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The Early Reception History of the First Book of Isidore's *Etymologies* as a Mirror of Carolingian Intellectual Networks: A Proposal

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The *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville have been called the single most read medieval text after the Bible.[1] While perhaps an exaggeration, this claim is a fitting tribute to the tremendous influence and popularity of Isidore's work in the Middle Ages. The most impressive testimony to the importance of Isidore's *oeuvre majeure* is perhaps August Eduard Anspach's handlist of the manuscripts of the *Etymologies* containing almost 1,100 codices, fragments, and excerpts of this text datable to before the end of the sixteenth century.[2] As the roughly 300 manuscripts

1 Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,* trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series 36 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 496–97.

2 This number is taken from the unfinished catalogue of the manuscripts of the *Etymologies* prepared by A.E. Anspach before his death in 1942. The catalogue was published as José María Fernández Catón, *Las "Etimologías" en la tradición manuscrita medieval estudiada por el Prof. Dr. Anspach* (León: centro de estudios e investigacion San Isidoro, 1966). Overviews of the

of the *Etymologies* in Anspach's handlist predating the eleventh century attest, Isidore was established as a major *auctoritas* already in the early Middle Ages.[3] Most researchers agree that Isidore's knowledge compendium was received eagerly early on, as is indicated by its rapid dissemination into Ireland, Gaul, and Italy, and revealed by the references to the *Etymologies* in many

manuscripts based on Anspach's handlist can be found in Baudouin Van den Abeele, "La tradition manuscrite des *Étymologies* d'Isidore de Séville," *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes* 16 (2008): 195–205, and more recently Evina Steinová, "The Oldest Manuscript Tradition of the *Etymologiae* (Eighty Years after A.E. Anspach)," in *Visigothic Symposia* 4 (2020): 100–143. The most important studies of the manuscript transmission of the *Etymologies* are (in rough chronological order): Charles Henry Beeson, *Isidor-Studien, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* 4, no. 2 (Munich: Beck, 1913); Wallace M. Lindsay, *"Etymologiarum" sive "Originum" libri XX,* 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911); Walter Porzig, "Die Rezensionen der *Etymologiae* des Isidorus von Sevilla. Vorbemerkung," *Hermes* 72, no. 2 (1937): 129–70; Bernhard Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla," in *Isidoriana: colección de estudios sobre Isidore de Sevilla,* ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz (León: Centro de estudios San Isidoro, 1961), 317–44; Marc Reydellet, "La diffusion des *Origines* d'Isidore de Séville au Haut Moyen âge," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 78, no. 2 (1966): 383–437; Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *Los capítulos sobre los metales en las "Etimologías" de Isidoro de Sevilla,* La minería hispana a iberoamericana 7 (Léon: Catedra de San Isidoro, 1970); Ulrich Schindel, "Zur frühen Überlieferungsgeschichte der *Etymologiae* Isidors von Sevilla," *Studi medievali* 29, no. 2 (1988): 587–605; Carmen Codoñer Merino, "Fases en la edición de las *Etymologiae,* con especial referencia al libro X," *Euphrosyne* 22 (1994): 125–46; Carmen Codoñer Merino, "Historia del texto de las *Etimologías* isidorianas," in *Actas del III Congreso Hispánico de Latín Medieval (León, 26–29 de Septiembre de 2002),* ed. Maurilio Pérez González (León: Universidad de León, 2002), vol. 2, 483–94; and Carmen Codoñer Merino, José Carlos Martin, and Adelaida Andres, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep.," in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo/ Medieval Texts and Their Transmission,* ed. Paulo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi (Florence: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005), vol. 2, 274–417.

3 The real number of the surviving pre-1000 manuscripts transmitting the *Etymologies* is closer to 500. On Isidore as an early medieval authority, see Bernice M. Kaczynski, "The Authority of the Fathers: Patristic Texts in Early Medieval Libraries and Scriptoria," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 16 (2006): 1–27, at 25, and Richard M. Pollard and Anne-Gaëlle Weber, "Le canon des Pères à l'époque carolingienne et la place de Flavius Josèphe," *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 67, no. 2 (2021): 275–318.

seventh- and eighth-century texts.[4] Yet, it was the Carolingian users who played the decisive role in elevating the *Etymologies* to the status of a universal encyclopedia and the Carolingian *scriptoria,* with their prodigal output, that defined the shape and form the text was to be received by the following generations up to modern times. Walter Porzig captured the centrality of Isidore's encyclopedia to the Carolingian world when he stated that every larger library endeavored to possess several copies of the *Etymologies,* and even the humbler ones must have owned at least one exemplar.[5]

The permeation of the *Etymologies* into the Carolingian world was not a passive process. We should not talk of it as merely a reception but rather as an appropriation, as Carolingian users transformed the *Etymologies* with every stroke of pen involved in the copying, correcting, and annotation of this work, shaping it in their own image, and often leaving behind a tangible trace of their reshaping. The task was made easier by the fact that the *Etymologies,* being a knowledge compendium with a complex textual history,[6] was from the beginning

4 In particular, Jocelyn N. Hillgarth has argued that the *Etymologies* reached Ireland already around the mid-seventh century. See Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, "The East, Visigothic Spain and the Irish," *Studia Patristica* 4 (1961): 442–56; Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, "Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy C* 62 (1962): 167–94; and Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, "Ireland and Spain in the Seventh Century," *Peritia* 3 (1984): 1–16. All three were reprinted in Jocelyn. N. Hillgarth, *Visigothic Spain, Byzantium, and the Irish* (London: Variorum, 1985). Hillgarth's thesis has recently been revised in Marina Smyth, "Isidorian Texts in Seventh-Century Ireland," in *Isidore of Seville and His Reception in the Early Middle Ages,* ed. Andrew Fear and Jamie Wood (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 111–30. See also Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung."

5 Porzig, "Die Rezensionen der *Etymologiae*," 133.

6 There was, in all likelihood, never a single archetype of the work. Rather, an earlier version, consisting of the first ten books, may have been put into circulation by Isidore around 625. Later, Isidore added ten more books, but never completed this enterprise, dying in 636. The unfinished work was then completed by Isidore's close friend and fellow bishop, Braulio of Zaragoza, who made several notable changes to the text and its arrangement. From Braulio we also learn that the uncorrected version of the *Etymologies* was in circulation before his own revision could have been prepared.

a malleable text, open to rewriting and adjustment, addition and omission, reordering and reformatting.[7] Already the oldest well-preserved manuscripts of the encyclopedia, dated to the eighth century, reveal the fingerprints of several generations of users who felt the need to correct, expand, and reorganize Isidore.[8] The process only accelerated in the Carolingian environment. It was in this period, too, that a single *scriptorium* could possess, for the first time, multiple copies of the *Etymologies* descending from distinct textual families and thus be faced with the significant heterogeneity of its textual tradition. At least in several places, scribes responded to this heterogeneity in a typically Carolingian fashion, producing new recensions that harmonized the earlier text versions in line with their own expectations and needs.[9] One of the ninth-century Carolingian redactions produced the family ξ of the *Etymologies,* whose

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The history of these three earliest text-versions and their relationship to the text in surviving manuscripts are discussed in Reydellet, "La diffusion des *Origines*," 387–88, and Codoñer Merino, Martin, and Andres, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep.," 282–85.

7 Porzig, "Die Rezensionen der *Etymologiae*," 143.

8 The reworking of the *Etymologies* began, as noted in footnote 6, with Braulio. For the overview of interpolations attributed to him, see Michel Huglo, "The *Musica Isidori* Tradition in the Iberian Peninsula," in *Hispania Vetus: Musical-Liturgical Manuscripts from Visigothic Origins to the Franco-Roman Transition (9th–12th Centuries),* ed. Susana Zapke (Bilbao: Fundacion BBVA, 2007), 64–67. Other early recensions include one that contains a reference to the *annus praesens* in the reign of Recceswinth in book V, making it datable to c. 660, and a recension in which the first ten books were re-divided into three books. A fragment of a seventh-century Irish codex of the *Etymologies* preserved at the Longleat House, one of the oldest witnesses of Isidore's text, clearly descends from a redaction of the *Etymologies* made in Visigothic Spain in 655. See James P. Carley and Ann Dooley, "An Early Irish Fragment of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*," in *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey: Essays in Honour of the 90th Birthday of C. A. Ralegh Radford,* ed. Lesley J. Abrams and James Patrick Carley (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1991), 135–61.

9 Reydellet, "La diffusion des *Origines*," 388. Two examples of Carolingian redactions of the *Etymologies* attempting to harmonize different text versions are analyzed in Evina Steinová, "Two Carolingian Redactions of the *Etymologiae* from St. Gallen," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 56, no. 2 (2021): 298–376.

paramount influence is attested by the fact that some of the innovations that originated with this redaction, such as unified tables of contents at the beginning of each book of the *Etymologies,* even found their way into the critical edition of Wallace M. Lindsay.[10]

The family ξ illustrates the phenomenon at the center of this chapter, that of the "Carolingian *Etymologies*." This name can be applied to manuscripts of the Visigothic encyclopedia that reflect its appropriation in Carolingian contexts and carry specific traces of this intervention. Scholars such as Lindsay or Porzig looked at these interventions as interpolations. Their goal was to edit the text as faithfully to its archetype as possible (Lindsay)[11] or to reconstruct its stemma (Porzig).[12] However, seeing these interventions as neutral and helpful is equally valuable. Once our focus shifts away from seventh-century Spain to the Carolingian period, those manuscripts of the *Etymologies* that had been seen as deviant and unreliable become a treasure trove of unexplored material informing us about the Carolingian intellectual, social, and cultural life.[13] For this reason, I talk below not of Carolin-

10 Cf. Lindsay, *Etymologiae* with Reydellet, "La diffusion des *Origines*," 399. The credit for the discovery of family ξ belongs to Walter Porzig, who believed that it is a descendant of Braulio's recension. See Porzig, "Die Rezensionen der *Etymologiae*," 142–50 and 165–67. Marc Reydellet showed that it is not merely an offshoot of the Spanish family, as suggested by Porzig, but a separate Carolingian redaction. See Reydellet, "La diffusion des *Origines*," 419.

11 Wallace M. Lindsay, "The Editing of Isidore *Etymologiae*," *The Classical Quarterly* 5 (1911): 42–53.

12 Porzig, "Die Rezensionen der *Etymologiae*," 131.

13 It needs to be added that the process of appropriation of the *Etymologies* did not cease after the Carolingian period. Scholars have noted many examples of innovations of post-Carolingian origin. See Carmen Codoñer Merino, "Textes médicaux insérés dans les *Etymologiae* isidoriennes," in *La réception d'Isidore de Séville durant le Moyen âge tardif (XII^e–XV^e s.),* ed. Jacques Elfassi and Bernard Ribémont, Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales 16 (Orléans: CNRS, 2008), 17–38; Carmen Codoñer Merino, "Transmisión y recepción de las *Etimologías*," in *Estudios de latín medieval hispánico. Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Latín Medieval Hispánico,* ed. José Martínez Gázquez, Óscar de la Cruz Palma, and Cándida Ferrero Hernández (Florence: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2011), 5–26; and Carmen Cardelle de

gian interpolations but rather of innovations. Furthermore, the purposeful flexibility of this term allows it to include phenomena as varied in character as annotations, separate transmission of individual books of the *Etymologies* or their constituent units, changes in the order and organization of material, and changes in the physical format of the book — all of which are as valuable reflections of early medieval appropriation as are textual additions, which alone can be termed interpolations.

Importantly, the "Carolingian *Etymologies*" tell us not only how Carolingians read the *Etymologies* and what they desired to find in it, but also how new knowledge was produced, disseminated and received in this period in which Isidore's encyclopedia became one of its most important vessels. This is due to several unique properties of the *Etymologies*: a large number of surviving Carolingian manuscripts, the fact that many of them can be associated with well-known centers, and the degree of dynamicity of the *Etymologies* in a Carolingian environment, which promises a large number of innovations that can be studied. Many innovations did not remain restricted to a single manuscript or community but travelled through the veins of Carolingian intellectual networks, pumped into these veins by the centers that produced them or served as important hubs of their reception and dissemination. By tracking and analyzing the pattern of dissemination of these innovations, we can learn about the properties of the Carolingian intellectual ecosystem and its dynamics. The "Carolingian *Etymologies*" are, in other words, an ideal probe into examining the contours of Carolingian knowledge networks and the dynamics of innovation in this period. Such a study is the objective of the NWO VENI project entitled *Innovating Knowledge: Isidore's "Etymologiae" in the Carolingian Period*.[14]

Hartmann, "Uso y recepción de las *Etymologiae* de Isidoro," in *Wisigothica: After M.C. Díaz y Díaz,* ed. Carmen Codoñer Merino and Paulo Farmhouse Alberto, *mediEVI* 3 (Florence: SISMEL, 2014), 477–502.

14 The project, its objectives and outputs are described on the project website https://innovatingknowledge.nl/.

In this chapter, I illustrate the aims and methodologies of this project, using three case studies concerning Carolingian innovations in the first book of the *Etymologies*. These three case studies exemplify distinct diffusion patterns of innovations and trace different relationships between centers participating in their exchange. They are compared and contrasted using the following four scalable qualitative descriptors:

- Impact: How many surviving manuscripts transmit the innovation?
  Innovations vary from small-scale ones, including those that appear only in a single manuscript, to large-scale ones, featuring in tens or hundreds of manuscripts.

- Duration: For how long since the presumed point of origin can the innovation be detected in surviving manuscripts?
  Short-term innovations survive in manuscript evidence for a limited amount of time, perhaps several decades. Long-term innovations continue to appear in codices for several hundreds of years. It is also important to consider the chronological pattern in dissemination, e.g., whether an innovation spread fast after its first appearance in the manuscripts (or possibly the moment of introduction prior to the surviving manuscripts) or whether it became successful only after a delay.

- Direction of spreading: What were the main means of transmission of the innovation?
  Textual innovations spread vertically if they were transmitted as a result of book-copying; that is, from an exemplar to its copy. By contrast, innovations could also travel horizontally because of processes other than copying, such as the exchange of books, teachers, and students, or because of ties between centers and people, often along geographical corridors. Vertical and horizontal transmission leave behind distinct traces in manuscript evidence, for in the first case, one will see that a particular innovation appears in genetically related manuscripts, and it may even be a defining trait of a genetic rela-

tionship. In the second case, one will observe that manuscripts that are witnesses of the same innovation are not genetically related. In fact, the same innovation appears in manuscripts that clearly represent different families and branches of manuscript transmission.

- Emergence: How many sources of the innovation can be identified?
  A single-source innovation has only one point of origin, being a result of the activity of a single innovator, be it an individual or a group, who, even if they cannot be identified, can be assumed to have worked at a single specific place, at a single specific point in time. A multi-source innovation, on the contrary, does not have a single locus of origin, no single inventor, nor does it reflect a development particular to a single context. Rather, if we can see that the same or a similar innovation occurred many times in multiple places and was realized by multiple agents, especially if it can be shown to have arisen independently, then we are probably looking at a broader societal change that elicited a similar response among those who shared the same culture and schooling.

The First Book of the *Etymologies* in the Transmission History of the Work

It has been widely recognized that the individual books of the *Etymologies* have distinct textual and manuscript histories.[15] The first book of the *Etymologies,* dedicated to grammar and sometimes known as *De grammatica,* holds a special place in this regard.[16] C.H. Beeson observed at the beginning of the twentieth century that this book of the *Etymologies* was the most frequently excerpted and appropriated in the early Middle Ages.[17]

15 See especially Porzig, "Die Rezensionen der *Etymologiae*," 134–35.

16 The first book of the *Etymologies* was recently reedited: Olga Spevak, ed. and trans., *Isidore de Séville, "Étymologies." Livre I. La grammaire,* Auteurs latins du Moyen Âge 31 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2020).

17 Beeson, *Isidor-Studien,* 83.

Indeed, the first book was copied, commented on, extracted, quoted from, and blended with comparable texts more often than all but one of the twenty books into which Isidore's encyclopedia was divided by his first editor, Braulio of Zaragoza.[18]

Several decades before Beeson, Hermann Hagen noted that the first book was often transmitted separately as an autonomous work.[19] An attempt at the study of its transmission must, thus, consider not only the manuscripts of the complete text of the encyclopedia, which was standardly transmitted in one or two volumes, but also the codices that transmit only the first book or its parts, not to forget a substantial number of fragments that survive from the early Middle Ages.[20] As will be shown below, the diversity of material contexts in which the first book was embedded, from bulky codices of the entire *Etymologies* with perhaps 400–600 large-format pages, through the somewhat smaller and slimmer compendia, in which the first book was circulated together with other texts, to small-format booklets of as few as two quires that contained only the first book and could be carried out in a pocket, is part of the story of the transmission and transformation of this book in the Carolingian period.[21]

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18 The most excerpted book of the *Etymologiae* is book VI dealing with the Bible, books and writing instruments, Church Councils, Easter and other holidays, and Church rites, which appear in eighty-nine pre-1000 manuscripts. Excerpts from book I appear in eighty-three pre-1000 manuscripts; see the *Innovating Knowledge* database at https://db.innovatingknowledge.nl/.

19 Hermann Hagen, "De Isidoro grammatico," in *Grammatici latini. Supplementum,* ed. Heinrich Keil (Leipzig: Teubner, 1870), vol. 8, 255–56.

20 I am aware of at least ten pre-1000 fragments of the first book of the *Etymologies*. See the fragments included in the *Innovating Knowledge* database.

21 Just to give a few examples of the diversity of material contexts in which the first book was transmitted, the *Codex Karolinus,* Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 64, consists of 330 folios (660 pages), while the more economically copied St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 237, which likewise contains all twenty books of the *Etymologies,* counts 328 pages. The two-volume copy St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MSS 231–32, consists of manuscripts with 378 (books I–X) and 331 pages (books XI–XX), respectively. Junius 25, originally a separate codicological unit consisting of only the first book, has 28 folios (56 pages) of similar dimensions as the manuscripts above (204 × 133 mm [8.03 × 5.24 in.]), while the tiny Harley 2713 (148 ×

To this should be added that the text of the first book is characterized by several major textual variants that differentiate the four main textual families identified by Lindsay, Porzig and Reydellet: the Frankish α, the Italian β, the Spanish γ and the Carolingian ξ, each of which significantly problematized editing of this book.[22] There is, for example, the question of the *capitulum* V, which appears in the overview of the *capitula* attached to the first book in all early medieval manuscripts as *De voce et littera,* but corresponds to no chapter found in the manuscripts. Depending on where one looks, one can find at least seven different solutions to this discrepancy between the structure of the first book and its content in the early manuscript evidence, all of which may be early medieval innovations rather than revealing how the text may have looked on Isidore's working desk or in Braulio's hands.[23] Apart from major textual variants, the text of the first book contains many minor variants that are not captured by Lindsay's critical edition, concealing rather than revealing the textual diversity of the first book in Carolingian manuscripts. Many of these variants provide evidence of cross-breeding and hybridization that does not allow reconstructing

80 mm [5.83 × 3.15 in.]), another manuscript that originally contained only the first book, consists of 34 folios (68 pages). Throughout this article, I use abbreviated versions of the shelfmarks of the central group of manuscripts. Full references to manuscript shelfmarks and information about their dates and places of origin are provided in the appendix.

22 See Olga Spevak, "Les additions dans Isid. *Etym.* I: témoins d'un travail rédactionnel," *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 75 (2017): 59–88. Families α, β, and γ were first discerned in Lindsay, *Etymologiae,* vii–xii. The family ξ was identified by Porzig and its place in the transmission history of the *Etymologies* elaborated by Reydellet (see n. 10 above). Reydellet's stemma from the 1960s, which represents the current state of examination of textual transmission of the *Etymologies,* has been reprinted in Codoñer Merino, Martin, and Andres, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep.," 279. A different stemmatic relationship between manuscripts was suggested by Veronika von Büren, whose work, however, should be used with caution; Veronika von Büren, "La place du manuscrit Ambr. L 99 sup. dans la transmission des *Étymologies* d'Isidore de Séville," in *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell'Ambrosiana,* ed. Mirella Ferrari and Marco Navoni (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2007), 25–44.

23 See Spevak, "Les additions dans Isid. *Etym.* I," 37–40.

the textual tradition of the first book in the ninth century by the traditional methods of textual criticism.[24]

For all these reasons, the early medieval manuscripts of the first book of the *Etymologies* are an excellent corpus for the *Innovating Knowledge* project, promising a rich harvest of material that could be used to analyze the patterns of dissemination of notable innovations and reconstruct the networks that participated in this dissemination. In this paper, I have purposefully chosen innovations that reveal the transformation of the encyclopedia on the highest level of its textuality, that is, those affecting the material shape of the *Etymologies* and its properties as a book-object. These macro-level innovations are an expression of early medieval appropriation no less than transformations on lower levels of textuality, such as those of individual books, thematic sections, *capitula,* chapters, sentences, down to individual words and letters, of which a standard *apparatus criticus* typically captures only the last few levels. While textual variants and text-based innovations may have been privileged in our modern study of the transmission history of the *Etymologies* due to its reliance on the methods of textual criticism, any analysis of the transmission of this work needs to start from the macro-level and only then progress to the lower levels if we are seeking purpose-driven innovations rather than innovations that result from mechanical processes and *ad hoc* low-level decision-making. This is because on the macro-level almost all innovations correspond to a purpose-driven enterprise and because the analysis of the macro-level can provide a basis for discerning micro-level innovations that belong to a larger enterprise from those that reflect mechanical processes (e.g., scribal errors) or *ad hoc* low-level decision-making (e.g., hypercorrection) — a distinction that may be crucial when engaging in the reception history.

24 See especially Porzig, "Die Rezensionen der *Etymologiae*," 133–36, and Spevak, *Étymologies. Livre I,* lxxxviii.

Example 1: The separate transmission of the first book of the *Etymologies*

As mentioned earlier, the first book of the *Etymologies* was frequently copied separately. To this date, I am aware of thirty-three manuscripts transmitting the first book or its significant parts separately (see Fig. 1 and Appendix, section a). Twenty-nine of these manuscripts were produced within roughly 100 years between the end of the eighth and the end of the ninth centuries, principally in two regions: France and Germany. This chronological and geographical distribution alone indicates we are looking at a pattern. Indeed, perhaps with the exception of one or two manuscripts, early medieval codices transmitted the first book of the *Etymologies* as a self-standing text form a homogenous cluster. Twenty-one of the manuscripts are grammatical compendia, in which Isidore appears next to Donatus, Servius, Priscian, and other grammatical authors. Five other manuscripts originally transmitted the first book of the *Etymologies* as the only text. In one manuscript, the first book of the *Etymologies* was attached to a florilegium of poetry, a subject of *grammatica*.[25] In another case, a sequence of grammatical texts, including material from the first book, were copied at the end of a manuscript of the entire *Etymologies,* presumably from a grammatical handbook, and in one manuscript, the first book of the *Etymologies* is transmitted together with book II (*De rhetorica et dialectica*) in a collection dedicated to the trivium. Smaller segments of the first book of the *Etymologies* appear in five additional early medieval grammatical compendia.[26] This list makes

25 See Bernhard Bischoff, "Libraries and Schools in the Carolingian Revival of Learning," in *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne,* ed. and trans. Michael Gorman, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 103.

26 It should be perhaps added that there are also five early medieval fragments of the first book that, due to their small dimensions, cannot be considered remnants of the entire encyclopedia. They presumably represent vestiges of manuscripts of the type mentioned here, including grammatical compendia.

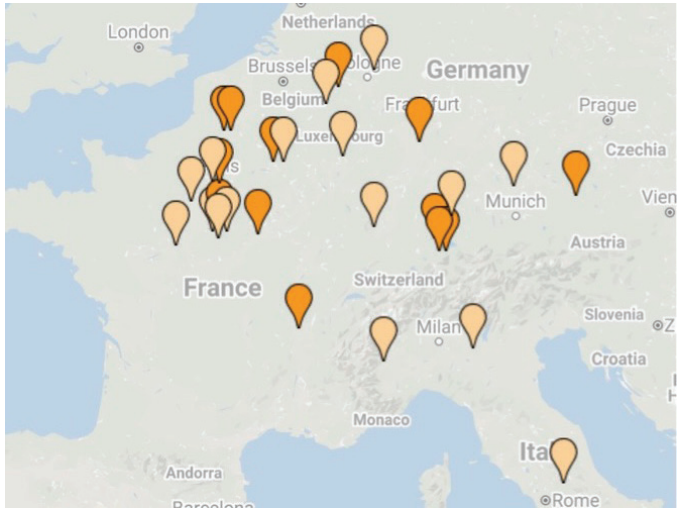

Fig. 1. Geographical distribution of the manuscripts separately transmitting the first book of the *Etymologies* (dark: precise localization to a specific center, light: approximate localization by region). Made with Google My Maps.

it clear that the first book of the *Etymologies* circulated separately in the early Middle Ages because it was repurposed as a grammatical handbook.[27] Three of the manuscripts even call it

27 This has been observed already by Hagen (see footnote 18), yet to this date, relatively little has been written on the separate transmission of the first book of the *Etymologies* as an *ars grammatica.* Apart from Hagen, those who were aware of the existence of an Isidorean *ars grammatica* include Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich: Beck, 1911), vol. 1, 67; A.E. Anspach, "Das Fortleben Isidors im VII. bis IX. Jahrhundert," in *Miscellanea Isidoriana* (Rome: Universita Gregoriana, 1936), 347–48; Louis Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IV.–IX. siècle) et éd. crit.* (Paris: CNRS, 1981), 256–60; Vivien A. Law, *The Insular Latin Grammarians,* Studies in Celtic History 3 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 24; Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1992), 22–23; Louis Holtz, "Le 'De grammatica' des Étymologies d'Isidore de Séville, structure générale et traitement des sources," in *IV Congreso Internacional de latim medieval hispânico,* ed. Pau-

an *Ars Isidori,* suggesting that Isidore was a grammarian comparable to Donatus.[28]

Furthermore, most of the twenty-nine pre-900 manuscripts transmitting the first book of the *Etymologies* separately are relatively small in size and weight compared to a standard manuscript of the entire *Etymologies*.[29] The five manuscripts transmitting the first book of the *Etymologies* as the only text, in particular, can be viewed as a portable version of Isidore suitable for classroom use. Leiden VLO 41 with pages measuring 200 × 150 mm (7.87 × 5.9 in.), Paris lat. 11278 with pages measuring 200 × 140 mm (7.87 × 5.51 in.) and Harley 2713 with pages measuring 180 × 120 mm (7.09 × 4.72 in.) perfectly exemplify how lightweight Isidore could get once separated from the rest of the bulky encyclopedia. The two latter manuscripts and several others from the cluster display another notable trait: they were copied by many hands, amongst them also unskilled hands of students prone to making mistakes.[30] Fourteen complete manuscripts and two fragments contain glosses, another trait of

lo Farmhouse Alberto and Aires Augusto Nascimento (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Clássicos, 2006), 55–68; and Elizabeth Archibald, "Methods and Meaning of Basic Education in Carolingian Europe" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2010).

28 These manuscripts are Bern 207, Munich Clm 6411, and Leiden VLQ 86.

29 The early medieval manuscripts of the entire encyclopedia have an average taille (height + width) of 537 mm (21.14 in.) roughly corresponding to pages of 30 × 24 cm (11.81 × 9.45 in.). The average taille of the early medieval grammatical compendia transmitting the first book of the *Etymologies* separately is, by contrast, 416 mm (16.38 in.) roughly corresponding to pages of 25 × 17 cm (9.84 × 6.7 in.). See Evina Steinová, "The Materiality of Innovation: Formats and Dimensions of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville in the Early Middle Ages," in *The Art of Compilation: Manuscripts and Networks in the Early Medieval Latin West,* ed. Anna Dorofeeva and Michael J. Kelly (Earth: punctum books, forthcoming).

30 This seems also to be the case with Vatican Pal. lat. 1746.

schoolbooks.[31] Paris lat. 11278, moreover, features a unique colophon that identifies it as a students' book.[32]

Taken together, the traits characterizing the group of early medieval manuscripts indicate that the first book of the *Etymologies* was transmitted as a self-standing text because Carolingian masters decided to adopt it for teaching grammar in schools. A change in use led to a set of textual innovations — the first book of the *Etymologies* was separated from the rest of the encyclopedia; it shrunk in format and therefore became portable and began to attract a specific type of glosses. In the process of its appropriation, chapters were left out or reshuffled to fit it better into the curriculum or the first book could be combined with other grammatical texts, such as that of Donatus.

The appearance of the *Ars Isidori* follows the broader pattern of copying and transmission of grammatical texts in the Carolingian period observed by Vivien Law. She noticed that a general surge in the copying and compilation of grammatical texts took place in the last decades of the eighth century, peaking around 800 but rarely lasting after 850. This grammatical revival should be credited for the survival of many rare, obscure, and unpractical pre-Carolingian grammars as well as for the compilation of new grammatical texts.[33] It is difficult not to see how this newfound enthusiasm for grammatical studies attested by the copying of grammatical manuscripts responds to

31 While not all glosses should be connected with schools, it is one context of their origin. See Markus Schiegg, *Frühmittelalterliche Glossen: Ein Beitrag zur Funktionalität und Kontextualität mittelalterlicher Schriftlichkeit,* Germanistiche Bibliothek 52 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2015), 127–53.

32 This colophon reads: "Si sis [sic!] me legere, tracta me bene; si vero nescis me legere, trade me sapienti." See Beeson, *Isidor-Studien,* 85.

33 Vivien A. Law, "The Transmission of Early Medieval Elementary Grammars: A Case Study in Explanation," in *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,* ed. Oronzo Pecere and Michael D. Reeve, Biblioteca Del Centro per Il Collegamento Degli Studi Medievali e Umanistici in Umbria 15 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995), 239–61.

the aims of the Carolingian *renovatio*.[34] Importantly, the pattern of the manuscript copying also shows that while some of the rediscovered and newly composed grammars emerged from the critical period of experimentation and innovation as mainstays, many other texts failed to attain popularity and were dropped from teaching, and therefore ceased to be copied after the first half of the ninth century or remained a local peculiarity.

The oldest surviving manuscripts containing the self-standing first book of the *Etymologies* can be dated to the end of the eighth century, that is, to the time of school and education reforms. Among them is a fragmentarily preserved miscellany copied by an Irish scribe in Regensburg,[35] one of only two codices of the separately transmitted first book of the *Etymologies* copied by an insular hand.[36] This manuscript lacks the traits

34 The *grammatica* is explicitly mentioned as one of the subjects of the *scolae puerorum* to be established in every bishopric and monastery in the famous *capitulum* 70 (olim 72) of the *Admonitio Generalis*. See Hubert Mordek, Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, and Michael Glatthaar, eds., *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen,* Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Fontes iuris germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi 16 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 222–24. On the place of the grammatica in Carolingian reform thought and practice, see also Bernhard Bischoff, "Libraries and Schools in the Carolingian Revival of Learning," *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne,* ed. and trans. Michael Gorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 98–103, and John J. Contreni, "The Pursuit of Knowledge in Carolingian Europe," in *The Gentle Voices of Teachers: Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age,* ed. Richard Sullivan (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1995), 118–22.

35 This manuscript now survives at four different institutions as Munich Clm 29410/2 + Clm 14938, Harvard Typ. 613, New York Plimpton 127, and Regensburg Fragm. 1. The miscellany probably once contained the complete first book of the *Etymologies* and parts or the whole book XI as well as an Irish computistic treatise, exegetical texts, and a sermon of Augustine. With its small pages, which can be reconstructed to have measured roughly 20 × 15 cm (7.88 × 5.9 in.), it ranks among the smallest codices transmitting the first book of the *Etymologies* separately.

36 The other manuscript autonomously transmitting the first book of the *Etymologies* copied by an insular hand is Bern 207, which had been dated to the turn of the eighth century on the basis of a calendar that the manuscript contains, see CLA V 568 and CLA VII **568. However, Bernhard Bischoff seems not to have found this dating satisfactory, as he proposed a date in the

typical for the Carolingian codices preserving the first book as a self-standing text; in particular, it is not a grammatical handbook. It may be considered a predecessor of the Carolingian group. The story of the *Ars Isidori* may have begun, it seems, in the "British Isles," even though no remnant of a separately transmitted first book of the *Etymologies* survives from the insular world.[37] It was, nevertheless, only in the Carolingian environment that the trend expanded dramatically.

Twenty of the twenty-nine early medieval manuscripts containing the first book can be dated to the last decades of the eighth or the first half of the ninth centuries, the period that Law connected with an intensification of interest in new grammatical texts. Three codices cannot be dated more precisely than to the ninth century and may have been copied in its first half. Only six manuscripts were certainly copied in the second half of the ninth century, suggesting perhaps a decline in interest. Additionally, in the first half of the ninth century, the *Ars Isidori* can be found both in French and German centers, while only one German manuscript comes from the second half of the ninth century. France emerges as the stronghold of the repurposing of the first book of the *Etymologies* as a grammar, with one French center standing out in particular: Fleury. Fleury, which became particularly important as a center of learning in

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ninth century. Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen).* I: *Aachen-Lambach,* ed. Birgit Ebersperger, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe der mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), n. 551a. The hand that copied Bern 207 is believed to have belonged to a Breton scribe who also copied a codex of the complete *Etymologies* (now surviving as a fragment, Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmst. 455, fol. 1), and whose hand proves difficult to date due to its peculiarity. See Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages,* trans. Dáibhí O'Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 90.

37 Or perhaps, it began in several different cultural zones independently, as is suggested by other early manuscripts transmitting material from the first book of the *Etymologies* in a grammatical context that may reflect the appropriation of this text for teaching in the Beneventan and the Visigothic areas.

the tenth century, can be connected with five of the twenty-nine pre-900 manuscripts from the group, including some of the oldest and some of the youngest codices.[38]

Example 2: Glosses to the first book of the *Etymologies*

Another textual innovation particular to the "Carolingian *Etymologies*" is annotations. A survey of the manuscripts transmitting glosses to the *Etymologies* produced by the *Innovating Knowledge* project has revealed so far thirty-four manuscripts that contain substantial annotations to this text, among them twenty-seven codices that were equipped with at least twenty annotations to the first book of Isidore's encyclopedia.[39] Based on the paleographical and philological traits, the oldest surviving annotations to the first book comes from the eighth century (even though they sometimes appear in pre-Carolingian manuscripts), and the most recent date perhaps to the twelfth century.[40] Most of the annotated manuscripts were glossed by contemporary hands in the ninth century or by slightly more

38 These five manuscripts are: Bern 207, which was produced at Fleury in the ninth century; Orléans 296, which was kept at Fleury in the early Middle Ages and may have been annotated there; Leiden VLQ 86, which was copied from Bern 207 around the mid-ninth century; Leiden VLO 41, copied in northern France at the end of the ninth century and annotated at Fleury around the same time or at the beginning of the tenth century; and Vatican Reg. lat. 1587, which was produced in the second quarter of the ninth century in western France and owned by Fleury in the tenth century. Bern 207 and Leiden VLQ 86 are treated in detail in Edward K. Rand, "A Vade Mecum of Liberal Culture in a Manuscript of Fleury," *Philological Quarterly* 1 (1922): 258–77.

39 See Evina Steinová, "Annotation of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville in Its Early Medieval Context," *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 78 (2020): 5–81. These annotations have been edited in the context of the *Innovating Knowledge* project. See Evina Steinová and Peter Boot, *The Glosses to the First Book of the "Etymologiae" of Isidore of Seville: A Digital Scholarly Edition,* hosted by Huygens ING, KNAW, 2021, https://db.innovatingknowledge.nl/edition/#left-intro.

40 The oldest contemporary or near-contemporary annotations seem to be those in Junius 25, Paris lat. 11278 and Pal. lat. 1746. The oldest manuscript containing glosses to Book I is Vat. lat. 5763, a copy of the *Etymologies* from

recent hands in the tenth century. The most densely annotated specimens come from the end of the ninth century, identifying the glossing of the first book of the *Etymologies* as a Carolingian trend.[41] Indeed, the survey revealed that as many as one third of the surviving ninth-century manuscripts containing this text bear at least one annotation. Let me offer a glimpse at the phenomenon of the glossing of Isidore's encyclopedia by exploring the glosses to the *capitulum* on special signs, *De notis* (*Etym.,* I.21–26).[42]

Glosses to *De notis* appear in twelve manuscripts (see Fig. 2 and the appendix, section b). Some contain as few as nine annotations to this *capitulum,* while others have seventy or more. Five are manuscripts separately transmitting the first book of the *Etymologies,* in two cases, the glosses were added to an excerpt of *De notis* in miscellanies, and five manuscripts are codices of the entire *Etymologies*. These glosses range in date from the first half of the ninth century to the beginning of the eleventh century. Manuscripts carrying them come from France, Germany, Italy, and England. Unlike in the case of the separate transmission of the first book of the *Etymologies,* there does not seem to be a single region from which the annotated manuscripts stem.

Nevertheless, one can recognize three discernible geographical groups of manuscripts based on their shared glosses. The largest of these is the Frankish group (blue), which includes five manuscripts containing similar classroom glosses serving to enhance the comprehension of the *capitulum De notis* from France and Germany: one from the area of Murbach, one from Reims,

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Bobbio dated to mid-eighth century, see CLA I 39. The glosses in this manuscript were added by a ninth-century Carolingian hand.

41 Steinová, "Annotation of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville," 19–29.

42 This preliminary analysis is based on Evina Steinová, "*Notam Superponere Studui*: The Use of Technical Signs in the Early Middle Ages" (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2016), 160–71. A fuller analysis based on all *capitula* of book I can be found in Steinová, "Annotation of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville," 5–81, and Evina Steinová, "Parallel Glosses, Shared Glosses, and Gloss Clustering: Can Network-Based Approach Help Us to Understand Organic Corpora of Glosses?," *Journal of Historical Network Research* 7 (forthcoming, 2023).

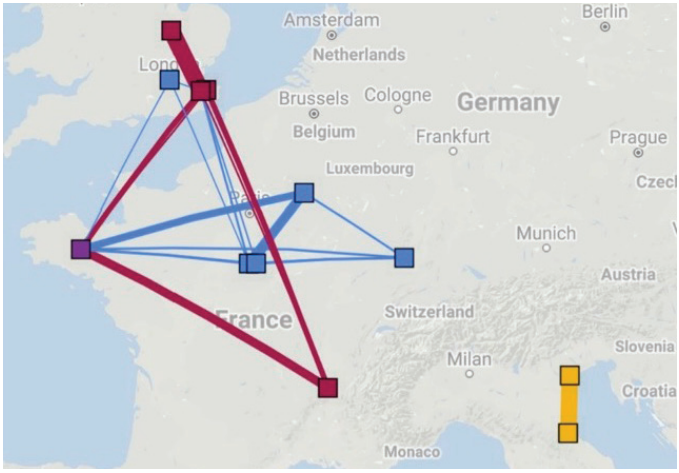

Fig. 2. Geographical distribution of the manuscripts containing glosses to *De notis* (blue: Frankish group, red: Franco-English group, yellow: Italian group). The thickness of the edges connecting manuscripts represents the amount of shared glosses. Source: Google Maps.

one from Brittany, and two from northern France, which were probably annotated in Fleury. Three of the manuscripts, the two codices associated with Fleury and the only annotated German codex, are manuscripts separately transmitting the first book of the *Etymologies,* as can be expected from annotations stemming from classroom instruction.

The manuscript copied and annotated in Brittany, Harley 3941, serves as an intermediary between the Frankish group and the Franco-English group (red).[43] Besides Harley 3941, the latter includes three other manuscripts — Paris lat. 11278 from southern France or northern Italy, Cotton Caligula A.xv from France, which was, however, annotated in tenth-century England, probably in Canterbury, and Paris lat. 7585, a ninth-century Frankish manuscript that was repaired and annotated in

43 This manuscript and its glosses are discussed in Léon Fleuriot, "Gloses inédites en vieux-Breton," *Études Celtiques* 16 (1979): 197–210.

tenth-century Canterbury.[44] To these manuscripts should be added the early eleventh-century *Enchiridion* of Byrhtferth of Ramsey, not a manuscript but a text, in which the same set of glosses is found appended to an excerpt from the *Etymologies*.[45] The chronology of witnesses indicates that the glosses were known in southern France or northern Italy in the first half of the ninth century, in Brittany in the second half of the same century, and across the Channel from the tenth century onwards. They, too, may have originated in a teaching context, in particular given that the oldest manuscript preserving them is Paris lat. 11278, discussed earlier as an exemplary students' book. That they were transmitted in a teaching context is evidenced by Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*. This handbook of *computus* reflects the lessons Byrhtferth received from his master, Abbo of Fleury, who was invited to Ramsey as a teacher in 985–987.[46] Fleury cultivated ties not only with Ramsey but also with Canterbury and Brittany, two other locales where the set of annotations surfaces.[47] Thus, even if none of the several surviving Fleury books contains the Franco-English set of glosses, it may be presumed that the tradition was known there and that Fleury served as an essential hub of their dissemination in the tenth century. It is, nevertheless, unlikely that the tradition originated at Fleury, since the oldest witness of the Franco-English set of glosses, Paris lat. 11278, seems older than the Fleury manuscript containing these glosses. Rather, Fleury, may have served as an accumulator of material from elsewhere due to the influence of its school and *scriptorium* and its connectivity.

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44 See T.A.M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule,* Oxford Palaeographical Handbooks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), n. 6.

45 It is edited and translated in Michael Lapidge and Peter Stuart Baker, *Byrhtferths's Enchiridion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). The excerpt from the *Etymologies* appears on 176–79.

46 Marco Mostert, "Relations between Fleury and England," in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honor of Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947),* ed. David Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannah Williams, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 37 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 190–91.

47 Ibid., 188–90 and 198–99.

A third manuscript group containing a distinct set of glosses to *De notis* consists of two manuscripts of the *Etymologies* from northern Italy (yellow). Cesena S.XXI.5 was copied and annotated in the ninth century.[48] Venice II 46 is an eleventh-century copy of the ninth-century manuscript containing the same set of eleven summarizing annotations to *Etym.,* I.21. The glosses are entirely independent on the two Frankish sets and do not seem to reflect classroom instruction.

The annotations to *De notis* reinforce the impression that we gather from the *Ars Isidori,* namely that the first book of the *Etymologies* was introduced into the Carolingian classroom. However, they also reveal two additional details. First, special signs were not a traditional subject of classroom grammars. They rather represent an unusual addition to the discipline of grammatica in Isidore's encyclopedia.[49] Unsurprisingly, some of the earliest grammatical handbooks containing the first book of the *Etymologies* remove the *capitulum De notis,* indicating that it may have been regarded as an obstacle to the appropriation for classroom use. However, in the course of the ninth century, more and more manuscripts of the separately transmitted first book of the *Etymologies* include the *capitulum*. Gradually, this *capitulum* began to attract glosses, indicating that it began to be studied in a classroom setting. It seems that the appropriation of the *Etymologies* was a two-way process, as the Carolingian users not only affected the shape of Isidore's encyclopedia, but the encyclopedia affected their ideas about certain subjects, such as grammar.

Furthermore, while the classroom character of the glosses suggests that they are a result of the appropriation of the first book of the *Etymologies* for teaching grammar, one can note that the glosses appear in the manuscripts with a delay with re-

48 This manuscript, but not the ninth-century glosses, is discussed in 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): 49–114.

49 Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique,* 2nd edn. (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1983), 54.

gards to the inclusion of the first book of the *Etymologies* into grammatical handbooks. The peak of the production of the latter, as noted above, falls into the first half, or perhaps even the first quarter of the ninth century, while most manuscripts seem to have been glossed only in the second half of the ninth century and the densest layers of glosses come from the end of the ninth century. Moreover, while no manuscripts of the separately transmitted first book of the *Etymologies* survive from the tenth century and only one from the eleventh, the classroom-generated glosses continued to live on, transmitted in codices of the complete *Etymologies,* until the twelfth century.[50] Finally, in England in particular, one can observe that glosses begin to trickle in only after the *Ars Isidori* fell out of use on the Continent. While, thus, Carolingian classroom instruction was probably the original stimulus for the generation of glosses, they attained a life of their own in the following centuries.

Example 3: The St. Gallen redaction of the *Etymologies*

A third example of the "Carolingian *Etymologies*" I wish to discuss is a redaction of the *Etymologies* that was undertaken in the ninth-century St. Gall monastery, and I will, therefore, call it the St. Gallen redaction of the *Etymologies*.[51] What we know about this redaction, we owe chiefly to the fact that its prototype survives. This prototype, manuscript Zofingen Pa 32, inserts *De natura rerum,* Isidore's other major scientific work, between books III and IV of the *Etymologies* as if it was an integral part of the encyclopedia.[52] It seems that one of the main objectives of

50 The most recent layer of glosses I have been able to uncover so far appears in Oxford, Queen's College, MS 320, which was copied in tenth-century England, but glossed perhaps at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. These glosses are in many cases identical to those found in earlier manuscripts from England and the Continent.

51 This section is based on an analysis carried out in Steinová, "Two Carolingian Redactions of the *Etymologiae* from St. Gallen."

52 This Zofingen manuscript is described in Charlotte Bretscher-Gisiger and Rudolf Gamper, *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Handschriften des Klosters Wettingen: Katalog der mittelalterlichen Handschriften in Aarau, Laufen-*

the compilers of this redaction was to expand the scope of the *Etymologies,* which do not treat natural phenomena in similar detail as *De natura rerum.*

Another discerning feature of the St. Gallen redaction, which is more relevant for this article, is the eccentric order of material in the first book. The unusual order results from an interaction between two scribes of the Zofingen manuscript. The first copied material from the first book up to chapter 33 from an exemplar that seemed to lack certain chapters and transmitted others in a substantially abbreviated form. A second scribe then intervened, using a complete copy of the first book of the *Etymologies,* adding those chapters that were missing at the end of the section copied by the first hand and rearranging the order of folios so as to impose a new order on the chapters of the first book.[53] Given its abbreviated character and peculiar order of material, the first exemplar used for the copying of book I in the Zofingen codex was, in all likelihood, an *Ars Isidori.* It is puzzling that the compilers of the St. Gallen redaction chose an *Ars Isidori* as a basis for the first book of the *Etymologies,* especially since the interventions of the second scribe clearly show that St. Gallen already possessed a good copy of the same text. It could not have been due to the poverty of resources, for St. Gallen possessed at least three complete copies of the *Etymologies,* as is attested by its oldest catalogue.[54] In fact, St. Gallen stands out as

burg, Lenzburg, Rheinfelden und Zofingen (Dietikon-Zürich: Urs Graf, 2009), 230–32. Bernhard Bischoff dated the same manuscript to the beginning of the ninth century; see Bischoff, *Katalog* III 7546. However, a production date in the second half of the century seems more plausible. See Steinová, "Two Carolingian Redactions of the *Etymologiae* from St. Gallen," 320.

53 The interaction of the two scribes and the exact order and form of chapters of the first book in the Zofingen codex are analyzed in detail in Steinová, "Two Carolingian Redactions of the *Etymologiae* from St. Gallen."

54 See Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* (Munich: Beck, 1969), vol. 1, 75–81. "Aethimologiarum librum XX et ratio horologii et glosa grecorum verborum in volumine I […] Item de libris Ysidori aethimologiarum, volumina II. corrupta […] Libri ethimologiarum Isidori in sceda I tamen boni." These manuscripts have been variously identified with St. Gallen 237 (after 800), St. Gallen 233 (books

possessing more copies of Isidore's encyclopedia than any other Carolingian center.[55]

The masterminds behind the St. Gallen redaction must have had specific reasons to prefer this type of the first book, perhaps its antiquity, association with notable personage, or perceived suitability for the project. Similarly, the exemplar for the *De natura rerum* integrated into the St. Gallen redaction was Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10616, a manuscript made at the end of the eighth century for bishop Egino of Verona and later present at Reichenau, even though St. Gallen had possessed an in-house copy of *De natura rerum* since the eight century: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 238.[56] Since the exemplar of the first book of the *Etymologies* that was used by the first scribe does not resemble any of the text-versions of the *Etymologies* preserved at St. Gallen, it is not unreasonable to assume that it was procured from outside of the monastery, just as the manuscript of *De natura rerum,* showing us the other face of the Carolingian intellectual networks — the one involved in the acquisition of knowledge rather than in its dissemination.

The Zofingen codex is the only ninth-century witness of the St. Gallen redaction of the *Etymologies,* identifying it securely as a Carolingian product, even if most copies of this redaction come from after the ninth century. One line of transmission branched from St. Gallen south to Einsiedeln (Einsiedeln 167, 10th century) and Engelberg (Einsiedeln 360, 12th century). Another branch led to Wissembourg (Wolfenbüttel Weiss. 2, 11th century) and further north into Germany (four 12th-century

VI–VIII, XII–XV, 9th century, in.), St. Gallen 235 (books XII–XX, c. 800), and Zofingen Pa 32.

55 Apart from the manuscripts mentioned in the previous footnotes, St. Gallen also produced St. Gallen 231–32 (two-volume *Etymologies,* 880–90) and St. Gallen 236 (books XI–XX, mid-9th century) and may have owned additional manuscripts not produced there, containing the text of families β and γ. Bischoff, "Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla," 340.

56 Jacques Fontaine, "La diffusion de l'oeuvre d'Isidore de Séville dans les scriptoria helvétiques du haut Moyen Âge," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 12 (1962): 305–22, at 315–16.

Fig. 3. Geographical distribution of the manuscripts of the St. Gallen redaction (star: St. Gallen, pointer: a known place of production, square: the estimated area of origin). Made with Google My Maps.

manuscripts and one 15th-century manuscript). Altogether, I have identified nine witnesses of the Carolingian redaction dating between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries (see Fig. 3 and the appendix, section c).[57]

The geographical distribution of its witnesses shows that the redaction spread from St. Gallen in the German area along the corridors of mutual relationships between monastic communities. For example, the Einsiedeln manuscript is a direct copy of Zofingen Pa 32 made shortly after the founding of Einsiedeln Abbey in 934, presumably in the process of stocking the library of the new foundation from the nearby St. Gallen.[58] The Engel-

57 Another potential candidate is Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, MS 186 (12th century, ²⁄₂, Heilsbronn). I could not examine this manuscript combining the *Etymologies* and *De natura rerum* and therefore cannot say whether it is a witness of the St. Gallen redaction.

58 For the relationship of Einsiedeln 167 to Zofingen Pa 32, see Fontaine, "La diffusion de l'oeuvre," 319, and Anton von Euw, "Die Einsiedler Buchmalerei

berg Abbey, founded in 1120, received its copy in a context similar to that of Einsiedeln and from this abbey.[59] Wissembourg and St. Gallen were tied closely in the ninth century when Grimald of St. Gallen was the abbot of both communities.[60] It is possible that the exemplar of the eleventh-century manuscript arrived here around this time. However, the tempo of the diffusion of the St. Gallen redaction of the *Etymologies* increased dramatically in the twelfth century, perhaps thanks to Cistercian scriptoria. It is unclear what may have attracted the Cistercians to this Carolingian redaction. If the oldest twelfth-century copy of the St. Gallen redaction, which can be dated to 1136, is a Cistercian manuscript, the re-discovery must have happened at a rather early date, as the Cistercians settled in Germany only from 1123. [61] Once the St. Gallen redaction made it into Cistercian hands, its fortunes seem to have been largely secured. The ninth-century redaction, perhaps never intended to be widely distributed, can be found copied in Germany as late as in the fifteenth century.[62] The Augsburg printer Günther Zainer used

zur Zeit des Abtes Gregor (964–996)," in *Festschrift zum tausendsten Todestag des seligen Abtes Gregor,* ed. Odo Lang, Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige 107 (Sankt Ottilien: Editions Sankt Ottilien, 1996), 199–202. Von Euw dates Einsiedeln 167 to the time of abbot Gregor (964–996).

59 Einsiedeln 360 was copied during the abbacy of Frowin of Engelberg (1143–1178). See Martin Steinmann, "Abt Frowin von Engelberg (1143–1178) und seine Handschriften," *Der Geschichtsfreund* 146 (1993): 7–36. Engelberg was founded by Benedictines from Muri, a daughter house of Einsiedeln.

60 See Dieter Geuenich, "Beobachtungen zu Grimald von St. Gallen, Erzkapellan und Oberkanzler Ludwigs des Deutschen," in *Litterae medii aevi. Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Michael Borgolte and Herrad Spilling (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1988), 55–68.

61 This twelfth-century manuscript, Harley 2660, was copied in West Rhineland. This means that it may come from one of the following Cistercian abbeys: Kamp (founded in 1123), Himmerod (founded in 1134/35), or Eberbach (founded in 1136).

62 This fifteenth-century manuscript, Harley 3035, was produced presumably by the canons regular that settled in Eberhardklausen (today Klausen) in the Eifel region only some 22 km (13.67 miles) from the Cistercian abbey of Himmerod.

a manuscript of the St. Gallen redaction as a basis for his *editio princips* of the *De natura rerum* published in 1472.[63]

Conclusion

Let us now compare and contrast the three innovations described above using the four criteria articulated above: the impact, the duration, the emergence, and the direction of spreading. The separate transmission of the first book of the *Etymologies* was the most impactful innovation, leaving behind at least thirty-three witnesses, twenty-nine of them from before the year 900. At the same time, however, it was also the most short-lived of the three, having a main time span of only about one hundred years, as it seems that it may have almost entirely ceased to propagate after the year 900. By contrast, the St. Gallen redaction has only nine known witnesses, but it was copied until the end of the Middle Ages, with most copies produced several centuries after its Carolingian parent was copied. The glosses to *De notis* fall in between these two innovations, with twelve witnesses spanning three centuries. The glossing of *De notis* (and annotation of the first book of the *Etymologies* more broadly) was also the innovation with the most substantial geographical reach, given its spreading into England. The other two innovations discussed here, on the other hand, seem to have been either regional (the St. Gallen redaction) or nearly so (the separately transmitted first book of the *Etymologies*).

The St. Gallen redaction is the only of the three examples that spread exclusively vertically and from a single source: the St. Gallen prototype preserved as Zofingen Pa 32. The separate transmission of the first book of the *Etymologies* represents an opposite extreme of emergence, as it seems that, perhaps with the exception of one or two manuscripts, all pre-900 codices

63 Isidorus Hispalensis, *De responsione mundi (De natura rerum),* Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 7.XII.1472 (H 9302, Klebs 537.1). See Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis, trans., Isidore of Seville, *On the Nature of Things,* Translated Texts for Historians 66 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), 100.

containing the separately transmitted first book of the *Etymologies* are independent realizations of the same phenomenon: they represent not only distinct text-versions of the *Etymologies* but also select and order the material from this book differently and combine it with different texts so that individual manuscripts differ in obvious ways one from another.[64] The individual instances of the separately transmitted first book of the *Etymologies* in grammatical handbooks were derived from locally available full copies of the *Etymologies* by rewriting rather than by being copied from one compendium to another. The case of the separate transmission of the first book of the *Etymologies* should make us wary of relying too much on models that presuppose a singular innovator or a central point of dissemination. As is clear from this example, notable innovations can result from uncoordinated emergence at multiple locations by many independent agents triggered by large-scale societal or cultural trends, such as the general revival of grammatical studies.

Regarding the patterns of emergence and dissemination, the annotations to *De notis* fall again in the middle. They probably came into being in response to practical teaching needs at several locations, thus representing a similar pattern of emergence as the separate transmission of the first book of the *Etymologies*. However, rather than each annotated manuscript containing a unique set of annotations, the surviving glosses to De notis form three "traditions," two that are evidenced in France and one in northern Italy, suggesting a degree of transmission. Annotations, we may assume, spread mostly horizontally since they are found in manuscripts belonging to distinct textual families and representing different transmission formats (e.g., both in manuscripts transmitting the first book of the *Etymologies* separately and those of the entire *Etymologies*). Teaching, that is, a transmission involving masters and students, as well as masters' and and students' books, surely represented an important channel of the dissemination of annotations in the early stages of their for-

64 The two exceptions are Leiden VLQ 86 which is a copy of Bern 207 and the destroyed Chartres 92, which was perhaps a copy of Erfurt Ampl. 2° 10.

mation. Yet, not all annotations found in the manuscripts of the *Etymologies,* especially in those of the entire encyclopedia, can be explained as a vestige of teaching. Other processes, such as copying from an exemplar to a copy, implying a vertical transmission, must have also been at play.

While each textual innovation discussed in this contribution reflects a different pattern of dissemination, it needs to be pointed out in conclusion that they are interconnected. The link between the separate transmission of the first book of the *Etymologies* and the annotations is rather clear: both reflect the appropriation of this text for teaching and, more importantly, it seems that the separation of the first book from the rest of the *Etymologies* proved the precondition for the emergence of glosses in France (but not in Italy). That the makers of the St. Gallen redaction opted for a separately transmitted first book of the *Etymologies* as a basis for the first book of the *Etymologies* in their project is a choice that cannot be easily explained, particularly as their enterprise does not seem to be intended for a classroom. It nevertheless shows a link between the two processes — the repurposing of Isidore's *Etymologies* for teaching grammar at the end of the eighth century and the production of a new redaction of his work in the second half of the following century. It appears that separating the first book from the rest of Isidore's encyclopedia in the services of teaching grammar was a momentous decision for the Carolingian world, not because the Carolingians were necessarily the first to use the first book of the *Etymologies* for teaching grammar (the primacy may belong to the Irish or Anglosaxon masters), but because the impact of this separation over roughly one hundred years stimulated many notable developments, of which glosses and redactions of the *Etymologies* are far from the most important.[65]

65 Isidore had a profound influence on Carolingian conceptualizations of grammar and on major Carolingian authors of grammatical texts such as Alcuin. The Isidorian influence on the latter are discussed in Louis Holtz, "Le dialogue de Franco et de Saxo," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest. Anjou. Maine. Poitou-Charente. Touraine* 111, no. 13 (2004): 135–45.

Finally, let me remark that the three innovations discussed above reveal the centrality of two Carolingian centers for the "Carolingian *Etymologies*." Fleury played a role in promoting the *Ars Isidori* and the accumulation and dissemination of glosses. At the same time, St. Gallen was a locus of the production of a notable Carolingian redaction of Isidore's encyclopedia (in fact, not just one, but two of them).[66] The nature of the engagement with the *Etymologies* at these two Carolingian hubs was quite different: in Fleury, innovations seem to have been stimulated by teaching needs and disseminated via school; in St. Gallen, from which we have little evidence of the use of the *Etymologies* for teaching and no annotations to the first book,[67] a large medieval collection of manuscripts containing the *Etymologies* was accumulated in the early Middle Ages, and the agenda was to improve the text of the *Etymologies* and produce a better scholarly version of the essential encyclopedia. It is beyond doubt that St. Gallen acted as a point of origin of the St. Gallen redaction and the central hub for its dissemination. In contrast, many of the glosses transmitted to Britanny and England did not originate in Fleury. Instead, it acted as an accumulator and an amplifier for material that originated elsewhere, perhaps at many different locations, condensing them into rich layers of glosses, which appear for the first time in a Fleury manuscript of the separately transmitted first book of the *Etymologies* in the first half of the ninth century. Herein is another presupposition that should be dispelled, namely that the success of specific innovations should be attributed to those with whom they originated rather than with those who were their later recipients, as the latter provided

The effect of the appropriation of the *Etymologies* on the elementary grammatical teaching is documented in Archibald, "Methods and Meaning."

66 See Steinová, "Two Carolingian Redactions of the *Etymologiae* from St. Gallen," 322–41.

67 As can be gleaned from section a of the Appendix below, St. Gallen owned two grammatical compendia featuring the separately transmitted first book of the *Etymologies* in the ninth century. It is telling that, while otherwise heavily annotated, these two manuscripts feature no glosses in the first book of the *Etymologies*.

a given innovation with the necessary momentum or twist. In the end, the separate transmission of the first book of the *Etymologies* may represent the same scenario, as there is reason to believe that it originated in the "British Isles," as many innovations attributed to the Carolingians had, but had to collide headlong with the Carolingian *renovatio* to have the significant impact on early medieval intellectual life that it did. Similarly, the success of the St. Gallen redaction in Germany may be due to twelfth-century Cistercian houses rather than the ninth-century Benedictine institutions). The difference between the number of surviving manuscripts from the "British Isles" transmitting the first book of the *Etymologies* as a stand-alone text (zero) and the number of similar codices surviving from the Carolingian area (twenty-nine) demonstrates the power of Carolingian intellectual networks on the tradition of Isidore's *Etymologies*.

Appendix[68]

a. Manuscripts of the separately transmitted first book of the Etymologies

1. Amiens. Bibliothèque municipale, MS 426 (fols. 1–29) (8th/9th century, Corbie).https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/18868/canvas/canvas-1632389/view. .
2. Berlin. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Diez. B. Sant. 66 (8th century, northern Italy and northern France). http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB000075E500000000.
3. Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29410/2 + Clm 14938. http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00071374-7 + Harvard. Houghton Library, Typ. 613 (olim Phillipps 20688). http://id.lib.harvard.edu/aleph/009889598/catalog + New York. Columbia University Library, Plimpton 127. http://ds.lib.berkeley.edu/PlimptonMS127_20 + Regensburg. Staatliche Bibliothek, Fragm. 1 (8th/9th century, Irish scribe on the Continent, Regensburg?, prov.: Regensburg). https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:155-sbr000002-1.
4. Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1746 (c. 800, Lorsch). http://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/bav/bav_pal_lat_1746.
5. St. Gallen. Stiftsbibliothek, MS 876 (c. 800, St. Gallen). http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0876.
6. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 13025 (fols. 1–74) (9th century, in., Corbie). http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8423831v.
7. Erfurt. Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. CA, 2° 10 (9th century, in., western Germany/Austrasia). https://dhb.thulb.uni-jena.de/receive/ufb_cbu_00016434.

68 Manuscripts in this appendix are organized chronologically rather than alphabetically.

8. Oxford. Bodleian Library, Junius 25 (fols. 134–51) (9th century, southwestern Germany?, prov. Murbach). https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/451e88c8-39b6-4cbc-8483-c64b290ea00e.
9. Bern. Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 207 (9th century, Fleury).[69] http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/searchresult/list/one/bbb/0207.
10. Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6411 (9th century, ¼, Passau?).[70] http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00012886/image_1.
11. Orléans. Bibliothèque municipale, MS 296 (pp. 1–32). https://mediatheques.orleans-metropole.fr/ark:/77916/FRCGMBPF-452346101-01A/D18012265.locale=fr, + Paris. BnF, lat. 7520 (fols. 25–45) (9th century, ¼, area of Paris?, prov.: Fleury). https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84900632.
12. Karlsruhe. Landesbibliothek, Aug. Perg. 112 (9th century, ¼, Reichenau). https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/id/20141.
13. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11278 (9th century, ½, southeastern France or northern Italy). https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100358546.
14. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7559 (9th century, ½, area of Paris?). http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90782450.
15. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7490 (9th century, ½ and 2/4, probably Paris). https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9066476b.
16. Trier. Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars, MS 100 (fols. 1–16) (9th century, ¾, France). http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=http%3A%2F%2Fzimks68.

69 Earlier dating (c. 797) was provided by the *Codices latini antiquiores*. See CLA V 568 and CLA VII **568.

70 However, Katharina Bierbrauer dated this manuscript to 9th century, ⅔. See Katharina Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek,* Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München 1 (Munich: Reichert, 1990), n. 194.

uni-trier.de%2Fstmatthias%2FS0100%2FS0100-digitalisat.xml&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=3&tx_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&cHash=110e18e0a3598a9464def45f1fcfd97d#.

17. Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1587 (fols. 1–50) (9th century, ¾, western France, prov.: Fleury). https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.1587.
18. Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1553 (9th century, ¾, upper Loire area). https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.1553.
19. Leiden. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. lat. Q 86 (mid-9th century, France, perhaps Fleury). https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/vossiani-latini/vlq-086-arator-prosper-sedulius-pstertullianus-cato-avianus-anthologia-latina-martialis-avitus-isidorus.
20. Berlin. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. Fol. 641 (fols. 17–257) (mid-9th century, northern Italy).[71]
21. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7671 (mid-9th century, northeastern France). https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10037019f.
22. Chartres. Bibliothèque municipale, MS 92 (fols. 1–80) (9th century, France).
23. St. Gallen. Stiftsbibliothek, MS 882 (9th century, ¾, St. Gallen). http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0882.
24. Oxford. Bodleian Library, Auct. T 2.20 (9th century, ¾, Auxerre or perhaps Bourges). https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/24fc7bf8-3dab-4f15-947f-c1ab2756ca50.
25. Bologna. Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 797 (9th century, ¾, the area of Reims).
26. Fulda. Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, MS Aa 2 (10th century, Bodensee area). urn:nbn:de:hebis:66:fuldig-1658614
27. London. British Library, Harley 2713 (fols. 1–34) (9th century, ¼, northeastern France). http://www.bl.uk/

71 Grammatical texts including sections of the first book of the *Etymologies* are copied on fols. 214v–254r.

catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=3870&CollID=8&NStart=2713.
28. Leiden. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. lat. O 41 (fols. 2–65) (9th century, ¾, northeastern France). https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/vossiani-latini/vlo-041-eutyches-grammaticalia-isidorus-alphabeta.
29. Leiden. Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 122 (9th century, ¾, Lyons). http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:847608.
30. Oxford. Bodleian Library, Add. C 144 (11th century, in., central Italy).
31. Troyes. Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1328 (12th century, Clairvaux). https://portail.mediatheque.grand-troyes.fr/iguana/www.main.cls?surl=search&p=*#recordId=2.2119.
32. Douai. Bibliothèque municipale, MS 748 (12th century, ex., prov.: Anchin). http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?mode=ecran&panier=false&reproductionId=11236&VUE_ID=1309173&carouselThere=false&nbVignettes=4x3&page=1&angle=0&zoom=grand&tailleReelle=.
33. Oxford. Bodleian Library, Laud Bibl. Misc. 8 (13th century).

b. Manuscripts containing glosses to De notis *(*Etym.*, I.21–26)*

Frankish group
1. Oxford. Bodleian Library, Junius 25 (fols. 134–51) (9th century, southwestern Germany?, prov. Murbach). https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/451e88c8-39b6-4cbc-8483-c64b290ea00e.
2. Reims. Bibliothèque municipale, MS 426 (9th century, ¼, Reims). https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449011r.
3. Orléans. Bibliothèque municipale, MS 296 (pp. 1–32) (9th century, ¼, area of Paris?, Fleury?). https://mediatheques.orleans-metropole.fr/ark:/77916/FRCGMBPF-452346101-01A/D18012265.locale=fr.
4. London. British Library, Harley 3941 (9th/10th century, ½, Brittany). http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_3941.

5. Leiden. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. lat. O 41 (9th century, ¼, northeastern France). https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/vossiani-latini/vlo-041-eutyches-grammaticalia-isidorus-alphabeta.
6. Oxford. Queen's College, MS 320 (10th century, mid. or ¾, England).

Franco-English group

1. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11278 (9th century, ½, southeastern France or northern Italy). https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100358546.
2. London. British Library, Cotton Caligula A xv (c. 743, northeastern France). http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Caligula_A_XV.
3. Paris. Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7585 (9th century, ¾, St. Bertin?, and 10th century, ⅔, England). https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10542288m.
4. London. British Library, Harley 3941 (9th/10th century, ⅔, Brittany). http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_3941.

Italian group

1. Cesena. Biblioteca Malatesiana, S.XXI.5 (9th century, ⅓, the Po valley). http://catalogoaperto.malatestiana.it/ricerca/?oldform=mostra_codice.jsp?CODICE_ID=276.
2. Venice. Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco, II 46 (11th/12th century, northeastern Italy).

c. Manuscripts of the St. Gallen redaction

1. Zofingen. Stadtbibliothek, Pa 32 (9th century, ⅔, St. Gallen). https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/zos/pa0032.
2. Einsiedeln. Stiftsbibliothek, MS 167 (970–990, Einsiedeln).
3. Wolfenbüttel. Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 2 (11th century, Wissembourg). http://diglib.hab.de/mss/2-weiss/start.htm.

4. Einsiedeln. Stiftsbibliothek, MS 360 (1143–1178, Engelberg). https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/searchresult/list/one/sbe/0360.
5. London. British Library, Harley 2660 (c. 1136, western Germany). http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_2660.
6. Leiden. Universiteitsbibliotheek, PER F 2 (12th century, ½, Germany). http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:2708985.
7. Bonn. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, S 193 (12th century, ⅔, Altenberg). http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31275205.
8. Heidelberg. Universitätsbibliothek, Sal. IX 39 (12th century, ex., Salem). https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/salIX39.
9. London. British Library, Harley 3035 (c. 1496, western Germany, perhaps Eberhardsklausen). https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=4062&CollID=8&NStart=3035.

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