composed symbol alphabets which may have served for personal use or as ciphers. A favourite method, finally, is the inversion of the word or syllable. The amalgamation of several methods is also found. Ciphers are employed in the later middle ages above all in scribal subscriptions, receipts, and charms, especially of a superstitious nature.

Additional note on abbreviations

The abbreviations ɛ and ě:

Shortly before AD 800, alongside the ancient abbreviation ɛ (= est), there appears a variant form, ɛ between mid-raised points (ɛ'), which is not mentioned by W.M. Lindsay, Notae Latinae, 60 ff. or 405 ff.

The earliest example (Paris, BN, Lat. 1572, s. VIII; CLAV 530) comes from Tours, where this abbreviation was already firmly established in Alcuin's time. It was disseminated from Tours to early St Denis, Cologne, Metz, St Amand, and Fulda, but seems to be particularly closely linked with places of strong Alcuinian tradition, whereas it was not adopted by such centres as Lorsch, Reichenau, or St Gall. Its appearance in codices of s. IX can, therefore, be decisive as a criterion for localising manuscripts in specific scriptoria.
Roman and Christian antiquity

With the beginning of the golden age of Roman literature, in the time of Cicero and Caesar, an organised system of book production appears in Rome.\(^1\) The book trade used slaves to make multiple copies of books; at that time the first public libraries were established in Rome. Besides the spread of literature through the book trade the custom may have come about that also in houses of the well-to-do, slaves were engaged in enlarging libraries, and in the same way private copies were certainly produced.

In Herculaneum, destroyed by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79, a library has been preserved whose founder (probably L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius) assembled principally Greek philosophical literature; alongside roughly 1800 Greek papyrus rolls only about thirty Latin ones are attested. On the basis of what has become known in recent times from photographs about the state of the Latin texts – despite the desolate state of the charred rolls – they are written partly in a canonical, partly in a somewhat freer capitalis (as in the Carmen de bello Actio).\(^2\) That papyrus rolls in canonical capitalis (as in this library) represented a standard form of Latin literary transmission during the first three centuries is confirmed by a few papyri from Egypt, amongst them Sallust (Hist. and Jug.).\(^3\) But the notion of an exclusive or even preponderant transmission of the literary texts in this classical calligraphic form can no longer be maintained. For there exist literary remains that are written in majuscule cursive of various grades, or in newly established book script: Cicero, De Sereno Tullio (Cato, Origines); Gaius, and De bellis Macedonicis, and the transmission of other texts, amongst them Lucretius and Livy (fifth Decade), must have passed through a cursive majuscule stage before, for example, the basis of Lucretius’s medieval transmission was reached.\(^4\)

Besides literature proper, the educational system of the first centuries, founded on a selection of authors, is more richly documented, again, however,

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2 See above p. 57.
3 See above p. 58 n. 23.
4 See above p. 62 n. 70.
c. The manuscript in cultural history

only through witnesses from Egypt. Amongst these are bilingual texts (fables, Vergil, Cicero, glossaries) tailored to requirements that remained more relevant in the Greek half of the empire than in the West, where Greek studies were in decline.4 At the end of the first century Marcial is the earliest writer to attest to a new development in book production, namely the parchment codex. Its advantages: easiness of handling and suitability for travel, Marcial did not overlook, but against that be preferred the papyrus roll. The oldest surviving remains of a parchment codex, the Fragmentum de bellis Macedonici, is probably almost contemporary with Marcial—the sole example of a new calligraphic type. Among the Christians of Egypt the codex form was already in general use in the second century, as a papyrus book, whereas non-Christian literature admitted it only very hesitantly before the fourth century.6

At the time of the conversion to Christianity Rome had twenty-eight libraries within its walls and book production was so well established a line of business that Dioecletian, in his price edict, set rates for various qualities of script: for one-hundred lines in ‘scriptura optima’, twenty-five denari; for somewhat lesser script, twenty denari; and for functional script (‘scriptura libelli bel tabularam’), ten denari.7 The unit of valuation was the normal length of line in a verse of Vergil. The extent of a work is given in these units at the end of some manuscripts (stichometry),8 and stichometric lists survive for biblical books and for the writings of Cyprian.9

In the West the transition in book production to the new book form and to parchment had taken place by the fourth century at the latest. This means that books newly made at that time were, as a rule, written as parchment codices.10 Indeed this was the case not only with copies of new authors (i.e. above all the patristic writers) but also with ancient literature for which there was a requirement.11 The rolls disappeared from libraries and the result for classical literature

5 Cf. R. Cavennale, Corpus papyrorum Latinorum (Wiesbaden 1958); R. Seider, Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri 1–21 (Stuttgart 1972 ff.).
8 These numbers were included in copies; they are frequent in gospel books.
10 Only a few more or less damaged papyrus codices have survived from the early middle ages: they contain Josephus, Justin, Augustine, Isidor, a Greek-Latin glossary, the Digests, and Hilary (CLA 412.324 Seider, Papyri 271, Nr. 510; 513.294 ibid. 215, Nr. 360; 515.197 ibid. 216, Nr. 557). An unidentified fragment (≈ 150) and remains of two irregularly written rolls with Nemesius of Remesiana and Evagrius (11.3490 Seider 271, Nr. 510, 1350 ibid. 215, Nr. 48) — both probably from Ravenna. On the use of papyri for charters see above p. 8.

1 Roman and Christian antiquity

was that timely transcription in the new form was what decided the selection that might be transmitted to later centuries. But not even all the works copied on parchment have survived in their former extent.12 For us the age of western bookhands begins with this changeover. They are represented for the fourth and fifth centuries above all by codices of Italian and North African provenance, for the sixth century by Italian and Gaulish ones.13

In the meantime new bookhands had been created or were in process of creation: uncial in the West,14 older half-uncial in the East (perhaps spread there from the law school at Beirut).15 In addition there appears, as the last antique fixing of a bookhand, the later half-uncial that is attested from roughly the early fifth century, and which acquired the descriptive name ‘litterae africanae’, but which was also used in the West.16

By the fourth and fifth centuries the fashion may have already arisen of choosing canonical capitals for some authors such as Vergil, Sallust, and Cicero (Oriations),17 so reflecting a consciousness of Roman tradition, but this kind of script apparently had only slight importance for the multiplication of Christian texts.18 On the other hand Cicero, Livy, Ovid, Lucan, and Fronto were copied at the same time in uncial.19

Numerous subscriptions, that are mostly preserved in medieval copies, give an idea of the life of books of the ancient authors in the last centuries of antiquity.20 These remarks, which originally were entered in their own hand by the correctors after revision, date from the period of the fourth to the sixth century. Not only private citizens and teachers of rhetoric, but also the highest officials with their literary assistants read and emended their Livy, Vergil, Persius, Martial, Juvenal, and Apuleius in Rome, Ravenna, Barcelona, Constantinople, and on the estate of the Symmachi in Henna (Sicily); and in some entries there is reflected something of the spirit of the pagan reaction in the Theodosian period.21 The consul Tertius Rufius Afronius Astorius read and punctuated the Vergilus Medicus (legi et distincti) in his year of office 494, and according to another subscription he preserved the Carmen Paschale of Sedullus for

12 For example, in the works of Sallust, Cicero, the tenth Decade of Livy, Fronto, etc., which survive only fragmentarily as the lower texts of palimpsests.
13 In the West, classical Greek parchment manuscripts survive only as palimpsests (technical literature and Epitudes); cf. Lowe, Palaeographical Papers 2, 518 ff.
14 See above p. 66 ff. 15 See above p. 72 ff. 16 See above p. 76 ff.
15 Which apparently at some stage received the name ‘litterae Vergilianae’, see above p. 59.
16 See above p. 58 ff.
17 The rare use of half-uncial for classical texts (CLA 412.153) may result from a lack of interest in them at the end of late Antiquity.
c. The manuscript in cultural history

Posterity.22 Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius, who was consul in 227 and who later emended his copy of Horace, was the owner of the Paris Prudentius.23 A monument in which the pagan and Christian traditions encounter one another was created in the richly illustrated Calendar of 354 by the calligrapher Filocalus (well known as a stonemason for pope Damasus) for a distinguished person by the name of Valentine; a Carolingian copy still existed in the seventeenth century.24

From the time of Constantine's decree, Christian book production was in a position to develop freely,25 but already in Diocletian's time Latin biblical manuscripts must have been available in large numbers.26 A century later Jerome became impassioned about conspicuous luxury in Christian books. He wrote with biting sarcasm about biblical codices of old, badly translated texts: 'veteres libros vel in membranis purpures aure argento descriptos, vel uncialibus, ut vulgo aiunt, litteris onera magis exarata quam codices', i.e. manuscripts made with expensive material and with 'inch-high' letters.27 He compared this with his own ideal: 'pauperes scilicet et non tam pulchros codices quam emendatos', and one can refer immediately to the plain St Gall gospel manuscript (2), sec. V, which stands very close to the text-critic Jerome.28

The oldest document of the Christian book trade is the stichometric Indiculus of the books of the Bible and of Cyprian's works which was made somewhere outside Rome, probably at Carthage.29 A 'statio' (workshop) is twice named in Christian books: in a fifth-sixth-century gospel that of Gaulois in Rome is mentioned,30 and the Laurentian Orsosius, sec. V'med., was made in the Gothic 'antiquariarum' Villaric in Ravenna.31

1 Roman and Christian antiquity

In the golden age of Latin patristic literature in the fourth and fifth centuries, for the first time in large quantity, copies almost contemporary with the authors themselves survive. It is to be presumed, however, that the dissemination of their works resulted less from the book trade (and not so much either through the propaganda and copying by the authors) as by the endeavours of interested people and through a network of personal connections.28 Possidius relates in his Vita Augustini that the writings of that church Father could be found in reliable exemplars in the library of the church at Hippo, should anyone wish to make a copy.33

Subscriptions are also transmitted with Christian texts from the fifth and sixth centuries,34 and even more often dedications and personal benefactions such as 'lege Januariane feliciter in Christo' (Cyprian, letters),35 'Tene in Christo felix Donistantia' (Origines, homilies),36 'Lege felix Amanti cum tus in Christo Iesu domino nostro' (Priscillian).37 Some manuscripts were written for and in the environs of churches: 517 by Ursicinus, lector of the church at Verona, the Martinian works for Tours by Sulpicius Severus,38 a gospel for archbishop Ecclesius of Ravenna (521-34),39 581 the Augustine excerpts by Eugippius for the church of Naples, during a siege of that city.40 The Hilarian codex corrected in Cagliari in 506/7 is in fact a direct biographical document for the elevation of Ruspe and the catholic bishops exiled with him to Sardinia.41

The transcription of books was, however, laid down as a task from the beginnings of Latin monasticism, in which the book belonged to the foundations of that way of life. This was the case with Martin of Tours, Caesarius of Arles in his nuns' rule, and with Benedict, whose rule presumes the existence of an adequate collection of books in the monastery (especially chapter 48). A monastic scriptorium of the sixth century in which the scribes must have been trained in the transcription of a stylised half-uncial was Eugippius's foundation at Naples.42 From here Fulgentius of Ruspe was able to request copies. High praise is accorded the writing monks by Cassiodorus, who in his monastery at Vivarium created a centre for biblical studies; in the Institutiones composed for

22 CLA III 946; John, 348 ff. 23 CLA V 572a.
27 Psal. in Isai. On gold and purple see above p. 17. The Psalterium Lugdunense (CLA VII 772) may give an idea of these inch-high letters. Since Jerome says that books are written (exarat) with them I think it is incorrect to refer 'uncials' (following a medieval attempt at explanation) to the large decorated initial-like letters of the Vergilius Augusti (Nordenskål, Zuirchstucken, 89 ff.); P. Meyvaert, 'Uncial letters: Jerome's meaning of the term', J. Thoöl. Stud., no. 24 (1953) 570-82. 28 CLA VII 946; Sieder, Psalms 2/3, Nr. 54. P. McGrail, Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800 (Paris 1961) 90; Bischöflische Literaturgeschichte, 112 ff. Jerome makes the same contrast in his letter to Laurus (Ep. 127, 12) 'Divinis codicibus: ... in quibus non sunt et pellis Babyloniam vermiculata pictura, sed ad litem placet emendanda et errutis distincta'; cf. Nordenskål, ibid., 112 ff. 29 Do Braga, 'Gaudioso un viejo librero roman', Rev. Bíblica, 30 (1917) 343-5; J. O. Tjäder, 'Der Codex argenteus in Uppsala und der Buchhändler Villaric in Ravenna', Studia Gotica (Stockholm 1957), 144-64. The MS Paris, BN, Lat. 2235 (CLA V 543) can be ascribed to the same workshop (Nordenskål, Zuirchstucken, 187 and plate 96a 6). 30 H.-J. Marrou, 'La technique de l'édition à l'époque patristique', Végalies Christianae 3 (1943) 208 ff.; E. Arna, La technique du livre d'après Saint Jérôme (Paris 1953) 117 ff. 31 Cap. 18 (MPL 12, 469); Altm. Meisterheiner, Codex Leningrad Q, s. 1 13b (Carliac); Sauri Eruditi 18 (1957) 406-50, rejects the possibility that this codex could be one of these volumes from Hippo because of its faulty text.
32 A. Rothbiersch, De Latinorum codicis subscribtorum commentarium (Brussels 1872); this collection can be significantly enlarged. 33 CLM 208, s. IX, 3 f. 34 St Gallen 57, s. IX, P. 135. 35 CLA VI 131. 36 CLA V 404. 37 The exemplar of CLM 622, s. IX, cf. Bischoff, Sibirshubach 1, 131. 38 CSEL 6, 12 24. 39 CLA I 118; Sieder, Psalms 2/3, Ns. 6f. 40 From this scriptorium come CLA I 16 (Eugippius's own excerpts from Augustine), 111.734 a further subscription of Donatus to Origines Pers arsdon from 912, see Origines, Werke (Berlin 1953) 113, 1731; and probably also 10 810 and 819. On the library see Traube, Vorlægen u. Abhandlungen 108 S. 170, however, p. 77, n. 170.
c. The manuscript in cultural history

this monastery he describes the considerable measures in favour of their work.\(^{43}\) He had the first known pandects, or full bibles, written in one volume; pictures and tables from his Codex Grandior were copied into the Codex Amiatinus.\(^{44}\) Until the central middle ages it was now in the monasteries that most manuscripts were written.

Through Theodoric, who wanted to erect a Roman-Gothic organisation in his Italian kingdom, Gothic writings came to Italy,\(^{45}\) and because the Arian church supported the Gothic rule bilingual books were also written. Examples of such bilingual Gothic-Latin manuscripts are the Wolfenbüttel palimpsest (Ep. ad Rom.)\(^{46}\) and the Giessen fragment, discovered in Egypt but destroyed in 1945 (Ex. Luc.).\(^{47}\) The Codex Argenteus of the gospels, written with silver on purple parchment, probably for Theodoric himself, has an exact counterpart in the equally sumptuous contemporary Codex Bruxianus with Latin text,\(^{48}\) which must likewise be seen as a monument to this bilateral culture. These three Gothic manuscripts are written in the upright type of this script. A single Latin manuscript of the sixth century contains Gothic marginal comments in slanted script (Verona, Bibl. Cap., MS LI, Maximinus Ariamus).\(^{49}\) Gothic subscriptions in slanted script, among them that of ‘Wiljarith bokareis’, the stationarius well-known from the Florence Orosius, appear beneath a Ravena chart of 531.\(^{50}\)

With the end of Gothic rule the Gothic manuscripts in Italy were rendered valueless; what remained of them (with the exception of the Codex Argenteus) became part of that waste material which in the seventh and eighth centuries was re-used in Bobbio.

From the East, where, since the third century, the centres of legal studies lay, first at Beirut then at Byzantium, there came in the sixth century as the last great contribution to Latin writing culture the official dissemination of the Justinian law codes. The Florence codex of the Digests (on parchment), which was in southern Italy at an early date, and the Pommersfelden fragments (from Ravena?), as well as other fragments on papyrus, are all written in the same type of fully rounded uncial with characteristic B and R; they stand at the end of a richly-attested production of almost exclusively legal codices whose Greek symptoms support the assumption that they originated in Byzantium.\(^{51}\)

It is probably as an echo of the dogmatic controversy of the patriarchic period

\(^{52}\) See above p. 28 f.

\(^{53}\) These opinions, which might be instructive for the study of textual transmission, are preserved also in carolingian and later copies, cf. W. M. Lindsey in Palaeographia Latina 3 (1924) 29. V. Rose Die Meroving-Rhein-Handbücher, 15 f. In the same way the views of medieval readers and audiences are preserved in manuscripts, for instance on the Libri Carolini.


\(^{55}\) CLA iv 1944, 11 1421. On Pelagius in Ireland see p. 196.


\(^{57}\) Martial (14, 186) refers to an author portrait on the first leaf of a Vergil MS.

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copies and adaptations, the picture cycles in Terence's and Prudentius' Ae s o p's fable s , 6 8 the catalogues of the constellations, 69 and from a Ravenna chronicle. 60 The illustrated specialist literature of late antiquity also, be it botanical, medical, 61 or architectural, 62 was reproduced in the middle ages and could in that way provide the impetus for more independent works. 63 Even such time-bound books as the Calendar of 134 64 and the Notitia dignitatum 65 have enriched medieval illustration. Early Christian Bible-illustrations live on in the pictures of Spanish, Carolingian, and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

This period enriched western book art in a lasting way with two types of decoration. The concordance tables of Eusebius' canones, which Jerome had taken over, were prefixed to the gospels, and instead of being written between simple lines they were laid out in coloured frames set between two columns topped by arches or gables which could be decorated in the most varied manner and to which other motifs could be added (canon tables). 66 In the same way author portraits were created for the witnesses to the Christian message of salvation, the inspired evangelists. A special type is represented by the gospels in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 286, probably Roman sec. V1, which shows on the portrait page with the evangelist Luke and on a separate page scenes from the life of Christ as in a picture book. 67

With the transition from papyrus rolls to the parchment codex is connected a decisive change for the whole area of European book production. It was customary in papyrus rolls to distinguish the ending, which was better protected and in which the author and title were named in the closing script (codalon), by means of larger script or through ornamentation. This usage passed over initially also into the codices. 68 But from roughly AD 500 on, if not already before

60 R. Sturlini, Di illustrazione prudenziana, in Studi medievali e moderni in onore di Stefano Basaglia (Ravenna 1958).
64 L. McKinney, Medieval Illustration in Medieval Manuscripts (London 1956); R. Herrlinger, Geschichte der medizinischen Bildung 1. Von der Antike bis um 1600 (Munich 1956).
65 B. Bischoff, Die Schriftformen der technischen Literatur, in Ars, gestalt u. technik n. der 17. u. 18. jahrhundert, Musik, Bildung, Kunst (Berlin 1959) 265 ff. and plates 1-42; rep. in Medizinische Studien 3, 277-97, plates 19-22. 66 The same applies to maps.
67 H. Stein, Le calendrier de 134. 62 above, p. 184 f.
69 C. Nordfeldt, Die auslandischen Karten in der Literatur der Italienab (Ziegenburg 1938).

then, the weight of ornamental layout at the end gradually shifted towards the opening, where the author's portrait and, in the gospels, the canon tables had their natural place anyway. Various factors worked together here with varying rhythm. Thus connected with the colophon was a specifically Christian ornament, the cross as stauromet, with Rho-bow on the shoulder, plus alpha and omega. 72 It has already shifted to before the text 73 in the miniature codex of John's gospel. 74 Following the example of the arch-framed canon tables, lists of contents are set under coloured arcades in the sixth century, 75 and from the fifth/sixth century on they also acquire greater emphasis through such formulae as: "In hoc opusculum (codice) continetur..." 76

Even before the end of Christian antiquity the germ of a further, extremely consequential development was set in motion in the field of writing with the initial. As Carl Nordfeldt has shown, decoratively laid out letters provided with ornaments were widespread in various areas of late antique art trade and in the emblematic of Christianity. It had probably been a technical book practice found in many of the oldest parchments manuscripts to enlarge the first letters of a page or column, which led to the ornamentation of letters in books and subsequently to the invention of the initial. In the Vergilus Augustus - probably around AD 500 - a monumental de luxe book that stands apart from other types through its imitation of inscrptional capitals, every page, following this usage, begins with a large patterned and coloured letter. 77 Probably the first manuscript that shows a considerable number of actual initials with various patterns, especially the A with a fish as the left beam, is the Vilaric Orosius of Ravenna. 78 The fish (and the dolphin) is one of the most important motifs for initials up to the ninth century, along with the bird, which appears at first only as a secondary or peripheral ornament. As with the initials, so also the following letters and the titles could increase in size and acquire more varied forms. 79

71 See above, p. 79 f.
72 Nordfeldt, Zentralblatt, 63; plate 14, bottom. 73 C. A. v. Dolen, Nordfeldt, plate 14, top. 74 The cross is common as a motif in frontispieces and in the centre of Insular carpet pages from the second half of the seventh century; cf. Bischoff, Medizinische Studien 2, 259 ff.
75 Zimmermann, Forskark. Min., plate 1.
77 On the Vergilus Augustus cf. Nordfeldt, Zentralblatt, 84 f. Colour facsimile: idem, Vergilius Augustus (Graz 1956). The dating above corresponds to that proposed by A. Petrucci, 'La datazione del Virgilio Augusto', in Miscellanea in memoria di Giorgio Crescetti (Turin 1973) in contrast to Nordfeldt, who sees the MS as contemporaneous with Damascus and Jerome. 78 Nordfeldt, Zentralblatt, plate V1a. 61-5.
79 C., e.g., Zimmermann, Forskark. Min., plate 41.
The early middle ages

The invasions and the foundation of the Visigothic, Vandal, Frankish, Ostrogothic, and Lombard kingdoms destroyed the unity of the empire and its civilisation; the victorious campaigns of Justinian’s commanders in Italy, Africa, and Spain brought about no lasting change in the situation. In north and central Italy only Rome and its environs, and coastal strips, above all Ravenna and Naples, remained outside Lombard rule. There followed a period during which cultural life had to be built up with great effort in the areas overwhelmed and often wasted by the barbarian invasions, as well as in the countries that were newly won over to Roman Christianity. Because Latin was taken over too by the conquerors as the language of religious service, of law, and of administration, sooner or later, along with the transmission from the early church, what remained of the ancient heritage could become fruitful once again.

The bonding force was the church. Of the popes, none did as much as Gregory the Great for the preservation of the unity of the Catholic West through the invigoration of diplomatic and ecclesiastical connections. Because his works were copied in Rome he was able to send manuscripts to queens Theodelinda and Brunhilda, and to the Spanish bishops. At least one authentic original manuscript from his scriptorium is preserved, the *Regula pastoralis* in Troyes 504, written in calligraphic uncial. When bishop Augustine, at the instigation of Gregory, began his work among the Anglo-Saxons that was to have such consequences in the future for western Christendom, the pope sent him ‘many books’. Such production of manuscripts is no longer attested after Gregory. Still, Rome remained important in providing from its accumulated treasures of books

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6 Beda, *Historia Abbatum*, c. 4 and 6.
7 See above p. 101. This is also the probable explanation for the entry in Bamberg Patr. 87 (plate Lowe, *Palaeographical Papers 5*, plate 43).
8 There is a plate of the manuscript of this translation, probably written in Rome in 800, in F. Franchi de’ Cavalieri *et al.*, *Spicilegium Sahidicum Graecum* (Bonn 1890) plate 6. See G. Cavallio, *La produzione di manoscritti greci in Occidente tra età tardomedievale e età moderna*, *Scritture e Civiltà I* (1977) 175-38 with plate.
9 In Düsseldorf F. 1 (Crocioni, sac. IV) on f. 40v-44v; a Greek scribe wrote a Roman benediction in Latin uncial (c. 800) to the Exegographus Barbaricus (Vatic. Barb. Gr. 326); cf. A. Wilmart in *Rev. Béd. 45* (1945) 15-9; G. Cavallio, *Interazione tra scrittura greca e scrittura latina a Roma fra VIII e IX secolo*, in *Miscellanea cildiditica F. Masio diserta MCMXXXIX i* (Ghent 1939) 23-45, plates 6-8.
11 G. Mercati, *De la bibliothèque monastique à S. Colombano Bobbio*, in M. Tafuri Ciceri *De re publica libro e codice scritto dal Vatiano latino 5725 photoscriptus* (Vatic. 1944).
12 See above p. 102.
c. The manuscript in cultural history

Bobbio remained a goal for Irish pilgrims and it was probably these who brought pure Irish manuscripts like the Antiphonary of Bangor (written between 686 and 692) to Bobbio. But many older manuscripts too from Italy, North Africa, and Spain ended up in Bobbio. A large number came probably as waste parchment from disbanding libraries and these—among them classics, heretical works, and apocrypha, Gothic texts and Greek and Hebrew ones—were used in the monastery as palimpsests or, as it seems, given to Luxeuil, with which Bobbio was closely linked, for the same purpose. Of three codices in which stand the names of abbots: ‘Liber de arca domino Astalami’ (Bobuleni, Vorgusti), the first is written in a half-uncial with Insular symptoms, definitely in Bobbio itself and probably before 622. In accordance with the wish of Honorius I, the monastery was to be especially active in combating the Arianism that was observed by the Lombards, and perhaps it was for that reason that the acta of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and dogmatic works, were acquired and in part copied here in the eighth century. Bobbio, however, was also a safe retreat for rare grammatical literature in very old manuscripts, and that reflects once again the interest that the Irish in particular had in these texts. In the eighth century Irish and Italian scribes transcribed grammatical works here. Already c. 700 Bobbio brought forth a stylishly executed half-cursive, and around the same time texts were copied in the scriptorium that were quite unusual for the time: Rutulius Namatianus, Sulpicius Satira, Epigrammata Bovienius, Julius Valerius, and the Liber pontificum.

The monastic library was significantly expanded even in the ninth and early tenth century. While Gerbert of Rheims was for a short time abbot at Bobbio he made several discoveries. After that the library seemed to have hardly been noticed until the fifteenth century. In 1401, after the reforms of the monastery, a large catalogue was compiled and in 1493 a sensational trove of grammatical and late-Roman poetry was discovered. However, it was only the revelation of the palimpsests by Angelo Mai that brought about a realisation of how fortunate was the Bobbio transmission both of manuscripts which it preserved and those which had been palimpsested.

14 See below p. 194.
15 CLA ii. 396 Jerome; 2 36 (Augustine amongst others); 4 458 (Lactantius).
17 CLA ii. 379. 398. iv. 452; the Probus-Codex CLA i. 117 may also have been preserved through Bobbio.
18 CLA ii. 398. 396. 376. 407.
20 CLA ii. 419.
21 CLA iii. 481. The bibliographies by Jerome and Gronwald (CLA iii. 341) should also be mentioned. Cf. the catalogue sac. IX in Becker, Catalogus, No. 32.
23 The early Middle Ages

Of the western lands Spain experienced a late flourishing of Christian antiquity, in the cultural sense, in the seventh century, after the conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism; synonymous with this are the names of Isidore of Seville and the Toledo archbishops Ildefonsus, Eugenius, and Julian. The retention of libraries in this period are numerous: the captions composed by Isidore for the various sections in his library are still preserved.

The writing practice of the Iberian peninsula was probably no less varied in the seventh century than that of Italy a century before. The handful of surviving manuscripts no longer reveal much about their centres of origin, but amongst these several monuments possess great significance. Because the oldest Spanish codex of Isidore’s De natura rerum24 may date from his own lifetime and from southern Spain, it could possibly convey some idea of what its exemplar looked like, with its alternation of uncial and, for citations, capitals. The manuscript of the Liber indiciorum preserved in Leon as a palimpsest25 may derive from the centre of Visigothic royal power, Toledo, during the time of Reccesinith. The second Leon palimpsest, which is written in half-uncial of the seventh century, is the oldest partially-transmitted example of a full bible (pandect) in one volume,26 older than the Northumbrian Codex Amiatinus. This it surpasses considerably in economy through its format of c. 44 × 32 cm in almost equal writing area in two columns (36.5 × 28.5 cm), with 71-76 lines. Also Spanish probably is the Abbashburnham Pentateuch, sac. VII, with a series of nineteen richly detailed picture pages of great significance in terms of cultural history.27 Christian refugees who had fled to Spain before the Arab conquest of North Africa may perhaps have brought a script which influenced the origin of Visigothic minuscule.28 Already in the seventh century a large part of Isidore’s works were written in the pontifical script of 711 a heavy Spanish immigration towards southern France via the Narbonensis and beyond to Lyons and Autun, and besides that to Sardinia and various parts of Italy, helped to disseminate Visigothic manuscripts and script.

The homeland of the oldest surviving manuscripts from the Merovingian kingdom is to be sought in southern Gaul. There the Visigoths and Burgundians, as later the Merovingians, attached themselves to Roman administrative institutions and retained Roman law initially, and it was there that most of the uncial and half-uncial codices of the Codex Theodosianus and the

24 Cf. the maps in P. Riché, Education, 298 and 354.
25 CLA x. 1631.
26 CLA x. 1637. Since these fragments of legal manuscripts (‘Fragmenta Vaticana’, Codex Theodosianus, Les Romains Burgundonum; CLA i. 457) could be used for a copy of Canstia in a similar uncial, it is possible that they were among those dismembered on Reccesinith’s orders. Cf. Les Ving. 33.9 (MOH Logos v. 2. 58).
27 CLA x. 1636.
28 CLA v. 633. Reprod., e.g. in Nordenkampf, Das frühe Mittelalter, 102 B. K. Weitzmann, Syllabare und frühchristliche Buchmalerei (Munich 1977), plates 44-7.
29 Cf. above p. 98. e 30 See above p. 100 n. 36.
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Brevisarium Alarici came into existence and was preserved because they were not touched by Justinius's ban.31

The tradition of an episcopal chancery in southern France is represented by the important canon law manuscript, Paris, B.N. Lat. 1209a,32 which was written around 523 in half-uncial and continued in the same century in uncial, half-uncial, and various formal cursive. Ascetic manuscripts of a cruder kind, such as the Ephemerides fragments from Corbie and the Cassian from Autun, could have originated in southern monasteries.33 Of the great cities of 'Roman' Gaul, Lyons alone preserved in its cathedral library a trove of manuscripts from the fifth century.34

The farther north one goes the more important seems the rôle of the monasteries, whose number rose impressively in the seventh and eighth centuries,35 for the establishment of a new cultural continuity. The mastery of writing, however, also extended in the seventh century to the Merovingian aristocracy,36 and the kings signed their diplomas themselves. King Chilperic (530–84) even concerned himself, like a second Claudius, with the reform of the alphabet, inserting the letters ≅, ;&, Z, &, according to the manuscript, (for the sounds w (long-o), æ, the, and w; i, e, the wyn-runne), and promoting their use. We learn this from the sardonic report of Gregory of Tours (Hist. Franc. V. 43).37

Among monasteries of the Merovingian period Luxeuil in Burgundy, founded in 590 by the Irishman Columbanus, and Corbie near Amiens (one of its daughter foundations), occupy a special position by virtue of their transmission. Luxeuil must soon have freed itself outwardly from its Irish patrimony, but it stood in close connection with Bobbio, Columbanus's last foundation, and from there it probably received those remains of Italian manuscripts (Livy, Vergil, Ovid, Pliny, etc.) which, as in Bobbio, were palimpsested.38 In Luxeuil an Augustine codex of 666, the 'Missale Gothicum', and what is probably the latest literary papyrus codex (Aug., Epp., Serm.) were written in uncial and half-uncial.39 Here in the same seventh century the first perfected book minuscule

31 CLA I 110, v 591; VIII 1064; cf. 1344 L. Traube, 'Ezheures tabularium' in Th. Mommsen-P.M. Meyer, Theodotionis libri VII (Berlin 1965). Many of the texts which were palimpsested in B.N. Lat. 1209 also come from southern France (CLA VI 651 f., 880 Brv., Alaric, Cod. Euch., Prompt).
32 CLA V 610. Manuscripts like these, and also CLA I 110 (with its marginalia), and v 591 (see previous note), and the slightly later MSS of canon law (CLA V 858, Alba, from 666/75, VIII 1061 and 1816, may explain how a core of Notre was transmitted to the middle ages for wider use. 33 CLA V 708 and 724.
34 E.A. Lowe, Codices Lugdunenses antiquiores (1.700–1250) CLA VI, xvi f. It is hard to establish which manuscripts were autographes. The Codex Bezae (CLA IV 140, see above p. 243) is eastern in origin; on Lyon 478 (CLA V 777) cf. Lowe, Palaeographical Papers 2, 498–74.
35 See the maps in Riche, Education, 294 a, 439 f., 408 f., 446 f. Riche, 244 f. repr. in Br. Krusch, Hist. Verleihzeichn. 57 (1903) 247.
36 CLA V 149 b, 591; cf. 1377, 1420, 1421, X 1455 (f).
37 Cf. the maps in Riche, Education, 294 a, 439 f., 408 f., 446 f., Palaeographical Papers 2, plates 74, 78, 729–e.

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known to us was developed,40 the slim, heavily ligatured 'Lusitul type'. This was associated with an equally slim distinguishing capitals.41

Corbie, which was founded from Luxeuil,42 was from the beginning (c. 660) distinguished by its connections with the Merovingian court. A definite example of Corbie-written uncial has not been identified, instead, after the early half-cursive, various styles succeeded one another up to the bizarre 'ab-type' and the exemplary Caroline minuscule of the Maurdramois Bible (c. 722–80).43 Characteristic marginalia by one reader44 provide the proof that Corbie around 700 must have possessed older codices from southern France and Italy.45

Fleury, another seventh-century foundation, had also acquired a considerable holding of biblical and patristic manuscripts from Italy, to judge from numerous fragments that have survived; these perhaps accompanied the relics of St Benedict from Monte Cassino to the Lore.46 Here the last manuscript of Sallust's Historiae was partially rewritten and partly recut as fylleaves.

Of the scriptoria in and around Tours, whose tradition goes back to St Martin's time, the impression to be had from the manuscripts — at least those from the monastery of St Martin in the early eighth century — is that here, despite all the immaturity of the script, a collation of the text regularly followed its transcription, and the books were studied.47

On German territory after the foundation of Echternach (698) by the Anglo-Saxon Willibrord, others followed in Hesse, the Main region, and in northern Bavaria through Boniface and his followers and pupils; here an initially closed German-Insular script province came into existence.48 The Anglo-Saxon influence extended even as far as Regensburg with a certain strength.49 Here, in Freising and in Benedictbeuren, and in other monastic foundations of Tassilo's time, it is clear that Bavaria was open to influence also from northern Italy. Script region with their own appearance developed also on the upper Rhine, in the Lake Constance region, and in Rhaetia.50 Of these, however, only St Gall has preserved original charters from the mid-eighth-century, and slightly later manuscripts, nine of which attest to the work of the monk Winitzar as scribe and director of the scriptorium.

40 Lowe, ibid. 2, 589–98 and plates 75, 76, 775, 79
41 On the dissemination and influence of this style see above p. 104 f.
42 Luxeuil-script in Corbie codices: CLA V 633 and 671 (see above p. 105).
43 CLA V, 106.
44 The chronicle of Jerome in Valesvinienses 495 (CLA VI 141; cf. 154) should be added to the list in CLA VI, p. 234. For a differing view of these entries see F. Massi, in H. Vander-Donck-F. Massi: P.B. Corbin, Scripta Magna, Regiol. Magistri (Brussels 1953) 37 ff.
45 Among these is the principal MS of the Regiol. Magistri (CLA VI 653).
46 CLA VI, p. 106.
47 See above p. 106.
48 CLA VI, 741, 755 f., 408 f., 1048 f., 446 f., 294 f., 439 f., 408 f., 446 f., Palaeographical Papers 2, plates 74, 78, 729–e.
49 See above p. 93 ff.
50 B. Bischoff, Schreibtaulen i, 177 f. See also above pp. 107 and 114.
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The variety of writing practice in Francia at this time can be seen, just as in the manuscripts, in the small parchment slips that were presented as authentications of relic fragments and which are preserved in great numbers, for example in Chelles and St. Maurice, and in the cathedral of Sens. Their scripts are uncial, half-uncial, cursive and minuscules, amongst them some from well-known schools, and sporadically also insular scripts.

Of the hagiographical literature that is characteristic of the Merovingian period the Vita Wandregisillii is the only text that is transmitted separately in an uncial codex; in the case of a rich north-eastern French corpus of vitae of various origins the choice of the lives of St Medard (Venantius Fortunatus and Vita anonyma) perhaps offers a pointer to its circle of origin. The substantial early transmission for the Historia Francorum by Gregory of Tours, with two manuscripts from the seventh century and three from the eighth, may be seen as a symptom of a strong interest in national history.

The language of Merovingian texts is well-known for the fact that the grammatical system is to a greater or lesser extent in ruins. The uncertainty and confusion in orthography, above all in vocalism, penetrated even into liturgical and biblical manuscripts, as, for instance, in the Bobbio missal and the gospel book of Gundobinus from 754. Until well into the eighth century the outward appearance of some manuscripts is also very neglected, as in parts of the miscellaneous manuscript Bern, Burgerbibl., MS 61 and the palimpsest Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesbibl., MS Aug. CCI. III. Compared with the sobriety and practicality of a Roman law manuscript, the oldest (certainly not calligraphic) Wolfenbüttel manuscript of the Lex Salica, in which parodies of penalties are added, seems degenerated.

But beside the decline in style in the century and a half from Gregory of Tours to the beginning of the Carolingian reform, attempts were made either to recover the older forms in their calligraphic clarity or to arrive at entirely new ones. In various centres that have not yet been precisely located, uncial and half-uncial were written at least in the first half of the eighth century in set styles, and in the palatium duplex Vatican, MS Reg. Lat. 1 even in an artificial capitals. It is to be assumed that familiarity with English scribal art made it possible to set the standard higher. Among the foremost achievements are the Missale

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"CLA I, 14: 38; Senso, M. Proc., *Manuel de paléographie, Recueil de fascicules* (Paris 1904), plates 5; Chelles, CLA I, 666.

53 CLA I, 37 (Ambros.). Proc., No. 4 (Laon). There are numerous examples of the b-type from Chelles. 54 CLA v 673. 55 Omi 5514, ms. VII or mod. (CLA vi 1238).

56 CLA I 109 (very close to Gregory in date), v 679, vi 7428 (b), vii 1122.


59 CLA vii 604–606.

60 CLA vii 1009.

61 Ch. Bischoff, *Mittlalterliche Studien* 2, 67 n. 47. 62 See in CLA v 541 and 693b.

63 CLA i 102.

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Gothicum vetus, the 'Missale Francorum', and two manuscripts of Gregory of Tours.

In Italy, Spain, and the Frankish kingdom the first signs of ornamental and coloured book decoration which could be observed in the sixth century developed fully in precarolingian times in many local traditions. By this time it concentrates on the opening of the book, its title, and its initials. Fishes and birds are the preferred and widely disseminated motifs. In order to draw them a compass is often used for circles, bows, and star patterns, just as the ruler is used in the page-long Luxeuil initials. Elsewhere exuberant leaf-forms and luxuriant shoots are drawn in a free-swinging style. Geometrical patterns, the S- or rope-motif, leaves and palmettes fill out the bodies of the initials. Interface is very rare before the mid eighth century, so too a human head or hand. Imitation of insetting and of jewellery is shown in the Old Latin Valerianus Gospel sacel. VII, probably deriving from the Latin Balkans. Frontispieces with crosses and ornamental titles are laid out in frames under arches. In the Gallican sacramentaries of the eighth century the UD-monogram appears of Vere Dignum. With its pictures of the Maestas Domini and of the evangelists following earlier models, the Gundobinus gospel of 754 stands alone in the non-insular book illumination of the time, like the Ashburnham Pentateuch of the seventh century, probably from Spain.

The Latin and the Latin book that came with the Christian mission to Ireland in the fifth century encountered a cultural situation which already knew a script (Ogham) that was used for inscriptions, but not books, and which on the contrary had an established oral Celtic tradition. In order for Christianity, its belief and its cult to take root, Ireland required an education in the Latin language and script. Patrick, in the tradition the great representative of the fifth-century conversion work, is supposed – according to a later legend – to have himself written in 'Ogham or more "abgetatoria"', abcedaria. An outspoken willingness among the Irish to adopt the new spiritual wealth and to come to grips with it made easier the initiation of a Latin education and even learning. It found its home in the great monasteries, of which many were founded in the sixth century.

When in Ireland Latin manuscripts were taken as models for their own home-produced books there must have been among them some that still displayed archaic features. From the choice of scripts available the decision was to opt for..."
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the most modern at that time, the later half-uncial; capitalis, uncial, older half-uncial, and cursive of the continental kind are not attested from Irish manuscripts. The alphabet was enlarged with alternative forms, and the script was willfully stylised.

When the use of writing increased as a consequence of the invigoration of Irish learning, a narrower, more economical script, the Irish minuscule, and a system of extensive abbreviations developed; new possibilities of cursive writing were also tried. Thus Irish writing practice stands graded before us already in precarolingian times, from the bold round half-uncial of the gospels through library manuscripts in medial script size, up to the small, often tiny script of the Irish pocket gospel books toward which also the layout of the Palladium of the Patrician tradition, the Book of Armagh (c. 857), is oriented. In Ireland writing stood in high regard as the pious handiwork of monks; many saints were famed as scribes.

Ecclesiastical contacts existed at the outset with Rome and Gaul, and in the sixth century especially with Wales. Commercial contacts had existed for a long time with Spain; from the seventh century on the connection with Rome again became stronger, initially in southern Ireland. What was available in these ways in the realm of literature, beyond the most essential in a period of dissolution of the old Roman civilisation, must initially have depended very much on chance. But there were amongst them works that were elsewhere forgotten or suppressed as either apocryphal or heretical, such as the Gospel of the Hebrews and the exposition of the Pauline epistles by the Briton Pelayus. When in the seventh and eighth centuries Irish learning, whose strongpoints were biblical exegesis, commentaries on Roman grammatical works, and computistical studies, began to stir itself, the book collections were rich, even if one-sided. Large collections of excerpts came into being: the learned ascetic Irish collection of canons and the grammatical compilation Donatus Ortagraphus that was widely disseminated in various redactions. In Ireland, from the seventh century onwards, glossing was carried out in the vernacular, while at the latest from the seventh century texts were being written in the Irish language.

The urge to undertake missionary activity and the drive for ascetic self-exile led the Irish to northern Scotland and Northumbria, Wessex and northern France, Burgundy and northern Italy, where Irish monastic foundations,

CLA n° 270.
76 Chéne-Kerou Milcan-Leh, Handbuch 31, 53 f. (this includes the poem of the scribe in the forest, see Gerard Murphy (ed. and transl.), Early Irish Lyric, (Oxford 1998) 3.
77 The letter of Calmatius (Calmatus) to Feridas (Feridas) expresses the delight with which new, better and more complete texts were received, cf. Bischoff, Mittelalterliche Studien 1, 599. The letter is undated, but it mentions Isidore and should probably be assigned to the second half of the seventh century.
78 Č. S. Hellmann, Schedula Scotorum (Munich 1906) 136 ff.
80 CLA n° 266 77.
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oldest English ex-libris 'Cuthusuiatae boec thare abbatissan' is probably her autograph from the period around 700.96

Of the size of English book collections that were deliberately built up for teaching some idea can be gleaned from the knowledge of literature in Alcuin and Bede, and likewise from the catalogue of texts available in York cathedral library inserted by Alcuin into his poem on The bishops, kings, and saints of York.98 Little has survived of these once great riches. But of the books that were written in England, and of the older books collected in Italy,99 some have ended up in the Anglo-Saxon foundations on the continent like Echternach, Fulda, and Würzburg, and in the letters that Boniface and Lull directed home requests for books are a frequent theme.

The oldest remaining monuments of Insular book art96 come from Ireland and from the Irish foundation at Bobbio (613). Already roughly at the beginning of the seventh century a typical characteristic form, the diminuendo initial group, occurs. In the Cathach of Columba, in which every psalm is distinguished by such a group, the enlarged letters are fashioned from Celtic motifs though not without a knowledge of continental elements.97 The dynamic handling of the contours which the Insular artists cultivate in the drawing of initials is already displayed there. In the Irish fragments from Durham98 there first appears the interface which, together with whirling spirals and subtly drawn interlaced animals, was to become the dominant decorative element in the book art of Ireland and Northumbria.

The style presents itself in full bloom in the great gospels of Durrow, Echternach, Durham A.H.17, and Lindisfarne written between 670 and 700, in which the Irish element has entered into combination with Northumbrian component.99 These are arranged on the model of Irish gospel books which were also standard for Welsh and Breton gospels, hence probably established already in the first half of the seventh century. From these come the decorative pages filled with closely packed ornament (carpet pages) in addition to pages on which the symbols of the four evangelists are brought together and others in which the decoration of Matthew 18 ('Xpiautem generatio') is on a par with the opening of the gospels.98

97 CLA 14, 141a, 1139a, 1196b; 14, 1231a, b, 1430b.
90 Nordenfalk, 'Before the Book of Durrow', and ibidem, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting, plate 1.
92 The first occurrence is probably in the Bobbio MS CLA 11, 139. On other Irish symptoms, the initials outlined with red dots and the Irish ornamental capitals, see above p. 87.

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Of the above-mentioned gospels, besides Lindisfarne, Echternach and Durham A.H.17 were possibly also written at Lindisfarne.99 For Durrow, the oldest of them, Iona, the focal point of the Irish mission on the Scottish coast, has been suggested as the place of origin, but the text is classed as Northumbrian.94 Two or three generations after Anglo-Saxon book-painting reached its peak with the Lindisfarne codex Irish art possessed the vigour that was required to create the ultimate masterpiece, the Book of Kells. Here the initials and other peripheral ornament are composed of human heads and interlaced bodies, realistic animals (cats and mice, moths and others), and even some fabulous ones. While Kells still retains the heavily stylised human representation, the switch to Roman art had taken place already in the evangelists' portraits of Lindisfarne, under the influence of Cassiodorus's Codex Grandior and other sources of Mediterranean provenance.

The Anglo-Saxon miniaturists in the eighth century advanced in these ways of approximating the early Christian and Italo-Byzantine book art and their portrait types. The Trier gospels (Domsschatz MS 61), written at Echternach as a joint enterprise by an Anglo-Saxon named Thomas and a Frank, unites Northumbrian reminiscences and the decoration of an Italian exemplar. The miniatures of two codices from the school of Canterbury, the Vesperian Psalter and the Stockholm Codex Aureus, follow closely Italian manuscripts which probably rested there from the time of Gregory the Great and Augustine. Thus English book illumination leads up to that point where the carolingian renaissance begins.

93 Reprod. in Zimmermann, Verzehr. Min. plate 124; Michell, L'Echternac, repro. 7. The discovery of further fragments of this destroyed codex (CLA 14, 406) by Mario Ferrari supports an eighth-century date for the script; 'Signatures of Bobbio', R. Med. e Um. 16 (1977) 9-12 and plate 3. In evaluating the few extant monuments we should not overlook the fact that we have fragments of texts from a dozen more gospel books which, to judge from their scripts, might have had a similarly elaborate decoration.
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By and large, it is only in the carolingian period\(^1\) that we now possess of the literary legacy of Roman antiquity and of the Latin patristic age was first preserved. This legacy nourished education and learning in the middle ages, which was in large measure dominated by the ancient authorities, until the influx of translations in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries resulted in a new orientation. Work with these texts is closely bound up with the literary production of the middle ages, is indeed a part of that production.

Because the history of manuscripts in the medieval period begins with this securing of the heritage, I would like to preface this section with a few remarks on how manuscripts were used in the middle ages.\(^2\) Liturgical manuscripts, by virtue of their purpose, were truly functional books, and lectionaries were often supplied at a later date with introductory and closing formulae, while divisions into lections were often added in homilies and passionals. Chapter numbers and occasionally instructions for the lectio continua are often added to carolinian bibles in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Collation,\(^3\) marginal notes by readers, 'nota' signs, and underlinerings\(^4\) with a style or red chalk are found nearly everywhere. Now and again such traces are clear symptoms of textual reworking,\(^5\) as occurred in the innumerable canonistic, dogmatic, exegetical, and ethical compilations and florilegia. Indiscreet readers read pen in hand and used it diligently for explanatory or personal notes, as in the case of Ekkehard IV of St Gall\(^6\) and several Constance clerics at the beginning of the Investiture Contest, amongst them the canonist Bernold.\(^7\) Schoolbooks and books for study are generally those that most clearly bear the marks of use in their marginia and glosses, often including vernacular glosses. But the Lenten readings in the

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8. K. Christ, 'Ein caput quadragesimae', Zentralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen 60 (1944) 33-39; the list he cites on p. 34 as part 2 is accurately assigned to Clna by A. Willm, 'D'ouvrent et la bibliothèque de Cluny au siècle du XIe siècle', Rev. Med. 11 (1921) 69-74. See also the ninth-century note in Clm 6602 (Bischof, Schreibheft 1, 143).
10. The oldest catalogues come from Cologne, Dombibliothek (1235, Becker, Catalogi, Nr. 165), Wellenburg (s. IX-X; Becker, Nr. 173); again from Cologne, Dom. (between 1010 and 1027), E. Dümmler in Z. d. d. Allerheiligen 19 (1876) 606 f.; from Freising (s. Xf and XII; Becker, Nr. 64 f.).
11. Most, manuscripts of St Symphorien and St Vincent catalogued at St Amand (see XI), Catalogue general 4 (1979) 17.
12. The St. Turbone owned catalogues of Parisian monasteries (s. XII); cf. R.H. Raus, 'The early library of the Sorbonne', Speculum 25 (1950) 84-91. In Regensburg the catalogues of the monasteries were collected and copied (342); cf. Mittelalterliche Denkmale 4, 154 f.
15. See below on legendaries (p. 216); catalogues of writers (p. 228), and textbooks for the study of the liberal arts (p. 227). Other important examples are a collection of early commentaries on almost all the books of the Bible, in one volume, which goes back to Theodulf of Orleans (Paris, BN, Lat. 15499), and 'Bedas Computus' (cf. Ch. W. Jones, Bedae opera de temporibus (Cambridge, Mass. 1945) 160 f.); D. O. Coston, Periti 2 (1955) 297-47.
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may cast new light on individual texts.\(^{17}\) Already in precarolingian times a critical and practical interest had led to the combination of two or three versions of the psalter in parallel columns.\(^{18}\) In the same way, in the later period several recensions of translated works were copied side-by-side: two different versions of Aristotelian works\(^{19}\) and three\(^{20}\) or even four translations\(^{21}\) of the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.\(^{22}\)

That the great work of preservation and renewal of the transmission of ancient texts was possible at all was due to the political will of Charlemagne and to the understanding with which he took up the various proposals that were brought to him. In him an impetuous drive for education and an abhorrence of ignorance were deep-rooted. Both combined with the high concept he had of his duties as a ruler, and so he concerned himself with raising the educational level no less than with the moral elevation of his subjects and of the clergy. Like Pippin, who had carried out the unification of ecclesiastical chant in accordance with Roman usage, Charlemagne sought to see the liturgy, canon law, and the monastic mode of life standardized. To this end he determined to obtain authentic texts which would serve as the norm. He wanted a bible text purged of errors; the homiliary compiled by Paul the Deacon was recommended in an edict. Other works of this period that were destined for practical use probably also received his explicit approval: the commentary of Sturiedus on the liturgical gospels and epistles, and the Liber glossarum composed at Corbie.

That Charlemagne took a personal interest in books is attested not only by his biographer but also by the condition of the original manuscript of the Libri Carolini, the official manifestation of the iconoclastic controversy, with its marks of approbation, erasures and corrections, and the replacement of whole folios.\(^{22}\) Nor was Charlemagne’s care for books confined only to what was strictly necessary; he had the older transmission comprehensively gathered in the palace library, with which several extant volumes can still be associated.\(^{23}\) The contri-

\(^{17}\) In Leu 173 and 279, both dating from the tenth century, the different parts of a commentary on the texts of the Heptateuch are bound up with early Christian biblical poems (Ps. Hilary, Proga, Dracomontus, Cyprianus Gallus, Alcimus Aulitas). R. Peiper in MGH, AA 6/2 (Berlin 1888) 112 ff.\n
\(^{18}\) The earliest Palatinum Quadruplex (Hamberg, Bibl. 44) was copied at St Gall in 909 with the Greek text included.


\(^{20}\) Cf. eg. London, Lambeth Palace 592, s. XII.

\(^{21}\) On Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 935, s. XV (from Hildesheim to Traversari) cf. M. Grauham, Meistererzähler1, 3. Meistererzähler 17, 5 f. (Münster/W. 1914) 66 f.

\(^{22}\) Ann Freeman, "Further studies in the Liber Carolini", Speculum 40 (1965) 205-22 with plate.

\(^{23}\) B. Bischoff in Kurl der Große, Lebenvertsc vonund Nachwirkung 3 (Düsseldorf 1962) 42-48 with 6 reprods., repr. Meistererzähler 3, 149-69, plates 6-10, 1. I would like to add to this the Liber glossarum Q 1-3, 40, Territorian, Apollinaricum, one of the most beautifully written early carolingian manuscripts, see plate 12 infra.

\(^{24}\) Bischoff, ibid. 137. Bischoff, ibid.

\(^{25}\) B. Bischoff, "Kritische Studien zur Handschriftenueronefromenten (Munich 1972) 56. Cf. z.B. CLA 557, 852 (Philos. Quaestiones in Notinum, s. VII)

\(^{26}\) Cf. CLA 557, 852 and 853. 28. CLA 279.

\(^{27}\) Bischoff, "Die Handschriften zum Einfluss der Brunnlein", in Medieval Learning and Literature, Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt (Oxford 1968) 3-22 with plate 1/2, repr. Meistererzähler 3, 177-86.

\(^{28}\) E.g. the Gemfeld Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preuß. Kulturbes., Lat. 759 and Warsaw 480; Vatican, Regin. Lat. 8, 8, 8, 87, amongst others.

\(^{29}\) B. Bischoff, "Der Bibliothek in der Dienste der Schule", in La scuole nell’eccident latino dell’alto medevolIsettino (Spoleto 1972) 1, 43-5, repr. Meistererzähler 3, 231-3.
example, he was concerned with collecting classical and patristic literature in accurate and complete copies, or with producing such texts. In a request addressed to Tours even a papyrus codex of Boethius’ "In topica Ciceronis" is mentioned. He collated systematically; some of his collations have also passed over into copies made by his circle of pupils. For the emendation of a Solinus codex three different exemplars were drawn upon. Book exchanges between St. Denis and Reichenau are revealed by notices in the manuscripts themselves, which are confirmed by other items of information. Exact textual comparisons will doubtless lead to still more disclosures concerning connections of this kind.

In the basic stock of the libraries, in which Latin patristic literature was predominant, the most necessary works came to be rapidly and widely distributed. Where one wished to extend the number of books beyond this nucleus, and to complete it, or fill the gaps in the oeuvre of particular authors, one could resort to corpora and lists devoted to literary history in order to establish the desiderata. Copies were also made of the newly-recovered Roman literature.

For the needs of the school a narrower choice of textbooks of such authors was achieved which could be read, together with a canon of early Christian poetry, in order to complement basic instruction in grammar. The uniformity of this staple diet in school libraries, the "libri scholastici", which shows only minor variations up to the twelfth century, reflects the uniformity of education.

The early Carolingian period perfected a minuscule script which, for all its variations of stylistic expression from one scriptorium to another, possessed a clear legibility, elegant proportions, a natural flow in the formation of the individual letters and of the few ligatures that were retained in various groupings. The Anglo-Saxon script that was still written at Echternach, in the area of Boniface’s mission, and at Werden, disappeared in stages in the first half of the ninth century, last of all at Fulda, where it had stood for some four decades in competition with caroline minuscule.

As a means of giving greater clarity to the layout of the manuscripts three historic scripts were used almost everywhere along with the minuscule: uncial, capitals, and monumental capitals; in Tours and in other schools half-uncial was also used as a fourth script. The special purity of style of the capitals written at the court of Louis the Pious and in the circle of Lupo of Ferrières is inconceivable without the study of exemplars from antiquity. The layout too of

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such manuscripts (square proportions, two columns) was imitated in both these centres, occasionally even their linear decoration. For several generations, at least in France, tironian notes were successfully revived as a useful instrument of school activity. From the ninth century on many liturgical books took on a new external aspect resulting from the invention of neumes.

The largest carolingian library catalogues, from Reichenau (822), Lorsch, St Gall, and Bobbio, indicate holdings of c. 400 to more than 600 volumes; Murbach achieved three hundred, St Riquier over two hundred. And these numbers can have been in no way unusual, especially since similar quantities of surviving items can still be demonstrated for several scriptoria. Book collections of individual magnates: Count Eberhard of Friul and the west Frankish Count Hecard, are known from their wills; besides historical works, practical literature (on the art of warfare or agriculture) is also represented.

The carolingian ideal blueprint for a monastery which is preserved in the monastic plan of St Gall envisaged a separate room for the ‘sedes scribentium’, and for two or three generations scriptoria were active in many places, mostly copying for their own libraries and schools and their own liturgical requirements. Smaller churches were apparently provided for from episcopal sees, in Charlemagne’s time a number of nunns in the monastery of Chelles east of Paris, administered by Charlemagne’s sister Gisela, took part in scribal activity; amongst other things they copied Augustine’s commentary on the psalms for the cathedral church of arch-chancellor Hildegard of Cologne. Behind the work of the scriptoria the initiative of well-known personalities can occasionally be recognised: the librarian Reginbert in Reichenau, the Salzburg archbishops Arn, Adalram, and Liuphran, the bishops Arbeo and Hito in Freising, and Baturich at Regensburg.

Guiding hand in the great expansion of the

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32 B. Bischoff, "Palaeographie und frühmittelalterliche Klassikerüberlieferung" in La cultura antica nell’Occidente latino dal VII all’XI secolo, Settimane 22 (Spoleto 1975) 79.
33 Karlheinz, Aug CCXVII 4 and Milan, Ambros A 220 inf.; cf. the letter about books in Escoliar s.n. (repr. in CLA vi 1763).
36 See above p. 117.
37 Above p. 59.
38 Above p. 77.
39 Bischoff, "Die Hofbibliothek."
Corbie library in the third quarter of the ninth century was probably the librarian Hadard.46

Thanks to the diversity in local styles of script among the c. seven thousand manuscripts and fragments from the late eighth and ninth century,47 besides the roughly one hundred which can be localised, other still anonymous large, small, and very small groups can be distinguished but not identified. Some three hundred and fifty manuscripts still survive from Tours (i.e. basically from St Martin's), over three hundred from St Gall, roughly three hundred from Rheims (in which several scriptoria were involved), roughly two hundred from Corbie, over one hundred from Lorsch, Salzburg, Lyons, and Freising. Not only does Tours surpass the others in numbers but a full forty-five of the traceable codices are or were full in one volume bibles (pandects) of 420-450 leaves, with a format of c. 55 x 40 cm; written in two columns of fifty to fifty-two lines.48 Between the last years of Alcuin (for whom Northumbrian bibles probably provided the model) and 850, St Martin's produced two such bibles every year for the Carolingians, for episcopal churches, and for monasteries.49 These large-format bibles were imitated in other places, for example in Freising, and in two bibles dedicated to Charles the Bald, the Franco-Saxon Paris, BN, Lat. 2, and the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura, in Rome.

The carolingian period is the first great epoch of book illumination on the continent since antiquity.50 Its ornamental book art perpetuates types current in the Merovingian period and at the same time in many places reflects the influence of Insular decoration.51 Furthermore, it harks back directly to motifs from antiquity (tendrils, palmettes, acanthus, meander) which then had the result that the repertoire of forms of the centuries immediately preceding were banished, or else mixed styles came about. In figural representation antique and early Christian models were followed closely and their study set free new and original facets of creativity.

A demonstration of what richness in initial forms and motifs a virtuoso and imaginatively inspired late-eighth-century miniaturist could employ is given by

46 Bischof, Mittelalterliche Studien 1, 44-63.
47 For a survey up to the beginning of the ninth century see B. Bischof in Karl der Große, Lehnswerk und Nachleben (Düsseldorf 1965) 233-54, repr. Mittelalterliche Studien 3, 5-38.
48 In contrast the one-volume bibles from the circle of Theodulf, which document his critical work on the text, have a convenient format and are not bulky (c. 350 leaves of 34 x 24 cm, in two or three columns of normally 62 lines) because they use a disciplined, developed small and clear script. 49 B. Fischer in Die Rolle von Minuskelkursiv (Bern 1971) 54.
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The master craftsman who wrote the Gellone sacramentary.52 The initial decorations in the great majority of manuscripts was, however, limited to a very narrow store of forms;53 amongst them interlace54 had become well-nigh indispensable. The older fish and bird motifs retreat and many manuscripts confine themselves to using enlarged capitals letters. Important for the following period was a style of initials with broad and often intertwined foliate tendrils which makes its appearance in St Gall and Reichenau in the ninth century.55 In Italy, the formation remains freer: for example, in the use of human heads. In the early carolingian period cruciform frontispieces are still frequent.56

The principal showcases of major book decoration are the gospel books with their canon tables and evangelists' portraits. In some illustrated manuscripts of the psalter and of the Apocalypse, and in the miniatures of three huge bibles, in part old cycles are renewed, in part individual pictorial innovation is at work.

The production of gospel books was the principal concern of the workshops that were established under Charlemagne at the court and which were still active in the time of Louis the Pious.57 As to the style, two directions were followed: typical for the older 'palace school',58 to which already the evangelist of Godescalc belongs (781-3), is the extremely luxurious painting of the canon tables, portrait and initial pages, and the borders; early Christian pictorial sources from the Orient were reworked, and an Anglo-Saxon element too cannot be overlooked.59 In the gospel books of another, somewhat later, workshop tradition a classic simplicity was achieved both in the portraits and in the antique pedimental façades of the canon tables; the finest example is the Vienna coronation gospels on purple parchment.59 Three illustrated classical manuscripts from Louis's time (Aratus, Terence) are indebted to the technical and artistic experience of these palace schools.60

52 CLA vi 618; Baudrat, Pratinzere en serehrs des manuscrits, plates 50 to 64; smaller selections in Zimmermann, Vorbere. Minh, plates 133-9, and E. Van Moit, La lettre en la dans les manuscrits du VIIIe au X° siècle (Paris 1946). The last manuscript made for Racho, Bishop of Strasbourg, in 988 (CLA vi 835) should be compared, Baudrat, Pratinzere, plates 48-50, C. O. Hoehn, 'Ein verschnitztes Denkmal merovingerischen Buchkunst aus frühmittelalterlichen Zeiten, der "Racho-Codex" der Bogorasi', in Festchrift Hans R. Hämmerle (Kassel Stuttgart 1961) 185-206.
53 Discussed in exemplary fashion by K. Holter in Karl der Große 3, 72-114 with 32 plates.
54 Construction of interface using a network of dots can still be observed in some miniatures and initials where this has not been painted over. See E. J. Thiel, 'Studien und Thesen zur Initiavlungsamkeit des frühen Mittelalters', Arch. Gesch. d. Buchumsch. 5 (1942) 124-130 with repr.; idem, 'Neue Studien zur ornamentalen Buchmalerei des frühnen Mittelalters', ibid. 7 (1970) 157-157; in 1973 with repr.
58 Kothner, Karol. Men. 3 (Berlin 1968), text and plates.
c. The manuscript in cultural history

The artistic heritage of the later court school, whose quivering, excited style is masterfully expressed in the pen and ink drawings of the Utrecht Psalter and the evangelists’ portraits of the Elbro codex in Épernay, passed to the schools of Rheims and Hautvillers under Ebbo and Hincmar. At St Martin’s at Tours, in Alcuin’s time (804) a local, initially monochrome style was still practised with canon arches and initials under Anglo-Saxon influence. However, here too the formation of a classical figure style and the adoption of antique motifs in the multicoloured or gold or silver initials soon followed. An intimate art that gives the direction to later development is shown in the boughs and leaf initials of the sacramentary written and painted for the Metz bishop Drogos, in which the initials enclose pictures with tiny figures appropriate to each feastday. 62 A style from the second half of the century which is almost entirely devoid of figures and whose principal centres were St Amand and St Bertin at St Omer, is dependent on English decorative art, especially that of Northumbria. This style is distinguished by strongly geometrical frameworks and heavy initial forms which are filled out with narrow interface patterns of the greatest precision. This ‘Franco-Saxon’ style is continued and developed in the tenth century not only in the neighbourhood of the old centres but also in Lower Germany and in England. Two bibles, one from St Martin’s (the illustrated Vivian Bible, with a presentation portrait) and one from the Franco-Saxon workshop of St Amand were presented to Charles the Bald, who loved ostentation. When, in the sixties and seventies, he had ostentatious manuscripts made in one of his residences (probably Soissons), achievements made in the Rheims and Tours schools were also absorbed into the new court style. The Bible of San Paulo fuori le Mura written for Charles – which he probably bestowed on the church of Rome on the occasion of his coronation in 875 – is close to this ecletic, courtly style. 63 Of the works of German schools Hrabansus’s De laudibus s. crucis, in which the pictures are integrated into fields of letters, became a much-admired and off-copied artistic piece. 64

Although Brittany had come under the supremacy of Carolingian script, a native tradition survived in book decoration until the beginning of the tenth century. In several gospels that are grouped around the centre of Landevenne the evangelists’ symbols are represented by crudely drawn anthropomorphic figures to which the heads of the animal symbols are attached (horse-like in the case of Mark). 65

62 Kochler, ibid. 1 (1930-3) text i/2 and places.
63 Kochler, ibid. 3, text 143 62 and plates 75-76.
64 The MSS of Charles the Bald in Schramm-Mutheth, Denkmale, Nr. 14 (41) 42 ff., 51 ff., 54 ff.

3. The Carolingian period.

Of the territories outside the carolingian empire England, which was raided by Vikings, 66 went through a period of profound stagnation; Lindisfarne was plundered in 793. The once flourishing monasteries of Ireland were the targets of annual Viking attacks from 795. All the more important, therefore, is the contribution to carolingian intellectual life of Irish scholars; of these Dungal, Sedulius Scotois, Johannes Scotois, and Martin of Laxou have left autograph specimens of their handwriting. 67 It is with them in particular and their Greek studies that bilingual manuscripts of the psalter, the gospels, and the Pauline epistles are associated. The considerable number of palimpsests in the Irish manuscripts of the ninth century suggests that Irishmen, when leaving home, brought with them older books that had belonged to their native libraries. Irishmen who had gone to the continent, and who there observed the difference between the old and the new kinds of writing current, are probably to be identified as the authors of the short catalogues of script-names from the late eighth and ninth century that contain partly confused but also partly authentic and important information. 68

Much the greatest part of Spain lay under Arab rule, yet Christianity was in general not suppressed; bibles and large manuscripts of collected texts were produced by Mozarabs. A northern strip of territory which had maintained its independence became the heartland of the kingdom of Asturia, whence the Reconquista was to originate. Here, c. 780, the monk Beatus of Liébana composed his Apocalypse commentary with a cycle of illustrations derived from early Christian exemplars; this was for several centuries the most representative work of Spanish book illumination. 69 At the latest from the beginning of the tenth century, many manuscripts were adorned with the ‘Cross of Oviedo’ (with inscriptions such as ‘PAX LVX REX LEX’), standing under an arch as a frontispiece, which was inspired by the golden standards of the Asturian kings in their wars against the Arabs. 70

66 The Codex Aureus, now in Stockholm (CLA 11 1642), was bought back from Vikings. Another instance mentioned by Wattenbach, Schriften, p. 345, results from an incorrect interpretation.
69 The older version in Sammelhandschrift Diet II Sani 66 (introduction B. Bischoff, Grazer 1973) commentary, p. 31. The later catalogue 70 by Sedulius Scotois glossing 'Literarische societäten' (see above p. 74) mentions 'Virgiliane', 'Áfricans que tennan apocryphal', 'quas in usu frequentibus habemus' and 'longitiae'; Remigius replaces with 'quas ... Scotti ... habent'. Bischoff, Mittelalterliche Studien 1, 2.
From the tenth to the twelfth century

In three generations the cultural renewal radiating from the court under Charlemagne had brought its fruits in the entire area of Carolingian rule. In the episcopal cities and in the monasteries libraries were created, many of them with hundreds of volumes. All important churches possessed splendid liturgical manuscripts in precious bindings which had been painted in carolingian workshops. But already, from the mid ninth century onwards, the security of the empire was under threat from Vikings and Saracens, and shortly after the turn of the century almost annually repeated attacks by the Hungarians began. Even cities like Trier (882) were set ablaze and many monasteries were destroyed; the monks in their flight were able to save the libraries of some of them, together with the relics of the monastic patron. In large parts of Germany, as a result of the Hungarian threat, cultural life could be eeked out only with difficulty, or else it ceased entirely. Only after the victory against the Hungarians in 955 could a new resurgence get slowly under way, which was aided by the Gorze monastic reform. In Bavaria, which had been devastated, the reconstruction was undertaken by bishop Wolfgang of Regensburg with the help of monks trained at Trier. Among the centres that had remained untouched was St Gall, and because its monastic school was much visited and was also able to send teachers to various places such as Mainz, Speyer, and Salzburg, there was disseminated a minuscule with ligatures of an Irish kind, as well as the St Gall initial style and St Gall neumes. This wave also touched Freising, where Italian and Lotharingian influences came together.¹

The library of Tegernsee, newly-founded by Hartwig of Trier, is an example of how losses of books could be made good.² Several generations of monks built up a substantial collection by the common labour of teachers (like Froumund) and pupils, and by obtaining exemplars from Freising, Regensburg, and per-

³ See above p. 120 n. 73.
⁴ The library which was created during the tenth century is characteristically carolingian. In the reforming centres of Cluny and Fleury, which were in lively contact with neighbouring and distant centres, various styles of writing came together. For Cluny, Monique-Cécile Garant, "Les scriptorium, 7 des Savares (1977) 257-83. For Fleury, J. Vein, "Les monastères et leurs scriptoriums", Le livre et le monastère (1977) 30-42; and M. J. Vein, "Les scriptoriums et les scriptoriums des monastères français", in Scriptoriums et monastères (1977) 199-208; see above p. 111 n. 124.
⁵ See above p. 89. The "Schottenmönche", who set up their first humble settlement in Germany in 1079, developed an Irish influenced minuscule, see Bischoff, Mittelalterliche Studien 1, 39.
In England the renewed care and expansion of libraries began under Alfred the Great (871–901). One of his achievements was the promotion of Anglo-Saxon literature through the translations and adaptations that he commissioned, and of which copies were made at his behest. His grandson Æthelstan (941), a list of whose books survives, is well known as a donor of books to various churches. As a result of the Benedictine reform which established itself in England in the mid tenth century the national script was largely superseded by caroline minuscule in the following generations for use in Latin texts; however, Anglo-Saxon retained a major place in English literary activity and through manuscripts the tenth and eleventh centuries earlier poetry, including Beowulf, was saved.

The Norman conquest also had decisive consequences for England's libraries. In all important places, in the cathedrals and in the large monasteries, they were modernised according to Norman standards. The nucleus of the holdings was provided, with the aid of professional scribes, by bibles in the largest format, together with works of the four great church Fathers, and those of Josephus and others, in large size. The example of Augustine's writings allows us to trace the penetration of texts transmitted on the continent, and the further passage of these texts thanks to the intercommunications of English centres.

As was the case in Germany and France, under the pressure of external enemies, Hungarians and Saracens, in the late ninth and in the tenth century there came about a standstill, partly even a reverse in cultural matters in Italy too. In 949 the monks re-entered Monte Cassino and in the following centuries the monastery reached its apogee under abbot Desiderius (958–87). One of his predecessors was the German Riccob (938–55), who came from Niederaltaich, one of the monasteries that had been ruled by Goderich of Hildesheim.

Through these monastic connections it is possible to explain the presence at Monte Cassino of a manuscript of Wulfric of Corvey, the double-preservation of Frontinus here and in Hersfeld (or Fulda), and the familiarity of the Monte Cassino historian Peter the Deacon with Tacitus's Agricola. In Desiderius's time the beneventan script attained its most harmonised formation. The

library that was compiled here possessed very rare works of classical literature: Varro, Seneca's Dialogues, Tacitus's Annals and Histories, as well as Apuleius.

In Italy already in the early middle ages large format corpora are to be found: Florence, Bibl. Laur., Amiat. III (Hrabanus In Genesim, etc. 43 x 36 cm, sec. XI, with the monogram 'Benzo'); ibid., Conv. Suppr., MS 364 (40 x 32.5 cm) + Pl. 85.35 (c. 47.5 x 32 cm), a collection of secular and ecclesiastical learning. In the late-eleventh century a new type of large one-volume 'giant baphe' appears, whose somewhat longish rectangular format was also applied to other large works (Augustine's psalm commentary, Gregory's Moralia) and collections (hymnaries, passionals). The bibles were illustrated, and in the initials the influence of Tours betrays itself. These manuscripts were produced in an area stretching from northern Italy to Rome. In Rome the old Lateran library of the popes still existed, Deudesdelt found there c. 1087 many sources for his canon collection; in the thirteenth century, however, it disappeared.

In southern Italy and Sicily the Normans had conquered Greek and Arab territories. When the king's rule was strengthened by Roger II a kind of aristocracy emerged which included Latins and members of the other two nations; we have in a Greek-Latin-Arabic three-column psalter (of 1153?) a tangible documentary witness to this ethnic and linguistic community. In Sicilian manuscripts with miniatures a Byzantising style predominated.

Book practice in the Christian areas of Spain changed only slowly before the late eleventh century, when Roman and Cluny influence began to penetrate and contribute to the decline of the Visigothic script. To judge by the surviving manuscripts, the selection of works copied was rather narrowly delimited. However, they contain extensive subscriptions in which those concerned (scribes, painters, patrons) and the time of production are given in a detail unmatched anywhere else. The two particularly impressive groups that emerge from the transmission of the tenth and eleventh centuries are the full bibles


F. Brunibitl, 'Zum Problem der Casinenser Klassikberleihung', Atti. Marbeyre Gabriele Gottoli (Berg 1977) 131 f., suggests that the textual transmission of Varro, which depends on a Monte Cassino MS, and of other rare texts, took place in that region. Varro owned a villa near Cassino.


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10 Ker, Catal. of MSS.

11 Ker, English MSS.

12 Ker, ibid., 4, 40.

13 Ker, ibid., 12 ff., 54 ff.

14 K. Hallinger, Gorze-Klam 1, Studia Anselmiana 22/23 (Rome 1950) 174 ff.

15 Cf. E. Prulaire, Die Wiederentdeckung des Tacitus (Fulda 1953) 57 n. 52.

16 Cf. above p. 110. A miniature shows Desiderius offering 'many wonderful books' to St Benedict, together with his buildings ('Cum dominus miris pluribus, pater, scripsit liberis'); M. Ingomar-Myrilla Avery, Miniature Canone del sec. X1 illustrati in vita di S. Benedetto (Monte Cassino 1934) plate 1; A. Pantoni, Le vicende della basilica di Montecassino attraverso la documentazione archeologica, Miscellanea Cassinese 26 (1973) frontisp. A.M. Wickler and others, Codex Benedictus. Vat. Lat. 2222, Cord e Vaticano solerti quam simillime express

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written in two or three columns, and the illustrated Apocalypse commentaries of Beatus, with their extremely unnaturalistic, oriental-looking pictures. With the crusades Latin script was brought for a century and a half to Palestine and Syria. A workshop of scribes and painters existed in the neighbourhood of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; after 1187 this activity was transferred to St John of Acra. The scribes were predominantly in the French tradition. It is, however, the miniatures, initials, and scripts of titles in the books written here: 'anciennes estories', and in the French translation of William of Tyre, that present the most noteworthy mixtures of western, Byzantine, and Armenian tastes.

With the rise of the monastic orders of Cistercians, Premonstratensians, and Carthusians, a new upsurge of monastic scribal activity began. Because the first two founded an extremely large number of monasteries in the twelfth century in Germany, England, and Spain – and the Cistercians besides that in Italy – the penetration of the countries with written cultures, for example in Lower Saxony, Austria, and Bohemia, was fundamentally strengthened, while other territories acquired the first staging posts of such culture. The expansion of the Carthusian order followed more slowly before the end of the twelfth century, but this order, as no previous, envisaged writing as the duty of monks. In the Conjecturation redacted by Guigo, the fifth Carthusian prior, the writing equipment of the scribe is minutely detailed in the furnishing of the cell, and the duty assigned to him is formulated thus: 'Quot enim libros scribimus, tot nobis veritatis preces facere videmur.'

In the centralised orders the transmission and copying of texts took place in many ways within the orders. An example of the regional exchange of exemplars beyond such boundaries in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is provided by Bavarian and Austrian monasteries of the Regensburg and Passau dioceses that belonged to the Benedictine, Cistercian, and Premonstratensian orders. Here the giant codices of the Glossarium Salomonis with Greek–Latin colloquies originated, and here the largest hieroglyphical compilation of the middle ages, the Legendarium magnum Austricum, which filled six folio volumes, was collected and reproduced. It is a keystone of a collecting and arranging activity in

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22 See p. 211 n. 69. 23 See also below, p. 227.
25 See above p. 18 f.
26 Lehmann, Erforschung 3, 121 ff.; Gumbert, Untersuch Karthäuser, 308 ff.; reproducing the Carthusian cell in Steinen, Palaeographie, 141.
27 G. Goite, Corpus glossariorum Latiorum (Leipzig 1943) 168.

4 From the tenth to the twelfth century

this important field, which had begun in the eighth and ninth centuries, that saints lives contained in booklets, often deriving from the cult centre itself, were brought together in great collections in the order of the calendar in accordance with local requirements, so as to serve the office and for refectory reading.

In the second half of the tenth century a change in education began to emerge. Gerbert of Aurillac, of southern French origin, who became familiar with Arabic mathematical science in Catalonia, was the first seriously to undertake the teaching programme of trivium and quadrivium. As his pupil Richer relates, he worked with demonstrations and models. Knowledge of the nine Arabic number signs in the West begins with Gerbert's introduction of them into his lectures on the use of the abacus. The lessons of Gerbert, Fulbert of Chartres, and later famous scholastic scholars up to the brothers Anselm and Radulf of Laon, drew pupils from afar to Rheims, Chartres, Liége, Laon and other school centres long before Paris concentrated on higher study; from there they, in their turn, brought books back home, as did, for example, the monk Hartvic of St Emmeram, a pupil of Fulbert's at Chartres. The school libraries had now to be supplemented with new aids. Collections of textbooks of several artes were made, and Thierry of Chartres finally combined in the Heptateuchus the fundamental texts of all the seven liberal arts.

After Gerbert a shift in emphasis in the reading canon took place in the schools: the Christian poets do not longer dominate so markedly as before; classical authors, amongst them the satirists, push to the fore. In the area of theology the Glossa ordinaria, a work of commentary, came into existence from roughly 1100 and won an almost authoritative reputation. It was and remained written partly alongside the text, partly between the lines, whence there resulted technical difficulties in the layout of the text when a better utilisation of the written space was sought.

26 On these booklets see Bischoff, Mittelalterliche Studien 1, 93–100; the St Gall listing of saints lives according to the calendar, dating from the ninth to tenth century (Mittelalt. Bibliothek. Deutschl. 1, 41 ff) refers to both kinds.
27 The tree-like or branch-like schemata in the margin of dialectical and rhetorical textbooks from this period probably reproduce the important distinctions which played so significant a role in the classroom (e.g. Chin 14, 272, 153 'loci argumentorum' at the period of this revival of the artes). Gesner owned a 'Pagina (= Tabula) quattuor ex philosophia diversa definitiones quasi quidam fontes emanatur' (Rev. Batol. 22 (1595) 10, lines 192 ff.);
28 Bischoff, Mittelalterliche Studien 2, 80 ff.
c. The manuscript in cultural history

In the external appearance of the manuscript in post-carolingian centuries an increasing gradation of the script levels in relation to size, aesthetic appearance, and amount of abbreviation was recognised according to the purpose, which again was dependent on the contents. In library books and school books the space between the lines is frequently distinctly smaller than before. The formalised innovations in teaching practice had their impact on writing practice: tiny commentary hands were used and the tendency to abbreviate technical terms increased. Neumes are now general in the appearance of liturgical manuscripts, and in the eleventh century the use of staves begins.

The twelfth century, which has been called a renaissance, marks a second highpoint after the carolingian era for the transmission of many classical authors and patristic literature, before the rise of scholasticism decisively changed the relationship to literature. That is due not only to the fact that in this century very many new monasteries were founded, and thereby new libraries. Rather, one can generalise and say that the educated men of the time had come to a consciousness of their own capacity with which they could face the entire transmission positively and openly, but also critically. Christian teaching based itself on the solid foundation of the Fathers of the church. But besides the autocrats, because of their formal qualities, were recognised as being indispensable for teaching and as examples for literature, and their sententious content was admired. The ethics of the moralists and philosophers were valued in humanistic openness. The classical authors were essential to education. So the increase in the transmission is an expression of this attitude, for which the great collection of Cicero’s works which Wilibald of Stablo, abbot and statesman (?1158) compiled, as well as the collection of Augustine’s minor works in seven volumes, which was carried out in Clairvaux, are impressive witnesses.

In the field of illumination the carolingian experiences were not lost. The technical tradition became more secure and the iconographic continuity too was strengthened. The ancient recipes for making colour were newly edited in the eleventh century in the handbooks of ‘Heracleius’ and of Theophillus-Rugerus.

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Morifs, picture elements and compositions were diffused through model books of examples, and Byzantine influence too was transmitted in this way, and probably also through the medium of illustrated manuscripts. From southern France genuine or imitation friezes of Kufic script made their entry into western applied art, in that way the miniaturists acquired a much-used filling element for borders. Already in the eleventh century there were laitymen who practised the profession of miniaturists.

The most widely-disseminated initial type in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and parts of France and northern Italy in post-carolingian times was the twelfth century, which can be connected with the technique of interface. The bodies of the letters, apparently cleft, constituted a strong narrow border and were frequently held together by realistic drawings of metal clasps which, in the case of gold initials, were offset with silver. In other areas thin interface tendrils and stems with palmettes were preferred. Towards the twelfth century coloured pen and ink initials, or initials in opaque colours with romanesque palmette motifs, become more frequent. Amongst the zoonorphic motifs dragons and lions become popular and from the eleventh century on the human figure is once more introduced as an ornament; fighting dragons and climbers among tendrils are quite typical. A precursor of the fleurons style can be recognised towards the end of the eleventh century in the very expressive swelling contours that extend into the margin. However, manuscripts in which the historiated initials fulfil an illustrative function also increase in number, as already in the carolingian period with the Gellone and Drogo sacramentaries and in the Corbie psalter. Thus the stories of biblical books or saints’ lives are made visible; in the bibles of large format these condensed pictures prepare the way towards the revival of independent illustration.

Many threads connect book illumination of the tenth and eleventh centuries—

46 K. Isbister, Romanische Zierbuchstaben und ihre Vorläufer (Stuttgart 1927). For a carolingian precursor see above p. 220.
47 Examples in A.-E. Van Moort, La lettre ouvra dans les manuscrits du VIIIe au XIIe siècle (Paris 1941).
48 Bruckner, Scripatoria 8, plate 31.
49 Cf., e.g., A. Becker, Das Stuttgarter Passionale (Augsburg 1923).
to carolingian art. Illuminated manuscripts from the palace schools of Charlemagne and Charles the Bald were studied in Fulda, in the upper Rhine region, and in Regensburg, while individual compositions were copied or modified. The Franco-Saxon style set the standard for the beginnings of painting in Lower-Saxony. To this Franco-Saxon style, and to that of other north-French schools, the art of England after 990 owes its new impulse.

In these two centuries German schools, among whose patrons were Ottonian and Salian rulers and the highest bishops of the empire, occupied leading positions. Otto III was a special friend of books, through his teacher Gerbert of Rheims, he had acquired manuscripts from France, and others he himself brought from Italy. A part of his book collection passed to Henry II, who donated them to his foundation, the cathedral church at Bamberg. 51 The Reichenau school reached its apogee in the last third of the tenth century and was productive into the first half of the eleventh. Without being strongly rooted there, the Master of the Registrum Gregorii, one of the most important Ottonian book illuminators, whose activity had been in the upper Rhine region and in Trier, stood connected with it. Reichenau manuscripts were in such demand that pope Gregory V's 'pensionis nomine' requested that the abbot of the monastery should deliver a sacramentary, an epistolary, and a gospel book to Rome for the confirmation of his installation. 52 Otto III, Henry II, and archbishop Egbert of Trier were the highest ranked of those who commissioned books from the workshop. Three times there appears in the royal books the procession of the personified provinces paying homage, in which a motif from the late-antique Notitia dignitatum is transposed for contemporary use. 53 Egbert of Trier, by prefixing to his psalter the portrait sequence of the Trier bishops, strengthened the claims to the apostolic foundation of his see. 54 The Reichenau style spread into Switzerland and into northern Italy. The production of the Cologne school equalled it in breadth and attained the highest level with the sacramentary of St Gereon and the Hitda Codex. 55

The school of St Emmeram at Regensburg, in which Henry II had a sacramentary made, began its activity at the end of the tenth century with restoration work on the Codex Aureus of Charles the Bald, and motifs from that manuscript reappear in the principal work of the school, the evangelistary of the abbess Uta of Niedermünster. Under Henry III, Echternach played the rôle of a


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palace workshop that prepared gospels for Speyer and Goslar for the emperor. 57 The style of the painting school at Vyschrad in Prague was dependent on Bavarian illumination of the eleventh century. 58 In the late eleventh century Salzburg entered the front rank and it remained the most prominent school of the German south-east until 1200; here Byzantine influence was especially marked. 59

In the twelfth century, illustration with pen-and-ink drawings was very widespread; in Bavaria and Austria, Swabia and Alsace. Here the monumental work of the Hortus deliciarum, with 344 religious and didactic pictures, was illustrated by the nun Herrad of Landsberg in the monastery of Odilingen. 60 In the Rhineland originated the now lost Wiesbaden codex of the Scivias of Hildegard of Bingen, with boldly coloured pictures and the visions seen by her, the miniatures of the Speyer evangeliary 61 executed in lighter colours, and those of the Speculum virginum. 62 Amongst the schools of Lower Saxony, Helmarshausen is distinguished by its connection with Henry the Lion who had, amongst other things, a precious gospel book written and painted there. 63

In France there are no centres in the tenth and eleventh centuries that were comparable to Reichenau or Cologne; however, miniaturists were active in many places and important works are not lacking. In an impressive stylistic modification of the Beatus Apocalypse the Apocalypse of St Sever (sec. XI) was painted in bright colours, a work of the greatest expressiveness. Noteworthy workshops could be found in Limoges, Angers, in the Paris abbey, and in north-east France, the old home of the Franco-Saxon style whose severe, complicated interlace decor was still practised into the eleventh century. Here in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, in St Amant, Marchennes, Arras, and St Bertin at St Omer (where the abbot Odert, 976–1000, was himself active as a miniaturist) many manuscripts were illustrated in which a strong impulse from English style is obvious. Around 1100 the 1120 canon Lambert of St Omer collected and illustrated his encyclopaedia, Liber floridus. 64 The production of this region

57 Schramm-Mütherich, Denkmale, Nr. 154 and 155: C. Nordenfalk, Codex Caesarius Upainsicus, commentary. 58 See above p. 61.
59 G. Swarzenski, Der Salzburger Maler von den ersten Anfängen bis zur Blütezeit des romanischen Stils (Leipzig 1913).
60 A. Straub–G. Keller, Herrad de Landsberg, Hortus deliciarum (Strasbourg 1901); J. Walter, Herrad de Landsberg, Hortus deliciarum (Strasbourg: Paris 1953); Rosalie Green and others, Herrad von Hohenthurn, Hortus deliciarum i, 2 (London: Leiden 1979).
62 Colored repros in A. Bockler, Deutsche Buchmalerei vorzeitlicher Zeit (Königstein 1951) 41.
64 J. Porcher, Fränkische Buchmalerei (Recklinghausen 1955).
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continues also in the twelfth century. It influenced the revival of book art in the neighbouring style-region on the Maas; in the mature ‘Maas school’ of the twelfth century, book illumination and the art of enamelling influenced one another.

English book art was revivified, after the caesura in the ninth century, through the study of French models, and it rapidly acquired a noteworthy independence. The virtuoso pen and ink style of the Utrecht Psalter was taken over and the codex itself was twice copied in England. English artists learned from this the capacity for expression in the human figure, which is pushed almost to eccentricity, and the angular drapery folds of their own drawings, on which they worked with various colours and with delicate gradation of the strokes. The agitated drawing of the contours also dominates in the pictures in opaque colours in the Benedictional of St Ethelwold and its relatives, whose framework was a riot of acanthus, taken over from Franco-Saxon models. Numerous monasteries participated in this ‘Winchester style’.

In the art of initials a preference is shown for interlace and bird-and-dragon motifs which echo the smooth, fluid type of the older Canterbury style, paired with wildly agitated and knotted tendrils and acanthus forms. Even before 1066 human figures appear in England in the initials. In the twelfth century, English artists illustrated the books of the bible with a preference for historiated initials.

In early medieval Italy the principal centre of book painting lay at first in the south, in Campania and Apulia. From the tenth to the thirteenth century this was the homeland of illustrated liturgical Easter rolls. In most of these rolls Byzantine influence is manifest. In Monte Cassino, where in 1023 the oldest illustrated manuscript of Rabanus’ encyclopedia was made, the miniaturists, particularly under Desiderius, endeavoured to cling closely to Byzantine style.

The most important object of book painting in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in a European trend, is the Bible in large format. The Catalan bibles of

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Rota and Ripoll (‘Farfa Bible’) from the beginning of the eleventh century, and a Bible from Arras only slightly younger, are still isolated. In the second half of the eleventh century in northern and central Italy and in Rome began the production of giant bibles; stimulated by the Italian example, the Salzburg school produced several illuminated bibles in the twelfth century. Shortly before 1100 the creation of illuminated bibles also begins in France, and this continues without interruption into the thirteenth century; this was facilitated by contacts with English book-painting. Thus in the decoration of the four-volume bible of abbot Stephen Harding of Citeaux (†1133), who was himself an Englishman, English hands participated. A love of pictures and a striving after motifs in the decoration of initials which had dominated in early Citeaux art were, however, sharply objected to by Bernard of Clairvaux, and for his order the 1134 statutes laid down: ‘literae unius coloris fiant et non depreciae’.

A new genre of religious illuminated manuscripts, psalters introduced by full-page pictures from the life of Christ, was probably initiated in England. From there at any rate comes the earliest example, the St Albans psalter in Hildesheim from c. 1115. Precious books of this kind, which served the purpose of prayer and contemplation, were painted principally for princes and higher noblewomen until the advent of the books of hours.

In the most varied places, England, France, Germany, and Monte Cassino from the tenth century on, the lives of the respective patron saints were illustrated in codices which could bear witness to the pride of the abbey as well as to the fame of the saints. Most impressive of these is the sequence of three illustrated Vita S Amandi from the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Ottonian, early romanesque, and high romanesque styles. Most of the surviving manuscripts are unique copies, so we must presume that very many others have been lost.

72 W. Neu, Die katalanische Bibliothek Literatur um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei (Bonn-Leipzig 1922).
73 C. Garrison, Studios.
74 G. Swarsenski, Die Salzburger Malerei.
76 An earlier English example is in the psalter, London, BL, Cotton Tiber C.IV (c. 1090) with a set of full-page illustrations which is not yet standardized; F. Wormold, Collected Writings 1 (Oxford 1948) 133-57 and illustr. 124-54.
79 Reprod. in Nordenfalk, Die romaneske Malerei, 183, 187, 194.
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With the entry into the gothic period the medieval book system experiences the most profound changes of its entire history. If, up to that time, it was bound up with clerical institutions (the monasteries and chapters), now new forces were at work which resulted in an enormous increase in book production: the scholarly activities that were organised in the universities, the increased practice of preaching, the deepening of religious life through mysticism, above all in the female religious orders, the spread of written education among the laity, and their interest in literature, especially in the vernaculars. Writing, of course, still continued in the religious communities, but a large part of the professional production of books passed over to the civilian professional scribes in the cities. Outside the world of books and of formal charters writing became a tool in daily life, for administration, trade and crafts, for which book-keeping became indispensable. In city schools writing and arithmetic were taught, and formulae for letters also belonged to the instruction. However, there were apparently still in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries not a few canons and monks who excused themselves from the duty of witnessing legal transactions because of their inability to write.

3 The Cathar sects had their own rituals and doctrinal texts. From the thirteenth century their persecution, and the church’s struggle against heresy, was supported by the Inquisition, through whose hands the sole surviving example of such a text, Florence, Bibl. Naz. I. XI. 44, probably passed. Cf. A. Doche, Lutrin normand de l’XIIIe siècle. Le livre de douze principes suivis d’un fragment de rituel cathare (Rome 1939).
4 139 professional scribes, including two women, are known from Bologna in the period 1250-1300.
6 F. W. Oeppen, Über die Bildung der Geschichten im späten Mittelalter (Leiden-Cologne 1953).
8 Extensive data in Lehmann, Erforschung 2, 1-59.
10 There is a draft of an alphabetical encyclopedia, s.XIII, in Clm 26971/16.
11 The index to John of Abbéville in Brussels, Bibl. Roy., II 1501, which has ‘chalcianae’ foliation, is especially noteworthy. There is a plate in Blumenfeld, Mittelalterliche Studien 1, plate VII.
13 P. de C. Classen discusses the official consultation of the early Codex ‘Psalmus’ (which became the ‘Psalterium’ after 1250) by delegates of Bologna lawyers when there was uncertainty about the text, in ‘Burgundicus de Paia’, A. Nzeichnet, Handbuch der Alten Wiss., phän.-hist. Kl. 1 (1971) 36-41.

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The book was now more rationally designed. Celler division made reading and usage easier. Foliation, which after sporadic earlier appearance was frequent from the twelfth century on, and the somewhat later practice of pagination—both of which could be expanded by numbering the columns—made citation easier. In Oxford manuscripts of the thirteenth century even the lines are numbered. From the thirteenth century onwards indices were supplied. One principal type derives from the division of the work into books and chapters divided into sections that are indicated by letters of the alphabet, and is thus independent of the individual exemplar. Another type indicates the folio or even page numbers of the book. The popularisation of the book, which now became the personal property of innumerable persons, was facilitated by the introduction of paper. In scholastic garb Richard of Bury, chancellor of England and bishop of Durham, and himself a great book-collector, expresses his intimacy with learned books in his Philobiblon, when he complains in expressive terms about their enemies and scorers. The ‘third great power of the middle ages’, the studium, made its first appearance when, after modest beginnings, the medieval science of Roman law originated, and canon law was raised to the status of a science in the twelfth century through the systematic and didactic direction given by Gratian. In the Italian universities, above all in Bologna, the textbooks of both subjects, laid out with apparatus, received their characteristic form. Many of these manuscripts were decorated with miniatures in the titles that related to the act of promulgation: numerous manuscripts of the Decretum were also decorated with miniatures of the canons of the second book. In no category of manuscripts are Hebrew entries more frequently found than in these later codes; they were
written by Jewish moneylenders while the books were in their temporary possession.

The new trend in the disciplines practised in the faculties of arts and medicine demanded translations of the complete works of Aristotle and the commentaries of the Greek, Arabic, and Jewish doctors. Among the theologians the rise up the academic stepladder was itself connected with the multiplication of books through commentaries on the sententiae and Questions disputatae and quodlibetales.

When, in the thirteenth century, an expansion took place in the studies that were very closely bound up with the textbooks of the faculties and the masters' commentaries and glossing apparatus, the universities recognised the necessity for controlling the reliability of the texts whose multiplication was indispensable for these studies. For this purpose the institution of the stationarius was created, with whom standard copies were deposited, and these were then given out for copying in pecie to professional scribes.14 Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Naples experienced very similar developments in this regard during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The reception of new academic literature in the lists of the stationarius was in itself a form of publication. The younger universities, however, did not take over this practice; in the German universities textbooks were written by the students from the dictation of the master (the 'pronuntiatio').

The very rapid, elastic script, using very economical abbreviations, enabled the hearers to transcribe even from lectures, the 'reportatio'.15 Such texts even passed into circulation, whether authorised or not.

In most medieval universities—though not in Bologna, where the professors owned their own specialist libraries—there grew up from legacies of the masters, or from the bequests of princely patrons, academic libraries, which became the property of the whole university or of individual faculties. The largest and most important, and the most rapid in growth, was that of the Sorbonne (founded 1257), which in 1290 comprised 1,017 volumes, and in 1328 already 1,722 volumes.16 Of the multitude of donors of every nationality, numbering roughly 170, Gerhard of Abbeville (c. 1271) was distinguished by the size as well as by the value of his gifts, because they contained a large part of the books that Richard of Fournaula, chancellor of the church in Amiens, had profusely gathered and described in his Bibliotheca using the image of a garden.17 The Sorbonne library was divided up into the 'great' reference library with its libri catenati, and the 'small' library, which was made up of duplicates, and whose books—to judge from the loan indices—were much used.

18 See above p. 215.
19 O. Kern in Milski-Lehup, Handbuch 3/1, 401 f.
23 Lehmann, Erforschung 4, 381 f., 386 f.
The order still remained true to the task of writing in the late middle ages, and the remains of the libraries of various houses, Erfurt, Mainz, Cologne, and Basel, and their catalogues, are among the largest of the middle ages.

This monastic activity of the Carthusians was adopted as a model by two late-medieval movements in Holland and Lower Germany. From these the reformed Augustinian canons at Windesheim, who devoted themselves principally to the copying of learned literature, were the more similar to the Carthusians. If, on the other hand, the 'Brethren of the Common Life', who were also termed 'broeder van de penne', write, they do so with the aim of earning their keep with meaningful work. Their writing is precisely graded according to content; from their hands came innumerable liturgical books and vernacular texts of devota moderna.

In Upper Germany the civilian book industry was more strongly represented, and the profession of 'stool scribe' ('cathedralis') was frequently connected with the activity of notary. Bavarian Benedectine monasteries like St Emmeram, Tegernsee, and Scheyern, ordered extensive collections of sermons, theological and ascetical works, encyclopaedias, and even liturgical manuscripts from lay scribes.

A south-Italian speciality are the bilingual codices of the Greek psalter and the Greek lituregies with Latin translation dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which go back to the activity of the Baslian abbot Nektarios of Casole near Orantum (1213). Much was written and painted too in numeriously belonging to various orders. They saved in particular the writings of the German mystics. The Cologne conven of the Poor Clares and the Cistercan nunnery of Lichtenenthal near Freiburg are well known as workshops of book painting. Clara Hitzlerin in Augsburg (after 1476) was a civilian professional female scribe seven of whose manuscripts are still known.

For book decoration new international fashions appeared. The more modest opening letters have the heavy bulging forms of gothic majuscule (Lombards). The colours used almost exclusively are blue and red in alternation, and these colours are also contrasted when the bodies of larger initials are ornamentally cleft; they are used above all in fleurons or filigree work. This was developed in the first half of the thirteenth century in France. In this way the interior of the compact body of the initial and its surrounding area are filled with florid spirals or other patterns and ornamental strokes, while fine bundles of swinging lines run out into the margin in free play; here too bodies and ornaments are drawn in the respective contrasting colours. A simpler emphasis on the large letters suitable for the pen occurs through doubling of the principal lines that can criss-cross; masks are often drawn in. These are the 'cadelles' (derived from 'capitales'), a genuine invention of the writing masters.

From the thirteenth century on the borders extending out from the initials belong to the general decoration. They first appear in France and England, where they are heavily notched and set with thorny leaves. The margins are the stage for drolleries in which wit and often grotesque fantasy are deployed. When, in the late middle ages, the margins are covered with broad rows of tendril or closed broad frames, there are mixed into them naturalistically painted insects, flowers, fruit, and other things.

Book illumination had acquired a great freedom in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially in the formation of historiated initials illustrating the text. On the other hand, in actual illustration it reached out only into occasional individual works: encyclopaedias, historical works, and chivalric poetry, beyond the wide-ranging ecclesiastical, biblical, and hagiographical themes with inherit...
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ited pictorial sequences. From the thirteenth century on, however, the delight in illustration knows no further bounds. Amongst illuminated manuscripts the liturgical ones and those intended for private devotion: pontificals, breviaries, psalters, and books of hours (livres d'heures), which take over the role of psalters, occupy a prominent place. Just as the biblical, liturgical, and legendary scenes depicted in them, so too the pictures of the months in their calendars finally develop into small pictures in their own right. In the biblical literature the iconographic types were regularised, as in other areas: the typological mirroring of the redemption in the Old Testament is canonical partly in the enormous collection of illustrations to the ‘Bible moralisée’, partly in the poor memorial pictures of the 'bible paupére' and the Speculum humanae salvationis. In the literature of the new disciplines of legal science, astrology, alchemy, and warfare, illustrations also begin to appear. Of literature in the narrower sense, the religious and profane poetry and prose of the vernaculars seem to have been more often provided with pictures than the Latin ones; illumination matched the desires of the readers.

The artistic richness of French gothic book painting and its radiation to the other countries of Europe demand that it be given pride of place. Its great period begins around 1220 under Philip II Augustus. It had its centre in Paris, its masters worked for kings and aristocratic ladies. In the principal thirteenth-century works the kind of presentation, formal construction, and the motifs in the repertoire of miniatures are extremely similar to contemporary glass painting, for example in the manuscripts of the 'Bible moralisée', a huge typological illustrated commentary on scripture, in the psalter of Louis IX, and in other manuscripts painted for the king.

35 From the late thirteenth century on, many Paris book painters are known by name. Those that can be connected with surviving works are Maitre Honoré, who illuminated a breviary for Philip the Fair, and Jean Pucelle, active around 1325-30. He was one of the first to use grisaille technique and took up trends from Italian art, which was the dominant one on French soil, at Avignon. With the sons of Johann the Good (1314), who was himself a lover of fine books, Charles V (1364-80), Louis of Anjou (1384), Philip the Bold of Burgundy (1342), and Jean Duc de Berry (1416), there appeared a generation of bibliophiles such as had not existed in the middle ages. The library of the latter

37 See e.g., the lavishly illustrated catalogues of all those types from French libraries by V. Lerouqui (Paris 1927-41).

38 Porcher, Fränkische Buchmaler (Recklinghausen 1931); Mezal, Goëq, 33-66; F. Avril, Buchmaler am Hofe Frankreichs: 1230-1260 (Munich 1928).

39 Compare the biblical typology given in the English handbook 'Pictor in carnem' which dates from around 1200, M.B. James in Archivaria 94 (1952) 147-66.

40 Bible moralisée. Patrologiae-Casoriae ... des Codex Vindobonensis 2532. 1; commentary: R. Hausabatty (Graz: Paris 1923).

41 Where Simonne-Martini, from Sienna, painted the title page of Petrarch's manuscript at Vergili. (See M. Dvořák, 'Die Illuminatoren des Johannes von Neumarkt'.

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Charles V numbered over one thousand manuscripts. It contained, besides French epic and romances, and ostentatious manuscripts of the bible and liturgy, the many French translations from classical authors, church Fathers, and medieval works that the king had made. Even painters from distant towns and foreign parts were drawn to Paris by his orders, amongst them Flemings and Italians. The name of the Duc de Berry is inseparably linked to his books of hours (Belles heures, Très belles heures, Petites heures, Grandes heures, Très riches heures), for which he employed artists of the first rank like the brothers Limburg and perhaps even the brothers Van Eyck. In the succeeding decades there worked in Paris the anonymous 'Bedford Master', who participated in the 'Terence des ducs', the 'Marshall Bouicaut Master', and the Master of the 'Rohan Hours', who painted moving pictures of death. The last outstanding French miniaturist of the gothic period was Jean Fouquet (c. 1480); he completed the Josephus that was begun for the Duc de Berry and he illustrated the 'Grandes chroniques de France', with their valuable topographical views, the book of hours of Etienne Chevalier, and the Munich Boccaccio Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes'.

Of the Burgundian dukes it was Philip the Good (1419-67) whose lavish patronage encouraged Flemish book painting, which already stood under the influence of the brothers Van Eyck, to its full development. The apocrypha lasted into the early sixteenth century; its greatest artist is the 'Master of Mary of Burgundy'. The north-Dutch book painting of the fifteenth century was closely related to the Flemish, but it lacked the courtly component.

English book art of the thirteenth century still produced illuminated bibles, psalters, and bestiaries. A wholly new genre that was practised there and in northern France until the fourteenth century were the illustrated Apocalypse.

The transition to gothic which took place in close contact with France was completed around 1220. The school of St Alban's represented relatively independent English style in which the important chronicle Matthew Paris deter-
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mined the style of the workshop as director of the scriptorium, and he himself probably worked as painter and illustrator of his own works; several picture sequences for English saints' lives belong to this school.74 The influence of Parisian art is more noticeable in the 'palace school' in which were gathered artists working on behalf of Henry III of England and in which laymen too worked as illuminators, and also in monastic centres like Canterbury. A particular jewel of this tendency is the 'Queen Mary Psalter' of around 1300, which, besides a large picture cycle from the Old Testament and psalter illustrations, contains hundreds of smaller pictures beneath the text.75 With on the one hand an extreme refinement, and on the other a forcefulness of expression which does not fall short of excess, the 'East Anglian school' that flowered from roughly 1300 to 1325 in Norfolk and Suffolk, and especially in the village of Gorleston near Yarmouth, with its gothic decorative elements of marginal borders and drolleries, attains the most astonishing results. The greatest works are again psalters: the Ormsby psalter, the Gorleston psalter, the St Omer psalter, and, as a latecomer, the Luttrell psalter. In the fifteenth century, during which Paris was for a lengthy period occupied by the English, French book art surpasses the English.

In Italy76 native traditions, Byzantinising tendencies, and French gothic cross and influence each other. Scientific illustration especially was here given rewarding tasks in the rich didactic, astronomical—astrological, medical, and medico-botanical literature; in Bologna the continuity of miniaturist art was bound up with book production for the university.77 Monuments of the religious painting that flourished in many places are the initials of the large choir books which often border on paintings in themselves. Many artists strove to depict the fantastic scenes and strikingly described encounters in Dante's Divina commedia.78

In Spain for the first time an outstanding centre of book art activity arose at the court of Alfonso the Wise (1221–84), who had his 'Cantigas de Santa Maria', his collections of laws, his 'chess-book', and his 'lapidary book', and the compilations from Arabic and western sources created at his request, all richly illustrated.79 His artists, laymen, learnt from the French gothic. Later, in the widespread productions for kings, ecclesiastical and secular lords, churches and

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monasteries, besides French influence, Italian and finally Flemish influence had come into play.

In Germany the shift to gothic was once again accompanied by an impulse from Byzantine exemplars through which it is possible to explain the elegant, lively modelled figures of the Goslar Gospels.80 German gothic book painting81 begins very late by comparison with France; a Thuringian-Saxon school, whence came the psalters made for the landgrave Hermann of Thuringia (†1217),82 and the school of the Benedictine monastery of Scheyern, which likewise was at work in the first half of the thirteenth century (using amongst others Regensburg exemplars),83 still belong stylistically to late romanescus. In monastic workshops the simple typological cycles of the Sibylla pauperum84 and the Speculum humanae salvationis85 were copied. The former was more widely disseminated in the south, the latter more in the west.

Those artistic terrains of the German-speaking regions that were especially productive for book painting in the late thirteenth and fourteenth are the Rhineland, with Cologne as focal point, where French influence worked most strongly, the upper Rhine region, Franconia, and Austria. In south-west Germany and the German part of Switzerland the interest of aristocratic circles favoured the development of book art; here the Manesse and Weingarten song books and numerous German world chronicles were written and decorated. In Franconia and Austria monastic art dominates initially. Worth of mention among higher ecclesiastical patrons are the archbishops Baldwin of Luxembourg (†1354) and Kuno of Falkenstein (†1388).

When Prague under Charles IV became a centre of European art it was above all his chancellor Johann of Neumarkt (†1380)86 and other prelates who commissioned particularly the liturgical manuscripts. Amongst the artists active for this circle was Johann of Troppau, who in 1378 wrote a gospel book for Albrecht III in Austria entirely in gold and illuminated in the most sumptuous manner.87 The

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75 G. Warner, Queen Mary's Psalter, Miniatures and Drawings by an English Artist of the Fourteenth Century (London 1917).
76 P. d'Ancona, La monastère italien du X e au XIV e siècle (Paris–Bruxelles 1945); M. Salmi, La miniatura italiana (Milan 1968); Bernhard Degenhart-Assogiet Schmidt, Corpus der stilistischen Zeichnungen 1300–1540, pt. 1, 4 vols (Berlin 1968); pt. 2, 3 vols (Berlin 1966).
77 See above p. 222.
80 A Goldschmidt, Das Evangelistar im Rathause zu Goslar (Düsseldorf 1953); Demus, Byzantine Art and the West (New York 1970) 161 ff; esp. 107 ff.
81 H. Swarzund, Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau, Text, plate (Munich 1933); A. Bockler, Deutsche Buchmalerei der Gotik (Königstein i. T. 1954).
84 G. Schmid, Die Arbeiten in der XIV. Jahrhundert (Graz–Köln 1946).
85 E. Breitenbach, Speculum humanæ salvationis (Strassburg 1933).
86 M. Dvořák, Die illuminierte der Johannes von Neumarkt 251 (1901) 35–126 (repr. in Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte (Munich 1936) 74–207).
87 E. Trenkler, Das Evangelistar des Johann von Troppau (Vienna 1918); G. Schmidt, Johann von Troppau and the vorromanische Buchmalerei, in Studien zur Buchmalerei und Glasmalerei des Mittelalters, Festschrift für Karl Hermann Uenze (Marburg 1975), 273–93 with reproduction, Katalog des Hof, Österreich 1, plates 150 f. In the initial of cr, which shows Christ teaching the Lord's Prayer, Johannes produced a virtuoso example of microscopic writing, which was later especially popular on the sheet which Christ is holding, which measures 14.8 x 6.7 mm, the text of the Lord's Prayer is copied in 19 lines of clearly legible script.
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tration founded here continued under king Wenceslas, who had several bibles
(amongst them one in German in six volumes), law manuscripts, the
'Willhelm', astronomical works, and others written and luxuriously illus-
trated. The area of influence of the Prague style extended as far as Austria and
southern Germany. Amongst the German book painters of the fifteenth century
one can also number Stephen Lochner.

In the last century of the middle ages the desire and inclination towards
illustration of many works of MHG literature, which until then had received no
illumination, such as the Niebelungenlied, increased. It was principally paper
manuscripts ('popular manuscripts') that were enriched with simple or lightly
coloured pen and ink drawings. The workshop of Diebold Lauber in Hagenau,
who is traceable from 1425 to 1487, occupies a prominent place in this produc-
tion, in which there appeared many freely invented cycles and from which fifty
manuscripts and several sales lists are still preserved. The palatine court
ordered several books from Lauber. In the second half of the century
the Wurttemberg duchess Margarete of Savoy and the humanistically inclined
Duke Eberhard of Wurttemberg, Duke Eberhard in the Barth had manuscripts written and painted.

After the chronicle of the Constance council by Ulrich of Richental contem-
porary history comes more strongly into vogue in illustrated local chronicles.
New branches of practical book illustration came into being with the fencing
and wrestling manuals, and the books on warfare and firearms. Closely related to
these, the culturally valuable 'medieval housebook' contains one of the richest
cycles of the children of the planets. The printed prayerbook of Maximilian
(1513) to whose marginal drawings the best artists of the time contributed
Dürer, Cranach, Baldung Grien, Altdorfer, and others is among the last
testimonies of the great medieval art of book painting.

63 J. Knez, Raboboj Fáclava IV. (Prague 1971). Facs.: Die Geldlore Bulle (Codex Findohlensis, 328); commentary A. Wolf (Graz 1977).
64 Cf. Hella Fröhming-Kono, Text und Illustration im Mittelseller, ed. with introd. by N.H. Ott (Munich 1975) 1-56.
66 W. Hoffmann in Graf Eberhard im Barth von Wurttemberg im geistigen und kulturellen Geschomen seiner Zeit (Stuttgart 1938) 45-53.

VI

The age of humanism

In northern Italy laymen interested in literature, and active members of the
notarial or judicial profession, already in the thirteenth century discovered
copies of rare or forgotten authors from old ecclesiastical libraries and used them
in their works. Thus Albertanus of Brescia (fl. 1248) copied from a carolingian
codex of the letters of Seneca which he provided with marginal comments and
sketches. The Paduan scholars Lovato dei Lovati (1241-1309), Geremia di
Montagnone (f. 1321) and Iohannes de Matocius, mansionarius of the cathedral
at Verona, were lucky to make genuine discoveries. Amongst these were
Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Varro De re rustica, the Scriptores historiae
Augustae, and letters of Cicero; treasures of the Verona cathedral library which
Rather had seen in the tenth century were rediscovered. For Lovato a second
source was the library of Pompous; the best manuscript of Seneca's tragedies
that he used was written there in the eleventh century.

The effect of these discoveries could have remained limited for a long time
to local literature and their use in florilegia, if Petrarch had not incorporated them
in the comprehensive picture of Roman antiquity which from his youth he had
sought to recover. In the course of his efforts to acquire newer and better texts
external circumstances came to his assistance; through his sojourn at the curia in
Avignon he was able to establish valuable contacts. In the course of extensive
journeys he himself made discoveries but he also utilised the old Veronese
codices. Petrarch copied and collated a great deal; his first great achievement was
the unification of the three Decades of Livy in one single volume.

In his time the library of Monte Cassino became known as a hoard of ancient

1 Claudia Villa, 'La tradizione delle "Ad Lucilium" nella cultura di Brescia dall'età carolingia ad
Albertano', St. Med. e Um. 12 (1966) 9-51 with repord.
2 L.D. Reynolds-N.G. Wilson, Scribes and Scholars (Oxford 1974) 109 ff.; idem, D'Homer à
Eraste (Paris 1949) 85 ff. For the whole section see A. Petracci (ed.), Libri, scrittura e pubblici
3 Idem, Scribes and Scholars, 112 ff.; idem, D'Homer, 85 ff.; ibid., 114 ff.
4 G. Biliamovich, 'Petrarch and the textual tradition of Livy', J. Warburg and Courtauld Inst. 14
(1951) 157-258. Idem, La tradizione del testo di Livio e le origini dell'umanesimo 2: Il Livio dei
c. The manuscript in cultural history

texts thanks to Zanobi da Strada and Boccaccio (Apuleius, Tacitus, Varro De lingua Latina) and its codices, written in Beneventan, later made their way to Florence. In Florence it was Coluccio Salutati, a collector and humanist in Petrarch’s sense, who passed on the master’s ideal to a younger generation, of whom the papal secretary Poggio Bracciolini was most prominent as the most successful discoverer of unknown classical texts. A participant in the council of Constance, he brought a rich booty home from the monasteries of the surrounding region, as well as from his extensive journeys in Germany and France.

References to rarities and even manuscripts were also sent to the humanists by Germans; Nicholas of Casa brought the twelve comedies of Plautus (unknown in the middle ages) to Italy, while the Hersfeld monk Henry of Grebenstein brought the minor works ofTacitus. The search was no longer left to chance; when in 1431 a papal mission went to Germany, Niccolo Niccoli, Poggio’s friend, was able to give the mission a detailed inventory of classical codices to be obtained from Reichenau, Fulda, Hersfeld, and Cologne.1 This way old libraries which, since the early middle ages, had been expanded only in the area of indispensable legal literature, now became interesting once more. However, false hopes were raised too by rumours of the recovery of lost Decades of Livy and Cicero’s De re publica.2

From Poggio comes the successful practical realisation of a reform in writing which Petrarch strove for before him; for the second type of humanistic script, the cursive, Niccoli’s personal hand became the basis.3 Thus a new path was indicated for the scribes, and personalities like Giovanni Aretonio, Antonio Sinibaldi and Bartolomeo Sanvito aimed to realise the new script as an art in the age which also sought to establish the harmony of epigraphic script. The scribes prepared the ground for the greatest achievements of the early printers, Nicolaus Jenson’s antiqua (Venice 1470) and the cursive of Aldus Manutius (Venice 1501).

In Italy a resurgence of book art accompanied the triumph of humanism. Ecclesiastical and secular princes and patrons vied to have libraries assembled in

6 The age of humanism

which were brought together the classical texts whose numbers were now increased, the new translations from the Greek, works of church fathers, and of the humanists, and already some Greek manuscripts. Humanistic book decoration began with small initials with white shoots (bianchi giganti) in coloured panels which reveal their derivation from Italian manuscripts of the romanese age.4 Soon, however, all the decoration was concentrated on the title pages often with architectural borders, and this brought the antiquarian tendencies into play once more; puliti, half-length figures and other antique motifs, along with coats of arms, emblems and medallions of the patrons. Great collections were founded in Florence by the Medici, by the Este in Ferrara,5 by Federigo da Montefeltro (1474-82) in Urbino,6 by Malatesta Novello (1465) in Cesena, by the Arragonese kings of Naples,7 by the Sforza who had inherited the Lombard-Gothic library of the Visconti in Pavia and continued it in humanistic taste,8 and by others. Through Nicholas V (1447-55), who had belonged to the circle of Florentine humanists, the Vatican, the fourth papal library, was founded.9 Several of the aforementioned were among the custodians of the Florentine book dealer Vespaiano da Bisticci (11490), author of the humanistic Vita. He had (horribly organised book production, which required the cooperation of scribes and miniaturists; he employed forty-five copyists at times. In Florence, in the workshops of Attavante dei Attavanti and others, King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (1458-90) also had many of his most magnificent manuscripts written and painted.10

Of Federigo da Montefeltro, Bisticci wrote that he would have been ashamed to receive a printed book into his select library.11 The printed book, which had come into the world with Gutenberg’s 42-line Bible (Mainz, between 1450 and 1456) as unique, an unsurpassed masterpiece, was the mechanised continuation of the late gothic and humanistic book. The printed work and the manuscript continued for a while side by side and many manuscripts were still being copied from printed books in the fifteenth century. The miniaturists too saw a remunerative field of activity in the painting of opening pages and initials in

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5. P. Prato, Die Wiederentdeckung der Tacitus (Fulda 1932). A portion of this carolingian manuscript, a quire of the Agricola, is preserved in the humanist Codex Asinus (from Jos); R. Trier, Handschriftliche Untersuchungen zu Tacitus’ "Agricola" und "Germania" mit einer photographie des Codex Asinus (1943). Florence, Laur. XVI: D: Prisciani, S. IX in a sixteenth-century Prasian manuscript completed in humanistic script.
6. Many ancient classical manuscripts, once they had been copied and were no longer of interest, were neglected and destroyed. Others disappeared because it was the custom well into the sixteenth century to print from somewhat corrected original manuscripts; see Reynolds- Wilken, Scribes and Scholars, 123. Isid., D’Hovre, 94. All too-clear traces of these practices are also found in the manuscripts of Hieronymus (Clm 14,858) and in manuscripts of Bede; cf. Bischoff, Mitteilungen der Abhandlungen 1, 152 ff.
9. See p. 147 f.

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printed books, exactly along the lines of the manuscripts, and into manuscripts (prayer books) engravings (printed) pictures were pasted.

But by 1470 at the latest, when the printing industry experienced a huge expansion, the twilight of the age of manuscripts was already at hand. Since the victory of the printed book was not to be halted, it could only be a well meaning but in the long run futile labour for abbot Johannes Trithemius (†1516), in his little book De laude scriptorum manualem that he had printed in Mainz in 1494, to extoll once again the copying of books as a monastic occupation and to describe how the non-writing brothers could also participate in the creation of the book.