
same period. reference. Cat. gén. XXXVIII, 109-112.
12. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 376. (Chap. A, ord. 3, no. 32.) St. Ambrose, opuscula. fol. 1v-10v Ambrosii dicta de Somnione. fol. 10v-27v Ambrosii de divinis
mysteriis. fol. 27v-33 Ambrosii de Gideon (prologus tractatus de Spiritu Sancti).
fol. 33v-66 Ambrosii de ubi Nabhaha Israelitae. fol. 66v-109v Ambrosii apologia
David. fol. 109v-112v Ambrosii de Pachia. 112 leaves. 235x185. 1 col., 147x112.
19 lines. book-marks. The regular Hincmar book-mark (occasionally mutilated)
on fols. 1v, 27v-28v, 32v-33v, 62v-63v, 86v-87v, 112v. script. Clear, open, trait-
less Caroline minuscule of Reims. Some 11 faces, but few on the whole. Few
abbreviations. One hand throughout. illumination. Bright red uncial and rustic
capital headings and explicitis-incipitss. Simple initials in red and yellow on fols.
1v, 10v, 34v, 66v, 109v. Fine white parchment with rulings in brown ceyon.
reference. Cat. gén. XXXVIII, 484-6.
fol. 10v-32v Ambrosii libri VII de sacramentis. fol. 32v-62v Ambrosii libri de Para-
dia. fol. 63v-81v Ambrosii de virginitatis liber I et II. fol. 81v-108v Rufini
Commemorant in symbolis apostolorum (here called: tractatus ep. Augustini de fide
S. Victoris Tonanziae ep. historiarum de Deiphris. 140 leaves (512 big). 254x222.
1 col., 162x142. 23 lines. book-marks. The regular Hincmar book-mark (occa-
ionally mutilated) on fols. 1v, 48v-49v, 72v-73v, 76v-77v. On fol. 139v the same
mark in contemporary brown minuscules, an unusual occurrence; but vide
Reims 397. On fol. 1v in the extreme lower left-hand corner we read: pars
hieretic. In a similar place on fol. 67v: incipit ii pars aderhadi; and on fol. 109v pars
heres. Cf. Cambridge, Pembroke College 308 for similar signatures of scribes.
script. Moderately small, careful but somewhat crabbed and uneven Caroline minuscule. Few ligatures and abbreviations. Some Tironian notes on fols. 44r, 47r, 48r, etc. Three hands, as indicated above: A (pars Huberti, 1r–62r), B (pars Aderhardi, 63r–108r), C (pars Berndii, 109r–139r). Open a occurs in glosses.

illumination. Red rustic capital explicitis-incipit on fols. 10r, 32r, 62r, 63r, 81r. A few red uncials (fol. 1r). References. Cat. gen. XXXVIII, 486–7. CSEL XXXII (1892), LV.

14. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 382. (Saint-Thierry no. 36.) St. Augustine. (Receptuationum libri II. Contra Academiam libri III. De ordine libri II.) Fols. 1–73, ivr. xi, f. 1a disregard, 93 leaves (fols. 79–171). 270x191l. 1 col., 195x122. 66 lines. book-marks. The regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. 10r–102r, 123r–124r, 147r–148r, 163r–164r. (The first half of the book, fols. 1–78, which I disregard, has three marks of the library of St. Thierry of a sub-xiv.) script. Various hands ranging from mediocre to good Caroline minuscule. Eight main hands: A (79–80r), B (80r–81r), C (86r–117r), D (118r–129r), E (124r–129r), F (130r–131r), G (132r–165r), H (165r–171r). Hands A and H have no red ligatures and otherwise show regular Reims style. The other hands are mostly small and somewhat uneven. Open a occurs in glosses (fol. 81r). Illumination. Brown and red rustic capitals in headings and explicitis-incipits on fols. 107r, 115r, 134r, 149r, 171r. Uncials seem not to occur. Reference. Cat. gen. XXXVIII, 499–500.


17. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 390. (Chap. A, ord. 1, no. 6.) St. Augustine. (De Trinitate libri XIV.) 136 leaves. 295x262l. 2 cols., 215x187l. book-marks. The regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. 1r–2r, 4r–5r, 12r–13r, 20r–21r, 44r–45r, 68r–69r, 92r–93r, 116r–117r, 133r–134r. script. Ordinary undistinguished Caroline minuscule. One main hand (or possibly two hands) for fols. 4r–10r. Ligatures and abbreviations are not uncommon. Some of the letters show signs of clubbing. Illumination. In the capitala on fols. 1r–4r an abundance of brown and red rustic capitals, as also in the explicitis-incipits throughout the book. There is a single line of uncials in red on fol. 5r. Reference. Cat. gen. XXXVIII, 519–20.


19. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 393. (Chap. A, ord. 2, no. 20.) St. Augustine, opuscula. (Epistola ad Eutropium et Paulum. De natura et gratia ad Valentinum episcopum etue dae. De gratia et libero arbitrio. De correctione et gratia. De Predestinacione. De dono perseverantiae. De bono coniugi. De sancta virginitate. De Nuptiis et concubinitatis.) 172 leaves. 265x222l. 1 col., 193x147. 31 lines. book-marks. The regular Hincmar book-mark (with mutilations) on fols. 1r, 72r–73r. On fols. 171r–172r the same mark in contemporary brown minuscules, as in Reims 377. script. Various types of small to medium Caroline minuscule of the Reims school. Four main hands: A (1r–109r, more or less), B (110r–118r), C (118r–149r), D (150r–172r, more or less). In Part I (fols. 1–109) many short glosses and Tironian notes occur; in Part II there are some Tironian notes, but few glosses, and these late; in the scholia of Part I open a is frequent. Hands A–C show few abbreviations or ligatures; hand D is somewhat free and cursive. Illumination. Red and brown rustic capitals dominate headings and explicitis-incipits. I see only two lines of red uncials (fols. 13r and 74r). On fols. 110r, 140r, and 154r blank spaces have been left for the rubricator. References. Cat. gen. XXXVIII, 523–6. CSEL XXXII (1902), III–V. CSEL LX (1913), 1x.

20. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 425. (Chap. A, ord. 1, no. 8.) Isidore, Etymologiae et Glossae. Cicero, Synonyma. 272 leaves. 320x259l. 2 cols. (fols. 1r–20r); 4 cols. (fols. 206r–266r); 8 cols. (fols. 266r–274r), circa 219x191. 30 lines. book-marks. The regular Hincmar book-mark (occasionally mutilated) on fols. 1r, 16r–17r, 48r–49r, 88r–89r, 104r–105r, 128r–129r, 144r–145r, 176r–177r, 205r, 216r–217r, 235r, 218r–239r, 272r. script. Varying types of Caroline minuscule of Reims, both mediocre and good. Three main hands: A (1r–24r), B (25r–232r), 238r–241r, more or less), C (233r–237r, 242r–272r). Hand A shows more ligatures and ab
breviations than the other two; hand C is most characteristic of Reims. There are a great many notes of the middle of the tenth century. Illumination. Many bright red rustic capitals headings. Reference. Cat. gën. XXXVIII, 566–8.

REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 434. (Chap. A, ord. 1, no. 10). Bede. (De gratia Div. Expositio super Cantica Cantoruni in V libri, De opusculis Gregorii Papae liber sex undies in Cantico Cantorum collectus.) 133 leaves (13 bis). 300 x 220. 2 cols., 210–220 x 113, 27–32 lines. Ruling. The only exceptional Ms. of this group. Quire VI ruled two leaves at a time from the outside: $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\righ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THE VERBAL 'ORNAMENT' (ΚΟΣΜΟΣ) IN ARISTOTLE'S ART OF POETRY

LANE COOPER

One might suppose that ornamental words would be numerous in poetry; that a Pindaric ode or a Hebrew psalm, or Homeric descriptions, or an ornate work like the Old English Phoenix and its source, the Lactantian Phoenix, or the Middle English Pearl, or 'lapidary' poems in general, would be full of such words and phrases; and that the ordinary names for ordinary things would thereby be reduced in number in these and other poems. But are we to take the term 'ornament' in a wide, or a restricted, sense? The Greek term, κόσμος, in some specific sense, has troubled commentators upon Aristotle's Art of Poetry from the days of the Renaissance.

In its widest sense for Aristotle the word κόσμος means what we mean by the cosmos, the ordered universe, for the Greeks as for us a world of beauty. He uses the word thus in various works other than the Rhetoric and Poetics, as any one may see who will consult the Index Aristotelicus of Bonitz. In a narrower sense it means an ornament or decorative element; for Aristotle it is likely almost always to connote order along with beauty. Thus in tragedy (Poetics 6.1449a33) one constituent part must needs be the decorative element of spectacle (τὸ τῆς φύσεως κόσμος); viewed in one way the whole tragedy is a spectacle, so that spectacle must be a part of the ordering of tragedy, and hence is an adornment. Still more narrowly considered, there is an element of poetic diction which Aristotle has termed κόσμος. And this term according to Gudeman (see his page 361 as mentioned below) offers the utmost difficulty ('die allergrößten Schwierigkeiten') of interpretation, as witness the numerous attempts to throw some light on the obscurity ('die zahlreichen Versuche, das Dunkel zu erhehlen').

In this technical sense, for diction, the word 'ornament' (κόσμος) occurs four times in the extant works of Aristotle: once in the Rhetoric (3.7.1408*14); and thrice in the Poetics (21.1457b2; 22.1458a33; 22.1459b14). The term is nowhere explained by him, though illustrated after a fashion in the Rhetoric (3.7.1408*10–16):

Your language will be appropriate if it expresses emotion and character, and if it is in proportion with the subject. By proportion is meant that weighty matters shall not be treated in a slipshod way, nor trivial matters in a solemn way: