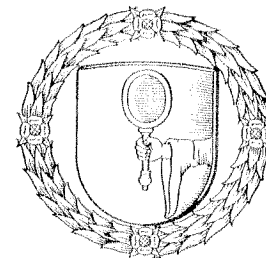


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vigorous treatment in difficult delivery. Even if the practice was not still used in fifteenth century England, a memory of it no doubt remained from earlier times. Thus like the allusions to the very primitive custom of *couvade* in *Aucassin and Nicolette*, this reference may have been to a crude practice now laughable to the medieval 'moderns.' But it seems more likely that the practice was still current and the practitioners in this case most appropriate.

So now Mak, the perpetrator of a false childbirth, is tossed on a blanket like a woman in difficult labor. How perfectly, then, the punishment fits the crime. And how perfectly it fits the culprit too, for as Professor Watt pointed out:

... the entire stage business of the pseudonativity shows on the part of both Mak and Gyll considerable practice in playing childbed and nursing roles.¹⁹

Gales of laughter must have greeted the pointed insult of this treatment. For it must be remembered that the First Shepherd had said that for this trespass they would neither curse nor flout, fight nor chide, but seize him tight and 'cast him in canvas.'²⁰ The act of tossing, therefore, must have been intended as a great indignity to Mak, a punishment more severe and fitting than brawling and beating, a punishment which would be a full, fitting climax to this first phase of the play.

In this bit of contemporary realism so appropriate to the story and the mood of the play, the Wakefield Master by merging the diverse elements of plot, character, and action has secured a remarkable dramatic unity. A plot of false childbirth is climaxed not by simple horseplay but by an action long used in treating difficult labor. The treatment is administered by shepherds who often used such methods when acting as midmen. The one receiving the treatment is a man well-versed in obstetric matters who is now fittingly humiliated for staging a pseudo-nativity. Finally, all of these elements are bound to the general unifying theme of childbirth dominating the entire drama. The tossing scene, therefore, emerges as a superb delineation of poetic justice by the Wakefield Master, worthy of the deftness and maturity of the first great English dramatist.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

¹⁹ Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

²⁰ Pollard, *loc. cit.*

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THE SCRIPTORIUM AT CORBIE: I. THE LIBRARY¹

BY LESLIE WEBBER JONES

The abbey at Corbie in Picardy dedicated to Sts Peter, Paul, and Stephan proto-martyr and founded at some time between 657 and 661, through the planting of a colony of Luxeuil monks² by Bathilde, the widow of Clovis II, prospered from the start. There were two chief reasons for this prosperity. In the first place, the abbey had a long line of royal patrons, including Bathilde's son (Clothaire III), five other Merovingian Kings (Childeric II, Thierry III, Clovis III, Childeric III, and Dagobert III) and, finally, Pepin the Short and even Charlemagne. In consequence, when its privileges were presented for royal confirmation by the abbot Leutchar between 751 and 768 and by the abbot Haddo in 769, the foundation already possessed an imposing collection of property *in quibuslibet pagis*. A half century later the statutes of the abbot Adalhard spoke of possessions in the districts of Amiens, Arras, and Beauvais.

The second reason for Corbie's good fortune lay in its location. It was situated

The present article was completed while I was a member of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton. I am grateful to the Institute for the opportunity which it provided.

¹ To conserve space I have employed the following abbreviations in citing works which are mentioned several times:

Coyecque

E. Coyecque, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Département. XIX* (1893).

Delisle, *Le cabinet*

Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale II* (1874), 104-141, and 427-440.

Dobiaš

Olga A. Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaia, *Histoire de l'atelier graphique de Corbie de 651 à 830 reflétée dans les manuscrits de Léningrad* (Leningrad, 1934).

Lauer, *Réforme*

Philippe Lauer, *La réforme carolingienne de l'écriture latine et l'école calligraphique de Corbie*. Extrait des *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Tome XIII (1924), 417-440 (and four plates: vii-x).

Levillain

L. Levillain, *L'examen critique des chartes mérovingiennes et carolingiennes de l'abbaye de Corbie* (Paris, 1902).

Mabillon

Jean Mabillon, *De re diplomatica* (2nd ed., Paris, 1700).

Mai

A. Mai, *Spicilegium romanum*, v (1841), 202-212.

MGH

G. H. Pertz, T. Mommsen, et al., edd., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (500-1500). Folio series (Berlin, 1826-1896). Quarto series (Berlin, 1876 ff.).

² Headed by the venerable bishop, Theodefrid; B. Krusch, ed., *Vita S. Bathildis antiquior*, in *MGH, script. rer. merov.*, II, 490-491. At first the monks of Corbie lived under the compromise between the harsh rule of St Columban and the milder rule of St Benedict which had become established at Luxeuil under abbot Waldahert; M. Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Autun à Alcuin* (Paris, 1905), p. 412; and Levillain, p. 220. In the tenth century, however, Columban's rule fell into complete neglect; Levillain, *ibid.*

on a small tributary of the Somme about twelve and a half miles from Amiens, which from ancient times had been a lively center established on a main artery of travel and commerce — the great route which connected Langres with Boulogne, what was later Belgium with southern France, the British Isles with Italy, and the ocean with the Mediterranean. Just as in early times this route served the Greeks and, later, Caesar and, still later, the emperor Claudius, who provided it with a road, in the Merovingian period it afforded a means for movements of troops, merchants' travels, monks' pilgrimages, and missionaries' voyages. The importance of the trade which was carried on in the vicinity of Corbie and the part which Corbie took in this trade are demonstrated by the privilege of Clothaire (661) and the confirmations of Childeric II and of Chilperic II (716). The commercial transactions of the abbey were free of 'tonlieu'; the following items destined for Corbie were also free of the duty which was normally levied on merchandise passing through Fos (Bouches-du-Rhône): 10,000 pounds of oil; 30 pounds of pepper; 150 pounds of cumin; quantities of such foodstuffs as figs, dates, olives, almonds, pistachios, and spices; 50 reams of parchment (*carta*)³ ten oiled skins, ten Cordovan skins, and *aurum pigmentum* (presumably to illuminate manuscripts).

Several abbeys along the great route — Farmoutiers in Brie, Chelles near Paris, and Audelys, which was only twenty-five miles distant from Luxeuil — offered refuge to various princesses who came from the Irish-Saxon North, fascinated by the saintly renown of the ancient soil of France. There was in fact a distinct movement at this time from Great Britain toward the ecclesiastical foundations of the Franks and the Gauls. It is not, therefore, surprising to discover that Bathilde, the beautiful Anglo-Saxon captive who conquered the heart of the prince of the Franks, also freed Christians from captivity, *praecipue de gente sua*, and sent them in great numbers into such monasteries as Corbie, monasteries which for centuries exerted an irresistible attraction for pilgrims from the North.

Since it had had an auspicious start, Corbie did not long remain a simple retreat for monks who divided their time among prayer, manual labor, and study. In a relatively short period it became a celebrated school, which produced a number of men who figured brilliantly in the political, religious, and literary history of the eighth and ninth centuries. To this group belonged the abbot Grimon, whom Charles Martel sent on a mission to Pope Gregory III in 741; St Adalhard, the counsellor of Charlemagne; Adalhard the Younger, who founded the abbey of Corvey, which became the fountain-head of Saxon civilization; Adalhard's younger brother, Wala, who, after being abbot of Corbie, went to Italy as an exile and became abbot of Bobbio (833-835);⁴ St Anskar, who spent his youth in Corbie, taught at Corvey and then, with four other monks, went to Sweden in 830

³ Surely Dobiaš, p. 45, is wrong in considering that the more probable meaning of *carta* in this context is 'papyrus.'

⁴ E. Lesne, 'L'Économie domestique d'un monastère au IX^e siècle d'après les statuts d'Adalhard, abbé de Corbie,' in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot* (Paris, 1925), compares the statutes of Adalhard at Corbie with the rules of Bobbio.

as an apostle to the northern nations; Eudes, bishop of Beauvais, who was entrusted by Charles the Bald with exceptionally delicate missions and who composed for the archbishop Hincmar a treatise directed against the errors of the Greeks; Harbert, abbot of Lobbes, who had a remarkable knowledge of engineering; Paschasius Radbertus, one of the oracles of the church in France in the ninth century; Ratramnus, the disciple and rival of Paschasius; Druthmar the grammarian, who had a successful career as a teacher in the monastic schools of Stavelot and Malmédy; and finally, in all probability the monk John, whom Alfred the Great called from Corbie to help found his palace school at Winchester.

The good fortune of the school at Corbie depended not merely upon royal patronage, the excellence of the location, and the ability of the masters; it depended in equal measure upon the possession of a rich library in which were preserved both the masterpieces of Latin antiquity and the monuments of Christian literature — a library formed by the copying of books as well as by their acquisition from other monasteries. Corbie's important role in the preservation and writing of ancient and mediaeval manuscripts first becomes generally known in Jean Mabillon's *De re diplomatica*, whose publication marks the beginning of the scientific study of Latin palaeography. Many of the illustrations in this famous folio volume are drawn from Corbie codices. Thus, one of the two books chosen as examples of *scriptura Francogallica seu Merovingica* is *Corbie Ms. 142* (Gennadius);⁵ both examples of *scriptura Saxonica* are Corbie manuscripts — 257 (Isidore, etc.) and 660 (Jerome's commentary on Isaiah);⁶ two of the five examples of *scriptura Langobardica* are Corbie items — 598 (Venantius Fortunatus) and 507 (*Historia tripartita*);⁷ one of the three specimens of sixth-century writing is *Corbie 26* (a collection of canons);⁸ one of the three specimens of seventh-century writing is *Corbie 630* (*Regulae*);⁹ three of the five specimens from the eighth century are Corbie products — 264 (*Kalendarium*), 122 (Ambrose's commentary on *Luke*), and 424 (a collection of canons);¹⁰ three of the five ninth-century manuscripts come from the same source — *Ms. 592* (Sacramentary), an unnumbered fragment of Rabanus Maurus, and *Ms. 2* (part of the Bible and a *Chronicon*);¹¹ one out of four items belonging to the second half of the ninth century is a Corbie product — *Ms. 203* (Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*);¹² one out of three tenth-century books belongs to Corbie — *Ms. 587* (Ratold's *Sacramentary*);^{12a} two out of five items of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are Corbie books — *Mss. 488* and *489* (a two-volume *Florus*);¹³ moreover, many additional Corbie manuscripts are to be found among the numerous charters discussed and

⁵ Mabillon, p. 349.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 353. Most of Mabillon's successors up to Traube's time (1892) and some thereafter continue to believe in the so-called 'Lombardic error.' They feel, in other words, that at least some of the Corbie Mss were written in Northern Italy.

⁸ Mabillon, p. 357.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 363.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

^{12a} *Ibid.*, p. 367.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

illustrated.¹⁴ The reader of the *De re diplomatica* is left in no doubt at all concerning the size and excellence of the Corbie library collection.

As in Mabillon's publication, the illustrations in an equally important but somewhat later palaeographical work — the *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*¹⁵ are drawn to a considerable extent from books which once formed a part of the Corbie library. Thus, Plate xvii lists *Saint-Germain-des-Prés* 203 and 213 (both s. viii/ix) under Lombardie,¹⁶ while Plate xviii lists no. 108 from the same library under 'Saxonne.' Plate xxxvi, which represents Lombardic capitals, is devoted almost entirely to eighth and ninth-century books from Saint-Germain-des-Prés: 12, 13, 203, 213, 290, 460, 724, 760, 844, 1275, 1640, and others. The part of Plate xxxvii which contains 'ancienne écriture gallicane' includes the following books from the same library: 254 (s. vii), 766 (s. v/vi), 861 (s. vii/viii), 936 (s. ix ex.), and others. Plate xxxviii, which considers 'capitales mérovingiennes ou franco-gallicques' also represents a number of Saint-Germain mss.: 255, 266, 400.2, 663, 789, 862, 936, 960, 1200, 1309, and others. There is no need to list the many Corbie manuscripts and charters which appear in the subsequent plates. Notable perhaps is the fact that *Saint-Germain-des-Prés* 613 is selected as a representative of 'capitales teutoniques ou allemands.'

Delisle's devoted studies¹⁷ emphasize still further the importance of Corbie as a literary center. They point out, among other things, the composition of the library; the work of various copyists and librarians; the acquisitions from the ninth through the fifteenth century; the lending of books; the financial support for the library; and the sad but fascinating tale of the neglect of the library at the end of the sixteenth century, its restoration by the congregation of Saint-Maur, the theft of some of its volumes, the sending of its 400 most important books to Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1638 (whence they came to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1795 and 1796 except for about 25 volumes, which were stolen in 1791, made part of the Dubrowsky collection, and eventually brought to Leningrad), and the movement to Amiens, probably in 1791, of the remaining 400 volumes, of which 75 were brought in 1803 to the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Let us consider these points one by one. Delisle believes that the composition of the library in early times can be determined to a large extent by an inspection of three ancient Corbie catalogues. The first,¹⁸ an eleventh-century fragment (*Vatican City, Vat. Reg. lat. 520*, fol. 1^v), entitled *Hi libri reperti sunt in armario Sancti Petri*, is assigned to Corbie by Cardinal Mai for excellent reasons.¹⁹ Its

¹⁴ The charters are described in Mabillon, pp. 376–460, and represented by line cuts in Plates xvii–lviii.

¹⁵ *Nouveau traité de diplomatique pars deux religieux bénédictins* (Tassin and Toustain) *de la congrégation de S. Maur*, published in 6 quarto volumes in Paris 1750–1765.

¹⁶ As the reader will note, the 'Lombardie error' continues.

¹⁷ Léopold Delisle, in *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, xxi (1860), pp. 393–439 and 498–515, and in *Le cabinet*. The account in *Le cabinet* is merely a slightly revised repetition of the 1860 account.

¹⁸ Delisle, *Le cabinet*, pp. 427–428. This catalogue and the other two as well were published previously in Mai, and subsequently in G. Becker's *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885 nos. 55, 79, and 136), in T. Gottlieb's *Ueber mittelalterlichen Bibliotheken* (Leipzig, 1890: nos. 282, 283, and 284), and in Coxeque. ¹⁹ Mai, pp. 202–208.

contents are grouped as 49 items by Delisle²⁰ and 60 by Becker.²¹ The second catalogue (now at Berlin in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, s. xi/xii)²² is a sort of alphabetical list containing 309 or more items.²³ It is by universal consent assigned to the Corbie scriptorium. The provenience of the third catalogue (*Vatican City, Vat. Reg. lat. 520*, fols. 2^r–5^r; ca. 1200) has caused some discussion. Even though an early owner, who probably knew its origin, inscribed it with the words *Catalogus librorum Corbeiensis monasterii*, Cardinal Mai holds that it does not concern Corbie, but rather Korvey in Saxony.²⁴ This thesis is completely disproved by Delisle,²⁵ who points out that the maker of the catalogue has in some instances made almost verbatim copies of descriptions of contents which are written in manuscripts known to have come from Corbie; that this catalogue contains many of the items, including the rarest, found in the second; and that this catalogue contains at least 140 items which may be identified with manuscripts known to have come from Corbie.

In his own edition of the catalogue Mai gives a distorted report;²⁶ he not only divides the contents arbitrarily into 25 sections and each section into whatever number of items seems appropriate, but he even transposes items. The results are misleading in the extreme. Thus, the seven items listed under chapters 13 (nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20) and 14 (1 and 2) are not seven separate manuscripts, but one. Other similar errors can be listed. The reader will not, therefore, be surprised to know that Delisle has found it necessary to reedit the third catalogue,²⁷ to compare it with the two other ancient lists as well as with several Corbie catalogues published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to attempt to identify various items with items in manuscripts now extant.

This third catalogue is impressive. To appreciate it fully one must read and reread the eight folio pages which it occupies in Delisle's account. Only then will one have the proper admiration for the zeal and intelligence which inspired and guided the formation of the library. No pains were spared to assemble the greatest monuments of ecclesiastical knowledge and of Latin culture; even Greek literature was not altogether neglected.²⁸ It would be out of place here to recount at length the many and varied works which represented ecclesiastical learning and the hardly less numerous legal, historical, poetical, and oratorical works which represented Latin literature.²⁹

²⁰ Delisle, *Le cabinet*, pp. 427–428.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, no. 55.

²² S. xi ex. (Dobiasz, p. 36, note 2) or s. xii ex. (Delisle, *Le cabinet*, p. 105). Of extreme importance is the fact that this second catalogue sometimes makes verbatim copies of summaries (cf. s. ix x), which were written on the first or the last folio of a ms.: Dobiasz, pp. 36–37.

²³ 309 (Delisle, *Le cabinet*, pp. 428–433); 313 (Becker, *op. cit.*, no. 79).

²⁴ Mai, 204–212.

²⁵ *Le cabinet*, pp. 106–108.

²⁶ Delisle, *Le cabinet*, 108–109.

²⁷ *Le cabinet*, pp. 109–110. For Delisle's edition (including his identification of various items with extant mss.) see *ibid.*, pp. 432–440.

²⁸ There are two Greek items: *Leningrad, Pub. Lib., Greek Ms. 3* (*Epistole Pauli grece, epistole Pauli latine*), and a Greco-Latin glossary of s. viii/ix (once one of the choicest possessions of the library of Saint-Germain-des-Prés). Cf. Delisle, *Le cabinet*, pp. 109–110, and notes 1 and 2.

²⁹ Though the catalogues give no hint of the true situation, the Corbie library also possessed several works written in the fourteenth century in French: Delisle, *Le cabinet*, pp. 110–111.

Delisle's account³⁰ of the scribes, librarians (*armarii*), and directors of the scriptorium at Corbie from the eighth to the thirteenth century not only reveals interesting facts³¹ about the production of manuscripts but gives potential clues concerning the provenience of doubtful codices. I shall repeat Delisle's list below and to it add several items discovered by Olga Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaia and others.

ADALHARDUS ABBAS. During his exile on the isle of Noirmoutier (814–821) Adalhard had a copy made of the *Historia tripartita* (formerly *Saint-Germain 460*, subsequently *Leningrad, Public Library, F. v. I. 11*). On folio 1^r of this copy appeared two notes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries: *Hic codex iubente Adalhardo Hero fuit scriptus* and (lower down) *Hic codex Hero insula scriptus fuit, iubente sancto patre Adalhardo, dum exularet ibi*.³² These notes were doubtless copied from earlier notes now lost.

ADALHARDUS MONACHUS. *Paris, B.N., lat. 13354*³³ was written in the ninth century at the order of a monk named Adalhard. Cf. the note *Haec scripta iussu Adalhardi, monachi Corbeiensis* at the beginning of the volume and the Greek subscription at the end of the second part of this Ms., (now *Leningrad, Public Library, Q. v. I. 19*) ΑΔΑΛΧΑΡΔΟΙC ΜΟΝΑΧΟΙC ΙΟCΧΗΤ ΦΗΕΡΗ ΥΟΛΟΙΜΕΝ ΗCΤΟΙΤ ΤΩ ΘΩ ΗΚΑΡΗCΤΗΑC ΑΜΗΝ, as well as the Latin transcription just below — *Adalchardus monachus iussit fieri*. The manuscript contains a fairly large number of words more or less correctly written in Greek characters.

ALARDUS ARMARIUS. The librarian Alardus is a witness in an act of the year 1167 (*Cartulaire blanc de Corbie*, fol. 106^r).

ANDREAS PRIOR. The frontispiece of a commentary on Leviticus (*Paris, B.N. lat. 11564*) represents the prior Andreas offering his book to St Peter. An Andreas was prior³⁴ of Corbie in 1174 and in 1178.

ANGILBERTUS ABBAS. Angilbert, abbot of Corbie, had a work of St Augustine's copied ca. 880 and dedicated the copy (*Paris, B.N. lat. 13359*) to King Louis, brother of Carloman. Lindsay, *Not. Lat.*, p. 476, however, states that the copy was made at St Riquier between 796 and 810. The ms. contains the following among other verses:

*Hunc abbas humilis iussit fabricare libellum
Angilbertus enim vilis et exiguus.*

³⁰ *Le cabinet*, pp. 111–121. This account supplies fuller details than I give below.

³¹ In 822, e.g., Abbot Adalhard ordered a parchment maker to be attached to the abbey.

³² Dobiaš, p. 37. Delisle's account omits the first note altogether and the word *Hero* from the second.

³³ According to an ancient note written on the first leaf, this ms., formerly *Saint-Germain 1276* and no. 144 of the seventeenth-century catalogue, originally contained the *Expositio symboli a Rufino edita liber I* in addition to its sole present contents — the two books of Jerome's work *Contra Iovinianum*.

³⁴ I add here a chronological list of the priors — a list based on the information presented in Delisle, *Le cabinet*, p. 118, and notes 4 and 5: *Iohannes* (1127), *Ingravo* (1136), *Arnulfus* (1144), *Ricerus* or *Richerus* (1158), *Alcerus* or *Alicherus* (1160), *Hugo* (1162), *Arnulfus* (ca. 1170 [1169–1172]), *Andreas* (prior 1174; *Andreas prior et elemosinarius* 1178), *Erohenbaldus* or *Erkenbaldus* (1188), *Richerus* (1186), and *Iohannes* (1208). Delisle (*ibid.*) also mentions two subpriors named 'Richer': the first, subprior in 1158, was no doubt the man mentioned above as prior in 1158; the second, subprior in 1160, 1164, and 1167, was no doubt the man mentioned above as prior in 1185.

AUDOINUS. The note, *Ego Audoinus scripsi*, appears at the end of the tenth-century *Paris B.N. lat. 13351*.

FELIX. A monk named Felix apparently worked with John the One-eyed ca. 1164, in the execution of a Ms. of Florus. See below under JOHANNES MONOCULUS.

GONDACER. See below under HILDEBRANDUS.

HELYAS. A monk of this name wrote a volume (*Paris, B.N., lat. 17768*) in script which seems to belong to the end of the twelfth century.

HERBERTUS. At the beginning of *Paris, B.N., lat. 11580* (Amalarius, *De divinis officiis*) there is a large twelfth-century painting, which contains figures of Saints Peter, Andrew, and Leonard, the bishop Amalarius, the monk Herbert offering a book, and the monk Robert copying a book. It is obvious that Herbert directed the making of the Ms. and that Robert copied it. Herbert is undoubtedly the monk who appears, in connection with the year 1178, in the *Cartulaire blanc de Corbie*. He is probably to be identified with Herbert Dursens, who directed the making of three additional Mss.: *Paris, B.N., lat. 12270*, which has a frontispiece containing the image of a monk labelled *FRATER HERBERTUS DURUS SENSUS*; *Paris, B.N., lat. 12291*, which ends *Obsecro te, lector, memento Herberti Dursens, qui pro amore Dei et utilitate legentium librum istum renovari fecit*; and *Paris, B.N., lat. 12004*, whose first folio contains an acrostic poem based on the letters *HERIBERTVS DURVS SENSVS*.

HILDEBRANDUS. The fly-leaf at the end of *Paris, B.N., lat. 18311* (formerly 237 of Notre-Dame) bears two inscriptions. The first, *Ego Hildebrandus scripsi. Ora pro me*, is written in the hand of the ninth-century scribe who copied the first part of the manuscript. The second, consisting of five verses which begin

*Gondacri monachi, martir memorande, memento,
Codice qui parvo virtutum stemmata scripsi,*

is written in the hand of the tenth-century scribe who copied the second part of the Ms. (That the Ms. is a Corbie product has not yet been definitely established.)

HUGO DE CASTRIS. On the top of the verso of the last leaf of each of the twenty quires of *Paris, B.N., lat. 12295* (s. xii) there appear one or two vermillion letters. These letters joined together give us: *Hugo de Castris armarius me fecit*.

INGELRANNUS. At the end of *Paris, B.N., lat. 11636*³⁵ one reads:

*Excepit facto sibi praemonitore Roberto
Ingelrannus opus monachus quo scriberet istud,*

and two additional verses.

INGREUS.³⁶ Immediately after the *Explicit* on fol. 210^r of *Leningrad, Pub. Lib. F.*

³⁵ Presumably of s. xii (L.W.J.), although Delisle, *Le cabinet*, p. 120, refers to the Robertus here mentioned as belonging to s. xi.

³⁶ This item was discovered by Olga Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaia, who reports it in 'Un scribe corbéien du VIII siècle,' *Palaeographia Latina* (ed. W. M. Lindsay) v (1927), pp. 50–51. Cf. Dobiaš, *Histoire*, p. 37, where it is stated that f. 213^r contains the words *Ingreus domino adiuvante scripsit*. Is this the same inscription?

v. I. 6 (St Ambrose's commentary on Luke; s. viii *med.*) appears the inscription: *Quisquis legis, ora pro scribtozem, Si Dominum Ihesum Christum habeas adiutorem. Ingreus adiuuante Domino scribit.*

ISAAC. *Paris, B.N., lat. 17243*, a tenth-century copy of the epistles of St Paul, bears the following note: *Isaac, indignus monachus, propter Dei amorem et propter compendium legentium hoc volumen fieri iussit. Quicumque hunc librum legerit, Domini misericordiam pro eo exoret. Amen.*

Ivo. The monk responsible for the making of *Paris, B.N., lat. 13350* (s. xii) is represented in a frontispiece and described in four verses:

*Doctor amore tui celebris Hieronime librum
Fecit frater Ivo fieri, servus tuus, istum.
Sub pedibus doctoris iners ego presbiter Ivo
Decubo, qui meritis clarus coniungitur astris.*

IOHANNES AMBIANENSIS. John of Amiens copied *Paris, B.N., lat. 12199* in the twelfth century at the request of a Richer (undoubtedly one of the priors or sub-priors of that name).

IOHANNES DE FLISSICURIA. In 1275 Brother John of Flixécourt made a liturgical collection (*Paris, B.N., lat. 13222*), to which he added a malediction which seems unusually long for the period: *Ad honorem totius Trinitatis et perpetue ac gloriose virginis Marie et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et omnium sanctorum quorum corpora et reliquie in hac Corbeiensis ecclesia continentur, compositus est liber iste a fratre Iohanne de Flissicuria, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCLXXV. Quem qui furatus fuerit seu maliciose abstulerit, anathema sit, et cum Iuda traditore Domini et cum Iuliano apostata, cum his etiam qui dixerunt Domino Deo; Recede a nobis, scientiam viarum tuarum nolumus, in districti iudicii die recipiat percionem. Fiat, fiat. Amen.*

IOHANNES MONOCULUS. At the end of a two-volume Florus (*Paris, B.N., lat. 11575* and *11576*, both of s. xii) one reads: *Compositus est liber iste a Richero monacho, subpriori, et Iohanne, suo scriptore et monoculo . . . anno MCLXIII, Ludovico rege Francorum, Theodorico episcopo Ambianensi, Iohanne abbate Corbeiensis. Liber Sancti Petri Corbeiae; qui furatus fuerit, anathema sit. Amen. Amen. Fiat, fiat.* A painting at the beginning of the first volume contains, among other things, the image of a monk labelled RICH^r and the image of a scribe labelled FELIX. Felix undoubtedly aided John the One-eyed in copying the Ms. Two additional volumes are to be ascribed to John. The first, *Paris, B.N., lat. 11700*, as the following note on fol. 169^v indicates, was copied in 1179: *Scriptus est liber iste a Iohanne scriptore et monoculo, in illo anno quo rex Philippus, filius Ludovici regis, inunctus est.* The second, *Paris, B.N., lat. 16943*, ends with an inscription which assigns it to 1183: *Anno incarnati Verbi MCLXXXIII scriptus est liber iste a Iohanne Monoculo . . .*

LETARDUS LEVITA. On fol. 87^r of *Paris, B.N., lat. 13397²⁷ there appears the note: *Letardus levita (deacon) Christi scripsit.**

LEUTCHARIUS ABBAS. *Saint-Germain-des-Prés 205*, stolen at the beginning of

²⁷ Presumably of s. ix (L.W.J.).

the French Revolution, bore two notes concerning this abbot (s. viii *med.*): *Leutcharius abba iussit fieri*, and *Leutcharius iussit hunc sanctum scribere librum.* *Leningrad, Public Library, F. v. I. 6* (ca. 750 A.D.) bears the note: *Leutcharius abba iussit fieri* (fol. 212^v).²⁸

MAURDRAMNUS ABBAS. *Amiens, Bib. Mun., 11* contains the words *Ego Maurdramnus abbas, propter Dei amorem et propter compendium legentium, hoc volumen fieri iussi. Quicumque hunc librum legerit, Domini misericordiam pro me exoret.*

NEVELO. No less than five manuscripts contain notes written in this twelfth-century monk's hand. *Paris, B.N., lat. 17767* has the following inscription attached to a representation of Nevelo on fol. 11^v: *Ego frater Nevelo, huius sancti cenobii Corbeiensis alumnus, . . . hunc libellum . . . obtuli . . .*; a second representation of the same monk (on fol. 132^v) has no inscription. On fol. 194^v of the same Ms. one reads *Quicumque lector hic legerit hoc deesse non ignorantia noverit Nevelonis scriptoris . . .*, and, lower on the page, *O lector, memento Nevelonis, qui prout potuit . . . scripsit.* The last folio of *Paris, B.N., lat. 12235* bears a prayer, beginning *Anima fratris Nevelonis*, which is written in Nevelo's hand. The several quires of *Paris, B.N., lat. 13768* written by Nevelo contain five notes which include his signature (on fols. 5^r, 19^r, 23^r, 24^r, and 24^v). The first part of *Paris, B.N., lat. 13377* (including notes on fols. 1^v and 15^v) and a note in the last folio of *Paris, B.N., lat. 11635* are also probably written by Nevelo. Here certainly is a scribe who has no desire to conceal his identity.

ODOBRICUS. The subscription in *Paris, B.N., lat. 12297²⁹ reads: *Ego frater Odobricus, indignus levita, scripsi in honore Apostolorum principis Petri Corbeiensis . . .**

RATBERTUS. This name appeared at the end of *Saint-Germain-des-Prés 205*, now lost. Mabillon believed that it referred to Paschasius Ratbertus, who in his opinion had revised the Ms.

RATOLDUS. The name of Ratold, who was abbot in 972, appears in a distich in *Paris, B.N., lat. 12052*, opposite the date of March 15:

*Abbas domni stat mentio sancta Ratoldi,
Istum qui fecit scribere quippe librum.*

RICHERUS. On this subprior see above under IOHANNES DE FLISSICURIA and also under IOHANNES MONOCULUS.

ROBERTUS. See above under HERBERTUS and also under INGELRANNUS.

ROBERTUS DE CURCELLIS. A thirteenth-century collection of saints' lives (*Paris, B.N., lat. 12607*) contains the following inscription: *[Hunc cod] icem ego Robertus de Curcellis . . . Sancti Petri Corbeie monachus, feci fieri . . .*

RODRADUS. In *Paris, B.N., lat. 12050* there appears a rather long inscription (in prose followed by 14 hexameter lines), in which the priest Rodradus gives the date of his ordination (March 4, 853) and begs those who use the Ms. to pray for him. Delisle points out that in Rodradus' day in France the year began with Christmas.

²⁸ S. Berger, *Histoire de la vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* (Paris, 1898), p. 102. Lauer, *Réforme*, p. 19. Dobias, *Histoire*, p. 37.

²⁹ Presumably of s. xii (L.W.J.).

VUAREMBERTUS. A treatise written by Paschasius Radbertus and copied in the Carolingian period by Garembert (*Paris, B.N., lat. 12296*)⁴⁰ contains an unusually interesting inscription: *Amice qui legis, retro digitis teneas, ne subito litteras deleas, quia ille homo qui nescit scribere nullum se putat habere laborem; quia sicut navigantibus dulcis est portus, ita scriptori novissimus versus. Calamus tribus digitis continetur. Totum corpus laborat. Deo gratias. Ego, in Dei nomine, Vuarembertus scripsi. Deo gratias.* Another Corbie Ms. (*Paris, B.N., lat. 12234*)⁴¹ bears a somewhat similar inscription. The colophon, *Ego in Dei nomine Warembertus scripsit* (!), appears on fol. 92^v of *Zürich, Zentralbibliothek Car. C. 117* (s. ix², according to A. Bruckner, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica IV: Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz: Stadt und Landschaft Zürich*. Geneva, Roto-Sadag, 1940, p. 71).

Delisle provides us with further facts concerning the upkeep of the library⁴² and the acquisition⁴³ and lending⁴⁴ of books. Under a regulation confirmed by Pope Alexander III,⁴⁵ the preservation of old books and the manufacture of new ones were made possible by the receipt of an annual income derived from the following sources: ten solidi from each of the higher officers of the monastery, five solidi from each of the lower officers, three measures of grain from the canons of Clairfai, and the revenues derived from the de Branlères territory. A small part of the annual income was used to provide bindings for the manuscripts. These bindings ordinarily consisted of boards covered with white skin; discarded pieces of parchment, particularly parts of the death rolls of the abbots, were used as fly-leaves. During the period between the ninth and the thirteenth century manuscripts were acquired from Italy,⁴⁶ Germany,⁴⁷ Ireland and centers influenced by Ireland,⁴⁸ France⁴⁹ and Belgium.⁵⁰ At the same time the monks of Corbie were rea-

⁴⁰ The Ms. presumably belongs to s. ix (L.W.J.).

⁴¹ S. ix (L.W.J.).

⁴² *Le cabinet*, p. 124.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-124.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.

⁴⁵ Between 1166 and 1179. The confirmation is published in *Paris, B.N., lat. 17767* (s. xii), 17768 (s. xiii) and 17770 (1304 A.D.).

⁴⁶ Paulus Diaconus, a monk of Monte Cassino, sent abbot Adalhard a Ms. (*Saint-Germain-des-Prés 169*, stolen in 1791), which he himself had revised: Mabillon, pp. 360 and 361. Wala brought from Rome 4 antiphonaries, which the priest Amalarius consulted at Corbie: *Bibliotheca Patrum* x (Paris, 1644), p. 503. In Delisle, *Le cabinet*, p. 122, six ob-Mss. (*Paris, B.N., lat. 11627, 11631, 12131, 12135, 12155, and 12217*) and one Laon az-Ms. (*Paris, B.N., lat. 12168*) are falsely attributed to Italy.

⁴⁷ The close initial relationship between Corbie and Corvey must have brought about exchanges of Mss. Cf. the two volumes (*Saint-Germain-des-Prés 800 and 211*; both stolen in 1791) used by Mabillon (p. 351) to illustrate Saxon script. Note also the ninth-century Germanic glosses on fol. 58^v of *Paris, B.N., lat. 12269*.

⁴⁸ *Paris, B.N., lat. 12021*, fols. 83-130 (copied in Brittany in s. ix. from an Irish Ms. written not earlier than s. viii med.: Lindsay, *Not. Lat.*) contains a collection of Irish canons and a subscription which includes such names as Arbedoc (*clericus*) and Hael Hucar (*abbas*). The fly-leaves of *Paris, B.N., lat. 13351* are part of an ancient Irish Ms. The inscription *Sancte Marie dyl Loham*, which appears on *Paris, B.N., lat. 13020*, may designate a church in Ireland. *Paris, B.N., lat. 13026* (s. ix), moreover, contains grammatical treatises composed by Irishmen; and a very ancient Corbie Ms. reported by Mabillon (*Analecta*, p. 132) contains, among other things, *Egloga quam scripsit Lathcen filius Haith, de Moralibus Iob, quas Gregorius fecit*.

⁴⁹ *Paris, B.N., lat. 12409* bears a note, written ca. 1200, which indicates that it once belonged to Master Daniel of Corbie. Interesting too is the acquisition from usurers in 1274 of a book left as surety for a loan — Peter Lombard's commentary on the Psalter (cf. the fly-leaves of *Amiens, Bib. Pub.*, 51).

⁵⁰ *Paris, B.N., lat. 12285* (s. xi), once the property of St Peter's at Ghent. For a discussion of addi-

sonably liberal in lending their books to others to consult or to copy. Thus, on a fly-leaf at the end of the ninth-century *Paris, B.N., lat. 13354* one reads: *Liber iste de Corbeia; sed prestaverunt nobis eum usque Pascha*. A note on *Paris, B.N., lat. 12964* (s. xiii in.) indicates that this book was lent to St Vincent's of Laon by the abbey of Corbie and that St. Vincent's deposited an incomplete work, entitled *Periphision*, against its safe return. In the reign of St Louis the Corbie library was required to send two volumes⁵¹ to the judges who were charged with deciding the contest over the possession of the body of St Eligius. It is interesting to note, finally, that at least one of the priories dependent upon the Corbie monastery — St Lawrence's of Heilly — had a little library of its own.⁵²

Though the period from the end of the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth century was a period of decadence for monastic libraries, the Corbie library fared better than most. While the Corbie monks no longer copied manuscripts themselves, they were not satisfied with the mere preservation of the collection formed by their predecessors. They constantly acquired new items, which for the most part were written in Paris by secular scribes. Historians and palaeographers will want to consult Delisle's rather long chronological list of ecclesiastics who either bought manuscripts or had them copied for the Corbie library.⁵³

The sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth were disastrous times for the precious collection. The monks were so ignorant that they could not understand the church offices which they read or chanted.⁵⁴ There were numerous instances of unpardonable negligence. Priors, for example, lent ancient volumes indiscriminately to their friends and closed their eyes to reprehensible acts. The reform of the congregation of Saint-Maur did eventually bring new life to the abbey of Corbie, but the improvement came too late to prevent a number of valuable manuscripts from being carried off. One cannot be sure at the present moment of the justice of the monks' complaints against Masson, Pithou, P. Sirmont, and André Duchesne, the last of whom was charged with carrying off one of the three old library catalogues in 1633.⁵⁵ It is a fact that important codices were lent to both Sirmont and Duchesne, but there is no evidence that either abused his privileges. It seems certain, however, that a fifth suspect — President Brisson — succeeded in taking off several manuscripts before his labors were in-

tional Mss. (most of them earlier than the ninth century) written at a number of other centers but present at Corbie and of additional Corbie Mss. present at other centers see Dobias, pp. 46-58, and my own treatment in an article to be published in the July 1947 number of *Speculum*.

⁵¹ One was apparently the chronicle of Hugues of Sainte-Marie and the other the chronicle of Eusebius with the continuations.

⁵² *Paris, B.N., lat. 12406, 12407, 12583, 13176 and 13417*. Dom Grenier believes (*Paris, B.N., lat. 9363*, fol. 96^r) that 12082 also came from Heilly. See also Dom Grenier's vol. 202 (*Paris, B.N., Collection Grenier*, fols. 236-242) for fragments of a twelfth-century Heilly Ms.

⁵³ *Le cabinet*, pp. 126-133.

⁵⁴ *Paris, B.N., lat. 12892*, fol. 309^v. *Anno salutis 1529 . . . ut pauci ex notis inveniantur qui mentem rectam habeant ad id quod legunt aut cantant*.

⁵⁵ *Vatican City, Vat. reg. lat. 520*, fols. 2^r-5^r; ca. 1200. Cf. Delisle, *Le cabinet*, p. 106, note 1.

errupted. About a sixth — President de Thou — whose case Delisle recounts impartially,⁵⁶ one can say without hesitation that his collection included an interesting Corbie manuscript,⁵⁷ *Paris, B.N., lat. 6796*, which contained Books XIV–XXI of Pliny's *Natural History*. Claude Dupuy also owned at least three old manuscripts which had formed a part of the Corbie collection:⁵⁸ a sixth-century Livy in uncials (*Paris, B.N., lat. 5730*, written outside of Corbie of course), a ninth-century Statius (*Paris, B.N., lat. 8051*), and a collection of Tironian notes of unspecified date (*Paris, B.N., lat. 8777*).

Institutions as well as individuals acquired some of the manuscripts which were originally at Corbie. Thus, the Collège de Clermont at Paris once owned two volumes which obviously came from this source — the alphabetical catalogue of Corbie books (in Berlin at the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, s. xi/xii) and a collection of pontifical letters and other items (*Cheltenham, Phillips 1776*),⁵⁹ and a third volume, a breviary of Alaric (*Cheltenham, Phillips 1735*), which apparently also came from Corbie.⁶⁰ Among the codices given by the Church of Paris to Louis XV in 1756 were two which certainly once belonged to Corbie: a life of St Wandrille in uncials (*Paris, B.N., lat. 18315*)⁶¹ and a Gregory of Tours in Merovingian script (*Paris, B.N., lat. 17655*).⁶² A collection of chronicles, copied at Corbie in 1154, is now owned by the Leyden University Library (*Ms. no. 30*).⁶³ Additional Corbie items which have wandered to other centers remain to be identified.

Despite the various depredations made on it, the Corbie Library still remained one of the richest collections in northern France.⁶⁴ One has only to read the 1621 catalogue (*Paris, B.N., lat. 13071, fols. 43–50*)⁶⁵ to confirm this fact. On August 15, 1636 the library was visited by various Jesuits who accompanied the victorious Spanish army; there is no evidence whatever that they disturbed any of the manuscripts. When the French army recaptured Corbie on November 14 of the same year, Léonor d'Étampes, bishop of Chartres, proposed that the Corbie manuscripts be confiscated to punish the Corbie monks for their lack of patriotism. Apparently he had in mind giving the volumes either to the king or to Cardinal de Richelieu. In any case, he had the library door sealed. No sooner had he done so than an ecclesiastic entered by a window, brought out a number of volumes, and hid them with great care.

⁵⁶ *Le cabinet*, p. 134.

⁵⁷ At the end of the Ms. appear the words: *Liber Sancti Petri Corbeie*.

⁵⁸ Delisle, *Le cabinet*, p. 185.

⁵⁹ Formerly *College de Clermont 571 and Meermannus 627*.

⁶⁰ Cf. R. Haenel, *Lex Romana Wisigothorum*, p. lxxii.

⁶¹ On the last folio appears the following note in Caroline script: *Corbeia monasterio dedicatio basilice sancti Petri apostoli*.

⁶² Note the facsimile in Mabillon, p. 349.

⁶³ A copyist has written the following words at the beginning of the Ms.: *Hic liber Sancti Petri Corbeiensis cenobii anno MCLIII scriptus est*.

⁶⁴ For the account which follows of the subsequent history of the Corbie Mss. see Delisle, *Le cabinet*, pp. 136–141.

⁶⁵ Published in Coyecque, pp. xxxi–xlvi, with a useful supplement (pp. xlvi–li) containing (1) mss. 'conservés dans le fonds latin de la Bib. Nat., (2) mss. conservés à la Bib. d'Amiens,' and (3) mss. 'portés au catalogue de dom Pardessus qui sont aujourd'hui en déficit.'

This was of course no solution. The monks of the congregation of Saint-Maur addressed a request to Cardinal de Richelieu that their invaluable library be allowed to stay at Corbie or that the most precious volumes be taken to Paris and left either in the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés or in the priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs. The cardinal granted the request, and the procurator general of the congregation of Saint-Maur decided to have the best books moved to Saint-Germain-des-Prés in order that they might receive the maximum shelter from the hazards of war. About 400 of the best books — the most ancient ones in almost every instance — were subsequently chosen with remarkable discernment by Dom Jérôme Anselme Le Michel and transported to Paris, apparently toward the end of 1638. There they soon became an integral part of the Saint-Germain collection.⁶⁶

In 1791 twenty-five or more of the oldest and most beautiful manuscripts in this collection disappeared. Most of this group turned up later in the library of the bibliophile Dubrowsky, whence they passed to the Public Library at what is now Leningrad. One, however, an uncial copy of Origen's sermons (*Saint-Germain 197*), found its way to the British Museum, where it is now known as *Burney 340*. About 375 of the remaining Corbie manuscripts, which fortunately escaped the destructive fire in the Saint-Germain library in 1794, were transported to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in December 1795 and January 1796.

In 1638 Dom Anselme Le Michel made a list (*Paris, B.N., lat. 13071, fol. 58^v*) of the 300 or more Corbie manuscripts which had been left at Corbie. In an inventory of 1662 (*Paris, B. N., lat. 17922 and 17923*) these codices were mixed with printed books. The codices were carefully described in two catalogues of the eighteenth century.⁶⁷ They were, moreover, the subject of a study⁶⁸ by D. Grenier, whose abrupt death interrupted his plan to describe them along with the Corbie manuscripts which had entered the Saint-Germain-des-Prés library.

In 1791, when the French Revolution was in the process of closing all the ancient monastic libraries, the manuscripts then at Corbie were brought to Amiens. There two years later, the judge Levrier, charged with executing the law concerning the burning of feudal documents, knew how to reconcile his duty as a good republican with his 'goût du gothique.' He checked the manuscripts against a pre-Revolutionary catalogue, found all but seven⁶⁹ present, removed the covers to

⁶⁶ No mention is made of their provenience in the catalogue of mss. made in 1677: cf. the abridgement of this catalogue in *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova auctore R.P.B. Bernardo de Montfaucon*, etc., II (Paris, 1739), p. 1124.

⁶⁷ For the first, an extract of which was sent to Montfaucon (*op. cit.*, p. 1406) see *Paris, B.N., Collection Grenier, 15*, fol. 42–51. For the second, presumably the work of Dom Pardessus, see the *Collection Grenier, 15*, fol. 1–22.

⁶⁸ *Paris, B.N., Collection Grenier, 15*, fols. 32–41.

⁶⁹ No. 33. *Clementinae et extravagantes*.

No. 62. *Nicolai de Lyra postillae in prophetas*.

No. 97. A copy of certain charters of the kings of France which concern the town of Corbie.

No. 123. *Rubricae totius iuris civilis*.

No. 224. *Horatii sermones*.

No. 227. *Rubricae iuris civilis*.

protect the volumes from further ravages by bookworms, and made a list of all the items involved.⁷⁰ In June 1803 he sent this list to the Minister of the Interior, who transmitted it to the Bibliothèque Nationale with an invitation to choose the most important manuscripts. 75 were chosen and dispatched to the library in the following August.⁷¹

The Corbie codices which remained in the possession of the city of Amiens were forgotten until 1828, when Le Prince supplied them with bindings and undertook to improve their dilapidated condition.⁷² Meanwhile various volumes had disappeared. Subsequently, however, the proper numbering of the codices and the publication of good catalogues by J. Garnier and later by E. Coyeque prevented further losses.⁷³

THE CITY COLLEGE, NEW YORK.

No. 272. *Sermones varii et summa de vitis.*

Nos. 123 and 224 are today preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale at Amiens (Nos. 352 and 435).

⁷⁰ *Amiens, Bib. Mun., 561.*

⁷¹ J. Garnier, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits d'Amiens* (Amiens, 1848); pp. xxii ff. The conditions of these mss. when they went to Paris is also described (*ibid.*, p. xxiii).

⁷² Garnier, *op. cit.*, p. xxxi. There is no foundation for Garnier's charge that Le Prince mutilated the Corbie mss.

⁷³ In a later article I shall discuss our present knowledge of the script of Corbie and problems for future investigation.

THE ANIMAL HISTORY OF ALBERTUS MAGNUS AND THOMAS OF CANTIMPRÉ

BY PAULINE AIKEN

THE problem of the relationship between the last five books of Albertus Magnus' *De Animalibus* and the corresponding books of the *De Natura Rerum* of Thomas of Cantimpré was first raised nearly a century ago and has not yet been conclusively solved.

In 1852, M. Bormans, a member of the Royal Academy of Belgium, published an article affirming that the *De Natura Rerum* is the main source for Albertus' work on specific animals. His principal arguments are as follows:

I. Thomas scrupulously acknowledges his sources, including contemporary ones. If he had used the work of Albertus, he would surely have cited it.¹ Albertus, on the other hand, shows no scruples about inserting in his works extensive passages from other writers, *not* acknowledging his borrowings, and concealing them as far as possible, first by cutting them up and adding interpolations, then by putting upon them the seal of that barbarous Latin by which he distinguishes himself even among the other writers of his epoch (*'en y mettant le cachet de celle latinité barbare par laquelle il se distingue même parmi les autres écrivains de son époque'*). He cites none of his contemporaries or immediate predecessors.²

II. Thomas' work on animals precedes Albertus'. Albertus did not complete his works on natural history, of which the section on animals is the last, before 1256. Thomas' work must have been completed by 1250. [As a matter of fact, it was completed by 1240.]³ Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum Naturale* (completed in 1250) frequently cites the *De Natura Rerum*. He cites Albertus also, *but not on animals*. 'Can one have clearer proof that Vincent did not know these writings of Albertus — in other words, that they were not yet in existence?'⁴

J. Victor Carus, in 1872, summarizes Bormans' arguments with approval and concludes that the main source of Albertus' books on specific animals is Thomas, whose chapters he has sometimes merely copied, sometimes abridged and interpolated.⁵ A few later scholars have echoed this opinion,⁶ but no one, so far as I know, has presented any new evidence.

In 1906, H. Stadler, later editor of Albertus' *De Animalibus*, published an article sharply contradicting the conclusions of Bormans and Carus. He denies not only that Thomas' work was used by Albertus, but that it is the *De Natura*

¹ M. Bormans, 'Thomas de Cantimpré indiqué comme une des sources où Albert le Grand et surtout Maerlant ont puisé les matériaux de leurs écrits sur l'histoire naturelle,' *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XIX (1852), p. 140.

² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³ This date is established by Thomas' reference to Jacobus de Vitriaco as 'nunc Tusculanum presulem.' Jacobus died in 1240.

⁴ Bormans, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-145.

⁵ J. Victor Carus, *Geschichte der Zoologie* (Munich, 1872), p. 235.

⁶ See, for example, Alexander Kaufmann, *Thomas von Cantimpré* (Cologne, 1899), pp. 33-34.

Then Tundalus 'sach sant Patricum der die Schotten bekerte und si den kristentum lerte and ander bischove mainic sehar . . . Er erkande darunter viere die in Hyberne bi sner zit heten verwandelt den lip' (that is, had died). Marcus¹¹³ gives the names of all the four of them: 'Celestinus Arthmachanus archiepiscopus (St Celsus), Malachias episcopus (Manuscript T(rier): *archiepiscopus*) qui (ei) successit in archiepiscopatu . . . Christianus episcopus Lugdunensis and Nemias Chuanensis.' Of these four names Alber preserves only that of 'Sant Marachyas.'

Thus the *Visio Tundali* leads the hagiographical tradition of Ireland right up to the chief figure of the Reform. That Alber describes 'Marachyas' as 'Saint' shows how quickly — through his *Vita* written by St Bernard (as Marcus had pointed out in the introduction) — the fame of the great Reform Legate to Ireland had spread on the Continent. The formal canonization of Malachias marked the end of the rather loose conception of the term 'Saint' in Irish Church history. Henceforth 'the Island of Saints' was merely a literary tradition.¹¹⁴

At the same time, we encounter in Continental vernacular literatures the first indications of a secular view of Ireland. The tradition of Ireland as the Island of Saints became a mere glamour attached to the picture of that fabulous wonderland on the Western outskirts of the inhabited world. This is the picture of Ireland underlying the chivalresque tradition, in which the hagiographical aspect becomes co-ordinated with the newly discovered (pagan) mythological aspect. While in the hagiographical tradition of Ireland in German vernacular literature there had been a steady increase in comprehensiveness from the ninth to the early thirteenth century, the new chivalresque tradition appears almost at its very beginning (in Gottfried's *Tristan* and in *Kudrun*)¹¹⁵ in its fullest development rapidly declining to a stereotyped pattern gradually losing in consistency and reality.¹¹⁶

DUBLIN, IRELAND.

¹¹³ Wagner, xxv.

¹¹⁴ Even for the more sophisticated Irishman the tradition of St Brendan has become completely secularized and historical: 'When Drake was winning seas for England / We sailed in puddles of the past / Pursuing the ghost of Brendan's mast' (Patrick Kavanagh, 'Memory of Brother Michael O'Clery' [see above note 107] in *Poems from Ireland* [Dublin, 1944], p. 44).

¹¹⁵ See note 4 above.

¹¹⁶ This article does not presume to be an exhaustive study of the subject-matter. It rather aims at pointing to a line of investigation which might be found sufficiently interesting to be followed up by more detailed studies and to be extended especially with regard to English-German literary relations. That I can hardly claim more than to have given the bare outlines, is mainly due to the fact that for the time being my bibliographical sources are restricted. However, I wish to place on record my gratitude towards the National Library of Ireland and the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, for the facilities they have given me.

THE SCRIPTORIUM AT CORBIE: II. THE SCRIPT AND THE PROBLEMS¹

BY LESLIE WEBBER JONES

THE SCRIPT

As we have seen in a previous article,² Mabillon believed in 1709 that the so-called 'Lombardic' manuscripts of Corbie, which were written in what is now known as the ab-type, originated in Italy.³ This erroneous belief continued for nearly 200 years. It was held not only by the authors of the *Nouveau traité de diplomatique* in 1755⁴ and by Delisle in 1874 and 1881⁵ but by others as well.

¹ The present article was completed while I was a member of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton. I am grateful to the Institute for the opportunity which it provided.

The following abbreviations are used for bibliographical items which are frequently cited:

Delisle, *Le cabinet*

Delisle, Léopold, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*. 3 vols. with an atlas (Paris, 1868-1881).

Dobiaš, *Historie*

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Zimmermann, E. H., *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1916).

² L. W. Jones, 'The Scriptorium at Corbie: I. The Library,' *Speculum*, xxii, 2 (April, 1947), 911-204; especially p. 193, note 7.

This article and the present one are to be regarded as a single unit.

³ Dom Jean Mabillon, *De re diplomatice libri VI* (Paris, 2nd ed., 1709), p. 353, e.g.

⁴ *Nouveau traité de diplomatique . . . par deux religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de S. Maur* Vol. II (Paris, 1755). Plate xvii, and p. 88.

Not until Ludwig Traube's time was there a strong protest against the equivocal terminology and its pseudo-historical implications. In 1891 Traube spoke of the Corbie script as *'halbkursive in Frankreich'*⁶ and in 1900 he described *Levingrad F. XIV. 1* as written *'in der älteren [Schrift] von Corbie, die in dieser ganzen Gegend geherrscht haben muss.'*⁷ At the same time he proceeded to stake out the claims of Corbie and of neighboring centers.

A partial list of manuscripts written in what Traube thought of as the 'old script of Corbie' — a distinct type — was published in 1910 by E. A. Lowe.⁸ Lowe's designation, 'ab-script,' proved far better than 'the old script of Corbie' since it soon became evident that Corbie had not one old script but several. A more complete list of manuscripts of the ab-type was presented in 1912 by W. M. Lindsay,⁹ who pointed out that the abbreviation system was mainly Insular and, in particular, Anglo-Saxon.

This Merovingian type apparently flourished at the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth. As its name indicates, its characteristic letters are *a* and *b*. Plate 1 presents a specimen. The *a* resembles a double *e* with the top of the first *e* bent toward the left rather than toward the right; in this script *fatum*, for example, would resemble *fectum*. The *b* (a tall letter with a low, open bow) possesses a horizontal stroke (at or near its center), which extends toward the right. Though this stroke provides an excellent connecting link between the *b* and the letter which follows, it is used even when no connection is needed; cf. *omb. (omnibus)*. One should not assume that the ab-type originated in Corbie and that it was practiced there exclusively. All that we can say is that, though most of the manuscripts written in this type were preserved by the monastery of Corbie, there is reason for believing that the type was practiced not only at Corbie but at centers as close to Corbie as Amiens and Beauvais and at a number of other relatively close centers — St Hubert's in the Ardennes, St Vaast's at Arras, Compiègne, Fleury (?), St Thierry (near Reims), Reims (?), Soissons (?), and other centers in the north and near Paris.¹⁰ It is, of course, reasonable to suppose that

⁶ *Le cabinet . . . II* (1874), pp. 112 and 122. *Notice sur un ms. mérovingien de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (Notices et Extraits, xxxi [1881], 46: De plus: il nous fait voir combien l'emploi de l'écriture lombarde, importée chez nous par des moines italiens, devait être ordinaire dans les abbayes franques, puisqu'on s'en servit, probablement au VIII^e siècle, pour compléter un volume qui avait été copié à Saint-Médard et qui n'avait jamais dû quitter le sol de la France.*

⁷ Ludwig Traube, 'O Roma nobilis,' *Abhandlungen der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, XIX* (1891), p. 331, Anmerkung 5.

⁸ 'Peronna Scottorum,' *Sitzungsberichte der philosophischen, philologischen, und der historischen Classe der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, IV* (1900), p. 493.

⁹ Lowe, *Studia*, pp. 36-38.

¹⁰ *Old Script*, 411-417. It is interesting to note that by 1912 Traube's identification of a localized Corbie script had been accepted by E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford), p. 362: 'Above all there is a class of mss. of the eighth and ninth centuries of a conventional type, which Professor Traube has identified as of the Corbie script, but which has hitherto been usually described as Lombardic.'

¹¹ There is the possibility that the ab-script was written also at St Riquier and Péronne (both of which had close relations with Corbie), at Cologne, at such distant centers as Autun and Montpellier, and elsewhere.

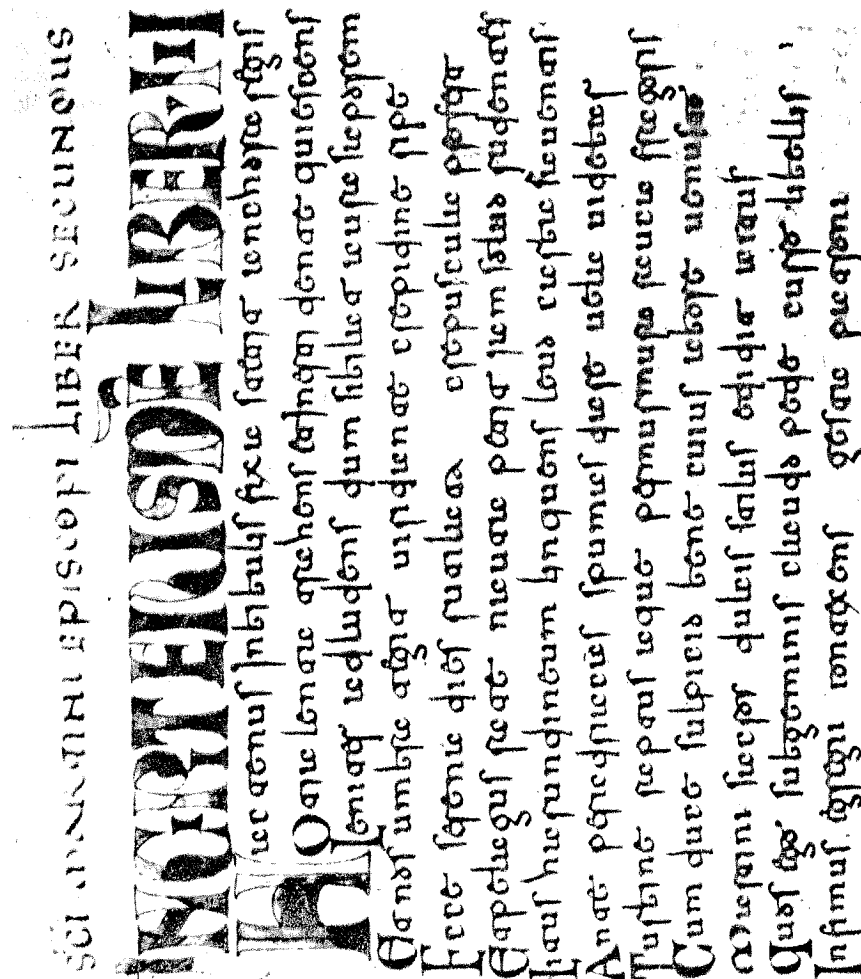


PLATE I

Leningrad, Public Library F. v. XIV, f. fol. 35v.
Adalhard [ab] type, sec. ix in.

Corbie played a leading part in the development of this script.

The reader will find below Lindsay's list¹⁰ of manuscripts written in the abscript, together with various comments (particularly in the footnotes):

Bamberg, Königl. Bib. B. III 4 (Bib. 52; s. xii), a fragment of Cassian on the verso of the fly-leaf. A large number of the Bamberg manuscripts come from such French libraries as Amiens and Rheims.

Berlin, Preussische Staatsbib., Hamilton 132 (A.D. 780-810). Canons. Caroline minuscule additions.

Brussels, Bib. Royale 9850 2 (one volume), fols. 140^r-143^v. Additions to the uncial manuscript of Caesarius which was itself written at Soissons. The additions may have been entered at Soissons or (as some believe in view of the library-mark, *liber sancti Vedasti*, on fol. 4^r) at St Vaast's abbey at Arras.

Brussels, Bib. Royale II 4856. Isidore's *Etymologiae* I-X, from the library of the monastery of St Hubert in the Ardennes.

Cambrai, Bib. Comm. 633. Glossarium Ansileubi, from the Cambrai Cathedral Library. Some passages in Caroline minuscule. The fragments (fly-leaves) in *Paris, Bib. Sainte-Geneviève 55 (B.I. in-fol. 19)* listed below may belong to this manuscript. (G. Goetz, *Liber Glossarum*, p. 224).

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library 193 (s. viii ex.) Ambrose's *Hexaëmeron*, with the library-mark, *Libr SC*AM*S*. (Lowe, *C.L.A.* II, no. 124).

Carlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, Aug. fragment 140.¹¹ The *Glossarium Ansileubi*.

Donaueschingen, Landesbibliothek 18 (ante A.D. 800). Orosius.¹²

Düsseldorf, Landesbibliothek B 3 (from Essen). Alcuin's extracts from Augustine and Isidore. A feature of the script is the occasional omission of a hair-line, only the knob at its extremity being indicated.¹³

Leningrad, Public Library F. v. 11 (from Corbie). Cassiodorus' *Historia tripartita*. Written on the isle of Noirmoutier for Adalhard during his exile (ca 815)¹⁴ by Corbie monks who accompanied him.¹⁵ Nearly every quaternion shows a change of scribe.

Leningrad, Public Library, F. v. XIV. 1 (from Corbie). Fortunatus. (See Plate I.) Possibly once a part of *Paris, B.N., lat. 13048*, fols. 31-48, described below.

¹⁰ Note that *Cambrai, Bib. Comm. 633*, *Carlsruhe, Aug. fr. 140*, and *Paris, B.N., lat. 11529-11530* are all Corbie works which contain the same glossary. It seems likely that the glossary was a Corbie undertaking (possibly based on previous Spanish work).

¹¹ W. M. Lindsay has supplied the no. of this fragment in *Revue des bibliothèques*, xxiv (1914), p. 24, note 2.

¹² With this ms. cf. the eighth-century uncial Orosius (*London, B.M., Add. 24144* + *Brussels Bib. Roy. 19609* [1346] + *Paris, B.N., lat. 10499*, fol. 3), which probably comes from Northern France.

¹³ Cf. the use of a row of dots (usually terminating in a dash) instead of the abbreviation stroke in the Maudramnus Bible (*Amiens, Bib. Mun., 6, 7, 9, 11, and 12*), written at Corbie between 772 and 780. Cf. also the dots instead of a stroke in *Cologne, Dombib. 63*, written by three nuns in the time of Hildebald (795-819).

¹⁴ Cf. the eleventh-century note on fol. 1^r: *hic codex iubente adalhardo hero fuit scriptus*; and the twelfth-century note immediately below it: *hic codex hero insula scriptus fuit iubente seo patre adalhardo dum exularet ibi*.

¹⁵ Dobiasz, *Histoire*, p. 157. Lindsay, however, *Old Script*, p. 416, repeats the old tradition that the work was done by Noirmoutier monks, a fact which Dobiasz finds unlikely 'in cette région lointaine.'

Leningrad, Public Library, Q. v. I. 17 (from Corbie). Augustine's *Retractationes*. London, British Museum, Harleianus 3063 (s. viii-ix; from Cues Library).¹⁶ The Latin version of the Commentaries of Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia, on the Epistles of St Paul. (Lowe, *C.L.A.* II, no. 200.) The only other known copy of this commentary is a ninth-century manuscript at Amiens (*Bib. Mun.* 88),¹⁰ which came from the Corbie Library.

Montpellier, *Bibl. Univ.* 69. Gregory's *Moralia*. The manuscript is full of early Insular symbols.

Paris, B.N., lat. 2824 (s. viii). Isidore's *Prooemia*.¹⁷

Paris, B.N., lat. 3836 (s. viii). *Canones*.¹⁸ The end of the manuscript is written in ena-script, described below.

Paris, B.N. lat. 7701, fols. 129-140. *Versus Probae* (presumably a Corbie product).¹⁹

Paris, B.N., lat. 8921 (from the Beauvais Library). *Concilia* and letters of the Popes.

Paris, B.N., lat. 11529-30 (two huge volumes similar to *Cambrai 633*, above). *Glossarium Ansileubi*.²⁰

Paris, B.N., lat. 11627 (from Corbie). Jerome on *Isaiah*.

Paris, B.N., lat. 11681 (from Corbie). Bede on *Luke*.²¹

Paris, B.N., lat. 12134 (from Corbie). Basil's *Hexaëmeron*.

Paris, B.N., lat. 12135 (from Corbie). Ambrose's *Hexaëmeron*.

Paris, B.N., lat. 12155 (from Corbie). Jerome on *Ezekiel*. Correctors' additions in everyday semi-cursive and in Caroline minuscule.

Paris, B.N., lat. 12217 (from Corbie). Augustine's *Opuscula*. The Caroline minuscule additions are not necessarily contemporary. The stroke which connects *b* with a subsequent letter is occasionally arched (as in Merovingian script).

Paris, B.N., lat. 13048, fols. 31-48 (from Corbie).²² *Probae Carmina*.²³

Paris, B.N., lat. 13440 (from Corbie). *Excerpta ex SS. Patribus* (a small pocket edition).

¹⁶ Cf. the uncial Greco-Latin Cyrillus glossary from Cues (*London, B.M., Harl. 5792*).

¹⁷ Is the Harley ms. a copy of this ms.? If so, why does it not appear in the third Corbie catalogue, in which the Amiens ms. appears (item 62)? Did it leave Corbie before the preparation of the third catalogue?

¹⁸ An early stage of the ab-script, according to Lindsay, but not necessarily so in my opinion.

¹⁹ Note the occasional cursive *u* (in sickle form).

²⁰ Once a part of *Leningrad, Public Library, F. v. XIV. 1*. Dobiaš, *Histoire*, p. 159.

²¹ There are some passages in Caroline minuscule.

²² Some leaves are in tenth-century Caroline minuscule.

²³ Despite Lindsay, *Old Script*, p. 415, not once a part of *Leningrad, Pub. Lib., F. v. XIV. 1* (from Corbie), which, according to Traube, 'O Roma nobilis,' *Abhandlungen der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft*, xix (1891), p. 29, came from St Riquier, but which according to Dobiaš, *Histoire*, pp. 158-159, almost certainly came from Corbie. The St Riquier catalogue of 831 mentions as missing '*Versus Probae et medietas Fortunati, I vol.*' Traube believed that the ms. had found its way to Corbie before 831.

²⁴ It is a question whether *Paris, B.N., lat. 13159* (see Abbé Paul Liebaert's photographs, now deposited in the Vatican Library) should not be included in the present list.

Paris, B.N., lat. 17451, fols. 1-8 (s. vii ex., from Compiègne). Fragments of homilies.

Paris, B.N., *nouv. acq. lat.* 1619, the addition on fol. 206^v. *Oribasius Medicus*.²⁴ Formerly in the Montpellier Library and, still earlier, in the library of F. Pithou.

Paris, B.N., *nouv. acq. lat.* 1628, fols. 15-16. From Fleury.²⁵ Fragments of a commentary on the Psalms.

Paris, *Bib. Sainte-Geneviève* 55 (B. I. in-fol. 19).²⁶ The fly-leaves contain a fragment of the *Glossarium Ansileubi* (cf. *Cambrai, Bib. Comm.* 633 above).

Turin, *Bib. Naz. D. V. 3.* (s. viii ex.) *Passiones Sanctorum*. Lindsay feels that the occasional use of the *pro* symbol for *per* is a sign of antiquity. The ab-script of one passage (fol. 134^r ff.) has been erased and replaced by Caroline minuscule. Lowe, *C.L.A.* IV, no. 446, notes the predominance of saints of Eastern France.

To this list of ab-manuscripts one may now add:²⁷

Bamberg, *Staatsbibliothek B.III 4* (= *Bibl.* 52). Verso of a fly-leaf containing a fragment of Cassian.

Bordeaux, *Bib. Pub.*, 28.* St Augustine.

Cologne, *Stadtarchiv, G. B. Kasten B. 140, 141*.*

Cologne, *Stadtarchiv, 91*. A paper fly-leaf is reinforced by strips from a Corbie ab-manuscript.

Laon, *Bib. de Laon 424*, fly-leaves (fols. 187-188).

London, *B. M., Harley 4980*, fols. 1-2 (s. viii-ix). St Augustine, *De civitate Dei*. Fly-leaves. Lowe *C.L.A.* II, no. 201.

Oxford, *Bodl., Canon Patr. 112*.* Athanasius, etc, ab-script in additions and corrections *passim* (e.g. fols. 11, 36^v, etc.; E. A. Lowe, *Pal. Lat.* V [1927], p. 44, note 1).

Paris, B. N., lat. 12205 (s. viii; from Corbie). *Probationes pennae* in ab-script on fly-leaves.

Paris, B.N., lat. 17451, fols. 1-8* (from Compiègne Library).²⁸

Paris, B.N., *nouv. acq. lat.* 1628, fols. 15-16.* A fragment of a commentary on the Psalms, possibly from Fleury.

Vatican City, *Vat. Reg. lat.* 11. The marginalia, in various early minuscule scripts, are in some cases like the Corbie script before the ab-type received its final form (E. A. Lowe, *C.L.A.* I, no. 101). Lowe, *ibid.*, no. 103, believes that *Vat. Reg. lat.* 257 (uncial, s. viii¹) was written in the same scriptorium as *Vat. Reg. lat.* 11.

²⁴ Lindsay, *Old Script*, p. 416: 'in something like this type [=ab-type]'; . . . 'a script which Traube calls "half way between Gallic half-uncial and minuscule"'. Cf. Lindsay, *Not. Lat.*, p. 477, where the main part of the ms. is assigned to Fleury. ²⁵ Lindsay, *Not. Lat.*, p. 477.

²⁶ The main ms. contains Cassiodorus' commentary on the Psalms.

²⁷ The five items followed by an asterisk (*) are mentioned by Lindsay, *Not. Lat.*, p. xi, note 1, and p. 477. *Cologne 91*, *London, Harley 4980* (first suggested by Dom A. Wilmart, 'Un nouveau témoin de l'écriture ab de Corbie,' *Revue bénédictine*, xlii, 1930, pp. 270-271), *Vat. Reg. Lat. 11*, and *Vat. Pal. lat. 216* are suggested by Lowe, *Studia. Laon 424*, *Reims 8*, *Oxford 112* (for its first notice) and *Paris 12205* appear in W. M. Lindsay's article in *Revue des bibliothèques*, xxiv (1914), p. 24, note 2. Lindsay, *Not. Lat.*, p. 440, mistakenly lists *Brussels* II 4856* as *II 4826.

²⁸ Lindsay, *Not. Lat.*, p. 477.

Vatican City, *Vat. Pal. lat. 216*, fols. 20-133 'North-east France in the Corbie area, or perhaps at or for Liège': E. A. Lowe, *C.L.A.* I, p. 26). Three lines in the ab-script on the fly-leaf.

Reims, *Bib. Mun.* 8, fly-leaves 1-2 (from St Thierry near Reims) is a connecting link between the b-script (to be described below) and the ab-script since the *a* has a closed top but a leftward-pointing horn at the upper left.²⁹

In 1924 Philippe Lauer presented an interesting explanation of the reasons why some of the Corbie manuscripts had originally been called Lombardic.³⁰ The scripts of Corbie and of Italian centers (beginning with Bobbio) were derived ultimately from the script of Luxeuil; both had cursive antecedents (either Merovingian or Lombardic); Beneventan models may have influenced Corbie manuscripts in the eighth century.

Of particular interest in connection with ab-manuscripts are five codices which belong to the so-called b-type, which was apparently written in the first half of the eighth century in northeastern France, possibly at or near Corbie (if we may accept the clue presented by the ornamentation). The b-type is perhaps the direct ancestor of the ab-script. Of the five codices the first four were described by Lowe in 1910³¹ and by Lindsay³² and Tafel³³ in 1912.³⁴

Autun, *Bib. de la Ville* 20 (Gregory's *Dialogues*; Augustine's *Enchiridion*).

Montpellier, *Bib. de la Ville* 3 (from the abbey of Gellone [founded in 804] near Montpellier; *Gospels*.)

Oxford, *Bodl.*, *Douce frag.* 1 (4 fols.; fragment of a Missal).

Vatican City, *Vat. Reg. lat. 316* + Paris, *B.N.*, *lat. 7193*, fols. 41-56 (*s. viii med.*)³⁵ On fols. 2^v, 45^v, and 46^r of this late uncial Gelasian Sacramentary the Latin interlinear gloss of the Greek text of the Paternoster and of the Nicene Creed is written in minuscule script of the b-type.

The fifth codex — Paris, *B.N.*, *lat. 4808* (a miscellany), fol. 121 — was assigned to this group by Lowe in 1927.³⁶ It contains the first seventy-four verses of Symposius' *Enigmata* arranged as a continuous prose text.³⁷

Both the b-script and the ab-script have the same type of *b*. The b-script, however, lacks the peculiar *a* of the latter; it possesses instead an *a* which is shaped like two adjacent *c*'s or contiguous *oc*. When *a* is combined with the letter which follows, the top of the first stroke of *a* inclines toward the left, as in the ab-script. This *a* is frequently used in combination and frequently placed above the line.

²⁹ A. Wilmart, *Revue bénédictine* XXX (1913), pp. 437-450. Cf. also W. M. Lindsay in *Revue des bibliothèques*, xxiv (1914), p. 24.

³⁰ *Recherches*, pp. 59-68; especially pp. 65 and 68.

³¹ Lowe, *Studia*, p. 36.

³² Lindsay, *Old Script*, pp. 411, 414, and 416.

³³ S. Tafel, 'Une type français de minuscule précarolingienne,' *Revue Charlemagne*, II (1912), pp. 105-115.

³⁴ Lauer, *Recherches*, p. 67, agrees with S. Tafel, *op. cit.*, that the b-mss. in some ways resemble the so-called b-type.

³⁵ Cf. Lowe, *C.L.A.*, I, no. 105.

³⁶ E. A. Lowe, 'A New Fragment in the B-Type,' *Palaeographia Latina*, v (1927), pp. 43-47.

³⁷ Corbie possessed another ms. with identical contents but slightly varying text: *Leningrad, Public Library F. v. XIV. 1*. Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 46, follows Traube in attributing it to St Riquier, whence Traube thought it came as a loan to Corbie. Dobias, *Histoire*, pp. 157-158, however, attributes it (correctly in my opinion) to Corbie.

Closely akin to the non-minuscule script in the manuscripts of the b-group are the titles and headings in Paris, *B.N.*, *lat. 12240* and *12241* and the entire script of the following uncial manuscripts: Cambridge, *Gonville and Caius* 820 (*K*) (formerly the first fly-leaf of *ms. 153* [203]); Carlsruhe, *Landesbibliothek* 339 [*I*], fol. 2; Oxford, *Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc.* 126 [1556]; and Paris, *B.N.*, *lat. 6413*; 10399 (fols. 4, 5, and 46) + 10400 (fol. 27); and 18282. All eight of these manuscripts also have ornamentation which suggests that used by the Corbie school.

In 1916 E. H. Zimmermann³⁸ discussed the illumination which appears in manuscripts written at Corbie or under the influence of Corbie. His discussion, unfortunately, was far from dependable. As A. Haseloff pointed out in a caustic review,³⁹ one cannot trust Zimmermann's remarks on the date or provenience of manuscripts or even his account of stylistic influences. Nevertheless the work possesses a solid core of information which deserves at least further consideration and study. For this reason I present below two lists culled from Zimmermann. The first is a chronological list of manuscripts, 22 of which (according to our author) were certainly written and illuminated at Corbie and 10 of which were possibly written and illuminated there.

Cambrai, *Bib. Municipale* 684 (624). Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, (possibly written at Corbie; Part I — last third of *s. vii*).

London, *B.M.*, *Burney* 340. Origen's homilies, etc. (last third of *s. vii*).

Paris, *B.N.*, *n.a. lat. 2061*.⁴⁰ Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* (possibly written at Corbie; 'gegen 700').

Paris, *B.N.*, *lat. 17655*.⁴¹ Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* (ca. 700).

Leningrad, *Public Library, Q. v. I. 13*. Jerome's letters, Gennadius' *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis* (in uncials; ca. 700).

Leningrad, *Public Library, F. v. I. 2*. *Regula S. Basilii Rufino interprete* (ca. 700).

Paris, *B.N.*, *n.a. lat. 1063*. *Gospels* possibly written at Corbie ca. 700⁴² or after 725).⁴³

Paris, *B.N.*, *lat. 12097*, fols. 225-232. Collection of canons (uncial, *s. viii in*).

Chartres, *Bib. Mun.* 40 (2).⁴⁴ Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* (*s. viii in*).

Leningrad, *Public Library, Q. v. I. G 10*.⁴⁵ Church Fathers (first third of *s. viii*).⁴⁶

³⁸ *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*. The chapter on 'Schule von Corbie' is on pp. 63-77; cf. also the descriptions of the mss. on pp. 184-211 and Tafeln 85-126.

³⁹ In *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLII (1923), pp. 164-220; especially pp. 168-172.

⁴⁰ Not 'Mr Morgan's Library,' as Zimmermann (p. 316) and Lauer, *Reforme*, (p. 16) have it.

⁴¹ From Corbie; *s. vii*; Merovingian minuscule of cursive type: Lindsay, *Not. Lat.*, p. 477. Labelled 'Notre Dame de Paris,' however, in the catalogue. Cf. Lauer, *Recherches*, p. 65.

⁴² Zimmermann, p. 188.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴⁴ The attribution to Corbie seems unproved to me.

⁴⁵ Zimmermann, p. 201, erroneously lists the no. as 'Q. v. I. N. 7, 8, 9.'

⁴⁶ Not a Corbie product, but from Italy, *s. vi*; at Corbie at least in *s. viii*; Dobias, *Histoire*, pp. 112-115. My own feeling is that the ms. may have been written ca. 660 or later and that it may be a product of Corbie.

Paris, B.N., n.a. lat. 1740. Fragments of the Old Testament (second quarter of s. viii).

Vatican City, Vat. Reg. lat. 257. *Missale Francorum* (possibly written at Corbie; second quarter of s. viii).

Cambrai, Bib. mun. 684 (624). Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* (possibly written at Corbie; Part II = second quarter of s. viii).

Leningrad, Public Library, F. v. I. 11.⁴⁷ A single leaf (fol. 250) containing the beginning of the *Life of St Lupus* (second third of s. viii; the rest of the manuscript is listed among the ab-manuscripts above).

Rome, Bib. Vallicellana B. 62. Iustus Urgellensis, *In cantica canticorum expositio* (possibly written at Corbie or at Trier; 'gegen 750').

St. Gall, Stiftsbib. 214. Gregory's *Dialogues* (possibly written at Corbie; middle⁴⁸ or third quarter⁴⁹ of s. viii).

Leningrad, Public Library O. v. I. 2. A fragment of *Mark* (s. viii med.).⁵⁰

Paris, B.N., lat. 12190. Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum* (possibly written at Corbie; ca. 760).

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 193. Ambrose's *Hexaëmeron* (third quarter of s. viii).

Paris, B.N., lat. 3836. A collection of canons (third quarter of s. viii⁵¹ or ca. 780).⁵² Cited above under ab-script.

Cologne, Dombibliothek 98. Isidore's *Quaestiones* (written in 'Ostfrankreich'; third quarter of s. viii).

Paris, B.N., lat. 13028. Isidore's *Etymologiae* (third quarter of s. viii).⁵³

Paris, B.N., n.a. lat. 1619.⁵⁴ Oribasius' *Synopsis* (ca. 770).

Leningrad, Public Library F. v. I. 6. Ambrose on *Luke* (ca. 770).

Vatican City, Vat. Pal. lat. 493. *Missale gallicanum vetus* (written in the 'Moselgegend (?)'; the first two quires were written toward the middle of s. viii, while the principal part of the manuscript was written ca. 770).

Paris, B.N., lat. 2824. Church Fathers (ca. 780).

Paris, B.N., lat. 11627. Jerome on *Isaiah* (ca. 800).

Paris, B.N., lat. 12135. Ambrose's *Hexaëmeron* (ca. 800).

Paris, B.N., lat. 12155. Jerome on *Ezekiel* (ca. 800).

Leningrad, Public Library F. v. XIV. 1.⁵⁵ Fortunatus (ca. 800; listed among the ab-manuscripts above).

Paris, B.N., lat. 11681. Bede on *Luke* and Isidore's *Sententiae* (ca. 800).

Berlin, Preuss. Staatsbib., Hamilton 132. Canons (ca. 800).

The second list includes ten chronologically arranged items which (according to Zimmermann) were probably written and illuminated under the influence of the Corbie scriptorium:

⁴⁷ Cf. Dobiaš, *Histoire*, pp. 147-148, s. viii ex.

⁴⁸ Zimmermann, p. 68.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁵⁰ Dobiaš, *Histoire*, p. 138; s. viii in.

⁵¹ Zimmermann, p. 70.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁵³ Lindsay, *Not. Lat.* (s. viii ex.).

⁵⁴ From Fleury, s. vii-viii; addition in Corbie ab-type at end: W. M. Lindsay, *Not. Lat.*, p. 477.

⁵⁵ Written not at St Riquier, but at Corbie. Cf. Dobiaš, *Histoire*, pp. 187-189, and the bibliography there quoted.

Brussels, Bib. Royale 9850⁵⁶-52 (1221). *Vitae Patrum, Homiliae S. Caesarii, Expositio in quatuor evangelia* (written at Soissons ca. 700).

Paris, B.N., lat. 10910. Fredegarius' *Chronicle* (written in 'Ostfrankreich' s. viii in. [715?]).

Épinal, Bib. Mun. 68. Jerome's *opuscula* (written in 'Ostfrankreich' A.D. 744.)

Berlin, Preuss. Staatsbib., theol. fol. 354 (possibly written at Corbie; third quarter of s. viii).

Munich, Staatsbib., lat. 6278 (*Clm.* 302). Gregory, *Moralia in Iob* (third quarter of s. viii).

London, B.M., Add. 24143. Gregory, *Moralia* ('Nordostfrankreich'; ca. 770-780).

Cambrai, Bib. Mun. 937 (836). Isidore, *opera quaedam* ('Nordosten Frankreichs'; ca. 775).

Boulogne, Bib. Mun. 42 (47). Jerome on *Matthew* ('Nordosten Frankreichs'; ca. 780).

Brussels, Bib. Roy. 2493 (8780-8793). A collection of canons ('Nordostfrankreich'; ca. 780).

Had Abbé Paul Liebaert lived longer than he did, he might have been able to finish at least some portion of one of his favorite projects — the history of the Corbie scriptorium. As luck would have it, however, he was able merely to assemble a fairly large number of photographs (including negatives) and notes, all of which are now deposited in the Vatican Library. In 1922 W. M. Lindsay, who had often talked with Liebaert about Corbie, reported some of the latter's discoveries from memory.⁵⁷ The learned abbé, it appears, distinguished at least three early⁵⁸ types of Corbie writing in addition to the ab-script. Of these types the first (See Plate II) is known as the ena-script.⁵⁹ Its *a* is an open variety with thin horns. Its *e* is normally uncial. In its frequent ligatures with *c*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *x*, etc., the top stroke of the *e* resembles the head of a beetle. Its *n* is usually uncial. There are of course other notable features: *f* and *r* resemble pointed Anglo-Saxon letters; the *g* is pretentious; the top of the *t* is curved downward at the left and bent back toward the shaft; *t* and *u* are often in ligature; the *y* takes the form of a *v* with its right stroke curved downward and its left stroke curved slightly toward the right (in a manner reminiscent of Insular style). The tall letters sometimes tend to slope left. As Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaia has put it,⁶⁰ the script uses cursive means to aspire to a minuscule effect. Liebaert's list of manuscripts of the ena-type follows:

⁵⁶ Fols. 140^r-143^v in Corbie ab-script added later, perhaps at Arras: Lindsay, *Not. Lat.*, p. 449; and also *Palaeographia Latina* v (1927), pp. 41-42, and *New Palaeographical Society*, 1, p. 28.

⁵⁷ *Early Scripts*.

⁵⁸ Used from the middle of s. viii to ca. 830. Many Corbie mss. employ more than one type, and many employ scripts which stand on the border-line between one type and another.

⁵⁹ Lindsay, *Early Scripts*, p. 62 (cf. his Plate II) uses the term 'en-type' and thinks 'ena-type' apt but unwieldy. Dobiaš, *Histoire*, pp. 50 and 135 (cf. figures 50-53) uses 'ena-type.' My description of the details is based on the observations of Lindsay, Lauer (*Riforme*, p. 431; cf. his Plate VII, 4 and 5), Dobiaš, (*Histoire*), and myself. For additional facsimiles see Delisle, *Le cabinet*, Planches, XIII, 2 and 6-7; XVI, 2. ⁶⁰ Dobiaš, *Histoire*, p. 135.

Amiens Bib. Mun. 6, fol. 117^r, an interlinear addition.

Amiens, Bib. Mun. 220 (s. viii). Part of Paterius. (Fols. 104^r end of manuscript seem later than the first part.) This manuscript also contains Maurdramus script, described below.

Leningrad, Public Library, O. v. I. 4 (s. viii). Cassian's *Collations*.

Paris, B.N., lat. 4403^a (s. viii). Codex Theodosianus.⁶¹

Paris, B.N., lat. 12239, fols. 1 to 52 and 74, col. 2 to the end of the manuscript (s. viii). Cassiodorus' commentary on *Psalms*.⁶²

Paris, B.N., lat. 13028 (s. viii ex; Zimmermann's no. 115, cited above). Isidore's *Etymologies* XVI-XX.⁶³

Paris, B.N., lat. 13347, fols. 1-55 (s. viii);⁶⁴ 13348 (s. viii); and 13349 (presumably s. viii). All contain Jerome.

To this list we may possibly add *Épinal, Bib. Mun. 68* (cited above in Zimmermann's list) and certainly add the following new items, all except the first cited by Lauer:⁶⁵

Leningrad, Public Library, Q. v. I. 15 (s. viii in.-ix ex.: ena-script at end of col. 1 on fol. 71^r and on top of fol. 71^v; other scripts. Dobiaš, pp. 132-134). See Plate II.

Paris, B.N., lat. 3836 (end; Canons; s. viii; the rest of manuscript, cited above under ab-script and Zimmermann, is in ab-script), 12240-12241 (both s. viii; these 2 vols. and 12239, cited above in Liebaert's ena-list, belong to a 3-volume set which contains Cassiodorus' commentary on *Psalms*), 12598 (s. viii med.; *Vitae sanctorum*; fols. 47-53 = Merovingian type minuscule), 13047 (s. viii; Iuvenius, *Patristica varia*).⁶⁶

Liebaert's second type is named after Leutchar, who was abbot of Corbie at least between 751 and 768. In the Leutchar script,⁶⁷ vaguely termed a 'Zwischenstufe zwischen gallischer Halbunciale und Minuskel' by Traube,⁶⁸ the minuscule element is so preponderant as to cause Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaia to call the script merely quarter uncial. Plate III presents a specimen. Some of the individual letters are notable. *a* (broad), *f*, *m* (with the bottom of the last stroke curved toward the left), and *n* (with an almost horizontal cross-stroke on the line of writing) are all semiuncial in character. *g*, however, is uncial. The top stroke of the *r* (a minuscule letter) is quite broad. As in the ena-script, the top of the *t* is curved downward at the left and bent back toward the shaft. The left branch of the *y* is curved round at the top towards the right; this is an Insular device for adding

⁶¹ Cf. Delisle, *Le cabinet*, Planches, xix, 10. The bottom half of fol. 181^r shows three examples of a bi-ligature; the entire ms. normally uses closed *a*. Both, in my opinion, are reminiscent of the ab-script. ⁶² Delisle, *op. cit.*, Planches, xvii, 1. ⁶³ Often with closed *g*.

⁶⁴ Fol. 23^v shows one instance of a ligature of *bit* (of ab-type) at the end of a line.

⁶⁵ Lauer, *Réforme*, p. 15. *Leyden, Voss. lat. 63*, cited by Lauer, *op. cit.*, p. 18, is not Corbie ena-script in my opinion (cf. W. Arndt, *Schrifttafeln zur Erlernung der Lateinischen Palaeographie*, 1, 4th ed. (M. Tangl; Berlin, 1904), Tafel 13. ⁶⁶ Fols. 102-115 are in uncial.

⁶⁷ Dobiaš, *Histoire*, p. 37, prefers to call it 'Ingreus' after the name of a scribe who wrote this script.

⁶⁸ L. Traube, *Paläographische Bemerkungen*, p. 1, quoted in Lindsay, *Early Scripts*, p. 63.

PLATE II

Leningrad, Public Library Q. v. I. 15, fol. 71^r, col. 1,
bottom: ena-type, *see*, viii.

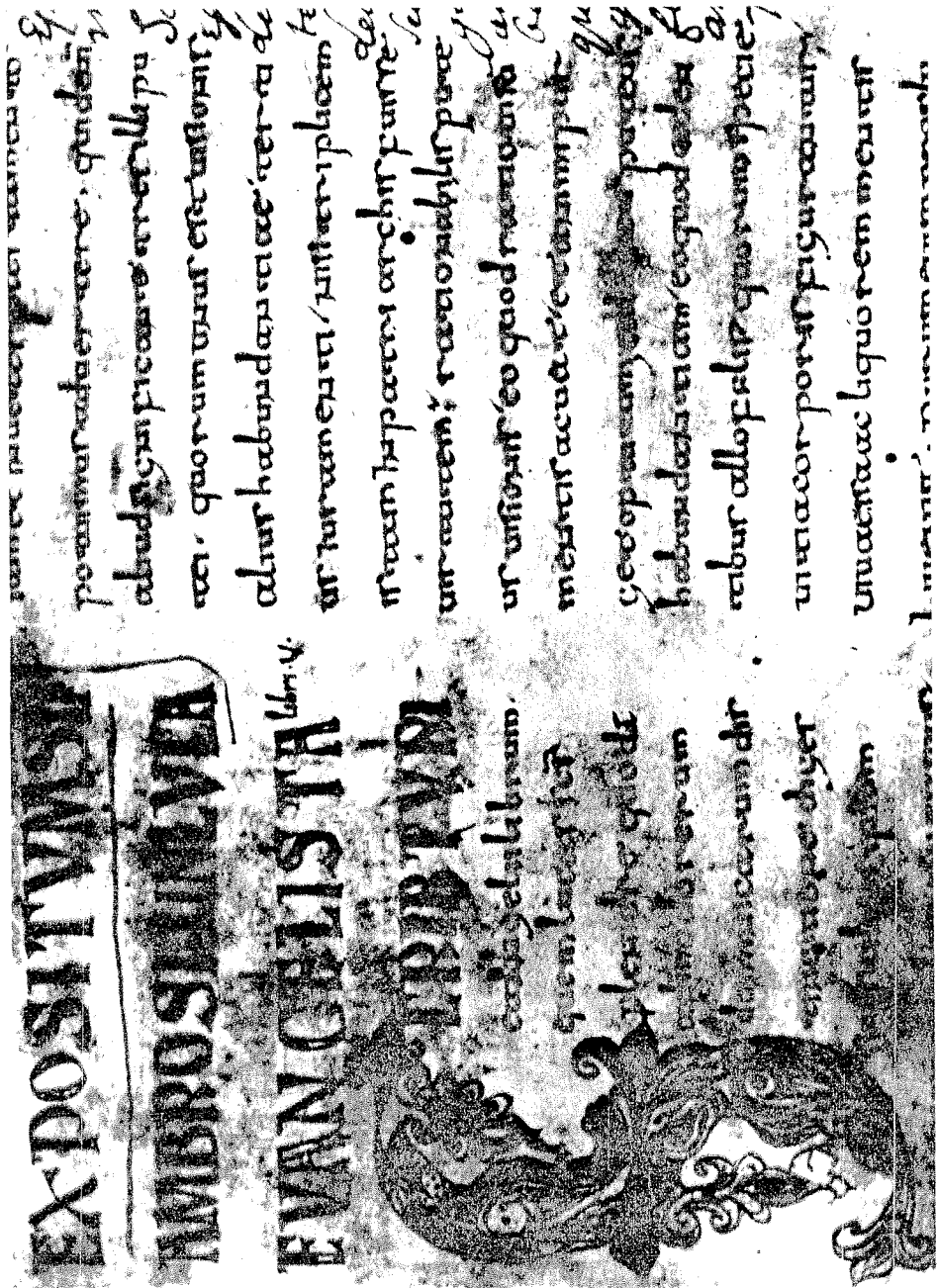


PLATE III

the dot between the two branches of the *y* without raising the pen. The knobs at the upper left of *f*, *r*, and *s* are very heavy. Ligatures are avoided. At its best the script is regular, vertical, and ample in appearance.⁶⁹ Liebaert's Leutchar manuscripts are three in number:

Berlin, Preussische Staatsbib., Cod. theol. lat. F. 354 (from Werden). Gregory's *Moralia*. This volume may have been written at Corbie in Leutchar's time, some 50 years before Werden monastery was founded.

Leningrad, Public Library, F. v. I. 5. Jerome's *Tripartite Psalter*.

Leningrad, Public Library, F. v. I. 6 (cited by Zimmermann).⁷⁰ Ambrose's commentary on *Luke*. Written in Leutchar's time but corrected by Paschasius Rathbertus, a later abbot of Corbie (844-851). Plate III in the present article.

Liebaert's third type is a beautiful minuscule, broad and regular⁷¹ — the Maudramnus-type, named after the abbot of Corbie (772-780) who gave orders for the writing of a Bible in several volumes (now Mss. 6, 7, 9, 11, 12 of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Amiens). This script appears in large size in the main part of the Bible (for the convenience of the lector in the church service) and in ordinary size in the Bible's indices and in the entire script of a number of other manuscripts. Plate IV presents a specimen which includes capitals and uncials. The script is distinguishable, among other things, for the prominent knobs at the backs of such letters as *f*, *r*, and *s*. It also knows the Insular *y* with its left branch curved at the top toward the right. In the opinion of Lauer,⁷² the Maudramnus Bible gives us our first dated example of Caroline minuscule.⁷³ In addition to appearing in the five volumes of this famous Bible now extant, the Maudramnus-type appears in the following manuscripts listed by Liebaert:

Amiens, Bib. Mun. 220. Paterius (also listed in Liebaert's ena-group).

Leningrad, Public Library, F. v. I. 13. Pseudo-Cyrillus (= Origen) on *Leuiticus*.

Leningrad, Public Library, Q. v. I. 16. Jerome's *Liber Comitis*.

*Paris, B.N., lat. 13373*⁷⁴ (apparently written at Corbie between 817 and 835).⁷⁵ Orosius, Augustine, Aleuin, Bede.

⁶⁹ *Leningrad, Public Library F. v. I. 6*, e.g. *Leningrad, Public Library F. v. I. 5*, however, is much less regular. In addition, it often uses uncial *d*, an *r* with a narrow top stroke, uncial *r*, and ordinary minuscule *t* (without having its top bent far downward at the end). The tops of the shafts of *b*, *d*, and *l* waver. Insular *y* is absent.

⁷⁰ Lauer, *Réforme*, p. 18, suggests that the same hand wrote this ms. and the Berlin ms. cited just above. Lauer's suggestion, based merely on an inspection of W. Arndt, *Schrifttafeln*, Tafel 5, and Zimmermann, *Tafeln 118bc-119bc*, remains to be tested.

⁷¹ At least one ms. written in this script, however, *Leningrad, Public Library F. v. I. 10*, shows cursive elements (double-c *a*, uncial and minuscule *d* alternating, capital and minuscule *n* alternating, *i longa* at the beginning of words and in *ti*, and cursive *o*) and ligatures (*et*, *ec*, *ex*, *Nt*, *rt*, *st*, and *ur*).

⁷² Cf., e.g., Lauer, *Réforme*, p. 19.

⁷³ Cf., however, E. K. Rand's claim that one hand (K) of a Tours ms., *Paris, B.N., lat. 1575* (Eugippius) should have this honor (*Studies in the Script of Tours*, n. *The Earliest Book of Tours*, Cambridge, Mass., The Medieval Academy of America, 1934, p. 70).

⁷⁴ Lauer, *Réforme*, p. 19, erroneously reports this ms. as 13373.

⁷⁵ Lindsay, *Not. Lat.*, p. 476.

Lauer⁷⁶ adds eight items:

Amiens, Bib. Mun. 18 (s. viii ex.; the Corbie Psalter); *87* (s. ix; Ambrose on Paul's Letters to the Romans and to the Corinthians); *88* (s. ix; commentary of Theodorus of Mopsuestia on the Pauline Epistles); *172* (s. viii-ix; fols. 1-13^r and 91^v-93^r are later; *Gospels*); and *426* (s. ix-x; the script is like that of the indices of *Amiens, Bib. Mun., 9*).

Paris, B.N., lat. 12260; 13174, fly-leaves (fols. 136 and 138 = 2 isolated leaves from lost volumes of the Maurdrannus Bible but written by the same hand as *Amiens, Bib. Mun., 9*); and *13527*.

Dobias-Roždestvenskaia⁷⁷ adds three others:

Levingrad, Public Library, F. v. I. 10 (*Vigilius Tapsensis, Petrus Ravennatus, Aurelius Augustinus*: see Plate IV of the present article); *F. v. I. 12. n. 1* (38 fols.; *Vita S. Fulgentii, Epistola Ferrandi*); *F. v. I. 12. n. IV* (6 fols.; *Passio SS. Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii*).

Bernhard Bischoff (*Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit. Teil 1* [Leipzig, 1940], p. 247) adds still another:

Munich, Staatsbibliothek 14487 (Regensburg, St. Emmeram), St. Augustine, *Enchiridion* (s. viii ex. or viii/ix).

After reporting Liebaert's three new varieties of eighth-century Corbie minuscule, Lindsay observes that parts of six manuscripts employ a fourth new variety — a type which employs closed *a* and does not employ *i longa*, and which, though lacking in salient features, is easy to recognize. Further study and more accurate description is needed for the manuscripts of this group, if they really constitute a group.⁷⁸ The items, all cited above in the ena-list, follow:

Paris, B.N., lat. 12239, fols. 53-74, col. 1 (the rest of the manuscript contains contemporaneous ena-script); *12240-12241* (the three manuscripts constitute a three-volume set, s. viii, which contains Cassiodorus' commentary on *Psalms*); *12598* (s. viii med.; Lives of the Saints; fols. 47-53 show a Merovingian type of minuscule); *13047* (s. viii; Iuvencus; *Patristica varia*; with Anglo-Saxon marginalia); and *13347*, fol. 56-end of manuscript (s. viii; Jerome; the rest of the manuscript contains contemporaneous ena-script).

In 1932 *Vatican City, Vat. lat. 3868* (s. ix), the famous illustrated Terence manuscript, was proved to be a product of Corbie.⁷⁹

The first really systematic study of any of the Corbie codices appeared in Olga

⁷⁶ *Réforme*, pp. 19-22.

⁷⁷ *Histoire*, pp. 108 and 143-147.

⁷⁸ The parts of *Paris, B.N., lat. 12240, 12241, 12598*, and *13047* which contain this supposed type of script are not mentioned. — The facsimile of *Paris, B.N., lat. 12241*, fol. 1^v, in Zimmermann (Tafel, 133a) reveals the use of double-*e a*; *d, h*, and *l* with tall, thick clubs; minuscule *e*; a small *g*; *i longa* once in an *ri*-ligature (but other *ri*-ligatures without *i longa*) and once in an *li*-ligature; minuscule *m* and *n* throughout; broad *r*; ligatures of *et, ei, li, re, and ri*; interesting uncials and mixed capitals; and capricious initials and capitals with bird and simple interlaced motifs. — *Paris 12598* is, moreover, not at all like *Paris 12240-12241*. — *Paris 13047*, again, seems to have little in common with the other mss. — *Paris 12240* and *12241* have titles and headings similar to those in mss. of the 'North-eastern France' or 'b' group.

⁷⁹ L. W. Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Mss. of Terence*, II, The Text (Princeton University Press), pp. 33-35. The script is a competent Caroline minuscule.

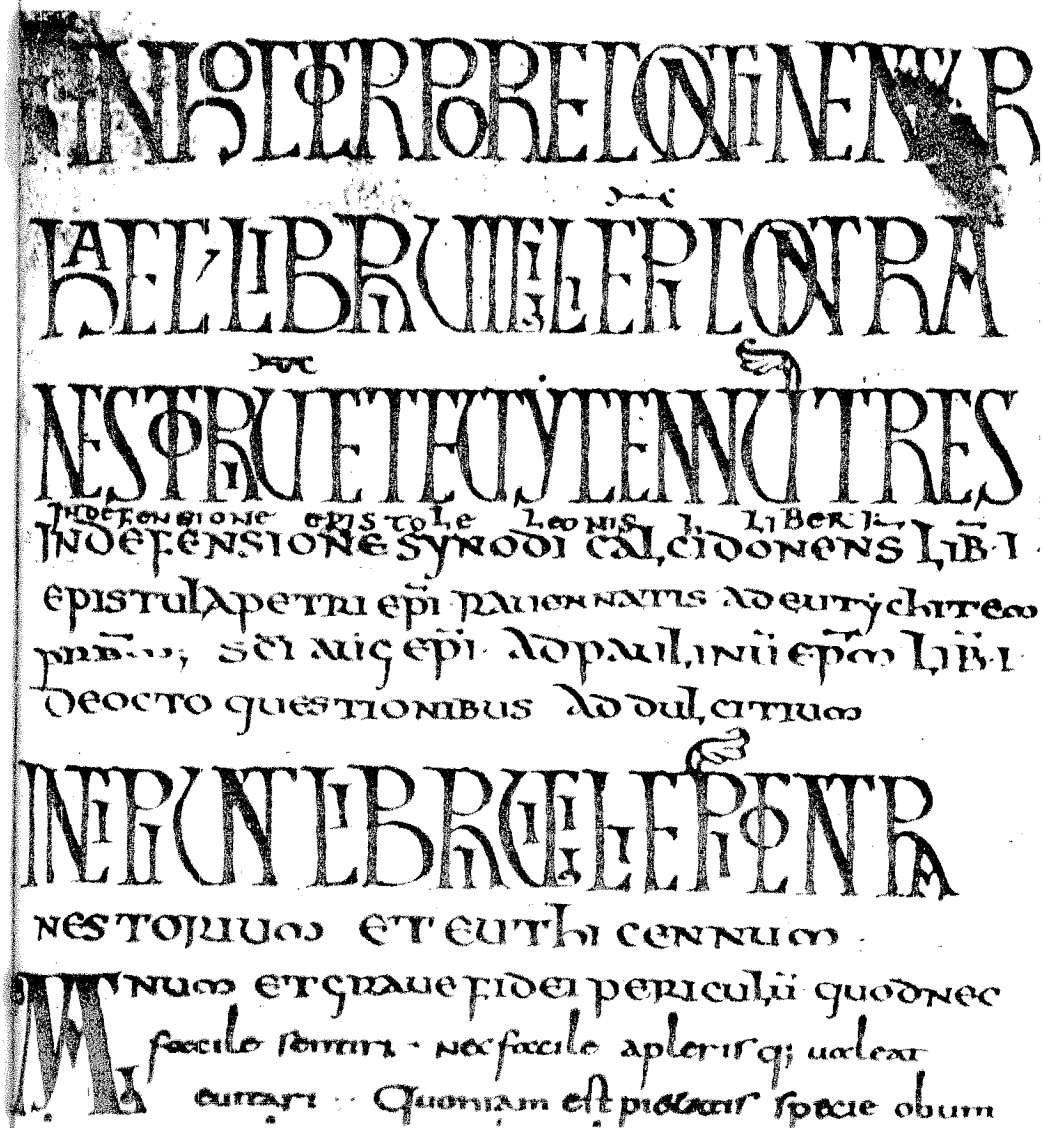


PLATE IV

Levingrad, Public Library F. v. I. 10, fol. 1^v; Maurdrannus type, s. viii ex. Capitals, semiuncials, and minuscules.

Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaĭa's investigation of the Leningrad manuscripts of Corbie which were written between 651 and 830.⁸⁰ In addition to listing the manuscripts written in the types designated as *ab*, *ena*, Leutchar, and Maurdrannus (all of which have been treated above), she lists and describes the following items written at Corbie:⁸¹

Leningrad, Public Library, Q. v. I. 13 (uncial, ca. 700; in Zimmermann's list). *Gennadius, de Dogmatibus*; Jerome's *Letters*. Two lines in Merovingian cursive (*s. viii med.*) on fol. 1^r. Glosses in semiuncial of *s. viii med.* which resemble the Leutchar type.

F. v. I. 2 (uncial, ca. 700; in Zimmermann's list). St. Basil's *Rule* as interpreted by *Rufinus*. Later semiuncials on fols. 29-30, 38, and 49-55.

Q. v. I. 5 (uncial, *s. viii in.*; probably written at Corbie). Maximus Taurinensis, *Homilies*; *The Passion of Saints John and Paul*. (Lowe, *C.L.A.* iv, no. 446.)

F. v. I. 4 (uncial, ca. 700; the second half of a manuscript of which the first half is London, B.M., Burney, 340; probably written at Corbie). *John Chrysostom to Theodorus*. (Zimmermann; and Lowe, *C.L.A.* ii, no. 124.)

F. v. I. 3. A (uncial, written in *s. viii* by an Anglo-Saxon scribe, perhaps at Corbie). The book of *Job* with glosses by Philippus Presbyter (in Anglo-Saxon cursive of *s. viii ex./ix in.*).

F. v. I. 12. n. III (uncial, *s. viii*). *The Passion of St Apollinarus*.

O. v. I. 3 (regularized cursive, *s. viii in.*). *Matthew*.

Q. v. I. 14 (Luxeuil cursive, probably written at Corbie; *s. viii in.*). Gregory on *Ezekiel*. (Cf. Paris, B.N., lat. 17655, written at Corbie in *s. vii*; the first three folios employ a Luxeuil style, possibly written by a Luxeuil scribe, while the remainder of the manuscript uses Corbie cursive minuscules.)

Q. v. I. 6-10, two notes only (one on fol. 1, the other on fol. 61; Merovingian cursive, *s. viii in.*).⁸²

F. v. I. 3. B (Anglo-Saxon cursive, written *s. vii-viii* at Corbie). A compendium of Jerome's commentary on *Isaiah*.

Q. v. I. 15 (numerous scribes, who use Insular minuscule, several cursive scripts, the *ena*-type, and a rather cursive Caroline minuscule; *s. viii in.-ix ex.*; written at Corbie by the Anglo-Saxon colony rather than at Péronne). Various works by Isidore, Jerome, Aldhelm, and others. Cited above under *ena*-script.

O. v. I. 2 (semiuncial, *s. viii in.*; in Zimmermann's list). Beginning of *Mark*. This manuscript is merely a fragment (quire xii) separated from *St Germain 1200*.

F. v. I. 11 B (a semiuncial fragment of 1 fol. [250] of *s. viii ex.*; in Zimmermann's list). *Life of St Lupus*.

⁸⁰ Dobiaš, *Histoire* (1934).

⁸¹ She omits *Leningrad, Public Library, Q. v. I. 20*, (*s. ix in.*), a fragment (fols. 62-73) of a ms. whose first part is Paris, B.N., lat. 14144. The fragment seems to be Corbeian, but the Paris ms. is as yet unstudied. Cf. Dobiaš, *Histoire*, p. 105.

⁸² The main part of this ms. is described below under mss. present at Corbie but not written there.

F. v. I. 12. n. II (semicursive, *s. viii ex.*) A fragment (1 quire) of the *Life of St Marcellinus*.

F. v. VI. 3 (a semicursive fragment, *s. viii ex.*) Medical treatises.

Q. v. I. 46 (Caroline minuscule, Maurdrannus type, and late semicursive; *ca.* 800). Eight orations of Gregory of Nazianzus.

Q. v. I. 19 (Caroline minuscule, copied *s. viii ex.* at the order of Adalhard). A fragment (34 fols.) of Rufinus, *In Symbolum*.⁸³

Q. v. I. 38 and 39 (Caroline minuscule of the first third of *s. ix.*) Philastrius, *De haeresibus*; Tertullian, *De cibis Iudaicis*; Barnabas and Jacob, *Letters*.

Clas. Lat. F. v. 7 (Caroline minuscule of *s. viii ex.*–*ix ex.* by numerous scribes). Boethius, *Against Porphyry and Aristotle*; Pseudo-Augustine, *On Aristotle's Categories*; Priscian, *On Grammar*.

Q. v. I. 33 (regular Caroline minuscule of approximately the end of the first third of *s. ix.*) SS. *Basilii et Iohannis Chrysostomi Dialogus*.

Clas. lat. F. v. 1 (regular Caroline minuscule, *ca.* 830). Columella, *De re rustica*.

Q. v. I. 26 (Caroline minuscule, *s. ix in.* [?];⁸⁴ possibly written at Corbie). *Gospels*, with silver and gold letters on purple parchment.

Our author also mentions three other certain products of Corbie which were written after 830 A.D.:

F. v. Cl. lat. 8 (*s. ix. ex./x in.*).

Q. v. I. 34 — *Q. v. II. 5* — *Q. v. I. 56* (originally a single volume = *Corbie 230* and *St Germain 686*; *s. ix or x*?).

F. v. Cl. lat. 10 (*s. x.*).

She rejects, finally, Staerk's⁸⁵ attribution of three Leningrad manuscripts to Corbie — *F. v. I. 40*, *F. xx*, and *Q. v. I. 21*.⁸⁶

In 1940 Albert Bruckner (*Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica IV. Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz: Stadt und Landschaft Zürich*, Geneva, p. 71) assigned Zürich, Zentralbibliothek Car. C. 117 (*s. ix*²) to Corbie because of the colophon on fol. 92^v, *Ego in Dei nomine Warembertus scripsit* (sic!). On Warembertus see Delisle, *Le cabinet II*, 121.

THE PROBLEMS

With the exception of the Leningrad items treated by Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaia, all of the genuine or possibly genuine Corbie manuscripts mentioned above require careful study. Palaeographers must give equal attention to a large number of additional manuscripts which are known to have been present at Corbie and which in some instances were probably written there. These codices range in date from the end of the eighth century to the eighteenth. Some represent the interesting early minuscule scripts; others, the Caroline minuscule; others, the transi-

⁸³ The first part (Jerome, *Contra Iovinianum*) of the original ms. is Paris, B.N., lat. 13354.

⁸⁴ Dobiaš, *Histoire*, pp. 164–166, gives no date.

⁸⁵ Dom Antonio Staerk, *Les mss. latins du V^e au XIII^e s. conservés à la bibliothèque impériale de Saint-Petersbourg* (St-Petersbourg; 1910, 2 vols.).

⁸⁶ A ms. of Tours; cf. E. K. Rand, *Studies in the Script of Tours, I. A. Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1929), p. 149 (= no. 102).

tional scripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries; others, the writing of the four Gothic centuries; and still others, the Renaissance and post-Renaissance scripts. A study of the writing done at Corbie during all these years would be most illuminating. It would be bound not merely to clarify our ideas about writing at Corbie before *ca.* 830 but to bring to light numerous facts about the writing of subsequent periods at Corbie and at other northern French scriptoria. These facts are at present relatively unknown. One word of caution is necessary, however: most of the codices of the thirteenth to the fifteenth century (and possibly later) which once formed a part of the Corbie library were probably written at Paris by secular scribes upon the direct order of Corbie monks. A list of the additional manuscripts which were once present at Corbie follows:⁸⁷

SEVENTH CENTURY

Vatican City, *Vat. Reg. lat. 329*, fols. 1–2 + Paris, B.N., lat. 10399, fols. 1–2 + Amiens, *Bib. Mun. 12*, fol. 1. *Ascetica*, half-uncial, *s. vii*². Written presumably in France. Belonged to the abbey of Corbie. Discarded there and used in bindings. Lowe, *C.L.A.* I, p. 32. See A. Wilmart, *Revue bénédictine* L (1938), pp. 223 ff.

EIGHTH CENTURY

Amiens, *Bib. Mun. 8* and *10* (*s. viii–ix*; later parts of the Maurdrannus Bible). Paris, B.N., lat. 13386 (& *s. ix*).

NINTH CENTURY

Amiens, *Bib. Mun. 26, 222, 223, 425*.

Paris, B.N., lat. 11532–11533 (a two-vol. Bible), 11553, 11611, 11635, 11642 (?), 11671, 11672, 11946, 11957 (fol. 5 = *s. xi*), 11958, 12021 (fols. 33–139; *Not. Lat.*: *s. ix*; previously mentioned), 12050 (written shortly after 853 by Rodradus; *Not. Lat.*), 12051 (or *s. x*), 12098, 12124, 12125 (and *s. xii*), 12137, 12154, 12156, 12157, 12171–12183, 12212, 12215, 12221 (or *s. x*), 12224, 12226, 12234, 12236 (fols. 86–103 are uncial), 12242 (12242–12246 are a single work), 12247, 12269 (with Germanic glosses of the Carolingian period on fol. 58^v), 12273, 12275, 12276,

⁸⁷ The list does not include charters, which ought to be studied eventually. — Except where the fact is noted below, this list does not include any of the Corbie items previously mentioned in the present article or in my earlier account of the Corbie scriptorium ('The Scriptorium at Corbie: I. The Library,' *Speculum*, xxii, 2 (April, 1947).) It does not, for example, include the mss. described by Delisle in his discussion of the three Corbie catalogues or in his exposition of the history of the Corbie library from the end of the thirteenth to the nineteenth century (see my earlier account, just cited, pp. 194–200; especially the parts which concern *Cheltenham*, *Phillipps 17.35* and *17.6*; *Leyden 30*; and Paris, B.N., lat. 6796, 8051, and 8777). It does not, moreover, mention possible Corbie products which, appear in the mss. described later in this article as having probably been written at other centers and having been present at Corbie. — The list is culled primarily from E. Coyeceque's 1893 Amiens catalogue, pp. v–vi and ix–x. — Unless some special indication is given, the dates of the Amiens mss. are taken from Coyeceque's catalogue, while the dates of the Paris mss. are from Léopold Delisle's 'Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Saint Germain des-Prés,' in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 6^e série, Tome I (1865), pp. 185–214; Tome III (1867), pp. 343–376 and 528–556; and Tome IV (1868), pp. 220–260. Both Coyeceque's and Delisle's dates are often inexact.

12281, 12283, 12284, 12285 (& frags. of s. xi), 12292, 12296, 12512, 12958 (& s. x), 12960, 12964 (previously mentioned; 12964-12965=one work), 13009, 13020, 13023, 13024, 13025, 13026, 13027, 13029 (with Breton [Cornish?] glosses: *Not. Lat.*), 13187, 13344, 13360, 13362, 13363, 13369, 13375, 13377 (fols. 1-15=s. xii), 13381, 13384, 13385, 13390, 13396, 13397, 13400, 13403, 13409 (& s. xii), 13760, 13908, 13956, 13957, 14087, 14143.

TENTH CENTURY

Amiens, Bib. Mun. 24, 25, 44, 404 (s. x-xiii).

Paris, B.N. lat. 11682, 11699, 12052 (written at the order of Ratoldus, abbot of Corbie, who died in 986), 12126 (or s. xi), 12133, 12141 (and s. xii), 12148, 12150 (Cf. 11999; same contents), 12151, 12152, 12203, 12210, 12213, 12220, 12235, 12248, 12252, 12272 (& frags. of s. xii), 12274, 12280, 12287-12288, 12294, 12527, 13043, 13044, 13046, 13174, 13351, 13352, 13401, 13761, 13833, 13909, 13953, 13955, 14080, 14085, 14089, 17243, 18296.

ELEVENTH CENTURY

Amiens, Bib. Mun. 27, 69 (s. xi-xiii), 131, 155.

Paris, B.N. lat. 11637, 11638, 11639, 11749, 11952 (s. xi/xii), 11963, 11995 (and frags. of s. x), 12016, 12162, 12208, 12218, 12257, 12306, 12309, 12526, 13331, 13365, 13391.

TWELFTH CENTURY

Amiens, Bib. Mun. 15, 17, 22, 28, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 48, 75, 79, 83, 85, 93, 94, 115, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 154, 435.

Paris, B.N., lat. 11531, 11549, 11564, 11575-11576 (A.D. 1164: *Delisle, Le cabinet, Planche xxxvii.4*), 11579, 11580, 11616, 11617, 11634, 11636, 11675, 11684, 11700, 11864 (s. xii/xiii), 11949, 11964, 11998, 12001 (?), 12004, 12005 (?), 12020 (previously mentioned), 12033, 12046, 12118, 12122, 12123, 12136 (and s. xiii), 12147, 12149, 12158, 12185-12187, 12188, 12196, 12199, 12222, 12228, 12270, 12291, 12295, 12297, 12298, 12299, 12304, 12307, 12315, 12316, 12324, 12325, 12406, 12407,⁸⁸ 12408,⁸⁹ 12409 (Master Daniel of Corbie), 12583,⁹⁰ 12597, 12602, 12607 (ex.), 12608, 13170, 13172, 13176,⁹¹ 13190, 13191 (& perhaps s. xiii), 13204, (& s. xiii), 13218, 13221, 13334, 13340, 13350, 13392, 13395, 13417,⁹² 13418, 13422, 13700 (ex.; & frag. of A.D. 1342), 13747 (?), 13768, 13770, 13772, 13874, 16730, 16943 (A.D. 1183: *Delisle, Le cabinet, Planche xxxviii.2*), 17762-17764, 17767, 18010.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Amiens, Bib. Mun. 1, 3, 4, 5, 16, 21, 23, 34, 35, 36, 47, 50, 51, 62, 70, 71, 73, 76, 86, 92, 100, 156, 157, 195 (s. xiii-xiv), 196, 230, 232, 233, 234, 236, 266, 267, 268, 269, 272, 285, 301, 305, 352, 375, 379, 380, 403, 406 (& s. xiv), 427, 436, 460 (s. xiii-xiv).

⁸⁸ From one of the priories dependent upon Corbie — St Lawrence's of Heilly.

⁸⁹ Also from Heilly.

⁹⁰ Heilly.

⁹¹ Heilly.

⁹² Heilly.

Paris, B.N., lat. 11692, 11714 (?), 11716 (?), 12082 (and s. xii), 12083, 12120, 12414, 12416, 12518, 12593 (in.), 12612, 12945, 12954 (ex.), 12956 (ex.), 12971 (& s. xv), 13000 (ex.), 13193, 13414, 13432, 13468, 13472, 13749 (s. xiii ex. & xiv), 13753 (s. xiii ex. & xiv), 13777 (?), 13780 (ex.), 14150, 14151, 17758, 17759, 17768.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Amiens, Bib. Mun. 32, 33, 45, 66, 78, 95, 116, 117, 118, 121, 151, 162 (s. xiv-xvii), 176, 198, 235, 237, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 270, 271, 283, 302, 304, 347, 348, 349, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 376, 378, 381, 383, 407, 419, 421, 437, 461, 462.

Paris, B.N., lat. 11694, 11719, 11860, 12461, 12615 (A.D. 1316), 12616 (toward A.D. 1316), 12970, 13222 (in.), 13781, 17766 (ex.), 17770 (A.D. 1304).

FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Amiens, Bib. Mun. 97, 102, 122, 152, 153, 200, 215, 239, 262, 282, 303, 366, 367, 374, 382, 402, 405, 408, 410, 431, 441, 480.

Paris, B.N., lat. 11588 (A.D. 1441), 11730 (in.), 12084, 12446 (A.D. 1460), 12892 (A.D. 1411), 13002, 13436, 14093 (?), 14136, 17760, 17761, 17765 (ex.) 17769 (ex.).

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Amiens, Bib. Mun. 187, 205, 317, 524, 782.

Paris, B.N., lat. 17145, 17757, 18034 (toward A.D. 1530).

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Amiens, Bib. Mun. 139, 177, 192, 297, 321, 384, 525 (s. xvii-xviii), 531.

Paris, B.N., lat. 12265, 12893, 13071 (presumably s. xvii), 17142-17143, 17144 (& s. xviii), 17771-17774 (& s. xviii), 17922-17923 (catalogues of Corbie, s. xvii?), 18039 18042, 18251 18252, 18370 (a history of Corbie up to s. xii med.), 18371.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Amiens, Bib. Mun. 338, 390.

Paris, B.N., lat. 17690.

To test the origin of the manuscripts listed above or of any other items which may seem to come from Corbie one can make good use of the various criteria suggested by Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaia.⁹³ These criteria, eight in number, are presented below, the most important first: 1. a contemporary note written in the margin of a page by the scribe or the director of the scriptorium; 2. a résumé of a manuscript's contents (identical with the contents mentioned in the eleventh-century catalogue) written on a fly-leaf in the ninth or tenth century; 3. palaeographical characteristics, especially the script,⁹⁴ quire signatures, ruling, abbrevia-

⁹³ *Histoire*, pp. 33-40; the summary is on p. 40.

⁹⁴ One must bear in mind that it has not yet been proved (despite the strong probabilities) that either the *ab*-script or the *ena*-script originated at Corbie.

tions, and corrections;⁹⁶ 4. illumination; 5. a note made by a twelfth- to thirteenth-century librarian of Corbie in the margin of a manuscript page; 6. a note made by a seventeenth-century Corbie librarian; 7. the similarity of the contents of a manuscript with the contents indicated in the two eleventh-century Corbie catalogues⁹⁶ (a similarity is not to be considered proof unless a library number, press mark, or other clue is present); and 8. the same similarity of the contents of a manuscript with the contents indicated in the third catalogue of Corbie (ca. 1200).⁹⁷

Two further questions claim our interest — the possibility of other centers having influenced Corbie and the possibility of Corbie's having influenced other centers. On the first question we possess a fairly large amount of evidence. Among the items present at Corbie but not written there are a fifth-century uncial manuscript which may have come from Africa (*Leningrad, Public Library Q. v. I. 3*: St Augustine, four opuscula); a fifth-century manuscript containing the third decade of Livy (*Paris, B.N., lat. 5730*), from Avellino near Naples; three early Italian semiuncial books, one with marginalia in apparently contemporary 'ancient minuscule' (*Paris, B.N., lat. 13367, s. vi-vii*), the second with some uncials in its text proper (*Paris, B.N., lat. 12097, s. vi*), and the third (*Paris, B.N., lat. 12214+Leningrad, Public Library, Q. v. I. 4*) without special features;⁹⁸ a sixth- to seventh-century (Italian?) uncial manuscript (*Leningrad, Public Library Q. v. I. 6-10*; Pseudo-Rufinus, Fulgentius, Origen, and Jerome); two additional early uncial books of unknown provenience (*Paris, B.N., lat. 12634, s. vii/viii*; and *Paris, B.N., lat. 17225, s. vii*); five eighth-century uncial manuscripts⁹⁹ (*Paris B.N., lat. 12205*,¹⁰⁰ *12190*; *13047*; *14086*, with semiuncials as well; and *18315*); and a very interesting volume in cursive minuscules with palimpsests of the Codex Theodosianus, of the Lex Visigothorum, and of Asper on Virgil (*Paris, B.N., lat. 12161, s. vii/viii*). We have information as well concerning a manuscript of the Letters of Gregory the Great, edited by Paul the Deacon, monk of Monte Cassino, and sent by him to the abbot Adalhard of Corbie (*St Germain-des-Prés 169*, stolen in 1791: Delisle, *Le cabinet II*, p. 122); and concerning four antiphonaries brought by Wala from Rome to Corbie (Delisle, *ibid.*).

The problem of the existence of an Anglo-Saxon colony at Corbie has already been discussed. To the three Anglo-Saxon or Insular^{100a} items listed by Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaia¹⁰¹ we may now add two more:¹⁰² *Leningrad, Public Library, Q.*

⁹⁶ The shape and dimensions of a ms., the arrangement of its quires, and its punctuation have thus far proved of little use as criteria for Corbie mss.: Dobiaš, *Histoire*, p. 38. Palaeographers must also study the shape and position of the prickings, the pricking systems, and the instruments employed.

⁹⁷ Though Dobiaš, *Histoire*, p. 40, mentions only one catalogue of s. xi, there are two.

⁹⁸ S. xii, Dobiaš, *Histoire*, p. 40.

⁹⁹ St Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, Bk. x.

¹⁰⁰ One or more of these five books may have been written at Corbie.

^{100a} This may be a Luxeuil product.

^{100b} Concerning the Irish influence on Corbie see L. W. Jones, 'The Scriptorium at Corbie: I. The Library,' *Speculum*, xxii, 2 (April, 1947), p. 200 and note 48.

¹⁰¹ *Leningrad, Public Library F. v. I. 3. A, F. v. I. 3. B, and Q. v. I. 15*. The last two seem to have been written at Corbie. *Q. v. I. 15* was not written at Péronne, as Traube thought. *F. v. I. 3. A* may have been written at a center other than Corbie.

¹⁰² Either or both may have been written at Corbie itself.

v. XIV, 1 (Lindsay, *Not. Lat.*, p. 487: semiuncial passing occasionally into large minuscule) and the Anglo-Saxon minuscule fly-leaf (s. viii-ix)¹⁰³ of *Vatican City, Vat. lat. 340* (a ninth-century minuscule manuscript of Jerome, *On Paul's Letter to the Galatians*).

As one might expect, manuscripts from neighboring French centers were present at Corbie. Among their number are *Leningrad, Public Library, F. v. I. 7* (selected letters of Gregory the Great and introductory letters of Paulus Diaconus), written in minuscules at the end of the eighth century at Frioul and sent to Corbie at the request of Adalhard; *Paris, B.N., lat. 12168 (s. ix)* written in Laon az-script;¹⁰⁴ *Paris, B.N., lat. 13359*, written in 796-810 at St Riquier;¹⁰⁵ *Paris, B.N., lat. 13759 (s. ix; no. 15 in E. K. Rand, A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours. Studies in the Script of Tours, I. Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1929)*, a present from Tours to Corbie; and *Paris, B.N., lat. 12254 (s. ix)*, written in Visigothic minuscules, presumably in France. At some time or other it is likely that there were present at Corbie manuscripts from some at least of such other neighboring centers as Arras, Beauvais, and Soissons.^{106a}

The influence of Luxeuil upon its child, Corbie, must have been considerable. We know, for example, that an eighth- to ninth-century calendar which represented the usage of Luxeuil (Dobiaš, *Histoire*, p. 46) was a Corbie copy of a Luxeuil original. Though no certain products of Luxeuil have thus far been noted at Corbie, there are at least two items written at Corbie which contain examples of Luxeuil writing: *Leningrad, Public Library, Q. v. I. 14* (Luxeuil cursive of s. viii *in.*) and folios 1-3 ('le moyen style de Luxeuil') of *Paris, B.N., lat. 17655* (the rest of which is written in Corbie cursive minuscules). Some scholars believe that the script of Luxeuil was the ancestor of the b-type, which in turn led to the ab-type.

The influence of German writing upon the script of Corbie has been discussed in an earlier article.^{106b}

Our knowledge of the influence of other centers upon Corbie is obviously incomplete. Still less complete is our knowledge of Corbie's influence upon other centers. A few facts emerge, though the details remain to be studied. We are probably safe in assuming provisionally that it was primarily Corbie which brought about the spread of the ab-script to Arras, Beauvais, Péronne, St Riquier, Soissons, and other centers in the north of France and near Paris. Corbie also seems to have exerted at least some influence upon Tours. Two Tours products, the Ashburnham Pentateuch (*Paris, B.N., n. a. lat. 2334*, mostly of s. vii)¹⁰⁶ and

¹⁰³ The fly-leaf contains the work of Theodorus of Mopsuestia. The two other known mss. of Theodorus (*London, B.M., Harley 3063* and *Amiens, B.M., 88*) also come from Corbie.

¹⁰⁴ Lauer, *Recherches*, p. 10, thinks that the Laon az-type is a transitional step between the Luxeuil script and the Corbie ab-script. On the az script see W. M. Lindsay, *Revue des bibliothèques*, xxiv (1914), 15. ¹⁰⁵ Fols. 1-18 are of s. xi.

^{106a} For additional information concerning the influence of French centers on Corbie see L. W. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 200 and note 49.

^{106b} L. W. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 200 and note 47.

¹⁰⁶ Rand, *Survey*, p. 83.

the Gospel of Le Mans (*Paris, B.N., lat. 261, post 850*)¹⁰⁷ have illumination reminiscent, in part, of Corbie. The ancient uncial manuscript of Livy, the Puteanus (*Paris, B.N., lat. 5730*) was brought to Tours from Corbie, and *Vat. reg. lat. 762 (s. viii ex.)* was copied from it.¹⁰⁸ Four books which went from Corbie to other centers have already been discussed.¹⁰⁹ Finally, the abbey of Korwey, founded in 822 by monks of Corbie, must certainly in its early years have been under the spell of Corbie,¹¹⁰ though there seems to have been no extensive exchange of books between the two centers in the ninth or tenth centuries.¹¹¹

There is obviously much work yet to be done. It is to be hoped that the present discussion may stimulate scholars to begin investigation in a field which is bound to be fruitful.

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¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 67 and 163.

¹⁰⁸ E. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latines* (Paris, 1884-1900), Plate cxvii (fol. 201^v of the Vatican ms.) and Rand, *Survey*, p. 97.

¹⁰⁹ L. W. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

¹¹⁰ Thus Adalricus and Hrodgarius, after their work as miniaturist and scribe respectively of the Vatican Terence (*Vat. lat. 3868*), are known to have been transferred to Korwey at the time of its founding in 822. Cf. L. W. Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence Prior to the Thirteenth Century*, II (Princeton, 1932), pp. 28, 33-35, 50-51.

¹¹¹ Paul Lehmann, 'Corveyer Studien,' *Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft*, xxx (1919), p. 10 ff. Cf. Delisle, *Le cabinet* II, p. 122 on two 'Saxon' mss. stolen from St Germain in 1791 and on the Germanic glosses of fol. 58^v of *Paris, B.N. lat. 12269 (s. ix.)*

LEX SALICA, II

By SIMON STEIN

'De la méthode avant toute chose'

V

THE only thing to do is to approach the problem of *Lex Salica* as if it were a recently discovered document about which nothing definite is yet established. Therefore, I ask my reader to forget everything he knows about this law, above all, the theory that formed the basis of every study and edition of *Lex Salica* according to which a new official version of this *lex* known under the name of *Lex Emendata* -- was composed under Charlemagne. This theory played a great role in legal history. Following the pattern of *Lex Salica*, the editors found two distinct forms for the other *Volksrechte* (*Lex Ripuaria*, *Lex Alamannorum*, etc.), namely: *Antiqua* or *Vulgata*, and *Emendata* or *Renovata*. Krusch's critical conception of *Lex Emendata* as a natural effect of the Carolingian Renaissance is the basis of all his constructions as well as his original sin. He did not realize that the division of all the manuscripts into two unequal groups, one containing a dozen manuscripts of the 'Merovingian texts' and the second the *Lex Emendata* of Charlemagne was far from having any foundation. And how could he have any doubts about this division? On page 265 of the Pardessus edition he found the chapter dealing with the 'fifth text.' This chapter bears the title: 'Lex Salica a Carolo Magno emendata anno dcccxlviij.' In the very beginning of this chapter, Pardessus states: 'The text that I am publishing now is almost always called in the manuscripts *Lex Reformata*, *Lex a Carolo Magno emendata*; and it is also generally known as such by scholars.

The first part of this statement is completely inaccurate. Far from 'almost always,' *never* does a manuscript describe this text in the manner stated by Pardessus. Thus, in the corresponding chapter of Hessels' preface, only the second part of Pardessus' affirmation is reproduced: 'The text of this family is *usually* called *Lex reformata*, *Lex (a Carolo Magno) emendata*.' Not a single word on the subject of manuscripts! The second part of Pardessus' statement is, however, exact: All scholars, starting with Jean du Tillet, Bishop of Meaux, were convinced that Charlemagne had *Lex Salica* revised. In the middle of the sixteenth century, Jean du Tillet published *Lex Salica* for the first time as a small, very elegant in-16° edition under the title: 'Libelli seu decreta a Chlodoveo, et Childeberto et Clothario prius aedita, ac postremum a Carolo lucide emendata, auctaque plurimum.' There is no doubt that Jean du Tillet relied upon *MS. Paris 10758* and that the title cited is only a rectification, though unfortunately an arbitrary

¹ I believe J. Grimm was the only one to deny, in his preface to Merke's edition of *Lex Salica* (1850), the existence of a version of this *lex* edited by Charlemagne: 'An eine Karlische Recension des salischen Gesetzes, die man *lex emendata* oder *reformata* zu benennen pflegt, kann ich auf keine Weise glauben' (p. lxxxiv). But Grimm's remark, not sustained by any proof, did not influence subsequent research and it has not even been taken up by any scholar.