

63. Martilogium. Item metra de contenis in byblia.

64. Legenda sanctorum notabilis, in pergameno.

## II.

Domino Marco pastori ecclesiae apud D. Leonhardi uno pro et docto amico singulari B.<sup>42</sup>

Salve charissime Marce. Cum nuper Selestadium transirem, illinc domum rediens prodidit mihi Beatus Rhenanus librum decretorum ecclesiasticorum auctore quodam episcopo Wormaciensi, quem asservat D. Nicolaus Briefer,<sup>43</sup> decanus S. Petri. Insunt ei libro quaedam, quae modo necessario mihi essent, quorumque causa et D. Beatum consulueram. Oro itaque te, per hunc vectorem, eius libri mihi copiam facias, nisi possis id commodius et maturius committendo eum alicui amico nam descensuro. Tantam erga me humanitatem exhibuit D. Briefferus Bernae,<sup>44</sup> ut spero haud quoque contradicturum. Curabo etiam librum intra breve tempus illesum remittere. Id etiam ad quod libro in ipso, non uni forsan ecclesiae proderit. Obsecro cura, ut sanctorum patrum toti corpus cudetur. Optime vale. Argentorati pridie calendas martias. Salutant te fratres. D. Nicolao me officiose commenda.

M. Bucerus tuus.

Nachtrag von der Hand Briefer's:

Hunc librum dedi domino Marco Bärzschy plebano S. Leonardi mittendum ad D. M. Bucerum anno 1531 4a Marcii N. Brieffer. Hic liber exigui pretii erat.

BASEL.

<sup>42</sup> St. Peter JJJ 1 sub dato. Originalpapierbrief, Spuren des Petschaftsiegels. Für freundliche Leschilfe spreche ich Herrn Dr. H. G. Wackernagel meinen besten Dank aus.

<sup>43</sup> Nikolaus Briefer († 1546), Magister artium et philosophiae, Lic. jur., Kanonikus zu St. Peter, später Dekan; Rektor der Universität Basel 1511, 1521, 1523, 1539. Vgl. R. Thommen, 'Die Rektoren der Universität Basel von 1460-1910,' in *Festschrift zur Feier des 450j. Bestehens der Univ. Basel* (Basel, 1910), 23, 25, 29; Wackernagel, *a.a.O.*, III, 163, 325, 339, 428, 492.

<sup>44</sup> Anspielung auf die Berner Disputation von 1528?

zsn2a030245

## 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.<sup>1</sup> 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*<sup>2</sup> (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,<sup>3</sup> and for Prudentius by Helen Woodruff.<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> For works of particular interest for their treatment of Reims cf.: Adolph Goldschmidt, 'Der Utrechtspsalter,' *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XV (1892), 156-169. Paul Durrieu, 'L'origine du manuscrit célèbre dit le *Psautier d'Utrecht*,' *Mélanges Julien Havet* (Paris: 1895), pp. 639-657. J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter* (Helsingfors: 1895-1900). Georg Swarzenski, 'Die karolingische Malerei und Plastik in Reims,' *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXIII (1902), 81-100. Amédée Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne* (Paris: 1910). A. M. Friend, 'Carolingian Art in the Abbey of St. Denis,' *Art Studies*, I (1923), 67-75. Helen Woodruff, 'The Physiologus of Bern,' *Art Bulletin*, XII (1930), 226-253. G. R. Benson and D. T. Tselos, 'New Light on the Origin of the Utrecht Psalter: I. (Benson) The Latin Tradition and the Reims Style in the Utrecht Psalter,' *Art Bulletin*, XIII (1931), 13-53. L. W. Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Mss. of Terence prior to the 13th century* (Princeton: 1931). E. T. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter* (Princeton: 1932). Wilhelm Köhler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen: I. Die Schule von Tours. Des Textes zweiter Teil: Die Bilder* (Berlin: 1933), pp. 293-298.

<sup>2</sup> H. Janitschek, *Die Trierer Ada-handschrift* (Leipzig: 1889), *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 62-67, 100-101, 213-214.

<sup>4</sup> *The Illuminated Mss. of Prudentius* (Harvard Univ. Pr.: 1930), p. 10.

unparalleled. Accordingly, I included Reims, as well as St. Denis of Paris and St. Germain of Auxerre, among the *scriptoria* to be compared with Fleury. I soon decided, however, to complete the study of the script of Reims first, as it was comparatively free from the complexities in which the other centers were involved. The impulse to the study of these schools came from Professor Edward Kennard Rand, under whose guidance I had written a doctoral thesis on the script of Fleury, and in whose honor these studies are published; to his subtle scholarship and wide learning in many fields I am forever under obligation.

The purpose of this article is to give an account in the limited space at my disposal of all known manuscripts of Reims which bear the *ex-dono* of Hincmar, as well as to offer a hand-list of all Reims manuscripts known to me which I consider to be the products of that *scriptorium*. Under the category of Reims manuscripts I include those of the three main sources, the Cathedral Chapter and the monasteries of St. Remi and St. Thierry, with occasional books from the monasteries of St. Denis, St. Nicaise, and Hautvillers. Furthermore, on account of the lack of any history of the Reims libraries, I shall give a brief introductory account of them. The foot-notes will provide a fairly complete bibliography of the subject, bringing up to date the notes of Delisle,<sup>5</sup> Gottlieb,<sup>6</sup> and Weinberger.<sup>7</sup> In order to supplement the description of the manuscripts and to help paleographers in identifying books of Reims the editor has allowed me to offer two specimens of the script of the period of Hincmar. While there are many reproductions of miniatures of this school, there are almost no fac-similes of the script, without which any attempt to describe the writing would be useless. In fact, the script of Reims is as easily recognizable, if not so easily described, as that of Tours.<sup>8</sup>

The history of the Cathedral and monasteries, to say nothing of the libraries, of Reims up to the beginning of the ninth century is largely a matter of uncertainty and legend, in spite of the fact that we have a particular work on the subject by a monk of the tenth century, Flodoard's *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*.<sup>9</sup> From him we have a meagre notice from

<sup>5</sup> *Le Cabinet des Mss. de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: 1868-1881), II 15, 404, 411-413.

<sup>6</sup> *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig: 1890), pp. 338-344.

<sup>7</sup> 'Wegweiser durch die Sammlungen altphilologischer Hss.,' *Akademie d. Wissenschaften in Wien. Sitzungsber.* 209. Band; 4. Abhandlung. Sitzung vom 13. Februar 1929.

<sup>8</sup> It is to be hoped that scholars who are aware of the existence of other mss. of Reims provenience will send me that information, as I am engaged on a larger work on this subject.

<sup>9</sup> For the history of the cathedral and monasteries of Reims cf.: *Gallia Christiana* (Paris: 1751), IX, cols. 1-332; instrum. 1-94. Guillaume Marlot, *Histoire de la ville, cité, et université de Reims* (Reims: 1843-46), 4 vols. Georges Boussinesq and Gustave Laurent, *Histoire de Reims* (Reims: 1933) 2 vols. in 3. T. P. Armand, *Histoire de Saint Remi* (Paris: 1846). J. C. Poussin, *Monographie de l'abbaye et de l'église de St.-Remi de Reims* (Reims: 1857).

For editions of Flodoard cf.: Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 135. M. Lajeune, *Histoire de l'église de Reims par Flodoard* (Reims: 1854), text and translation.

the times of Archbishop Tilpin (753-800):<sup>10</sup> Flodoard, II, 17: *Sed et sacrarum codicibus scripturarum, quibus adhuc aliquibus quoque utimur, hanc instruxit ecclesiam*. There is also an interesting item about a sacramentary, 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 Gaudelgaudus, 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.<sup>11</sup> 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 command of Vulfarius, the other at the order of Ebo.<sup>12</sup> The best known manuscript of the time of Ebo is the so-called *Ebo Gospels*, written probably between 816 and 835, now *Ms. 1* in the municipal library of Epernay; it is famous for the influence of its miniatures.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> This is not the place to go into his struggles with princes both temporal and spiritual, his quarrels with Godescalc, 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.<sup>15</sup> For although Hincmar was not definitely

<sup>10</sup> The dates of all bishops mentioned in this article are taken from Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series episcoporum* (Ratisbon: 1873), p. 608.

<sup>11</sup> Léopold Delisle, 'Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires,' *Mémoires de l'Institut national de France*, XXXII (1886), 87-89. Ulysse Chevalier, *Sacramentaire et martyrologe de l'abbaye de saint-Remy* (Paris: 1900), pp. vi-xii.

<sup>12</sup> Jean Mabillon, *De Re Diplomatica* (Paris: 1681), p. 362, tab. x<sup>1</sup> and tab. x<sup>2</sup>. Details in Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

<sup>13</sup> Edouard Aubert, 'Ms. de l'Abbaye d'Hautvillers dit Évangéliaire d'Ébon,' *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, X, 4<sup>e</sup> série (1879), 111-127. Consult also in particular the articles of Goldschmidt, Durrieu, Swarzenski, and Köhler, mentioned in Note 1.

<sup>14</sup> On Hincmar of Reims cf.: Flodoard, Book III. Abbé Auguste Vidieu, *Hincmar de Reims* (Paris: 1875). C. v. Noorden, *Hincmar, Erzbischof von Rheims* (Bonn: 1863). Heinrich Schrörs, *Hincmar, Erzbischof von Reims* (Freiburg im Breisgau: 1884). Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (München: 1911), I, 339-354. For his extensive works cf.: Migne, *Patr. lat.*, vols. 125-6.

<sup>15</sup> Guy Carleton Lee, *Hincmar; an introduction to the study of the revolution of the church in the ninth century* (Baltimore: 1897) (reprinted from vol. VIII of the Papers of the American Society of Church History). Ferdinand Lot and Louis Halphen, *Le Règne de Charles le Chauve (840-877)*, première partie (840-851) (Paris: 1909). (Fascicule 175 de la Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études).

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.<sup>16</sup> To quote from one of his biographers.<sup>17</sup>

'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 sprichwörtliche 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 Hilduino abbate monasteriali religione nutritus et studiis litterarum imbutus, indeque 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 abbate, sub episcoporum auctoritate laboravit, ut ordo monasticus in praedicto monasterio quorumdam voluptuosa factione diu delapsus, restauraretur.<sup>18</sup>

Flodoard, III, 5: Evangelium aureis argenteisque describi fecit litteris, aureisque munivit tabulis, et gemmis distinxit pretiosis. His quoque versibus insignivit:

Sancta Dei Genitrix et semper virgo Maria,

Hincmarus praesul defero dona tibi.

Haec pia quae gessit, docuit nos Christus Iesus,

Editus ex utero, casta puella, tuo.

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

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

<sup>16</sup> For the emphasis laid on practical subjects cf.: Les Actes de la Province ecclésiastique de Reims, ou Canons et Décrets des Conciles, Constitutions, Statuts, et Lettres des Evêques des différents Diocèses qui dépendent ou qui dépendaient autrefois de la Métropole de Reims. Publiés par Mgr. Th. Gousset, Archevêque de Reims, primat de la Gaule Belgique, etc. 4 vols. (Tome premier, Reims: 1842) I 204 ff.

For Hincmar's knowledge of the Classics cf. Schrörs, *op. cit.*, pp. 466-7; Manitius, *op. cit.*, pp. 346, 349.

<sup>17</sup> Schrörs, *op. cit.*, pp. 469-470.

<sup>18</sup> Paris, *Bibl. Nat. Ms. Lat. 13090*, 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 838. It is printed in d'Achery, *Spicillegium*, IV 229 (shorter edition of 1723: III 333/4). This *societas precum*, 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 (883-900), when Hucbald of St. Amand and Heiric of Auxerre could be counted among their teachers, under Archbishop Gerbert (991-998), and generally through the later Middle Ages.<sup>19</sup>

Except for the catalogue of the books belonging to Vulfadus, the friend of John the Scot, in Paris *Bibl. Mazarine Ms. 561*, fol. 219<sup>v</sup>, written towards the end of the ninth century,<sup>20</sup> and the tenth-century catalogue of the manuscripts of the monastery of St. Thierry,<sup>21</sup> 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 number. Before listing them I offer a single example from *Paris, B. N., lat. Ms. 4789*, fols. 1<sup>r</sup> and 32<sup>v</sup>: Lib(er) s(an)c(t)i Rem(igii) vol(umen) vii<sup>xx</sup> 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 (Phillipps 1743)	concilia Galliae; paparum epp.
	2	Reims 90	Augustinus in psalmos 50-100.
		" 228	Missale.
	4	Paris 4280A? cf. No. 9.	Canones, capitularia, etc.
		" 9347	Sedulius, Fortunatus, Juvenius, etc.
	5	Vatic. Regin. lat. 1046	Niceni concilii secundi acta.
	6	Paris 2866	Hincmarus de divortio Lotharii.

<sup>19</sup> For the schools of Reims cf.: P. L. Péchenard, *De Schola Remensi Decimo Saeculo* (Reims: 1876). Abbé E. Cauly, *Histoire du Collège des Bons-Enfants de l'Université de Reims* (Reims: 1885).

<sup>20</sup> *Palaeographische Forschungen von Ludwig Traube. Fünfter Teil. Autographen des Johannes Scottus' aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Edward K. Rand. Mit 12 Tafeln. Abhandl. d. könig. bayerisch. Akad. d. Wiss. Philos.-philol. und hist. Kl. XXVI. Band. 1. Abhandl. Vorgelegt am 13. Januar 1912*, pp. 1-12. Plate XII gives fol. 219<sup>v</sup> of *Mazarine Ms. 561* on which this catalogue of about twenty books appears; they can almost all be duplicated among extant books of Reims. Other mss. of the 'circle of John the Scot' which are treated in this article are: *Reims 875*; *Laon 81*; *Paris B. N. lat. 12964*; *Bamberg H. 7. IV. 5* (*Philos. 2*) and *Q. VI. 32* (*Patrist. 46*). See also, as a corrective, the palinode: E. K. Rand, 'The supposed autographa of John the Scot,' *Univ. of California Publications in Class. Philol.* V, no. 8, pp. 135-141. Plates 1-11 give reproductions of *Reims 875*.

<sup>21</sup> *Reims Ms. 427*, fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-13<sup>r</sup>. *Cat. gén., t. XXXVIII* (1904) 570.

7	Paris 14194	Bernardus Silvestris; Hildebertus, etc.
	Reims 225	Missale.
8	" 123	Claudius Taurinen. super Leviticum.
9	Paris 4280A? cf. No. 4	
10	" 13764, pars 3.	Passio S. Eugenii; Hincmari Epp. iv.
	Reims 226	Missale.
11	" 25	Biblia.
	" 671	Dionysii Exigui Canones.
15	" 26	Biblia.
19	Paris 13764, pars 6	Vitae SS. Chrysanti et Dariae; Goaris.
21	Reims 27	Biblia.
24	Berlin 82 (Phill. 1741)	Dionysii Exigui Canones.
	Paris 13764, pars 1	Vita S. Basoli.
25	Reims 132	Expos. Remigii super Psalterium.
26	Reims 91	August. sup. Psalmos grad.; homiliae.
31	" 16	Pars veteris et novi Testamenti.
32	" 17	" " " " "
33	" 19	" " " " "
34	" 18	Pars veteris Testamenti.
	" 146	Radulphus de Flaix super Leviticum.
38	" 93	August. super Evangelium S. Iohannis.
39	" 109	Gregorii Moralia in Iob.
40	" 108	" " " " "
	Vat. Regin. lat. 417	Caroli Magni Capitularium.
45	Reims 94	August. super Evangelium S. Iohannis.
49	Bern 427	Fulgentius; Dares Phrygius.
50	Bern 83	Nonius Marcellus, etc.
53	Reims 29	Novum Testamentum.
54	Paris 4668	Leges Visigothorum.
59	Reims 1343	Josephus.
	Bern 427 ? cf. No. 49	
60	Reims 1344	Josephus.
61	" 1345	Josephus.
	Paris 7691	Glossarium B-P (Abstrusa).
65	Reims 424	Gregorii epistolae.
68	Leiden B.P. 114	Isidori Etymologiae.
69	Leiden Vos. Q. 60	Liber Pontificalis.
	Reims 674	Burchardi Wormaten. Decreta.
78	" 412	Leonis papae homiliae et epistolae.
	Vat. Regin. lat. 418	Concilia etc.
92	Paris 5609	Vita S. Huberti.
101	Reims 1091	Papiae elementarium doctrin.
106	" 300	Lectionarium.
127	Vat. Regin. 213	Hilarion; Eusebii Chron.; Hier.; Fredeg.
	Paris 8728 ? cf. No. 147	Hyginus.

133	Reims 47	Concordia evangelistarum.
139	" 140	Excerpta Alulfi ex Gregorio.
142	Paris 4789	Liber legis Salicae.
143	" 13763	Vitae SS.
	Reims 28	Libri prophetarum.
145	Brit. Mus. Addit. 9046	Liber Psalmorum notis Tironianis.
147	Paris 8728 ? cf. No. 127	
150	Reims 137	Gilbertus de S. Amando in epp. Pauli.
164	Reims 691	Compilatio tertia decretalium.
165	" 690	Breviarium decreti.
168	Paris 7974 ?	Horatius.
177	Vat. Regin. 994	Isaac Lingonen. canonum collectio.
179	Paris 5569 ?	Vita S. Dion.; Hincmarus: Gesta Dagob.
184	Bern 522	Ars Petri grammatica.
205	Brit. Mus. Reg. 15 B XIX	Beda, etc.
208	Vat. Regin. 272	Alcuini epistolae.
217	Paris 1597A	Synodi.
272	Vat. Regin. 191	Isidorus, etc.
275	Berlin 135 (Phill. 1886)	Paulus Diaconus.
284	Reims 1094	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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> An inventory of the property of the monastery for the year 1790 lists 248 manuscripts as against 1500 for the period before the fire.<sup>24</sup> 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<sup>25</sup> and the two to which Mabillon

<sup>22</sup> Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Voyage littéraire de deux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint Maur* (Paris: 1717), I, partie ii, 79-84.

<sup>23</sup> Henri Jadart, 'Journal de Dom Pierre Chastelain, Bénédictin Rémois, 1709-1782,' *Travaux de l'Académie nationale de Reims*, 110 (1900-1), II, 130-2.

<sup>24</sup> 'Abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims. Inventaire des 28, 29, et 30 avril 1790.' Document inédit publié par M. l'Abbé Favret. *Travaux de l'Académie nationale de Reims*, 131 (1913-4), I, 378.

<sup>25</sup> Anton v. Premerstein, 'Zum Codex Remensis des Phaedrus und Querolus,' *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Vereines für Bibliothekswesen*, I (1897) 1-7 (with one fac-simile).

178<sup>v</sup>-179<sup>r</sup>, 186<sup>v</sup>-187<sup>r</sup>, 194<sup>v</sup>-195<sup>r</sup>, 202<sup>v</sup>-203<sup>r</sup>, 212<sup>v</sup>-213<sup>r</sup>, 218<sup>v</sup>-219<sup>r</sup>, 231<sup>v</sup>-232<sup>r</sup>. **SCRIPT.** Clear, ample Caroline minuscule, with occasional pages of small writing for capitula and prologues. Various hands of a very similar type. Almost complete elimination of abbreviations and ligatures except for *et*. Small uncial *a* throughout. Occasional ligature *st*, especially in hand B (fols. 1-34<sup>r</sup>). Fols. 1-7 and 170-1 are added c. 1000 A.D. to fill gaps. **ILLUMINATION.** Large interlaced initials of the embellished Franco-Saxon type, especially on fols. 8<sup>r</sup>, 27<sup>r</sup>, 44<sup>r</sup>, 55<sup>r</sup>, 91<sup>r</sup>, 105<sup>r</sup>, 118<sup>r</sup>, 153<sup>r</sup>. Contents indicated at tops of pages throughout in red rustic capitals. Headings in red and brown capitals, rustic capitals, and uncials. **FOL.** 219<sup>r</sup> (in a scribble hand of *saec.* xiii) *omnis homo primum bonum vinum ponit*. cf. note 28. **REFERENCES.** *Catalogue général des Mss. des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, XXXVIII (1904), pp. 1-3. Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Âge* (Paris: 1893), 281, 412. Durrieu, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 650, note 4.

3. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 2. (Chap. B, ord. 1, no. 2.) *Bible. (Psalms—Apocalypse.)* This Ms. is a continuation of *Reims 1*. The two are often referred to as 'Hincmar's Bible.' 200 leaves. 424×320. 2 cols., 340×265. 47 lines. **BOOK-MARKS.** The regular Hincmar book-mark (with minor mutilations) on fols. 17<sup>v</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>, 37<sup>v</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>, 51<sup>v</sup>-52<sup>r</sup>, 114<sup>v</sup>-115<sup>r</sup>, 132<sup>v</sup>-133<sup>r</sup>, 173<sup>v</sup>-174<sup>r</sup>, 195<sup>v</sup>-196<sup>r</sup>. **SCRIPT.** Same type as in *Reims 1*, but with more small writing at the beginning of the book. On fols. 111<sup>r</sup>-115<sup>r</sup> one hand appears in which open *a* occurs, a novelty in this period; perhaps it was only the more formal book hand which eliminated it. **ILLUMINATION.** Same type as in *Reims 1*. Cf. fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 19<sup>r</sup>, 37<sup>r</sup>, 113<sup>r</sup>-114<sup>r</sup> (large colophons of the four gospels), 115<sup>r</sup>, 125<sup>r</sup>, 132<sup>r</sup>, 143<sup>r</sup>. **REFERENCES.** *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 3-4. Berger, *op. cit.*, pp. 281, 412.

4. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 7. (St. Thierry, no. 9.) *Gospels.* This Ms. is often called the 'Gospels of St. Thierry.' 173 leaves. 300×222. 1 col., 204×138. 27 lines. **BOOK-MARKS.** Slightly different in this book. HINC MARUS ABBA / DE-DIT SCO THEODERICO. On fols. 21<sup>v</sup>-22<sup>r</sup>, 29<sup>v</sup>-30<sup>r</sup>, 37<sup>v</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>, 45<sup>v</sup>-46<sup>r</sup>, 53<sup>v</sup>-54<sup>r</sup>. Hincmar was also abbot of St. Thierry and St. Remi. **SCRIPT.** Straight, careful, clear Caroline minuscule, free from ligatures and abbreviations. Brown to dark brown ink. Fols. 1-7 are later (*saec.* xii<sup>ex</sup>), containing the gospel to be read at the washing of the feet on Holy Thursday. **ILLUMINATION.** Large interlaced initials, like those in *Reims 1* and 2, on fols. 22<sup>r</sup>, 64<sup>r</sup>, 92<sup>r</sup>, and 135<sup>r</sup>. Fols. 21<sup>r</sup> contains a remarkable portrait of St. Matthew in dull colors. Colophons on fols. 14<sup>v</sup>-20<sup>r</sup>. Headings in bright red capitals, rustic capitals, and uncials. **REFERENCES.** *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 8-9. Boinet, *op. cit.* (note 1), Pl. LXXV-VII. Durrieu, *op. cit.*, p. 650, note 4.

5. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 46. (Chap. A, ord. 2, no. 13.) *Victor of Capua. (Interpretatio harmoniarum Ammonii Alexandrini et Diatessaron Tatiani in quattuor evangelia: Migne, Patr. lat. vol. 68, cols. 251 ff.)* 113 leaves. 232×190. 1 col., 151×103. 24 lines. **BOOK-MARKS.** The regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 22<sup>v</sup>-23<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>v</sup>-63<sup>r</sup>, 86<sup>v</sup>-87<sup>r</sup>, 112<sup>v</sup>-113<sup>r</sup>. **SCRIPT.** The common, traitless Caroline minuscule of Reims, fairly similar to the script of *Reims 7*. Few ligatures or abbreviations; no *st* ligature. The manuscript is horribly disfigured by marginal

and interlinear glosses of *saec.* xii. Capitula on fols. 15<sup>r</sup>-17<sup>r</sup> 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<sup>r</sup>. 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. gén.* XXXVIII, 41-2.

6. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 70. (Chap. A, ord. 1, no. 9.) *St. Augustine, Bede, St. Jerome.* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-22<sup>r</sup> *Praedestinatus, sive Praedestinatorum liber.* fol. 22<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>v</sup> *liber nonagesimae heresis.* fol. 25<sup>v</sup>-51<sup>v</sup> *sub nomine Augustini liber contra hereticos.* fol. 52<sup>r</sup>-119<sup>v</sup> *expositio ven. Bedae in libro Salomonis quod (sic) dicitur Proverbia.* fol. 119<sup>v</sup>-168<sup>v</sup> *expositio Hieronymi in libro Ecclesiaste.* fol. 169<sup>v</sup>-171<sup>v</sup> *expositio Bedae in librum Tobiae* (mutil.). 172 leaves (156 bis). 291×238. 1 col., 207×164. 29 lines. **BOOK-MARKS.** The regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 24<sup>v</sup>-25<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>v</sup>-49<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>v</sup>-73<sup>r</sup>, 96<sup>v</sup>-97<sup>r</sup>, 118<sup>v</sup>-119<sup>r</sup>, 142<sup>v</sup>-143<sup>r</sup>, 163<sup>v</sup>-164<sup>r</sup>. **SCRIPT.** The typical straight, clear, solemn Caroline minuscule of Reims. Two or more main hands: A (1<sup>r</sup>-51<sup>v</sup>), B (52<sup>r</sup>-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<sup>r</sup> there is a characteristic Reims initial *Q* in red and brown with a long understroke. **REFERENCE.** *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 69-70.

7. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 83. (Chap. A, ord. 1, no. 5.) *St. Augustine.* fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>v</sup> *Augustini Retractationum libri VII in Genesi etc.* fols. 25<sup>v</sup>-149<sup>r</sup> *Augustini Quaestiones in eisdem libris.* 150 leaves (74 bis). 316×267. 2 cols., 237×198. 34 lines. **BOOK-MARKS.** The regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 8<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>, 16<sup>v</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>, 40<sup>v</sup>-41<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>v</sup>-73<sup>r</sup>, 111<sup>v</sup>-112<sup>r</sup>, 139<sup>v</sup>-140<sup>r</sup>, 148<sup>v</sup>-149<sup>r</sup>. **SCRIPT.** Small Caroline minuscule of the Reims type but of varying style. Three main hands: A (1<sup>r</sup>-97<sup>v</sup>, more or less), B (97<sup>v</sup>-127<sup>v</sup>, 144<sup>r</sup>-149<sup>r</sup>, more or less), C (128<sup>r</sup>-143<sup>v</sup>). Hand A is fairly small and carefully spaced, with slightly rounding clubbings in the ligatures *ra*, *ct*, *rt*, *st*. 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 scholia are in the ordinary Hincmarian style. This book shows more ligatures and abbreviations than most books of the period. **ILLUMINATION.** Headings, *explicits-incipits* in red or brown rustic capitals. There seem to be no uncials in the book. **REFERENCE.** *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 82-3.

8. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 99. (Chap. A, ord. 1, no. 7.) *St. Gregory. (Moralium in Job libri I-V.)* This Ms. plus *Reims 100* and *101* form one work and belong together. 172 leaves. 298×223. 1 col., 211×144. 24 lines. **BOOK-MARKS.** The regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. 8<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>, 10<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>, 24<sup>v</sup>-25<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>-33<sup>r</sup>, 40<sup>v</sup>-41<sup>r</sup>, 56<sup>v</sup>-57<sup>r</sup>, 64<sup>v</sup>-65<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>v</sup>-73<sup>r</sup>, 80<sup>v</sup>-81<sup>r</sup>, 88<sup>v</sup>-89<sup>r</sup>, 96<sup>v</sup>-97<sup>r</sup>, 104<sup>v</sup>-105<sup>r</sup>, 112<sup>v</sup>-113<sup>r</sup>, 120<sup>v</sup>-121<sup>r</sup>, 128<sup>v</sup>-129<sup>r</sup>, 136<sup>v</sup>-137<sup>r</sup>, 144<sup>v</sup>-145<sup>r</sup>, 152<sup>v</sup>-153<sup>r</sup>, 160<sup>v</sup>-161<sup>r</sup>, 168<sup>v</sup>-169<sup>r</sup>, 171<sup>v</sup>-172<sup>r</sup>. **SCRIPT.** Full, ample, rich Caroline minuscule, the 'cream' of Reims. Three main hands: A (1<sup>r</sup>-49<sup>v</sup>, 65<sup>r</sup>-137<sup>v</sup>), B (49<sup>v</sup>-56<sup>v</sup>), C (57<sup>r</sup>-64<sup>v</sup>, 137<sup>v</sup>-172<sup>r</sup>). 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. 1<sup>r</sup>. 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. 1<sup>r</sup>. The first eight and the last two leaves of the book are somewhat stained and damaged. There are red rustic *explicitis-incipits passim* (fols. 36<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>r</sup>, 98<sup>v</sup>, 134<sup>r</sup>). The red is of the ordinary bright variety so characteristic of this school. A few notes of *saec. x.* REFERENCE. *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 95-6.

9. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 100. (Chap. A, ord. 2, no. 24.) *St. Gregory. (Moralium in Job libri VI-X.)* This Ms. belongs with *Reims 99* and *101*. 167 leaves. 276×220. 1 col., 178×155. 22 lines. BOOK-MARKS. This book does not have the regular Hincmar book-mark; since *Reims 101* 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 / REMENSIS on fols. 16<sup>v</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>, 19<sup>v</sup>-20<sup>r</sup>, 40<sup>v</sup>-41<sup>r</sup>, 60<sup>v</sup>-61<sup>r</sup>, 78<sup>v</sup>-79<sup>r</sup>, 92<sup>v</sup>-93<sup>r</sup>, 106<sup>v</sup>-107<sup>r</sup>, 130<sup>v</sup>-131<sup>r</sup>, 143<sup>v</sup>-144<sup>r</sup>. SCRIPT. Small, somewhat crabbed Caroline minuscule, similar to that of *Reims 83*. Three main hands (hands A, C, and D, which fill the gaps, are of *saec. x.*): B (2<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>v</sup>, 101<sup>r</sup>-108<sup>v</sup>), E (61<sup>r</sup>-100<sup>v</sup>, more or less), F (109<sup>r</sup>-167<sup>v</sup>). 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 *saec. x.* ILLUMINATION. There seem to be no uncials in the book. The *explicitis-incipits* are in bright red rustic capitals. FOLS. 1 and 41-60, which fill in gaps, are of *saec. x.* REFERENCE. *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 96.

10. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 101. (Chap. A, ord. 2, no. 25.) *St. Gregory. (Moralium in Job libri XI-XVI.)* 181 leaves. 285×184. 1 col., 205×126. 29 lines. BOOK-MARKS. Like the preceding manuscript this book does not have the regular Hincmar book-mark. Instead we find: SCAE MARIAE / REMENSIS ECCLAE on fols. 8<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>, 86<sup>v</sup>-87<sup>r</sup>, 176<sup>v</sup>-177<sup>r</sup>. SCRIPT. Several types of Caroline minuscule common at Reims. Five main hands, more or less: A (1<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>v</sup>, 125<sup>r</sup>-128<sup>v</sup>, more or less), B (41<sup>r</sup>-112<sup>v</sup>, more or less), C (113<sup>r</sup>-124<sup>v</sup>, more or less), D (129<sup>r</sup>-146<sup>v</sup>, more or less), E (147<sup>r</sup>-181<sup>v</sup> 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 crabbed and angular, like those of *Reims 83* and *100*. ILLUMINATION. Bright red uncial *explicitis-incipits* are more common than those in rustic capitals in this book. REFERENCE. *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 96-7.

11. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 118. (Chap. A, ord. 2, no. 16.) *Bede, St. Jerome, St. Gregory, Alcuin.* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>v</sup> *Beda expositio in Psalmos.* fol. 38<sup>r</sup>-53<sup>r</sup> *Hieronymi quaestiones in libris Regum.* fol. 53<sup>r</sup>-67<sup>r</sup> *Hieronymi expositio in Paralipomenon.* fol. 67<sup>r</sup>-79<sup>r</sup> *Beda quaestiones in libros Regum.* fol. 79<sup>r</sup>-81<sup>v</sup> *Beda expositio de nominibus locorum quae leguntur in Actibus Apostolorum.* fol. 81<sup>v</sup>-90<sup>v</sup> *Gregorii Concordia quorundam testimoniorum sacrae Script.* fol. 90<sup>v</sup>-102<sup>v</sup> *Gregorii expositio super Cantica Canticorum.* fol. 103<sup>r</sup>-115<sup>r</sup> *Alcuini expositio in VII Psalmos poenitentiales.* fol. 116<sup>r</sup>-124<sup>r</sup> *Alcuini expositio in psalmos graduales.* fol. 124<sup>r</sup>-140<sup>v</sup> *cuiusdam incerti expositio in quosdam psalmos.* 140 leaves. 278×225. 1 col., 201×160. 29 lines. BOOK-MARKS. This does not have the regular Hincmar book-

mark. Instead we read: HINCMARUS DIACONUS DEDIT STEPHANO on fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 58<sup>v</sup>-59<sup>r</sup>, 140<sup>v</sup>-B<sup>r</sup> (B is 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. 1<sup>r</sup>, 4<sup>r</sup>, 38<sup>r</sup>, 103<sup>r</sup>. When it occurs in Mss. of Reims, I have found no difficulty in assuming that it stands for Hincmar. On fol. 4<sup>r</sup> we find: STEPHANUS DEDIT SCAE MARIAE REMENSI. On fols. 11<sup>v</sup>-12<sup>r</sup> we find: LIBER SCAE MARIAE / REMENSIS ECCLAE (perhaps later, *saec. 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 *875*. SCRIPT. Various similar hands of a small, close, careful type, with ligatures and abbreviations almost abolished. Eight main hands: A (1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>, a preface hand, the 'milk' of Reims), B (4<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>v</sup>, 28<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>), C (4<sup>v</sup>-27<sup>v</sup>), D (38<sup>r</sup>-71<sup>v</sup>, 128<sup>r</sup>-140<sup>v</sup>), E (72<sup>r</sup>-102<sup>v</sup>), F (103<sup>r</sup>-104<sup>r</sup>), G (104<sup>v</sup>-115<sup>v</sup>), H (116<sup>r</sup>-127<sup>v</sup>). Hand D is the only one which admits ligatures to any extent. ILLUMINATION. Headings and *explicitis-incipits* are in brown rustic capitals. There is no red in the book, nor do there seem to be any uncials. FOL. A (a guard-leaf at the beginning) Scribble: *Rodulfus*. The same scribble occurs in another book written by a Stephanus of the same period: *Reims 74*, fol. 121<sup>v</sup>. *Reims 875*, 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. 1<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>r</sup> *Ambrosii dicta de Salomone.* fol. 10<sup>r</sup>-27<sup>r</sup> *Ambrosii de divinis misteriis.* fol. 27<sup>r</sup>-33<sup>r</sup> *Ambrosii de Gedeon (prologus tractatus de Spiritu Sancto).* fol. 33<sup>r</sup>-66<sup>r</sup> *Ambrosii de vinea Nabuthae Israelitae.* fol. 66<sup>v</sup>-109<sup>r</sup> *Ambrosii apologia David.* fol. 109<sup>r</sup>-112<sup>v</sup> *Ambrosii de Pascha.* 112 leaves. 235×183. 1 col., 147×112. 19 lines. BOOK-MARKS. The regular Hincmar book-mark (occasionally mutilated) on fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 27<sup>r</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>-33<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>v</sup>-63<sup>r</sup>, 86<sup>v</sup>-87<sup>r</sup>, 112<sup>v</sup>. SCRIPT. Clear, open, traitless Caroline minuscule of Reims. Some *st* ligatures, but few on the whole. Few abbreviations. One hand throughout. ILLUMINATION. Bright red uncial and rustic capital headings and *explicitis-incipits*. Simple initials in red and yellow on fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 10<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>r</sup>, 66<sup>v</sup>, 109<sup>r</sup>. Fine white parchment with rulings in brown crayon. REFERENCE. *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 484-6.

13. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 377. (Chap. A, ord. 2, no. 16.) *St. Ambrose, Rufinus of Aquileia, Victor of Tonnenna.* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup> *Ambrosii liber de misteriis.* fol. 10<sup>v</sup>-32<sup>r</sup> *Ambrosii libri VI de sacramentis.* fol. 32<sup>r</sup>-62<sup>v</sup> *Ambrosii libri de Paradiso.* fol. 63<sup>r</sup>-81<sup>r</sup> *Ambrosii de virginibus liber I et II.* fol. 81<sup>r</sup>-108<sup>r</sup> *Rufini Commentarii in symbolis apostolorum* (here called: *tractatus epi. Augustini de fide simboli ad Laurentium Papam.*) Migne, P.L., vol. 21, cols. 335 ff. fol. 109<sup>r</sup>-139<sup>v</sup> *S. Victoris Tonensis epi. historiographi de Delapsis.* 140 leaves (112 bis). 254×222. 1 col., 162×142. 23 lines. BOOK-MARKS. The regular Hincmar book-mark (occasionally mutilated) on fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>v</sup>-49<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>v</sup>-73<sup>r</sup>, 76<sup>v</sup>-77<sup>r</sup>. On fol. 139<sup>v</sup> the same mark in contemporary brown minuscules, an unusual occurrence; but *vide Reims 393*. On fol. 1<sup>r</sup> in the extreme lower left-hand corner we read: *pars huberti*. In a similar place on fol. 63<sup>r</sup>: *incip(it) pars aderhardi*; and on fol. 109<sup>r</sup>: *pars berulfi*. 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. 44<sup>v</sup>, 47<sup>v</sup>, 48<sup>v</sup>, etc. Three hands, as indicated above: A (*pars Huberti*, 1<sup>r</sup>-62<sup>v</sup>), B (*pars Aderhardi*, 63<sup>r</sup>-108<sup>v</sup>), C (*pars Berulfi*, 109<sup>r</sup>-139<sup>v</sup>). Open *a* occurs in glosses. ILLUMINATION. Red rustic capital *explicitis-incipits* on fols. 10<sup>v</sup>, 32<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>v</sup>, 63<sup>r</sup>, 81<sup>r</sup>. A few red uncials (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>). REFERENCES. *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 486-7. *CSEL* XXXII<sup>1</sup> (1897), LV.

14. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 382. (Saint-Thierry no. 36.) *St. Augustine. (Retractationum libri II. Contra Academicos libri III. De ordine libri II.)* Fols. 1-78, *saec.* xi<sup>as</sup>, I disregard. 93 leaves (fols. 79-171). 270×191. 1 col., 195×122. 26 lines. BOOK-MARKS. The regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. 101<sup>r</sup>-102<sup>r</sup>, 123<sup>v</sup>-124<sup>r</sup>, 147<sup>v</sup>-148<sup>r</sup>, 163<sup>v</sup>-164<sup>r</sup>. (The first half of the book, fols. 1-78, which I disregard, has three marks of the library of St. Thierry of *saec.* xii-xiv.) SCRIPT. Various hands ranging from mediocre to good Caroline minuscule. Eight main hands: A (79<sup>r</sup>-80<sup>r</sup>), B (80<sup>v</sup>-85<sup>v</sup>), C (86<sup>r</sup>-117<sup>v</sup>), D (118<sup>r</sup>-123<sup>v</sup>), E (124<sup>r</sup>-129<sup>v</sup>), F (130<sup>r</sup>-131<sup>v</sup>), G (132<sup>r</sup>-165<sup>r</sup>), H (165<sup>r</sup>-171<sup>v</sup>). Hands A and F have no *st* ligatures and otherwise show regular Reims style. The other hands are mostly small and somewhat uneven. Open *a* occurs in glosses (fol. 81<sup>r</sup>). ILLUMINATION. Brown and red rustic capitals in headings and *explicitis-incipits* on fols. 107<sup>r</sup>, 115<sup>r</sup>, 134<sup>v</sup>, 149<sup>v</sup>, 171<sup>v</sup>. Uncials seem not to occur. REFERENCE. *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 499-500.

15. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 384. (Chap. A, ord. 3, no. 35.) *Tichonius. (libri VII Regularum.)* 37 leaves. 238×200. 2 cols., 183×148. 28 lines. BOOK-MARKS. The regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 16<sup>v</sup>, 17<sup>r</sup>, 35<sup>v</sup>. SCRIPT. Fine open, spaced, clear, rounding Caroline minuscule, the 'milk' of Reims. One hand throughout. Few ligatures and abbreviations. ILLUMINATION. Headings and *explicitis-incipits* in red rustic capitals. Uncials seem not to occur. REFERENCE. *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 503-4.

16. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 385. (Chap. A, ord. 3, no. 33.) *St. Jerome, Alcuin, etc.* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>-14<sup>r</sup> *Hieronymi tract. contra Luciferianos*. fol. 14<sup>v</sup>-60<sup>v</sup> *Altercatio Athanasii contra Arrium* etc. fol. 61<sup>r</sup>-95<sup>v</sup> *Acta concilii Francofurtensis contra Elipantum*. fol. 95<sup>v</sup>-154<sup>r</sup> *Alcuini et Elipanti epp. et opuscula quaedam*. fol. 154<sup>r</sup>-158<sup>r</sup> *Confessio Fidei Felicis, Urgellitani epi*. 160 leaves. 246×192. 1 col., 190×137. 28 lines. BOOK-MARKS. The regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 24<sup>v</sup>-25<sup>r</sup>, 46<sup>v</sup>-47<sup>r</sup>, 70<sup>v</sup>-71<sup>r</sup>, 94<sup>v</sup>-95<sup>r</sup>, 118<sup>v</sup>-119<sup>r</sup>, 142<sup>v</sup>-143<sup>r</sup>, 156<sup>v</sup>-157<sup>r</sup>. SCRIPT. Several varieties of small and medium-sized Caroline minuscule. Eight main hands: A (1<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>v</sup>, more or less), B (50<sup>v</sup>-70<sup>v</sup>), C (71<sup>r</sup>-78<sup>v</sup>, 95<sup>r</sup>-105<sup>r</sup>, 111<sup>r</sup>-136<sup>v</sup>, 157<sup>r</sup>-160<sup>r</sup>), D (79<sup>r</sup>-94<sup>v</sup>), E (105<sup>r</sup>-110<sup>v</sup>), F (136<sup>v</sup>-142<sup>v</sup>), G (143<sup>r</sup>-149<sup>v</sup>), H (149<sup>v</sup>-155<sup>v</sup>). Ligatures and abbreviations are not uncommon in this book. Some of the writing is rather crabbed and stiff. Hand B most nearly approaches the normal style of the period. ILLUMINATION. The headings and *explicitis-incipits* seem to be in bright red rustic capitals only. REFERENCES. *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 504-8. Albert Werminghoff, *Neues Archiv* 26 (1901), 24.

17. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 390. (Chap. A, ord. 1, no. 6.) *St. Augustine. (De Trinitate libri XV.)* 136 leaves. 299×262. 2 cols., 215×187. BOOK-MARKS. The

regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>r</sup>, 12<sup>v</sup>-13<sup>r</sup>, 20<sup>v</sup>-21<sup>r</sup>, 44<sup>v</sup>-45<sup>r</sup>, 68<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>, 92<sup>v</sup>-93<sup>r</sup>, 116<sup>v</sup>-117<sup>r</sup>, 133<sup>v</sup>-134<sup>r</sup>. SCRIPT. Ordinary undistinguished Caroline minuscule. One main hand (or possibly two hands) for fols. 5<sup>r</sup>-108<sup>v</sup>. Ligatures and abbreviations are not uncommon. Some of the letters show signs of clubbing. ILLUMINATION. In the capitula on fols. 1<sup>v</sup>-4<sup>r</sup> 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. 5<sup>r</sup>. REFERENCE. *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 519-20.

18. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 392. (Chap. A, ord. 4, no. 21.) *St. Augustine, opuscula. (Liber de magistro. De sancta virginitate. Regula. Sermo Arrianorum et libellus contra eundem sermonem. Epistola de cavendo Iudaismo et de recipiendis Donatistis.* 120 leaves (plus A, a guard-leaf with a contemporary index on the verso). 2 cols. (fols. 1-31<sup>r</sup>); 1 col. (fols. 31<sup>v</sup>-end), 158×122. 22 lines. BOOK-MARKS. The regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. A<sup>v</sup>-1<sup>r</sup>, 30<sup>v</sup>-31<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>v</sup>-49<sup>r</sup>, 64<sup>v</sup>-65<sup>r</sup>, 96<sup>v</sup>-97<sup>r</sup>, 119<sup>v</sup>-120<sup>r</sup>. All these press-marks stand in complete erasures on both pages, but the book is certainly Hincmarian. SCRIPT. Various sorts of ordinary, careful Caroline minuscule of the Reims type, straight and fairly well spaced. Some ligatures and abbreviations. Four main hands: A (1<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>), B (11<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>), C (49<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>r</sup>), (59<sup>r</sup>-120<sup>r</sup>, more or less). ILLUMINATION. Red uncials and red and brown rustic capitals in headings and *explicitis-incipits*. REFERENCE. *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 522-3.

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 epistolae duae. De gratia et libero arbitrio. De correptione et gratia. De Praedestinatione. De dono perseverantiae. De bono coniugali. De sancta virginitate. De Nuptiis et concupiscentia.)* 172 leaves. 265×222. 1 col., 193×147. 31 lines. BOOK-MARKS. The regular Hincmar book-mark (with mutilations) on fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>v</sup>-73<sup>r</sup>. On fols. 171<sup>v</sup>-172<sup>r</sup> 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 (1<sup>r</sup>-109<sup>r</sup>, more or less), B (110<sup>r</sup>-118<sup>r</sup>), C (118<sup>r</sup>-149<sup>v</sup>), D (150<sup>r</sup>-172<sup>v</sup>, 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. 13<sup>v</sup> and 74<sup>r</sup>). On fols. 110<sup>r</sup>, 140<sup>v</sup>, and 154<sup>r</sup> blank spaces have been left for the rubricator. REFERENCES. *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 523-6. *CSEL* XXXXII (1902), IIII-V. *CSEL* LX (1913), X.

20. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 425. (Chap. A, ord. 1, no. 8.) *Isidore, Etymologiae and Glossae; 'Cicero,' Synonyma.* 272 leaves. 302×259. 2 cols. (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-205<sup>r</sup>); 4 cols. (fols. 206<sup>r</sup>-266<sup>v</sup>); 8 cols. (fols. 266<sup>v</sup>-272<sup>v</sup>), circa 219×191. 30 lines. BOOK-MARKS. The regular Hincmar book-mark (occasionally mutilated) on fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 16<sup>v</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>v</sup>-49<sup>r</sup>, 88<sup>v</sup>-89<sup>r</sup>, 104<sup>v</sup>-105<sup>r</sup>, 128<sup>v</sup>-129<sup>r</sup>, 144<sup>v</sup>-145<sup>r</sup>, 176<sup>v</sup>-177<sup>r</sup>, 205<sup>r</sup>, 216<sup>v</sup>-217<sup>r</sup>, 235<sup>r</sup>, 238<sup>v</sup>-239<sup>r</sup>, 272<sup>v</sup>. SCRIPT. Varying types of Caroline minuscule of Reims, both mediocre and good. Three main hands: A (1<sup>r</sup>-24<sup>v</sup>), B (25<sup>r</sup>-232<sup>v</sup>, 238<sup>r</sup>-241<sup>v</sup>, more or less), C (233<sup>r</sup>-237<sup>v</sup>, 242<sup>r</sup>-272<sup>v</sup>). Hand A shows more ligatures and ab-



breviations than the other two; hand C is most characteristic of Reims. There are a good many notes of the middle of the tenth century. ILLUMINATION. Many bright red rustic capital headings. REFERENCE. *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 566-8.

21. REIMS, Bibl. de la Ville 434. (Chap. A, ord. 1, no. 10.) *Bede. (De gratia Dei. Expositio super Cantica Canticorum in V libris. De opusculis Gregorii Papae liber sextus in Cantico Canticorum collectus.)* 133 leaves (13 bis). 300×220. 2 cols., 210-220×153. 27-32 lines. RULING. The only exceptional Ms. of this group. Quire VI ruled two leaves at a time from the outside: >>|>>||<<|<<. Quire X ruled two leaves at a time from the outside (A on B), and then two leaves at a time from the inside (D<sup>v</sup> on C<sup>v</sup>): >>|<<||>>|<<. Quire VII (irregularly): B<sup>v</sup> on A<sup>v</sup>; C; D<sup>v</sup>. <<|>|<<|. Quire VIII (irregularly): A; B<sup>v</sup>; D<sup>v</sup> on C<sup>v</sup>. >|<|<<|. BOOK-MARKS. The regular Hincmar book-mark on fols. 49<sup>v</sup>-50<sup>r</sup>, 65<sup>v</sup>-66<sup>r</sup>, 73<sup>v</sup>-74<sup>r</sup>, 89<sup>v</sup>-90<sup>r</sup>, 97<sup>r</sup>-98<sup>r</sup>, 105<sup>v</sup>-106<sup>r</sup>, 113<sup>v</sup>-114<sup>r</sup>, 121<sup>v</sup>-122<sup>r</sup>, 129<sup>v</sup>-130<sup>r</sup>, 131<sup>v</sup>. SCRIPT. Several varieties of medium to small Caroline minuscule, early in the Hincmarian period, if not before it. Open *a* is common. Both the apostrophe and the figure 2 abbreviation for *-ur* appear, sometimes with the former changed into the latter. Ligatures and abbreviations are fairly frequent, although Hand B (4<sup>r</sup>-36<sup>v</sup>) has abolished most of them. There are nine or more hands. This is an anomalous book and may well have been written earlier than our period and presented by Hincmar some time later than its writing. ILLUMINATION. Four lines of red uncial give the heading on fol. 4<sup>r</sup>. Otherwise brown uncial and rustic capitals are used in the *explicits-incipits*. REFERENCE. *Cat. gén.* XXXVIII, 587-8.

22. PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 5609. (Colbert 5543; Regius 4432.7) *Vita S. Huberti episcopi Leodiensis, auctore Iona episcopo*. 68 leaves. 202×175. 1 col., 118×92. 15 lines. BOOK-MARKS. The regular Hincmar book-mark does not appear; instead we have: fols. 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>. HINCMARUS ARCHIEPS/DEDIT SCO REMIGIO (then in a hand of *saec.* xii) *qui ei abstulerit anathema sit*. On fols. 1<sup>r</sup> and 35<sup>r</sup> in the upper margin in a hand of *saec.* xiii appears the regular red book-mark of the library of St. Remi: *Lib. sci. Remigii Rem. vol. iiii<sup>xx</sup> et xii* (i.e., quatre-vingt-douze, or 92). SCRIPT. The ordinary full, flowing Caroline minuscule of Reims with few abbreviations or ligatures. One hand throughout. Fols. 1, 2, 67, and 68 are later, *circa* 1000 A.D. ILLUMINATION. Bright red and brown uncial and rustic capitals in the headings. FOL. 63<sup>v</sup>. The year 825 is mentioned in the text. According to Potthast this life was written in 825.

\* \* \*

In the following list of Reims manuscripts I have marked with an asterisk those books which I have not seen and which I know only from photographs or the descriptions of others. The capital letter within parentheses, which follows the title of a manuscript, designates its provenience, so far as it is known, and is thus to be interpreted: (B) monastery of St. Basol; (C) Cathedral Chapter of Reims; (H) monastery of Hautvillers; (N) monastery of St. Nicaise; (R) monastery of St. Remi; (T) monastery of St. Thierry. In the few instances where facsimiles are available, I have added a brief reference. It is hardly necessary to say that this list represents the results of long study and thought and contains

my present opinions on the school of Reims. Some periods, however, like those of 825-845 and 882-900, offer peculiar difficulties and may involve changes later. At the end of the main list I have included a list of doubtful and of rejected manuscripts for the sake of completeness.

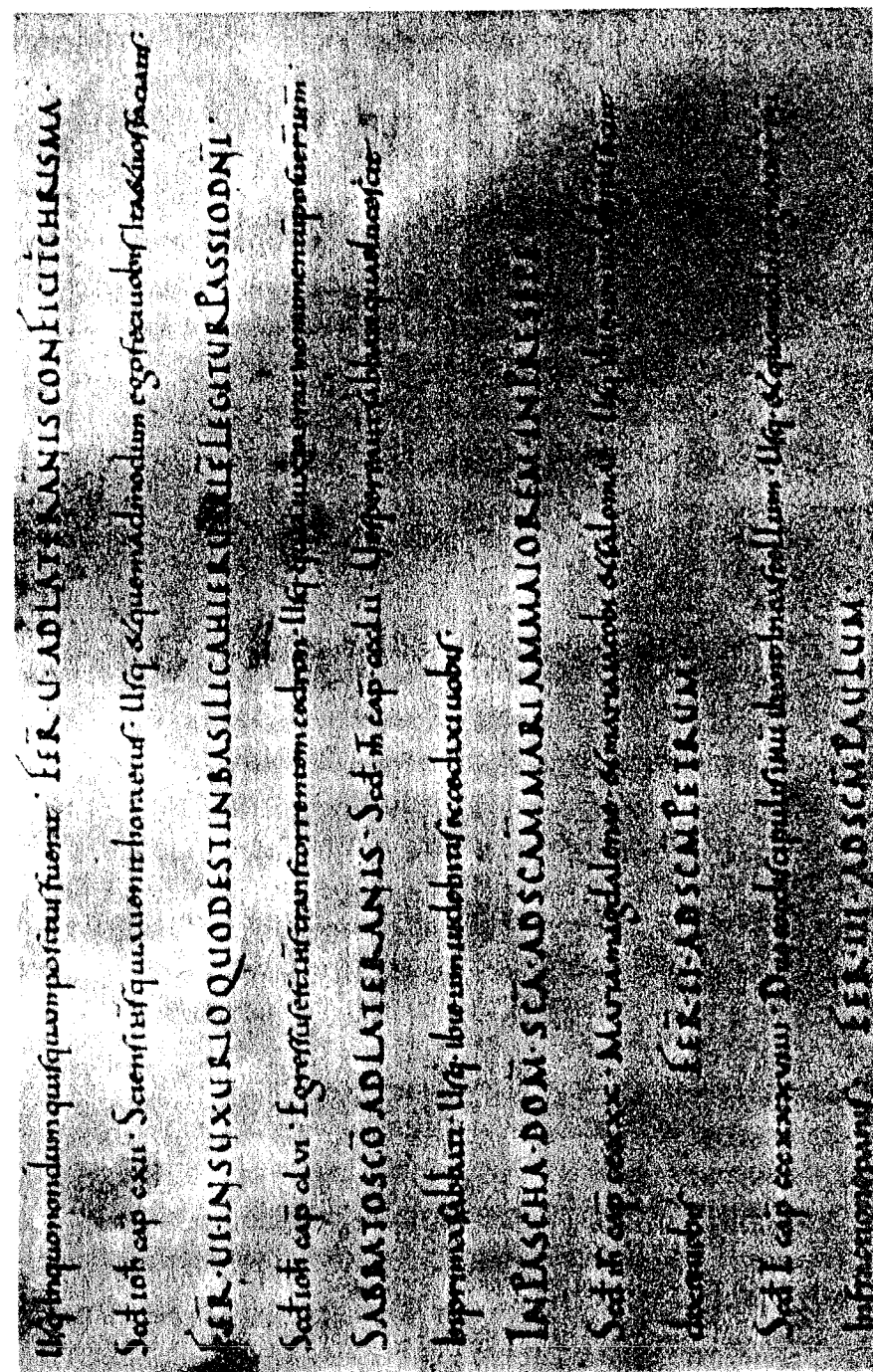
# A HAND-LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS OF REIMS WRITTEN BEFORE 1100 A.D.

	<i>saec.</i> vi/vii	Paris, Bibl. Nat. 8728	(R)
Reims 1424		Reims 10	(C)
	<i>saec.</i> vii	" 123	(R)
Reims 132, fol. C.	(R)	" 130	(C)
	<i>saec.</i> viii	" 373	(T)
Berlin 84 (Phillipps 1743)	(R)	" 374 fols. 16-51.	(C)
Leiden, Bibl. Pub. Leid. 114	(R)	" 414 fols. 80-111.	(T)
Paris, Bibl. Nat. 7691	(R)	Rome, Vat. Regin. lat. 213	(R)
Reims 8 fols. 1-2.	(T)	*Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek	
" 123 fol. B.	(R)	F. IV. (The Utrecht Psalter).	
	800-825 A.D.	845-882 A.D. Period of Hincmar	
Bern 522	(R)	Bamberg Philos. 2 (HJ. IV. 5 and	
*Épernay 1	(H)	6; 2 vols.)	
Leiden Voss. Q. 60	(R)	Berlin 82 (Phill. 1741) & Rome,	
Paris, Bibl. Nat. 8780	(R)	Vat. Regin. lat. 1283 fols. 95-	
Reims 5	(T)	96.	(R)
" 8 fols. 3-102.	(T)	Berlin 163 (Phill. 1762)	(R)
" 73	(T)	Bern 427	(R)
" 75	(C)	Cambridge, Pembroke College	
" 76	(R)	308	(C)
" 110	(T)	*Laon 81	
" 413	(C)	London, Brit. Mus. Addit. 9046	(R)
" 414 fols. 49-79.	(T)	New York, Morgan 728	
" 415	(T)	*Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 561	
" 426 fols. 1-117.	(T)	" Bibl. Nat. 5609	(R)
" 435	(T)	" " 10758 pages 1-	
" 443	(C)	136.	
" 671	(R)	Paris, Bibl. Nat. 12445	
Rome, Vat. Regin. lat. 191	(R)	" " 13090 fols. 70-	
	825-845 A.D.	77b.	(R)
Bamberg Patrist. 21 (E. III. 21)		Paris, Bibl. Nat. 13764 fols. 73-	
fols. 37-146.	(C)	89.	(R)
Bern 318		*Paris, Bibl. Nat. 17968 (Loisel	
*Leningrad Oct. I. 5.	(R) <sup>20</sup>	Gospels)	
		Reims 1	(C)
		" 2	(C)

<sup>20</sup> Staerk, *Mss. de St. Pétersbourg*, II, Pl. 42-3.



Reims 3	(C)	Oxford, Bodleian 157	(R)
" 7	(T)	Paris, Bibl. Nat. 1594	
" 11	(C)	" " " 1597A	(R)
" 46	(C)	" " " 2865	
" 70	(C)	" " " 2866	(R)
" 74	(C)	" " " 4668	(R)
" 83	(C)	" " " 5569	(R)
" 85	(T)	" " " 7899	
" 99	(C)	" " " 10758 pages	
" 100	(C)	137-340.	
" 101	(C)	Paris, Bibl. Nat. 11884 fols. 1-4.	
" 116 fols. 1-126.	(T)	" " " 12964	
" 118	(C)	" " " 13763 fols. 1-	
" 123	(R)	102.	(R)
" 376	(C)	Reims 77	(C)
" 377	(C)	" 116 fols. 127-223.	(T)
" 382	(T)	" 126	(C)
" 384	(C)	" 129	(C)
" 385	(C)	" 296 fols. 1-65.	(T)
" 390	(C)	" 369	(C)
" 391	(C)	" 396	(H)
" 392	(C)	" 414 fols. 1-48.	(T)
" 393	(C)	" 438	(T)
" 414 fols. 80-111.	(T)	" 875	(C)
" 425	(C)	Rome, Vat. lat. 326	(R)
" 434	(C)	Rome, Vat. Reg. lat. 994	(R)
" 1351	(C)	" " " 1650	(R)
Rome, Vat. Reg. lat. 272	(R)	900-950 A.D.	
" " " " 845	(R)	Bamberg Class. 8 (HJ. IV. 13)	
" " " " 1046	(R)	Leiden, Voss. Q. 71	(C)
" " " " 1283 fols.		Paris, Bibl. Nat. 4280A	(R)
95-96 & Berlin 82 (Phill. 1741).		" " " 7974 (Chate-	
882-900 A.D.		lain, Pl. LXXXIV).	(R)
Bamberg Patrist. 46 (Q. VI. 36)		Paris, Bibl. Nat. 9347	(R)
Bern 83	(R)	" " " 13764 fols. 60-	
" 370	(C)	72.	(R)
" 425	(R)	Reims 132	(C)
" 584	(R)	" 247	(T)
London, Brit. Mus., Reg. 15. A.		" 296 fols. 66-135.	(T)
XXXIII.	(R)	" 304	(C)
London, Brit. Mus., Reg. 15. B.		" 374 fols. 52-59.	(T)
XIX fols. 37-102, 111-196.	(R)	" 394	(T)
*Montpellier, Bibl. de l'École de		" 408 fols. 1-98.	(T)
Méd. 126 (Chatelain, Pl.		" 421	(T)



Celerissimè contra auctoritatem doctissimi magistri nichil  
tionis unanimiter quæsupradicta aemulè opulente iudi  
uigisse cognoscerem quadiucentuohanne aplo  
siconfiteamur peccatam fidei salutis etiam ut remit  
tat nobis peccatam et prima salutis spes est confessio  
deinde dilectio quia caritas operit multitudinem pecca  
torum non dimittit eum inde salubre indulgentiae  
medicina expecerem non prohamanosa prodia inotimo  
re et fructu amoris ac propria saluatione non emper functione  
nobis sacerdos ab legendū et tenendū est quod et alacris et fem  
nis ipsi se per beatū dicit gregorū et eubis quasque in interrogat  
ionem confessionis ex pi se ueraciter probat ueremur sepe a proxi  
mis despici dedignamur humilia uerbi tolerare sicut tangat  
ingum fortasse cum proximo erubescimus priores satis  
facere cor quippe carnale dum huius uita agendam quae  
re humilitatem respuit et plerumque ipse homo qui nasci  
tur discordantem sibi reconciliari appetit sed ut ad satis  
faciendū priore erubescit pensamus facienda nata ut ui

Reims 439	(T)	Reims 294 fols. 11-281.	(C)
" 975 fols. 34-75.	(C)	" 295 fols. 1-323.	(C)
" 1097	(C)	" 297	(T)
" 1395	(C)	" 305	(T)
Rome, Vat. Regin. lat. 417	(R)	" 340	(C)
" " " " 418	(R)	" 341	(N)
950-1000 A.D.		" 357 fragm. 1.	
Bamberg Hist. 5 (E. III. 3)		" 374 fols. 1-15.	(C)
Berlin 135 (Phill. 1886)	(R)	" 382 fols. 1-78.	(T)
*Dresden Dc. 182	(C)	" 395 fols. 41-156.	(T)
Paris, Bibl. Nat. 4789	(R)	" 426 fols. 118-210.	(T)
" " " 13764 fols. 49-		" 427 fols. 1-13, 133-136.	(T)
59.	(R?)	" 428	(T)
Reims 4	(T)	" 673	(C)
" 6	(T)	" 975 fols. 1-33.	(C)
" 14	(T)	" 1329	(C)
" 96	(T)	" 1352	(T)
" 125	(T)	" 1354	(T)
" 133	(C)	" 1402	(C)
" 214	(T)	" 1403	(C)
" 250	(T)	" 1406	(T)
" 258 fols. 1-145, 153-160.	(T)	" 1412	(T)
" 395 fols. 1-12.	(T)	" 1413 fols. 20-73.	(T)
" 408	(T)	" 1429	(C)
" 427 fols. 137-168.	(T)		
" 440	(T)	Doubtful Mss.	
" 1405	(T)	800-825 A.D.	
" 1412	(T)	Bern 233	
Rome, Vat. Regin. lat. 561	(R)	" 234	
1000-1100 A.D.		Reims 1094	(H)
Paris, Bibl. Nat. 13763 fols. 103-168.	(R?)	845-882 A.D.	
Paris, Bibl. Nat. 13764 fols. 1-48.	(R)	Bern 109	(B)
Reims 8 fols. 103-111.	(T)	" 705	
" 12	(T)	Rome, Vat. Regin. lat. 314 fols.	
" 13 fols. 1-167.	(C)	119-140.	
" 15	(C)	Rome, Vat. Regin. lat. 598 fols.	
" 78 fols. 7-46.	(T)	35-36.	
" 86 fols. 9-72.	(T)	Rome, Vat. Regin. lat. 980 fols.	
" 102	(C)	19-34.	
" 134	(T)	882-900 A.D.	
" 135	(T)	Bern 199	
" 252	(C)	Leiden Voss. Q. 116	
" 258 fols. 161-190.	(T)	New York, Morgan 640	
		Paris, Bibl. Nat. 12255	

Paris, Bibl. Nat. 12965  
Rome, Vat. Regin. lat. 581 fol.

39.  
Rome, Vat. Regin. lat. 1424 fols.  
91-98.  
Venice, Marcianus 270

900-950 A.D.

Bamberg Hist. 162 (E. III. 5)

" Class. 30 (M. V. 18)

Berlin 110 (Phill. 1876)

Paris, Bibl. Nat. 4287 (R?)  
" " " 11884 fols. 37-

160.

Rome, Vat. Regin. lat. 1669

950-1000 A.D.

Bern 232

Rome, Vat. Regin. lat. 1424 fols.

9-90.

1000-1100 A.D.

Bern 47

" 626

Berlin 89 (Phill. 1765)

Leiden Voss. Q. 102

" Voss. Q. 113

Reims 9

Rome, Vat. Regin. lat. 1424 fols.

1-8.

Rejected Mss.

sacc. viii

Leiden BPL 191 BA

" Voss. O 69

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES.

800-825 A.D.

Leiden Voss. O. 74

825-845 A.D.

Leiden Voss. F. 62

" Voss. O. 29

Reims 789 (St. Omer.)

Rome, Vat. Regin. lat. 669.

845-882 A.D.

Rome, Vat. Regin. lat. 848

" " " " 849

" " " " 1128

882-900 A.D.

Leiden BPL 135

" Voss. O. 37

Paris, Bibl. Nat. 13764 fols. 118-214.

900-950 A.D.

Leiden BPL 109

" Voss. F. 64

" Voss. Q. 74

950-1000 A.D.

Bern 720

Leiden Voss. F. 13

" Voss. Q. 13

" Voss. Q. 18

Paris, Bibl. Nat. 13764 fols. 90-116.

Reims 213 (Noyon).

1000-1100 A.D.

Leiden Voss. O. 7

## 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* 6.1449<sup>b</sup>33) one constituent part must needs be the decorative element of spectacle (*δ τῆς ὀψέως 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 erhellen').

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<sup>a</sup>14); and thrice in the *Poetics* (21.1457<sup>b</sup>2; 22.1458<sup>a</sup>33; 22.1459<sup>a</sup>14). The term is nowhere explained by him, though illustrated after a fashion in the *Rhetoric* (3.7.1408<sup>a</sup>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: