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Annotation of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville in Its Early Medieval Context

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ABSTRACT. — This article provides an overview of the annotated pre-1200 manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville and discusses the nature and character of the annotation of this work. It shows that the *Etymologiae* was annotated principally in the early Middle Ages. The glossing took place in three contexts: in the insular world, perhaps in the aftermath of the arrival of Isidore's encyclopaedia in Ireland; in Carolingian northern France as a result of the introduction of *Etym. I (De grammatica)* into schools; and by scholarly readers in pre-Carolingian, Carolingian and Ottonian northern Italy. To a lesser extent, the *Etymologiae* was also annotated in the German area and northern Spain. The three main strains of annotation can be discerned because of their interest in different sections of the *Etymologiae* and because of distinct patterns of glossing they left behind. The intermixing of the three strains was exceptionally limited. The only region where it is attested is Brittany. The differences between regions and the limited circulation of glosses beyond their region of origin suggest that there existed several distinct reception frameworks for the *Etymologiae* in the early Middle Ages. The article is accompanied by a list of 45 most important annotated pre-1200 manuscripts of the *Etymologiae*.

RÉSUMÉ. — Cet article propose un inventaire des manuscrits annotés des *Etymologies* d'Isidore de Séville antérieurs à 1200. Il commente la nature et le contenu des annotations, en montrant que les *Etymologies* ont été surtout annotées pendant la période du haut Moyen Âge. On distingue trois contextes d'annotation différents: le monde insulaire, peut-être dans le sillage de l'introduction de cette encyclopédie d'Isidore en Irlande; la France du Nord carolingienne, après l'introduction dans les écoles du *De grammatica (Etymologies I)*; et les érudits d'Italie du Nord pré-carolingienne et carolingienne. Dans une moindre mesure, les *Etymologies* furent aussi annotées dans l'espace germanique et l'Espagne septentrionale. Les trois principaux contextes d'annotation se distinguent les uns des autres par leur intérêt pour des sections différentes des *Etymologies* et par des manières d'annoter différentes. Les interconnexions entre ces trois courants d'annotations sont très limitées. La seule région où un réel mélange se produit est la Bretagne. Les différences régionales et la circulation limitée des gloses hors de leur région d'origine laissent penser qu'il existait plusieurs formes de réception différentes

des *Etymologies* au haut Moyen Âge. Cet article comporte une liste des 45 manuscrits annotés des *Etymologies* antérieurs à 1200 les plus importants.

The *Etymologiae* compiled by Isidore of Seville at the beginning of the 7th century was the most important medieval Latin encyclopaedic work¹. When Isidore died in 636, before the publication of his *magnum opus*, he could not

¹ This article was written in the context of VENI project *Innovating Knowledge: Isidore's Etymologiae in the Carolingian Period* funded by the Dutch Research Organization (NWO). I would like to thank Pádraic Moran, Ernesto Stagni, and Mariken Teeuwen for their valuable comments on an earlier draft of this article. Pádraic Moran was instrumental in providing me with insights into the Celtic gloss material, as were Jacopo Bisagni and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín. Martin Hellmann helped me with glosses in Tironian notes, while Andreas Nivergelt provided useful advice on dry-point glosses.

The literature on this seminal medieval knowledge work is too extensive to provide an exhaustive overview here. Some of the most important studies of the text of the *Etymologiae* include Jacques FONTAINE, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, 2nd éd., Paris, 1983; Mark E. AMSLER, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Amsterdam, 1989; John HENDERSON, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville: Truth from Words*, Cambridge, 2007; and Jacques ELFASSI, «Isidore of Seville and the *Etymologies*», in Andrew FEAR, Jamie WOOD (ed.), *A Companion to Isidore of Seville*, Leiden - Boston, 2020 (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 87), p. 245-278. The most important studies dealing with the reception and transmission of the *Etymologiae* include Charles Henry BEESON, *Isidor-Studien*, Munich, 1913 (*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, 4.2); August Eduard ANSPACH, «Das Fortleben Isidors im VII. bis IX. Jahrhundert», in *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, Rome, 1936, p. 322-356; Walter PORZIG, «Die Rezensionen der *Etymologiae* des Isidorus von Sevilla. Vorbemerkung», *Hermes*, 72/2, 1937, p. 129-170; Bernhard BISCHOFF, «Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla», in Manuel Cecilio DÍAZ Y DÍAZ (ed.), *Isidoriana. Collección de estudios sobre Isidoro de Sevilla*, León, 1961, p. 317-344; reprinted in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1966, p. 171-194; Marc REYDELLET, «La diffusion des *Origines d'Isidore de Séville au Haut Moyen âge*», *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 78/2, 1966, p. 383-437; Manuel Cecilio DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Los capítulos sobre los metales en las Etimologías de Isidoro de Sevilla*, León, 1970 (*La minería hispana a iberoamericana*, 7); Ulrich SCHINDEL, «Zur frühen Überlieferungsgeschichte der *Etymologiae* Isidors von Sevilla», *Studi medievali*, 29/2, 1988, p. 587-605; Carmen CODOÑER MERINO, «Isidorus Hispalensis ep. - Etymologiae», in Paolo CHIESA, Lucia CASTALDI (ed.), *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo / Medieval Texts and Their Transmission*, vol. 2, Florence, 2005, p. 274-417; Baudouin VAN DEN ABELE, «La tradition manuscrite des Étymologies d'Isidore de Séville», *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 16, 2008, p. 195-205; Carmen CODOÑER MERINO, «Transmisión y recepción de las "Etimologías"», in José MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, Óscar de la CRUZ PALMA, Cándida FERRERO HERNÁNDEZ (ed.), *Estudios de latín medieval hispánico. Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Latín Medieval Hispánico*, Florence, 2011, p. 5-26; and Carmen CARDELLA DE HARTMANN, «Uso y recepción de las *Etymologiae* de Isidoro», in Carmen CODOÑER MERINO, Paulo FARMHOUSE ALBERTO (ed.), *Wisigothica. After M. C. Díaz y Díaz*, Florence, 2014 (mediEVI, 3), p. 477-502. The most recent complete edition of the text remains Wallace M. LINDSAY, *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, 2 vol., Oxford, 1911. A volume-by-volume edition *cum translation* is being published by Belles Lettres since the 1970s. It was translated into English as Stephen A. BARNEY, *Etymologiae*, Cambridge, 2006; and more recently as Priscilla THROOP, *Isidore of Seville's Etymologies: the complete English translation of Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, Charlotte, VT, 2013.

foresee that his encyclopaedia will become a fixture of the medieval knowledge landscape. With more than 1 200 medieval manuscripts transmitting this work or its parts surviving, including more than 480 witnesses copied before the year 1000, it can be considered one of the medieval bestsellers². Before the mid-13th century, it held a virtual monopoly as the only widely available Latin encyclopaedic work in circulation, being thus not merely an encyclopaedia but rather the encyclopaedia of the earlier Middle Ages. Moreover, due to the broad range of topics that it treated, its linguistic and stylistic accessibility, and a relative lack of alternative sources of learning in certain medieval regions, the *Etymologiae* quickly transcended its encyclopaedic niche. Already in the 7th century, it was dissected into smaller texts, which circulated independently as self-standing handbooks, were absorbed into various technical manuals, and integrated into miscellanies³. The various appropriations of the *Etymologiae* that came into being in this manner in the early Middle Ages allowed Isidore's work to reach new audiences, assuming the function of a school text, instructional literature for clergy, and an introductory reading for various technical professions.

Given the broad appeal of the *Etymologiae*, it should come as no surprise that this text attracted annotations and that, moreover, most of them originated in the early Middle Ages⁴. This study analyses these early medieval annotations to the *Etymologiae*, focusing on the context of their origin, their circulation, and their value for the understanding of early medieval annotation practices. It is based on a corpus of approximately 7 000 annotations collected from

² This estimate is based on the most recent survey of the manuscripts of the *Etymologiae*, Evina STEINOVÁ, «The Oldest Manuscript Tradition of the *Etymologiae* (eighty years after A.E. Anspach)», *Visigothic Symposium*, 4, 2020, p. 100-143. See also the database of the pre-1000 manuscripts transmitting the *Etymologiae* at: innovatingknowledge.nl.

³ See C. CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, «Uso y recepción», p. 485.

⁴ Since what categories of marginalia are classified as annotations varies, it is useful to specify here that this article is concerned strictly with what may be considered interpretative textual marginalia. I do not pay attention to corrections, variant readings, and textual interpolations, which are characteristic of some families of the *Etymologiae*. I also exclude non-textual *marginalia* such as annotation symbols, diagrams and images, even though I describe signs present in particular manuscripts in the appendix. For the most part, the type of textual *marginalia* which is usually called marginal summaries, marginal tabs, or (if extensive and systematizing) marginal indices, i.e., short textual tags that call out the topics discussed in the main text, were also excluded from consideration. Since, however, in some cases, marginal summaries seem to reflect personal reading strategies of scholars rather than serving as general reading aids, I discuss several notable examples in the section of this article dedicated to scholarly annotation of the *Etymologiae*. Marginal summaries were defined and discussed among annotations for example in David GANZ, *The Literary Interests of the Abbey of Corbie in the First Half of the Ninth Century*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oxford, Oxford, 1980, p. 77; David GANZ, «Book production in the Carolingian empire and the spread of Caroline minuscule», in Rosamond MCKITTERICK (ed.), *The new Cambridge medieval history*, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1995, p. 786-808 (p. 796); Jesse KESKIAHO, «A Widespread Set of Late-Antique Annotations to Augustine's 'De Genesi ad litteram'», *Sacris erudiri*, 55, 2016, p. 79-128 (p. 95); and Evina STEINOVÁ, *Notam superponere studui. The use of annotation symbols in the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout, 2019 (*Bibliologia*, 52), p. 186-188.

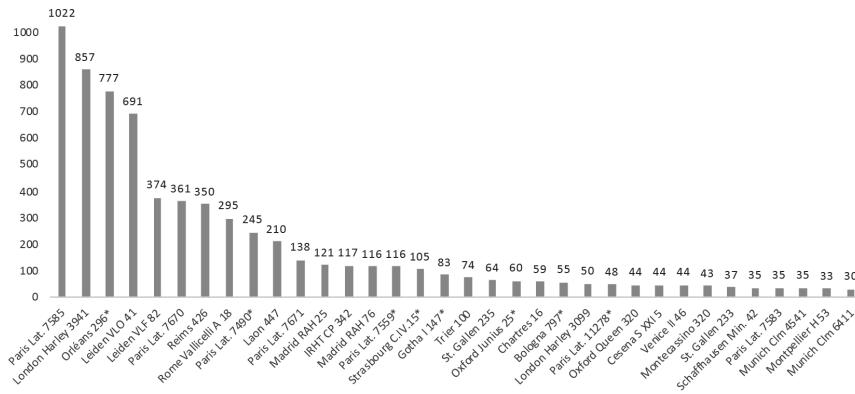
pre-1200 manuscripts transmitting the *Etymologiae* or its parts. The 45 most important annotated manuscripts are described in greater detail in an appendix to this article.

The volume of the annotations found in the manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* is relatively small compared to the volume of annotations to other texts popular in the early Middle Ages. The most heavily annotated pre-1200 manuscript of the *Etymologiae* was probably **Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 296**, a grammatical handbook transmitting book I of Isidore's work, which had been equipped with perhaps 1 500 annotations (only slightly more than 750 of the original annotations survive today due to the loss of folia)⁵. Only three other pre-1200 manuscripts transmitting Isidore's encyclopaedia partially or entirely contain more than 500 annotations: **Paris, BnF, Lat. 7585**, **London, British Library, Harley 3941**, and **Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. O 41**. Twelve manuscripts contain between 100 and 375 annotations and 18 codices between 30 and 100 annotations (see tab. 1). These 34 manuscripts represent the core set studied here. Beyond this core, fewer than 30 annotations can be found in other early medieval manuscripts and manuscript fragments of the *Etymologiae*, which may be considered a periphery of the set studied here. As far as we are willing to count even manuscripts that contain only one or two glosses to the *Etymologiae* among the annotated codices of this text, we may assume that as many as 80 pre-1200 manuscripts of this text with some annotations survive.

The chief value of the corpus of annotations examined here lies in the fact that the annotation of the *Etymologiae* had never outgrown the organic, spontaneous phase of their generation. We possess no early medieval commentary to the *Etymologiae*. Indeed, no pre-1200 manuscript preserves anything that could be seen as an attempt at a systematic exposition of this text⁶. The annotations to the *Etymologiae* rather reflect practical needs or isolated interests of different

⁵ By contrast, a single manuscript, the St. Gall Priscian (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 904), contains approximately 9 400 glosses to Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*, see the digital edition of the glosses in St. Gall Priscian published by Pádraic Moran at: <http://www.stgallpriscian.ie/>. Another 9th-century manuscript, **Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. F 48** contains more than 13 500 glosses to Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*. This number is based on the digital edition of the annotations in Leiden Martianus by Mariken Teeuwen, at: martianus.huygens.knaw.nl/martianu.

⁶ This difference between organic, spontaneous and systematic, controlled glossing can be compared to the distinction made between the *gloses de confection* and *marginalia de lecture* in Adolfo TURA, «Essai sur les *marginalia* en tant que pratique et documents», in Danielle JACQUART, Charles S. F. BURNETT (ed.), *Scientia in margine. Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, Genève, 2005 (*Sciences historiques et philologiques. Hautes études médiévales et modernes*, 88), p. 261-387 (p. 305-307). Tura's distinction of manuscripts with planned layers of annotations as opposed to those in which *marginalia* are secondary and unplanned, should be expanded beyond considering the design of a specific manuscript to the rationale of a specific set of annotations. i.e., whether they were intended to form a coherent textual unit and whether they reveal a planned and systematic composition or reflect rather a spontaneous, *ad hoc* engagement with a specific text, as is the case with all annotations to the *Etymologiae*.



Tab. 1: The approximate number of annotations in the annotated pre-1200 codices of the *Etymologiae* containing at least 30 glosses. Manuscripts marked with an asterisk are destroyed, damaged or fragments and therefore possibly contained more annotations.

individuals, circles, and institutions. They were produced to serve an immediate group of users, showing no trace of planning nor concern for preservation or transmission. Some of these spontaneous annotations ended up being preserved and transmitted; however, this was due to secondary processes at play after the initial phase of generation. In this respect, the annotations to the *Etymologiae* may reflect the typical manner in which annotations were generated, preserved and circulated in the early Middle Ages. While commentaries or other forms of systematic and controlled annotation of a text have attracted more attention of modern editors and scholars, we should assume that they were relatively rare in this period, restricted to certain genres of texts (e.g., Classical authors), and not entirely characteristic of the general conditions of annotation before the High Middle Ages.⁷

Thus, the early medieval annotations to the *Etymologiae* invite us to enter the messy ecosystem of glosses that do not amount to a commentary and cannot be even described as representing a specific tradition or family of annotation. We have to descend from the canopy of relatively clear-cut commentaries and annotation traditions into that thick and unruly undergrowth of glossing, where common threads and discernible patterns are far harder to see, and even distinctions between glosses to various authors and texts can be blurry. To find our

⁷ Compare with Michael BALDZUHN, *Schulbücher im Trivium des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit. Die Verschriftlichung von Unterricht in der Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte der «Fabulae» Avians und der deutschen «Disticha Catonis»*, vol. 1, Berlin, 2009, p. 43.

way, we can rely on their content only to a limited degree. Indeed, the textual similarities between the layers of annotations preserved in the manuscripts discussed below are so limited that little could be edited, albeit there is still much that can be published⁸. Nevertheless, even in the absence of a textual relationship between manuscripts, we can observe significant similarities among them as they reveal time and again the same patterns of emergence, preservation and transmission of annotations. In this study, therefore, content takes the back seat, and we are going to be guided by context – material, palaeographic, historical, and linguistic. In other words, we shall study annotation as a process rather than annotations as textual objects.

The general contours of the medieval annotations to the *Etymologiae*

The oldest datable layers of annotation of Isidore's *Etymologiae* stem from the 8th century⁹. The bulk of the surviving material comes from the 9th century.

⁸ The part of the corpus studied here consisting of glosses to book I of the *Etymologiae* is now published as Evina STEINOVÁ, Peter Boot, *The Glosses to the First Book of the Etymologiae of Isidore of Seville: a digital scholarly edition*, at: <https://db.innovatingknowledge.nl/edition/#left-home>. The digital edition contains textual analysis of these glosses paying attention to their sources and mutual textual relationship. The same material can be also found in the *Gloss Corpus*, at: <http://www.glossing.org/glosscorpus/collections.php>; and can be downloaded as a tabular data-sheet at: <https://zenodo.org/record/5359402>. Those who are interested in the content of the glosses discussed here are advised to read this article with these two digital resources at hand.

⁹ The oldest set of annotations that can be securely placed prior to the 9th century are the scholarly *marginalia* preserved today in **St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 233** and **St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 235**, two St. Gall codices from the beginning of the 9th century, which are discussed in detail in the section of this article dealing with scholarly annotations, as well as in **Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, Min. 43** (10th/11th century), which must have been copied from the same exemplar as the two 9th-century codices and therefore presumably produced at St. Gall. These *marginalia* originated in all likelihood in the second half of the 8th century in northern Italy. The corpus of glosses to the *Etymologiae* also contains several isolated glosses surviving in a manner that indicates their probable old origin. A corrupted marginal note can be found copied in ab-script by the main copyist of **Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, II 4856** (8th century, ex., Corbie) next to *Etym. I 3.5* on fol. 3r: «Fenices dicti a rubro mare <quod> perfecit in Siria, qui Sidon urbem inibi condiderunt. Unde et postea Sidones a civitate Sidon nuncupaverunt». It was almost certainly copied from the exemplar of this manuscript and therefore must date to the 8th century or earlier, as is also suggested by the presence of the same corrupted note in three other manuscripts not closely related to the Corbie manuscript: **Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 101** (9th century^{1-2/3}, Loire area, on fol. 2v as «[Phoenices dic]ti [a ru]bro [mare quod profec]ti in Siria [qui Sidonem] urbem inibi condi[derunt unde] et [p]oste[na] Sido[n]es a civitate Sidon [nuncupaverunt]»), **London, British Library, Arundel 129** (10th century, on fol. 2r as «Fenices dicti a rubro mare quod proficit (sic!) in Siriam quia Si[don] urbem inibi condiderunt»), and **München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4541** (9th century^{3/3}, Benediktbeuern, on fol. 6r as «Fenices dicti a rubro mare quod proficit (sic!) in Syriam qui Sidonem urbem ibi condiderunt unde et Lucan[us]»). A gloss to *eorum* in *Etym. I 39.10* («hoc est fortium») can be found integrated into the main text in at least ten ninth-century and tenth-century manuscripts, many of them with insular pedigree. Given its wide diffusion and

In the course of the Carolingian period, the spontaneous annotations, generated at different locations and for different purposes, began to be copied and assembled into more extensive collections of glosses. This accretion process can be seen as a particular organic trajectory of development that could have culminated in the emergence of a commentary-like, systematic exposition of the *Etymologiae*. However, such a critical point was never reached. Instead, once the glossing and accumulation of annotations reached a zenith at the end of the 9th century and during the 10th century, the energies of the annotators seem to have gradually dissipated, and their interest waned. Annotations fade from the manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* during the 11th century, appearing in ever smaller and less coherent batches. The most recent annotation layers to the *Etymologiae* were copied in the 12th century as a relic of the bygone age. Given this chronology, it should not come as a surprise that this study talks about early medieval annotations. Indeed, the annotation of the *Etymologiae* can be considered a feature that is specific to the early medieval reception of the *Etymologiae*¹⁰.

Most annotations found in the pre-1200 manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* are in Latin. Nevertheless, the corpus examined here also includes 220 Old High German, 45-48 Old Breton, 36 Old Irish, 9 Romance, and 6 Old English glosses¹¹. Based on this linguistic diversity, glossators evidently engaged

embedded state, it should, too, be considered relatively old with regards to its witnesses. It is also probable that some of the insular annotations attested in 9th-century manuscripts originated in 8th or even 7th centuries, but this cannot be proven given their fossilized state of preservation.

¹⁰ This is true specifically for glosses and other kinds of interpretative annotations, but not necessarily for other types of marginalia such as marginal summaries. Summaries and indices were added to encyclopaedic copies of the *Etymologiae* already in the early Middle Ages, but it seems that their use became more systematic in the High Middle Ages, perhaps as a consequence of the new developments in the reading practices and manuscript production. Pre-1000 marginal summaries can be found in **Paris Lat. 7585**, **Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, S.XXL5**, **Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 447**, and **Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1953** (9th century, 1/4, Orléans). High medieval marginal indices can be found, among others, in **Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Frigm. Lat. 42 + Paris Lat. 10403 (fol. 1)** (9th century, 1/2, Fulda, Anglo-Saxon minuscule), **Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. fol. 445** (8th/9th century, German Anglo-Saxon area, Anglo-Saxon minuscule), **Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. fol. 641** (9th century, med., northern Italy), **Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. F 74** (9th century^{2/4}, Fulda and Loire area), and **Paris Lat. 7583** (9th century, med., northern France).

¹¹ For the overview of known manuscripts transmitting the *Etymologiae* featuring Old High German annotations, see Andreas NIEVERGELT, «Isidor von Sevilla, Althochdeutsche Glossierung», in Rolf BERGMANN (ed.), *Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur*, Berlin, 2013, p. 195-203, and especially 'Isidor von Sevilla, *Etymologiae*', in *BStK Online. Datenbank der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften* at: <https://glossen.germ-ling.uni-bamberg.de/texts/19>. Most of these glosses were published in Eberhard Gottlieb GRAFF, *Diutiska. Denkmäler deutscher Sprache und Literatur, aus alten Handschriften*, vol. 2, Stuttgart, Tübingen, 1827, p. 192-194; Elias STEINMEYER, Eduard SIEVERS, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen. Glossen zu nichtbiblischen Schriften*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1882, p. 339-341; Elias STEINMEYER, Eduard SIEVERS, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen. Ergänzungen und Untersuchungen*, vol. 5, Berlin, 1922, p. 29; and Herbert THOMA, «Altdeutsches aus Londoner Handschriften», *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen*

with the *Etymologiae* in most of the regions of the early medieval Latin West. Considering the place of origin of the annotated manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* and the place of origin of the most heavily annotated codices, three regions can be recognized as the hotbeds of early medieval glossing of Isidore's encyclopaedia: the insular world, including the insular milieu on the continent, Carolingian northern France, and northern Italy. As the Old High German glosses indicate, annotation took place in the German region as well. However, since 105 of the 220 Old High German glosses appear in a single manuscript that was destroyed in the 19th century, **Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale, C IV 15** (10th/11th century, German area?)¹², it is difficult to assess today the importance and place of the German region for the production of annotations to the *Etymologiae*¹³. Remarkably, Spain alone emerges as almost entirely devoid of annotations to one of the most important literary works that the Iberian peninsula bequeathed to the medieval Latin West, although it needs to be added that one very interesting set of annotations emerged here in the 10th century.

Isidore's encyclopaedia is divided into twenty books, each dealing with a different topic.¹⁴ As can be guessed, not all of these received the same attention of early medieval annotators. Approximately two-thirds of the glosses in the

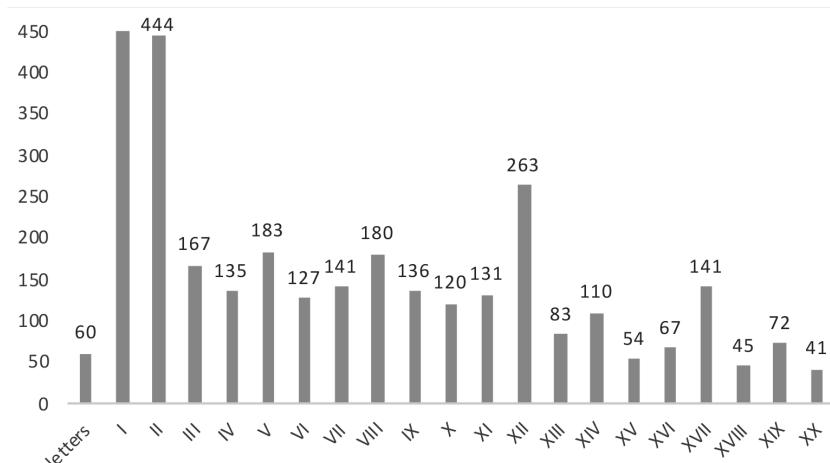
Sprache und Literatur, 73, 1951, p. 197-271 (p. 246-250). The Old Breton and Old Irish glosses were partially published in Ifor WILLIAMS, «Irische und Britannische Glossen», *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 21:1, 1940, p. 290-306; Léon FLEURIOT, «Gloses inédites en vieux-Breton», *Études Celtiques*, 16, 1979, p. 197-210; and Pierre-Yves LAMBERT, «Gloses celtiques à Isidore de Séville», in Peter ANREITER, Erzsébet JEREM (ed.), *Studia Celta et Indogermanica. Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid zum 70. Geburtstag*, Budapest, 1999, p. 187-200. The Old English glosses were published in H. D. MERITT, «Old English Glosses, Mostly Dry Point», *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 60/3, 1961, p. 441-450. The Romance material was not published previously.

¹² The dating of the ninth-century manuscripts in this article is principally based on Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, 4 vol., Wiesbaden, 2004-2014 (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe der mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz). If another source of dating was preferred, this is indicated in the appendix.

¹³ Most of the manuscripts annotated prior to the 13th century in one of the Germanic vernaculars contain only small amounts of annotations, often only two or three glosses. The Strasbourg manuscript with its 105 glosses is a unique exception. Other significant pre-1200 codices annotated in Old High German include **London, British Library, Harley 3099** (12th c.^{2/2}, German area) containing 44 contemporary Old High German glosses to *Etym.* XVII; **München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18192** (11th century, med., Tegernsee) containing 14 Old High German glosses mostly to *Etym.* XII, XVII, and XX added perhaps in the second half of the 11th century; **München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4541** (9th century^{3/3}, Benediktbeuern) containing 12 glosses taken over from München Clm 18192; and **Vatican, BAV, Pal. Lat. 281** (9th century, ½, perhaps Lorsch) equipped with 8 Old High German glosses to *Etym.* XII in the 10th century. These four manuscripts are also described in the appendix.

¹⁴ On an alternative division into fifteen books, see Veronika VON BÜREN, «La place du manuscrit Ambr. L 99 sup. dans la transmission des Étymologies d'Isidore de Séville», in Mirella FERRARI, Marco NAVONI (ed.), *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell'Ambrosiana*, Milan, 2007, p. 25-44.

corpus examined here (4 286 glosses collected from 54 manuscripts) belong to the first book of the *Etymologiae*, which is dedicated to grammar. In many complete copies of Isidore's encyclopaedia, annotations abruptly disappear after this book or significantly thin down. Nevertheless, all other books of the *Etymologiae* received some attention from early medieval glossators. In the order of the accumulative number of annotations found in them, the sections that attracted the most glosses include books II (rhetoric and dialectic, 444 annotations found in 15 manuscripts), XII (on animals, 263 annotations found in 11 manuscripts), V (laws and time-keeping, 183 annotations found in 13 manuscripts), VIII (heresies and pagan lore, 180 annotations found in 10 manuscripts), III (the *quadrivium*, 167 annotations found in 13 manuscripts), VII (God, angels, saints and Christians, 141 annotations found in 15 manuscripts), XVII (plants, 141 annotations found in 10 manuscripts), IX (peoples, languages, and government, 136 annotations found in 9 manuscripts), IV (medicine, 135 annotations found in 8 manuscripts) and XI (human body, 131 annotations found in 7 manuscripts). The least annotated sections appear in the second half of the *Etymologiae*, particularly among the last eight books, only one of which attracted more than 100 annotations (see tab. 2).



Tab. 2: Distribution of annotations to the *Etymologiae* by book. The number of annotations to book I (4 286) is not displayed here to avoid distorting the entire chart.

The fact that most of the annotations to the *Etymologiae* are glosses to book I (grammar) is a clear indication that the principal driving force behind the

annotation was its use in schools¹⁵. Two additional clues also allow us to place the annotation of certain manuscripts in a school context. In the first place, the encyclopaedic copies of Isidore's *magnum opus*, that is, manuscripts transmitting all twenty books as a single work, are not the only type of manuscripts transmitting the *Etymologiae* that were annotated. Annotations are also found in manuscripts in which excerpts or longer segments of the *Etymologiae* appear in a specialist context, providing us with obvious clues about the milieu in which they may have been annotated. The majority of these other manuscripts are either grammatical handbooks transmitting the first book of the *Etymologiae* as an *ars grammatica* next to the grammatical works of other authors or booklets containing only book I of the *Etymologiae*, which were presumably designed for use during the lessons¹⁶. We can, therefore, assume that they reflect annotation for school purposes (and in the latter cases perhaps even glossing in the classroom). Furthermore, some manuscripts display a peculiar pattern of annotation: their glosses were inserted in small batches by a large number of related hands working at around the same time. These hands usually appear only once and insert few glosses or copy them on a single page before disappearing. We know that scribes were sometimes trained in a scriptorium by copying small sections of text one by one under the supervision of a master scribe¹⁷. The characteristic

¹⁵ On the glossing for the purpose of school education, see Markus SCHIEGG, *Frühmittelalterliche Glossen. Ein Beitrag zur Funktionalität und Kontextualität mittelalterlicher Schriftlichkeit*, Heidelberg, 2015 (*Germanistische Bibliothek*, 52), p. 127-153.

¹⁶ On these manuscripts, see Paolo DE PAOLIS, «I codici miscellanei grammaticali altomedievali. Caratteristiche, funzione, destinazione», *Segno e testo*, 2, 2004, p. 183-212. On the transmission of the first book of the *Etymologiae* in grammatical context, see Hermann HAGEN, «De Isidoro grammatico», in Heinrich KEIL (ed.), *Grammatici latini. Supplementum*, vol. 8, Leipzig, 1870, p. ccv-cclvi; Max MANITIUS, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 1, Munich, 1911, p. 67; Louis HOLTZ, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IV^e-IX^e siècle)*, Paris, 1981, p. 260; Vivien A. LAW, *The insular Latin grammarians*, Woodbridge, 1987 (*Studies in Celtic History*, 3), p. 24; and C. CODOÑER MERINO, «Transmisión y recepción», p. 8. The first book of the *Etymologiae* was recently newly edited as Isidore de Séville, *Étymologies. Livre I. La grammaire*, éd. Olga SPEVAK, Paris, 2020 (*Auteurs latins du Moyen Âge*, 31).

¹⁷ Perhaps the most famous example is the manuscript copied by scribes-in-training under the auspices of master Dominicus from Tegernsee at the beginning of the 9th century, **München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6233**. Dominicus first copied a short passage as a model for his students and they then tried to continue in their untrained hands; see Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit. Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden, 1940 (*Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeit*, 49), p. 154; and David GANZ, «The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule», *Viator*, 18, 1987, p. 23-44 (p. 34). Other known examples of manuscripts copied by students under the supervision of a master scribe that reflect the characteristic pattern of copying stints include **Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 130**, **Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 132** and **Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 141** from Lorsch, and **Salzburg, St. Peter Stiftsbibliothek, A VII 33**, **München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5508** and **Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 795** from Salzburg; see D. GANZ, «Book production», p. 790; and D. GANZ, «The Preconditions for Caroline Minuscule», p. 34-35.

palaeographic pattern left behind by such a division of labour closely resembles the layering of annotation described above. It is, thus, highly suggestive of a group working on a manuscript under a watchful eye of a master, here presumably being students annotating a manuscript in the context of a classroom lesson. While not all manuscripts annotated by a large number of hands that inserted a small number of annotations are schoolbooks, we can reasonably assume this to be the case if these manuscripts also fit other criteria tying them to schools, such as the fact that their topic is the discipline of Latin grammar¹⁸.

We can identify several other contexts in which Isidore's encyclopaedia was annotated. Some of the encyclopaedic copies of the *Etymologiae* contain long interpretative or even speculative annotations and elaborate cross-references to other works. Such enriching, sophisticated annotations provide an important clue that some early medieval scholars annotated Isidore's encyclopaedia in the context of their study¹⁹. In several cases, we can connect specific scholarly layers of annotations with names of known *literati*, such as the annotations in **Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, A 18** (12th century, Italy) known as the *scholia Vallicelliana*, which can be attributed to Paul the Deacon²⁰. Other examples are the annotations in **Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 447** (9th century^{21/4}, Mainz), which are connected with the circle of the Irishman Probus of Mainz²¹, and the marginal summaries in **Vercelli, Biblioteca capitolare, MS CII (61)** (9th/10th century, Lyon), with which bishop Leo of Vercelli is connected²². In other cases, no name can be attached to a certain set of annotations, but their scholarly character is tangible due to their sophistication: they stand out against the majority of the annotations, which for more than 90% constitutes of

¹⁸ I will be using the term schoolbook here to refer to manuscripts connected with schools, irrespectively of whether they were employed directly in the classroom during the lessons, or represent teachers' books and model manuals. For the use of the term schoolbook in the context of manuscript studies and the discussion about the difference between schoolbooks and classbooks, see Michael BALDZUHN, «Schoolbooks», in Albrecht CLASSEN (ed.), *Handbook of medieval studies. Terms - methods - trends*, vol. 3, Berlin, 2011, p. 2061-2069.

¹⁹ For private study as a context of annotations, see M. SCHIEGG, *Frühmittelalterliche Glossen*, p. 169-178.

²⁰ For the connection between the *scholia Vallicelliana* and Paul the Deacon, see Claudia VILLA, «Uno schedario di Paolo Diacono. Festo e Grauso di Ceneda», *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 27, 1984, p. 56-80. The *scholia* were edited in Joshua WHATMOUGH, «Scholia in Isidori Etymologias Vallicelliana», *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 2, 1925, p. 57-75 and p. 135-169. See also the earlier report, Wallace M. LINDSAY, «New evidence for the text of Festus», *The Classical Quarterly*, 10, 1916, p. 106-115.

²¹ See Bernhard BISCHOFF, «Irische Schreiber im Karolingerreich», in René ROQUES (ed.), *Jean Scot Erigène et l'histoire de la philosophie*, Paris, 1977 (Colloques internationaux de CNRS, 561), p. 47-58 (p. 50); reprinted in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 3, Stuttgart, 1981, p. 39-54; and John J. CONTRENI, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: its manuscripts and masters*, Munich, 1978 (*Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung*, 29), p. 92-93.

²² See Simona GAVINELLI, «Leone di Vercelli postillatore di codici», *Aevum*, 75, 2001, p. 233-262.

relatively simple, lexical, grammatical and syntactic glosses²³. In contrast to the long and sophisticated ‘scholarly annotations’, the simpler types of annotations appear across all types of codices, including those containing annotations with scholarly pedigree. There is no reason to think of them as pertaining to a specific context of annotation, such as schools, but rather we should consider them broadly typical of the early medieval *modus adnotandi*²⁴.

At least some of the manuscripts in the corpus were annotated during the process of their copying or shortly thereafter in the scriptorium that produced them²⁵. This is evident when annotations in a manuscript were copied by the same hands that also copied the main text or when they become embedded in it²⁶. Sometimes, the presence of copied annotations indicates that they were taken over from an annotated exemplar, a scenario which can be substantiated in those cases when this exemplar survives (as is the case of **Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, S.XXI.5** and its direct copy, **Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, II 46**) or because we possess manuscripts with identical sets of copied annotations that share a parent (as is the case with siblings **St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 233** and **St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 235** and **Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, MS 25** and **Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia**,

²³ This is, for example, the case of the annotations in **Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, S.XXI.5** and **Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, MS LIII (37)**, which consist of long excerpts from rare texts; see Anna BELLETTINI, «Il codice del sec. IX di Cesena, Malatestiano S. XXI.5: le «Etymologiae» di Isidoro, testi minori e glosse di età ottoniana», *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 45, 2004, p. 49-114; and Mirella FERRARI, «Il postillatore dell’anno Mille e la Biblioteca Capitolare d’Ivrea», in Vincenzo FERA, Giacomo FERRAU, Silvia RIZZO (ed.), *Talking to the Text. Marginalia from Papyri to Print*, vol. 1, Messina, 2002, p. 167-201.

²⁴ I use the terms lexical, grammatical and syntactical glosses in the same meaning as Gernot R. WIELAND, «The glossed manuscript: classbook or library book?», *Anglo-Saxon England*, 14, 1985, p. 153-173 (p. 155). See also Sinéad O’SULLIVAN, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius’ Psychomachia. The Weitz Tradition*, Leiden, 2004, p. 85-89.

²⁵ On the scriptorium as a *locus* of annotation, see M. SCHIEGG, *Frühmittelalterliche Glossen*, p. 187-208.

²⁶ I found embedded annotations in eleven of the manuscripts examined in this article. They are particularly notable in **Paris Lat. 7585**, in which I was able to identify 28 embedded annotations in book I alone. It is clear that this manuscript contains other embedded annotations copied from its exemplar, which remain to be identified. It is also clear that some of the interpolations found in manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* began their life as annotations that moved into the main text of Isidore. This process of this ‘gloss drift’ can be demonstrated on the case of the grammatical treatise of the so-called *De vitiis* of Isidorus Junior. Snippets of this grammatical treatise which appear as marginal notes in **Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes, BVMM, Collections privées, digitisation of CP 342** (olim Phillipps 2129) (10th century, northern France/Belgium), **Paris Lat. 7671** (9th century, med., north-eastern France), **Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. F 82** (9th century, in., St. Germain des Pres), **Harley 3941**, and **Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, Min. 42** (9th c., 1-2/4. Mainz), but at the same time can already be found embedded in **Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, S.XXI.5** (9th c. 1/3, northern Italy, perhaps Novara), **Paris Lat. 7559** (9th century, 1/2?, area of Paris), and **Vatican, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1746** (8th/9th century and 9th century, in., Lorsch). See also Ernesto STAGNI, «Carisio e Isidoro interpolato, i capitoli delle figure: novità sulla tradizione manoscritta», in Rolando FERRI, Anna ZAGO (ed.), *The Latin of the Grammarians. Reflections about Language in the Roman World*, Turnhout, 2016, p. 167-180.

MS 76). However, not all annotations inserted by the main hands are necessarily copied, as it seems that scribes sometimes used the production process in the scriptorium as the opportunity to transfer annotations into a codex of the *Ety-
mologiae* from external sources (as was the case with **London, British Library, Harley 3941** and **Paris, BnF, Lat. 7585**) or even to compose new annotations (as may have been the case with some of the annotations in **St. Gallen SB 235** and **Madrid RAH 76**)²⁷.

Another context in which glossing took place is revealed by a set of annotations in another complete copy of the *Ety-
mologiae*, **Harley 3941**. Most of the roughly 850 annotations in this manuscript were copied by the main copyist when this codex was produced, but a set of 35 glosses to *Etym.* I was added perhaps decades after the rest²⁸. Importantly, identical glosses also appear in **Paris Lat. 7585**, a manuscript annotated in the second half of the 10th century in Canterbury²⁹. It is, thus, evident that this set was copied into both codices from a common source. In the Harley manuscripts, this copied set seems to have been inserted long after its production was completed, presumably by a librarian of the institution, where the manuscript was kept³⁰. Unlike annotations that responded to the needs of schools or reflected the interests of scholars, it represented an act of acquisition for the sake of preservation and accumulation of material deemed valuable. This may also have been the primary drive for the copying of annotations in scriptoria. Indeed, it is useful not only to consider various contexts in which annotation took place (school, study, scriptorium, library), but also to distinguish whether these contexts were generative (that is causing new annotations to be coined) or preservative (that is focussed on copying and accumulating glosses). As will be shown in the following sections, certain contexts were both generative and preservative. Schools, most importantly, continued to spew new annotations during the 9th and 10th centuries while also being highly conductive to their copying and deposition into model teaching

²⁷ The singular Old High German gloss in **St. Gallen 235** (on p. 167, to *Etym.* XVI 8.6: «unde nos clase dicimus») seems like an addition to the older layer of annotations that rather contain Romance (on p. 253, to *Etym.* XIX 5.4: «<de> cincialario dicitur»). The gloss about Methuselah (fol. 53r to *Etym.* VII 6.13: «Matusalem multi errorem patientes dicunt quod extra archa in diluvio vixisse sed mentiuntur, ante enim XIII annis mortuus est Iheronimus adfirmans») in **Madrid RAH 76** appears only in this manuscript and is copied without rubrics and in a different ink than other glosses shared with **Madrid RAH 25**.

²⁸ They appear on fol. 3r, 8v (4), 10r, 10v (2), 11r, 11v, 13r (4), 13v (3), 14r (3), 14v (3), 15r (2), 16r (5), 17v (3), 18r, and 20v.

²⁹ Interestingly, three of the glosses shared by **Harley 3941** and **Paris Lat. 7585** are integrated in the main text in the latter manuscript, making it clear that they were copied from the exemplar used by English scribes. They are *signum* (*Etym.* I 21.28): *expositum* (fol. 10v in Paris Lat. 7585 and fol. 11r in Harley 3941); *nani* (*Etym.* I 37.24): «id est parvissimi homines qui fiunt in aquis» (fol. 18r in Paris Lat. 7585, in Harley 3941 only *parvissimi* on fol. 18r); and *infelix* (*Etym.* I 40.1): *subiacens* (fol. 20r in Paris Lat. 7585 and fol. 20v in Harley 3941).

³⁰ On the library as a *locus* of annotation, see M. SCHIEGG, *Frühmittelalterliche Glossen*, p. 154-169.

manuals. Other contexts were primarily generative or preservative. For example, the scholarly study resulted by rule in the production of new material, but rarely in copying of pre-extant annotations, while scriptoria and libraries almost always engaged in copying and deposition, but hardly ever in the production of new annotations.

Manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* were annotated, presumably, on other occasions than in schools, during a scholarly study, or in the scriptorium and the library, but these other contexts are more difficult to substantiate based on the surviving evidence. We occasionally get a glimpse of them through particular cases of annotations, such as is provided by one of the 9th-century annotated manuscripts of the complete *Etymologiae*, **Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 426** (9th century, 1/4, Reims). This codex features 350 annotations to book I of the *Etymologiae*, including 48 glosses pressed in by a stylus rather than copied with a pen and ink³¹. Many of these dry-point glosses were later overlaid by ink glosses made by one of the two main glossators of this manuscript, who recopied what was entered by the hand using the stylus³². It is clear that the hand using the stylus was the first annotator of the codex, and the other glossators using ink came in later, although perhaps not long after the stylus hand. The character of the annotations suggests that the codex was first annotated in a more temporary setting (dry-point glosses) and later in a more official context (ink glosses), the inking perhaps even implying a degree of supervision and control over which annotations will be made permanent and which not. The second stage of this procedure, we may assume, took place in a scriptorium or a library. However, the first stage is far more difficult to contextualize. Were the stylus glosses perhaps added outside of the library or scriptorium, even though the manuscript is a large-format and heavy codex and therefore looks like a

³¹ This assessment is based on the examination of digital images only. It needs to be further verified by personal examination, especially as far as the instrument used to enter the glosses is concerned. In a private correspondence (15/02/2021), Andreas Nievergelt suggested that the glossator's instrument may also have been a coloured pencil given the good visibility of the dry-point glosses in the digital images. For the instruments used for glossing, see Andreas NIEVERGELT, *Die Glossierung der Handschrift Clm 18547b. Ein Beitrag zur Funktionalität der mittelalterlichen Griffelglossierung*, Heidelberg, 2007 (Germanistische Bibliothek, 28); and Elvira GLASER, Andreas NIEVERGELT, «Griffelglossen», in Rolf BERGMANN, Stefanie STRICKER (ed.), *Die althochdeutsche und altsächsische Glossographie. Ein Handbuch*, vol. 1, Berlin, 2009, p. 202-229 (p. 207-208). I was able to identify stylus glosses on fol. 9r, 9v (3), 11v, 12r (4), 12v (3), 13r, 14v (2), 15v (2), 16r (5), 17r (3), 17v (4), 18r (5), 18v (3), 19v (8), and 20r (3), but other glosses were likely missed, as they could not be discerned from the digital images. The same hand also made several corrections using the stylus, for example adding the omitted word *avis* on fol. 16r and correcting the name *Favius* to *Bavius* on fol. 18v.

³² Dry-point glosses retraced by ink can be also found in **Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 542**, **Vatican, BAV, Reg. Lat. 348** and **München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18547b**; see Andreas NIEVERGELT, *Die Glossierung der Handschrift Clm 18547b*, p. 769 and 794; and M. SCHIEGG, *Frühmittelalterliche Glossen*, p. 193.

library book³³? The presence of a stylus may imply that the 48 glosses were transferred into the codex from wax tablets, the natural accompaniment of this writing instrument. If so, they were purposefully transferred from a different context, such as the classroom, where wax tablets were used to take notes³⁴, or they may signal an original act of composition³⁵.

The roughly 7 000 early medieval annotations to the *Etymologiae*, as should be clear from this overview, do not reflect a single historical context of origin but rather an amalgam of several different strains of annotation. In the following sections, I discuss three such strains of early medieval glossing, which can be identified as reflecting a specific context of the reception of Isidore's text: a) the arrival of the *Etymologiae* in Ireland in the last decades of the 7th century (insular strain); b) the engagement with the text among early medieval scholarly readers from the 8th century onwards (scholarly strain); and c) the appropriation of the first book of the *Etymologiae* for the teaching of grammar in Carolingian schools, in particular in Frankish lands (Carolingian Frankish strain).³⁶ I shall examine each of the three early medieval strains of the annotation of the *Etymologiae* in turn, starting from the best attested one – that stemming from the Carolingian Frankish school environment.

The Carolingian Frankish strain of annotation

The Carolingian reform movement had a significant impact on many aspects of early medieval intellectual life, including the schools and the teaching of *grammatica*³⁷. As Vivien Law showed, the last decades of the 8th and the first

³³ Dry-point glosses are traditionally associated with private study; see Malcolm B. PARKES, *Pause and effect: an introduction to the history of punctuation in the West*, Aldershot, 1992, p. 94; and M. SCHIEGG, *Friihmittelalterliche Glossen*, p. 176.

³⁴ See John J. CONTRENI, «The Pursuit of Knowledge in Carolingian Europe», in Richard SULLIVAN (ed.), *The Gentle Voices of Teachers. Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age*, Columbus, OH, 1995, p. 106-141 (p. 114-115).

³⁵ See Bernhard BISCHOFF, «Hadoard und die Klassikerhandschriften aus Corbie», in Sesto PRETE (ed.), *Didascaliae. Studies in honor of Anselm M. Albareda*, New York, 1961, p. 39-57 (p. 43); reprinted in Id., *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1966, p. 49-62; and Paul Edward DUTTON, «Eriugena's Workshop: the Making of the *Periphyseon* in Rheims 875», in James McEvoy, Michael W. DUNNE (ed.), *History and eschatology in John Scottus Eriugena and his time*, Leuven, 2002 (*Ancient and medieval philosophy*, 1.30), p. 141-167 (p. 156).

³⁶ The reception of the *Etymologiae* in the German-speaking lands could be seen as having its own particularities. The glossators using Old High German seem to have been preoccupied with the names of animals and plants in books XII and XVII respectively. However, it should be also added that a similar preoccupation with animals and plants also characterized the Romance glosses and that both Old High German glosses and Romance glosses complement Latin glosses rather than standing on their own.

³⁷ For the Carolingian reform movement and the place of the *grammatica* in it, see John J. CONTRENI, «The Carolingian renaissance: education and literary culture», in Rosamond MCKITTERICK (ed.), *The new Cambridge medieval history*, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1995, p. 709-757;

quarter of the 9th centuries was a period of an unprecedented flurry of copying grammatical texts in response to the reformists' focus on the teaching of grammar³⁸. Many lost or poorly known grammarians were rediscovered, and new texts were composed. In this context, the first book of the *Etymologiae*, already valued by pre-Carolingian grammarians and excerpted into grammatical handbooks, was seized by Carolingian schoolmasters and elevated to the status of an *ars grammatica*³⁹. Today, it survives as a self-standing grammatical text in 26 well-preserved manuscripts and four fragments copied before 900⁴⁰. Some of the surviving manuscripts transmitting this *ars Isidori* are grammatical handbooks, that is, manuscripts containing multiple grammatical texts and presumably serving as model books for particular communities, from which the materials used in lessons were copied. We are also very fortunate to possess several booklet-format copies of book I of the *Etymologiae* from the 9th century. They are small-sized *libelli* containing only a single text, typically produced using low-quality parchment, usually left unbound, and often showing traces of heavy use.⁴¹ They likely represent one type of teaching material copied from the model handbooks and allow us a look into the medieval classroom that is as vivid as it can get⁴².

The chronological and geographical distribution of manuscripts containing the *ars Isidori* matches the pattern outlined by Law for other grammatical texts. The peak of their copying falls into the first quarter of the 9th century when the energies of the Carolingian reform movement were at their highest point. Moreover, most of them come from northern France, the heartland of the reforms.

and Rosamond MCKITTERICK, «The Carolingian renaissance of culture and learning», in *Charlemagne. Empire and society*, 2005, p. 151-166; and especially Vivien A. LAW, «The study of grammar», in Rosamond MCKITTERICK (ed.), *Carolingian Culture. Emulation and Innovation*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 88-110.

³⁸ Vivien A. LAW, «The transmission of early medieval elementary grammars: a case study in explanation», in Oronzo PECERE, Michael D. REEVE (ed.), *Formative stages of classical traditions. Latin texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance; proceedings of a conference held at Erice, 16-22 October 1993, as the 6th Course of International School for the Study of Written Records*, Spoleto, 1995 (*Biblioteca del Centro per il Collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici in Umbria*, 15), p. 239-261. See also P. DE PAOLIS, «I codici miscellanei grammaticali altomedievali», p. 187-188.

³⁹ L. HOLTZ, *Donat*, p. 260; and C. CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, «Uso y recepción», p. 483.

⁴⁰ I am currently preparing an article in which I provide a list of these manuscripts.

⁴¹ On *libelli*, see Pamela R. ROBINSON, «The “Booklet”: A Self-contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts», in Pamela R. ROBINSON, Jane ROBERTS (ed.), *The history of the book in the West. A library of critical essays*, vol. 1, Farnham, 2010, p. 159-182.

⁴² The two types of grammatical manuscripts described here, those used as model for teaching and those used directly during the lessons, correspond to the distinction between the *Schulhandschriften* and the *Unterrichtshandschriften* in M. BALDZUHN, *Schulbücher im Trivium*, p. 25. Compare also with the definition of a classbook in G. R. WIELAND, «The glossed manuscript», p. 153-154; and with C. CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, «Uso y recepción», p. 498. The two types of manuscripts can also be compared to the schoolbooks and instructions-readers intended for priests, see Susan KEEFE, *Water and the Word: baptism and the education of the clergy in the Carolingian empire*, Notre Dame, Ind., 2002 (*Publications in mediaeval studies*, 1), p. 22-24.

The *ars Isidori* started to fall out of favour in the second half of the 9th century, as the innovative phase gave way to a consolidation of grammatical education, bringing forward a handful of widely used texts (e.g., Donatus, Priscian)⁴³. By the end of the 10th century, only small islands where the *ars Isidori* continued to be used remained as a regional specificity, chiefly in northern France, where it seems to have been most popular in the Carolingian period.

The glossing of the *Etymologiae* in the Carolingian environment is closely connected with the phenomenon of separate transmission of *Etym.* I and with the classroom use of this text. This can be seen already from the fact that the chronological distribution of annotations to the *Etymologiae* in manuscripts from the Carolingian area follows the fortunes of the *ars Isidori*: most of them come from the 9th century. Furthermore, 14 of the 22 manuscripts containing annotations reflecting the Frankish strain of annotating the *Etymologiae* are grammatical handbooks or teaching booklets (or their fragments). By contrast, the magnets for glosses to the *Etymologiae* outside of the Carolingian heartland are almost exclusively encyclopaedic copies of this work. As far as encyclopaedic copies of the *Etymologiae* were annotated in the Carolingian zone, they usually contain annotations only to the first book of the *Etymologiae*. To find annotations to other than the first book of the *Etymologiae* in manuscripts from the Carolingian area is rare.⁴⁴ This shows that for Carolingian users, the annotation of this text was strictly a matter of the engagement with book I and therefore of school use of this text.

The two most densely annotated manuscripts from the Carolingian area fit this profile: **Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 296** (777 glosses) and **Leiden VLO 41** (691 glosses) are grammatical handbooks transmitting *Etym.* I rather than codices containing the entire text of Isidore's encyclopaedia. The oldest surviving glosses that reflect this strain of annotation also appear in grammatical manuscripts. It is difficult to date them precisely, but the oldest known specimens of school glosses to *Etym.* I are probably those found in **München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6411** (9th century, ¼, Passau?, 30 contemporary glosses, or otherwise inserted before 850), **Paris, BnF, Lat. 11278** (9th century, ½, southeastern France?, 48 contemporary glosses), **Vatican, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1746** (8th/9th century and 9th century, in., Lorsch, 27 glosses, glossed before 850?), and **Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 25** (9th century, German area, 60 glosses, glossed before 850?).

Perhaps the oldest and most intriguing of these early witnesses is **Paris Lat. 11278**, a *libellus* of four quires measuring only 200 × 138 mm. This booklet

⁴³ Bernhard BISCHOFF, «Libraries and Schools in the Carolingian Revival of Learning», in Michael GORMAN (ed.), *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 93-114 (p. 99-100); and V. A. LAW, «The transmission of early medieval elementary grammars», p. 242-243.

⁴⁴ A notable exception is **Leiden VLF 82**, which contains almost 250 glosses to book II and only 71 glosses to book I.

version of *Etym.* I was copied by many unskilled hands using a ligature-rich minuscule, each responsible for a small portion of the text. These hands made many mistakes, so that the codex had to be corrected extensively, and seem to have struggled with the pen on many occasions. The annotations in this manuscript seem to have been made either by the same or related hands shortly after it was copied. To dispel any doubts that this *libellus* was produced by and for students, it even contains a colophon on the last page (fol. 28r): «Si sis (*sic!*) me legere, tracta me bene. Si vero nescis me legere, trade me sapienti»⁴⁵. While no other manuscript is such a clear example of a student book, three other early witnesses of glosses to *Etym.* I share many features. **München Clm 6411** is a small-format (215 × 135–140 mm) grammatical compendium that may have been put together from loose *libelli*. The section containing *Etym.* I was copied and also annotated by a large number of unskilled hands in a rather haphazard way, with *schedae* containing different content inserted in between the folia of *Etym.* I here and there. The text of the *Etymologiae* is interrupted in the middle by four folia of excerpts. At the beginning of this break (fol. 41v), we can find a subscription made by one of the unskilled hands copying parts of Isidore: *Reginpertus scriptor bonus*, to which the words *et Hoto* seem to have been added – perhaps the names of two enthusiastic students who wanted to leave their mark on the object they helped to copy⁴⁶. **Pal. Lat. 1746** is another grammatical handbook, although given its dimensions (295 × 220 mm) and content, presumably not a classroom book. Nevertheless, the first folia of *Etym.* I were copied by many untrained hands in small batches and glossed by two related hands. **Junius 25** is a unique codicological entity: it had probably formed a part of an encyclopaedic codex of the *Etymologiae*, but the quires containing the first book were detached from the rest of the manuscript and used separately, perhaps for teaching. It was glossed by several hands partially in Old High German.

Two other manuscripts made in France reflect the same organic pattern of glossing, but palaeographical evidence suggests that they were annotated slightly later. **Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 797** (9th century, 3/4, France, probably area of Reims) is a small (210 × 125 mm) grammatical handbook that was annotated by a 9th-century schoolmaster with an insular background who added around 100 glosses to its pages (of these only 55 survive today due to the loss of folia). **Trier, Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars, MS 100** (9th century^{2/4}, France) is a booklet copy of *Etym.* I equipped with 74 glosses added by many 9th-century hands.

None of these six codices contains more than 100 glosses. They are exclusively of the lexical and grammatical type and create an impression of immediacy and spontaneity, if not crudeness. They appear only in certain chapters

⁴⁵ At <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100358546/f31.item.r=11278>.

⁴⁶ At http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00012886/image_84.

of *Etym.* I: those which were, probably, the most attractive for classroom use⁴⁷. Of course, we can never be sure about how these manuscripts came to acquire glosses, but of all the manuscripts discussed in this article, they are the ones most likely to have been handled by schoolmasters and students, and some of them may have been glossed directly for or in the context of school lessons (e.g., **Paris Lat. 11278**)⁴⁸.

Two other handbooks transmitting the first book of the *Etymologiae* produced and annotated in Francia in the 9th century display a more mature and systematic phase of annotation. **Paris, BnF, Lat. 7559** (9th century, ½?, area of Paris, originally perhaps ~200 glosses, of which 116 survive), and **Paris, BnF, Lat. 7671** (9th century, med., north-eastern France, 138 glosses) have a connection to schools. However, rather than reflecting actual lessons, they are one step removed from the classroom, preserving layers of glosses that may have originated in the classroom, but were stored for later reuse or that were produced for the instruction by schoolmasters. These two codices may be considered specific copies that received glosses to serve as their *ad hoc* depositaries. They may be model books, from which booklets for teaching would have been copied and therefore were equipped with a useful pedagogical extension. It can be noted that they contain more glosses than the more organically annotated manuscripts, in the ranges of lower hundreds rather than tens. They also display a different pattern of insertion of glosses, which were added by a small number of hands. The small-format (180 × 150 mm after reconstruction) fragment of *Etym.* I containing glosses, **Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 2633, fol. 18-19** (9th

⁴⁷ The first book of the *Etymologiae* is divided into 44 chapters, which were annotated to a different extent, similarly to how various books of the *Etymologiae* attracted different amounts of glosses. The most heavily annotated chapters of the first book are *De litteris communibus* (*Etym.* I 3, 242 glosses in 21 manuscripts), *De litteris latinis* (*Etym.* I 4, 112 glosses in 18 manuscripts), *De pedibus* (*Etym.* I 17, 310 glosses in 19 manuscripts), *De notis sententiarum* (*Etym.* I 21, 194 glosses in 20 manuscripts), *De orthographia* (*Etym.* I 27, 147 glosses in 20 manuscripts), *De schematibus* (*Etym.* I 36, 321 glosses in 14 manuscripts), *De tropis* (*Etym.* I 37, 724 glosses in 19 manuscripts), and *De metris* (*Etym.* I 39, 495 glosses in 21 manuscripts). Many of these densely-glossed chapters are unique to the *Etymologiae*, not being derived from Isidore's model, the *Ars maior* of Donatus, or they contain major additions with regards to Donatus. By contrast, those chapters that deviate the least from the *Ars maior*, in particular the chapters dealing with the parts of speech (*Etym.* I 6-14) attracted the smallest amounts of annotations, although **Paris Lat. 7490** represents a notable exception from this rule. This distribution of glosses is highly suggestive of the manner in which the first book of the *Etymologiae* was used in schools, namely as a supplement to Donatus (or one of the Donatus-based grammars). Compare with V. A. LAW, «The transmission of early medieval elementary grammars», p. 251-252.

⁴⁸ These six manuscripts can be compared to other known early medieval *libelli* of school authors. One such identified booklet for classroom use is **Paris, BnF, Lat. 5570** (10th/11th century), a glossed *libellus* of Avienus's *Fabulae*; see M. BALDZUHN, *Schulbücher im Trivium*, p. 29-31. Another *libellus* intended for school use is **Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS 21553** (olim Phillipps 16308, 9th c., ex., the Loire valley) containing Donatus; see Rosamond MCKITTERICK, «A ninth century schoolbook from the Loire valley: Phillipps MS 16308», *Scriptorium*, 30, 1976, p. 225-231.

century^{4/4}, France), may once have been a grammatical handbook with similar traits, as may have been the case with the somewhat younger fragments **Vaticana**, **BAV, Barb. Lat. 477, fol. 3** and **fol. 4** (both 11th century, in.?, unknown, prov.: St. André de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon).

Finally, there are the two heavily annotated grammatical manuscripts that were already mentioned earlier: **Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 296** (9th century, 1/4, area of Paris?, prov.: Fleury), a grammatical handbook consisting of several texts bound together from several smaller units, currently transmitting *Etym.* I 21-44; and **Leiden VLO 41** (9th century^{4/4}, north-eastern France, prov.: Fleury), another small-format (200 × 150 mm) *libellus*, each containing more than 500 glosses. To the former should be also added **Paris, BnF, Lat. 7490** (9th century, 1/2, probably Paris, 245 glosses) containing a loose quire containing *Etym.* I 5-17, which seem to have been annotated by the same glossators as **Orléans 296** and may be codicologically, albeit not paleographically, related to this manuscript. These three manuscripts, our most important witnesses of the Carolingian Frankish strain of annotation, represent the most developed phase of glossing from the Carolingian area. The layers of glosses in these manuscripts cover no longer only select chapters but rather extend to the entire text. Those found in **Orléans 296** and **Paris Lat. 7490**, in particular, are no longer only spontaneous reactions to specific words or terms but reveal an awareness of other glosses in the manuscript and, therefore, a degree of a structured approach.

Nevertheless, neither of the three manuscripts contains what may be considered a systematic exposition of the first book of the *Etymologiae*. We must not assume that they were composed by a specific master as a commentary on this book. Otherwise, we could expect to see one of the two scenarios: either we should encounter similar annotations in several manuscripts from the Carolingian period and younger, or we could expect the layers of annotation to be unique. Instead, we observe that manuscripts from the Carolingian environment share annotations with many other manuscripts, but always only small clusters of glosses and only with one or two other surviving manuscripts⁴⁹. For example, **Orléans 296** shares 38 glosses with **Leiden VLO 41**, 27 glosses with **Reims 426**, and 23 glosses with **Paris Lat. 7670**. **Leiden VLO 41** shares 18 glosses with **Reims 426** and 17 glosses with **Paris Lat. 7670**. These small clusters of glosses resemble the light layers of annotation that appear in the oldest surviving annotated grammatical manuscripts transmitting the *Etymologiae*: the 48 glosses in **Paris Lat. 11278**, the 30 glosses in **München Clm 6411**, and the 27 glosses in **Pal. Lat. 1746**. They also bring to mind the set of 48 glosses copied with a stylus in **Reims 426** mentioned earlier and the 35 glosses copied in **Harley 3941** by a later hand. Moreover, shared notable errors, arcane interpretations, or longer glosses, which cannot be coined multiple times independently, indicate

⁴⁹ I am currently preparing a separate article examining this transmission pattern and its significance for the understanding of the circulation of school glosses in the early Middle Ages.

that some material was certainly transmitted from manuscript to manuscript⁵⁰. This pattern of sharing and likewise the pattern of copying by several hands suggests that the layers of annotations in **Orléans 296** and **Leiden VLO 41** (as well as in other Carolingian manuscripts containing larger amounts of glosses to *Etym.* I) most likely represent an amalgamation of many small batches of material⁵¹. These batches may have circulated in the 9th century in the Carolingian area, in particular in northern France, thanks to the connections between Carolingian schools⁵². Indeed, these two manuscripts, which fit the profile of a manuscript produced for a school context, may be seen as reflecting the most progressed stage of such an effort of amalgamation, which was primarily due to how extensive and long-lasting connections particular centres were able to maintain with other schools through the exchange of masters, students, and books. Just as manuscripts such as **Paris Lat. 11278** and **München Clm 6411** inform us about the generative aspect of the Carolingian schools, manuscripts

⁵⁰ For example, both **Junius 25** (fol. 141v) and **Reims 426** (9v) suggest that the metrical foot paeon (*Etym.* I 17.18) is called after a doctor of that name (Reims 426: «quidam medicus appellatus est», Junius 25: «[ab inventore] medicinae artis»), perhaps due to the association of the meter with hymns to Apollo. Similarly, in **Leiden VLO 41** (fol. 44r), **Harley 3941** (fol. 8r), and **Paris Lat. 7490** (fol. 52v), one can read that the Pyrrhic (*Etym.* I 17.2) is called after Achilles's son Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus). Unlike most manuscripts, which correctly identify Parnassus (*Etym.* I 39.13) as a mountain, **Paris Lat. 7559** (fol. 13r) and **Paris Lat. 7670** (fol. 21r) assume it is rather an island (*insula*). Similarly, **Harley 3941** (fol. 19v), **Orléans 296** (p. 20), **Queen 320** (fol. 30r), **Paris Lat. 7585** (fol. 19r), and **Reims 426** (fol. 19v) mistakenly call Delphi (*Etym.* I 39.13) an island (*insula*), surely a confusion with Delos. Both **Harley 3941** and **Orléans 296** suggest that the cry of the swan (*cygnis ululae*, *Etym.* I 36.7) belong to a bird called *cinicella* (Orléans 296, p. 11) or *cinciala* (Harley 3941, 16r). Both **Harley 3941** (fol. 15v) and **Orléans 296** (p. 11) also identify Sulpicius Galba (*Etym.* I 36.3) as a *dux Graecorum* rather than as a Roman senator and general.

⁵¹ The amalgamation is visible also on the level of individual glosses, some of which can be shown to be composites. For example, **Paris Lat. 11278** (fol. 2v), **Harley 3941** (fol. 3r) and **Trier 100** (fol. 1v) gloss the word *calles* in *Etym.* I 3.7 as *via*, and **Paris Lat. 7670** (fol. 2r) as *semita*, but in **Reims 426** (fol. 5r), one can find a composite *semita vel via*. IRHT, **digitisation of CP 342** (fol. 12v), **Leiden VLF 82** (fol. 12r) and **Wolfenbüttel Weiss. 64** (fol. 11r) transmit an old gloss explaining the name of the Pyrrhic (*Pyrrichius*) in *Etym.* I 17.2 as derived from the Greek word for fire («sive ab igne appellatur, quia ignis/qui Graece pyr dicitur, quia velut ignis celeriter labitur»). A different explanation found in **Leiden VLO 41** (fol. 44r) claims the name of Pyrrhic is derived from the name of Achilles's son Pyrrhus (*a Pyrrho filio, sic!*). **Harley 3941** (fol. 8r) and **Paris Lat. 7490** (fol. 52v) compound these two glosses together and add a third explanation not found elsewhere, which must had been a separate gloss: «quasi certator ludicus, vel a Pyrrho filio Achillis nominatus, sive ab igne appellatur, quia ignis Graece pyr dicitur, quia velut ignis celeriter labitur». Similarly, **Leiden VLO 41** (fol. 61r) glosses the word *accolae* in *Etym.* I 39.13 as *habitatores*, and **Harley 3941** (19v) as *qui terram colunt*, while **Orléans 296** (p. 20) contains the composite gloss *habitatores vel colunt terrae* (sic!). Duplication also occurs. In **Paris Lat. 7670** (fol. 21v), the word *adcinatur* in *Etym.* I 39.23 was first glossed as *id est conveniat, cantetur* and later by a different hand as *cantatur*. Both these glosses have a parallel in at least one other manuscript. **Paris Lat. 7670** (fol. 22v) likewise contains two almost identical glosses to the word *sertis* in *Etym.* I 41.2, one of them attested in other manuscripts.

⁵² Compare with D. GANZ, «Book production», p. 803. See also M. M. HILDEBRANDT, *The External School in Carolingian Society*, Leiden, 1992 (*Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 1), p. 31-32.

such as **Orléans 296** and **Leiden VLO 41** let us see the preservative aspect of the same environment, where valuable knowledge was stacked into selected manuscripts for safe-keeping and reutilization.

Similar depository processes explain why seven pre-1200 encyclopaedic copies of the *Etymologiae* from the Frankish Carolingian area and one 8th-century Italian codex acquired annotations to the first book of this work. For the most part, identical annotations can be encountered in surviving grammatical manuscripts and therefore clearly originated in the classroom environment. As is evident from this influx of school glosses into the encyclopaedic copies of Isidore's work, they were perhaps sometimes intended to serve as depositories of useful knowledge that could later be redeployed in the classroom. More likely, however, the deposition of material into these library books was a result of the omnipresent early medieval instinct to hoard and accumulate.⁵³ The annotations in the encyclopaedic copies, thus, lost their original purpose (to aid teachers and students) and acquired a new one, or rather they acquired a value that went beyond their immediate utility (otherwise they would not be seen as worth preserving outside of grammatical handbooks)⁵⁴. The accumulation of Carolingian glosses to *Etym. I* in encyclopaedic manuscripts clearly signals that the annotations to the first book of the *Etymologiae* attained a certain prestige in particular parts of the Carolingian world. This prestige, nevertheless, does not seem to have outlived the popularity of the *ars Isidori*, for as the use of the latter declined, so did the school glosses disappear from the encyclopaedic copies of Isidore's work.

How much time was needed for the glosses from Carolingian grammatical manuscripts to start trickling into the encyclopaedic manuscripts is hard to say due to the difficulties of dating the annotations with precision. The oldest layers of annotation in the Carolingian encyclopaedic copies of the *Etymologiae* certainly date to the 9th century, indicating that the processes of deposition and accumulation may have begun within decades after the first book of Isidore's encyclopaedia made its entry into the Carolingian classroom. The two exemplary depository manuscripts are **Reims 426** (9th century, ¼, Reims, 350 glosses), originally containing the first ten books of the *Etymologiae* glossed by two main annotators, and **Paris, BnF, Lat. 7670** (9th century, ½, area of Paris, 361 glosses), containing the first six books of the *Etymologiae*, which was annotated in batches by many different hands, some using Tironian notes. Two other encyclopaedic copies of the *Etymologiae* were also annotated in the 9th century in northern France, the focal region for the school use of the first book of the *Etymologiae* as well as for the annotation of encyclopaedic copies of

⁵³ Compare with Rosalind C. LOVE, «The Latin Commentaries on Boethius's *De consolatione Philosophiae* from the 9th to the 11th Centuries», in Noel Harold KAYLOR Jr., Philip Edward PHILLIPS (ed.), *A Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages*, Leiden, 2012, p. 75-134 (p. 78).

⁵⁴ Compare with M. BALDZUHN, *Schulbücher im Trivium*, p. 38-39.

Isidore's work. The first, **Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. F 82** (9th century, in., St. Germain des Pres, 71 glosses), was annotated in small batches by perhaps as many as ten different hands. The second, **Paris, BnF, Lat. 7583** (9th century, med., northern France, 34 glosses), received annotations by several contemporary or near-contemporary hands. **Vatican, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5763**, an 8th-century manuscript from northern Italy and one of the oldest witnesses of the *Etymologiae*, also received a small number of glosses to book I from 9th century Carolingian hands, which, given that the manuscript never left Italy, must have been working on the Apennine peninsula⁵⁵. Three other encyclopaedic manuscripts were equipped with annotations after the Carolingian period. **Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, H 53** (9th century, 3/4, eastern France?, 33 glosses) and **München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6250** (9th century, 1/2, Freising, 15 glosses) were annotated in the late 10th or early 11th century, and **Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 16** (11th century, France, 59 glosses) in the 11th century. These manuscripts contain mostly glosses that can be found already in 9th-century Carolingian grammatical handbooks. Thus, they reflect the survival of the Frankish strain of annotation in the former Carolingian zone, albeit several centuries after its inception in the classroom.

The Frankish strain is the best attested and also the most significant of the early medieval glossing trends concerning the *Etymologiae*. We still possess over twenty witnesses of this strain of annotation, more than of any other early medieval strain. Unfortunately, precisely those types of early medieval manuscripts that attracted most glosses and those that served as their incubators, that is, grammatical handbooks and especially teaching booklets, were also the most prone to disappear⁵⁶. We should, therefore, assume that the surviving witnesses represent a small part of the population of manuscripts transmitting the first book of the *Etymologiae* annotated in the Carolingian environment that was once there. It is, of course, difficult to guess how many *libelli* containing the text of Isidore's *De grammatica* were copied in the 9th century and how many of those were annotated, but the surviving annotated fragments of the *Etymologiae* that are clearly remnants of non-encyclopaedic copies of this work are suggestive. So are glosses that survive in Carolingian encyclopaedic copies of the *Etymologiae* alone, not found in surviving grammatical handbooks and booklets. Most of them probably derive from now-lost manuscripts that were annotated for school use.

Given that many of these annotated grammatical manuscripts did not survive to our day, we should, too, assume that we may be facing serious gaps when it comes to the oldest stages of production and diffusion of the annotation to the first book of the *Etymologiae*. It is, for example, curious that the earliest

⁵⁵ Since this manuscript was at Bobbio later in the Middle Ages, it is often assumed it was also produced, and thus presumably also annotated, here.

⁵⁶ C. CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, «Uso y recepción», p. 498.

witnesses of school glosses to *Etym.* I do not come from northern France, where the impact of the Carolingian reform was strongest and whence the oldest grammatical handbooks transmitting the first book of the *Etymologiae* as an *ars grammatica* come. Is this because when we are looking at the oldest surviving layers of glosses to *Etym.* I, we see a phenomenon, which already underwent substantial expansion from core (northern France) to periphery (German area, southern France)? Probably not. Otherwise, we could expect that early Carolingian grammatical handbooks containing the *ars Isidori* produced in centres such as Corbie and Fleury contain annotations. It is more likely that the glossing started outside of the Carolingian heartland, perhaps in response to the specific conditions of teaching on the Carolingian periphery. Such a scenario would explain why Old High German glosses to *Etym.* I appear in the early witnesses of its use in schools. Northern France certainly played a crucial role as the most important locus of the Frankish strain of annotation during the 9th century: it was here that the depository manuscripts and the most heavily annotated witnesses were glossed. Yet, it is not necessarily the case that it had this role in the earliest stages of the Frankish strain of annotation.

Overall, the Frankish strain of annotation of the *Etymologiae* strikes one as being completely subordinate to the reception of this text in schools. Perhaps because the introduction into schools served as the first impulse for glossing in the Carolingian environment, and perhaps because schools also served as the main conduit for the exchange of glosses in the Carolingian heartland, Carolingian users seem particularly uninterested in annotation for other purposes. Even though it is reasonable to assume that scholars active at the major Carolingian intellectual centres studied the *Etymologiae*, we find only the slightest evidence of annotation of this text in a scholarly manner⁵⁷. Moreover, while it seems that batches of school glosses from other regions made their way into northern France, Carolingian scribes seem not to have been aware of or interested in obtaining contemporary annotations that were not generated in the school context. Ultimately, while the Frankish strain of annotation provides us with the largest number of annotated early medieval manuscripts, it has a certain monotonous feel because of the school tenor of the glosses produced. There is very little we can learn from these glosses beyond the fact that *terminus* is a synonym

⁵⁷ Early medieval annotated manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* from Carolingian area occasionally feature more sophisticated annotations than simple lexical and grammatical glosses. For example, long citations from Boethius and Alcuin appear in **Paris Lat. 7671** and Alcuin and Pliny are cited in the marginalia in **Leiden VLF 82**. However, similar annotations are few and far between in manuscripts annotated in the Carolingian environment, and mostly confined to the first few folia of manuscripts. In some cases, long and complex annotations can be shown to be of pre-Carolingian origin, as is the case with the long note on Phoenicians discussed in footnote 9.

for *finis*⁵⁸, that *Ennius* is a proper name⁵⁹, or that when Isidore writes *scripto quattuor modis* (*Etym.* I 32.3), one should understand *dividitur*⁶⁰. The more original and interesting annotated manuscripts come from the insular world and Carolingian periphery, where the needs of teaching grammar seem not to have dominated the glossing landscape.

The Insular strain of annotation

The complete text of the *Etymologiae* seems to have reached Ireland before 700, perhaps in the last decades of the 7th century⁶¹. This event had a momentous impact on both the insular culture of learning and on the fate of Isidore's encyclopaedia. The arrival of such a rich compendium of learning must have seemed a miracle at the time when Ireland suffered from a relative poverty of Latin literary culture. In the absence of many Classical texts, the *Etymologiae* was seized with great vigour and mined zealously for the kind of information that could not be found elsewhere⁶².

Annotation of the *Etymologiae* may have begun shortly after the arrival of Isidore's encyclopaedia and may have had its roots in the specific conditions in 7th-century Ireland (e.g., the linguistic situation)⁶³. Unfortunately, we lack the evidence from the first centuries of the reception of the *Etymologiae* in Ireland, so this scenario must remain a conjecture. Our only witness of insular annotation directly connected to Ireland is a fragment surviving as the flyleaves of **Longleat House, Library of the Marquess of Bath, NMR 10589** (7th/8th

⁵⁸ The gloss *finis* for *terminus* appears in **Leiden VLO 41** on fol. 46v; the opposite gloss appears in the same manuscript on fol. 53v.

⁵⁹ This gloss appears in **Orléans 296** both on p. 1 and 3. On p. 21 of the same manuscript, *Ennius* is glossed as *nomen auctoris*.

⁶⁰ This gloss appears in **Paris Lat. 7670** on fol. 14v.

⁶¹ The precise time of the arrival of the *Etymologiae* in Ireland is a subject of a debate that has not yet been definitively concluded. Some scholars push it to as early as c. 650; see Michael W. HERREN, «On the earliest Irish acquaintance with Isidore of Seville», in Edward JAMES (ed.), *Visigothic Spain. New approaches*, Oxford, 1980, p. 243-250. However, other scholars argue for a more modest timeline, believing that the presence of the *Etymologiae* in Ireland can be ascertained only from the last decades of the 7th century; see Marina SMYTH, «Isidorian Texts in Seventh-Century Ireland», in Andrew FEAR, Jamie WOOD (ed.), *Isidore of Seville and his reception in the early Middle Ages*, Amsterdam, 2016, p. 111-130.

⁶² The impact of the *Etymologiae* was such that it was even called the *Culmen* (from Latin *culmen*, 'a pinnacle') in Old Irish; see Tomás Ó MÁILLE, «The Authorship of the Culmen», *Ériu*, 9, 1921, p. 71-76. See also Martin J. RYAN, «Isidore amongst the Islands: The Reception and Use of Isidore of Seville in Britain and Ireland in the Early Middle Ages», in Jamie WOOD, Andrew FEAR (ed.), *A Companion to Isidore of Seville*, Leiden, 2020 (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 87), p. 424-456.

⁶³ Compare with Malcolm B. PARKES, «Reading, Copying and Interpreting a Text in the Early Middle Ages», in Guglielmo CAVALLO, Roger CHARTIER (ed.), *A History of Reading in the West*, Amherst, 1999, p. 90-102 (p. 94).

century, Ireland), which contains two glosses, one Latin and one Old Irish. While this is a very early insular witness of the text, which probably belongs to the first generation of insular manuscripts, these two glosses do not seem contemporary with the manuscript. It was suggested that the linguistic properties of the Old Irish gloss fit the 9th century rather than the 7th or 8th⁶⁴.

Other vestiges of the insular strain of annotation of Isidore's encyclopaedia survive in 9th-century continental manuscripts: the presence of Old Irish and Old Breton glosses are tell-tale signs of affinity with the insular world. However, since other strains of glossing were already well-developed on the continent by this time, the manuscripts that harbour annotations of insular origin are also likely to include annotations stemming from different contexts of annotation. Even the annotations in **Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 447**, a manuscript produced in the Irish milieu in Mainz, annotated by hands writing under a strong Irish influence, and which contains, moreover, a large number of Old Irish glosses, cannot be considered purely insular. They also disclose familiarity with the contemporary Carolingian environment and sources and contain distinctly non-insular elements, such as Tironian notes.

Nevertheless, Laon 447 is the only manuscript containing organic layers of annotations stemming from the insular milieu and therefore allows us to observe this milieu at work. However, it is also clearly a product of scholarly endeavour, and as other manuscripts containing scholarly annotations, it is unique and therefore not necessarily revealing much about more general patterns of insular annotation. It contains 161 shorter Latin glosses, 16 longer Latin annotations and 33 Old Irish glosses. The simpler glosses in Laon 447 were added by one main annotator identified as belonging to the circle of the famous Irish scholar Probus of Mainz⁶⁵. He was complemented by other hands using Caroline minuscule making small additions here and there and adding the long annotations, active perhaps at the time of Probus or shortly thereafter. While Laon 447 is not very heavily annotated, it was glossed consistently at a uniform pace. Thus, even if none of the twenty books of the *Etymologiae* is equipped with more than 43 glosses, most of them received some attention. The most heavily glossed sections are books VIII (heresy and pagan lore, 39 glosses), IX (nations, languages and government, 14 glosses), X (the alphabetical glossary, 31 glosses), and XI (human body, 43 glosses). These four are also the only books that contain Old Irish glosses. In contrast to the Carolingian manuscripts of the *Etymologiae*, book I received only six glosses. While Laon 447 was produced and annotated in Mainz, that is, in an environment, which can be considered

⁶⁴ James P. CARLEY, Ann DOOLEY, «An early Irish fragment of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*», in Lesley J. ABRAMS, James P. CARLEY (ed.), *The Archaeology and history of Glastonbury abbey: Essays in honour of the 90th birthday of C. A. Ralegh Radford*, Woodbridge, 1991, p. 135-161 (p. 147).

⁶⁵ See footnote 21.

Carolingianized by the time the manuscript was produced and annotated⁶⁶, the fact that it was annotated consistently across the entire text of the *Etymologiae*, the pronounced lack of interest in book I, and the interest in certain other topics, such as heresy and the human body, set it apart from contemporary Carolingian annotated manuscripts of Isidore's encyclopaedia.

At the same time, the annotations in Laon 447 can also be described as scholarly. This manuscript is a large-format (345 × 245 mm) encyclopaedic copy of the *Etymologiae*. It represents a specific class of early medieval manuscripts transmitting Isidore's *magnum opus* that were typically produced as in-house, and sometimes deluxe, reference tools: to be stored, consulted and studied in the place of their origin, not to be carried around or used for teaching⁶⁷. The complexity of some of the annotations, which interpret and comment on Isidore, and upgrade the text by bringing in novel information, makes it clear that they are the product of scholarly engagement with the text rather than being intended for students or serving as a teacher's classroom aid. Most of the sixteen longer annotations in this manuscript, for example, represent citations from other authorities that are introduced to add something that is missing in the original text. These long cross-referencing annotations distinguish Laon 447 from other manuscripts annotated in an insular manner and make it resemble the continental scholarly manuscripts discussed in the following section. Laon 447 also features many short lexical and grammatical glosses of the kind that appear in manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* annotated in the insular milieu and are in general characteristic of early medieval annotation practices.

The presence of vernacular glosses points out two other complete copies of the *Etymologiae* that preserve annotations of insular origin: **London, British Library, Harley 3941** (9th/10th century, Brittany) and **Paris, BnF, Lat. 7585** (9th century^{2/4}, northern France and 10th century^{2/2}, Canterbury). These two manuscripts are very similar. Both are encyclopaedic copies of the *Etymologiae* transmitting all twenty books of this work. Both contain a large number of annotations, ranking therefore as the two most heavily annotated surviving copies of the *Etymologiae*: Harley 3941 contains more than 850 glosses and Paris Lat. 7585 more than 1000 glosses. Both manuscripts also display the same annotation pattern: book I received more glosses than other books, but all twenty books were annotated to some extent. Also, both codices were annotated in the insular region relatively late in the early Middle Ages: Harley 3941 at the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century in Brittany, and Paris Lat.

⁶⁶ The archbishopric of Mainz was founded by the Anglo-Saxon missionary Boniface in 745 and retained its insular connection for at least the following half a century. However, already at the beginning of the 9th century, Caroline minuscule displaced Anglo-Saxon minuscule as the script used at Mainz scriptorium; Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Latin Palaeography. Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 117.

⁶⁷ See E. STEINOVÁ, «The Oldest Manuscript Tradition of the *Etymologiae*», p. 111-112.

7585, in Canterbury in the second half of the 10th century⁶⁸. Moreover, annotations in both manuscripts were inserted by the hands of copyists, and therefore this work seems to have taken place in the scriptorium in the context of their production or reconstruction. Finally, due to extensive similarities to annotations in other manuscripts, annotations in both Harley 3941 and Paris Lat. 7585 can be shown to have circulated on the continent and in the insular region for decades before their copying into the two manuscripts, in some cases for more than a century⁶⁹. Few of the annotations in either codex seem to have sprung into being in response to the immediate need.

Harley 3941 and **Paris Lat. 7585** are two depository copies of the *Etymologiae* akin to the depository manuscripts we encountered in the Carolingian Frankish environment. What sets them apart is the exceptionally large number of glosses that were stored in them – no Frankish Carolingian depository manuscript contains more than 350 annotations. In fact, the extent of the accumulation of the annotations in these two codices is so significant that they can be considered to represent the pinnacle of the accumulative processes, reflecting a process of systematic collection and planning on a scale not seen elsewhere in the early Middle Ages.

It is perhaps not accidental that these two important witnesses of annotations to the *Etymologiae* come from the insular region. Those responsible for the layers of annotations in both manuscripts were not constrained by any particular focus of their acquisition, obtaining batches of annotations of both insular and non-insular origin and fusing them. Because of this choice, even if the depository manuscripts are relatively recent, they seem to preserve older insular material. The insular and non-insular (i.e., Carolingian) batches of annotations preserved in these two codices cannot be easily distinguished due to their fused nature, but boundaries between them can be glimpsed. For example, it has been noted that the tastes and interests of insular and non-insular annotators differed

⁶⁸ **Paris Lat. 7585** is originally a Frankish manuscript produced in the second quarter of the 9th century in northern France. The manuscript was damaged already in the early Middle Ages and restored at its arrival in Canterbury by three 10th-century scribes, one of whom is also responsible for the majority of annotations; see T. A. M. BISHOP, *English Caroline minuscule*, Oxford, 1971, p. 4.

⁶⁹ **Harley 3941** contains a set of glosses to chapter *De pedibus* (*Etym.* I 17) found also in **Paris Lat. 7490** and shares another set of glosses to *Etym.* I 33-39 with **Orléans 296**. **Paris Lat. 7585** contains glosses to chapters about letters (*Etym.* I 3-4) recurring in a number of Frankish Carolingian grammatical handbooks. **Paris Lat. 7585** contains a large number of embedded glosses copied by the English scribes on the restored leaves. These glosses were likely found in the exemplar used by the Canterbury scribes to restore the damaged 9th-century codex. It is telling that only three of the identified embedded glosses in Paris Lat. 7585 find a parallel in a Carolingian Frankish manuscript (*a Pyrrho* on fol. 8r glossing *Pyrrichius* in *Etym.* I 17.2 also found in **Leiden VLO 41** and in several other continental and insular manuscripts; *videre* on fol. 15r glossing *ire* in *Etym.* I 34.5, also found in **Leiden VLF 82**; and *hoc est fortium* glossing *heroum* in *Etym.* I 39.10 found in six other manuscript, both continental and insular), while sixteen are attested in manuscripts annotated in insular environment.

significantly. We should, thus, assume that as far as these codices contain annotations to book I, these are mostly of Carolingian Frankish origin, while annotations to other books reflect the insular strain of annotation.

In Harley 3941, book I features over 530 glosses, more than half of all annotations found in this manuscript, yet no vernacular glosses. The other books are also glossed but only sparingly, much like Laon 447. The most heavily annotated sections apart from book I are books V (laws and time-keeping, 38 glosses) and X (alphabetical glossary, 32 glosses). The bulk of the 32 vernacular glosses in this manuscript appears in books IV (medicine, 5 glosses), XI (human body, 8 glosses) and XII (animals, 5 glosses). More than 57 % of the glosses to book I in Harley 3941 can be attested in Carolingian grammatical handbooks from northern France⁷⁰. No similar parallel with Carolingian codices exists for the other annotated sections of the *Etymologiae*; however, they display an agreement with Paris Lat. 7585 and with other manuscripts annotated in England, a sign of their insular roots.

A similar fusion pattern can also be observed in Paris Lat. 7585, which contains at least 225 glosses to book I of the *Etymologiae* and almost 800 glosses to other books⁷¹. The most heavily annotated sections apart from book I are books II (rhetoric and dialectic, 89 glosses), III (*quadrivium*, 73 glosses), IV (medicine, 76 glosses), and VIII (heresy and pagan lore, 70 glosses). The primarily Latin glosses are interspersed with a handful of Old English ones found in books I, XI, XV, and XVII. A single hybrid Celtic-Latin gloss can be found on fol. 38r⁷². The contrast between the first book, which would integrate glosses of Carolingian origin, and other books, which would contain mostly glosses of insular origin, is less substantial than in the case of Harley 3941. The impression is that Paris Lat. 7585 is more purely insular than Harley 3941, even though it is almost a century younger and its core is constituted by a 9th-century

⁷⁰ To be more precise, Harley 3941 shares many glosses, including long and complex ones, with **Orléans 296**. Since the latter manuscript is attested at Fleury at a later time and since Fleury maintained ties with Brittany in the early Middle Ages, serving as a crucial conduit for the transmission of texts from northern France to Brittany, Fleury very likely played the role of a broker in this transfer of material. For the role of Fleury in the textual transfer to Brittany, see Pierre RICHÉ, «Relations entre l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire et les pays celtiques (x^e-xi^e siècles)», in Louis LEMOINE, Bernard MERDRIGNAC (ed.), *Corona monastica: moines bretons de Landévennec: histoire et mémoire celtiques: mélanges offerts au père Marc Simon*, Rennes, 2004 (*Britannia monastica*, 8), p. 17-22.

⁷¹ I examined systematically only the first two books of this manuscript. The amounts of glosses in books III-XX should, therefore, be considered a rough estimate. The assessment of the total number of glosses in this manuscript was complicated by the fact that they are often difficult to distinguish from corrections and variant readings added by the same hand, and because there are evidently many glosses integrated in the main text of the *Etymologiae*.

⁷² This is the peculiar Latinized *i. filiabus to a poetis* (*Etym.* III 15.2). Dáibhí Ó Cróinín shares my impression that rather than daughters, reference is here made to the Old Irish word *filí* ('poet, sage'). For this word, see the *Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language*, at: <http://www.dil.ie/22070>.

Frankish manuscript⁷³. Indeed, many of the glosses in **Paris Lat. 7585** are identical to those found otherwise only in **Harley 3941** or other English and Breton manuscripts rather than to those found in Carolingian manuscripts discussed above. Furthermore, a significant part of the annotations in **Paris Lat. 7585** is exceptionally closely related to glosses preserved in the fragments **Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Membr. I 147** (book I), **New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. G 28** (book III), **Paderborn, Erzbishöfliche Akademische Bibliothek** (books IX and X), and **Weimar, Thuringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Herdenberg-Sig 12 a and 14 a** (book X), **Herdringen, Archiv der Freiherren von Fürstenberg, Fragn. s.n.** (books III and IV), another important witness of the insular strain of annotation of the *Etymologiae*. These fragments represent the remnants of an annotated encyclopaedic copy of the *Etymologiae* produced and glossed in Brittany in the second quarter of the 9th century. The eleven surviving folia of this book contain 66 or 67 Latin and 15 or 16 Old Breton glosses, as well as one gloss that is either Old Breton or Old Irish⁷⁴. Although it cannot be ruled out that annotators of this fragmentarily preserved Breton codex were also influenced by Carolingian trends, the fact that the glosses in this manuscript find no echo in 9th-century Carolingian manuscripts makes it probable that a fair number of them was generated locally and thus have a specific insular pedigree⁷⁵.

The agreement between this almost entirely lost Breton manuscript and Paris Lat. 7585 is substantial and concerns particular palaeographic features as well⁷⁶. It is, therefore, probably a result of a direct transfer of material that took

⁷³ This impression is enhanced by the fact that the leaves copied in the 10th century contain many insular abbreviations and letter-forms not present in the 9th-century Frankish core. Evidently, the Canterbury scribes-annotators used an insular manuscript to supply the matter missing from the damaged codex. Notable is the presence of the ancient *nota* for *inter* in the form with an I longa with a stroke through its shaft, which was retained only in insular environment, especially in Ireland and Wales; the ancient *nota* for *aut* in the form of a with a suspension stroke, which is also typical of Celtic insular manuscripts; the ancient forms of *haec* with a horizontal stroke to the right of the shaft, but not transecting it and *hoc* in the form of an h with a dot to the right of the shaft, likewise favoured by insular, and particularly Irish, scribes; and the insular abbreviation for *cuius* in the form of c and s with a suspension stroke, common in Irish and Welsh manuscripts, but rare in Anglo-Saxon ones; see Wallace M. LINDSAY, *Notae Latinae: an account of abbreviation in Latin mss. of the early minuscule period (c. 700-850)*, Cambridge, 1915, p. 11, 37, 97-98, and 111-112. On fol. 8r, the English scribes copied the word *iuncturam* (*Etym. I 17.8*) as *uncturtim*. Similar mistakes reflecting a script rich in insular a's abound.

⁷⁴ See Dáibhí Ó CRÓINÍN, «A 'Lost' Old Irish Gloss Rediscovered», *Peritia*, 33, 2022, forthcoming.

⁷⁵ Especially the presence of the Old Irish gloss suggests that the exemplar from which the glosses were copied was annotated in Irish environment, presumably on the British Isles. It may indicate that the core set of glosses found both in Paris Lat. 7585 and the lost Breton codex is Irish in origin.

⁷⁶ Notably, both manuscripts use the standard form of the *pro-* abbreviation to stand for *proprium nomen* (e.g., on fol. 15v, 16r, 18v and 38r in Paris Lat. 7585 and on fol. 1r, 1v and 2r of the Gotha fragment), both abbreviate the Latin word *civitas* and its various morphological forms as *civi* with a suspension stroke (e.g. on fol. 38r in Paris Lat. 7585 and fol. 1r in the Gotha fragment), and both

place in the early Middle Ages. It cannot be ruled out that the Breton codex served as a direct source for the later manuscript, although it is perhaps more likely that there existed a collection of insular glosses to the *Etymologiae* that circulated through the insular world in the early Middle Ages and was copied into both manuscripts⁷⁷.

The annotations in Harley 3941, Paris Lat. 7585, and even the fragments preserved in Gotha, New York, and Herdringen display the characteristic features that I also described in the case of Laon 447: they are encyclopaedic copies of the *Etymologiae* (which is also true for the Longleat manuscript), and they contain annotations to most of the books of the *Etymologiae*, not only book I. Harley 3941 and Paris Lat. 7585 contain both longer complex annotations and shorter lexical, grammatical and syntactic glosses as a part of a single layer. All but Laon 447 and the Longleat fragment were annotated by the copyists or by hands very similar to those that copied them and therefore very clearly glossed in the context of scriptoria in which they were produced. Even the fragmentary Breton codex from the first half of the 9th century contained layers of annotation that were copied into it rather than generated specifically for this codex, as is suggested by the close textual similarity to Paris Lat. 7585. The contemporary Laon 447 does not contain any copied annotations but rather seems an original and context-specific expression of scholarly interest in the insular milieu on the continent (thus the isolated character of glosses in this codex, which are unrelated to annotations in any other manuscript, insular or not).

Besides these five manuscripts, we have three other witnesses of insular annotation of the *Etymologiae*; all annotated very late. **Oxford, Queen's College, MS 320** (10th century, med. or 10th century, ¾, England) is an English manuscript of the entire *Etymologiae*, into which 43 Latin and 1 Old English glosses were added by a single Anglo-Norman hand at the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century. The majority of these glosses appear in book I and are identical to glosses found in Paris Lat. 7585 and Harley 3941. Two can be traced back to 9th-century Carolingian grammatical compendia. **London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.xv** is a composite manuscript. Its core was produced in north-eastern France in the second half of the 8th century and gradually expanded in England in the 10th and 11th centuries. It made its way to

contain heavily abbreviated glosses difficult to resolve (e.g. *Affri* with a suspension stroke for *Africæ* on fol. 18v in Paris Lat. 7585, and *ver* with a suspension stroke for *vertices* on fol. 1r and *mul* for *mulieres* on fol. 2v of the Gotha fragment).

⁷⁷ The extensive parallels between Paris Lat. 7585 and the lost Breton manuscript are not restricted only to book I, but appear consistently across those sections of the *Etymologiae* that survive from the latter (i.e., also books III and IV). For this reason, it seems probable that many of the glosses to those books of the *Etymologiae* that were not commonly glossed in Carolingian environment and survive solely in Paris Lat. 7585 had once been also present in the fragmentarily preserved Breton manuscript, so that the contents of this rather late manuscript annotated in England can be used as a partial proxy for the lost Breton manuscript.

Christ Church at Canterbury before the end of the 10th century and may have been annotated there. The continental core of the codex contains an excerpt from *Etym. I 21* (*De notis sententiarum*), to which 10 Latin glosses were added in the 12th century in England. Most of these glosses are also found in Paris Lat. 7585 and some in Harley 3941, the latter reflecting older material from the Carolingian environment. **Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, BVMM, Collections privées, digitisation of CP 342** (olim Phillipps 2129, 10th century, north-eastern France or Belgium) is an encyclopaedic copy of the *Etymologiae* annotated in the 12th century, probably in Tournai, where the manuscript is attested from this period onwards. However, the glosses in this manuscript are closely related to glosses in Paris Lat. 7585 and the Gotha fragment and display notable insular traits that make it clear they belong to the insular strain.

Given that the oldest surviving witnesses of the insular strain of annotation probably date to the 9th century, it is difficult to fill the gap of more than a hundred years separating them from the arrival of the *Etymologiae* in Ireland. It is certainly significant that all of the post-800 witnesses except for the unique and isolated Laon 447 can be shown to contain annotations that were copied. It is perhaps an indication that little over one hundred years was enough time for the initial vigour that led to the generation of glosses to cease and for the insular annotations to become inherited material circulating in Ireland, England, and Brittany. The chronology of the Carolingian Frankish strain of annotation, whose various stages of generation and coalescing were discussed in the previous section, can provide us with a valuable benchmark. Notably, we have seen that the main generative phase of these Carolingian annotations, characterized by spontaneous and unplanned annotation for immediate needs of individual glossators in the first half of the 9th century, gave way to a more systematizing and consolidating accumulation efforts by the late 9th century. Although glosses probably never ceased to be generated, gradually, there was less generation and more copying, so that within a hundred years, most material that circulated may have been inherited from earlier generations of glossators. Suppose a similar pace of evolution of annotation can be proposed for the insular environment. In that case, it should not surprise us that already in the second quarter of the 9th century, when the fragmentarily preserved Breton manuscript may have been annotated, many insular glosses would have been primarily copied. By the time Paris Lat. 7585 was glossed in Canterbury in the second half of the 10th century, the insular strain of annotation was already three centuries old and well past its generative phase.

Furthermore, if the natural incubators for glosses in the insular environment were technical handbooks and books used in the context of instruction, just like in the Carolingian environment, these are almost entirely lost. A stray Old Breton gloss and two Latin glosses found in the computistic collection, **Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 476** (9th century^{2/2}, Brittany) may hint that

annotation in the insular environment was driven by specialist interests, such as the study of computus. The glosses in the Longleat fragment also appear in a chapter that would be of particular interest to computists. By relying on encyclopaedic copies of the *Etymologiae*, we may be observing the insular strain of annotations indirectly, as if through a mirror. If it still had a generative side in the 9th century, we would not know, since by accessing it only through various depositories that were secondary to the living strain of glossing, we are observing them in a more fixed state than was the reality of their organic existence.

The future research of the insular strain of annotation of the *Etymologiae* will have to clarify to what extent the glosses found in the 9th- and 10th-century manuscripts from an insular milieu came into being before the 9th century and may reflect the reception of Isidore's much-revered encyclopaedia in Ireland and the Celtic world in the 7th and the 8th centuries. The total of almost 2000 glosses in Harley 3941 and Paris Lat. 7585, which have not yet been studied except for the vernacular glosses, are likely to hold the key to this question.

The scholarly strain of annotation

As was noted in the previous section, **Laon 447** annotated in Mainz by the Irish scholar Probus and his associates is not a typical witness of the insular strain of the annotation of the *Etymologiae*. While it reflects similar interests as other insular manuscripts, particularly in Probus's preoccupation with book XI⁷⁸, it is nevertheless an isolate, as its annotations are not textually related to annotations in other manuscripts glossed in an insular environment. It is clear that while Probus's insular background may have shaped his outlooks and interests, he and his circle nevertheless worked independently from the annotation trends taking place around them, driven by an intellectual curiosity that resulted in a unique, creative, and at times personal layer of annotations. Thus, Isidore's distinction of the human from the divine law makes the insular annotator from Probus's circle reflect on the unjust human laws (*Etym.* V 2.2)⁷⁹; he adds various clarifying remarks about heresies, which Isidore enumerates in *Etym.* VIII 5⁸⁰;

⁷⁸ This book may have been of a particular interest to Irish readers of the *Etymologiae*. It is not often found excerpted or studied on its own, with the exception of two early fragments of Irish provenance: **St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1399 a.1** (7th century, Ireland or Irish centre on the Continent) and **Harvard, Houghton Library, Typ. 613 + München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29410/2 + München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14938 + New York, Columbia University, Plimpton 127 + Regensburg, Staatsliche Bibliothek, Fragm. 1** (8th/9th century, Regensburg, Irish half-uncial).

⁷⁹ On fol. 44r: «i. per malum quod alienum est a veritate inde non constringitur lex divina male decreto. Non ita lex humana. Quicquid enim ius moverit perficit et ipsud constringit».

⁸⁰ For example, he elaborates on the nature of the heresies of Valentinian (*Etym.* VIII 5.11, on fol. 76r: «i. alterum mundum et alterum regnum paradisum caeleste dicunt Deum creasse»), Apelles (*Etym.* VIII 5.1, on fol. 76r: «i. angelu<m> saeculi superioris et excelsioris fecit Deum

and corrects Isidore on the etymology of the *Scotti* (*Etym.* IX 2.103)⁸¹. As a result, annotations in Laon 447 possess a certain vividness that the manuscripts discussed here so far lack, but which can be found in those annotated codices, which reflect an intellectual engagement with the *Etymologiae* stemming from its study.

Like Laon 447, other surviving early medieval manuscripts annotated by studious readers are products of isolated outbursts of intellectual energy prompted by Isidore's encyclopaedia. I am aware of seven such cases if we also count in Laon 447. While in both insular and Carolingian milieu, identical glosses can be found across multiple manuscripts, and thus we get a sense of circulation and transmission, this is not the case with the manuscripts annotated in a scholarly fashion. Due to their unique and highly specific tenor, they cannot be seen as different manifestations of a specific annotation tradition. Nevertheless, these isolated outbursts of engagement generated similar types of annotations because they are grounded in the wider early medieval culture of learning common to their annotators.

In three cases, **Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, MS LIII (37)** (12 annotations, 10th/11th century, Ivrea), **Vercelli, Biblioteca capitolare, MS CII (61)** (at least 20 marginal summaries, 9th/10th century, Lyon) and Laon 447 (210 annotations), layers of scholarly annotations remain restricted to a single annotated manuscript. In three other cases, scholarly annotations were copied from an exemplar to a copy or copies. Annotations from **Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, S. XXI.5** (9th century^{1/3}, northern Italy, perhaps Novara), which was glossed at the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century, presumably in the place of its production, made their way into its *codex descriptus*, **Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS II 46** (11th/12th century, north-eastern Italy). Sibling manuscripts **St. Gallen 233** (37 annotations, c. 800, St. Gall) and **St. Gallen 235** (64 annotations, c. 800, St. Gall) contain identical marginal summaries to books XII-XIX of the *Etymologiae*, which must have been found in their common parent. The same is true for the lexical glosses to *Etym.* I and longer annotations to other books of the *Etymologiae* found in **Madrid RAH 25** (119 annotations, c. 946, San Millán de la Cogolla) and **Madrid RAH 76** (116 annotations, c. 954, northern Spain, probably, San Pedro de Cardeña). These two early witnesses of a mid-10th-century redaction of the *Etymologiae* from northern Spain were probably directly copied from the prototype of this redaction and inherited their annotations from it. A special case is the transmission of the famous *scholia Vallicelliana* that today survive as annotations only in **Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, A 18** (296 annotations, 12th century, Italy). However,

legis Israel qui igneus est ut illi fulso opinantur sicut in rubo apparuit», and Marcion (*Etym.* VIII 6.23, on fol. 78v: «alius Deus melior fecit tranquillitatem ita illi putant»).

⁸¹ On fol. 89r: «i. haec aethimologia Pictis magis convenit quam Scottis; a Scotta enim Pharaonis filia Scotti nominati sunt.».

as a subscription in this manuscript informs us, the 12th-century codex is a copy of a manuscript that was copied on behalf of bishop Grauso of Ceneda (d. 1003) a century or so earlier. Grauso's manuscript, in turn, descended from a codex of the *Etymologiae* annotated by Paul the Deacon at the end of the 8th century. The *scholia Vallicelliana* are nothing else than snippets of learning that Paul collected in the margins of a manuscript of the *Etymologiae* in the course of his personal study⁸². Furthermore, the important witness of the *Etymologiae* copied at Monte Cassino at the end of the 8th century, **Cava dei Tirreni, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 2**, contains some of the *scholia*, albeit embedded in the main text⁸³. It has now been shown that other more recent Italian manuscripts also contain individual *scholia* interpolated in the main text⁸⁴. In their impact and extent of diffusion, the *scholia Vallicelliana* are, thus, unique among the material that can be shown to have begun its life as scholarly annotations in the early Middle Ages⁸⁵.

In contrast to manuscripts from the Carolingian environment, which could contain more than 1000 glosses to book I of the *Etymologiae*, and to manuscripts from the insular milieu, which may have likewise contained up to 1000 glosses spread across the entirety of Isidore's text, the most heavily annotated manuscript equipped with scholarly annotations, **Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, A 18**, contains less than 300 annotations to all books of the encyclopaedia. Some of the pre-1200 manuscripts annotated in the context of study feature as few as 43 (**Cesena S.XXI.5** and **Venice II.46**), 37 (**St. Gallen 233**), 20 (**Vercelli CII**), or 12 annotations (**Ivrea LIII**). The low volumes corroborate that the annotation of the text of the *Etymologiae* by scholarly-minded readers was the result of spontaneous outbursts or non-systematic personal collection rather than a planned effort oriented towards dissemination or use by a designated community.

It can be observed that none of the known pre-1200 manuscripts containing scholarly annotations to the *Etymologiae* comes from or was annotated in northern France, which, on account of the intensity of the glossing of the first book of the *Etymologiae*, appears as the most prominent region where Isidore's text

⁸² C. VILLA, «Uno schedario di Paolo Diacono», p. 78-79.

⁸³ Veronika VON BÜREN, «Les “Etymologies” de Paul Diacre? Le manuscrit Cava de’ Tirreni, 2 (XXIII) et le Liber Glossarum», *Italia medievale e umanistica*, 53, 2012, p. 1-36 (p. 5-6); and Ernesto STAGNI, «Nell’officina di Paolo Diacono? Prime indagini su Isidoro e Cassiodoro nel Par. lat. 7530», *Litterae Caelestes*, 4, 2012, p. 9-105 (p. 20-21).

⁸⁴ Some of these *recentiores* are mentioned in C. CODONER MERINO, «Transmisión y recepción», p. 12-13. Ernesto Stagni, who is currently working on the manuscripts containing interpolated *scholia*, can now account for more than a dozen of them.

⁸⁵ At least some of the interpolations found in the pre-1200 manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* probably began their life as annotations. However, unlike in the case of the *scholia Vallicelliana*, we don't possess codices containing these other interpolations in the form of annotations. Notable case are the interpolations from the so-called *Isidorus Iunior* in chapters 34-36 of book I of the *Etymologiae*; see footnote 26. Ernesto Stagni is currently working on these interpolations.

was annotated in the early Middle Ages. Rather, a significant proportion of the manuscripts featuring scholarly annotations come from Italy, a region largely unaffected by the Carolingian Frankish glossing frenzy, nor penetrated by insular annotations described here⁸⁶. **St. Gallen 233** and **St. Gallen 235** produced at St. Gall should be properly counted among witnesses of the Italian fondness for annotating manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* in the context of the study. Both reflect the Italian family of the *Etymologiae* (β), an indication that their parent was most likely a codex procured from across the Alps⁸⁷. Moreover, the marginal summaries in these two codices show a peculiar interest in the geography of the Apennine peninsula, further indicating that they originated there⁸⁸. This leaves us with only two instances of scholarly annotation of the *Etymologiae* from outside Italy: Laon 447 annotated in the insular milieu on the continent, and the two Madrid manuscripts, which are our only testimony of annotation of the *Etymologiae* on the Iberian peninsula.

It may come as a surprise that (Carolingian) Italy should emerge as a prominent locus of scholarly engagement with the text of the *Etymologiae* in the early Middle Ages, just as the fact that we possess no evidence of similar engagement from the Carolingian Frankish milieu. Most of the early medieval encyclopaedic copies of the *Etymologiae* were probably produced in northern France⁸⁹. Carolingian scriptoria in this region churned out manuscripts of Isidore's text that were not merely suitable for but intended for study at an astonishing rate, a clear indication that there existed a demand for them. We should not doubt that many of these copies were also used for study and consulted by scholars. However, such activity left hardly any trace in the form of marginalia. Except for the few encyclopaedic copies of the *Etymologiae* that attracted glosses to

⁸⁶ Although Northern Italy was strongly influenced by the insular text of the *Etymologiae*. For example, **Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L 99 sup.** was copied from an Irish exemplar at Bobbio in the second half of the 8th century; see M. REYDELLET, «La diffusion des *Origines*», p. 433-434. However, no annotations seem to have been transmitted via this channel.

⁸⁷ B. BISCHOFF, «Die europäische Verbreitung», p. 340.

⁸⁸ On p. 82 of **St. Gallen 235** (MS 233, p. 149), the two lakes mentioned in *Etym.* XIII 19.2 («ut lacus Benacus et Larius») are identified as «lacora (sic!) Gardenses et Commeses». Similarly, the river Eridanus mentioned as one of the principal rivers of Italy in *Etym.* XIV 4.19 («habet ... fluvios Eridanum et Tiberim») is identified on p. 106 of **St. Gallen 235** (MS 233, p. 170) as «*de Pado*». The annotation on p. 117 of **St. Gallen 235** specifies that Mount Etna mentioned in *Etym.* XIV 6.32 («et ibi Aethnae montis», codd. «et Bibia Ethne montis») is situated beyond Naples («de monte Beblio ultra Nabuli (sic!)»), probably a confusion with Vesuvius. Another annotation on the same page marks the section where the island of Vulcano (*insulæ et Vulcaniae*) is mentioned in *Etym.* XIV 6.36: «<de ins>olla Vulganae dicitur». Only in St. Gallen 233 appears a tab marking the passage about Milan (*Etym.* XV 1.57) as «*de Mediolano*» (p. 198), which may indicate the locus of the origin of these annotations.

⁸⁹ Of the 110 identified well-preserved or fragmented encyclopaedic copies of the *Etymologiae* from before the early 11th century, 40 were produced in Frankish area, 25 in the German area, and 22 in Italy. These numbers, naturally, reflect also the different survival rate of the manuscripts transmitting the *Etymologiae* across various regions, but it is nevertheless suggestive of a higher production rate of the scriptoria situated in the Frankish lands than elsewhere.

the first book of Isidore's work, the margins of the manuscripts produced in the Carolingian heartland are unexpectedly pristine, or at least untouched by early medieval readers. There is no simple answer to the question of why this should be the case. It perhaps has to do with the heavy emphasis on the use of the *Etymologiae* for instruction in the Frankish lands⁹⁰, which may have affected how this text was perceived in this region and therefore approached. It seems that the absence of similar preoccupations in Italy opened the door to the generation of annotations reflecting the context of study in this region.

Scholarly annotations to the *Etymologiae* were transmitted exclusively by their copying together with the main text, in contrast to annotations from the Carolingian school environment and insular milieu. In all but one case, the copying took place within a century of the original act of annotation, often within mere decades of it, as a result of selecting an annotated manuscript for an exemplar for the production of new copies. In all but one case, the annotations were not transmitted more than once. The singular exception are the *scholia Vallicelliana*, which survive in a manuscript produced more than three centuries later, and which were diffused relatively widely, perhaps due to the authority and reputation they were accorded in Italy. As a result of their transmission pattern, the scholarly annotations were transmitted in a substantially more integral manner than annotations that came into being in the context of Carolingian schools. As was noted, glosses in the Carolingian environment (and to a lesser extent in the insular environment) seem to have circulated in small batches. The layers of annotation in the most heavily annotated manuscripts look like amalgamates unique to each codex. In the case of scholarly annotations, even the *scholia Vallicelliana*, however, we gain the impression of a more orderly transmission akin to that of standard texts. While it is clear that scribes often omitted or added annotations in the process of copying, making the transmission more fluid than in the case of set texts, the extent of the integrity of transmitted sets is, nevertheless, such that it is possible to reconstruct a particular layer of scholarly annotations as it descended to us via witnesses.

In many cases, learned members of specific communities used the pages of Isidore's encyclopaedia as a personal repository, copying in rare or precious texts that complement the content of the main text. The *scholia Vallicelliana* mostly consist of extracts from Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, Solinus, Festus, Hyginus's *Fabulae*, Lactantius's *Institutiones*, Eucherius's *Instructiones*, and some rarer texts such as the *Diaeta Theodori* and Basil's *Homeliae in Hexameron*⁹¹. In **Ivrea LIII**, an anonymous annotator working around the year 1000

⁹⁰ This emphasis did not concern only the teaching the grammar, but extended to many other areas of instruction, such as the education of the clergy and the catechesis of lay people; see S. KEEFE, *Water and the Word*, p. 13. See also B. BISCHOFF, «Libraries and Schools», p. 105; and J. J. CONTRENI, «The Pursuit of Knowledge», p. 124-125.

⁹¹ See C. VILLA, «Uno schedario di Paolo Diacono», p. 64-66.

squeezed in long excerpts in the blank spaces around tables of contents to individual books. The identifiable sources include Julian of Toledo's *Hexameron*, Ausonius's *Versus novem musarum*, Bede's *De temporibus*, Martial's *Epigrams*, but the collection also includes many anonymous versified compositions and a treatise on Boethian meters⁹². The long excerpts in Laon 447 come from Origen's *Commentarii in epistolam ad Romanos*, Bede's *In Lucae evangelium*, *In Marci evangelium*, and *Nomina regionum atque locorum de actibus apostolorum*, Nonius Marcellus's *Compendiosa doctrina*, Augustine's *Enarratio in Psalmos*, the *Liber glossarum*, Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in evangelia*, other sections of the *Etymologiae*, and an unidentified insular exegetical collection resembling the *Liber questionum in evangelii*⁹³. Among the more exotic sources of the long excerpts in the margins of **Cesena S.XXI.5** are the eleventh book of Justinian's code, Quintus Serenus's *Liber medicinalis*, a chronograph for the year 354, and an unknown historiographic text about Roman emperors showing some similarities with Cassiodorus's *Historia tripartita*, while more commonplace texts are represented by Ausonius's *Versus in quo mense quod signum sit ad cursum solis*⁹⁴.

In other cases, scholarly readers primarily equipped codices with marginal notes to flag passages of special interest. Leo of Vercelli marked many passages in **Vercelli CII (61)**, some of them with a characteristic n-shaped *nota* sign and his name⁹⁵. The 8th-century reader of the *Etymologiae* who produced the marginal summaries now preserved in **St. Gallen 233** and **St. Gallen 235** was interested in the causes of monstrous births in book XII⁹⁶, used one of Isidore's remarks in the same book to warn against wine-drinking⁹⁷, showed great interest in the properties of bronze (*Etym. XVI 20*)⁹⁸, and marked the passage mentioning the mosquito net in book XIX⁹⁹.

However, perhaps the most interesting scholarly annotations reflect personal thought, theological reflections, or a polemic. Annotations of this type can be found in **Madrid RAH 25** and **Madrid RAH 76**, the two codices preserving

⁹² M. FERRARI, «Il postillatore dell'anno Mille», p. 189-194.

⁹³ Moreover, the citations from Bede's *Nomina regionum* contain unique interpolations that were perhaps originally glosses to this text in the exemplar used by the glossator.

⁹⁴ A. BELLETTINI, «Il codice del sec. IX di Cesena, Malatestiano S. XXI.5», p. 62-64.

⁹⁵ These can be found, for example, next to the discussion of Daniel in book VII (54v: «Nota Leo cur Daniel vocatus sit vir desideriorum»), the definition of Antichrist (63r: «Leo anticristum») and the explanation of Athena's birth from Zeus's head in book VIII (fol. 64v: «Cur Minerva dicatur nasci de capite Iovis»), and the description of various herbs in book XVII (128r-132r: «edera, euforbiuum, aloe, mandragora, allium, Leo nota eruca, apium, ruta»); S. GAVINELLI, «Leone di Vercelli», p. 252-253.

⁹⁶ St. Gallen 233, p. 95 (MS 233, p. 15): «Hic dicit unde in feminis vero animalibus monstruosa nascuntur».

⁹⁷ St. Gallen 235, p. 42 (MS 233, p. 116): «Hic dicit ut non bibat hono (*sic!*) vinum.»

⁹⁸ St. Gallen 235, p. 180: «De cathmia de tolen (*sic!*) tauri, hirci, vulpis»; p. 181: «De erugine, quomo<do> facias»; p. 183: «ut non eruginet ferrus (*sic!*)».

⁹⁹ St. Gallen 235, p. 253: «<de> cincialario dicitur».

a layer of annotations that originated with the redactors of the *Etymologiae* working in the first half of the 10th century in northern Spain, perhaps at the important monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla. The presumably monastic author of the annotations seems to engage in a polemic against priests who took wives¹⁰⁰, did not educate their children well¹⁰¹, and performed tasks reserved for bishops¹⁰², and perhaps also against those who claimed that the value of the sacraments is determined by those who administer them¹⁰³.

While each layer of scholarly annotations in the manuscripts studied here is unique, revealing an original range of interests and preoccupations, we can, nevertheless, detect two common focuses of early medieval scholarly-minded readers of the *Etymologiae*. The annotations in the two Madrid manuscripts, **Vercelli CII (61)**, **Cesena S.XXI.5** and its copy **Venice II 46** disclose a surprising degree of interest in books VI-VIII dealing with the Bible, God, angels and saints, Church, sacraments, biblical figures and heresies¹⁰⁴. It is unusual to see that an encyclopaedic work such as the *Etymologiae* was studied for its theological content, especially since most of the themes in these three books were more fully developed in Isidore's other works and, moreover, works of other Patristic and medieval authors. This focus on books VI-VIII perhaps has its basis in the traditional monastic education geared towards studying the Bible, exegesis and theology, revealing certain early medieval scholarly readers as embedded in the monastic culture of their day. The other common focal point of scholarly readers seems to have been book XII dealing with animals, which is the most heavily annotated book in **Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, A 18**, and the two St. Gallen manuscripts. These annotations, and to a lesser extent the annotations found in the same manuscripts to books XIV (geography), XV (especially the section on cities), and XVI (precious stones), seem to be primarily curiosity-driven, echoing interest in the natural world and inherited Classical knowledge. Both focal points contrast with the Carolingian preoccupation with the first book of the

¹⁰⁰ **Madrid RAH 25**, fol. 113v (MS 76, fol. 54r) to *Etym.* VII 6.51: «Iosue nusquam legitur habuisse mulierem, inde meruit populum dirigere et terram reprobmissionis intrare. Quia Moyses mulierem habuit, inde non intravit reprobmissionis terram, quia nec in paradyso [Adam] cognovit uxorem suam, nec Noe et filii eius in archa dilubii, nec Iosue in deserto. Inde promissionis terram ingresso, quia virginitas in caelo est et nuptiae celebrantur in terra, sic sacerdos virginitas pollent in ecclesia, id est in caelo».

¹⁰¹ **Madrid RAH 25**, fol. 114r (MS 76, 54r) to *Etym.* VII 6.60: «Quisquis sacerdos in eruditio-nem (sic) filiorum tepidus extiterit, ipse merito retror[s]um cadit, sicut et Heli sacerdos cervice tenus de sella corruit et filii eorum in nihilum deveniunt et mortis perniciem incurunt. Sicut Ofni et Finees etiam filii filiorum aborsum faciunt, sicut mulieres eorum fecerunt».

¹⁰² **Madrid RAH 25**, fol. 120r (MS 76, fol. 57v) to *Etym.* VII 12.21: «Non licet presbyter (sic) crismare nec Spiritum Sanctum tradere, nisi episcopo».

¹⁰³ **Madrid RAH 25**, fol. 102v (MS 76, fol. 47v) to *Etym.* VI 19.42: «Baptismum aut aliquod sacramentum nec augetur per bonos nec minuitur per malos ministros».

¹⁰⁴ Little over the half of the annotations in **Madrid RAH 25** and **76** and almost a third of the annotations in the Cesena manuscript appear in these three books.

Etymologiae and the insular interest in the sections of Isidore's encyclopaedia dealing with medicine, the human body, and time-reckoning.

Conclusion

In 1982, Michael Lapidge's article «The Study of Latin Texts in late Anglo-Saxon England: The Evidence of Latin Glosses» started an important discussion about the function of Latin annotations in the early Middle Ages and the context of their origin¹⁰⁵. Lapidge argued that annotated manuscripts cannot always be considered classbooks, as had been put forward in scholarly literature¹⁰⁶. As far as it may be difficult to substantiate that particular glossed manuscripts were used in schools, Lapidge proposed that we consider other possible purposes of Latin glossing and suggested that the private reading prescribed by the Rule of St. Benedict was one of the important contexts of Latin glossing¹⁰⁷. In the decades following the publication of Lapidge's seminal article, the list of proposed contexts of annotations was widened beyond the school and the private reading to include the accumulation of valuable knowledge by scriptoria and libraries, the needs of communal reading in monastic communities, and scholarly study that took place beyond the pale of the classroom¹⁰⁸. As this article shows, the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville was annotated in most of these contexts, allowing us to observe early medieval annotation in many of its diverse forms. In the Carolingian Frankish environment, the *Etymologiae* was glossed almost exclusively due to the appropriation of the first book, *De grammatica*, for teaching grammar in schools, and its roots, therefore, lie in the classroom. In northern Italy, however, the *Etymologiae*, which was read here primarily as a learned encyclopaedia, received annotations from scholarly-minded readers in the context of their private study. In the insular world, the annotations seem to

¹⁰⁵ Michael LAPIDGE, «The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England. The Evidence of Latin Glosses», in Nicholas BROOKS (ed.), *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, Leicester, 1982, p. 99-140.

¹⁰⁶ A recent example is provided by Louis HOLTZ, «Glosse e commenti», in Guglielmo CAVALLO, Claudio LEONARDI, Enrico MENESTÒ (ed.), *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo I: Il Medioevo Latino. Volume III: La ricezione del testo*, Roma, 1995, p. 59-112 (p. 69-73).

¹⁰⁷ M. LAPIDGE, «The Study of Latin Texts», p. 126.

¹⁰⁸ See S. O'SULLIVAN, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia*, p. 83-84; M. BALDZUHN, *Schulbücher im Trivium*, p. 26-27; Mariken TEEUWEN, «Marginal Scholarship. Rethinking the Function of Latin Glosses in Early Medieval Manuscripts», in Patrizia LENINARA, Loredana LAZZARI, Claudia DI SCIACCA (ed.), *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses. New Perspectives in the Study of Late Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, Porto, 2011 (FIDEM *Textes et Études du Moyen Age*, 54), p. 19-37; R. C. LOVE, «The Latin Commentaries on Boethius's *De consolatione Philosophiae*», p. 76-81; M. SCHIEGG, *Frühmittelalterliche Glossen*, p. 125-208; and Mariken TEEUWEN, «Writing in the Blank Space of Manuscripts: Evidence from the Ninth Century», in Barbara CROSTINI, Gunilla IVERSEN, Brian M. JENSEN (ed.), *Ars Edendi Lecture Series*, vol. 4, Stockholm, 2016, p. 1-25.

straddle the middle ground between the two tendencies, being neither discernibly scholarly nor school-based, perhaps because they are geared towards the general comprehension of the text in an environment where Latin is an unfamiliar language or serve technical training (e.g., in computus and medicine).

Importantly, these various annotation contexts can be identified not thanks to the content and the form of the annotations¹⁰⁹. The annotations found in the pre-1200 manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* are overwhelmingly lexical glosses, irrespectively of whether they can be linked to the classroom, attributed to notable scholars, or have another origin. It is rather the manuscript context in which these glosses appear and the patterns of their distribution and transmission that allow us to identify them as stemming from the engagement of schoolmasters and students, scholars and learned readers, or librarians and copyists. In the first place, the material properties of annotated manuscripts provide an important clue as to the context of the origin and function of particular sets of glosses. As we have seen in this article, most of the annotated manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* that reflect glossing in the context of schools are grammatical handbooks and booklets, while all manuscripts containing scholarly annotations are encyclopaedic copies of the *Etymologiae* and thus library books¹¹⁰. Likewise, it was noted that annotations to the *Etymologiae* from the Carolingian environment, which can be shown to have originated in schools, were transmitted in small batches. As a result, manuscripts from this region display a peculiarly muffled pattern of textual relationship. Annotations that came into being as a product of study seem to have been rather transmitted as large sets so that the textual relationship between surviving manuscripts containing them is not nearly as complicated as in the case of Carolingian manuscripts (and they can perhaps even be edited). Thus, the degree of integrity of the transmission of annotations may be another useful criterion for the assessment of their context of origin and transmission, especially as the transmission in small batches may be indicative of a passage through schools and consistent with reliance on wax tablets, scrap parchment, and memory. In addition, if glosses in a manuscript appear copied by a large number of coeval hands in consecutive small stints, this can be another clue as to their school origin, especially in manuscripts that meet other criteria for schoolbooks. Last but not least, due to the encyclopaedic scope of the *Etymologiae*, we can discern particular contexts of annotation because of the eminent preoccupation of annotators working in these contexts with specific

¹⁰⁹ In his response to Lapidge's article, Gernot Wieland proposed three types of marginalia that in his opinion classified a particular manuscript as a classbook: the presence of construe marks, accent symbols, and *quaere* signs; see G. R. WIELAND, «The glossed manuscript», p. 164. However, of these three classes of marginalia, only construe marks occasionally feature in the annotated manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* (e.g., in **Bologna 797** and **Leiden VLO 41**). Wieland's criteria, therefore, cannot be used for the assessment of the manuscripts of the *Etymologiae*.

¹¹⁰ A similar dichotomy was observed in the case of other authors annotated in the early Middle Ages, for example in the case of Avianus; M. BALDZUHN, *Schulbücher im Trivium*, p. 39.

books corresponding to certain topics relevant for school curriculum, technical instruction, or scholarly study.

It is, of course, not necessarily the case that the above-listed criteria can be extended to manuscripts of other texts and authors. Some of these criteria may be specific to the *Etymologiae*, as we cannot expect to see a topic-based distribution of annotations in manuscripts of works that are not encyclopaedic or sufficiently broad in their subjects¹¹¹. In other cases, we may be simply exceptionally fortunate in the case of the *Etymologiae*. It is rather rare that students' *libelli* from the early Middle Ages survive and that we encounter layers of annotations as they were entered in the manuscript pages rather than their copies¹¹². It may be most valuable to focus on the transmission patterns of specific sets of annotations and look for the 'batched' pattern of copying to see whether it can be connected with schools. It is also clear that we need to pay attention to the material context of transmission of early medieval annotations and their palaeography.

To conclude, it is remarkable how three different profiles can be recognized in the annotated copies of the *Etymologiae* and how each of these can be connected to certain intellectual milieux: the Carolingian Frankish schools, the insular centres of study and the scholarly centres in pre-Carolingian, Carolingian and Ottonian Italy. It is remarkable how limited was the penetration of material from one geographic area into another. It seems that the specific manners in which Isidore was read in certain areas acted as a damper on their circulation so that there exists a strong correlation between a particular region and a particular context of annotation¹¹³. Only in Brittany do we see a fertile intermixing of the Carolingian and the insular strain. Indeed, Brittany plays a special role in the history of the reception of the *Etymologiae* as it seems to have

¹¹¹ Monothematic works rather tend to display a progressive fading of glosses; see M. LAPIDGE, «The Study of Latin Texts», p. 125; and E. STEINOVÁ, *Notam superponere studui*, p. 187-188. See also Jean-Félix AUBÉ-PRONCE, Richard M. POLLARD, «Annotating Flavius Josephus in the Early Middle Ages. Early Impressions from Thousands of Notes», *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 46, 2021, p. 167-200 (p. 180-183).

¹¹² Compare with M. LAPIDGE, «The Study of Latin Texts», p. 125.

¹¹³ The regionality of the annotations to the *Etymologiae* contrasts with the diffusion patterns of the few well-studied authors annotated in the early Middle Ages. For example, early medieval to Virgil were diffused from Frankish lands to the rest of the Carolingian world and southern Italy; Silvia OTTAVIANO, «Reading between the Lines of Virgil's Early Medieval Manuscripts», in Mariken TEEUWEN, Irene van RENSWOUDE (ed.), *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages. Practices of Reading and Writing*, Turnhout, 2018, p. 427-464. Similarly, glosses to Prudentius's *Psychomachia* were exchanged between eastern and western Frankish centers in the 9th century and diffused both to Germany and England in the 10th century; S. O'SULLIVAN, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia*, p. 24-25. Naturally, Virgil and Prudentius cannot be compared with Isidore's *Etymologiae* as to their context of use and the differences in the patterns of circulation may therefore be tied to the different context of annotation and use.

served as a bridge between the insular and Carolingian worlds¹¹⁴. The surviving manuscripts show a westward movement of material from the Continent to the Isles, through Brittany and directly, in the 9th and 10th centuries, so that glosses originating in the context of the classroom in 9th-century Francia can be still encountered in 11th-century English manuscripts¹¹⁵. The fact that we observe no similar eastward movement of Carolingian material suggests that a much deeper chasm extended between the Frankish lands on the one hand and the German zone and Carolingian northern Italy on the other. Indeed, other evidence also indicates that there existed a certain east-west divide dependant on whether the *Etymologiae* was read as a scholarly text intended primarily for advanced readers, or rather as a school text that was to be used for various types of instruction and therefore open to audiences of much lower literary skills¹¹⁶. That the *Etymologiae* was seized by schoolmasters in Frankish lands and attained popularity as a teaching resource seems to have disqualified it from certain treatments in the eyes of scholarly readers. It is a mystery why this should be the case, but perhaps this development reveals how powerful an effect had the Carolingian reform movement on the *persona* of Isidore in Francia.

¹¹⁴ The role of Brittany in the transmission of insular material to Continent and vice versa and as a fertile intermixing ground between insular and Carolingian cultures in the early Middle Ages is explored in the project *Ireland and Carolingian Brittany: Texts and Transmission* (IrCaBriTT) of Jacopo Bisagni at NUI Galway. For some of his preliminary observations, see Jacopo BISAGNI, «La littérature computistique irlandaise dans la Bretagne du haut Moyen Âge: nouvelles découvertes et nouvelles perspectives», *Britannia Monastica*, 20, 2019, p. 241-285.

¹¹⁵ Latin glosses to *Etym.* I 21 first attested in 9th-century Frankish manuscripts appear in the *Enchiridion* of Byrhtferth of Ramsey; see Michael LAPIDGE, Peter Stuart BAKER, *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, Oxford, 1995, p. 174-179. Since Byrhtferth was a student of Abbo of Fleury, who stayed at Ramsey in 985-987, in this case the glosses traveled presumably directly from Fleury to Ramsey; see Marco MOSTERT, «Relations between Fleury and England», in David ROLLASON, Conrad LEYSER, Hannah WILLIAMS (ed.), *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century*, Turnhout, 2010 (*Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, 37), p. 185-208 (p. 190-193); and E. STEINOVÁ, *Notam superponere studui*, p. 148.

¹¹⁶ E. STEINOVÁ, «The Oldest Manuscript Tradition of the *Etymologiae*», p. 137-138.

Appendix: Pre-1200 manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* containing annotations

MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING CAROLINGIAN FRANKISH ANNOTATIONS

1. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 797

9th century, 3/4, probably the area of Reims (B. Bischoff, *Katalog I* 649)
prov.: France (12th c.), Genoa (17th c.)

120 fol., composite manuscript, bound together from multiple *libelli* with grammatical content

Etym. I on fol. 62v-80r a self-standing *libellus*
210 × 125 mm (150 × 100 mm), 28 long lines

content: Priscian, *Institutio* (fol. 2r-11v), Servius Honoratus, *De finalibus* (fol. 11v-14v), Sergius, *De littera* (fol. 14v-19v), Maximus Victorinus, *De ratione metrorum* (19v-23r), Maximus Victorinus, *De finalibus metrorum* (fol. 23r-26v), Servius Honoratus, *Centimeter* (fol. 27r-29v), *De sex hexametri passionibus* (fol. 30r), *De Eolicis et latinis linguis* (fol. 30r), Mallius Theodorus, *De metris* (fol. 31r-35v), *De finalibus syllabis omnium partium* (fol. 35v-36v), Bede, *De arte metrica* (fol. 38r-54r), Bede, *De schematibus et tropis* (fol. 54r-61r), Isidore, *Etymologiae I* 4-5, 9-18, 21-35, 36-44 (fol. 62v-80r), *Numerorum vocabula latina* (fol. 80v), *Glossarium latinum* (fol. 81r-81v), *Catalogus grammaticorum latinorum* (fol. 82r), *Numerorum vocabula graeca* (fol. 82v), Caper, *De orthographia* (fol. 82bisr-84r), Agroecius, *De orthographia* (fol. 84r-89r), Bede, *De orthographia* (fol. 89v), Consentius, *De duabus partibus orationis* (fol. 90r-120r)

physical state: At least 8 folia containing parts of *Etym. I* are missing (at least 2 folia containing 11.1-4.5 after fol. 62v, 3 folia containing 5.1-9.6 after fol. 63v, 2 folia containing 18.3-21.22 after fol. 66v, and 1 folio containing 35.7-36.15 after fol. 72v).

annotations: 55 Latin glosses survive. Originally, the manuscript perhaps contained ~100 glosses to book I.

Glosses in this manuscript were mostly added by a single 9th-century hand using unusual minuscule characterized by many ligatures and non-Carolingian letter-forms: open a, nr-ligature and ra-ligature, cursive t in final -nt, but also for a final t (*ut*, fol. 71v) and xt (*mixtis*, fol. 70v), i hanging below the baseline after m and l, uncial N in the middle of the word, *qua* via superscript open a, insular open g in nexus with a and i. This hand also added a longer grammatical note about diminutives referring to Vergilius Maro Grammaticus on fol. 80r, made

corrections in the main text here and there (e.g., fol. 71v, 72r, 74r, 75v), added construe marks (e.g., fol. 69r), insular quotation signs (fol. 74v, 75r), and correction sign *cryphia* (twice on fol. 73r, 73v, 77v, 78v). Because of the combination of various clues, this annotator is perhaps someone writing Caroline minuscule under a specific regional insular influence (cf. B. Bischoff, *Katalog I* 649: ‘Mgg. s. ix (z. T. von irischer Hd.?)’). Since the manuscript does not seem to have left France until the later Middle Ages, it was presumably annotated there. A gloss that also appears embedded in Paris Lat. 11278 and Schaffhausen Min. 42 is integrated into the main text on fol. 76v.

Angela Maria NEGRI, «De codice Bononiensi 797», *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*, 87, 1959, p. 260-277; Colette JEUDY, «L’Institutio *De nomine, pronomine, et verbo* de Priscien: manuscrits et commentaires médiévaux», *Revue d’histoire des textes*, 2, 1972, p. 73-144 (p. 93-94); Simona GAVINELLI, «Un manuale scolastico carolingio», *Aevum*, 59, 1985, p. 181-95.

2. Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 16

11th century, unknown

prov.: Chartres

120 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
378 × 282 mm, 49 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX (divided into 17 books)

annotations: 1 Romance and 58 Latin glosses to *Etym.* I-III and XIV-XV. 28 Latin glosses and the Romance gloss appear in *Etym.* I, chiefly to chapters 39-40.

Glosses in this manuscript were partially copied by the main hand (fol. 3v, 4v) and partially added by a contemporary glossing hand (fol. 10v, 11r).

https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?mode=ecran&panier=false&reproductionId=2831&VUE_ID=711877&carouselThere=false&nbVignettes=4x3&page=1&angle=0&zoom=grand&tailleReelle=

3. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. F 82

9th century, in., Saint-Germain-des-Prés (B. Bischoff, *Katalog II* 2203)
prov.: Saint Germain des Pres (10th c.)

207 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
290 × 245 mm (238 × 190 mm), 38 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX (fol. 1r-155r), glossary *Abavus*, *Synonyma Ciceronis* (fol. 156r-207v)

annotations: approximately 374 Latin glosses to *Etym.* I-III, V, and XX. 71 glosses appear in *Etym.* I to chapters 1-4, 7, 17, 21, 29, 33-34, 36-37, and 39-40. Most glosses (246) appear in book II. Book III contains about 29 glosses in the first three sections dealing with mathematics and music, book V has two or three annotations in the first part *De legibus*, and book XX was glossed mostly in the first two chapters (*De mensis* and *De escis*). Some of the glosses in book I are in Tironian notes.

Glosses and annotations in this manuscript were added in small batches by perhaps as many as ten Carolingian hands. Each hand glosses in a specific chapter or page and never recurs again, e.g., chapter 1 annotated by a single rapid but delicate hand, chapters 2-4 by two or three other hands, chapter 36 by another hand, and chapters 37, 39 and 40 seem to have been annotated mostly by another hand. Given that the manuscript seems not to have left Saint Germain-des-Prés in the 9th century, it is very likely that the annotators were active there, although it is not necessarily the case that they were all locally trained. The glossator of chapter 1 on the *disciplina* and *ars* annotated this chapter with long citations from Boethius's *De differentiis topicis* and Pliny's *Historia naturalis*. The source of the long annotation to *Etym.* I 21.17 cannot be identified. Some of the glosses to book II also appear in Paris Lat. 7670.

K. A. DE MEYIER, *Codices Vossiani Latini. Pars I: Codices in Folio*, Leiden, 1973, p. 178-182.

<https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/vossiani-latini/vlf-082-isidorus-hispalensis-carmina-isidoriana-glossae>

4. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. O 41

9th century^{4/4}, north-eastern France (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* II 2248)
prov.: Fleury (10th/11th c., Mostert, BF 355)

64 fol., composite manuscript bound together from two *libelli* with grammatical content

200 × 150 mm (155 × 95-100 mm), 25-26 long lines

Etym. I copied on four regular eight-leaf quires, originally bound before Eutyches

content:

- Eutyches, *Ars de verbo* (fol. 2r-33v) + additions on the wrapper of the *libellus* (fol. 33v: grammatical notes);
- Isidore, *Etymologiae* I (fol. 34r-65v) + additions on the wrapper of the *libellus* (34r: hymn; fol. 64r-65v: alphabets; fol. 65v: hymn)

annotations: 691 Latin glosses to all chapters of *Etym.* I (only chapters 26 and 38 do not contain any glosses). The most heavily glossed chapters are 3, 4, 17, 21, 37 and 39.

Most of the glosses seem to have been made by several 10th-century hands (cf. B. Bischoff, *Katalog* II 2248: ‘Glossen s. x’). Since the manuscript seems to have been at Fleury by the beginning of the 11th century, it may have been glossed there. On fol. 46v, a gloss was incorporated into the main text in *Etym.* I 19.6. A gloss to *Etym.* I 13.1 finds an echo in the *Ars grammatica* of Clemens Scottus. Construe marks appear on fol. 36v, 37r, 43v, 52r, 55v, 56r, 58v, 62r, etc.

K.A. DE MEYIER, *Codices Vossiani Latini. Pars III: Codices in Octavo*, Leiden, 1977, p. 79-81.

<https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/vossiani-latini/vlo-041-eutyches-grammaticalia-isidorus-alphabeta>

5. Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, H 53

9th century, 3/4, eastern France? (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* II 2821)

261 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
345 × 267 mm (252 × 185 mm), 31 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX

annotations: 33 Latin glosses to *Etym.* I 3-20.

Glosses in this manuscript were added by a single late 10th- or early 11th-century hand (cf. B. Bischoff, *Katalog* II 2821: ‘Zahlreiche Mgg. s. x/xi’). This hand also made marginal indices to most of the first 19 chapters of *Etym.* I.

http://www.biu-montpellier.fr/florarium/jsp/nodoc.jsp?NODOC=2016_DOC_MONT_MBUM_66

6. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6250

9th century, 1/2, Freising (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* II 3006)

280 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
385 × 255 mm (325 × 200 mm), 33-34 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX

annotations: 15 Latin and 4 Old High German glosses. The Latin glosses appear in *Etym.* I. The Old High German glosses can be found in books X (1 gloss), XII (2 glosses), and XIV (1 gloss).

Glosses in this manuscript were mostly copied by a single tidy small hand that also added corrections and variant readings to *Etym. I*. This hand is relatively young, perhaps from the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century. Older (9th-century?) hands added two glosses on fol. 5v and 6r. One of the glosses seems to have been taken from the *ars grammatica* of Malsachanus.

http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00009201/image_1

7. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6411

9th century, 1/4, Passau? (B. Bischoff, *Katalog II* 3078)

prov.: Freising (12th c.)

96 fol., a grammatical handbook transmitting *Etym. I* as a self-standing text
215 × 135-140 mm (175-185 × 110-115 mm), 24-30 long lines

content: Eutyches, *Ars de verbo* (fol. 1v-20v), Isidore, *Etymologiae I* (fol. 23v-41v, 46r-56v), various excerpts (fol. 41v-45v), Priscian, *Institutio* (fol. 56v-67v), Cruindmel, *Ars metrica* (fol. 68v-95v)

physical state: The text of the *Etymologiae I* is interrupted on fol. 41v-45v by a series of grammatical excerpts, some added on *schedae* (fol. 43a and 45), underscoring the utilitarian character of this manuscript.

annotations: 26 Latin and 4 Old High German glosses to *Etym. I* 21-27, and 34-39.

This manuscript was glossed by many unskilled contemporary hands identical to or resembling the hands that copied the main text. The manuscript itself was copied in batches.

Colette JEUDY, «L'institutio De nomine, pronomine, et verbo de Priscien: manuscrits et commentaires médiévaux», *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 2, 1972, p. 73-144 (p. 108-109).

http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00012886/image_1

8. Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 296 (p 1-32) + Paris, BnF, Lat. 7520 (fol. 25-45)

9th century, 1/4, area of Paris? (B. Bischoff, *Katalog II* 3738)¹¹⁷

prov.: Fleury

¹¹⁷ According to Mostert, referring to *Manuscrits Datés*, this manuscript was produced in Fleury in 9th century^{2/4}; Marco MOSTERT, *The Library of Fleury: a provisional list of manuscripts*, Hilversum, 1989 (*Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen*, 3), no. 778.

16 fol. (296) + 21 fol. (7520), composite manuscript bound together from multiple *libelli* with grammatical content

Etym. I on p 1-25 of Orléans 296 and fol. 45v of Paris Lat. 7520 originally perhaps a separate *libellus*

280 × 180 mm (218 × 133 mm), 30 long lines

content:

- a. Orléans 296: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I 21.18-44.5 (p 1-25), Priscian, *Institutio*, up to §32 (p 25-32)
- b. Lat. 7520: Priscian, *Institutio* (continuation of Orléans 296, 25r-29r), Servius Honoratus, *De finalibus* (29r-31r), Phocas, *Ars de nomine et verbo* (31v-42r), Servius Honoratus, *De littera* (42r-45v), Servius Honoratus, *De ultimis syllabis* (45v), Isidore, *Etymologiae* I, letter V (45v)

physical state: Both Orléans 296 and Paris Lat. 7520 are composite manuscripts bound together at the same location from several codicological units with grammatical content. Paris Lat. 7490 is likely their sibling. All three manuscripts perhaps represent a collection of various material that may have been incomplete or damaged already at the time of their binding. The text of *Etymologiae* I had probably once been complete and glossed thoroughly, but now only two fragments remain: one of the letters preceding the book I (7520: 45v) and chapters 21-44 (296: p 1-25).

annotations: 776 Latin and 1 Romance glosses to chapters 21-44 of *Etym.* I. If the manuscript was annotated consistently, it might have contained ~1500 glosses to this book, being the most heavily glossed codex to survive from the early Middle Ages. About 100 of the glosses are in Tironian notes.

Most glosses surviving in this manuscript were added by a single, elegant and rounded hand using Caroline minuscule with many notable features: frequent or-ligature, g has a flat top, its bow not always closed, open a (p. 23, and on p. 22 above the line in a pra-abbreviation), st-ligature, and rum-ligature also appear, also mus- and rus-ligatures (p 7, 8 and 18), -tus as t with a hook (p 11 and 12), e with a spur (p 6 and 11), and underslung i (p. 11). This glossing hand closely resembles the main hand and suggests that the manuscript was annotated shortly after it was produced in the same centre that copied it. These glosses, thus, can be perhaps dated already into the first half of the 9th century (cf. B. Bischoff, *Katalog* II 3738: 'Glossen s. ix und x'). Two or three other early medieval hands using Caroline minuscule without the many abbreviations and ligatures entered some glosses, especially on p 7 and 8. All of these glossing hands resemble the glossing hands in Paris Lat. 7490. A gloss to *Etym.* I 29.4 was derived from *Etym.* XV 3.1 and a gloss to *Etym.* I 33.2 was taken from Murethach's *ars grammatica* or its insular source. It is unclear how early was the manuscript in Fleury, but if it was there before the end of the 10th century, or if it was even annotated

there, this might explain the similarities between the glosses in Orléans 296 and Leiden VLO 41 and especially Harley 3941.

Colette JEUDY, «L'institutio De nomine, pronomine, et verbo de Priscien: manuscrits et commentaires médiévaux», *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 2, 1972, p. 73-144 (p. 114-115).

<https://mediatheques.Orléans-metropole.fr/ark:/77916/FRCGMBPF-452346101-01A/D18012265.locale=fr> (Orléans 296)
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84900632/f53.image.r=%22Latin%207520%22> (Paris, Lat. 7520)

9. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 25 (fol. 134-151)

9th century (B. Bischoff, *Katalog II* 3806)
 prov. Murbach

192 fol., composite manuscript with various content, partially grammatical
 271 × 165 mm (199 × 128 mm), 36 long lines

content:

- a. Latin hymn with neums (11th c., 1rv);
- b. *Cosmographia Aethici Istri* (8th c., ex., 2r-60r);
- c. Alcuin, *Rhetorica* and *Dialectica* (9th c., 60v-86v);
- d. Latin hymn (10th c., 87rv), Junius B glossary (87v-107v);
- e. exposition of the Athanasian creed (108r-111v), *Fides Hieronimi* (112r-114v), exposition of Our Father (9th c., 114v-115v);
- f. Latin hymns with Old High German glosses (fol. 116r-117v + fol. 122r-129v), Junius C glossary (fol. 118r-120v), glosses on the Rule of Benedict (fol. 121r-121v);
- g. grammatical forms (fol. 130r-133v);
- h. Isidore, *Etymologiae* 1.1-2.2 (fol. 134r-151v);
- i. excerpts from Donatus (fol. 152r-157v);
- j. Junius A glossary (158r-183r), excerpts (fol. 183v-192v).

physical state: The current codicological unit h was perhaps once part of a complete copy of the *Etymologiae*, but the quires containing book I were separated from the rest of the codex and used separately, akin to a grammatical *libellus*. Folia containing *Etym.* I 37.8-39.19 are missing between fol. 148v and 149r.

annotations: 51 Latin and 9 Old High German glosses. Most were added to chapters 21-44. The only chapter with more than ten glosses is chapter 37. Due to the physical damage, some glosses are probably missing.

Glosses in this manuscript were added by several different 9th-century hands, presumably after the quires containing *Etym.* I were separated from the rest of

the codex. The hands use the Alemannic nt-ligature (fol. 145r), ect-ligature (fol. 146v), a 3-shaped g and xe-ligature (fol. 147v) and given that they also gloss in Old High German, worked in a German environment. Given the early connection of the various parts of the composite manuscript to Murbach, the place of glossing was perhaps this centre.

Susan KEEFE, *A Catalogue of Works Pertaining to the Explanation of the Creed in Carolingian Manuscripts*, Turnhout, 2012, p. 296.

<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/451e88c8-39b6-4cbc-8483-c64b290ea00e>

10. Paris, BnF, Lat. 7490

9th century, ½ and 2/4, probably Paris (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* III 4441)

57 fol., grammatical handbook consisting of three contemporary units

Etym. I originally a self-standing *libellus*

280 × 172 mm (a. 238 × 120 mm, b. 220 × 110 mm, c. 230 × 140 mm), c. 29-30 long lines

content:

- a. anonymous treatise on declensions (fol. 1r-4r), conjugation tables (fol. 4r-14r), on fol. 8 additions by a different hand including *versus ad quendam scottum nomine Andream*;
- b. Donatus, *Ars minor + maior* (fol. 15r-51v), notes on grammar (fol. 51v), Isidore, *Etymologiae* I, letter (fol. 51v);
- c. Isidore, *Etymologiae* I 15-17, 5.3-14 (fol. 52r-57v)

physical state: Fol. 52-57 represent a damaged and altered loose quire. Fol. 52r had contained *Etym.* I 5.3-4, but this text was erased and replaced with Donatus's *De voce* (serving as *Etym.* I 15), presumably by the same hand that also erased part of fol. 51v and added the prefatory letter to the *Etymologiae* there. Fol. 52-53 containing after the erasure *Etym.* I 15-17 look like a separate bifolium that was united with a damaged six-leaf quire (current fol. 54-56, with the first three folia of this quire cut out) containing *Etym.* I 5.3-14. The various irregularities suggest that the current codicological unit was assembled as it is now already in the ninth century from several pre-extant entities that do not resemble a regular manuscript. They likely reflecting some kind of a *libellus* or even a more utilitarian teaching tool.

annotations: 245 Latin glosses to *Etym.* I 5-17. About 40 of the glosses are in Tironian notes.

Glosses in this manuscript were inserted by two or three similar 9th-century hands making frequent use of or-ligature and tur-ligature, ct-ligature, mus-ligature,

tus-ligature in the form of a t with a hook, g with a pronounced open bow, prabreviation with superscript spiky open a (fol. 55r), and *quasi* abbreviated as a q with a superscript spiky a (fol. 55r). These hands resemble the main glossing hand of Orléans 296. As in the case of Orléans 296, Paris Lat. 7490 seems to have been annotated at the place of its production not long after it was copied. This place was very likely where Orléans 296 was glossed as there are notable continuities between the layers of annotation in both manuscripts, suggesting they come from the same source. This manuscript represents a rare example of glossing of the section of the book I of the *Etymologiae* dealing with the parts of speech (chapters 6-14). Some of the glosses seem to come from or at least echo the lost insular commentary to Donatus's *Ars maior* that was used by Sedulius Scottus, Murethach, and the author of the *Ars Laureshamensis*.

Bernhard BISCHOFF, «Theodulf und der I^{re} Cadac-Andreas», *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 74, 1954, p. 92-98; reprinted in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 2, Stuttgart, 1967, p. 19-25 (p. 21); Louis HOLTZ, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IV^e-IX^e siècle)*, Paris, 1981, p. 380-382.

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9066476b/f55.image.r=%22Latin%207490%22>

11. Paris, BnF, Lat. 7559

9th century, ½, area of Paris? (B. Bischoff, *Katalog III* 4474)

prov.: Bourges

120 fol., a grammatical handbook containing *Etym.* I as a self-standing text
230 × 150 mm (184 × 109 mm), 29 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I 32.2-44.5 with the interpolations from the *Isidorus Junior* in chapters 34 and 36 (fol. 2r-16r), Servius Honoratus, *De finalibus* (fol. 16r-20v), Priscian, *Institutio* (fol. 20v-34r), Sergius, *Commentarius, De litera* (34r-41v), Phocas, *Ars de nomine et verbo* (fol. 42r-62r), Maximus Victorinus, *De metris* (fol. 62r-67r), *De caesuris* (fol. 67r-69r), Alcuin, *De grammatica* (fol. 69r-120r)

physical state: Folia were cropped at the beginning of the manuscript. Only *Etym.* I 32.2-44 currently survive, but the manuscript probably once contained the entire book I of the *Etymologiae*.

annotations: 99 Latin glosses to *Etym.* I 32-44 survive. Of these 33 are in Tironian notes. The manuscript originally contained perhaps ~200 glosses to *Etym.* I.

Glosses in this manuscript were added by three or four 9th-century hands, of which one was responsible for most of them. This hand frequently uses open spiky a, re- and ra-ligature, rt-ligature (9r), overslung e (8r), nt-ligature (9r), and

a g with a significantly open lower bow and in several instances even a flat top. Based on these features, it should perhaps be dated to the second half of the 9th century.

Colette JEUDY, « L'Ars de nomine et verbo de Phocas : manuscrits et commentaires médiévaux », *Viator*, 5:1, 1974, p. 61-156 (p. 128-29); Colette JEUDY, « L'institutio De nomine, pronomine, et verbo de Priscien : manuscrits et commentaires médiévaux », *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 2, 1972, p. 73-144 (p. 122).

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90782450/f2.image.r=%22Latin%207559%22>

12. Paris, BnF, Lat. 7583

9th century, med., northern France (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* III 4484)
prov.: Moissac (14th c.)

199 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
314 × 260 mm (242 × 200 mm), 33 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX

annotations: 31 Latin glosses to *Etym.* I, 3 Latin glosses to *Etym.* II, and 1 Latin gloss to *Etym.* XIV. The manuscript contains no glosses to other books of the *Etymologiae*.

Glosses in this manuscript were added by several hands, which seem to be contemporary or only slightly younger than the main hand. The glossators also added corrections and variant readings to *Etym.* I. An early medieval annotator, perhaps one of the glossators, also added NT-shaped nota signs on fol. 5r, 11r, and 11v, a *require* correction sign on fol. 7r and *triga* in many places. *Etym.* I also contains longer marginal notes introduced by a no-shaped nota sign added by a Gothic hand (e.g., fol. 5v, 12r and 15v). The same hand is presumably responsible for the one or two *maniculae* and the *paragraphi* appearing in the same section of the manuscript. The same or a different Gothic hand added marginal summaries to some of the chapters of the first book (e.g., fol. 3v, 4r).

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9068413f/f2.item.r=%22Latin%207583%22>

13. Paris, BnF, Lat. 7670

9th century, ½, area of Paris (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* III 4493)

94 fol., an incomplete copy of the *Etymologiae*
265 × 175 mm (190 × 112 mm), 31 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I 1.1 – VI 19.82

physical state: The codex lost folia at the end. Originally, it perhaps contained the first six book of the *Etymologiae*.

annotations: 353 Latin glosses to *Etym.* I, 29 of them in Tironian notes, and 8 glosses to *Etym.* II. The manuscript contains no glosses to other books of the *Etymologiae*.

Glosses in this manuscript were added by many different early medieval hands in small batches (cf. B. Bischoff, *Katalog* III 4493: ‘Glossen s. ix (z. T. m. Tiron. N.) u. x’). Each hand appears only on several folia before disappearing. The eight glosses in *Etym.* II can be also found in Leiden VLF 82.

14. Paris, BnF, Lat. 7671

9th century, med., north-eastern France (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* III 4494)

58 fol., a compendium of the *trivium*

208 × 140 mm (180 × 110 mm), 35 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-II (fol. 1r-32r), Alcuin, *De rhetorica* (fol. 32r-53r), *Sententiae septem sapientium* and knowledge diagrams (fol. 54r-57v), *capitula* of Origen’s commentary on Songs of Songs (fol. 58r-58v)

annotations: 135 Latin glosses to chapters 1-3, 17, 21, 34-37, and 39-44. 7 of these are in Tironian notes. More than ten glosses appear only in chapters 2, 3, 17, 39 and 40.

Glosses in this manuscript seem to have been added in batches by several different 9th-century hands (cf. B. Bischoff, *Katalog* III 4494: ‘Einige Glossen, z.T. m. Tiron. N. (fol. 5rv’). The longest and most detailed annotations to the first three chapters (fol. 5r-5v) were inserted by the main hand, which used Tironian notes and cites Boethius’s *Institutio arithmetica*, Alcuin’s *De grammatica*, and other books of Isidore’s *Etymologiae*. Two other hands that can be discerned include a delicate and rounded hand frequently using or-ligature, as well as an NT-ligature in the middle of the word, mus-ligature, uncial d, and a g with a pronounced open lower bow that entered some of the glosses to the first chapters of *Etym.* I and also a long annotation on fol. 20r, and a cruder but regular hand that appears on fol. 21r-22v and may have entered the single non-Latin gloss in the manuscript (fol. 21r).

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10037019f/f6.image>

15. Paris, BnF, Lat. 11278

9th century, ½, southeastern France?, Italian influence? (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* III 4675)

prov.: Dijon (17th c.), bound into a Dijon codex containing *vitae sanctorum*

28 fol., a *libellus* containing *Etym.* I
200 × 138 mm (173 × 98 mm), 28-29 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I

physical state: At least 3 folia are missing (2 fol. after 6v, 1 fol. after 12v). However, given that the codex was original composed probably from four regular quires of eight leaves, one more folio is missing in addition to the three that can be detected.

annotations: 48 Latin glosses to chapters 1-4, 7, 17, 21-22, 24, 36 and 39

Glosses in this manuscript were added in batches by a large number of hands. These hands resemble the main hands, which similarly copied the *libellus* in batches. Because of the similar palaeographic features, the glossing hands should be dated to the first half of the 9th century and attributed most likely to the same centre that produced this *libellus*. A gloss integrated into the main text (fol. 24r) also appears embedded in Bologna 797 and Schaffhausen Min. 42.

Marie-Louise AUGER, « La bibliothèque de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon au XVII^e siècle : le témoignage de Dom Hugues Lanthenas », *Scriptorium*, 39, 1985, p. 234-264 (p. 261).

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100358546>

16. Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 2633 (fol. 18-19)

9th century^{4/4}, France (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* III 5157)

2 fol., a fragment of a small-sized book, and therefore probably a *libellus* or a grammatical handbook

180 × 150 mm (150 × 110 mm), 25 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I 22.2-27.1 + I 33.1-35.2

annotations: 12 Latin glosses to *Etym.* I, chapters 22-27 and 34.

The glosses in the fragment are only partially legible due to the extensive damage and cropping. As far as they are visible, they seem to have been inserted by a single hand using Caroline minuscule that seems to be contemporary with the main hand and which may belong to the scribe.

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52513091v>

17. Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 426

9th century, ¼, Reims (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* III 5296)
prov.: Reims

117 fol., a complete copy of the first half of the *Etymologiae* (books XI-XX were added in the 12th century on current fol. 118r-209v)
 323 × 210 mm, 32 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-X

annotations: 349 Latin and 1 Romance glosses to most chapters of *Etym.* I. Most glosses appear in chapters 17, 34, 36-37. The manuscript contains no glosses to other books of the *Etymologiae*.

Most of the glosses to *Etym.* I in this manuscript were added by two related 9th-century hands using well-developed rapid Caroline minuscule. However, the oldest layer of glosses was added by a hand pressing them into the parchment with a stylus (on fol. 9r-9v, 11v-13r, 14v, and 15v-20r). Altogether 48 such dry-point glosses can be found in chapters 16-17, 21-27, 31-32, and 34-40. Many of these glosses were later recopied by one of the hands using ink over the stylus glosses so that they form a second layer superimposed over the older layer of glossing. However, 23 of the dry-point glosses were never retraced in ink. Because the manuscript never left Reims where it was produced, it is most likely that the 9th-century annotators all worked here. The glossators cite other books of the *Etymologiae*, Julian of Toledo, and Servius's commentary on the *Aeneid*. One of their glosses is the same as a passage in Sedulius Scottus's commentary on Donatus's *Ars maior*.

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449011r>

18. Trier, Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars, MS 100 (fol. 1-16)

9th century^{2/4}, France (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* III 6155)

99 fol., composite manuscript, bound together from *libelli*, many of them with grammatical content

Etym. I as a self-standing *libellus* on fol. 1r-16v

234 × 180 mm (188 × 142 mm), 32 long lines

content:

- a. Isidore, *Etymologiae* I 1-22, 27-39(fol. 1r-16v);
- b. Bede, *De arte metrica* (fol. 17r-36r), Bede, *De schematibus et tropis* (fol. 36v-44r), *Carmen Hucbaldi ad Carolum* (fol. 44v-48v);
- c. Fulgentius, *Mythologiae* (fol. 50r-66v);
- d. Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae* I-III (fol. 67r-99r)

physical state: The manuscript is cropped after *Etym.* I 39.13 on fol. 16v. It perhaps contained complete *Etym.* I.

annotations: 74 Latin glosses to chapters 1-4, 7, 9, 11-12, 16-17, and 21-22. Only chapter 7 contains more than 10 glosses.

Glosses in this manuscript were added by multiple 9th-century hands using well-developed Caroline minuscule. One of the glosses echoes *De gerendi modo* of Donatus Ortigraphus and another one Remigius's commentary on Donatus's *Ars maior*.

http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=http%3A%2F%2Fzimks68.uni-trier.de%2Fstmatthias%2FS0100%2FS0100-digitalisat.xml&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=3&tx_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&cHash=110e18e0a3598a9464def45f1fcfd97d#

19. Vatican, BAV, Barb. Lat. 477 (fol. 3)

11th century, in. (Hallinger)

prov.: Saint-André de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon

1 fol., a fragment containing *Etym.* I 27, perhaps from a grammatical *libellus*
210 × 175 mm (110 × 80 mm), 32 long lines

annotations: 1 Latin gloss to *Etym.* I 27.3.

The gloss in this fragment was added by the main hand.

Kassius HALLINGER, «Der “Barberinus latinus 477”», in Theodor Wolfram KÖHLER (ed.), *Sapientiae procerum amore: Mélanges médiévistes offerts à Dom Jean-Pierre Müller O.S.B.*, Rome, 1974, p. 21-64; Louis HOLTZ, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IV^e -IX^e siècle)*, Paris, 1981, p. 420-421.

https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.477

20. Vatican, BAV, Barb. Lat. 477 (fol. 4)

11th century, in. (Hallinger)

prov.: Saint-André de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon

1 fol., a fragment containing *Etym.* I 27, perhaps from a grammatical *libellus*
210 × 175 mm (110 × 80 mm), 32 long lines

annotations: 29 Latin glosses to *Etym.* I 27.15-29.

Glosses in this fragment were inserted by the main hand and partially highlighted by blue pigment. Some were taken from book X of the *Etymologiae* and one seems to come from Murethach's commentary to Donatus's *Ars maior* or a similar source.

Kassius HALLINGER, «Der “Barberinus latinus 477”», in Theodor Wolfram KÖHLER (ed.), *Sapientiae procerum amore: Mélanges médiévistes offerts à*

Dom Jean-Pierre Müller O.S.B., Rome, 1974, p. 21-64; Louis HOLTZ, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IV^e-IX^e siècle)*, Paris, 1981, p. 420-421.

https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.477

21. Vatican, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1746

8th/9th century and 9th century, in., Lorsch (B. Bischoff, *Katalog III* 6592)
prov.: Lorsch (12th c.)

184 fol., a grammatical handbook transmitting *Etym.* I as a self-standing text
295 × 220 mm (235 × 165-180 mm), 34-35 long lines

content: pseudo-Augustine, *Ars sancti Augustini pro fratribus mediocritate breviata* (fol. 1r-10v); pseudo-Augustine, *Regulae Aurelii Augustini* (fol. 11r-26r); Paul the Deacon, *Expositio artis Donati* (fol. 27r-40r); Isidore, *Etymologiae* I (fol. 40v-58v); Dynamius, *Ars grammatica* (fol. 59r-71v); Julian of Toledo, *Ars*, part II (fol. 72r-98v); Tatwine, *Ars grammatica* (fol. 99r-126r); Julian of Toledo, *Ars*, part I (fol. 126v-152r); *Hymnus in resurrectione Domini*, addition (fol. 152v); Asper, *Ars* (fol. 153r-161v); Bonifatius, *Ars*, cropped at the end (fol. 162r-184v).

physical state: Fol. 48, 49 and 52 are later 9th-century additions to the original core consisting of two regular quires of eight leaves, now fol. 40-47, and fol. 50-51 + 53-58. Originally, only *Etym.* I 1-20, 27, and 32-44 were copied into this handbook. Fol. 48-49 contain *Etym.* I 21-26 (inserted after *Etym.* I 20.6) and fol. 52 contains *Etym.* I 28-31 (inserted after *Etym.* I 34.7).

annotations: 27 Latin glosses to *Etym.* I 2-4, 7 and 17

The opening of book I in this manuscript is copied by a large number of untrained hands which switch every few lines (from fol. 40v to 43v). The same or similar hands continue to copy larger portions of text in tandem up to fol. 47v, and then the number of copyists decreases, so that fol. 55r-58v are copied perhaps by one or two hands. By contrast, the glosses in this manuscript are copied by two related 9th-century hands using crude Caroline minuscule. Since the manuscript seems not to have left Lorsch in the early Middle Ages, it can be assumed that the glossators worked at Lorsch. Most of the glosses in chapters 7 and 17 are supplying words left out due to ellipsis.

Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften*, Lorsch, 1989, p. 32 and 130-31.

http://bibliotheca-laurensensis-digital.de/bav/bav_pal_lat_1746

22. Vatican, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5763

8th century, med., northern Italy (CLA I 39)
prov.: Bobbio (10th-15th c.)

78 fol., an incomplete copy of the *Etymologiae*
225 × 223 mm (170-190 mm × 160-170 mm), 22-26 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I 3.9 – V 30.17

physical state: The codex lost folia at the beginning and the end. It originally perhaps comprised only books I-V (rather than all twenty books of the *Etymologiae*).

annotations: 14 Latin glosses to *Etym* I. 16, 17 and 21, and 1 longer Latin annotation to *Etym.* I 21. The manuscript contains no glosses to other books of the *Etymologiae*.

Glosses in this manuscript were added by several 9th-century Carolingian hands correcting and expanding the ‘contracted’ version of *Etym.* I. Given that the manuscript seems never to have left Italy, it was presumably annotated there in the 9th century, perhaps at Bobbio, where it may have been already at the time.

http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.5763

MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING INSULAR ANNOTATIONS

23. Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 476

926-947, Brittany (Bisagni)¹¹⁸
prov.: Saint-Aubin

69 fol., a computistic manual incorporating excerpts from the *Etymologiae*
340 × 260 mm (250 × 182 mm), 31 or 34 long lines

content: anonymous chronicle (fol. 1r-1v), *De officiis divinis in noctibus a cena Domini usque in Pascha* (1v-4r), *Ordo librorum catholicorum qui in ecclesia Romana ponuntur in anni circulo ad legendum* and other ecclesiastical texts (fol. 4r-6r), computistica (fol. 6r-18r), *XII signa per menses* (fol. 18r), excerpts from Isidore, *Etymologiae* III (fol. 18r-20v), computistica (fol. 20v), catechetical questions and answers (21r-21v), computistica (fol. 21v-58v), ps-Bede, *Ars calculantis de ratione* (fol. 59r-59v), excerpts from Augustine and Junilius (fol. 59v), Bede, *De natura rerum* (fol. 59v-66r), Bede, *De temporum ratione* (66r-69v)

¹¹⁸ Bischoff date this manuscript to 9th century^{2/2} and suggests that it may have been copied at Redon (*Katalog* I 67).

annotations: 1 Old Breton and 2 Latin glosses to *Etym.* XV 2.27 on fol. 28r

Annotations to the *Etymologiae* in this manuscript seem to have been copied by the main hand of the scribe writing under a strong insular influence. Presumably, they were copied from the exemplar of this computistic collection.

Pierre-Yves LAMBERT, «Les commentaires celtiques à Bède le vénérable», *Études celtiques*, 21, 1984, p. 185-206; Bernhard BISCHOFF, «Annales Rotonenses (um 919)», in Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Anecdota novissima*, Stuttgart, 1984, p. 103-105; Jacopo BISAGNI, «Breton manuscripts and the transmission of *computus* between the Celtic West and the Carolingian Empire», *Kelten* 82, 2020, available at: <https://kelten.vanhamel.nl/k82-2020-bisagni-jacopo-computus-brittany-manuscripts-columbanus-hiseric>.

<https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/17252/manifest>

24. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Membr. I 147 + Hannover, Kestner Museum, Ms. Culemann Kat. I no. 45 (366) + New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. G 28 + Paderborn, Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek, Fragm. 10 + Weimar, Thuringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hardenberg-Slg. 12a + 14a + Herdringen, Archiv der Freiherrn von Fürstenberg, Fragm. s.n.

9th century^{2/4}, Brittany (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* I 1424)

11 fol., fragments of a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* (only the first volume?)
295 × 215 mm (255 × 165 mm), 30 lines, 2 columns

content:

- a. Gotha (3 fol.): *Etym.* I 37.26 – 40.6
- b. New York (2 fol.): *Etym.* III 6.7-7.1 + III 8.1-12 + III 22-23.1 + III 27-31 + III 34-38
- c. Herdringen (1 fol.): *Etym.* III 71.39 + IV capitula + IV 2-6
- d. Hannover (1 fol.): *Etym.* V 39.5-8 + VI capitula
- e. Paderborn (1 fol.): *Etym.* IX 7.1-27 + IX 7.28-X 11
- f. Weimar (3 fol.): *Etym.* X 12-20, 26-33, 41-45, 54-61, 93-101, 104-112

annotations: 66-67 Latin, 15-16 Old Breton glosses, and 1 Old Irish gloss survive in the Gotha (42, including 3-4 Breton and 1 Old Irish), New York (11, including 3 Breton), Herdringen (14, including 2-3 Breton) and Paderborn (10, including 3 Breton) fragments. The Hannover fragment does not contain glosses. I could not examine the Weimar fragment, from which 2 Latin and 4 Old Breton glosses were transcribed by Léon Fleuriot (p. 199). The glosses are significantly abbreviated in many cases, which hampers their proper resolution in some cases. Thus, three glosses cannot be identified as either Latin, Old Breton, or representing

another vernacular. One of the glosses identified by Léon Fleuriot as Old Breton may be rather Old Irish (Ó Crónín). The manuscript probably originally contained many more glosses to all or most books and may have been glossed at a similar rate as Paris Lat. 7585, with which it is exceptionally closely related. Two of the glosses in the Gotha fragment are embedded into the main text.

Glosses in the four examined fragments (Gotha, New York, Herdringen, and Paderborn) were copied by a single hand contemporary with the hand of the main copyist that shows many similarities, e.g., both use -rum abbreviation and or-ligature and lightning-like cauda on the e. The glossator may be identical with the main scribe or work in close cooperation with him. The glosses were most likely copied and entered into the manuscript in the course of its production.

Léon FLEURIOT, «Gloses inédites en vieux-Breton», *Études Celtiques*, 16, 1979, p. 197-210; Dáibhí Ó CRÓINÍN, «A 'Lost' Old Irish Gloss Rediscovered», *Periodia*, 33, 2022, forthcoming.

25. Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, BVMM, Collections privées, digitisation of CP 342 (olim Phillipps 2129)

10th century, north-eastern France or Belgium (Elfassi)
prov.: Tournai (12th-17th c.)

145 fol., an incomplete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
310 × 220 mm (235 × 155 mm), 33 long lines

content: *Etymologiae* I 1.1 – XI 1.137

physical state: The manuscript lost all quires following quire XVIII. Fol. 1-4 are additions from the 12th century.

annotations: At least 117 Latin glosses to *Etym.* I-VII, and probably more glosses to the following books.

Glosses in this manuscript were added by two coeval hands using minuscule well-developed towards the Gothic script that can be dated to the 12th century (compare with Jacques Elfassi). Given that the manuscript was at Tournai already at this time, the annotators probably worked there. Nevertheless, the glosses display notable insular traits (e.g., extensive contraction of the gloss *civitas* on fol. 22v and 23v) and since they are closely related to the glosses in Paris Lat. 7585 and the Gotha fragment, it is rather clear that they are of insular origin. Presence of *kaput* signs (e.g., on fol. 41r, 42r, 46v, 47r, 49r, and 50r) that appear only in insular manuscripts (compare with Paris Lat. 7585 and Queen 320) in this continental manuscript further confirms the impression that the glosses must have been copied from an insular manuscript. A 13th-century hand added marginal tabs to parts of the manuscript (e.g., fol. 57r-62r).

Jacques ELFASSI, «Un manuscrit des Étymologies d'Isidore de Séville redécouvert: le ms. Phillipps 2129», unpublished.

<https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/17889/manifest>

26. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 447

9th century^{2/3}, Mainz (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* II 2124)
prov.: Laon (12th c.)

204 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
345 × 245 mm (281 × 191 mm), 36 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX

annotations: 159 shorter Latin glosses, 16 longer Latin annotations, 33 Old Irish glosses, and 2 Romance glosses to the entire *Etymologiae*. Only 6 of these glosses (none Old Irish or Romance) appear in book I. The most heavily annotated parts of the manuscript include books VIII (39 glosses), X (31 glosses), and XI (43 glosses). The Old Irish glosses appear in books IV (2 glosses), VIII (1 gloss), IX (2 glosses), X (4 glosses), and XI (24 glosses). The two Romance glosses appear in book XVII. Three of the shorter glosses and four of the longer annotations contain Tironian notes.

Most of the shorter glosses in this manuscript were added by a single 9th-century hand writing Caroline minuscule under a strong insular influence (e.g., underslung i and open g are very frequent). This hand also added any variant readings and corrections here and there (e.g., fol. 3v, 4v, 9r, and 23v) and is responsible for the Old Irish glosses. According to John J. Contreni (*Cathedral School of Laon*, p. 45 and 93) following Bernhard Bischoff ('Irische Schreiber im Karolingerreich', p. 50), the manuscript was glossed in Mainz in the circle of the Irishman Probus of Mainz (Bernhard Bischoff, furthermore, dates these glosses to 9th c.^{2/4}; cf. B. Bischoff, *Katalog* II 2124: 'Irische Glossen in Mainzer Min.'). The long annotations were entered by a group of distinct but related hands using Caroline minuscule, of which two are recurring (one annotated fol. 73v, 81r, 113v, and the other fol. 132v, 133r, 133v, 134r, 170v). The manuscript also contains many marginal tabs summarizing the content of particular sections, especially in the second half of the manuscript, which were carried out by several different 9th-century hands. The main hand added crosses to several sections in books VI, VII and VIII and *require* corrections signs (e.g., fol. 113v, 115v, 175r).

Bernhard BISCHOFF, «Irische Schreiber im Karolingerreich», in René ROQUES (ed.), *Jean Scot Erigène et l'histoire de la philosophie*, Paris, 1977 (*Colloques internationaux de CNRS*, 561), p. 47-58 (p. 50); reprinted in *Mittelalterliche*

Studien, vol. 3, Stuttgart, 1981, p. 39-54; and John J. CONTRENI, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: its manuscripts and masters*, Munich, 1978 (*Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung*, 29), p. 45 and 92-93; Pierre-Yves LAMBERT, «Gloses celtiques à Isidore de Séville», in Peter ANREITER, Erzsébet JEREM (ed.), *Studia Celtica et Indogermanica. Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid zum 70. Geburtstag*, Budapest, 1999, p. 187-200 (p. 188-195).

<https://bibliotheque-numerique.ville-laon.fr/viewer/1466/?&offset=9#page=13&viewer=picture&o=bookmark&n=0&q=>

27. London, British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A.xv (fol. 3-38, 42-64, 73-117)

8th century^{2/2}, north-eastern France (CLA II 183)

prov.: northern France (9th century, ½, B. Bischoff, *Katalog* II 2417a)

prov.: Canterbury (10th-11th c.)

104 fol., a miscellany with mixed content

218 × 170 mm (175 × 132 mm), 25 long lines

content: Jerome, *De viris illustribus* (fol. 3r-31r); Jerome, *Vita sancti Pauli eremita* (fol. 31r-36r); Isidore, *Etymologiae* I 21-27, 37 (fol. 36r-38v); Cyprian, *Ad Quirinum* (fol. 38v-64r); computistic texts (fol. 65r-107v)

annotations: 10 Latin glosses to *Etym.* I 21

Glosses, corrections and variants readings in *Etym.* I 21 were added by a single late hand writing perhaps in the 12th century.

F. A. RELLA, «Continental manuscripts acquired for English centres in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, a preliminary checklist», *Anglia*, 98, 1980, p. 107-116 (p. 111).

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Caligula_a_XV

28. London, British Library, Harley 3941

9th/10th century or 10th century, ½, Brittany (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* II 2481)

prov.: Jumièges (12th c.)

265 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* divided into two volumes (3941/1 and 3941/2)

252 × 200 mm (197-208 × 150 mm), 30, 32 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX

annotations: approximately 824 Latin, 32 Old Breton, and 1 Romance glosses to the entire *Etymologiae*. 535 of these are Latin glosses to book I (which contains no Old Breton and 1 Romance gloss). The most heavily glossed parts of the manuscript apart from book I are books V (38 glosses) and X (32 glosses). Old Breton glosses appear in books IV (6 glosses), VI (1 gloss), VIII (2 glosses), IX (1 gloss), X (1 gloss), XI (8 glosses), XII (5 glosses), XIII (2 glosses), XVII (4 glosses), and XVIII (2 glosses).

Glosses in this manuscript were added primarily by the hand of the main copyist or a contemporary hand akin to that of the main copyist (cf. B. Bischoff, *Katalog II 2481: 'Glossen glz.'*). Given that they are in many cases identical to glosses known from other, older manuscripts, it is certain that they were copied, probably in the course of the production of the manuscript. A distinct 10th-century hand added a cluster of glosses to book I, which are identical with glosses that also appear in Paris Lat. 7585 and represent the material shared uniquely by these two manuscripts. The same hand also made corrections on fol. 7r, 17r, 17v, and 21r. The main scribe also added typical insular annotation symbols in the margins of the manuscript: M for *metrum* next to verses (e.g., on fol. 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r, 16v, 17r, and 17v) and L for *lege* to mark passages of interest (e.g., on fol. 18r, 24r, 25v, 26r, and 27v). Four of the glosses are embedded into the main text.

Pierre-Yves LAMBERT, «Gloses celtiques à Isidore de Séville», in Peter ANREITER, Erzsébet JEREM (ed.), *Studia Celtica et Indogermanica. Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid zum 70. Geburtstag*, Budapest, 1999, p. 187-200 (p. 195-200); David GANZ, «Harley 3941: From Jerome to Isidore», in Georges DECLERCQ (ed.), *Early Medieval Palimpsests*, Turnhout, 2007, p. 29-36; Carmen CODOÑER MERINO, «Transmisión y recepción de las "Etimologías"», in José MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, Óscar de la CRUZ PALMA, Cándida FERRERO HERNÁNDEZ (ed.), *Estudios de latín medieval hispánico. Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Latín Medieval Hispánico*, Florence, 2011, p. 5-26 (p. 12).

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_3941

29. Longleat House, Library of the Marquess of Bath, NMR 10589 (flyleaves)

7th/8th century, Ireland (CLA S 1873)
prov.: Glastonbury (12th c.)

2 fol., fragments of a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* (only the first volume?)
336 × 217 mm (285 × 232 mm), 36 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* VI 16.6-17.9 + *Etymologiae* VII 1.29-38

annotations: 1 Latin and 1 Old Irish gloss to *Etym.* VI 17

The date of the glosses is unclear. Bernhard Bischoff considers them later than the manuscript (cf. B. Bischoff, V. Brown and J. J. James, p. 293: 'Some glosses by a later Insular hand, including one in Old Irish'). This verdict is perhaps based on Dooley's remark about the orthography of the Old Irish gloss, which shows traits characteristic of the 9th century (J. P. Carley and A. Dooley, p. 147). The presence of Old Irish makes it likely that they were added before the manuscript left Ireland.

James P. CARLEY, Ann DOOLEY, « An early Irish fragment of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* », in Lesley J. ABRAMS, James P. CARLEY (ed.), *The Archaeology and history of Glastonbury abbey: Essays in honour of the 90th birthday of C. A. Raleigh Radford*, Woodbridge, 1991, p. 135-161; Bernhard BISCHOFF, Virginia BROWN, John J. JAMES, « Addenda to Codices Latini Antiquiores », *Mediaeval Studies*, 54, 1992, p. 286-307 (p. 293-294).

30. Oxford, Queen's College, MS 320

10th century, med. and 10th century, 3/4, England, perhaps Canterbury (Kidd)

177 fol., the first volume of a complete copy of the *Etymologiae*
265-270 x 210 mm (200 x 140 mm), 26 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-X (1r-177v)

annotations: 40 Latin glosses and 1 Old English gloss to *Etym.* I, 3 more glosses appear in *Etym.* II. No glosses appear in other books of the *Etymologiae*.

Glosses in this manuscript were mostly added by a single Anglo-Norman hand at the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th centuries. The same hand also inserted corrections and variant readings here and there and occasionally transcribed bits of the text and expanded abbreviations to make the 10th-century Anglo-Saxon minuscule more readable (e.g., on fol. 21r). A different hand using Anglo-Saxon minuscule close in time to the main scribe copied the Greek alphabet next to Isidore's account of it in *Etym.* I 3 (fol. 8r), equipped chapters 34-37 with a marginal index of terms discussed in these chapters (fol. 23v-29v), added *kaput* signs in the margins to indicate the beginning of a new unit of text (e.g., fol. 7v, 8v, 11v, and 12r), and added an insular quotation sign next to a citation from Ovid in *Etym.* I 36.21 (fol. 26r) and elsewhere.

Peter KIDD, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Queen's College, Oxford*, Oxford, 2016 (Oxford Bibliographical Society. *Manuscript Catalogues*, 1), p. 178-181.

31. Paris, BnF, Lat. 7585

9th century^{2/4}, Franco-Saxon school, Saint-Bertin? (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* III 4486)

prov.: England, Canterbury (10th c. ^{2/2}, Bishop)

230 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
325 × 230 mm (260 × 180 mm), 29 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX

physical state: the manuscript was damaged already in the early Middle Ages, and fol. 1-44, 53-60, 76-112, 118-142, 159-167, 174-182, 191, 198, 207-230 were therefore recopied in 10th c.^{2/2} in England. The exemplar used to supply the missing sections was presumably an insular manuscript, given the large number of Irish abbreviations and corruptions stemming from the incorrect reading of insular letter-forms.

annotations: At least 1016 Latin, 5 Old English and 1 Old Irish-Latin gloss to the entire *Etymologiae*. 1 Old English and 224 Latin glosses appear in book I. The other heavily glossed parts of the manuscript include books II (89 glosses), III (73 glosses), IV (76 glosses), and VIII (70 glosses). Old English glosses appear in books XI (1 gloss), XV (1 gloss), and XVII (2 glosses). The Old Irish-Latin gloss *filiabus* survives in *Etym.* III 15.2 (to *a poetis*), probably because the English scribe confused it with the Latin word *filiabus*. Annotations in this manuscript are closely related to those found in the Gotha-New York-Weimar-Herdringen-Paderborn fragments and IRHT, digitisation of CP 342 as well as to annotations found in manuscripts associated with Canterbury (Queen 320, Cotton Caligula A.xv).

Most of the glosses in this manuscript were added by one of the English scribes in the process of recopying in the second half of the 10th century, both on the original 9th-century and the restored 10th-century leaves. Bishop identifies the scribe who added these glosses with the scribe who copied fol. 44r, l. 19 ff. (*English Caroline minuscule*, p. 4). The same scribe also added many corrections and variant readings here and there, the letters of the alphabet next to *Etym.* I 4 (fol. 4v) and *kaput* signs indicating the beginning of a new section (fol. 5r, 5v, 6r, 6v, 7v, 8r, 9v, 20v). The recopied sections of the manuscript contain many embedded glosses, at least 28 of these in book I. These were most likely present in the exemplar used for the restoration and may have been already embedded in this older manuscript. A later user interlineally marked two such embedded glosses (on fol. 18r and 20v) as *glosa*.

T. A. M. BISHOP, *English Caroline minuscule*, Oxford, 1971, p. 4-5; H. D. MERITT, «Old English Glosses, Mostly Dry Point», *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 60:3, 1961, p. 441-450 (p. 448-449); F. A. RELLA,

«Continental manuscripts acquired for English centres in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, a preliminary checklist», *Anglia*, 98, 1980, p. 107-116 (p. 115).

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10542288m>

MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING SCHOLARLY ANNOTATIONS

32. Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, S.XXI.5

9th century^{1/3}, northern Italy, perhaps Novara¹¹⁹ (B. Bischoff, *Katalog I* 855)

277 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
320 × 250 mm (260 × 190 mm), 27-32 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX (fol. 1r-273v), ps-Augustine, *Homilia legenda in quotidiano* (fol. 274r-274v), ps-Augustine, *Sermo de diebus malis* (fol. 274v-275r), a short note on the Prophets (fol. 275r), ps-Isidore, *Liber de numeris* (fol. 275r-275v), *Symbolum apostolorum* (fol. 275v), a prayer (fol. 275v), ps-Augustine, *Sermo de iudicio extremo III* (fol. 275v-276r), ps-Isidore, *Interrogationes de rebus veteris et novi testamenti* (fol. 276r-277v)

physical state: folia are missing at the end of the manuscript, which may have contained additional short texts, now surviving only in the *codex descriptus*, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS II 46.

annotations: 5 longer Latin annotations to *Etym.* III 71 (fol. 50v-51r), IV 2-7 (fol. 52r-53v), V 7-23 (fol. 57v-58r), and V 39 (fol. 68r and 70v-71r) and at least 43 Latin glosses to the prefatory letter IV (1 gloss) and books I (20 glosses, including 11 interpretative summaries to *Etym.* I 21), III (1 gloss), V (3 glosses), VI (4 glosses), VII (10 glosses), and VIII (4 glosses).

According to Anna Bellettini, most of the annotations, corrections, variant readings and marginal summaries in the manuscript, including the five long sets of annotation to books III-V, were inserted by a single hand writing at the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century (A. Bellettini, p. 54). However, at least some of the glosses to books I, III and V-VIII and annotation symbols seem to have been added by other hands, some of which may be earlier than the hand of the most prominent annotator. Since I could examine the manuscript only as digital facsimiles with limited image quality, I likely missed some interlinear annotations. It seems that most appear in the first eight books of the *Etymologiae* intermixed with variant readings and corrections. The 10th/11th-century annotator and perhaps some of the other annotators responsible for marginalia equipped the manuscript with many marginal summaries (e.g., in book I, III, V,

¹¹⁹ The connection with Novara was proposed in A. BELLETTINI, «Il codice del sec. IX di Cesena, Malatestiano S. XXI.5», p. 58.

VII, VIII, and XI), *nota* signs (e.g., on fol. 57r, 80r, 96r, 98r, 115r), and *VER/VR* siglum for verses (e.g., on fol. 45r, 46r, 63v, 76v, 77v, 105r, 105v, and 138v).

Anna BELLETTINI, «Il codice del sec. IX di Cesena, Malatestiano S. XXI.5: le «*Etymologiae*» di Isidoro, testi minori e glosse di età ottoniana», *Italia medievale e umanistica*, 45, 2004, p. 49-114.

<http://catalogoaperto.malatestiana.it/elenco-libri/libro/?saggioid=SX.21.05>

33. Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, MS LIII (37)

10th/11th century, Ivrea

150 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
310 × 225 mm (250 × 180 mm), 39 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX

annotations: 12 long Latin annotations to various parts of the *Etymologiae*.

Annotations in this manuscript were entered by a single hand identified by Ferrari as P, a *magister scriptorii* active at Ivrea in the second half of the 10th century (M. Ferrari, p. 173-174). Most of the long annotations were squeezed into the blank spaces left behind by copying tables of contents of particular books. Among the authors excerpted in these annotations are Julian of Toledo (fol. 19r), Ausonius (fol. 69v), Bede (fol. 149r), and Martial (fol. 149r).

Mirella FERRARI, «Il postillatore dell'anno Mille e la Biblioteca Capitolare d'Ivrea», in Vincenzo FERA, Giacomo FERRAU, Silvia RIZZO (ed.), *Talking to the Text. Marginalia from Papyri to Print*, vol. 1, Messina, 2002, p. 167-201; Simona GAVINELLI, «Early Carolingian: Italy», *The Oxford Handbook of Latin Palaeography*, Oxford, 2020, p. 273.

34. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, MS 25

c. 946, San Millán de la Cogolla (Ruiz Garcia)

295 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
370 × 270 mm (250 × 190 mm), 38 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX

annotations: approximately 117 longer Latin annotations and shorter glosses and 2 Romance glosses to many books of the *Etymologiae*. 29 of these are Latin glosses to *Etym.* I. Annotations also appear in books V (29 glosses), VI (12 glosses), VII (22 glosses), VIII (8 glosses), IX (4 glosses), X (1 gloss), XII (3 glosses), XIII (1 gloss), XV (3 glosses), XVI (2 glosses), XVII (4 glosses), XIX (2 glosses), and XX (1 gloss). Romance glosses appear in books XII (1 gloss) and XVII (1 gloss).

Annotations in this manuscript were copied from the exemplar, as is clear from their clean execution and ornamental decoration, as well as from the fact that many of them appear in the sister manuscript of Madrid RAH 25, Madrid RAH 76. The annotations in this codex come in two forms. The longer interpretative annotations are often inserted in a red frame, they may be partially rubricated and sometimes have a typical triangular shape completed with a decorative flourish that makes them look like a cluster of grapes. Some of the frames are decorated: the annotations about the beasts of the four Evangelists (fol. 93r) are topped with splendid depictions of the four beasts, and the annotation about baptism (fol. 102v) has a bird (a dove?) sitting on top of it. On the other hand, the short lexical glosses are not framed but attached to the main text with characteristic *signes de renvoi*. Apart from the contemporary annotations in Visigothic minuscule, the manuscript also contains more recent annotations by a Gothic hand.

Elisa RUIZ GARCÍA, *Catálogo de la sección de códices de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, 1997, p. 193-197.

<http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=58>

35. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, MS 76

c. 954, northern Spain, perhaps San Pedro de Cardeña

162 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
310-330 x 230 mm (270 x 180 mm), 38 or 44 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX

physical state: The codex is missing folia at the beginning and opens with *Etym.* I 5.

annotations: 116 longer Latin annotations and shorter Latin glosses to many books of the *Etymologiae*. 38 are glosses to *Etym.* I. Annotations also appear in books V (28 glosses), VI (12 glosses), VII (21 glosses), VIII (7 glosses), IX (2 glosses), X (1 gloss), XIII (1 gloss), XV (2 glosses), XVII (1 gloss), XIX (2 glosses), and XX (1 gloss).

Annotations in this manuscript were copied from the exemplar, as is clear from their clean execution and ornamental decoration, as well as from the fact that they find a parallel in the sister manuscript of Madrid RAH 76, Madrid RAH 25. Like in this sister manuscript, the longer interpretative annotations are framed, the frames often rubricated and ornamental, sometimes giving the annotations a typical triangular shape ended with a flourish. The annotations about the beasts of the four Evangelists (fol. 42r-42v) are topped with imaginative, colourful depictions of the four beasts, and the annotation about baptism

(fol. 47v) is topped with a bird (a dove?). While Madrid RAH 76 shares most of the long annotations with its sister manuscript, it misses many of the shorter glosses in the last ten books that appear in the latter and contains many glosses to book I, which do not appear in Madrid RAH 25. Apart from the contemporary annotations copied in Visigothic minuscule, this manuscript also features more recent annotations by a Gothic hand.

<http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=57>

36. Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, A 18

12th century, Italy

132 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
380 × 275 mm (307 × 195 mm), 46 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-IX, XI-XX (1r-131v), Isidore, *Etymologiae* I 34 (131v-132v)

annotations: 289 long Latin annotations and 7 lexical glosses to all books of the *Etymologiae* except for books II and X (which is not present in the manuscript). 5 of these are annotations to book I. The most heavily annotated sections are books VIII (26 annotations), XI (23 annotations), XII (79 annotations), and XV (27 annotations).

Annotations in this manuscript were copied by a single hand at the time of its copying and certainly came from the exemplar. The long annotations have red frames and rubricated initials. It has been long thought that the subscription on fol. 133v (*Vir beatissimus dominus Grauso episcopus suis quae fecit temporibus*), referring to bishop Grauso of Ceneda (d. 1003), situates the origin of the annotations into the late 9th or early 10th century. Villa has successfully argued that the annotations go back to Paul the Deacon and are therefore of late 8th-century origin (Villa, p. 61). This theory was further confirmed by the discovery of some of the glosses from Rome Vallicelliana A 18 embedded in other Italian manuscripts, particularly in the Cava *Etymologiae* from Monte Cassino.

Claudia VILLA, «Uno schedario di Paolo Diacono. Festo e Grauso di Ceneda», *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 27, 1984, p. 56-80; Michael D. REEVE, «Pliny's "Natural History" in the "Scholia Vallicelliana" on Isidore», in Francesco LO MONACO, Luca Carlo ROSSI (ed.), *Il mondo e la storia: studi in onore di Claudia Villa*, Florence, 2014, p. 247-254; Joshua WHATMOUGH, «Scholia in Isidori Etymologias Vallicelliana», *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 2, 1925, p. 57-75; and 135-169; Wallace M. LINDSAY, «New evidence for the text of Festus», *The Classical Quarterly*, 10, 1916, p. 106-115.

37. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 233

c. 800, St. Gall (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* III 5671)

110 fol., an incomplete copy of the *Etymologiae*
255 × 180 mm, 25-32 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* VI-VIII + XII-XV

annotations: 37 Latin marginal summaries to *Etym.* XII-XV. They appear in books XII (20 summaries), XIII (1 summary), XIV (11 summaries), and XV (5 summaries).

Annotations in this manuscript were copied by the main hand from the common exemplar of this manuscript and St. Gallen 235. Many are badly corrupted. 34 of the summaries also appear in St. Gallen 235; three are unique to this manuscript. Because several of the summaries add geographical information about northern Italy, it seems that this is their region of origin, perhaps connected with the region of Milan (the text of St. Gallen 233 is also of Italian family).

Bernhard BISCHOFF, «Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla», in Manuel Cecilio DÍAZ Y DÍAZ (ed.), *Isidoriana. Colección de estudios sobre Isidoro de Sevilla*, León, 1961, p. 317-344 (p. 340); reprinted in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1966, p. 171-194.

<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0233/198/0/Sequence-418>

38. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 235

c. 800, St. Gall (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* III 5672)

150 fol., an incomplete copy of the *Etymologiae*
278 × 172-74 mm (215 × 125-30 mm), 29-36 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* XII-XX

annotations: 64 Latin marginal summaries to *Etym.* XII-XIX. One contains an Old High German word (in book XVI) and contains a Romance word (in book XIX). These summaries appear in books XII (18 summaries), XIII (3 summaries), XIV (13 summaries), XV (5 summaries), XVI (21 summaries), XVII (3 summaries), and XIX (1 summary).

Annotations were copied by the main hand from the common exemplar of this manuscript and St. Gallen 233. Many are badly corrupted or integrated into the main text. Because several of the summaries add geographical information about northern Italy, it seems that this is their region of origin, perhaps connected with the region of Milan (the text of St. Gallen 235 is also of Italian family).

Bernhard BISCHOFF, «Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla», in Manuel Cecilio DÍAZ Y DÍAZ (ed.), *Isidoriana. Colección de estudios sobre Isidoro de Sevilla*, León, 1961, p. 317-344 (p. 340); reprinted in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1966, p. 171-194.

<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0235/108/0/Sequence-419>

39. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS II 46

11th/12th century, north-eastern Italy

prov.: Padua (18th c.)

138 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume

250 × 155 mm (210 × 120-30 mm), 49-50 long lines

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX (fol. 3v-130r), ps-Augustine, *Homilia legenda in quotidiano* (fol. 130v-131r), ps-Augustine, *Sermo de diebus malis* (fol. 131r), a short note on the Prophets (fol. 131r), ps-Isidore, *Liber de numeris* (fol. 131r-131v), *Symbolum apostolorum* (fol. 131v), a prayer (fol. 131v), ps-Augustine, *Sermo de iudicio extremo III* (fol. 131v), ps-Isidore, *Interrogationes de rebus veteris et novi testamenti* (fol. 131v-135v), ps-Jerome, *Chronicon* (fol. 135v-136v), *Glossae evangeliorum* (fol. 136v-137v), *Commentarius in Iohannis epistulam* (fol. 137v-138r), ps-Isidore, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (fol. 138r-140v)

annotations: 5 sets of longer Latin annotations and at least 43 Latin glosses to the prefatory letter IV (1 gloss) and books I (20 glosses, including 11 interpretative summaries to *Etym.* I 21), III (1 gloss), V (3 glosses), VI (4 glosses), VII (10 glosses), and VIII (4 glosses) copied from Cesena S.XXI.5.

All of the annotations, marginal summaries, *nota* signs, variant readings, and most other marginalia in this manuscript were copied from the exemplar.

Anna BELLETTINI, «Il codice del sec. IX di Cesena, Malatestiano S. XXI.5: le «Etymologiae» di Isidoro, testi minori e glosse di età ottoniana», *Italia medievale e umanistica*, 45, 2004, p. 49-114.

40. Vercelli, Biblioteca capitolare, CII (61)

9th/10th century, Lyon (B. Bischoff, *Katalog III 6994*)

prov.: Vercelli (10th/11th c.)

146 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume

335 × 250 mm (260 × 185 mm), 40-42 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX

annotations: at least 20 Latin marginal summaries equipped with *nota* signs in books VII-IX, XI, and XVII.

Simona Gavinelli identifies this manuscript as one of the eleven that were annotated by bishop Leo of Vercelli (998-1026) at the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century (S. Gavinelli, p. 252-253). All of the annotations she describes can be attributed to Leo, who uses is a characteristic call-out *n(ota) L(eo)* to introduce many of them.

Simona GAVINELLI, «Leone di Vercelli postillatore di codici», *Aevum*, 75, 2001, p. 233-262.

MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING OLD HIGH GERMAN ANNOTATIONS

41. London, British Library, Harley 3099

c. 1130-1174, Munsterbilsen (near Maastricht)

167 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
345 × 238 mm (252-270 × 174 mm), 40-45 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX (fol. 1r-153r), Isidore, *De natura rerum* (fol. 154r-164v), ps-Bernard of Clairvaux, *De fide, spe et caritate* (fol. 165r-166r), the letter of prester John (fol. 166r-167v)

annotations: 6 Latin and 44 Old High German annotations to books I (3 Latin glosses), XII (3 Old High German glosses), and XVII (3 Latin and 41 Old High German glosses).

Both Latin and vernacular annotations in this manuscript were chiefly added by the main copying hand. Two or three glosses in book XVII were added by a secondary hand coeval with the main hand, and one Latin gloss (on fol. 133r) by a hand using a more developed Gothic script, which is therefore presumably younger.

Herbert THOMA, «Altdeutsches aus Londoner Handschriften», *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 73, 1951, p. 197-271 (p. 246-250).

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_3099_f001v

42. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4541

9th century^{3/3}, Benediktbeuern (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* II 2964)
prov.: Benediktbeuern (15th c.)

299 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
310 × 220 mm (230 × 160-165 mm), 31 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX (1v-299v)

annotations: 23 Latin and 12 Old High German glosses to books I (10 Latin glosses), II (4 Latin glosses), III (1 Latin gloss), IV (1 Old High German gloss), IX (1 Old High German gloss), X (1 Latin and 1 Old High German gloss), XI (4 Latin glosses), XII (1 Latin and 2 Old High German glosses), XIV (2 Latin and 1 Old High German glosses), XVII (3 Old High German glosses), and XX (3 Old High German glosses). There are possibly additional Latin glosses in books II-XX.

According to Bernhard Bischoff, Old High German glosses in this manuscript were copied from the Tegernsee manuscript München Clm 18192 in the early 11th century (B. Bischoff, p. 39). However, since the Tegernsee codex was itself not produced until the mid-11th century (B. Bischoff places it into the 10th century), it is more likely that the glosses were added in the second half of the 11th century, which is acceptable as to their palaeography. The manuscript was annotated, corrected, and equipped with marginal summaries by many coeval hands of that period, one of which also added the old Latin gloss about Phoenicians found already in Brussels II 4856 on fol. 6r.

Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit: Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden, 1940 (*Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeit*, 49), p. 39-40; Andreas NIEVERGELT, «Isidor von Sevilla, Althochdeutsche Glossierung», in Rolf BERGMANN (ed.), *Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur*, Berlin, 2013, p. 195-203.

[urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00071097-5](http://urn.nbn.de/bvb:12-bsb00071097-5)

43. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18192

11th century, med. Tegernsee (BStK Online)
prov.: Tegernsee (13th-15th c.)

206 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
303 × 225 mm (220 × 152 mm), 34 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX (1r-205v)

annotations: at least 7 Latin and 14 Old High German annotations to books I (7 Latin glosses), II (1 Old High German gloss), IV (1 Old High German gloss), IX (1 Old High German gloss), X (1 Old High German gloss), XII (2 Old High German glosses), XIV (1 Old High German gloss), XVII (4 Old High German glosses), and XX (3 Old High German glosses). There are possibly additional Latin glosses in books II-XX.

Most of the glosses in this manuscript were added by a hand similar to the main hand, possibly by the copyist. One of the Old High German glosses on fol. 172r

was added by a different hand contemporary with the manuscript. The manuscript was presumably annotated in Tegernsee, where it was produced and kept during the Middle Ages.

Christine Elisabeth EDER, «Die Schule des Klosters Tegernsee im frühen Mittelalter im Spiegel der Tegernseer Handschriften», *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 83, 1972, p. 6-155; Andreas NIEVERGELT, «Tegernseer Glossenhandschriften», in Rolf BERGMANN, Stefanie STRICKER (ed.), *Die althochdeutsche und altsächsische Glossographie. Ein Handbuch*, vol. 2, Berlin-New York, 2009, p. 1384-1416; Christina BEER, «München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18192», in *BStK Online*, at: <https://glossen. germ-ling.uni-bamberg.de/bstk/640> [accessed on 15 November 2021].

[urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00130329-3](https://nbn.de:bvb:12-bsb00130329-3)

44. †Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire, C.IV.15

10th/11th century¹²⁰, German area? (BStK Online)

prov.: Strasbourg (11th c., 1/4)

content: excerpts from *Etym. XI-XIV* on fol. 4r-14v, also contained Bede, *De natura rerum*; Bede, *De temporum ratione*; Augustine, *Dialectica*; Boethius, *Commentarii in Ciceronis Topica*; Boethius, *De hypotheticis syllogismis*; ps-Bede, *De ratione calculi*; and Jerome, *Commentum in epistulas Pauli*

physical state: The manuscript was destroyed in a library fire in 1870.

annotations: 105 Old High German glosses to *Etym. XI-XIV* recorded by Graff. It is possible that the manuscript also contained Latin annotations, but these were not transcribed.

It is quite unlikely that only Old High German glosses were present in this manuscript since no annotated manuscript of the *Etymologiae* contains only vernacular glosses. It is, thus, probable that the manuscript also featured some Latin glosses.

Eberhard Gottlieb GRAFF, *Diutiska: Denkmäler deutscher Sprache und Literatur, aus alten Handschriften*, vol. 2, Stuttgart - Tübingen, 1827, p. 192-194; Michaela PÖLZL, «Straßburg, Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire, C. IV. 15, verbrannt», in *BStK Online*, at: <https://glossen. germ-ling.uni-bamberg.de/bstk/855> [accessed on 15 November 2021].

¹²⁰ This date seems to be more accurate than the older dating to the 9th century, which is reflected in B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften III*, no. 6026.

45. Vatican, BAV, Pal. Lat. 281

9th century, ½, probably Lorsch (B. Bischoff, *Katalog* III 6518)
prov.: Lorsch (9th c.)

308 fol., a complete copy of the *Etymologiae* in one volume
315 × 230 mm (262 × 177 mm), 28 lines, 2 columns

content: Isidore, *Etymologiae* I-XX (1r-308r)

annotations: 8 Old High German glosses to *Etym. XII 7 (De avibus)*

All Old High German glosses in this manuscript were added by a single 10th-century hand, which also made Latin corrections on the same folia. Given its provenance, the manuscript was annotated in Lorsch.

Herbert THOMA, «Altdeutsches aus Londoner Handschriften», *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 73, 1951, p. 197-271 (p. 243).

https://digi.vatlib.it/view/bav_pal_lat_281

MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING SMALL AMOUNTS OF ANNOTATIONS

Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Fragm. lat. 42 + Paris, BnF, Lat. 10403 (fol. 1)
 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ham. 689
 Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 101
 Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 611 (fol. 42-93)
 Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, II 4856
 Cambridge, Trinity College, B.15.33
 Cologne, Dombibliothek, MS 123 (fol. 76-80)
 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 167
 El Escorial, Monasterio San Lorenzo, R.II.18
 Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 404
 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 122
 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. O 15
 London, British Library, Arundel 129
 London, British Library, Harley 2713 (fol. 1-34)
 London, British Library, Harley 5977
 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L 99 sup.
 Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 320
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.2.20
 Paris, BnF, Lat. 2024
 Paris, BnF, Lat. 7491
 Paris, BnF, Lat. 7588

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St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 446
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