

THE ANNOTATED BOOK IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

UTRECHT STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL LITERACY

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THE ANNOTATED BOOK
IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES:
PRACTICES OF READING
AND WRITING

Edited by

Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude



BREPOLS

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Reading the Catholic Epistles: Glossing Practices in Early Medieval Wissembourg*

CINZIA GRIFONI

The Catholic Epistles seem to have been one of the most read biblical texts in the Benedictine monastery of Wissembourg during the second half of the ninth century. In fact, three glossed manuscripts of the Epistles in Latin still survive, which were all produced around the same time by the local scriptorium for internal use. They are MSS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weissenburg 47 and Weissenburg 59, as well as MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1239. The survival of all three of these manuscripts offers a very valuable case study of the culture of biblical exegesis and glossing practices at Wissembourg. Indeed, their glosses provide rich and diverse evidence for the possible ways in which a text of evident interest for the monastic community could be studied and interpreted. Given that Otfrid (*fl.* after 840), the best-known scholar operating at Wissembourg, personally composed the commentary transmitted by MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Biblio-

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The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing, ed. M.J. TEEUWEN and I. VAN RENSWOUDE, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 705-742.

thek, Weiss. 59 by selecting the sources and writing all of its glosses, the present article shall first present in detail the characteristics of Otfrid's Latin output with regard to both the codicological forms and exegetical models he chose to employ. Focussing then on the First Epistle of John, Otfrid's edition of the Catholic Epistles shall be compared with the other two editions of the Epistles produced in the Wissembourg scriptorium, in order to understand with which purpose the three manuscripts were produced and which particular group of confrères they addressed.

The Wissembourg Monastery and Otfrid's Contribution to its Manuscript Output

The monastery of Sts. Peter and Paul at Wissembourg, in present-day Alsace, was founded around the middle of the seventh century by the local aristocratic family known today as the Gundoins and by Dragebodo, the Bishop of Speyer.¹ Due to the relatively rich corpus of charters and records of the monastery's possessions, especially in the early stages of its history, modern scholarship has been able to outline in considerable detail the economic and social development of the monastic community as well as that of its dependent properties up until the sixteenth century.² For the purposes of the present contribu-

¹ Detailed information about the history of the monastery can be found in: R. BORNERT, *Les monastères d'Alsace*, 2, *Abbayes de bénédictins des origines à la Révolution française* (Strasbourg, 2009), pp. 385-635; L.A. DOLL, *Palatia Sacra: Kirchen- und Pfründebeschreibung der Pfalz in vorreformatorischer Zeit* 1.2 (Mainz, 1999); *Liber Possessionum Wizenburgensis*, ed. CH. DETTE (Mainz, 1987: *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Kirchengeschichte* 59), pp. 9-25; J. SCHNEIDER, *Auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Reich: Lothringen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, (Köln, Weimar, and Vienna, 2010), pp. 298-305.

² The fundamental primary source for Wissembourg's property is the *Codex Traditionum*, which deserves particular mention. It is a codex summoning copies of property transactions from 661 to 864, produced in the second half of the ninth century by the local monastic scriptorium; see: *Traditiones Wizenburgenses: Die Urkunden des Klosters Weissenburg 661-864*, ed. K. GLÖCKNER and L.A. DOLL (Darmstadt, 1979). Also important are the *Brevium exempla ad describendas res ecclesiasticas et fiscales*, a capitulary issued by Charlemagne or Louis the Pious with the purpose of prescribing how ecclesiastical and fiscal properties ought to be recorded. The material collected in its second section, concerning the recording of granted usufructs, derives from Wissembourg. See: *Brevium exempla*, ed. A. BORETIUS, *Capitularia regum Francorum* 1 (Hanover, 1883: *MGH Capit.* 1), No. 128, pp. 250-256, and H.J. HUMMER, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 82-84. For further sources, see SCHNEIDER, *Lothringen*, pp. 305-310.

tion, it is important to stress just two basic elements out of this broader historiographic reconstruction. First, during the first half of the eighth century, Carolingian elites increasingly came to exert control over the monastic community, so much so that it became a royal monastery in the second half of the century. By the middle of the ninth century, when the manuscripts we shall deal with were produced, Wissembourg was very well integrated, both politically and culturally, within an extended network of monastic centres tightly bound to Carolingian rule. Secondly, documentary evidence strongly suggests that Wissembourg's economic development and wealth peaked around the middle decades of the ninth century.

The general growth the Benedictine abbey experienced in this period also affected its intellectual life. The second half of the century in particular saw an intensification of spiritual and cultural bonds with other institutions as well as a notable increase of the library holdings. For both of these developments we have a relative abundance of evidence. On the one hand, confraternity and memorial books record the intensive spiritual and cultural interplay between Wissembourg and some of its important neighbours: Fulda, St. Gallen, and Reichenau.³ On the other, a copious group of early medieval manuscripts is still available. They were produced by the Wissembourg scriptorium, donated to the monastery or acquired for the library's internal use from other centres. Today's Herzog August Bibliothek of Wolfenbüttel purchased most of them (around one hundred books) at the end of the seventeenth century, whereas roughly another thirty codices or fragments of Wissembourg provenance are preserved at various other western European institutions.⁴ The publication in 1964 of the catalogue of the *Weissenburgenses* by Hans Butzmann, the librarian of the Herzog August Bibliothek at that time, generated a vital impulse for

³ W. HAUBRICHS, "Die Weißenburger Mönchslisten der Karolingerzeit", *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 118 = NF 79 (1970), pp. 1-42; U. LUDWIG, "Otfrid in den Weißenburger Mönchslisten: Das Zeugnis der Verbrüderungsbücher von St. Gallen und Reichenau", *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 135 = NF 96 (1987), pp. 65-86; D. GEUENICH, "Elsaßbeziehungen in den St. Galler Verbrüderungsbüchern", in: *Codices Sangallenses: Festschrift für Johannes Duft zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. P. OCHSENBEIN and E. ZIEGLER (Sigmaringen, 1995), pp. 105-116.

⁴ E. HELLGARDT, *Die exegetischen Quellen von Otfrids Evangelienbuch: Beiträge zu ihrer Ermittlung* (Tübingen, 1981: *Hermaea*, NF 41), at pp. 63-94, who retraces the books available in the monastic library of Wissembourg by the second half of the ninth century, i.e. those at Otfrid's disposal. For all known manuscripts of Wissembourg provenance see S. KRÄMER, *Handschriftenerbe des deutschen Mittelalters*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1989: *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz: Ergänzungsband 1*), 2, Köln-Zyfflich, pp. 822-824.

the study of this group of manuscripts. Since then, a great deal of research has been undertaken in order to reconstruct both the contents and the codicological and palaeographical characteristics of Wissembourg's medieval library. As a result, it has been posited that the local scriptorium produced as many manuscripts between the years 845 and 870 as during the whole previous time of its activity. Furthermore, in the same period the library was enriched with a large amount of books coming from other monastic institutions, especially from Fulda.⁵ The primary purpose of this was to fill gaps in the manuscript holdings, in particular with regard to liturgical and legal texts, to the study of the Latin language – i.e. grammatical handbooks, but also a couple of original works by both classical and Christian authors were copied in this period –, and most of all to the reading and interpretation of the Bible.⁶

Two of the most important figures of the late Carolingian era are considered to have been responsible for this impressive cultural flourishing. The first was Grimald, the archchaplain and archchancellor of Louis the German, who was the abbot at St. Gallen and Wissembourg for about thirty years, from c. 840 until 870, and was regarded as an extremely learned man by his contemporaries.⁷ Grimald undoubtedly fostered and facilitated cultural exchange and communication between the two communities under his rule: striking similarities in the manuscript production of the Wissembourg and St. Gallen scriptoria in this period testify to such cultural interplay, as we shall see. Modern scholarship, moreover, unanimously acknowledges a second driving force behind Wissembourg's cultural 'golden age': the *presbyter* Otfrid, who operated as teacher and exegete under Grimald's abbacy from, at the latest, the 840s, after having perfected his skills under Hrabanus Maurus at Fulda.⁸

⁵ H. BUTZMANN, *Die Weißenburger Handschriften* (Frankfurt, 1964: *Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: Neue Reihe* 10); W. KLEIBER, *Otfrid von Weißenburg: Untersuchungen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung und Studien zum Aufbau des Evangelienbuches* (Bern and Munich, 1971: *Bibliotheca Germanica* 14), at pp. 125-135. B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigothischen)*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998-2014), 3, *Padua-Zwickau*, ed. B. EBERSPERGER, pp. 507-512, offers a slightly different dating of the manuscripts.

⁶ See KLEIBER, *Otfrid von Weißenburg*, pp. 125-155 and HELLGARDT, *Die exegetischen Quellen*, pp. 88-94.

⁷ On Grimald, see D. GEUENICH, "Beobachtungen zu Grimald von St. Gallen, Erzkapellan und Oberkanzler Ludwigs des Deutschen", in: *Litterae Medii Aevi: Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth*, ed. M. BORGOLTE and H. SPILLING (Sigmaringen, 1988), pp. 55-68; SCHNEIDER, *Lothringen*, pp. 299-300.

⁸ Biographical evidence on Otfrid has been studied in depth by Wolfgang Haubrichs in numerous contributions. See most recently W. HAUBRICHS, "Otfrid de Wissembourg, élève de

In order to specify how Otfrid contributed to the growth of scholarly activity at Wissembourg, we shall now take a closer look at his literary output and at the influence he was able to exert within the monastic community. This is not a simple task, due the huge amount of literature on the topic. Indeed, Otfrid's biography, intellectual connections, and scholarly output have constituted a major field of research among linguists and historians of the early Middle Ages for almost two centuries. The main reason for this rests on the fact that between 863 and 871 he composed a poem known as *Liber Evangeliorum* or *Evangelienbuch*.⁹ The *Evangelienbuch* is a harmony of the Gospels arranged in five books totalling more than 7,000 verses, which has as its most remarkable feature that it is one of the first surviving literary sources to have been written in the Frankish dialect from the southern Rhine area. The poem has been investigated from many angles. First and foremost, the political implications of Otfrid's choice to write in the vernacular continue to be debated. Indeed, the majority of modern scholars consider Otfrid's linguistic choice as a tribute of loyalty to Louis the German and to his alleged plans to shape a distinctive eastern-Frankish identity through a programmatic use of Old High German. According to others, however, Otfrid's exaltation of the grandness of the Franks in the first chapter of the *Evangelienbuch*, and his consequent decision to use their language for praising God in his poem, should not be interpreted as referring only to the Franks of the eastern realm.¹⁰ A second main strand of research involves the formal peculiarities and the contents of the *Evangelienbuch*. Scholars engaged in these issues have been striving to retrieve the stylistic models as well as the exegetical sources that Otfrid had at his disposal when composing his poetic remake of the Gospel narrative. In this respect, the extant manuscripts from early medieval Wissembourg offer an obvious field of investigation, and scholars have cherished the hope that the

Raban Maur, et l'héritage de l'école de Fulda au monastère de Wissembourg", in: *Raban Maur et son temps*, ed. P. DEPREUX, S. LEBECQ, M. J.-L. PERRIN, and O. SZERWINIACK (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 155-172.

⁹ Literature on Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch* is enormous. For the text and extensive bibliography, see Otfrid von Weißenburg, *Evangelienbuch*, ed. W. KLEIBER *et al.*, 1.1, *Edition nach dem Wiener Codex 2687* and 1.2, *Einleitung und Apparat* (Tübingen, 2004); 2.1, *Edition der Heidelberger Handschrift P (Codex Pal. Lat. 52) und der Handschrift D (Codex Discissus: Bonn, Berlin / Krakau, Wolfenbüttel)* and 2.2, *Einleitung und Apparat* (Tübingen 2006-2007).

¹⁰ For political interpretations see, e.g. HUMMER, *Politics and Power*, pp. 143-154, and W. HAUBRICHS, "Ludwig der Deutsche und die volkssprachige Literatur", in: *Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Zeit*, ed. W. HARTMANN (Darmstadt, 2004), pp. 203-232. SCHNEIDER, *Lothringen*, at pp. 324-330 and 341, offers the other point of view.

very books Otfrid employed as a model for his vernacular poem could be discovered amongst them.¹¹ Although this hope has been largely disappointed and the search for the sources of the *Evangelienbuch* is still an open task,¹² the detailed investigation of the manuscript legacy of Wissembourg resulted in the conclusion that Otfrid not only promoted a cultural flourishing in his community, but also that he himself took an active part in this project by writing several manuscripts in his own hand.

The evidence for this rests on palaeographic studies conducted by Wolfgang Kleiber on the manuscript transmission of the *Evangelienbuch*, which were published in 1971.¹³ MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2687 (hereafter Vienna 2687), which was produced at Wissembourg in the second half of the ninth century, is considered unanimously as the archetype of the *Evangelienbuch*. It contains corrections and structural changes to the work that Otfrid added in his own hand in a final revision, which all further witnesses of the *Evangelienbuch* transmit as parts of the poem. As a result of his palaeographic investigation of Otfrid's amendments in Vienna 2687, Kleiber was able to determine the specific traits of Otfrid's hand and to detect them in a further nine Latin grammatical and exegetical manuscripts among the *Weissenburgenses* preserved at Wolfenbüttel.¹⁴ The manuscripts listed by Kleiber can be divided in two groups. The first includes four codices with a focus on the study of Latin or of the Bible, in which Otfrid wrote parts of the main text as well as a large amount of the annotations. The manuscripts are: 1) MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weissenburg 10 (Augustine, *Tractatus 1-23 in Iohannem*)¹⁵; 2) MS Weissenburg 50 (Priscian, *Institutiones*), in which Otfrid added annotations both in Latin and in vernacular; 3) MS Weissenburg 77 (Prudentius, *Apotheosis, Hamartigenia, et al.*), in which Otfrid's main contribution was the writing of both Latin and vernacular glosses; 4) MS Weissenburg 87B (Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaries on Genesis and Machabees, et al.*), which Kleiber presents only as a probable autograph of Otfrid.¹⁶

¹¹ See for instance A. C. SCHWARZ, *Der Sprachbegriff in Otfrids Evangelienbuch* (Bamberg, 1975).

¹² HELLGARDT, *Die exegetischen Quellen*, pp. 1-21 and 210-217.

¹³ KLEIBER, *Otfrid von Weissenburg*, pp. 102-122.

¹⁴ The large majority of the *codices Weissenburgenses* are available as digital facsimiles among the manuscript database of the Herzog August Bibliothek (<http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=collection&id=weiss>).

¹⁵ In this manuscript Otfrid limited his contribution to the *capitulatio* and to some scarce corrections.

¹⁶ KLEIBER, *Otfrid von Weissenburg*, pp. 107-111. The commentary on Genesis contained

The second group of manuscripts that preserves traces of Otfrid's writing activity is more homogeneous, both in form and content. It includes five codices of exegetical material in which both the biblical text and a rich apparatus of glosses are displayed on the page, following a characteristic three-column ruling layout. The biblical text occupies the central column of the leaf, while the glosses are ordered with great care in the left and right margins and are linked to the lemmata through an exceptionally diverse corpus of reference signs. Butzmann first pointed out the striking similarities between these codices by viewing them as different parts of a coherent *glossiertes Bibelwerk* (i.e. a glossed edition of several books of the Bible), which was undertaken at Wissembourg in Otfrid's time.¹⁷ As a result of his palaeographical analysis, Kleiber refined Butzmann's description by identifying Otfrid as the writer of the vast majority of the numerous glosses contained in these manuscripts. It is important to note that none of the five commentaries features unambiguous signs of Otfrid's involvement; none of them contains, for example, a preface declaring the intentions of the *compiler*. We can attribute them to Otfrid only on the basis of palaeography. However, since Kleiber's results are still met with general approval, the following five glossed manuscripts can be considered as Otfrid's autographs:

MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weissenburg 26 (hereafter MS Weiss. 26): Gospels with glosses

MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weissenburg 32 (hereafter MS Weiss. 32): Jeremiah with glosses

MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weissenburg 33 (hereafter MS Weiss. 33): Isaiah with glosses

MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weissenburg 36 (hereafter MS Weiss. 36): Minor Prophets with glosses

MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weissenburg 59 (hereafter MS Weiss. 59): Acts, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse with glosses¹⁸

in MS Weiss. 87B explains only the first three chapters and has been considered in the past as Walahfrid Strabo's *abbreviatio* of Hrabanus' actual commentary. Recent scholarship, however, identifies this shorter work as a second commentary on Genesis prepared by Hrabanus himself between 842 and 846 at Lothar's demand. See R.E. GUGLIEMETTI, "Hrabanus Maurus", in: *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo – Te.Tra.* 3, ed. P. CHIESA and L. CASTALDI (Florence, 2008), pp. 275-332, at pp. 286-288.

¹⁷ BUTZMANN, *Die Weißenburger Handschriften*, p. 63.

¹⁸ Curiously enough, Butzmann did not regard this manuscript as a part of the "glossiertes Bibelwerk", although he stressed in his description that it is similar to the others in terms of its layout and the palaeographic characteristics (BUTZMANN, *Die Weißenburger Handschriften*, pp.

Thanks to the copious amount of annotations, mostly in Latin, which Kleiber ascribed to Otfrid, the evidence concerning his activity as teacher and exegete at Wissembourg has been enriched significantly. If we accept Kleiber's results, the five glossed editions become precious witnesses to the work of this early medieval *magister*. Not only did he include the exegetical apparatus they contain, but he organised and oversaw the *glossiertes Bibelwerk*, both its contents, selecting and combining various sources together, and its layout, privileging the three-column design. In contrast, however, to the whole academic industry surrounding the *Evangelienbuch*, Otfrid's glossed manuscripts have received considerably less attention from modern scholars. Of all of the Latin corpus, only the annotations in MS Weiss. 26 have been edited (and only partly so), but then analysed exclusively as a way to shed additional light on Otfrid's vernacular exegesis.¹⁹ In what follows, I shall offer an overview of the sources and techniques employed by Otfrid in his Latin commentaries, before concentrating on the peculiarities of MS Weiss. 59 and its interpretation of the Catholic Epistles.²⁰

Otfrid's Commented Editions in Latin: Sources and Aim

Otfrid's Latin commentaries all provide excellent examples of what Louis Holtz has labelled as a commented edition (*édition commentée*).²¹ In this type

196-198). Conversely, he included MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1239 in the group, which contains a glossed edition of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles organised after the three-column ruling pattern. With regard to this codex, which shall be analysed later in this article, Kleiber states that Otfrid had no part in the writing of the glosses. Furthermore, he leaves the question concerning the relationship between the two editions of the Catholic Epistles as contained in Vienna 1239 and MS Weiss. 59 to future research (W. KLEIBER, *Otfrid von Weissenburg*, p. 121).

¹⁹ HELLGARDT, *Die exegetischen Quellen*, pp. 229-255; *Otfridi Wizanburgensis Glossae in Matthaeum*, ed. C. GRIFONI (Turnhout, 2003: CCCM 200).

²⁰ This section draws on some of the results of my still unpublished PhD-Thesis *Otfrido e le tradizioni esegetiche a Weissenburg in epoca carolingia* (University of Udine, 2004).

²¹ L. HOLTZ, "Les manuscrits latins à gloses et à commentaires de l'Antiquité à l'époque carolingienne", in: *Il libro e il testo*, ed. G. QUESTA (Urbino, 1984), pp. 139-167, at p. 156: "J'entends par édition commentée une édition du texte principal telle que la mise en page ait été prévue par le concepteur du livre pour que figurent côte à côte le texte principal et son commentaire, celui-ci renvoyant à celui-là grâce à un système de correspondance clair et précis. Les lemmes désormais deviennent inutiles: car ... un jeu de renvois, par l'emploi de signes de reconnaissance, permettra de passer rapidement du texte de référence à son commentaire".

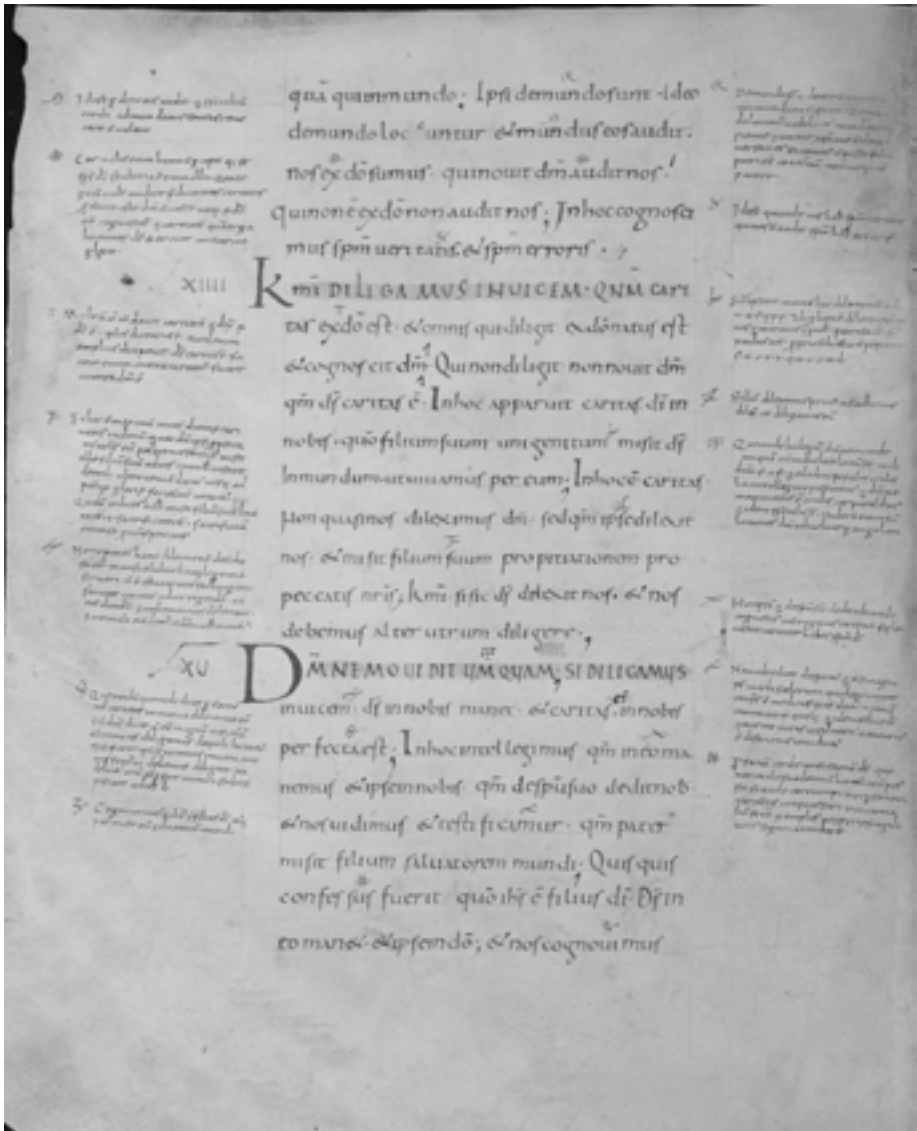


Fig. 1 MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 59, f. 97v. First Epistle of John 4, 4-16.

of commentary all the leaves, except for those containing prefatory material, were ruled according to a three-column pattern in order to accommodate mar-

ginal glosses on both sides of the biblical text (see Fig. 1). Moreover, as is common within this codicological type, Otfrid wrote the glosses in a compact minuscule and in small-spaced lines without the help of horizontal ruling. He linked them to the principal text through creative reference signs, employing a red ink in most of the cases.²² Occasionally he also utilised the interlinear space for shorter annotations, either because the margins were reserved for longer glosses, as in the initial leaves of MS Weiss. 32 and MS Weiss. 33, or because he wanted to place a specific interpretation directly above the relevant word, as sometimes happens in MS Weiss. 59.

Commented editions are well attested for the ninth century in manuscripts of both grammatical and exegetical purpose.²³ As for the latter, commented editions of biblical books, especially of the Psalter, were a “well-established genre” at Fulda already by the turn of the ninth century.²⁴ Here indeed a very elegant three-column edition of the Psalter was produced in the first third of the ninth century, which is today preserved in Frankfurt.²⁵ Leaving aside the problematic question of whether or not this model originated in Ireland and spread to Carolingian scriptoria due to the *monachi peregrini*,²⁶ Fulda seems to have been a major centre for the use and dissemination of the three-column ruling grid. Indeed, it was probably at Fulda that Otfrid, along with other fellow pupils of Hrabanus such as Hartmut of St. Gallen,²⁷ became acquainted

²² I have reproduced the reference signs Otfrid employed for the glosses on the Gospel of Matthew (MS Weiss. 26, ff. 14r-89v) in the initial pages of my edition: *Otfridi Wizanburgensis Glossae in Matthaem* pp. II-IV.

²³ L. HOLTZ, “La typologie des manuscrits grammaticaux latins”, *RHT* 7 (1977), pp. 247-269; M.C. FERRARI, “Die älteste kommentierte Bibelhandschrift und ihr Kontext: Das irische Ezechiel-Fragment Zürich, Staatsarchiv W3.19.XII”, in: *Mittelalterliche volkssprachige Glossen*, ed. R. BERGMANN, E. GLASER, and C. MOULIN-FANKHÄNEL (Heidelberg, 2001: *Germanistische Bibliothek* 13), pp. 47-76.

²⁴ M. GIBSON, “Carolingian glossed psalters”, in: *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. R. GAMESON (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 78-100, at p. 80.

²⁵ S. CANTELLI BERARDUCCI, “L’esegesi ai Salmi nel sec. IX: Il caso delle edizioni commentate del Salterio”, in: *Präsenz und Verwendung der Heiligen Schrift im christlichen Frühmittelalter*, ed. P. CARMASSI (Wiesbaden, 2008: *Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien* 20), pp. 59-115, at pp. 79-83; A. MACALUSO, “Rabano Mauro e il ‘salterio glossato di Fulda’ (Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Barth. 32)”, in: *Raban Maur et son temps*, pp. 325-354.

²⁶ HOLTZ, “Les manuscrits latins à gloses”, pp. 157 and 166-167, suggests this interpretation of the manuscript evidence; however, he does not exclude that Irish scriptoria could have received this model from some continental scriptorium before transmitting it back to the continent.

²⁷ Otfrid and Hartmut, who were schoolfellows under Hrabanus, maintained their friendship after returning to their communities of origin, as testified by one of the four dedication letters accompanying the *Evangelienbuch*, addressed to Hartmut and Werinbert of St. Gallen. See W.

with this type of codicological design and made use of it when they returned to their monasteries of origin. For instance, St. Gallen produced commented editions of the Psalter, the four Gospels, and the Prophets, probably in the time when Hartmut filled the position of dean and head of the local library (849-872).²⁸ During this same period, Wissembourg produced not only the five commented editions ascribed to Otfrid, but also a further manuscript of this type containing the Pauline and Catholic Epistles (MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 1239), as we shall see below. The reason for the relatively widespread use of the three-column pattern among Carolingian scriptoria resides evidently in the very practical advantages it offered. The commented edition represented a great technical innovation in the pedagogical tools for textual analysis, which permitted the primary text and its interpretation to be displayed on the same page. The place available in the margins of a leaf, however, imposed limits on the length of the annotations. Yet, as a medium for offering compendious – rather than extensive – explanations of a given text the three-column editions represented the perfect format.

Providing such a compendious explanation of specific books of the Bible appears to have been precisely what Otfrid envisaged with his exegetical commentaries. They are all completely derivative as far as their contents are concerned. This was typical. Yet while his teacher, Hrabanus, wanted to collect in a single volume all the available interpretations of a given biblical book for the utility of the reader, thus opting for the medium of running commentary,²⁹ Otfrid aimed rather at the creation of a sort of handbook which reproduced only the core of the most authoritative interpretations of a given Scriptural text. When the sources of his five commented editions are analysed, it becomes clear that the overwhelming majority of the glosses of each manuscript are

HAUBRICHS, “Otfrids St. Galler ‘Studienfreunde’”, *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 4 (1973), pp. 49-112.

²⁸ On the glossed psalters see *supra*, note 24. The commented edition of the Gospels is preserved in MS St. Gallen, SB, 50, on which see: F.S. D’IMPERIO, “Le glosse ai quattro Vangeli nel manoscritto St. Gallen, SB 50”, *Studi Medievali* 41 (2000), pp. 549-590. MS St. Gallen, SB, 41 contains the commented edition of the prophets Isaiah, Osee, Zacharias and Daniel; see: S. SHIMAHARA, *Haymon d’Auxerre, exégète carolingien* (Turnhout, 2013: *Collection Haut Moyen Âge* 16), p. 141.

²⁹ Hrabanus’ dedicatory letter to Hilduin explains the criteria he had adopted by preparing his commentary on Kings (*MGH Epp. Karol.* 3, n. 14, p. 402, 24-26: “... *ut sanctorum partum dicta, quae de praedicto libro exposita in pluribus exemplaribus dispersa sunt, in unum ob commoditatem legentis colligerem...*”). See S. CANTELLI BERARDUCCI, *Hrabanus Mauri Opera Exegetica: Repertorium Fontium*, 3 vols. (Turnhout, 2006: *Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia* 38), 1, *Rabano Mauro egegeta: Le fonti – I commentari*, pp. 59-67.

drawn from distinct yet similar texts: *abbreviations*. In other words, the vast majority of the glosses contained in each of Otfrid's commentaries go back to a single exegetical work, which abbreviated or summarised a more extended late antique or early medieval treatise reproducing the core of its arguments. The following table lists the basic sources Otfrid employed for his commented editions:

SIGNATURE	CONTENT	BASIC SOURCE
MS Weiss. 26	Gospels Matthew: Mark: Luke: John:	Ps.-Bede on Matthew + (from ch. 26) <i>abbreviatio</i> of Hrabanus Maurus' commentary on Matthew. <i>abbreviatio</i> of Bede's commentary. <i>abbreviatio</i> of Bede's commentary. <i>abbreviatio</i> of Alcuin's commentary on John by Erchanbert of Fulda.
MS Weiss. 32	Jeremiah & Lamentations:	<i>abbreviatio</i> of Hrabanus' commentary.
MS Weiss. 33	Isaiah:	<i>abbreviatio</i> of Jerome's commentary on Isaiah by Iosephus Scottus.
MS Weiss. 36	Minor Prophets:	<i>abbreviatio</i> of Jerome's commentary.
MS Weiss. 59	Acts: Catholic Epistles: Apocalypse:	<i>abbreviatio</i> and harmony of Bede's two commentaries on Acts. <i>abbreviatio</i> of Bede's commentary. <i>abbreviatio</i> of Bede's commentary.



For the commentaries on Matthew, John and Isaiah, Otfrid drew on already existing abbreviations and on the work by the so-called Ps.-Bede on Matthew,³⁰ on Ercanbert of Fulda's abbreviation of Alcuin's treatise on John, and on the abbreviation by Iosephus Scottus of Jerome's commentary on Isaiah.³¹ In the case of Matthew's Gospel, Otfrid changed the basic source for his glosses towards the end of his commentary (i.e. from Mt. 26, 8), working instead from the exposition by Hrabanus Maurus, which he needed first to abbreviate and adapt to the format of his edition. It is unclear why he switched from one source to the other, and this will probably remain obscure until the text, the sources, and the manuscript tradition of the commentary ascribed to Ps.-Bede, together with its textual relations with Hrabanus' exposition, are established with more certainty. The commentary of Ps.-Bede, which had a large diffusion in the ninth century and still lacks a critical edition, seems indeed to be nothing else but an abbreviation and adaptation of Hrabanus's own treatise or of his sources. This makes it more difficult to understand the reason why Otfrid suddenly preferred Hrabanus to Ps.-Bede, given that they are similar in content and that Hrabanus's commentary is much longer. It is also worth noting that he employed Hrabanus's treatise as a supplementary source for the initial glosses on Matthew. All things considered, the easiest way to explain Otfrid's decision is to speculate that his exemplar of Ps.-Bede lacked the last three chapters and that he was forced to abbreviate the treatise of his teacher on Matthew, employing it then also as source for some added glosses in the initial chapters.³²

³⁰ On this anonymous commentary on Matthew, which is edited in *PL* 92, cols. 9-132 (F. STEGMÜLLER *et al.*, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 11 vols. (Madrid, 1950-1980), No. 1678), see B. STOLL, "Drei karolingische Matthäus-Kommentare (Claudius von Turin, Hrabanus Maurus, Ps. Beda) und ihre Quellen zur Bergpredigt", *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 26 (1991), pp. 36-55 and CANTELLI BERARDUCCI, *Hrabani Mauri Opera Exegetica*, 1, *Rabano Mauro esegeta*, pp. 253-255.

³¹ MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 49, written at Wissembourg in the first half of the ninth century and transmitting the abbreviation by Iosephus Scottus, was most probably the exemplar Otfrid used. On Iosephus Scottus, see R. GRYSOY *et al.*, *Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe*, 5 vols. (Freiburg, 1993-1999: *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel* 23, 27, 30, 35, 36), 1, pp. 35-49.

³² It is remarkable that a witness of Ps.-Bede's commentary on the Gospel of Matthew still exists among the *Weissenburgenses*: it is MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 60, which is dated by Butzmann (*Die Weissenburger Handschriften*, pp. 198-200) to the beginning of the tenth century and by Bischoff (*Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 3, p. 510) to the third or, more probably, the fourth quarter of the ninth century. MS Weiss. 60 is incomplete and transmits the text of Ps.-Bede's commentary up to Mt. 26, 73. In other words, it transmits only a slightly more complete text than that which Otfrid apparently had at his disposal. Moreover, the text of MS Weiss. 60 was evidently read and used: indeed, it is flanked in the margin by very

For his other commentaries, Otfrid used abbreviations as his principal sources, too. However, it is hard to determine whether such abbreviations were already circulating in Otfrid's time, probably anonymously, or whether they were the result of Otfrid's own endeavours. Whatever the explanation, if one compares all these *abbreviationes* with the commentaries they summarise, it becomes clear that they aimed at reproducing interpretations, which are mostly literal-historic or allegoric in nature; in contrast, linguistic digressions, alternative explanations or eschatological perspectives, if present in the exemplar, were on the whole omitted.

Once the glosses drawn from the basic source had been written, Otfrid sometimes copied additional passages, so long as blank spaces were available, in order to enrich or to complete the explanation he had provided already. Annotations added in this second phase of writing are easy to spot: in most cases Otfrid used a darker ink and was sometimes forced to break the boundaries of the column imposed by the vertical ruling, so that the additional glosses show wider margins and an irregular shape.³³ Furthermore, due to the material restraints of the blank space left on the leaf, the additions had to be placed in a position that not always allowed Otfrid to preserve the logical succession of the glosses along the main text. Whereas the explanations he selected for the Minor Prophets (MS Weiss. 36) and for Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and Apocalypse (MS Weiss. 59) draw exclusively on the basic source, in his other commentaries Otfrid added glosses taken from further exegetical works, although with various frequency. The commented edition of Isaiah (MS Weiss. 33) contains only two additional explanations, drawn respectively from Gregory the Great's *Homilies on Ezekiel* and his *Homilies on the Gospels* and preceded by the initials GG for *Gregorius*.³⁴ The glosses on Jeremiah and the

frequent annotations, which mark the core of the argumentation or rewrite correspondent lemmata from the Gospel. All things considered, it would be worth to take a closer look at the relationship between this text and that reproduced by Otfrid in his glosses. I have not had the opportunity to do so yet.

³³ See for instance the additional glosses to the sixth and seventh chapter of the Gospel of Matthew (MS Weiss. 26, f. 27r): <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/26-weiss/start.htm?image=00057>.

³⁴ See for instance Otfrid's added explanation of Isaiah 11, 2, which he wrote both in the upper and lower margins of f. 15v and f. 16r of MS Weiss. 33 (<http://diglib.hab.de/mss/33-weiss/start.htm?image=00040> and the following image). In the central part of the manuscript recurs often the initial **M**, which is not a *nomen auctoris*, but rather abbreviates the remark "mystice" employed by Iosephus. On the *nomina auctorum* see the recent contribution by S. STECKEL, "Von Buchstaben und Geist: Pragmatische und symbolische Dimensionen der Autorensiglen (nomina auctorum) bei Hrabanus Maurus", in: *Karolingische Klöster: Wissenstransfer und*

Lamentations (MS Weiss. 32), which Otfrid selected from Hrabanus' commentary,³⁵ offer a specific case study on how he signalled the *nomina auctorum* of the works he was using. Here indeed the initials of church fathers abound,³⁶ but only because they mirror those Hrabanus himself had employed, especially in the final part of his commentary.³⁷ In only one case, a passage copied from Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* and signalled by the initials GG³⁸ finds no correspondence in Hrabanus' commentary, or at least in the version of it that the *Patrologia Latina* has printed. This Gregorian passage would constitute the only additional source through which Otfrid actually expanded his edition of Jeremiah. The glosses on the Gospel of Mark (MS Weiss. 26, ff. 89r-136r) were also augmented by only one additional passage, which Otfrid derived from Jerome's commentary on Matthew and did not mark with the initials of its author. The edition of the Gospel of Luke (MS Weiss. 26, ff. 136r-213v) has its basic source in Bede's corresponding commentary, from which Otfrid copied eight times the *nomina auctorum* Bede had marked. In turn, Otfrid expanded his commentary on Luke by selecting three passages from Augustine's *Sermo* 101 in a manuscript still preserved among the *Weissenburgenses* (MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 63); beneath each annotation he wrote the initials AG. Moreover, he added two glosses from Gregory's *Moralia in Iob*, placing

kulturelle Innovation, ed. J. BECKER, T. LICHT and S. WEINFURTER (Berlin, Munich, and Boston, 2015: *Materiale Textkulturen* 4), pp. 89-129.

³⁵ On Hrabanus' commentary on Jeremiah and its reuse in Otfrid's glosses, see the recent contribution by R. GAMBERINI, "Il commento a Geremia e alle Lamentazioni di Rabano Mauro: Composizione, diffusione e fortuna immediata", *Studi Medievali*, Ser. 3, 52 (2011), pp. 1-30.

³⁶ I could detect following *nomina auctorum* in the body of Otfrid's commented edition on Jeremiah and Lamentations: CASS or IOH for Iohannes Cassianus; GG for Gregory the Great; H for Jerome; ISS for Isidore; M for Hrabanus Maurus; OR or ORG for Origenes; ORS for Orosius; B for an unspecified author, who is apparently not Bede. On this latter acronym, see the occurrence in MS Weiss. 32, f. 56v, gloss c3, explaining Jeremiah 31, 33 and the correspondent passage in Hrabanus' commentary, which in *PL* 111, col. 1044A-B is preceded by the name "Bernard". without further indications; CANTELLI BERARDUCCI, *Hrabani Mauri Opera Exegetica.*, 2, *Apparatus Fontium*, p. 845, 1044A-B could not retrace the source of Hrabanus' passage.

³⁷ Hrabanus' commentary on Jeremiah and Lamentations are edited in *PL* 111, cols 793-1272. Here Hrabanus' main source is Jerome's treatise on Jeremiah, which was however never finished. Therefore, from Jeremiah's chapter 33 Hrabanus was forced to collect interpretations dispersed in various other exegetical works, whose authors he accurately labelled along with their explanations. See CANTELLI BERARDUCCI, *Hrabani Mauri Opera Exegetica*, 1, *Rabano Mauro esegeta*, pp. 317-326.

³⁸ See MS Weiss. 32, f. 103r, gloss c4 explaining Lam. 3, 1 (<http://diglib.hab.de/mss/32-weiss/start.htm?image=00215>).

only once the initials GG in the gloss's margin.³⁹ Probably because the Gospels were synoptic, the glosses on Mark and Luke share a further similarity: Otfrid left many of them unfinished, sometimes even stopping in the very middle of a word. To mark this incompleteness, he (or less probably a later reader of the manuscript) sometimes merely scratched a cross at the end of the gloss, or sometimes inked a cross in black or red.

In contrast to this general picture, Otfrid's commented editions of the Gospels of Matthew and John show a higher number of additional explanations, so that we are led to think that only in these two cases he decided (or had the possibility) systematically to enrich the exegetical material of his commentaries. This cannot be a surprise if we consider that the exegesis of these two Gospels was evidently Otfrid's main field of interest and the focus of so much of his scholarship, given that the Gospels of Matthew and John form the main narrative background of the *Evangelienbuch*.

The interplay of different sources in Otfrid's commented edition of Matthew is particularly rich, marking a sharp contrast to his other commentaries.⁴⁰ To the exegetical basis offered by the treatise of the so-called Ps.-Bede, Otfrid added an impressive number of supplementary sources. On the one hand, they aimed at augmenting Ps.-Bede's mostly literal interpretation with explanations of a spiritual, moral, or typological nature. In this case, they were inserted right after an already existing gloss and were marked only, but not always, with a red initial. On the other hand, they could also aim at explaining a verse or part of it which had not been covered by the basic source: in such cases, they were given their own reference sign. Most frequently, Otfrid added passages taken from the commentary on Matthew by Hilary, the fourth-century bishop of Poitiers. MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 35, a witness of Hilary's commentary written around the middle of the ninth century, formed the very exemplar from which Otfrid selected the passages he needed.⁴¹ Hrabanus

³⁹ The glosses copied from Augustine's *Sermo* 101 explain Luke 10, 2 and 10, 4 (see MS Weiss. 26, f. 171r, gloss c6; f. 171v gloss a1+a3 and gloss a2). Those copied from Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* explain Luke 18, 11 (see MS Weiss. 26, f. 193v, gloss c3 without the initials GG) and Luke 24, 18 (see MS Weiss. 26, f. 211v, gloss a3).

⁴⁰ The supplementary sources Otfrid employed in his commented edition of the Gospel of Matthew are described both by HELLGARDT, *Die exegetischen Quellen*, pp. 110-116 and in my introduction to *Otfridi Wizanburgensis Glossae in Matthaewum*, pp. VIII-XIV. Hellgardt was the first to identify many of the exemplars used by Otfrid from among the still extant book collection of early medieval Wissembourg.

⁴¹ Conjunctive errors and lacunae of MS Weiss. 35 recurring without emendation in the glosses of MS Weiss. 26 (Matthew) prove the stemmatic dependence of the two manuscripts. For

Maurus's and Jerome's commentary on Matthew were also used as a supplementary source, especially for the initial chapters of the commentary. Otfrid only occasionally reproduced passages taken from other works, as for instance from the commentary on the *Comes* by Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel in its winter section (which he derived from MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 46), from Augustine's *Sermo* 101 as well as *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus* (as transmitted by MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 63), from Ambrose's *De spiritu sancto*, and from Gregory's *Homilies on Ezekiel*. Only some of the passages added in the second writing phase feature the initials of their authors, as the following table shows:

Otfrid's supplementary glosses on Matthew (MS Weiss. 26, ff. 14r-89r)

GLOSSES FEATURING THE AUTHOR'S INITIALS	INITIALS	GLOSSES FEATURING NO INITIALS
Ambrose, <i>De spiritu sancto libri tres</i>	AMB	Bede, <i>In Marci evangelium expositio</i>
Augustine, <i>De div. quaest. LXXXIII</i>	AG	Caesarius of Arles, <i>Sermo</i> 157
Augustine, <i>Sermo</i> 101	AG	Jerome, <i>Epistula</i> 120
Jerome, <i>In Ionam prophetam</i>	H	Jerome, <i>Commentarii in evangelium Matthaei</i>
Hilary of Poitiers, <i>In Matthaenum</i>	HL	Hrabanus Maurus, <i>In Matthaenum</i>
Gregory the Great, <i>Hom. in Hiezechielem</i>	GG	Isidore, <i>Sententiae</i>
		Origen, <i>Homiliae</i>
		Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, <i>Exp. Libri Comitis</i>

As for Otfrid's commented edition of the Gospel of John (MS Weiss. 26, ff. 214r-268r), the basic source he chose for his glosses were the *Adnotationes in Iohannem* by Ercanbert of Fulda, almost all of which he copied verbatim.

the description of MS Weiss. 35, see BUTZMANN, *Die Weißenburger Handschriften*, pp. 146-147.

Ercanbert's treatise, a text that still needs to be critically edited, is transmitted, although not always in its entirety, in four early medieval manuscripts.⁴² Two of these witnesses come from Wissembourg: the first one is MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 87A, written in the region of the upper Rhine and present at Wissembourg by Otfrid's time; the second one is Otfrid's glossed edition of John. Ercanbert compiled his *Adnotationes* around the middle of the ninth century and dedicated them to his teacher Rudolf of Fulda († 865): in this work, Ercanbert abbreviated and rearranged the commentary on John by Alcuin with different degrees of dependence. Otfrid, who most likely had come across the *Adnotationes* in Fulda, obtained a copy of it for the Wissembourg library and decided to employ it as the basic source for his glosses on John. In an initial writing phase, he copied Ercanbert's work so closely that his glosses on John are regarded as a witness of the *Adnotationes*. In a later working phase, after having compared the *Adnotationes* with Alcuin's commentary, Otfrid added passages of Alcuin's explanations, which Ercanbert had left out or had heavily rearranged, to the already existing glosses. Most of the supplementary glosses to John are thus drawn from Alcuin's treatise, that is to say from the very source that Ercanbert had abbreviated and reworked. This is the reason why Otfrid was forced sometimes to add phrases like "*ut iam dictum est*" at the conjunction of the two sources, in order to acknowledge repetition.⁴³

⁴² On this work, see: P. MICHEL and A. SCHWARZ, *Unz in obanentig: Aus der Werkstatt der karolingischen Exegeten Alcuin, Erkanbert und Otfrid von Weissenburg*, (Bonn, 1978: *Studien zur Germanistik, Anglistik und Komparatistik*, 79) with the *editio princeps* of some passages from Otfrid's and Ercanbert's commentaries on John. See also the recent contribution by M.M. GORMAN, "From the classroom at Fulda under Hrabanus: The commentary on the Gospel of John prepared by Ercanbertus for his *praeceptor* Ruodulfus", *Augustinianum* 44 (2004), pp. 471-502. HELLGARDT, *Die exegetischen Quellen*, pp. 229-255, describes the textual relations between Otfrid's work and Ercanbert's, and provides editions of other passages from both commentaries. As for the person of Ercanbert, we can only affirm with certainty, on the basis of his preface to the *Adnotationes* contained in MS Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phil. 1731 (*MGH Epp. Karol.* 3, pp. 358-359), that he was a pupil of Rudolf (†865) at Fulda. He should be confused neither with *magister* Ercanbert of Freising, author of a *Tractatus super Donatum*, nor with Ercanbert, bishop of Freising (836-854).

⁴³ Otfrid even corrected the wording of the *Adnotationes* he had copied in his glosses by reintroducing the 'original' text of Alcuin's commentary. In relation to John 19, 3 (MS Weiss. 26, f. 261r, gloss a2: <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/26-weiss/start.htm?image=00525>), e.g., Otfrid firstly wrote "*desuper dixerat*", in accordance with the text of the *Adnotationes* he read in MS Weiss. 87A, but then he corrected it with Alcuin's "*de se praedixerat*", using the darker ink with which he normally added the supplementary glosses.

Apart from the many additions from Alcuin's treatise, a further seven glosses were added by Otfrid still later. Two of them go back to the *Tractatus in Iohannem* by Augustine: they insert an eschatological interpretation of John 7, 30 and explain the second part of John 10, 29, which was not taken into account by the basic source. These two annotations do not feature the *nomen auctoris*.⁴⁴ A further three glosses were selected from Augustine's *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, which Otfrid had already employed to enrich the interpretation of Matthew's Gospel. For these three glosses the abbreviated name of their author, namely AG, is added in the margin.⁴⁵ Two of them explain verses not considered by Ercanbert; the third adds a long allegorical interpretation of Lazarus's resurrection (John 11, 44). A further gloss is copied from the explanation of Psalm 21 offered by Cassiodore's *Expositio Psalmorum*, which Otfrid probably read in MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 4. He linked this gloss to John 19, 38 – the end of Christ's passion – in order to offer a symbolic interpretation of the cross. He labelled it with the initials CAS. Finally, Otfrid added a brief explanation to John 21, 11, offering a symbolic meaning of the multitude of fishes mentioned there. He copied this passage from Jerome's commentary on Ezekiel, which has left no trace of its presence in the medieval library of Wissembourg. Otfrid placed the initial H for Hieronymus near the gloss.

This overview allows us to reach some general conclusions concerning Otfrid's exegetical *modus operandi* in his Latin-glossed commentaries. For each book of the Bible he planned to explain, the ruling of quires was prepared following the three-column pattern, and then the biblical text was copied into the central column. Afterwards, he wrote with his own hand the majority of the marginal glosses, linking them to the main text with reference signs, which he repeated above the relevant biblical word. In a first writing phase, he copied glosses taken from a principal source along the whole main text. For all the

⁴⁴ A possible explanation for the lack of initials is that Otfrid did not select these two passages from Augustine's *Tractatus* directly. They could instead have been part of Alcuin's treatise in the exemplar Otfrid had at his disposal. Alcuin's commentary on John has not been critically edited. It can be read in *PL* 100, cols 737-1008. Examples of manuscript versions of Alcuin's treatise containing more Augustinian passages than those printed in the *PL* have been studied by S. CANTELLI BERARDUCCI, "La genesi redazionale del commentario a Giovanni di Alcuino di York e il codice St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 258", in: *Immagini del Medioevo: Saggi di cultura mediolatina*, ed. I DEUG SU (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 23-70.

⁴⁵ These three glosses comment on John 6, 9 (twice) and 11, 44.

commentaries this consisted of an *abbreviatio*, be it an already circulating text, as in the case of Iosephus Scottus', or one he perhaps produced on his own, as he probably did for the glosses on Mark and Luke. He then proceeded, although not always, to add further glosses taken from various other exegetical works. In the commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew and John, the explanations added in this second writing phase are remarkably numerous; in the others, they are much more limited. Following a well-established tradition, which his teacher Hrabanus had also respected, Otfrid provided some of the supplementary glosses with the initials of the author of the source. In my opinion, such *nomina auctorum* flank only those passages which Otfrid had selected personally from manuscripts containing the work of the authority quoted. On the contrary, Otfrid did not declare the authorship of the passages he had chosen for his supplementary glosses when he selected them from compilatory works, be they *collectanea* (as Alcuin's or Hrabanus's treatises), collections of homilies (from which he probably derived Origen's and Caesarius of Arles's passages) or liturgical *compendia* (for example Smaragdus's *Liber Comitis*). Out of the twenty-seven exegetical works Otfrid used for selecting both his principal and supplementary glosses, around a dozen are traceable among the still extant manuscripts of Wissembourg provenance and can be regarded, with different degrees of certainty, as Otfrid's exemplars, although they feature no traces of his selection process.⁴⁶ As the basic sources for his commented edi-

⁴⁶ See MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 4 (Cassiodore on the Psalms), MS Weiss. 19 (Bede on Mark), MS Weiss. 20 (Bede on Luke), MS Weiss. 35 (Hilary on Matthew), MS Weiss. 46 (Smaragdus on the *Liber Comitis*), MS Weiss. 49 (Iosephus Scottus on Isaiah), MS Weiss. 63 (containing both Augustine's *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus* and, as one of the *quaestiones*, his *Sermo 101*), and MS Weiss. 87A (Ercanbert on John). It is not clear whether Otfrid used MS Weiss. 37 and MS Séléstat, BM, 104 (14) as exemplars for his glosses on the Catholic Epistles and on the Apocalypse. Still extant manuscripts which, in my opinion, could not have served as exemplars for Otfrid's glosses are: MS Weiss. 43, which transmit only some of Gregory's Homilies on the Gospels and Caesarius' Homilies; and MS Weiss. 71 A, containing only some of Gregory's Homilies on Ezekiel. It must be noted, however, that the ancient catalogue of the Wissembourg library, redacted in the eleventh century, lists complete versions of Gregory's *Moralia*, *Homilies on Ezekiel*, and *Homilies on the Gospels* among the library holdings (see BUTZMANN, *Die Weißenburger Handschriften*, pp. 35-39). MS Weiss. 44, transmitting all of Isidore's *Sententiae*, could have served as exemplar for the gloss Otfrid linked to Matthew 25, 32, but I am inclined to think that he rather gleaned this Isidorian passage from an already extant exegetical collection. Jerome's *Epistle 120*, which Otfrid used for one gloss on Matthew 27, 51, in addition to a small passage from Jerome's treatise on Matthew, is transmitted by MS Weiss. 72. However, I do not think he selected the annotation directly from this manuscript, but again rather from an already circulating *collectaneum* of Jerome's interpretations of Matthew.

tions of Mark, Luke, Acts,⁴⁷ Catholic Epistles, and Apocalypse, Otfrid used texts that were already available at Wissembourg. Iosephus Scottus' treatise, present in the local library since the first half of the ninth century, offered him the basic source for his commentary on Isaiah. On the contrary, in his commented editions of Jeremiah and the Minor Prophets Otfrid reproduced already abbreviated texts as his basic source, which were apparently not yet part of the local book collection, and which he made available through his glosses: these are respectively Hrabanus's and Jerome's commentaries. In his commentary on John, Otfrid reproduced a text of compendious nature more or less in its entirety, that is Ercanbert's treatise, which Otfrid himself, in all likelihood, had made available at Wissembourg commissioning a copy of it from a Fulda exemplar: such a copy is still extant (MS Weiss. 87A). He finally used as basic source for his commented edition of Matthew Ps.-Bede's and Hrabanus's commentary: both texts were not part of the local library at his time.⁴⁸

In general, Otfrid's commented editions aimed either at producing an abbreviation of exegetical material already present at Wissembourg or at making available new treatises, of which they also offered an abbreviation. The manuscript layout Otfrid chose for his editions was supposed to enhance their usability. Indeed, the three-column property of the leaf allowed him to place his selection of the exegetical material along with the biblical text it intended to interpret. As a result, Otfrid's books were not only very easy to consult, but also very elegant. At first glance, their harmonious aspect enforce the impression Margaret Gibson had with regard to the Carolingian commented editions of the Psalms. She viewed the marginal annotations on both side of the biblical text as a "learned embellishment".⁴⁹ Although their direct use in teaching seems very improbable, the glosses contained within the five *Weissenburger-sses* should not be regarded merely as decorative. Otfrid's commentaries should be seen rather as manuals or companions for the personal study of the Bible, produced specifically for the local monastic community.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ The presence of multiple copies of Bede's treatise on Acts is attested in the Wissembourg eleventh-century library catalogue (see BUTZMANN, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften*, pp. 35-39). It can be supposed that a copy among them was already available by Otfrid's time.

⁴⁸ MS Weiss. 60, transmitting the commentary by Ps.-Bede on Matthew, presents a problematic case, which I have not yet analysed in detail (see *supra*, note 32). If we accept Bischoff's dating, the manuscript could constitute a copy Otfrid arranged from a Fulda exemplar, from which he then derived his glosses.

⁴⁹ GIBSON, "Carolingian glossed psalters", p. 79.

⁵⁰ See M. SCHIEGG, *Frühmittelalterliche Glossen: Ein Beitrag zur Funktionalität und Kontextualität mittelalterlicher Schriftlichkeit* (Heidelberg, 2015: *Germanistische Bibliothek* 52), pp.

Otfrid's exegetical work, as described so far, influenced the activity of other glossators operating at Wissembourg at this time, as the following analysis of the exegetical output on the Catholic Epistles hopes to demonstrate. The Wissembourg scriptorium produced three glossed manuscripts of this text in the second half of the ninth century which are still extant. The first one is Otfrid's commented edition (MS Weiss. 59). The second is MS Weiss. 47, containing the text of both the Pauline and Catholic Epistles with marginal and interlinear glosses both in Latin and, with exclusive regard of the Pauline Epistles, in the vernacular. The third manuscript is MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1239, containing again both Pauline and Catholic Epistles with marginal and interlinear glosses in Latin and in the vernacular. Beginning with MS Weiss. 59, I shall describe the key features of the three editions, focussing specifically on the interpretation they offer of the First Epistle of John.

Otfrid's Commented Edition on the Catholic Epistles: MS Weiss. 59

MS Weiss. 59 was planned to contain commented editions of Acts, the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse of John.⁵¹ It shows some differences to Otfrid's other commentaries: the ruling grid lacks the external vertical rules; the highlighting of titles follows different patterns (it results from filling with yellow colour rather than from using different types of majuscules in red ink); the calligraphic and orthographic level of the main text is visibly lower and shows recurrent traces of later corrections; finally, the reference signs were not drawn in red, but rather with the same ink employed for the glosses.⁵² These were all written, without exception, by the hand Kleiber recognised as Otfrid's. All these aspects led both Butzmann and Kleiber to date MS Weiss. 59 to the middle of the ninth century and to regard it as the first commented edition Otfrid produced. The fact that the glosses of MS Weiss. 59 are taken in their

169-178.

⁵¹ For the description of MS Weiss. 59, see BUTZMANN, *Die Weißenburger Handschriften*, pp. 196-198, and KLEIBER, *Otfrid von Weißenburg*, pp. 106-107.

⁵² Another peculiarity distinguishing MS Weiss. 59 from Otfrid's further commented editions is the presence of scratched glosses on f. 78r: see KLEIBER, *Otfrid von Weißenburg*, p. 107. Indeed, f. 78r contains two glosses which were scratched between the lines, a first one reading "abundantiam", and another one a few lines below, of which I can only decipher the ending, "dantia". For the purposes of the present contribution I did not look for other occurrences of scratched glosses on the manuscripts transmitting Otfrid's commented editions.

entirety from a single source and that the annotations supplied for Acts and on the Apocalypse are almost minimal in comparison to Otfrid's other commentaries seem to confirm this identification. Thus, we can regard MS Weiss. 59 as Otfrid's first attempt at adapting compendious exegetical material to fit the format of the commented edition.

Leaves 72r-102v of MS Weiss. 59 contain the Vulgate text of the Catholic Epistles introduced by the widespread prologue *Non ita ordo est apud Graecos*.⁵³ A *capitulatio* precedes every Epistle, and a brief *Praefatio* has been copied only before the Epistle of James, the first in the series. The biblical text, as mentioned above, shows traces of later minor interventions, such as corrections or additions to the text, accents marking the correct Latin spelling, or punctuation signs. As for the glosses, they are by far more abundant than those found in Acts and the Apocalypse and are both marginal and interlinear. The only source they reproduce in slightly abbreviated form – but still almost verbatim – is Bede's Commentary on the Catholic Epistles,⁵⁴ from which, as usual for Otfrid's glosses, biblical parallelisms with the corresponding interpretation, linguistic digressions, hints to theological disputes or alternative explanations were generally left aside. Regarding John's First Epistle, for instance, Otfrid did not reproduce Bede's description of Apelles's heresy (1 John I 2, 52-54 ed. Hurst), nor the parallelism Bede made with a verse of Paulus' Second Epistle to the Corinthians (1 John I 6, 92-94 ed. Hurst), nor his refutation of the monophysitic interpretation of 1 John I 7 (119-129, ed. Hurst). In general, however, Otfrid reproduced the major part of Bede's commentary by splitting it in separate units in accordance to the *lemma*. He then planned the arrangement of the resulting *interpretamenta* alongside the biblical text or in the interlinear space, and finally proceeded to write both the glosses and the reference signs. Therefore, Otfrid's edition of the Catholic Epistles shows most of the elegance and tidiness, which characterise, for instance, the beautiful MS Weiss. 26 and MS Weiss. 33 (see Fig. 1). In my opinion, the main purpose of this edition, like all other of Otfrid's editions, was to aid the private study of the biblical text. However, the spelling facilities and the *positurae* added at a later moment provide evidence for a further use of MS Weiss. 59, namely as support for reading aloud, both on liturgical occasions or in the refectory.⁵⁵

⁵³ On this prologue, see D. DE BRUYNE, *Préfaces de la Bible latine* (Namur, 1920), p. 255, No.1, and W. THIELE, *Epistulae Catholicae* (Freiburg, 1969: *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel* 26.1), p. 101.

⁵⁴ Bede, *In epistulas septem catholicas*, ed. D. HURST (Turnhout, 1983: CCSL 121).

⁵⁵ See SCHIEGG, *Frühmittelalterliche Glossen*, 182-186.

Two unusual marginal annotations demonstrate the fact that MS Weiss. 59 was indeed used for private study of the Bible. In the prologue mentioned above, which introduces the Catholic Epistles in MS Weiss. 59 (as it does in many other medieval manuscripts of the Epistles), Ps.-Jerome quotes verses 7-8 of the fifth chapter of the First Epistle of John, adding further words to them, which I mark in the following quotation with brackets: “*quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant <in terra> spiritus, aqua et sanguis et tres unum sunt <sicut tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus et tres unum sunt>*”. This uncanonical addition is known to scholarship as the *comma Iohanneum*.⁵⁶ Ps.-Jerome asserts the necessity of quoting this version of John’s First Epistle. After having read this prologue, which is introduced in MS Weiss. 59 as Jerome’s (“*Incipit praefatio Sancti Hieronymi in septem Epistolas Canonicas*”, f. 72r), a later commentator at Wissembourg thought, however, that Jerome’s authority had been transgressed. Indeed, not only the biblical text copied in the central column of MS Weiss. 59, f. 98v, but also the glosses surrounding it lacked the *comma Iohanneum* in the corresponding passage of the First Epistle of John. Probably he then decided to check whether Bede’s commentary on the Catholic Epistles, in his original format, had actually omitted this passage. To this purpose, he consulted a copy of the Bedan treatise, which the Wissembourg scriptorium had produced in the first half of the ninth century and is still preserved among the *Weissenburgenses*, that is MS Weiss. 37. The possibility that this copy of Bede’s commentary served as the exemplar for the glosses of MS Weiss. 59 still needs to be explored. It is nevertheless certain that the scholar we are now concerned with used the two manuscripts (MS Weiss. 59 and MS Weiss. 37) simultaneously, in order to clarify his dilemma. Once this later commentator noticed that MS Weiss. 37 also omitted to quote and explain the *comma Iohanneum*, he added the following critical remark in the left margin of f. 84v, near Bede’s interpretation of 1 John 5, 7-8:

Mirum quare Beda in hoc loco subtraxerit testimonium Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, cum Ieronimus in prologo Canoniarum Epistularum id ipsum testimonium ab infidelibus interpretibus erasum fuisse dicat ipseque illud suae editioni restituat, ita dicens: Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua et



⁵⁶ On the *comma Iohanneum*, see W. THIELE, “Beobachtungen zum Comma Johanneum”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren* 50 (1959), pp. 61-73.

*sanguis, sicut tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus et tres unum sunt.*⁵⁷

It is surprising that Bede omitted the witness of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in this place, given that Jerome affirms in the prologue to the Canonical Epistles that this very witness had been erased [from the biblical text] by untruthful interpreters, and that he himself has restored it in his edition with the following wording: For three are the witnesses on earth, that is the spirit, the water, and the blood, just like three are the witnesses in heaven, that is the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and they all three are one.

Persuaded by the force of his own arguments, our scholar then added the *comma Iohanneum* to the biblical text of MS Weiss. 59.⁵⁸ Daring to date the palaeographic characteristics of his hand, I would suggest that this attentive reader must have been operating almost at the same time as Otfrid.⁵⁹ It was perhaps the same individual who inserted demarcation signs (namely “Nt” for *Nota* and “v” probably for *usque hic*) in the left margins of Bede’s commentary in MS Weiss. 37. These signs run throughout the entire text. They clearly aim at isolating specific portions of it, either to produce an abbreviation of Bede’s exegesis or to copy the selected passages elsewhere in the form of glosses. Unfortunately, the selection of the text made in MS Weiss. 37 does not overlap with any of the glosses on the Catholic Epistles contained in the manuscripts that form the focus of the present contribution. It does, however, provide further evidence of the interest the local community had in the study of this biblical text.

Further Approaches to the Catholic Epistles: MS Weiss. 47 and MS Vienna 1239

Two further manuscripts containing the Catholic Epistles were produced at Wissembourg in the second half of the ninth century, but not by Otfrid. The first, MS Weiss. 47, was originally ruled to transmit only the biblical text of both

⁵⁷ See the digital facsimile of MS Weiss. 37, f. 84v: <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/37-weiss/start.htm?image=00176>.

⁵⁸ See MS Weiss. 59, f. 98v: <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/59-weiss/start.htm?image=00204>.

⁵⁹ See B. BISCHOFF, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, 2nd edn. (Berlin, 1986: *Grundlage der Germanistik* 24), pp. 151-160.

the Pauline and Catholic Epistles without glosses. A large amount of prefaces opens the book.⁶⁰ Indeed, its first seven leaves contain a variety of prefatory texts (*prologi*, *argumenta*, or *glosae*) either to the Pauline and Catholic Epistles as a whole or for each of the letters.⁶¹ Among them, the texts featuring the title of *glosa* (ff. 4r-5r and 6r-7r) offer detailed explanations of single words of the Epistles and are written in a continuous way, in the manner of a commentary *per lemmata*. They provide essential evidence for establishing links between MS Weiss. 47 and other commentaries on the Epistles produced at Wissembourg during the same period. In fact, the corpus of *glosae* featured by f. 4r and 4v of MS Weiss. 47, whose sources still need to be determined with certainty, appears in the form of marginal glosses in MS Vienna 1239 (ff. IIIv-1r). Furthermore, the *glosae* transmitted on ff. 4v-5r and 6r-7r of MS Weiss. 47 in continuous form have their direct exemplar in the biblical glossary contained in MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 66, produced by the local scriptorium around the middle of the ninth century.

The main text of the Epistle to the Romans begins at f. 7r of MS Weiss. 47, whereas the prologue by Ps.-Jerome we already encountered in MS Weiss. 59 marks the beginning of the Catholic Epistles (f. 83v). Soon after the main text had been copied and supplied with red divisions and marginal titles, an incredible quantity of glosses was added in the blank spaces left in each margin as well as between the lines of the whole manuscript. These offer a wonderful example of what Louis Holtz has defined as “*gloses occasionnelles*”.⁶² We can

⁶⁰ The manuscript has been analysed in detail by BUTZMANN, *Die Weißenburger Handschriften*, pp. 176-182, who also offers a first description of the exegetical sources employed for the glosses on both the Pauline and Catholic Epistles. Bischoff (*Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, 3, p. 509) dates the manuscript to the third quarter of the ninth century and casts doubts on a Wissembourg provenance. Because of 44 glosses on Paul's Epistles written in the Frankish dialect of the southern-Rhine area, the manuscript has been studied in detail by linguists. The glosses have been edited by E. STEINMEYER, “Glossen I”, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 15 (1872), pp. 534-538. See also R. BERGMANN and S. STRICKER, *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften*, 6 vols. (Berlin, 2005), 4, No. 936, pp. 1777-1779, and R. BERGMANN, “Weißenburger Glossenhandschriften”, in: *Die althochdeutsche und altsächsische Glossographie: Ein Handbuch*, ed. R. BERGMANN and S. STRICKER, 2 vols. (Berlin and New York, 2009), 2, pp. 1306-1309. A digital facsimile of MS Weiss. 47 is available at: <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/47-weiss/start.htm?image=00011>.

⁶¹ The *argumenta* and *prologi* contained in ff. 1r-3v of MS Weiss. 47 are edited by DE BRUYNE, *Préfaces*, pp. 213-215, No. 1; pp. 215-217, No. 2; p. 217, No. 4, par. 1-2 and 4.

⁶² See HOLTZ, “Les manuscrits latins à gloses”, p. 145: the term *occasionnelles* refers to the fact that no place for accommodating annotations had been planned when ruling the quires of the manuscript. That does not necessarily imply, however, that such glosses were extemporaneous.

highlight some of their peculiarities on the basis of f. 97v, which transmits verses 9-20 of the third chapter of John's First Epistle (Fig. 2). Two distinct groups of glosses can be distinguished on this leaf. The first group includes only a very small number of annotations throughout the whole manuscript: they were mainly added in the bottom margin of the page and introduced by elaborated reference signs drawn with black ink. The bottom of that page (see Fig. 2) shows a gloss of this first group, whose reference sign recurs right above the red title "*Nolite mirari*". By reason of the place they occupy on the page, in respect to both the main text and the further group of glosses, I would suggest that these annotations were the first to have been added. Shortly after, probably the same scribe added the main bulk of explanations. These share some features with Otfrid's commented editions. First, they are introduced by red reference signs in the shape of letters or of rather fanciful drawings, which recur above the corresponding lemma. Secondly, they were penned in a very regular manner from the top of the page downwards. The resulting overall picture of the leaf, however, is almost disquieting, diverging substantially from the tidiness of Otfrid's MS Weiss. 59. A red title occurring at the beginning of the section dedicated to the Catholic Epistles (f. 83v) reveals the main source of the following glosses: "*incipiunt septem epistolae canonicae auctor Bedae*". Indeed, both groups of glosses, just as those of MS Weiss. 59, draw on Bede's Commentary on the Catholic Epistles, which was the only extensive and detailed explanation of these letters available to the medieval West. When glosses of both groups are linked to the same biblical verse, they mostly repeat the same Bedan phrasing. Only in one case (1 John 4, 3, f. 98r) does a gloss not derive from Bede, but rather from the glossary on the Catholic Epistles contained in the already mentioned MS Weiss. 66. Indeed, the explanation of the lemma "*antichristus*" of 1 John 4, 3 is explained with the interlinear annotation: "*id est omnis contrarius Christo*", which recurs on f. 50v, line 2 of MS Weiss. 66 and had already been used in MS Weiss. 47 as part of the prefatory *glosae* (f. 5r, line 8).

If we accept that the two groups of glosses of MS Weiss. 47, those introduced by the black reference signs and those introduced by the red ones, were written by the same glossator, we could consider the first group as an attempt to provide the manuscript with interpretations and the second as a completion of this goal, probably inspired by Otfrid's work. Two considerations could support this hypothesis.



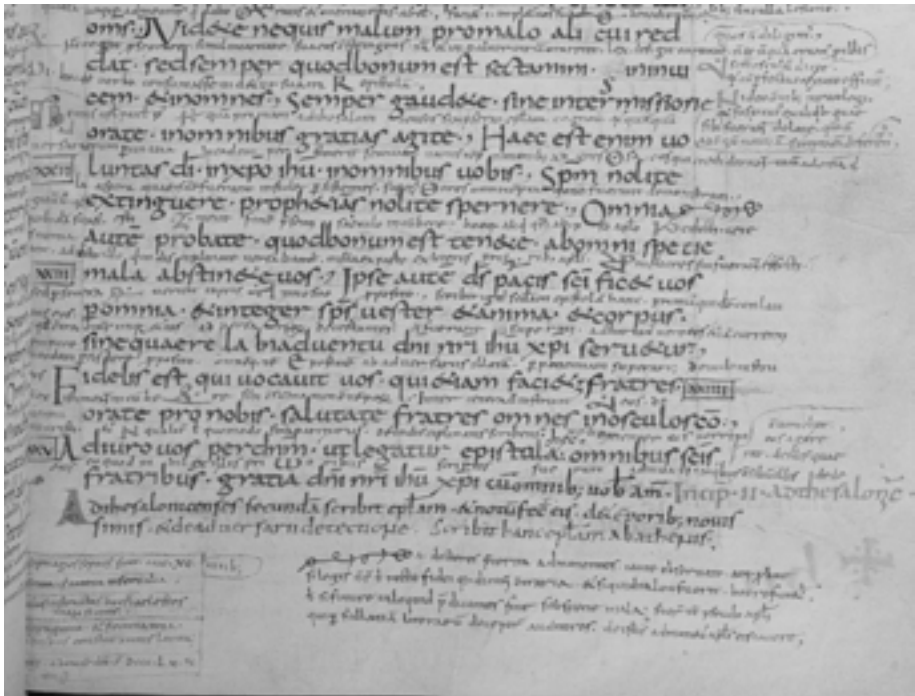


Fig. 3 Detail: MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 47, lower half of f. 57r.

First, both the aim of the glosses of MS Weiss. 47 and the exegetical technique the glossator adopted for obtaining his annotations are similar to Otfrid's. Like the commentary contained in MS Weiss. 59, the glosses of MS Weiss. 47 offer an interpretation of a basic exegetical level for the private study of the Epistles, regardless of whether or not it had anything to do with teaching. Furthermore, they consist either of extracts from Bede's text copied verbatim or are adaptations aimed at reproducing at least the core of it. Limitations of space, however, forced the glossator of MS Weiss. 47 to produce shorter abbreviations than those transmitted by MS Weiss. 59. Although his codicological layout was dramatically different to that of Otfrid's commented editions, the glossator of MS Weiss. 47 tried to improve the usability of his interpretations introducing red reference signs, perhaps following Otfrid's model.

Secondly, the two scholars, Otfrid and the glossator of MS Weiss. 47, were operating at Wissembourg at the same time. A particular annotation added in

the left corner on the bottom of f. 57r of MS Weiss. 47 (Fig. 3) contains a dating clause, which can be regarded as the year in which the glosses were copied. The gloss is a table consisting of five horizontal fields, whose borders were traced in ink. In all likelihood, it was the glossator of MS Weiss. 47 who, after having drawn the table, filled in its fields with following sentences:⁶³

Septuagies septies sunt cccxc vicibus
Desmata sunt catena infernalialia
Zoetas instructas hoc sunt caelestes mansiones
Neutra quina et femi<ni>na tri<n>a in quibus constat omnis latina
Anni ab incarnatione domini sunt dccclx R/

Seventy times multiplied by seven times is 490

Desmata are infernal chains

Zoetas instructas (= prepared chambers): that is the heavenly dwellings

Five neuter and three feminine names of which consists the whole Latin language
 860 years are counted since the Lord's incarnation. *Requisitum est* (= it has been checked)

The five fields of the table contain various pieces of information. The first line is a calculation referring to a passage from the Gospel of Matthew (18, 22), where Jesus explains how many times one ought to forgive another. Perhaps the writer was led to think of the Matthew passage by the final part of the first Epistle to the Thessalonians (5, 15), placed right above on the leaf, where Paul preaches forgiveness (*"Videte ne quis malum pro malo alicui reddat"*). The second and the third line explain respectively the spiritual meaning of both the Greek word *desmata* ('chains') and of the phrase "*zoetas instructas*" ("prepared chambers"), which occurs in the sixth-century apocryphal text known as *Virtutes Iohannis*.⁶⁴ The fourth line seems to be a riddle,⁶⁵ which, remarkably, recurs in the form of *probatio pennae* on the final leaf (f. 107v) of MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 50. This codex transmits the text of

⁶³ I reproduce the gloss as published in STEINMEYER, "Glossen I", p. 537. Butzmann did not mention it in his description of MS Weiss. 47.

⁶⁴ The glossator could have read the *Virtutes Iohannis* in MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 48. In this, indeed, the words "*zoetas instructas*" appear on f. 77r, col. 2, l. 7. I owe this information to Els Rose.

⁶⁵ Justin Stover brilliantly suggested the solution of the riddle to me: the eight Donatian partitions of the Latin language, consisting of five neuter names (*nomen, pronomen, verbum, adverbium, participium*) and of three feminine names (*coniunctio, praepositio, interiectio*).

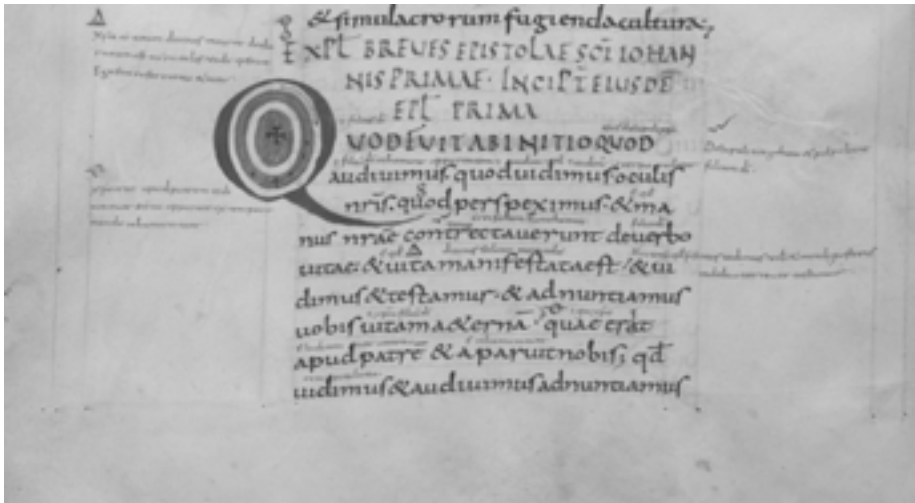


Fig. 4 Detail: MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1239, lower half of f. 136v.

Priscian's *Institutiones* and is included by Kleiber among Otfrid's autographs, as mentioned above. The last line accommodates a dating, namely 860 after Christ's incarnation flanked by a *R* with a diagonal stroke, which means that the information has been checked. Evidently, the purpose of such a table does not concern the interpretation of the main text. Its entries seem to reproduce information which the glossator knew by heart: simple reckonings derived from the exegesis of the Gospel of Matthew, lexicographic entries, a riddle recurring elsewhere as *probatio pennae*. In such a context, the reference to the year 860 can be interpreted as a further mnemonic effort of the scribe and considered as the year in which the glosses of MS Weiss. 47 were penned. If this is true, the activity of this glossator is to be set in the same years as Otfrid's, and MS Weiss. 47 should be regarded as a product of Otfrid's circle.

MS Vienna 1239 was the last witness of a particular glossing practice on the Catholic Epistles at Wissembourg.⁶⁶ It consists of a commented edition of both

⁶⁶ For a description of the manuscript, see H.J. HERMANN, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften des Abendlandes. Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Leipzig, 1923: *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich* 1), pp. 179-182; KRÄMER *Handschriftenerbe des deutschen Mittelalters*, 2, p. 823. For the glosses in the vernacular and in *bsk*-cryptic script, see R. BERGMANN and S. STRICKER,

Pauline (ff. IIIv-120r) and Catholic Epistles (ff. 120r-144v) produced following the three-column ruling grid (Figs. 4 and 5). The manuscript features clear elements which link it both to MS Weiss. 47 and to MS Weiss. 59. The opening, long glosses on Paul's Letter to the Romans displayed on leaves IIIv-1r reproduce an anonymous exposition of the initial verses of this Epistle, which can be found also among the prefatory material of MS Weiss. 47 (ff. 4r-4v) in a continuous, *per lemmata* form, as already mentioned above.⁶⁷ Both of these manuscripts contain vernacular glosses, which are absent in Otfrid's MS Weiss. 59. In particular, while MS Weiss. 47 transmits 44 vernacular glosses concerning exclusively the Pauline Epistles, MS Vienna 1239 features 102 annotations on both the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, of which 58 are in *b/k*-cryptic script.⁶⁸ As for the characteristics shared by the Viennese manuscript and Otfrid's MS Weiss. 59, they are both arranged following a three-column layout. Furthermore, they feature the same set of reading cues, such as the red chapter numbers on the left-hand side of the text, the yellow demarcation and capitalisation of the first line of each chapter and the use of reference signs linking the glosses to the lemma. MS Vienna 1239 can therefore be considered as a product of Otfrid's school. Perhaps it aimed at producing an edition of the Pauline Epistles which corresponded to the exegetical and codicological characteristics of Otfrid's *Bibelwerk*.⁶⁹ Indeed, although a thorough analysis of the sources of the glosses on the Pauline Epistles is still lacking, the abundance, the length, and the elegance of the marginal annotations in this section of the manuscript, at least until f. 26r,⁷⁰ conspicuously reflect some of the most distinctive fea-

Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften, 4, No. 936, pp. 1777-1779. These glosses are edited in: *Die Althochdeutschen Glossen*, ed. E. STEINMEYER und E. SIEVERS, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1879-1922), 1, *Glossen zu biblischen Schriften*, pp. 769, 771, 787, 789 f., 793, 794, 796, and 797. R. BERGMANN, "Weißenburger Glossenhandschriften", p. 1307, states that the place where Vienna 1239 was glossed is unknown according to older literature.

⁶⁷ This exposition to the initial verses of Paul's Epistle to the Romans (inc.: "*Primum quaeritur: Quare egregius praedicator*") is listed in STEGMÜLLER *et al.*, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 6, No. 9373, p. 296.

⁶⁸ On this script, see A. NIEVERGELT, "Geheimschriftliche Glossen", in: *Die althochdeutsche und altsächsische Glossographie*, 2, pp. 240-268.

⁶⁹ The striking similarities between MS Vienna 1239 and Otfrid's commented edition led Butzmann to include this manuscript among the "*glossiertes Bibelwerk*" (see *supra*, note 18).

⁷⁰ I have noticed a change in the way the glosses were drawn, beginning from the fourth quire of MS Vienna 1239, i.e. from f. 26r containing the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Henceforth, indeed, the glosses are generally shorter and were written by another, less accurate hand; the reference signs are smaller and were drawn with dark ink instead of red. Quires 5-7 feature a horizontal ruling of the side columns reserved to the glosses. From quire 8 (ff. 56r-63v)



Fig. 5 MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1239, f. 1r. Paul's Epistle to the Romans 1, 1-7.

this peculiarity no longer occurs, the writing hand changes and the glosses become again similar to those of the initial leaves, in terms of length and density.

tures of Otfrid's output. In its first part, MS Vienna 1239 could therefore have been planned to complete Otfrid's work, offering an edition of Paul's Letters according to Otfrid's pattern, with the aim of being more detailed and far easier to consult than MS Weiss. 47. But why was it deemed necessary to produce another commented edition of the Catholic Epistles?

A look at the exegetical features of the commented edition of the Catholic Epistles transmitted by MS Vienna 1239 can help answering this question. It should be noted that the part of the manuscript containing the glosses on the Catholic Epistles shows relevant differences from the first part. Indeed, the quires dedicated to the Catholic Epistles feature neither the magnificent initials introducing Paul's Letters (see Fig. 5),⁷¹ nor the accurate reading cues, nor the rich and dense glosses flanking Romans or Galatians. Here decorative elements are rare, and glosses scarce. Moreover, the nature and content of the latter clearly reveal that the intended audience of this edition was different from that of MS Weiss. 59 and MS Weiss. 47, even different from that of the first part of the manuscript. This should not lead us to think that MS Vienna 1239 consists of two separate books bound together at a later moment. Rather, we could speculate that the glossing of the two corpora of Epistles contained in MS Vienna 1239 was conducted by different persons, having different aims, perhaps at different times. Considering for instance the interlinear and marginal glosses on the first three verses of John's First Epistle (MS Vienna 1239, f. 136v; see Fig. 4), it is evident that they mainly aimed at clarifying the wording as well as the narrative and syntactical structure of the biblical text, as illustrated in the table appended to this paper at the end.

As the table shows, the annotations are of a very rudimentary level. The glossator needs, for instance, to explain the syntactical structure of the biblical text by stressing that the subject talking is "*nos discipuli Christi*" (second gloss in the table), that "*et*" should be understood as "*quod*" on two occasions ("*scilicet quod*", gloss 4 and 8 in the table), and that the "*quod vidimus et audivimus*" of the last line is a "*recapitulatio*", that is a summing up and a repetition of what has already been said. Furthermore, for the unusual verb "*contrectaverunt*" the glossator provides both a correction to "*temptaverunt*" based on the biblical text read by Bede and a translation with two vernacular verbs, namely



⁷¹ Such decorative skills, however, are attested by other manuscripts of Wissembourg origin, as, e.g. the above-mentioned ninth-century MS Weiss. 60, containing Pseudo-Bede's commentary on the Gospel of Matthew (see here the decorated initial L on f. 1r).

creifotum and *hanthotun*.⁷² The rest of the interlinear glosses offer basic clues for the interpretation of the wording of the Epistle taken and readapted from Bede's commentary. As for the few marginal glosses, they either repeat the content of some interlinear ones, reproducing a little more of the original Bedan context (repetitions are underlined in the table), or they offer a paraphrase of both biblical text and Bede's explanation mixed together. Paraphrases, translations of single words in the vernacular, and short explanations of the narrative structure of the text under analysis are all interpretative tools for an elementary introduction. Thus, it can be concluded that the glosses on the Catholic Epistles of MS Vienna 1239 address a audience different from those in MS Weiss. 59 and MS Weiss. 47. They are tailored for readers at the beginning of their biblical studies, whose Latin skills were probably not very advanced. The heavy abbreviation and readaptation of Bede's Commentary, which sought only to reproduce the literal interpretation of the main text, hint at such an audience too. Among the three glossed manuscripts of the Catholic Epistles which were produced at Wissembourg in the second half of the ninth century, only MS Vienna 1239 seems to present the characteristics of what Gernot Wieland defined as a "classbook".⁷³ As such, MS Vienna 1239 provides evidence for the success and impact of the pedagogical concepts and codicological models which Otfrid had imported from Fulda among his learned colleagues, who could make use of them also for more basic levels of education.

Conclusions

The explosion of scholarly activity that the Benedictine monastery of Wissembourg experienced during the second half of the ninth century has been preserved in the very books the scriptorium produced in that period. They themselves are evidence of the 'golden age' in the history of the community, when Otfrid came back from Fulda and shared knowledge, educational pur-

⁷² Andreas Nievergelt kindly helped me understand the meaning of these two verbs. *Creifotum* is a past tense in the first person plur. from the Old-High-German verb *greifôn*, meaning: "we touched with the hands"; *hanthotun*, which is a misspelled form for the correct *hantlotun*, is a past tense in the third person plur. from the Old-High-German verb *hantalôn*, meaning: "they touched with the hands". See the edition of this gloss in E. STEINMEYER und E. SIEVERS, *Die Althochdeutschen Glossen*, 1, p. 794.

⁷³ G.R. WIELAND, "The glossed manuscript: Classbook or library book?", *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), pp. 153-173.

poses, and techniques he had learned there. The most relevant product of his activity at Wissembourg, the poem in which he bent the rough language of the Franks to the praise of God, as well as his five commented editions of biblical books in Latin with their astounding amount of autographic glosses, provide evidence both for reconstructing his exegetical methods and determining the purposes of his output.


Otfrid's Latin production and his exegetical models have concerned us here. He created innovative manuals, storehouses of compendious material for the personal study of the Bible, in which every page displayed the biblical text and the glosses conveying its basic interpretation. As a reflection of his main scholarly interest, only his edition of the Gospels of Matthew and John offers a broader range of interpretations, which he derived only in part from books already available in the local library.

Otfrid's first attempt at creating such manuals concerned the explanation of the Catholic Epistles, which he achieved exclusively by selecting and subtly editing passages from Bede's Commentary. In the same years, around 860, two further editions of the same biblical book were issued by the Wissembourg scriptorium. They reflect the influence of Otfrid's model, which circulated in his direct entourage and was adapted in various forms to serve new purposes. The glossator of MS Weiss. 47, for example, endeavoured to adapt some of the technical innovations introduced by Otfrid to his manuscript's layout, which evidently had not been planned to contain a corpus of glosses. The end result was an extremely fascinating twist of biblical lines and Bedan sentences, which conceals an inner harmony. MS Vienna 1239, on the contrary, was conceived and ruled strictly to reproduce Otfrid's codicological model, that is according to the three-column grid, but it developed this model even further, in fact, through more elaborate decoration. This, however, was the case only for the Pauline Epistles. The glosses on the Catholic Epistles reflect a different purpose and address a different audience from Otfrid's. Their scribe used the medium of the commented edition for creating a schoolbook at an elementary level, in which scarce annotations explain primarily syntactical structure and meanings of the Latin text, omitting almost completely any exegetical concerns of a higher level.

Thus seemingly small changes in form and layout were shown to reflect great changes in function and aim. Detailed analyses of the kind presented here are, therefore, absolutely necessary to understand the intellectual world that produced the manuscripts still preserved in our libraries today.

Appendix: Interlinear and Marginal Glosses on the First Three Verses of John's First Epistle (MS Vienna 1239, f. 136v; see Fig. 4)

Biblical text as in MS Vienna 1239	Position of the glosses	Glosses' transcription and their source
f.136v 1 Ioh 1,1: <i>quod fuit ab initio quod audivimus quod vidimus oculis nostris quod perspeximus et manus nostrae contrectaverunt de verbo vitae</i>	Interlinear above: <i>quod fuit</i>	<i>Id est filius dei</i> (Bede, 1 Ioh 1 14)
	Interlinear above: <i>quod audivimus-oculis</i>	<i>Nos discipuli christi. Id est filium dei in homine apparentem audivimus et vidimus. Id est corporaliter</i> (Cf. Bede, 1 Ioh 1 14-15 + 24)
	136v, c1 Linked to: <i>quod perspeximus</i>	<i>Spiritibus oculis divinam eius virtutem perspeximus dum in monte clarificatus est</i> (Adaptation of Bede, 1 Ioh 1 24-27)
	Interlinear above: <i>manus nostrae</i>	<i>Scilicet quod</i>
	Interlinear above: <i>contrectaverunt</i>	<i>Temp</i> – (in order to correct <i>contrectaverunt</i> to <i>temptaverunt</i>) <i>Creifotum hanthotun</i> (STEINMEYER-SIEVERS, <i>Ahd. Gl.</i> 1, 794)
	136v, c2 Linked to: <i>contrectaverunt</i>	<i>Discipuli tangebant et palpabant filium Dei</i> (Adaptation of Bede, 1 Ioh 1 30-31 + 37)
	Interlinear above: <i>de verbo vitae</i>	<i>Filio dei</i>

1Ioh 1,2: <i>et vita manifestata est et vidimus et testamur et adnuntiamus vobis vitam aeternam quae erat apud patrem et aparuit nobis</i>	Interlinear above: <i>et vita</i>	<i>Scilicet quod</i>
	136v, a2 Linked to: <i>et vita</i>	<i>Christum esse vitam <u>divinis</u> in carne declaratum est <u>miraculis</u> . Vnde ipse ait Ego sum resurrectio et vita (Adaptation of Bede, 1Ioh 1 46-47)</i>
	Interlinear above: <i>manifestata est</i>	<i><u>Divinis scilicet miraculis</u> (Bede, 1Ioh 1 47)</i>
	Interlinear above <i>et vidimus</i> , and in the right margin	<i>Hoc totum quod praesentes vidimus Vobis et omnibus posteris indubia veritate testamur (Adaptation of Bede, 1Ioh 1 48)</i>
	Interlinear above: <i>vitam aeternam</i>	<i>Id est christum filium dei</i>
	136v, a3 Linked to: <i>quae erat</i>	<i>Christus erat apud patrem in divinitate aeterna apparuit ex tempore mundo in <u>humanitate</u> (Bede, 1Ioh 1 56-57)</i>
	Interlinear above: <i>quae erat</i>	<i>Id est qui christus</i>
	Interlinear above: <i>apud patrem</i>	<i>Scilicet in <u>divinitate aeterna</u> (Bede, 1Ioh 1 56)</i>
	Interlinear above: <i>aparuit nobis</i>	<i>Scilicet in <u>humanitate</u> (Bede, 1Ioh 1 57)</i>
1Ioh 1,3: <i>quod vidimus et audivimus adnuntiamus vobis ut et vos societatem habeatis nobiscum et societas nostra sit cum Patre et cum filio eius Iesu Christo</i>	Interlinear above: <i>quod vidimus</i> 	<i>Recapitulatio</i>