

An Insular fragment of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*

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ABSTRACT

What remains of a single fragmentary folio, consisting of a vision from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, is discussed from the palaeographical and philological points of view. The writing of the fragment is placed within the context of Insular books written on the Continent, probably Werden, in the first half of the ninth century. Visual identification of script is made with another contemporary half-leaf. The three fragments are regarded as débris of a book of excerpts gathered from various writers. The formation of the collection as a whole is considered as reaching back behind the extant fragments to a lost eighth-century Insular source.

Students of Insular palaeography may be interested to learn of the existence of a fragment, hitherto unpublished, of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. Unfortunately, this witness consists of only a single leaf, trimmed on all sides and later cut through the middle. The material which constitutes the upper and lower parts is Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library, Ricketts 177 (fig. 1) + Düsseldorf, UB, K 1: B 216 (fig. 2); the script is the same throughout both half-leaves. That both have survived as book bindings is evident from certain codicological features. Both have been folded lengthwise and a horizontal fold-line is visible top and bottom of the lower and upper parts, showing where each has been bent at right angles and tucked behind the spine. Also visible is a set of several small stitching holes running along the length of the fold, where each had been sewn into the jackets of an incunabulum. Corresponding glue deposits, stains and other visible signs of wear and tear show that both were used as front or back flyleaves of perhaps the same octavo-sized volume.¹

¹ The fragment bears no obvious traces of its provenance other than clear physical signs of having survived as book bindings. The lower portion was recovered from a Werden book whose identity is no longer known, 'Da Zuordnung zu einer Werdener Inkunabel oder einem Frühdruck jedoch nicht (mehr) möglich ist, kommt man in dieser Frage über Wahrscheinlichkeiten nicht hinaus': *Katalog der frühmittelalterlichen Fragmente der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf vom beginnenden achten bis zum ausgehenden neunten Jahrhundert*, ed. K. Zechiel-Eckes, with M. Plassmann and U. Schlüter, Schriften der Universitäts- und

Though undecorated the script is a type of cursive Insular minuscule with parallels to the German variety of Phase II Insular script current in Anglo-Saxon centres on the Continent from the start of the ninth century.² While remarkable for its age, its text is inferior; I print the text of the fragment in an appendix, below. It reports a dying man's vision (*HE* v.13) which carries on to near the foot of the Düsseldorf leaf. It so happens, however, that the last five and one half lines contain quite other matter: the vision from Bede is followed in the hand of the scribe by another extract, from a different text, being a passage from Augustine's *De diversis quaestionibus* on the building of the temple.³ The essential point is, however, that the two extracts were copied by the same scribe as if they formed the same continuous text; and that the continuity of what is so recognizably separate texts, by separate authors, suggests that the original compilation, or something copied from it, itself resembled a book of *excerpta*.

MATERIALS

Measured along its present fore-edge and tail, the upper portion, when set beside the lower portion, is of approximately rectangular dimensions, *c.* 270/273 x 197/207mm.; the written space is *c.* 212 x 145mm. in twenty-eight long lines, of which eighteen are on the upper half-leaf.⁴ A scrap of parchment

Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf 34 (Wiesbaden, 2003), 29. The upper portion was in a scrapbook of early fragments, presumably binding fragments, assembled in Northern Germany at the start of the nineteenth century; sold to Sir T. Phillipps (his MS 22254), who labelled it no. XXIV (of 26); sold by Sotheby's, 25 April 1911, as lot 391, to the bookseller Tregaskis; his sale (Cat. 720, 1912, no. 36) to C. L. Ricketts of Chicago in 1912; Ricketts detached the Bede fragment, renumbering it 177 for reference in his library. In 1961, the Lilly Library, Bloomington, IN, obtained the bulk of the Ricketts manuscripts, including the Bede fragment (MS Ricketts 177), but excluding the scrapbook, which had already changed hands (later owners include Otto L. Schmidt and William F. Petersen; gifted to the Newberry Library, Chicago, in 1988 by Alma Schmidt Petersen).

² I follow the terminology of T. J. Brown as adumbrated in 'The Irish Element in the Insular System of Scripts to *c.* AD 850', rptd in *A Palaeographer's View: the Selected Writings of Julian Brown*, ed. J. Bately, M. P. Brown and J. Roberts, with a preface by A. C. de la Mare (London, 1993), pp. 201–20; for discussion see D. N. Dumville, *A Palaeographer's Review: the Insular System of Scripts in the Early Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Suva, 1999) I, 5–8.

³ For critical editions used here, see *Beda: Storia degli inglesi (Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum)*, ed. M. Lapidge, trans., P. Chiesa, 2 vols. (Milan, 2008–10); Augustine, *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus; De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCSL 44A (Turnhout, 1975).

⁴ For a description of the leaves, see B. Bischoff and V. Brown, 'Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores*' MS 47 (1985), p. 317 (hereafter abbreviated as *CLA* = *Codices Latini Antiquiores; Supp.* = *Supplement; Add.* = *Addenda*), where the Bloomington-Düsseldorf fragment is described as 'Anglo-Saxon minuscule saec. ix in.' (Cf. R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), p. xlv, n. 5, where the Bloomington leaf is assigned to an 'eighth-century insular hand'). For more recent notices see B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts: (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, 2 vols. of projected 3; 1: Aachen-Lambach (1998); 2: Laon-Paderborn (2004);

has been torn from the outer edge of the Bloomington leaf. Single bounding lines are visible on both the upper and lower halves; prickings survive, though done with a knife, not with a stylus, in both inner and outer bounding lines. That pricking holes appear in both margins indicates ruling after folding: a typical Insular practice.⁵ That hair and flesh sides are not easy to distinguish suggests the use of Insular membrane. The ink is good solid black.⁶ When taken together, the combination of Insular symptoms suggests that Insular codicological practices were in use in the scriptorium or region where the original codex was made.

In addition to the use of parchment prepared, pricked and ruled in the Insular manner, several manifest Insular features are visible in the writing of the fragment. This variety of script was practised in Anglo-Saxon scriptoria generally and particularly in Germany from the start of the ninth century.⁷ Though the script is a type of Insular minuscule, the pen angle is slanted enough and feet rare enough to regard it as cursive minuscule, yet the pen was lifted between minims, a criterion of set minuscule.⁸ The hand itself is pointed; the ascenders, slightly longer than the length of minims, end in small wedges; the descenders tend to lean slightly to the right. The letters are well separated and show good adherence to head and base lines; the diagonal axis of the letters **c**, **o**, **e** indicates the considerable narrowness of the pen used. Words and letters are well spaced with a little 'white space' left between the lines.

(Wiesbaden, 1998–) I, cit. no. 647; Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog*, p. 29, Abb. 5; D. N. Dumville, 'The Two Earliest Manuscripts of Bede's Ecclesiastical History?', *Anglo-Saxon* 1 (2007), 55–108, at 57, n. 14; C. de Hamel, *Gilding the Lily: a Hundred Medieval and Illuminated Manuscripts in the Lilly Library* (Bloomington, 2010), cit. no. 4.

⁵ The pricking holes in the Bloomington leaf have the appearance of having been done with a knife, not with a stylus; that, it in fact looks as if these slits grow still wider near the foot of Düsseldorf, especially in the right hand margin.

⁶ For Insular codicological practices, see E. A. Lowe, *CLA* 2, 2nd rev. ed. (Oxford, 1972), pp. x–xi.

⁷ For Insular script-styles practised in German scriptoria, see, e.g., introductions to the German volumes of *CLA*; also B. Bischoff, *Paläographie des Römischen Altertums und des Abendländischen Mittelalters*, 4th ed. (Berlin, 2009), esp. pp. 126–9; *idem*, 'Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Großen', rptd in his *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1981) III, 5–38; and R. McKitterick, 'Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany: Reflections on the Manuscript Evidence', *Trans. of the Cambridge Biblio. Soc.* 9 (1989), 291–329.

⁸ Adapting Dutch palaeographer Gerard Isaac Liefinck's method of classifying medieval scripts, Brown defined a system based on comparison between Gothic *cursiva anglicana* and Insular minuscule, where *formata* is to 'set', as *cursiva* is to 'cursive'. For definition, see Brown, 'The Irish Element', p. 201; cf. Dumville, *A Palaeographer's Review*, pp. 6–8; for discussion, see A. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge Stud. in Palaeography and Codicology 9 (Cambridge, 2003), esp. 20–4.

SCRIPT

Initials are typically Insular. Sentences begin with simple, enlarged letters in Insular style. The noteworthy letters and ligatures are these: **a** is distinctly pointed, typically Insular (there are three instances of caroline **a**), often subscript (with an open head) after **m**; round-backed **d** is the rule with two instances of vertical, caroline **d**; round-backed **e** is common, but high in ligature with **et** and in the digraph **æ**. Note **e** often assumes a very distinctive shape in ligature with **-n**, **-r**, **-s** (something like the numeral *8*), where the figure is in ‘reversed’ ductus, sometimes standing vertical, sometimes extending slightly to the right.⁹ The **f** adopts a traditional Insular form; the **g** has a flat top, protruding chest which terminates in a short horizontal cross-stroke; the **i** elongated (*i-longa*) to the height of letters like **b**, **h**, **l**, stands on, or projects below the line; subscript **i** is frequent in ligature, as after **h**-, **m**-, **n**-, **s**-, especially **t**-, in which the subscript letter is projected sharply below the line;¹⁰ the foot of **l** is a pronounced curve that is often continued right under the next letter; the **q** resembles **p**, occasionally head open, angled back in ‘reversed’ ductus; **r** is the long-stemmed Insular form; **s** is tall in initial position, otherwise low, sometimes found in ligature with subscript **i**, like the form used for **fi** in other scripts; the lower-stroke of Insular **t** is sometimes finished by being curled up, sometimes by a downward tick, and especially note the often subscript final **t** after **-n**; the lower left stroke of the letter **x** is projected below the line and forms a hairline loop.

The fragment contains several abbreviations: some purely Insular, some continental, others common to both traditions. For a clue as to date, note the forms of abbreviation, as **uāe** for **uestrae**, compared with **n̄as** for **nostras**; the former *nota* suggests a date rather earlier than about 815, while the latter suggests a date rather later than about 815. Thus we have good reason for dating

⁹ An account of this cursive Insular form of **e**, in which statistics of its actual use are given, ought to be written. Traube pointed out ‘der Bildung und den Ligaturen des *e*’ as a distinctive Insular feature of the ‘Douce Primasius’ (Oxford Bodleian Library, Douce 140) in his *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, ed. F. Boll, 3 vols. in 1 (Munich, 1909–20) III, *Kleine Schriften*, 95–116, at 111. Lindsay has called this ‘eight-figure *e*’, *par excellence*, the Insular cursive form, *Palaeographia Latina* 1 (Oxford, 1922), p. 17; also, *idem*, ‘Palaeographica Latina’, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 25:6 (1908), pp. 260–1. Julian Brown laid considerable emphasis on the ‘reversed’ form of **e** in ligature (also on reverse-ductus **g**) as a criterion for judging a script’s home-zone south of the Humber; though hardly decisive for localisation, it predominates, as here, in his Phase I & II Type B minuscule: Brown, *A Palaeographer’s View*, esp. pp. 212–13.

¹⁰ This distinctive **ti** ligature should be distinguished from the Insular **t** in which the letter ends in a small flourish in which the curve is turned back down to or below the baseline which, according to Dumville, is ‘a normal feature of ninth-century English (and Welsh) script’, see D. N. Dumville, ‘Motes and Beams’, *Peritia* 2 (1983), 248, n. 3.

this fragment, if not early ninth century, certainly not late ninth century, and a date in the first quarter is to be preferred.¹¹ For a clue as to place, a German centre is suggested by use of certain non-Insular abbreviations, for instance, **aut** for **autem**;¹² also, the **p** with a cross-stroke through the shaft for **per**; also, the **q** with the shaft traversed obliquely for **qui**; and the upright Tironian *nota* which sits on the baseline. Typical Insular forms include use of the Insular symbol for **est** and the less frequent **-rī** for **-runt**. Peculiar to the Anglo-Saxons (as distinct from Irish scripts) is use of **-ur** in final **-tur** (**t** with a long, vertical stroke through the right half of the head-stroke) which 'by the ninth century was more common in the Anglo-Saxons' German foundations than in England itself', according to Clemens and Graham.¹³ What abbreviations remain, being common to Anglo-Saxon and continental script-systems, need not detain us further.

The punctuation, which appears to be the work of the original scribe, is of interest because of its early date. Minor pauses are marked, as a rule, by a medial point on or above the line; major pauses are marked by a point followed by an oblique stroke. Citations in the text are sometimes marked by a point followed by an oblique stroke to the left of the line. Runovers carried to the line above are set off by an oblique line or wrap-mark. On three occasions a more sophisticated mark of punctuation, a *punctus versus*, is used to indicate a major pause; this is significant because the *punctus versus* which is of eighth-century Insular origin and was developed at Charlemagne's Palace School, is not recorded in England until the tenth century.¹⁴

If the book from which this leaf has derived was written in Germany, we are

¹¹ For this test of date see W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae: an Account of Abbreviation in Latin MSS. of the Early Minuscule Period c.700–850* (Cambridge, 1915), §§ 188–95; also, D. Bains, *A Supplement to Notae Latinae: Abbreviations in Latin MSS. of 850 to 1050 A. D.* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 25–6. For convenient reference see D. N. Dumville, *Abbreviations used in Insular Script before 850* (Cambridge, 2004), which is mostly based on what Lindsay wrote.

¹² This fragment bears no traces of the typical Insular symbol for *autem*, which resembles the letter 'h' with a tail appended to the shoulder of the letter. According to Lindsay, we find this Insular *b*-symbol in combination with continental forms in earlier Werden manuscripts, e.g. Berlin, StB Preuß., Theol. lat. fol. 356 and 366 (both of Liudger's time); but the slightly later Gospels from Werden (Theol. lat. qu. 139) uses only the continental symbols; and the later Werden manuscripts however at Düsseldorf rarely use the Insular form. For the varieties of symbols, see Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, §§ 11–13.

¹³ R. Clemens and T. Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, 2007), p. 139; cf. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, § 468 and Dumville, *Abbreviations*, pp. 8, 12.

¹⁴ Proceeding from the second half of the eighth century, liturgical notation consisted of four main types of *positurae*, and the *punctus versus* (something resembling a semi-colon) is one of these. Given its absence from the small number of English manuscripts which date from the ninth century, it would be interesting to know precisely when the *punctus versus* reached the British Isles. For discussion of *positurae* see M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: an Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992), esp. pp. 36–37.

unable to say in which scriptorium, though the provenance of the lower part seems to point to Werden. At first sight similar is Chicago, Newberry Library, 1.5, Fgm. 9 (fig. 3).¹⁵ This half-leaf contains (on the original recto) seventeen lines of a work on the titles of government officials, which, in its earliest witness, the incipit describes as ‘epistola hieronimi de gradus romanorum’;¹⁶ but the link to Jerome is not able to be followed with any confidence, so I follow Bischoff in calling it *Ämtertraktat*.¹⁷ Written on the verso is part of a text on the meaning of true Christian faith, being an excerpt of a Pseudo-Boniface sermon, to which Migne, in *Patrologia Latina*, refers as *De fide recta*.¹⁸

The Chicago leaf is very close to the Bede fragment: it uses the same kind of script, with similar forms, and the same letters, ligatures and abbreviations occur.¹⁹ Diagnostic are the pointed **a** which is subscript after **m**; round-backed

¹⁵ The identification of the texts on the Chicago leaf was made by David Ganz (pers. comm.); for a description see Bischoff, *Katalog*, cit. no. 647, where the hand is assigned to ‘Wahrscheinlich deutsch-insulares Gebiet, IX. Jh., Anfang –’. For more recent mention, see W. P. Stoneman, ‘“Writ in Ancient Character and of No Further Use”: Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in American Collections’, *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture* (Kalamazoo, 1997), where the author mistakenly identifies it as ‘Newberry Library 1.5, Fragm. 8’, at pp. 101 and 110; also see Clemens and Graham, *Introduction*, pp. 138–9, pl. 10–2.

¹⁶ St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 913, fol. 93r: s. viii/ix, N. Germany (*CLA*, 7 976). Written by a scribe educated in an Anglo-Saxon tradition, judging by certain features of script and abbreviations; its text is a miscellaneous collection of items with early connexions to the Anglo-Saxon mission. For a contents list, see *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, ed. G. Scherrer, with support from the Catholic administration council of the canton of St. Gallen (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1875), cited from reprint of 1975, pp. 331–3.

¹⁷ Bischoff, *Katalog*, cit. no. 647, also G. Schmitz, ‘Ämtertraktat’, *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. A. Erler and E. Kaufmann, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1964–98) I, 211–14. All previous work on this subject is summarised by P. S. Barnwell, ‘“Epistula Hieronimi de gradus Romanorum”: an English School Book’, *Hist. Research* 64 (1991), 77–86.

¹⁸ *Patrologiae Cursus Completes ... Series Latina etc.* ed. J-P. Migne, 221 vols. in 222 (1844 [–1864]) LXXXIX, 843–5. For discussion of the Pseudo-Boniface sermons, see R. Meens, ‘Christianization and the Spoken Word: the Sermons Attributed to St. Boniface’, *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift: Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, ed. R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger and M. Niederkorn-Bruck, Denkschriften Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 405 (Vienna, 2010), pp. 211–22; I am grateful to Rob Meens for sending me a version of his paper. See also G. Schmitz, ‘Bonifatius und Alkuin Ein Beitrag zur Glaubensverkündigung in der Karolingerzeit’, in *Alkuin von York und die geistige Grundlegung Europas: Akten der Tagung vom 30. September bis zum 2. Oktober 2004 in der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, ed. E. Tremp and K. Schmucki, Monasterium Sancti Galli 5 (St. Gall, 2010), pp. 73–90.

¹⁹ Given the fact that Bloomington and Chicago are cut off at about the same place strengthens the possibility that they come from the same book. I owe this point to David Ganz, to whom I am particularly obliged for help on various points and for references to this fragment.

d; 'reversed' ductus **e** in ligature; frequent use of subscript **i**; abbreviation where **p** with a cross-stroke through the shaft is used for **per**; the Anglo-Saxon symbol **-ur** in final **-tur** (**t** with a long, vertical stroke through the right half of the head-stroke); the Insular symbol for **est**; the Tironian symbol for **et** which is upright and sits on the baseline; and finally, use of similar marks for designating major and minor pauses. It would not be helpful to list all the features; the selection given is enough, I think, to assign the Bloomington-Düsseldorf fragment and the Chicago leaf to the same scribe. In support of the date already mentioned, I refer to the opinion of Professor Ganz, whose palaeographical analysis of the Chicago leaf led him to conclude, 'Ich würde das Blatt nicht nach etwa 820 datieren'.²⁰

The Chicago leaf bears no obvious traces of its provenance other than being used as a book binding, presumably continental, late medieval or sixteenth century.²¹ But its script is identical with that of the Bloomington fragment; and the Düsseldorf portion, with which it is consecutively written, came from a Werden incunable. Stüwer asserts the existence of a 'Buchbinderei' (*officina librorum*) operating from the abbey between the years 1474 and c. 1550.²² But until an assemblage of old Werden bindings is made to aid identification of binding-style, the question of the Chicago leaf's medieval history must be left unanswered.

Taking a closer look at the handwriting, a common script suggests a common origin; from this we may try to fix the writing of the Bede fragment within the context of ninth-century Insular manuscripts which can be identified as having

²⁰ Schmitz, 'Bonifatius und Alkuin', p. 75, n. 19; for further palaeographical advice by D. Ganz, reported by Meens, see 'Christianization and the Spoken Word', p. 214, n. 27.

²¹ The provenance of the Chicago leaf may be traced as follows: its medieval history is unknown; reused as the front flyleaf of an incunabulum. Belonged to lawyer and legal historian, D. A. Rath Spangenberg, Rath in Celle from 1816, who died in 1833. Spangenberg states that it came from the bindings of a printed volume, probably continental, from which he printed the text of the *Amtertraktat* in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 3 (1832), pp. 1661–3. Of the fate of the Spangenberg collection it would be interesting to learn; for its next appearance is in one of Sir Thomas Phillipps's scrapbooks in his library at Middlehill, Worcestershire, and later at Cheltenham, where it bore the number 22254 – significantly, the same book of fragments in which the upper part of Bede was bought by Ricketts in 1912. It is not clear whether Spangenberg assembled all of the fragments but Phillipps usually purchased such scrapbooks as a single lot: see *The Phillipps Manuscripts: Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, bt., impressum Typis Medio-Montanis, 1837–1871*; by T. Phillipps, with an introd. by A. N. L. Munby (London, 1968), p. 414.

²² Stüwer asserts the existence of a bindery ('Buchbinderei'), for which he cites evidence (though does not actually quote from) old Werden accounts ('Rechnungen') recording the purchase of tools and materials for possible use in binding, e.g. leather, boards, link-chain and clasps etc. ('Leder, Bretter, Ketten und Schließen sowie Handwerkszeug und Material') see Stüwer, *Die Reichsabtei Werden an der Ruhr, Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Köln. 3. Erzbistum Köln, Germania sacra, n.F., 12. Das Erzbistum Köln* 3 (Berlin, 1980), p. 56.

certainly or very probably come from Werden. As Lowe justly remarks, dated and placed manuscripts are the landmarks of palaeography. But for Werden such landmarks are lacking. Manuscript ascriptions must therefore rely on a combination of palaeographical and historical considerations. Though a full account of Werden's library and writing-centre, its history, and the varieties of its script, is still a desideratum, some fine observations on the point have been made in a series of important, recent palaeographical studies.²³ From these emerge a small but secure group of likely Werden candidates made up of manuscripts, fragments and palimpsests in a few separate libraries in Bonn, Berlin, Düsseldorf, Hannover, and Münster.

COMPARANDA

Amongst the earlier Werden manuscripts there are a few connected by tradition with Liudger, Saint, founder and abbot of Werden, who died in 809;²⁴ also with Hildegim, his younger brother, who followed Liudger as abbot, and who died in 827. Candidates for Liudger's own pen include a Berlin manuscript of

²³ For studies of Werden's library and writing school with reference to facsimiles, see R. Drögereit, *Werden und der Heliand: Studien zur Kulturgeschichte der Abtei Werden und zur Herkunft des Heliand* (Essen, 1951); also, the important review by B. Bischoff in *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum* 66 (1952), 7–12; S. Krämer, *Handschriftenerbe des deutschen Mittelalters*, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz 1. Ergänzungsband, 3 vols. (Munich, 1989–90) II, 826–8, where items are listed by modern location; W. Stüwer, *Die Reichsabtei Werden an der Ruhr*, esp. pp. 61–86, where items are listed in (roughly) chronological order; B. Barker-Benfield, 'Werden "Heptateuch"', *ASE* 20 (1991) 43–64, where items are arranged into smaller sub-groups by date and script; also, *Das Jahrtausend der Mönche: Kloster Welt Werden, 799–1803*, ed. J. Gerchow (Essen, 1999), where items are listed, with some new ascriptions, based on Barker-Benfield's scheme (cf. Gerchow, *Das Jahrtausend*, at pp. 55–7); also, *799, Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III.*, in Paderborn: *Katalog der Ausstellung, Paderborn 1999*, ed. C. Stiegmann and M. Wemhoff, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1999). For a compressed account of recent scholarship see M. Garrison, 'The Library of Alcuin's York' *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 1, c. 400–1100, ed. R. Gameson (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 633–64.

²⁴ His career is sketched for us by Altfred, Liudger's biographer: a Frisian, born at Zuilen, near Utrecht c. 742; studied under St Gregory in the cathedral school at Utrecht, then at York under Alcuin, for one year in 767, then for three and a half years; on his return to Utrecht c. 773, he took with him many manuscripts from the library of York ('habens secum copiam librorum'); he was ordained at Cologne in 777, later visited Rome and Monte Cassino from 784 to 787; appointed by Charlemagne as a missionary among the Frisians and Saxons in 793, founded Werden Abbey c. 800, thereafter bishop of Münster in Westphalia; died at Billerbeck, near Münster in 809. The period of study under Alcuin at York early in Liudger's career might be held as evidence for where he learned to write, if not a source for Anglo-Saxon influence very early in it; it is unthinkable that Liudger's writing should have taken over nothing from the environment. See Altfred, *Vita Liudgeri*, ed. W. Diekamp, *Die Vitae Sancti Liudgeri*, Die Geschichtsquellen des Bisthums Münster 4 (Münster, 1881), esp. ch. 12, pp. 15–17.

the Pauline Epistles (Theol. lat. fol. 366)²⁵ and a small format Gospel book (Theol. lat. qu. 139).²⁶ Both books, traditionally ascribed to Liudger, have a long history of ownership in his name. But both scripts in both books are by different scribes; the Gospel book is less likely to be Liudger's, to judge by certain palaeographical features. The stronger candidate, in my opinion, is the first volume of ninety-four folios containing the Pauline Epistles, written in one narrow, compressed hand which may be dated little before *c.* 800. The Berlin Epistles is in a finely-penned cursive minuscule which resembles another book now in Hannover, Kestner-Museum (Culemann Kat. no. 1), whose writing is not only similar but also carries a copy of the same work; and their texts are so close that they probably had a common eighth-century ancestor. Significantly, the Hannover Epistles, whose earliest known connexion is with Werden, is a candidate for Hildegrim's autograph.²⁷ Similar to both in script and decoration is a Berlin copy of Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in Ezechielem* (Theol. lat. fol. 356).²⁸ Written for Hildegrim and presented by him to his brother's new foundation at Werden, this book is the work of at least two hands, the result of collaboration between an expert scribe named Felwald, who wrote the major portion, plus at least one other hand. It is unclear whether Felwald was himself writing at Werden. Though his script resembles both Epistles, Felwald's hand looks intermediate in character, between the taller narrower script in Berlin and the smaller less formal minuscule in Hannover. Besides the Gospel book, which in script and format stands apart from the rest, these codices are in as uniform style as might satisfy the definition of a scriptorium type.

²⁵ *Epistulae Pauli*; Liudger-Autograph (f): Berlin, StB Preuß., Theol. lat. fol. 366 (Rose 276) (s. ix¹, Werden): Bischoff, *Katalog*, cit. no. 463; *Das Jabrtausend*, cit. no. 378; facs., *Monumenta palaeographica. Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*, ed. A. Chroust, Ser. 2, (Munich, 1902) Bd. 3, Lief. 22, Taf. 7a; Drögereit, *Werden und Heliand*, Taf. 1; *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit* II, 483–4.

²⁶ *Evangelia*; ?Liudger-Autograph (f): Berlin, StB Preuß., Theol. lat. qu. 139 (Rose 259) (s. ix¹, prob. Werden): Bischoff, *Katalog*, cit. no. 473; *Das Jabrtausend*, cit. no. 64; facs., Chroust, *Monumenta*, Ser. 2, Bd. 3, Lief. 22, Taf. 8a,b; Drögereit, *Werden und Heliand*, Taf. 9,10; *Paläographie 1981: Colloquium des Comité International de Paléographie, München, 15–18. September 1981: Referate*, ed. G. Silagi (Munich, 1982), Taf. 8, Abb. 11.

²⁷ *Epistulae Pauli*; Hildegrim-Autograph (f): Hannover, Kestner-Museum, Culemann Kat. I no. 1 (3926) (s. ix¹, Werden): Bischoff, *Katalog*, cit. no. 1496; *Das Jabrtausend*, cit. no. 385; facs., Chroust, *Monumenta*, Ser. 2, Bd. 3, Lief. 22, Taf. 7b; Drögereit, *Werden und Heliand*, Taf. 3, 16b.

²⁸ Gregorius M., *Homiliae in Ezechielem*; Hildegrim-Autograph/Felwald-colophon (f): Berlin, StB Preuß., Theol. lat. fol. 356 (Rose 315) (s. ix¹ Werden): Bischoff, *Katalog*, cit. no. 460; *Das Jabrtausend*, cit. no. 102; facs., Chroust, *Monumenta*, Ser. 2, Bd. 3, Lief. 22, Taf. 6a,b; Drögereit, *Werden und Heliand*, Taf. 3, 16a; *Glanz alter Buchkunst: mittelalterliche Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, ed. T. Brandis and P. J. Becker, *Ausstellungskataloge Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 33 (Wiesbaden, 1988), Taf. 4; *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit* II, 469–71.

With the earlier Werden manuscripts, as those from before 800, so presumptively part of the basic collection of Latin texts imported by Liudger as the *fonds* of the new monastic library, we need hardly go into detail. With the exception of one Irish commentary (which Garrison suggests was given to Liudger by his Irish friend, Joseph Scottus),²⁹ Liudger's founding collection is English in origin and represents nearly the full range of early Insular bookhands — English uncial, half-uncial, hybrid minuscule tending towards set, Insular cursive minuscule (Phases I & II) — though I am yet to find specimens of current minuscule. Just like other Anglo-Saxon centres on the Continent, the Church Fathers here predominate.³⁰ Surviving texts from Werden include, Isidore, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, *Allegoriae sacrae Scripturae* and *Etymologiae*; Cassiodorus, *In Psalmos*; Orosius, *Historiae adversus paganos*; Jerome, *In epistolam Pauli ad Galatas*; John Chrysostom (in Latin) *De reparatione lapsi* and *De compunctione cordis*; a few other Christian authors represented by a few mere scraps; and collections of saints' lives, commentaries, excerpts, and so on.³¹ One pre-foundation scrap, the Münster fragment of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, is of interest to us because it was written in Northumbria before it came to Werden; and I pursue the implications of the library preserving multiple recensions of the same text, below.

That our fragment was written in or around Werden is suggested by its provenance and by its likeness to the script of other Insular manuscripts of similar date which share a probable Werden *Schriftbeimat*. For localization the group of Liudger-Hildegrem autographs serves as a touchstone to localize other manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts in identical or similar script to Werden. Attempting to place our fragment in the wider context of Werden manuscripts: the small cursive minuscule in the Berlin Epistles is indeed just like the cursive in the Heptateuch fragments in Düsseldorf (A 19 + Fgm. K16: Z1/1), as Lowe first identified. His identification is supported by a *membrum disiectum* in Tokyo (Toshiyuki Takamiya Coll. MS 90), which Michelle Brown

²⁹ Garrison, 'The Library of Alcuin's York', p. 646.

³⁰ For discussion of Latin books from Anglo-Saxon libraries on the Continent see M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), esp. App. B and C.

³¹ For Insular manuscripts with connexions or possible connexions to Werden based on Lowe and Bischoff see: *CLA*, cit. nos. 1045, 1168, 1184 + *Add* p. 358, 1185–8, 1189 + *Supp.* p. 6, 1234, 1685–8, 1786, *Add.* 1826, 1848; *Add.* 2, 1880; and Bischoff, *Katalog*, cit. nos. 458(?), 460, 463, 473(?), 647 [+ 911] (?), 653 [+ 1068] (?), 654, 655, 656, 1061, 1072(?), 1080(?), 1496, 1497, 1919, 3546a(?). For Werden manuscripts now at Düsseldorf see H. Gneuss, 'Second addenda and corrigenda to the *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*', in *ASE* 40, pp. 303–4 (hereafter abbreviated as *Handlist* = *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, AZ 2001); *Add.* = *Addenda*). Liudger's founding collection is sketched for us by Garrison, 'The Library of Alcuin's York', pp. 645–6.

thought was English but Barker-Benfield showed came from Werden.³² The cursive minuscule and the display script of the Berlin Epistles bear a close resemblance to the same scripts in the 'Werden' Heptateuch. Both scripts, in both books, may be compared with the fragmentary folio of Psalms 16, 10–17, 33 detached from a copy of the *Psalterium Romanum*, now a tail of a leaf at the end of the Hannover Epistles (Culemann Kat. no. 1, fol. 81).³³ This fragment contains a 'symptom', which though probably German, is not certainly, yet in some measure, a Werden 'symptom': the distinctive hooked **x**, where the lower left stroke of the letter ends in a claw below the line. The same feature appears in manuscripts of Werden provenance, the 'Werden' Heptateuch, the Berlin Epistles, plus four more fragmentary folios (palimpsests) now at Berlin, Bonn, and Düsseldorf.³⁴ But Bischoff has objected because the same appendage is found in manuscripts with no known connexions to Werden.³⁵ Besides, however, the general character of the script, details in common include the use of round-backed **d** with vertical caroline **d**; the form of **l** where the foot is continued right under the following letter; the open head **q** angled back in 'reversed' ductus, as in the Berlin Epistles and 'Werden' Heptateuch; note, especially, the 'reversed' ductus **e** in ligature on the Psalter leaf.

Attributable to Werden for similar reasons is the Düsseldorf fragment of

³² *Heptateuchus* (f): Düsseldorf, UB, A 19 + Fgm. K16: Z1/1 + Tokyo, Toshiyuki Takamiya Collection, 90 (s. viii² or ix in., prob. Werden): *CLA*, S 1685 + *Add. 2*, p. 307; Bischoff, *Katalog*, cit. no. 1061; Gneuss, *Handlist Add. 2*, cit. no. 818.3; facs. *Kostbarkeiten aus der Universitätsbibliothek Düsseldorf: mittelalterliche Handschriften und alte Drucke*, ed. G. Gattermann, Schriften der Universitätsbibliothek Düsseldorf 5 (Wiesbaden, 1989), cit. no. 2. For discussion of the Takamiya fragment with reference to facsimiles see M. P. Brown, 'A New Fragment of a Ninth-Century English Bible', *ASE* 18 (1990), pp. 33–43; but cf. Barker-Benfield, 'The Werden "Heptateuch"', *ASE* 20 (1991), pp. 43–64. For recent mention see T. Takamiya, 'A Handlist of Western Medieval Manuscripts in the Takamiya Collection', *The Medieval Book: Glosses from Friends & Colleagues of Christopher de Hamel*, ed. J. H. Marrow, R. A. Linenthal, and W. Noel (Houten, 2010), p. 437, where it is assigned the shelf-mark 'MS 90' (Cf. Gneuss, *Handlist Add. 2*, p. 303, where the Takamiya fragment is cited under 'MS 45').

³³ *Psalterium Romanum* (f): Hannover, Kestner-Museum, Culemann Kat. I no. 1 (3926) fol. 81: (s. viii/ix, Werden): Bischoff, *Katalog*, cit. no. 1497; facs. Drögereit, *Werden und Heliand*, pp. 23–4, Taf. 4.

³⁴ *Passionale* (f): Berlin, StB Preuß., Theol. lat. fol. 355 (Rose 307) + Theol. lat. fol. 362 (Rose 308) + Bonn, UB, S. 367 (fol. 110) + Düsseldorf, UB, Fgm. K 2: C 119: (s. ix¹, prob. Werden): Bischoff, *Katalog*, cit. no. 458; Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog*, p. 31; facs. Drögereit, *Werden und Heliand*, p. 25, Taf. 5.

³⁵ Bischoff, in his review of Drögereit, takes its absence from all books of Werden origin, plus its presence in other books from other Anglo-Saxon centres on the Continent, like Fulda and Würzburg, as against hooked **x** being a Werden 'symptom'. While any attempt to define the Insular script of Werden by a single letter-form is rash, if corroborated by provenance, and other elements of script, specimens which contain this hooked **x** may be ascribed to Werden. For Bischoff's doubts see *Anzeiger*, p. 8; but cf. Barker-Benfield, 'Werden "Heptateuch"', pp. 50, n. 29 and 57, n. 67, who qualifies some of Bischoff's conclusions.

Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* (K 1: B 213) in a small Anglo-Saxon cursive minuscule; and though Barker-Benfield suggested as possible the identification of script with a palimpsest now at Bonn (S 366, fols. 34, 41), the hand strikes me as identical.³⁶ That this Gregory fragment was written at Werden, not brought from elsewhere, is suggested by provenance and by its similarity to the script of further Düsseldorf fragments recovered from Werden incunabula: a bifolium of Bede's *Homiliae* (K 16: Z 4/2);³⁷ also, a single folio of Jerome's *Commentarii in Isaiam* (K 19: Z 8/1);³⁸ and four leaves of Gallican canon laws from the *Collectio Quesnelliana* (K 2: E 32).³⁹ Generically similar, if not so closely allied as the rest, is a single leaf of a sermon by Pseudo-Augustine (K 16: Z 4/1).⁴⁰ All of these came from small religious houses which were dependent houses of the abbey of Werden in the sixteenth century.

The closest match, in my opinion, is the cursive script and initials of Bede's *Homiliae* and Jerome's *in Isaiam* fragments. Shared features include the pointed **a**, two forms of **d**, **i** elongated (*i-longa*) in initial position, open head **q** angled back in 'reversed' ductus, the lower left stroke of **x** that ends in a hairline loop, ascenders that end in small wedges and descenders that lean slightly to the right, all of which are in the *Homiliae*. Similarities in Jerome are the two forms of **d**, the 'reversed' ductus **e** in ligature, the **g** with protruding chest, and **-si** ligature with subscript **-i** like the form used for **fi** in other scripts. The Bloomington-Düsseldorf fragment has features in common enough with both specimens to meet the requirements of a generic type. Thus evidence exists for a distinctive type of cursive minuscule being practised at Werden.

³⁶ Gregorius, M., *Dialogi* (f): Bonn, UB, S 366 (fols. 34/41) + Düsseldorf, UB, K 1: B 213 (s. viii/ix or ix in., prob. Werden): *CLA*, 8 1070 + 1186; Bischoff, *Katalog*, cit. no. 653 + 1068; Gneuss, *Handlist Add. 2*, cit. no. 818.7; facs., Düsseldorf leaf, see Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog*, p. 26, Abb. 3. Further discussion, Barker-Benfield, 'The Werden Heptateuch', p. 55, n. 52; also, *Das Jahrtausend der Mönche*, p. 56. The identity suggests itself by the use of the same thick, ruddy brown parchment; the same single bounding lines each one has; similarity of letter-forms generally and particularly the distinctive form of **l** projected below the line; similarities of ligatures, including the distinctive **tio**, as well as abbreviated forms.

³⁷ Bede, *Homiliae* (f): Düsseldorf, UB, K 16: Z 4/2 (s. viii/ix, or ix in., prob. Werden): *CLA*, S 1688; not in Bischoff, *Katalog*; facs., Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog*, pp. 52–3, Abb. 21. Further discussion, Barker-Benfield, 'The Werden Heptateuch', p. 55, n. 51; *Das Jahrtausend der Mönche*, pp. 56 and 375 (here in error under K 16: Z 4/3).

³⁸ Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam* (f): Düsseldorf, UB, K 19: Z 8/1 (s. viii ex. or viii/ix, prob. Werden): *CLA*, S 1686; Bischoff, *Katalog*, cit. no. 1080 (dated s. viii/ix or ix in.); facs., *Das Jahrtausend der Mönche*, p. 374, cit. no. 80. Further discussion, Barker-Benfield, 'The Werden Heptateuch', p. 54, n. 51; Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog*, p. 58.

³⁹ *Canonum Collectio Quesnelliana* (f): Düsseldorf, UB, K 2: E 32 (s. viii ex., or viii/ix, prob. Werden): *CLA*, 8 1188; Bischoff, *Katalog*, cit. no. 1072; facs., Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog*, pp. 32–3, Abb. 7. Further discussion, Barker-Benfield, 'The Werden Heptateuch', p. 54, n. 50.

⁴⁰ Pseudo-Augustinus, *Sermones* (f): Düsseldorf, UB, K 16 (s. viii/ix, or ix in., prob. Werden): for further discussion see Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog*, pp. 51–2, Abb. 20.

TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

The text of the Bloomington-Düsseldorf fragment is of sufficient interest to deserve detailed consideration here. The main part of the text reports a dying man's vision (*HE*, v.13); the initial words being: 'Sed miserabiliter . . .', the final words: '. . . et quorum tecta sunt peccata . . .'.⁴¹ The passage takes up fifty-three and one half lines in Lapidge's edition; what precedes it fills eighteen lines. It is not clear how far the text extended originally. But given that what Bede wrote has suffered to be mutilated at the end, perhaps the start was excerpted in a similar way.⁴² Where Bede speaks of how he learned the story from Bishop Pehthelm, why he decided to include it in his *Historia*, 'simpliciter ob salutem legentium siue audientium' – indicating perhaps an explicit liturgical reading – these last few lines have been struck off. Instead, after 'peccata', where the extract ends, the word 'finit' is inserted. This is significant because it clearly differentiates the text of Bede from what follows, and so it proves that we are dealing here with an excerpt, which was at some point (perhaps soon after) augmented by another. The Augustine passage, in the identical handwriting, using the same ink, is introduced by this incipit: 'haec agustinus de annis xlvi . aedificationis templi .,.'; then, on the next line, an initial, crudely drawn, begins the text of *De diversis quaestionibus*. Thus it is plainly seen the technique of editing the compilation, like a series of cut-and-paste operations, with a single word, or group of words, added between extracts to aid textual identification.

With regard to the character of the text, for his edition *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, published in Oxford 1896, Plummer established that manuscripts of Bede fall into two main classes, called by him the M-type and the C-type (= Mynors' *m* and *c*; Lapidge's μ and κ), named after chief representatives of the tradition.⁴³ The textual history of Bede's *Historia* has been reconsidered by Professor Lapidge, in whose edition students will find all that is at present known about the origin and transmission of the work.⁴⁴ Most readings in the

⁴¹ *Beda: Storia degli Inglesi*, pp. 388–92. In *Gilding the Lilly*, p. 14, de Hamel misreports the opening words of the Bloomington leaf as 'Sed mirabiliter'.

⁴² At the head of the Bloomington leaf, the black, enlarged initial **S** is somewhat calligraphic, so may be seen as indicating the beginning of this extract; conversely, however, we might expect a similar short incipit prefacing the start of Bede, as we find at the start of the Augustine tract.

⁴³ *Venerabilis Baedae Historiam ecclesiasticam gentis Anglorum: Historiam abbatum ; Epistolam ad Ecgberctum ; una cum Historia abbatum auctore anonymo*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896) I, lxxx–cxlv; for discussion of the origin and early transmission of the text see the contribution by Mynors to *The Moore Bede: Cambridge University Library MS.Kk.5.16*, ed. P.H. Blair, with a contribution by R.A.B. Mynors, EEMF 9 (Copenhagen, 1959), 33–6, supplemented by his textual introduction in Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. xxxix–lxxvi.

⁴⁴ *Storia degli Inglesi I*, lxxxv–cxxvi; for significant additional facts about the manuscript tradition,

Bloomington-Düsseldorf fragment, when compared with the apparatus of Lapidge's edition, suggest that it belongs to his μ -recension. Characteristic readings of this family are to be seen in *Tunc* and *horrendae*, as against *Tum* and *horridae* which are characteristic of his κ -recension. But our fragment also carries a number of differences in form and spelling, word-order, or other variant readings, for which Lapidge's text offers no parallels. Besides orthographical variations (of these the more significant are given), the following list is keyed to text of Bede, *HE* v.13 (pp. 388–92, ed. Lapidge) by means of line-numbers to facilitate comparison:

(recto) ¹ *demoniaca* (for ¹⁹ *daemonica*); ² *ad docendum* (for ²¹ *ac docendum*); ³ *intra* (for ²¹ *intra-ret*); ⁴ *clamat statum miserabili* (for ²¹ *clamabat statim miserabili*); ⁵ *Paulo inquit ante* (for ²⁶ *Paulo ante inquit*); ⁶ *facie* (for ³⁶ *faciei*); ⁷ *uidebatur* (for ³⁶ *uidebatur eorum*); ⁸ *magnis* (for ³⁷ *magnitudinis*); ⁹ *uerba* (for ⁴⁰ *uerbo*); ¹⁰ *uomeres in manibus* (for ⁴⁷ *in manibus uomeres*).

Comparison of the verso with Lapidge's edition yields similar results:

(verso) ¹ *qui uidelicet uomeres modo* (for ⁴⁸ *qui uidelicet modo*); ² *ad inuicem* (for ⁴⁹ *ad se inuicem*); ³ *profruere* (for ⁵⁶ *profuere*); ⁴ *interitu* (for ⁵⁷ *interitum*); ⁵ *uacanc* (for ⁵⁸ *uacat*); ⁶ *per bonos siue per malos* (for ⁶⁰ *per bonos siue malos*); ⁷ *demones* (for ⁶⁵ *daemones*); ⁸ *tunc* (for ⁶⁷ *tamen*); ⁹ *adoliscencia* (for ⁶⁹ *adulescentia*); ¹⁰ *remisse* (for ⁷¹ *remissae*).

It is unnecessary to list all the variations; the selection provided is sufficient to show that the fragment contains several differences of reading peculiar to itself. It may be observed that the Augustine text and the Chicago leaf contain similar differences in number and type.

It may be that the amount of variation and the types of variants should be put down to the carelessness of our scribe. But one could object that some of them at least are due not to the scribe but to the exemplar from which he copied. While sure to offer some variations, the numerous points at which this extract has been corrected by a contemporary hand suggests that our scribe was more often than not to blame. Apart from variations in spelling, of the thirty-two places where (I count) the Bloomington-Düsseldorf extract to deviate from the edited text, there remain twelve uncorrected. The spelling itself shows much confusion of *e* and *ae*; *d* and *t*; *e* and *ei*; especially in the case of double letters; thus there is regular confusion of *f* and *ff*; *r* and *rr*; and the typically Insular misuse of *s* and *ss*. Further points include writing *inquit* for *inquit* throughout; and the frequent error of *qui* for *quae*.

see M. Lapidge, 'Beda Venerabilis', *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo* (Mediaeval Latin Texts and their Transmission), ed. P. Chiesa and L. Castaldi, 4 vols. (Florence, 2004–12) III, 44–137; also, *idem*, 'The Latin Exemplar of the Old English Bede', *Un tuo serto di fiori in man recando: scritti in onore di Maria Amalia D'Aronco*, ed. S. Serafin and P. Lendinara, 2 vols. (Udine, 2008) II, 235–46.

Correction of a word, syllable, or letter is indicated by a dot below, the supplement added above the line, for example, where *qui* is altered to *quia*, the `a' underpointed and set above the line; where *memonibus* is altered to *demonibus*, the `de' is underpointed and set above the line, and so forth. Sometimes the shapes of graphs are physically altered, notably the repeated correction of *qui* to *quae*, where *-i* is altered to *e-caudata* by a cursive flick of the pen. Graphs are sometimes inserted next to words, for example, the alteration from *Que* to *Quem*, where *-m* was added. The commonest technique of correcting is by erasing a letter or letters, for example, where *supersedit* was scraped away and replaced by *noluit*; where *perpulchrum* was replaced by *pulchrum* by erasing the *nota* for *per-*; *Surrgenstesque* replaced by *Surgentesque* by erasing second *-r-* and second *-s-*, and so on.⁴⁵ Curiously enough, even the most common abbreviations were bungled by our scribe; thus we find repeated correction from *quis* to *quid*, from *que* to *quem*, from *qui* to *quae*, from *qui* to *quia*, from *tui* to *cui*, and so on. Here we have yet another indication of the carelessness with which this fragment had been executed.

Basically, the Bloomington-Düsseldorf fragment belongs to Lapidge's μ -recension, but contains numerous smaller differences of reading. With regard to text-affinity, clearly the extract has not been derived from a manuscript of Lapidge's κ -recension, and, even at this early date, this may be significant. Thus it may be argued the text is more likely Northumbrian, perhaps continental, but is rather less likely to be of southern English provenance. Unfortunately, there is so little in this extract that convincing affiliation to any particular branch of the text-history is unlikely to be successful. Dr Westgard, who has undertaken extensive study of the transmission of Bede's works in England and the Continent, remarks that 'the variants in this short excerpt haven't enabled any easy identification . . . I see no conjunctive errors in this fragment that would allow me to link it to the main German family'.⁴⁶ But the

⁴⁵ It so happens that a few lines, on both recto and verso sides, have been erased near the foot of Düsseldorf. These are distinguishable as follows: (i) on the recto side, next to the last half-line, standing to the left of the words '*setunt me unus*', two curving parallel lines point to two hardly visible passages in the lower margin, with room for perhaps 10–15 characters; (ii) on the verso side, below the last line, immediately below the word '*similitudinem*', a single curving line leads down from the word '*fiunt*' in the penultimate line to an erased passage in the lower margin, with room for perhaps 20–25 characters. Even under special lighting, these passages are not capable of being read. I thank Marcus Vaillant of the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Düsseldorf, for attempting to read these passages for me.

⁴⁶ The archetype of the German text is discernible via its two earliest copies in (i) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 34 Weiss (Weissenburg s. viii ex.); and (ii) Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th., fol. 118 (Ebrach, s. ix med.). Since textual notes in modern critical editions are limited to reporting differences between the two main recensions (Lapidge's μ -type and κ -type) it is nearly impossible to conclude anything about individual

absence of German markers need not speak for an English pedigree, just as widespread diffusion of μ -type manuscripts on the Continent, from as early as the period around 800, should check further speculation.⁴⁷

Clearly the process of excerpting Bede's *Historia* began early, to judge by the date of our fragment. Laistner, in his *Hand-list of Bede Manuscripts*, gives a list of manuscripts in which this extract occurs.⁴⁸ Included are instances where it is found alone, for example, 'HE v.13 (dying man's vision)'; also together with others, for example, 'HE v.12–14 (Drythelm; two visions)' or 'HE v.13–15 (three visions)'.⁴⁹ Of the eleven witnesses listed by Laistner (though his list is not exhaustive), the Bloomington-Düsseldorf fragment turns out to be the earliest instance that has come down to us.⁵⁰ Whether or not the conjectured manuscript, to which our fragment belonged, originally contained other extracts from Bede, it is impossible to say. What can be said for the historical supply and demand for this extract, whether alone or in association with others, is that it had an extraordinary longevity and geographical spread rather out of keeping with its size.

For localization a weak *prima facie* case exists for Northumbria based on the provenance of the underlying version, as opposed to its place of manufacture, which was probably Werden. Of special interest, then, is another Northumbrian

heads of later branches of the textual tradition. The text collations conducted by Westgard for his Chapel Hill doctoral thesis omit this passage, so it is impossible to say if our extract belongs to any specific sub-group from within the larger German tradition. For further discussion, see J. A. Westgard, 'Dissemination and Reception of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* in Germany, ca. 731–1500' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, North Carolina Univ., 2005); also pers. comm.

⁴⁷ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, esp. pp. lxi–lxx.

⁴⁸ M. L. W. Laistner, with the collaboration of H. H. King, *A Hand-list of Bede manuscripts* (Ithaca, 1943), p. 108; also, K. W. Humphreys and A. S. C. Ross, 'Further Manuscripts of Bede's 'Historia Ecclesiastica,' of the 'Epistola Cuthberti de Obitu Bedae,' and further Anglo-Saxon Texts of 'Cædmon's Hymn' and 'Bede's Death Song', in *Ne&Q* 22:2 (1975), 50–5: not all of these extracts have been checked by me, but some of them at least represent the full chapter, not the extract before us.

⁴⁹ It may be unnecessary to point out Plummer's error in identifying this extract in Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A.V.39 (s. xiv, Basel), had it not escaped the notice of Humphreys and Ross (*ibid*, p. 51) for their work in adding to and correcting Laistner's *Hand-list*. The Basel codex is composed of two distinct volumes of which the first (fols. 1–52) indeed contains, on folios 37r–39r, an extract from Bede; the initial words being: "Quodam itaque temporaliter miraculum memorabile . . .", which is sufficient for the identification of it with Bede, HE v.12, i.e. Drythelm's vision. I thank Ueli Dill of the Universitätsbibliothek, Basel, for sending me a description of this codex.

⁵⁰ Given the potential of Laistner's *Hand-list* for effective study of Bede's work as a whole, Hardin Brown and Westgard have undertaken to produce a greatly expanded and revised version based upon a new attempt to systematically assemble and to organize all available manuscripts for Bede. For notice of the *Hand-list* update project see J. A. Westgard, 'A Database of Bede Manuscripts', in *AMARC Newsletter* 51 (2008), pp. 4–5.

witness to Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* now in Münster (UB, Fragmentkapsel 1, no. 3),⁵¹ containing *HE* iv.8–9 in a neat hand of the second half of the eighth century. Its medieval history is unknown, but Eckhard Freise has claimed that it came from a Werden incunable:

Das Münsterer Fragment ist aus einem Werdener Bucheinband des 15./16. Jahrhunderts ausgelöst worden . . . Die Provenienz des Fragments legt nahe, daß der (verlorene) Beda-Codex zur Bibliothek des Liudgeriden-Klosters Werden gehörte.⁵²

The Münster fragment is in a type of hybrid minuscule (Phase II, Type A) characterized by well-rounded letter-forms, a fairly straight headline, and the **oc** form of **a**; this is of interest because the **oc** form of **a** is a criterion by which Insular palaeographers would usually define a higher grade of Phase II half-uncial script. Similar palaeographical features may be observed in a group of books and fragments localizable to Northumbria via the Durham Cassiodorus.⁵³ More particularly, a case for York, as Garrison has argued, could be strengthened by a recent hypothesis proposed by Westgard, who believes that the conjectured lost codex, from which the Münster leaf derived, could be the archetype of a group of Bede's *Historia* manuscripts, known as the

⁵¹ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (f): Münster, Westfalen, UB, Fragmentkapsel 1, no. 3 (s. viii², Northumbria, ?York; prov. Werden by s. xiv/xv): Gneuss, *Handlist*, cit. no. 856.2; *CLA*, *Add.* 1848; facs., *Das Jahrtausend der Mönche*, p. 373; E. Freise, *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit II*, 490. For further discussion see E. Freise, 'Vom vorchristlichen Mimigernafornd zum "honestum monasterium" Liudgers', *Geschichte der Stadt Münster*, ed. F–J. Jakobi, 3 vols. (Münster, 1994) I, 1–51, at 35–40.

⁵² Freise, *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit II*, 490; but cf. Kiel (*Das Jahrtausend der Mönche*, p. 372), 'Obwohl das Münsteraner Fragment keinerlei Provenienz erkennen läßt, ist eine Herkunft aus den Werdener Bibliotheksbeständen, die im II. Weltkrieg in der ULB Münster verbrannt sind, am wahrscheinlichsten.'

⁵³ This Durham Cassiodorus group, with which Lowe repeatedly compared specimens of script and decoration, is represented by Cassiodorus, *In Psalmos*, Durham, Cathedral Library, B.II.30 (*CLA*, 2 152); Gospels (Luke, John), Cambridge, Univ. Library, Kk.1.24 + London, BL, Cotton Tiberius B. v. fols. 74, 76 and Sloane 1044, fol. 2 (*CLA*, 2 138); *Liber Sapientiae*, London, BL, Egerton 1046, fols. 17–31 (*CLA*, 2 194b). The Münster fragment, which is to be dated after A.D. 731 and before s. ix, resembles the Durham Cassiodorus more closely than it does Leiden, Universitätsbibliothek, Voss.Lat.F.4, fols. 4–33 (*CLA*, 10 1578), the Leiden Pliny, whose use of the animal hind-leg finial is notable because it is also found in the Durham Cassiodorus. Both scripts in both books belong to two successive phases in time, according to T.J. Brown, who assigns the Pliny to his Phase I and Cassiodorus to his Phase II. However, the Pliny is dated by Lowe to s. viii¹ and by Gneuss to s. viii^{1/3}; the Cassiodorus is dated by Lowe to s. viii med. and by Gneuss s. viii^{2/4}. The problem of dating and localising these books calls for further discussion of the matter by palaeographers. See Brown, 'The Irish Element', at p. 210; Gneuss, *Handlist*, cit. nos. 21, 237, 410, 838. I thank Mary Garrison for stimulating interesting discussion on this point.

Continuatio Bedae, which has included a set of annals for 732–66.⁵⁴ Assuming the archetype of the *Continuatio* can be reconstructed by collation of its extant copies, Westgard has argued from those copies' distribution, the provenance of the Münster leaf, together with a few 'local' references to York in the annals, that grounds exist for identifying this lost manuscript with the ancestor of the *Continuatio* group; this is no doubt a possibility, but remains to be worked out in print as a detailed argument.

If the *Continuatio* group was itself based on something like the lost Münster leaf codex, then the question which arises is the question of what relation (if any) does the text of Bloomington-Düsseldorf have to this lost eighth-century ancestor? The relevant portion is missing from the Münster leaf extract, so direct comparison is ruled out. Though evidence is currently lacking to judge what the *Continuatio* text-base would have looked like, its reconstruction could not fail to be instructive for the study of the 'continuation' of Bede generally. To me, I should say it looked improbable that the ancestor of the *Continuatio* text could be closely related to the Bloomington-Düsseldorf fragment, but I would be glad if it were proved otherwise.

One further possible implication of the Münster fragment hypothesis, depending upon the question of what precise date its ancestor crossed the Channel, is that Werden might have had in its library more than one copy of the same text.⁵⁵ However, it need not be assumed that the collection of texts from which the Bloomington-Düsseldorf leaf derived was first of all constructed at Werden: it may have been copied out of some older book which was itself made up of some or all of the individual texts. In an important sense, therefore, it is necessary to distinguish the extant fragments from the collection they attest. What about its provenance? I know no evidence for ascribing the work of compilation to Werden. Nor need we so much, from the purely textual point of view, think that the original was not produced in England. After all evidence from the text of Bede betrays a faint Northumbrian complexion and further indications from the Chicago leaf would seem suggestive of English descent.

The Chicago leaf reports extracts from two texts. On the recto is a part of a work, known as *Amtertraktat*, which is a school text on titles and duties of government officials. On the verso is a Pseudo-Boniface sermon, known

⁵⁴ J. A. Westgard, 'Traces of Bede?: The Moore Continuations, *Continuatio Bedae*', International Society of Anglo-Saxonists (ISAS) Biennial Conference, London, 30 July–4 August, 2007.

⁵⁵ I am grateful to Dr Westgard for calling my attention to this point; there is no reason why we need to assume that there might not have been multiple copies of the *Historia* at Werden from an early date, and this could explain why the text of our extract is not related to the text exhibited by Münster or its offspring.

as *De fide recta*, on the necessity of holding true Christian faith. Recent scholarship has traced and linked both texts to the Anglo-Saxon mission. The *Ämtertraktat*, which, on textual and codicological grounds, Barnwell says (though he calls it *De gradus Romanorum*) was transferred from England to the Continent via Anglo-Saxon missionaries, cannot be later than the early ninth century. While evidence is lacking for assigning a definite English origin, Barnwell sees the documents as educational in character and what lies behind them as based on some lost Northumbrian source for Anglo-Latin learning.⁵⁶ The Pseudo-Boniface sermon also has an Insular background, for, as Schmitz has noted, *De fide recta* embodies a passage from Alcuin's *De Fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis* and so reflects awareness of his writings or some common source from which they both drew.⁵⁷ If the link can be traced back to Alcuin or his circle, the composition can hardly be dated before the second half of eighth century, or much beyond the early ninth. By extension the collection as a whole looks as if it was put together out of extracts from various writers, yet at once it is apparent that the texts have a strong connexion between them. The whole thing has the appearance of having been put together out of smaller groups of related materials all of which emerge from a thoroughly Insular background.

The episode from Augustine (which was, incidentally, known to Bede)⁵⁸ contains no striking variant which has enabled me to fix the disposition of its text within the manuscript tradition. In 1975, Mutzenbecher identified a number of books and fragments in which this extract occurs.⁵⁹ Evidently he was unaware of the existence of this fragment which, like that from Bede, is the earliest example of the passage that has come down to us. Just like Bede, the process of excerpting Augustine began early; for example, a St.

⁵⁶ Barnwell, "Epistula Hieronimi de gradus Romanorum": an English School Book', p. 84.

⁵⁷ Schmitz, 'Bonifatius und Alcuin', esp. pp. 78–82; also see Meens, 'Christianization and the spoken word', p. 215.

⁵⁸ Bede made use of this very episode from Augustine's *De diversis quaestionibus* for allegorical interpretation in *In Ezram et Neemiam prophetas allegorica expositio*, then again for a homily on the Gospels: see Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 193, cit. no. 53. Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury also made use of this same episode for his historical exegesis of the life of Christ: see J. Stevenson, *The 'Laterculus Malalianus' and the School of Archbishop Theodore*, CSASE 14 (Cambridge, 1995), at pp. 138–9, 196–7. There is a twelfth century catalogue from Peterborough library (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163) in which the following entry occurs on fol. 251r: 'Augustinus de diuersis rebus', this could also be a copy of *De diversis quaestionibus*: see *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues* 8: Peterborough Abbey, ed. K. Friis-Jensen and J. M. W. Willoughby (London, 2001), BP2 cit. no. 44b. If there were nothing else to prove that *De diversis quaestionibus* had a long tradition in England, it could be established by reference to these lost exemplars.

⁵⁹ Mutzenbecher, *De diversis quaestionibus*, at pp. 1–lxvii.

Gall manuscript of the early ninth century (Stiftsbibliothek, 154, pp. 391–2),⁶⁰ contains this same passage, with which it shares a few interesting, if inconclusive, variants. What little there is carries some smaller differences not found in Mutzenbecher's text. In sum the Augustine extract bears no obvious traces of its internal history let alone the textual province from which its version is derived.

CONCLUSION

Written at Werden, in the first half of the ninth century, the extant fragments attest a now-lost codex which was probably not the compiler's own. Its errors suggest that the texts are copies from which it follows that all of them had an earlier written history. But here we have them in an Insular hand which may be dated to the ninth century; in a copy which is not likely to be the pristine text, and which seems to represent originals reaching back into the eighth century. Such *florilegia* are not unheard of and appear early in the manuscript record.⁶¹ I would surmise that a collection so attested may be set within a context of that great period of Anglo-Saxon influence on the Continent during the reign of Charlemagne. Of the name of the scriptorium where the compilation was made, we are wholly ignorant. But it is important to consider the evidence from fragments for such collections of excerpts, because they are often valuable repositories of useful information for the study of the history of Anglo-Saxon writing.⁶²

⁶⁰ This ninth-century folio-sized manuscript, denoted as *g* by Mutzenbecher, falls naturally into two distinct volumes, of which the second contains extracts from *De diversis quaestionibus*: lib. I capp. lviii, lxi, lx, lix, lxiv, lxv, lxii, lvi, lvii 1–2. For a list of contents, see Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, p. 58; also, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, Bd. 9 in 2 vols. Schweiz, ed. S. Janner and R. Jurot (Vienna, 2001) I, 130.

⁶¹ We have evidence for such a collection in the ninth-century library at Reichenau, for example, where we find described in the catalogue of books probably written between 835 and 842 a codex that contains, amongst other items, '... nonnullae visiones excerptae de libris gestorum Anglorum Bedae . . .'. For an edition of the catalogue, see *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, Bd. 1. Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur ed. P. Lehmann (Munich 1918), p. 259.

⁶² The help which I have received from scholars on special points is acknowledged in the proper place in the work. It remains to therefore express my thanks to those who must be mentioned more particularly here: I wish to thank David Ganz, Mary Garrison, Tadashi Kotake, Rob Meens, Jane Roberts, Tessa Webber, Josh Westgard. Since it is hardly possible that there should not be slips and errors, I should hasten to add that any errors are my own responsibility.

Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library, Ricketts 177:

(recto). Sed miserabiliter ut *post* patuit demoniaca^a fraude seductus . Cumque morbo ingrauescente denuo . ad eum uisitandum ad^b docendum . rex intrat^c ., clamat^d statim^e miserabili uoce ., Quid^f uis modo quid huc uenisti ., Non enim mihi aliquid utilitatis aut salutis potes ultra conferre ., At ille noli inquit^g . ita loqui uide ut sanum sapias ., Non inquit^g insanio sed pessimam mihi scientiam certus *prae* oculis habeo *et quid* inquit^g hoc *est* ., ^hPaulo inquit ante^h intrauerunt domum hanc duo pulcherrimi . iuuenes ., et *sederunt*ⁱ circa me unus ad capudⁱ *et* unus ad pedes ., Protulitque unus libellum^k pulchrum^l sed uehementer modicum ac mihi ad legendum . dedit in quo omnia quae^m umquam bona feceram intuens scripta repperi ., Et haec erant nimium . pauca *et* modica receperunt codicem . neque aliquid mihi dicebant ., Tum subito superuenit exercitus malignorum *et* horridorum uultu spirituum ; Domumque hanc *et* exterius obsedit *et* intus . maxima ex parte residens impleuit ., Tuncⁿ ille qui et obscuritate tenebrosae facie^o *et* primatu sedis maior esse uidebatur^p . Proferens codicem horrendae^q uisionis . . .^r

Düsseldorf, UB, Fragm. K 1: B 216:

. . . *et* magnis^a enormis *et* ponderis pene^b inportabilis^c ., Iussit uni ex satellitibus suis mihi . ad legendum . deferre^d ., Quem^e cum legissem inuenio^f omnia scelera . non solum quae^g opere uel uerba^h ., Sed etiam quaeⁱ tenuissima cogitatione peccaui manifestissime^j in eo tetricis esse descripta litteris ., Dicebatque^k ad illos qui mihi adsederant^l uiros albatos *et* *praeclaros* . Quid hic sedetis scientes^m certissimeⁿ qui^o a^o *noster est* iste ., Responderunt uerum dicitis accipite *et* in cumulum damnationis uestrae ducite ; Quo dicto statim dissipauerunt^p ., Surgentesque^q duo nequissimi spiritus habentes^r uomeres in manibus^r perusserunt me unus^s in capite *et* alius in pede ; . . .^t

MS Ricketts 177:

^a *daemonica* edd. ^b *ac* edd. ^c *intraret* edd.; the scribe wrote *intrat*, with a suspension over the final *-t*. ^d *clamabat* edd. ^e *statum* originally; the *-u* altered hence. ^f *Quis* originally; long-*s* erased and overwritten. ^g *inquit* edd.; here and in what follows the scribe writes *inquit* for *inquit*. ^h...^h *Paulo ante inquit* edd. ⁱ sic LB; *resederunt* M; *residerunt* KCO; altered to *residerant* C. ^j *capud* edd. ^k *libelli* originally; *-i* erased, the letter *-u* with a suspension mark written hence. ^l *perpulebrum* edd.; the shorthand nota for *per-* has been erased hence. ^m *qui* originally; the *-i* has been altered to *e-caudata*. ⁿ *Tunc*; *Tum* KCO. ^o *faciei* edd. ^p *uidebatur eorum* edd. ^q *horrendae*; *horridae* KCO.

Fragm. K 1: B216:

^a *magnitudinis* edd. ^b sic Plummer, Mynors; *paene* Lapidge. ^c sic Plummer, Mynors; *importabilis* Lapidge. ^d *deferre* edd. ^e *Que* originally; the letter *-m* has been added. ^f sic Mynors, Lapidge; *inueni* Plummer. ^g *qui* originally; *-i* has been altered to *e-caudata*. ^h *uerbo* edd. ⁱ *qui* originally; *-i* has been altered to *e-caudata*. ^j the letters *ma-* have been written in the margin. ^k the cross-stroke on *-t* is missing or erased. ^l sic Plummer, Mynors; *assederant* Lapidge. ^m the letter *-i* stands in erasure. ⁿ the letter *-t* stands in erasure. ^o *qui* originally; the *ˆa* has been underpointed and set above the line. ^p *disparuerunt* edd. ^q *Surgentesque* originally; the second *-r-* and the second *-s-* have been erased hence. ^r...^r *in manibus uomeres* edd. ^s the second letter *-u* is standing in erasure. ^t near the foot of the leaf two no longer readable passages in the hand of the scribe have been erased.

Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library, Ricketts 177:

(verso) . . . qui uidelicet uomerēs^a modo cum magno tormento inrepunt^b in interiora . corporis mei ., Moxque ut ad^c inuicem perueniunt moriar ., et paratis ad rapiendum me `de` monibus^d in inferni claustra pertrahar ., Sic loquebatur miser desperans^e et non multo post defunctus ., . Paenitentiam quam ad breue tempus cum fructu ueniae facere noluit^f in aeternum sine fructu poenis subditus facit ., De quo constat qui^g a^g sicut beatus papa Gregorius de quibusdam scribit non pro se ista cui^h non profuereⁱ sed pro aliis uiderit ., Qui eius interitu^j cognoscentes^k differre tempus paenitentiae dum uacant^l timerent ., Ne inprouiso mortis articulo praeuerti^m inpaenitentes perirent ., Quod autem codices diuersos per bonos siue perⁿ malos spiritus sibi uidit offerri ., Ob id suprema dispensatione factum est ut meminerimus facta et cogitationes nostras non in uentum diffluere^o ., Sed ad examen summi Iudicis cuncta seruari ., et siue per amicos angelos in fine nobis ostendenda siue per hostes ., Quod uero prius candidum codicem protulerunt angeli deinde atrum demones^p ., Illi perparuum isti enormem ., Animaduertendum est quod^q in prima^r aetate bona . . .’

Düsseldorf, UB, Fragm. K 1: B 216:

‘. . . aliqua fecit ., quae tunc^a uniuersa prae agendo^b iuuenis obnubilauit ., Qui si e contrario errores perueritiae . corrigere in adolescentia^c ac bene faciendo a Deo oculis . abscondere curasset^d posset eorum numero sociari^e ., De quibus ait . psalmus ., Beati . quorum remissae sunt iniquitates et quorum tecta sunt peccata ., finit^f .’

MS Ricketts 177:

^a om. edd.; it seems probable, for reasons of aspect and duct, that this word was added later. ^b sic Plummer, Mynors; *inrepunt* Lapidge. ^c *ad se* edd. ^d *daemonibus* edd.; originally *memonibus*, the `de` has been underpointed and set above the line. ^e originally *desperans*; dittography caused by a line break, the *-r* has been erased hence. ^f *supersedit* edd.; altered from *supersedit* originally, to judge from the space and three descenders still visible. ^g *qui* originally; the `a` is underpointed. ^h originally *tui*; cross-stroke of *-t* crudely altered. ⁱ *profuere* edd. ^j *interitum* edd. ^k the second *-c-* drops below the baseline; there appears to be an erasure following. ^l *uacat* edd. ^m after the letter *-n-* a minim has been inefficiently erased. ⁿ om. edd. ^o sic edd.; *defluere* M. ^p *daemones* edd. ^q sic edd. difficult to read; the suspension-stroke traversing obliquely the shaft of the *q* is visible on the Fragm. K 1: B216. ^r the letter *-a* is underslung but visible on the lower portion.

Fragm. K 1: B216:

^a *tamen* edd. ^b *-o-* is perhaps standing in erasure. ^c *adulescentia* edd. ^d originally *currasset*; the first *-r-* has been erased hence. ^e originally *sacari*; the *-a-* has been underpointed and struck through, with *-o-* added above. ^f om. edd. Five and one half lines (the whole remainder of the column) follow in the manuscript; these transmit part of a text attributed to St Augustine known as *De annis quadraginta sex aedificati templi*. Near the foot of the leaf, a no longer readable half line of text in the hand of the scribe has been erased.

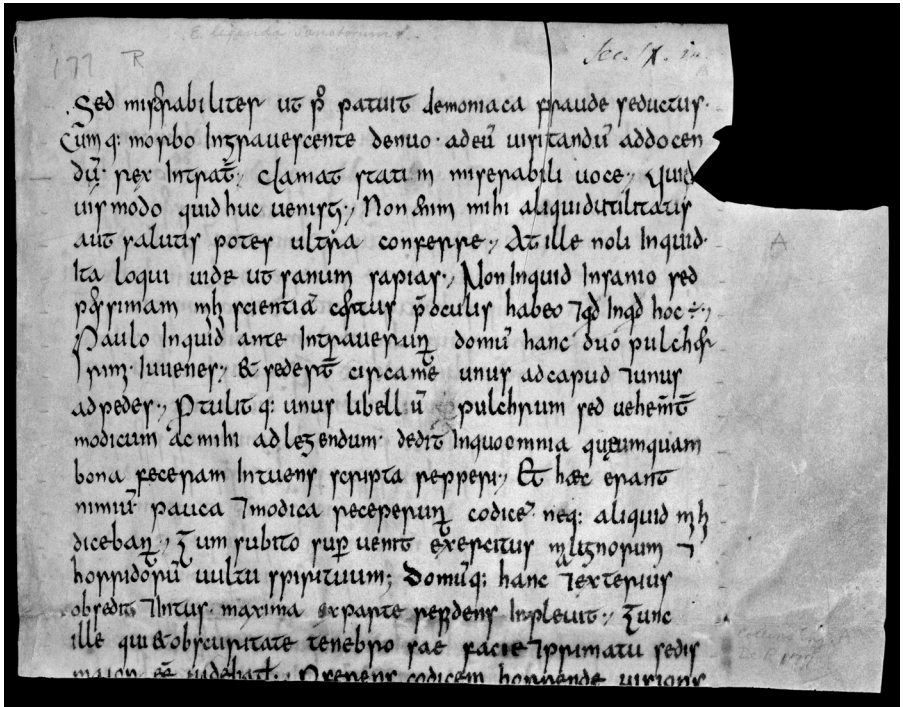


Fig. 1 Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library, Ricketts 177 (recto)

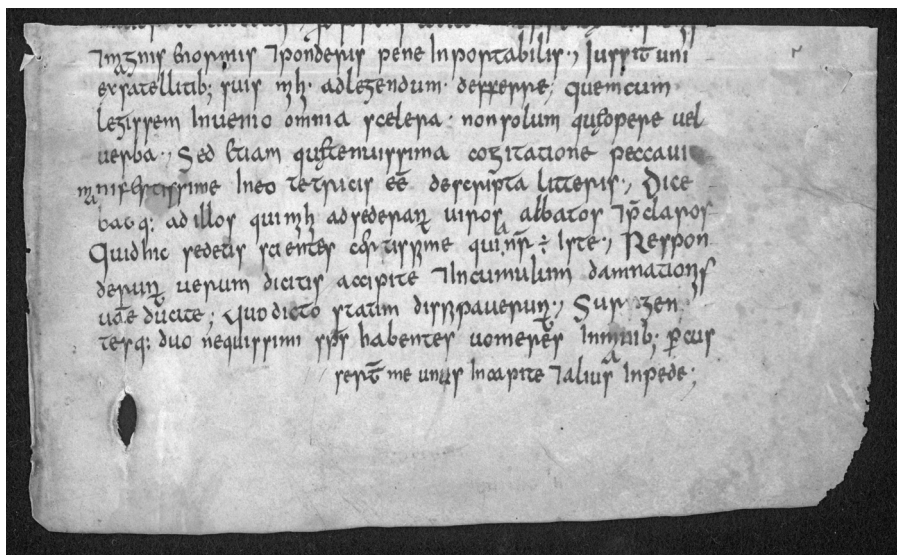


Fig. 2 Düsseldorf, UB, K 1: B 216 (recto)

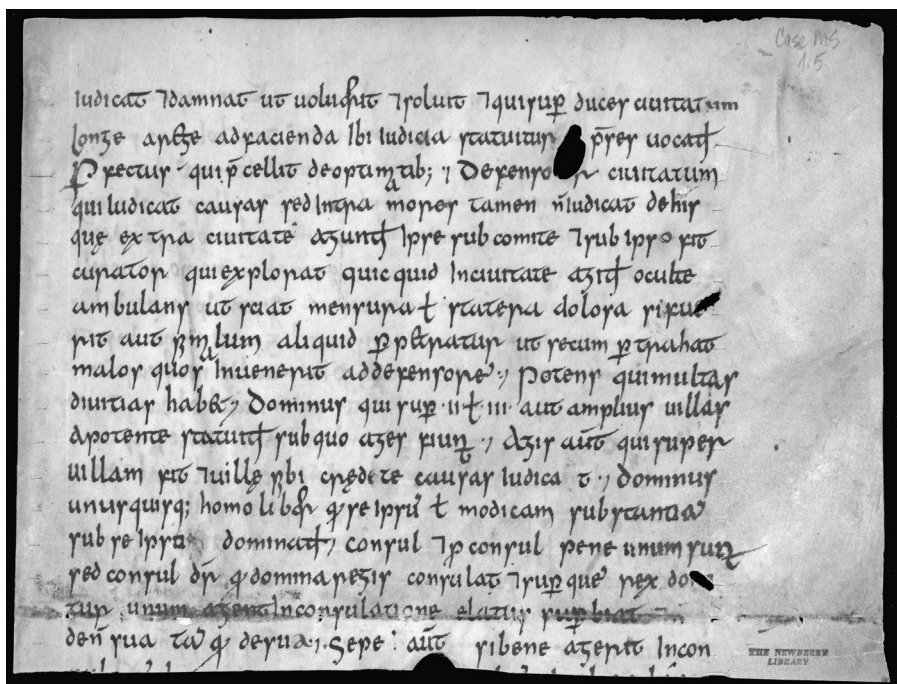


Fig. 3 Chicago, Newberry Library, 1.5, Fgm. 9 (recto)