

Appendix C: Description of Manuscripts

Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 75

Date: s.ix Size: 338×260mm Provenance: unknown, possibly St. Omer
Folios: 338 Contents: the 50 homilies.¹

Written in two columns of 21 lines each. Pages are ruled. Titles and first lines of homilies in red uncial, text in black minuscule, with capital initials in black or red. First three folios remade during the twelfth century.² A guard leaf at the end is taken from a twelfth-century lectionary. F. 1 and f. 151bis contain an incomplete list of the lections for the homilies. Two or three lines of the Gospel reading are given before each homily. Margins, either top, bottom or side (occasionally all three) have often been cut off. Contractions and ligatures are rare (there is a noticeable difference in the frequency of use of contractions in the ninth- and twelfth-century leaves).

There is a slight ductus at the end of lines, linking words split over two lines, to make word identification easier for the reader; effectively, this is hyphenation of long words at line ends. This is something to which Lupus of Ferrières paid particular attention.³ As we shall see below, there is evidence for similar levels of scholarship and scribal care in other manuscripts of the homilies.⁴ The punctuation has been emended. The earliest punctuation has points at two heights · and . in the same ink as the main hand.⁵ These are used in conjunction with capitals to give a fuller range of use, resulting in a hierarchy of low point, high point, point and capital letter.⁶ This was subsequently altered, probably during the twelfth century when the first leaves were remade, with a virgule being added to a point to make a *punctus versus*.⁷ This is a pattern we will see in later manuscripts, and have already seen in Bodley 819.⁸ ¶ (*paragraphus* signs) are occasionally used along with an initial to suggest a larger break.⁹ The small *diple* is also occasionally used to indicate biblical quotations, as we

1 A more complete listing of contents for manuscripts of the fifty homilies can be found on p. 164, appendix D, table 48; contents of the other homiliaries can be found in appendix D, pp. 169-80.

2 These also have two columns, with 37 lines per column.

3 C. H. Beeson, *Lupus of Ferrières as a Scribe and Text Critic: A Study of his Autograph Copy of Cicero's De Oratore*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), p. 14.

4 See pp. 110-113 below.

5 As on f. 13r, line 14 and line 6.

6 See pp. 130-6 below for further discussion of punctuation.

7 As at f. 13r, col.1, line 11.

8 For further examples, see p. 110, 112, 118-19; for discussion of Bodley 819 see chapter IV, p. 101.

9 Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 33. See for example f. 77v col. 1, line 16, f. 78r, col. 1 line 4, col. 2, line 5. The first two occurrences (homily I.18.90, p. 130, and line 96, p. 131) are to note the introduction of a new interpretation of the verse, and the third occurrence (I.18.107, p. 131) introduces a new verse.

saw in Bodley 819.¹⁰ The manuscript shows signs either of its use in a public context or its exemplar's use in such a context, as there are marginal numbers on ff. 96v and 97r. These numbers may indicate the division of the text into sections for reading at the divine office.¹¹ On ff. 8v and 9r, also f. 72v, col. 1, line 4, there are marginal attributions to Bede's sources in a contemporaneous hand. Bede himself instituted this practice of referencing; subsequent scribes did not always observe these marks, and they quite quickly drop out of the manuscript tradition.¹² It is notable that the scriptorium of Corbie, mother-house of the monastery of St Omer (the probable provenance of this manuscript, as some St Omer manuscripts are now preserved in Boulogne)¹³ was known to preserve the source-marks in Bede's commentaries.¹⁴ The scribes of this manuscript were inconsistent and only occasionally copied the source marks. This manuscript has marginal 'J's, used to mark out words from John's Gospel (the date of this hand is indeterminate) indicating a reader's interest in the use of this Gospel.¹⁵ This manuscript was probably also used for private reading or teaching: on f. 47v, lines 10-14 there is a marginal note – *de natura columbae* in a ninth- or tenth-century hand. This is next to the passage in homily I.15.81-97, discussing the appearance of the holy spirit in the form of a dove at Christ's baptism. This hand makes other marginal annotations indicating the contents of the main text (a sort of brief summary), for example on f. 73v. col. 1 line 15 *purificatio* appears next to a mention of baptism.¹⁶ Large 'N's (*nota* symbols) appear at times, indicating an area of specific interest.¹⁷ The explicit is: 'explicat omeliae/quas beatae/memoriae/beda presbyter/clare et luci/de exposuit/ numero quinquaginta'.¹⁸

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS C42 (277)

Date: s.ix Size: 286×205mm Provenance: St Gall Folios: 281

Contents: 50 homilies.

10 F. 14 for example. For discussion of the use of the *diple* in Bodley 819, see chapter IV, p. 91.

11 For evidence of the homilies being part of the divine office, see Introduction, p. 20.

12 See Laistner, 'The Library', p. 240 and Parkes, *The Scriptorium*, p. 17.

13 See p. 124 below.

14 D. Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen, 1990), p. 44.

15 See for example, f. 101v, 102r.

16 Other examples have a paragraphus symbol ¶ in the text, with a few words in the margin, as at f. 16v, *de templo*, and *epilogus*, marking out the exhortation at the end of the homily (II.1). F. 238r, col. 2, lines 2-5, (II.19) next to the text *inde etiam cantores statuit* we have 'psalm cui metodia de cantare clera'.

17 See for example f. 92r, col. 1, lines 7-8; I.24.112-3, where Bede states that the condemned cannot see Christ in his glory.

18 'End of the 50 homilies which Bede the priest of blessed memory clearly and lucidly explained.' A description can be found in *Catalogue Général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements de France IV* (Paris, 1872), pp. 620-21.

23 lines to the page. Rubrics in red capitals, text in minuscule.¹⁹ The Gospel reading is given before the homily, with the first few words in black capitals, the rest in minuscule. Initials in red and silver. Insular features.²⁰ Several hands. F.1 contains an index of the homilies in book I, though the first part is missing. F. 129 contains a list of the homilies in book II. F.1 also has a stamp of the Zurich library and the St Gall library. Punctuation: points at two heights, the *punctus interrogativus*, with the points later altered to *puncti versi* and *puncti elevati*. The small *diple* is occasionally seen, marking out Gospel quotations.²¹ The ink of the alterations is very close in colour to that of the main text, but a finer pen has been used.²²

The biblical text has not been repunctuated and was punctuated only with points at one height, the *punctus interrogativus* and *litterae notabiliores*.²³ The text has been frequently corrected; it is possible that some of the corrections resulted from a comparison of texts or speculative editing, rather than simple error correction, as we have words corrected which make sense in context. In homily I.5.80, the manuscript omits *agnoscerent*, and a later hand has added in the margin *meminissent*, knowing that a verb was missing²⁴ In line 90 of the same homily, the spelling of *adsumens* is corrected to *assumens*. Words have frequently been missed out, and have been added in the margin under a *signe de renvoi* in a contemporary hand.²⁵ I am unable to hazard a date for the other correcting hands. Such correcting work recalls the activity of Lupus of Ferrières. Beeson has noted Lupus' techniques as a textual critic. Lupus would actively seek out texts against which to compare copies already in his possession, and would correct the manuscripts, even engaging in conjectural editing.²⁶ While this manuscript is not associated with Lupus, it has certainly been subjected to some conjectural editing, as the addition of *meminissent* shows. This word is not present as a reading in any other surviving manuscript, and therefore we may reasonably assume that it is a conjectural addition by a ninth-century editor. This reminds us that the practice was not confined to Lupus, but was practised by other

19 See A. Bruckner, ed., *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica: III Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz: St Gallen II* (Geneva, 1938), p. 124.

20 See Hurst, CCSL 122, p. xvii.

21 F. 83v, line 9.

22 See f. 2r.

23 F. 36r, for example.

24 See for example f. 13r and v, homily I.5.80 and I.5.90. Ff. 135r, 142r, 181v and 237v all have insertions of omitted words.

25 For example, f. 30r.

26 Beeson, *Lupus of Ferrières*, p. 4, p. 34.

scholars.²⁷ At the bottom of the final leaf of most quires is a number enclosed in a small decorative feature. Occasionally the quire number within has been erased. This is a feature reminiscent of Bodley 819. Marginal ÷ appear. These are occasionally used as *signes de renvoi* for corrections, but may also function as marks for liturgical use, indicating sections of the homily to be used as a reading, as they are often regularly spaced, and have no text associated with them in the margins. However, some homilies have marginal numbers indicating lections, which perhaps makes it more likely that the ÷ function as signs to draw the attention of the reader.²⁸ Lines 2-5 of the Gospel reading on f. 53v are neumed. F. 242v is marked up for reading, with ' over the syllable marking things to be stressed, and dots over short vowels, thus: *célébramus*.²⁹ The punctuation of such sections seems more frequent than elsewhere. These marks are quite different from neumes. The presence of both these features suggests strongly that it was a manuscript used in the liturgy, to be sung and spoken. St Gall, Klosterbibliothek, Codex 85 (Bede's commentary on Luke) contains layout features similar to those used in Wearmouth-Jarrow manuscripts – long line layout, uncial lemmata, local minuscule for text, source mark for quotations. Zurich C42 shows a few, but not all, of these features, and also some other features of Wearmouth-Jarrow manuscripts. It is therefore likely that the St Gall scriptorium was influenced by the layout of Wearmouth-Jarrow manuscripts and that they adopted those conventions for their own use.³⁰ Zurich C42 is slightly older than St Gall 85 (which dates from the late eighth century), and therefore some of the Wearmouth-Jarrow-like features may have been subsumed in the Carolingian norms of presentation.

Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 47

Date: s.xii Size: 250×205mm Provenance: unknown Folios: 135

Contents: 50 homilies.³¹

This is the only manuscript to contain an illuminated frontispiece, of a scribe, facing right, eyes turned heavenwards with a pen in his left hand (with a maniple over his wrist) and a book stand in front of him. His robe is red, and at the corner are four

²⁷ See the editorial intervention in Munich 18120 and Munich 4533 and 4534. See pp. 112-3 and pp. 118-9.

²⁸ For example, f. 249v, 250r.

²⁹ Boyle, "*Vox paginae*", p. 24. See also ff. 243r. This marking appears sporadically thereafter.

³⁰ See Parkes, *The Scriptorium*, p. 17.

³¹ Description in E. G. Vogel, *Serapeum* X (1849), p. 122.

winged evangelist symbols. F. 2 has a list of homilies in book I; f. 65v-66r has a list of those in book II. Titles in red capitals, text in black minuscule. Initials in red, blue and gold. Small *diple* used to mark out Gospel quotations.³² Punctuation: low point, *punctus elevatus*, *punctus interrogativus*. Marginal comments exist, which tend to consider the nature and sacrifice of Christ.³³ *Maria* is capitalised throughout the manuscript. A later hand has left marginal symbols, Ø sometimes with a direction to genuflect.³⁴ Correspondences to Migne's edition in PL have been pencilled in.³⁵

Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18120

Date: s.xi Size: quarto Provenance: Tegernsee Folios: 187

Contents: 50 homilies.³⁶

Titles red capitals, text black minuscule. Initials in red, green and blue. The first line of the lection is given, in minuscule. F. 1r contains a note stating that the manuscript belonged to the monastery at Tegernsee. F. 2r list of lections for book I, f. 85r has a list of lections for book II. 30 lines per page. Punctuation: points at two heights, *punctus elevatus*, *punctus versus*, *punctus interrogativus*. Later repunctuated, with *punctus elevatus* being changed to *punctus versus*, and points being changed to *punctus versus*.³⁷ The small *diple* marking Gospel quotation appears at times.³⁸ Some words are corrected in a thirteenth-century hand, presumably against the homiliary of Paul the Deacon contained in Munich 4533 and 4534 (both manuscripts from Benediktbeuren), which also shows corrections in the same hand to homilies by Bede.³⁹ Some homilies are marked for reading.⁴⁰ At the first occurrence in homily I.13 the name *Benedicto* is capitalised, and there is a marginal note saying: 'Non loquitur hic de sancto benedicto ordinis nostri legislatore, sed de alio quodam huius nominis abbate.'⁴¹ There are occasional marginal comments, in hands of various

³² F. 2r, lines 11-12.

³³ F. 13v, line 16: opposite *coheredem christi posse fieri*, 'dat exemplum evangelista R et ipse filius dei hominem fieri', f. 24v.

³⁴ F. 89r, 90r.

³⁵ Bede, *Homiliae*, PL 90.

³⁶ C. Halm, *et al.*, ed., *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis III.ii Codices Latini* (Munich, 1844), p. 134.

³⁷ See f. 6r.

³⁸ See f. 125v for example.

³⁹ F. 6v of this manuscript.

⁴⁰ F. 8r, ff. 16v-17v, amongst others.

⁴¹ F. 38v. 'This passage is not talking about St Benedict, who wrote the rule for our order, but of some other abbot of that name.' This homily is, of course, about Benedict Biscop. See Introduction p. 9 and

dates.⁴²

Paris, B.n.F, MS lat. 2369

Date: s.x Size: 275×255mm Provenance: Jura, later owned by J. A. Thou
Folios: 221⁴³ Contents: most of the 50 homilies, plus a homily by Gregory
the Great on f. 106v-110v.

Incipits in red capitals, rubric in uncial. First lines of the Gospel reading are in black capitals, thereafter, two or three more lines of the reading in Caroline minuscule. Written in one column of 26 lines.

F. 1r has a donation formula of uncertain date. Lower down on the same page there is a thirteenth-century note from a reader: 'ego non peto librum expositionis bede super evangelia/sed peto librum expositionis bede super psalmos perscribet'.⁴⁴ We see here that Bede was a sought-after author in this time and also that the cataloguing at the reader's library left something to be desired. It is unclear to what work the reader is referring; Bede never wrote a commentary on Psalms. He wrote an abbreviated psalter, but this comment would suggest something more extensive.⁴⁵ It is probably therefore by some other author, and has become attributed to Bede by the thirteenth century. F. 1v contains a formula to be used on Maundy Thursday for the reconciliation of penitents. Insular abbreviations are used.⁴⁶ Marginal and interlinear corrections are common.⁴⁷ Punctuation: points at two heights and the *punctus elevatus* and the *punctus interrogativus* are found. The punctuation has subsequently been emended, with some of the lower points being converted into *puncti elevati* and some of the higher points being turned into *puncti versi*.⁴⁸ *Litterae notabiliores* are used in conjunction with these to provide a pausal hierarchy. Word separation of prefixes is erratic. The smaller form of the *diple* is used to indicate a quotation from the Gospel

p. 121 below for more discussion.

42 See for example, ff. 80r, line 29; 132r, line 25, where the comment is in a thirteenth-century hand.

43 P. Lauer, ed., *Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue général des manuscrits latins II* (Paris, 1940), p. 428.

44 'I do not seek Bede's book of exposition of the Gospels, but I seek the book of exposition Bede wrote on the psalms.'

45 Bede, 'Collectio Psalterii Bedae', in *Liber hymnorum*, ed. J. Fraipont, CCSL 122, pp. 452-70. For a discussion of this work, see B. Ward, *Bede and the Psalter*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1991). However, M. Gorman doubts the authenticity of this work, 'The Canon of Bede's Work', p. 416.

46 See Hurst, CCSL 122, p. xviii.

47 See for example f. 2v, line 4, f. 3r, line 18.

48 This occurs on ff. 108-111. It seems to be confined to these leaves. On these leaves in the same coloured ink as the punctuation alterations is a marginal note: *Angelus cuius nostros* (f. 110v, line 11, on homily II.10). See discussion below, pp. 135-6.

reading, but this is not done systematically.⁴⁹ Lections are indicated in the margin, in groups of twelve.⁵⁰ These groups may run across from homily to homily. Occasionally these marginal numbers have been erased.⁵¹ Ff. 147-8 have only 20 lines per page. F. 149 returns to 21 lines per page. The last leaves are badly faded and barely visible. The evidence strongly suggests that this book had a liturgical function – especially given the formula for reconciliation included at the beginning of the manuscript.

Paris, B.n.F., MS lat. 2370

Date: s.xi-xii Size: 335×260mm Provenance: Jura Folios: 112

Contents: most of the 50 homilies.⁵²

F. 112 contains three documents concerning security given on the goods of a monastery in the Jura, witnessed by Aymery de Sevin, Guillaume de Chalmiac and Guibert de Vin. These date from the twelfth century.⁵³ Written in two columns of 39 lines. Coloured initials, decorated with pen at the beginning of each homily. Incipits in capital. Rubrics in uncial and rustic capitals, for both reading and homily. Text in minuscule. Contains insular contractions. Punctuation: points at two heights, *punctus versus* and *punctus elevatus*.⁵⁴ F. 1 contains a list of lections for book I of the homilies, f. 53 for book II. Several scribes worked on this manuscript, with changes of hand perceptible at folios 5, 12, 25, and 49. The initials have features reminiscent of Insular art, they are formed of animals. This may suggest closeness to an insular original. There are no marginal numerals or other indications of liturgical use, nor are there marginal notes indicating private reading.

Paris, B.n.F., MS Nou. acq. lat. 1450

Date: s.xi Size: 334×245mm Provenance: Cluny Folios: 129ff

Contents: Most of the 50 homilies.

Written in two columns of 39-45 lines (the number varies throughout the manuscript).

Insular abbreviations used.⁵⁵ F. 1 lists the Gospel readings for book I, f. 58 for book

⁴⁹ The first example can be found on f. 3v.

⁵⁰ As at ff. 27-36.

⁵¹ Ff. 42v-43r.

⁵² See list in table 48, p. 165.

⁵³ Lauer, *Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue général II*, p. 429.

⁵⁴ F. 25r.

⁵⁵ L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds de Cluny* (Paris, 1884), pp. 86-90.

2. Lemma and incipits in red capitals. Text in black minuscule, in two hands, changing at f. 49r. The first three to four lines of each Gospel reading are given. Homilies have decorated initials, some of which are historiated initials, as at the beginning of homily I.22, where the initial 'I' is formed as a woman next to a banner on which is written *mulier cananea*. The homily is indeed about the Canaanite woman.⁵⁶ Historiated initials probably originated in insular manuscripts.⁵⁷ Smaller initials are used at the beginnings of sentences. Abbreviations are frequently used. Three punctuation marks are used: low point, *punctus elevatus*, *punctus interrogativus*.⁵⁸ The small version of the *diple* is used to indicate quotation from the Gospels.⁵⁹ An 'N', for *nota*, is often found in the margin (see f. 3r-v), possibly indicating private reading. Other marginal comments include *angeli* (f. 17v) and a more extensive discussion on f. 65v. This latter is very difficult to read, and is severely truncated by the trimming of the vellum leaf. There are frequent marginal corrections.⁶⁰ On ff. 68v and 69r † (vel) appears in the margin, next to the word *autem*. This symbol also appears opposite *ergo* in margins.⁶¹ A marginal 'F' appears on 69r, col. 2, line 28, opposite the words *tristabantur discipuli* and on f. 71r, col. 1, line 38 next to *Pater autem nec*. Ff. 94-6 have marginal numerals, usually used to mark out lections, though in this case they may have been transferred from the exemplar, as they are infrequently used. The manuscript, therefore, may have been used in the liturgy, but is more likely to have been used for private study, particularly if it were produced at Cluny, a foundation in which the Benedictine practice of private devotional reading was of great importance. However, there may well not be a sharp distinction between private and liturgical use since the former might well inform the mindset of the monk undertaking private reading.

Karlsruhe, Hof- und Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. 19

Date: s.ix Size: 402×314mm Provenance: Reichenau Folios: 147

Contents: Paul the Deacon's homiliary, summer season.⁶²

⁵⁶ F. 38.

⁵⁷ J. J. G. Alexander, *The Decorated Letter* (London, 1978), p. 9 and p. 11.

⁵⁸ See f. 1, col. 2, line 2.

⁵⁹ F. 2v, col 2, line 2.

⁶⁰ F. 21v, for example, where *ad discenda* is added in the margin.

⁶¹ F. 118r-v.

⁶² A. Holder, *Die Handschriften der Grossherzoglich Badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe V: Die Reichenauer Handschriften I* (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 69-78. See appendix D, pp. 169-74 for list of contents.

Uses red and gold capitals for the rubric, capitals for the beginning of the homily and decorated initial letters. Thirty-four lines per column, two columns. Punctuation: low point, point with up-right pointing arrow, and *punctus interrogativus*. Smaller form of the *diple* used to indicate quotation from lection. Manuscript has marginal numbers indicating lections.⁶³ It lacks marginal comments and may perhaps have been primarily used as a liturgical book, as indeed it was intended to be.

Karlsruhe, Hof- und Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. 37

Date: s.x^{ex} Size: 370×279mm Provenance: Reichenau Folios: 194

Contents: Homiliary for Sundays and feast days.⁶⁴

F. 39r was rewritten in s.xiv. 2 columns of 28 lines. Large round Caroline hand. Initials at beginnings of homilies in red, blue and green. Initials at beginning of sentences. Rubrics in red capitals. Punctuation: low point, *punctus elevatus*, *punctus interrogativus*, *punctus versus* (rarer). Occasional abbreviations. Marginal numbers indicate lection divisions. Bede's homilies are much abridged (to approximately one-third of their length), making them comparable in length to the other homilies included in this collection. At least two scribes. F. 22r has marginal comments (most of which have been cut off when the leaves were trimmed, possibly for rebinding) which may suggest that the manuscript was read and studied privately.⁶⁵ From f. 74 onwards, the outer margins are badly damaged and difficult to read. The small *diple* makes occasional appearances, marking out biblical quotations.⁶⁶

St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 433

Date: s.ix Size: 300×425mm Provenance: St Gall Pages: 708

Contents: Paul the Deacon's homiliary – Sundays and saints' days.⁶⁷

Paul the Deacon's homiliary contains many of Bede's Gospel homilies, as well as homilies by other fathers of the Church.⁶⁸ Titles in red rustic capitals or uncial, fine initials in silver or gold. Text in black minuscule. Two columns, 27 lines. Pages 1-6

⁶³ F. 36v, for example.

⁶⁴ Holder, *Die Handschriften V*, pp. 140-55; see appendix D, pp. 174-6.

⁶⁵ The few words still visible suggest that they were not liturgical directions.

⁶⁶ F. 186r, col.1 lines 14-17.

⁶⁷ See Bruckner, *Scriptorium medii aevi Helvetica III*, p. 105; appendix D, pp. 176-9.

⁶⁸ For a discussion of the connections between Paul the Deacon's homiliary and Bede's homilies, see Introduction, pp. 19-20.

contains a list of the homilies in this manuscript, though another leaf at the beginning has been lost. Punctuation: points at two heights and the *punctus interrogativus*, more rarely the *punctus elevatus*. Initials occur at the beginning of sentences.⁶⁹ Frequent use of abbreviation. Corrections are infrequent – the manuscript is very accurate.⁷⁰ On page 12 begins a life of St Gall. It has numbered sections for reading, each beginning with a red initial. Page 18 has ‘IN OCTAVA SANCTI GALLI’ and a new set of numbers begins midway through the life. A marginal cross marks the end of the last section of reading. This practice of numbering is often followed in the manuscript. There are occasional marginal comments, indicating private reading, in several different hands, dating from the tenth, thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁷¹ On page 447, Bede’s homily for the feast of Benedict Biscop (I.13) has been converted to be an encomium for St Gall, simply by changing the relevant names.⁷² This manuscript was originally intended for liturgical use, and later became used for private study – as will be discussed further below.

St Gall Stiftsbibliothek, MS 434

Date: s.ix Size: 305×415mm Provenance: St Gall Pages: 342

Contents: Paul the Deacon’s homiliary – octave of Pentecost to beginning of Advent.⁷³ Two columns of 27 lines. Titles in red rustic capitals. Text in a minuscule hand.⁷⁴ Pages 1-5 contains an index. Pages 6-7 are blank, though ruled. Punctuation: low point, *punctus elevatus*, high point, *punctus interrogativus*. Ductus at the end of hyphenated words to indicate run-over to next line (this is also seen in the Boulogne 75 manuscript). Occasional marginal comment. ‘R/’ in the margin indicates certain phrases may have been used as a responsory.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ See page 62 for examples.

⁷⁰ See page 141 for a rare example.

⁷¹ See for example pages 298, 452 and 486.

⁷² This is a not-uncommon practice with saints’ lives, where on occasions the only difference between two lives is the name of the saint. H. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, trans. D. Attwater (Dublin, 1998), p. 76.

⁷³ See pp. 179-80.

⁷⁴ Bruckner, *Scriptorium medii aevi Helvetica III*, p. 105.

⁷⁵ See page 294.

Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4533

Date: s.xiⁱⁿ ⁷⁶ Size: quarto Provenance: Benediktbeuren Folios: 243

Contents: Homiliary of Paul the Deacon, Advent to Holy Saturday.⁷⁷

Titles in capitals, text in minuscule. Two columns of twenty-five lines. f. 1-3v contains a list of contents. At the beginning of f. 1r, there is a general statement of content, written in red, blue and yellow capitals. On f. 3v, after the capitulae, we have a smaller hand, in different ink.⁷⁸ Punctuation: low point, *punctus elevatus*, *punctus interrogativus*. Later, the *punctus versus* was added, and some points, a very few, were changed to *puncti elevati*.⁷⁹ There are some marginal comments, though most are illegible.⁸⁰ The manuscript itself is hard to read; many abbreviations are used, minims are very unclear and words are often run together. The small *diple* is used for biblical quotation. There are indications of liturgical use beyond the usual marginal numbers.⁸¹ there are symbols in the margin, often crosses or struck-through circles Ø, with accompanying text which was probably used as a response.⁸²

Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4534

Date: s.xiⁱⁿ Size: quarto Provenance: Benediktbeuren Folios: 285

Contents: Homiliary of Paul the Deacon, Easter to Advent.

Titles in capitals, text in minuscule. Two columns of 25 lines. F. 1r contains a list of feasts, written badly using many abbreviations; ff. 1v-4r contain a list of contents. Punctuation: low point, *punctus elevatus*, *punctus interrogativus*, occasional *punctus versus*. Some points are changed to *puncti versi*. Small *diple* is used. Some homilies are marked for reading.

Cologne, Dombibliothek, Codex 172

Date: c.800 Size: 288×176mm Provenance: Mondsee Folios: 132

⁷⁶ F. Wiegand dates this manuscript and Clm 4534 to s.x-xi. 'Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen', *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche* I.II (Leipzig, 1897), p. 7.

⁷⁷ See appendix E, p. 180.

⁷⁸ At the bottom of this leaf are some words noting a connection to the great Benedictine scholar, Mabillon. The entire preface to Paul the Deacon's collection, as published in PL is written here.

⁷⁹ See f. 30v, for example.

⁸⁰ F. 34v.

⁸¹ Which can be seen on ff. 72-3 for example.

⁸² F. 69v, 'Tu autem domine lumen de lumine tu dignatus es hodie nasci miserere nostri.'; see also f. 73v.

Contents: homilies by various authors for Christmas to Ascension.⁸³

In a good Carolingian hand. Index at the front of 65 homilies. Format: lection of the day, then relevant homilies and sermons. 20 lines to the page. Small form of *diple* marks quotation from the lection. Two hands. Punctuated with low point, *punctus elevatus* and *punctus versus*. The manuscript contains frequent extracts from Bede's commentaries on Acts and the Seven Catholic Epistles, as well as homilies by Gregory, Augustine and Leo. This collection contains homilies on books of the Bible, but does not include Gospel homilies. I examined this manuscript to ascertain whether copies of Paul the Deacon's homiliary typically had a layout differing from other contemporary homiliaries.⁸⁴ As this homiliary originates from Mondsee, an area strong in Insular connections (which many of the manuscripts of the Gospel homilies have), its presentation habits may be compared with those of the manuscripts of Bede's Gospel homilies. It thus allows us to determine to what extent the scribes are copying the features of their exemplars, and to what extent the Wearmouth-Jarrow layout innovations had permeated Carolingian scribal practice. This manuscript demonstrates that both are the case, to a certain extent. The abbreviations (and in some cases the numerals denoting lections) have clearly been copied from the exemplar, but other features are Carolingian in origin. Punctuation in ninth-century manuscripts seems to be copied from the exemplar, but for collections such as that of Paul the Deacon, where either there is a Carolingian exemplar, or the collection is compiled from several exemplars, the three-mark system of punctuation (point, *punctus versus* and *punctus elevatus*) is used from the start.⁸⁵ More generally, it seems that there was a Carolingian convention for homiliary layout, including a table of contents, and careful rubrication of the individual homilies.

This manuscript also illustrates the importance of biblical commentaries as a source for homiliary compilers. Paul the Deacon and the compilers of the two Karlsruhe manuscripts used extracts from commentaries to fill out their volumes. Sometimes the extracts are marked as such: *sermo ex commentario*; at other times they are not: extracts from Bede's commentaries are often just described as *sermo Bedae*. Some of these Bedan examples are part of what J. Leclercq has described as

83 <http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/ceec.cgi/kleioc/0010/exec/katk/%22kn28%2D0172%22> last accessed August 2005.

84 See pp. 127-8 below for discussion of layout.

85 As mentioned above in chapter IV, the three-mark system of punctuation arose in the late eighth century, and was first used in liturgical manuscripts, which accurately matches the intended use of Paul the Deacon's homiliary. Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 36.

the ‘third book’ of Bede’s homilies:⁸⁶ a collection of genuine Bedan material, extracted from his commentaries.⁸⁷ It is clear that such a collection enters circulation early (if not exactly this collection, which J. Leclercq assembles from Giles’ edition); in the early manuscripts of Paul the Deacon’s homiliary, they are already labelled as *sermo* with no hint that they originate from a commentary.⁸⁸ Paul was clearly aware that he was making extracts from commentaries, as noted above. He also clearly distinguished between Bede’s fifty homilies, which he describes in terms matching those found in *HE* V.21, and these *sermones* of Bede’s, which suggests that by the year 800, a separate volume of Bedan florilegia was circulating. It could perhaps have originated in his monastery in the years following his death, or be associated with the school at York and circulated by Alcuin. However, as J. Leclercq points out, no manuscript of the entire collection he lists in his article has ever existed (or at least survived),⁸⁹ nor is any such manuscript of commentary extracts known to survive, though perhaps a search of florilegia would be fruitful. J. Leclercq suggests searching in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for the constitution of the collection; I suggest that the nucleus of the collection should be sought in the Carolingian period, as there seems to have been a specific source for Paul the Deacon to use.

The layout of the manuscripts of Paul the Deacon’s homiliary and of the Cologne homiliary demonstrates the importance of layout to the Carolingian scribes, and the unity of style across the empire. Direct influence from Wearmouth-Jarrow is difficult to demonstrate, but clarity was important to scribes on both sides of the sea and the Carolingian scribes could not fail to be impressed by the layout of any Wearmouth-Jarrow manuscripts they happened to see.

⁸⁶ See appendix D.

⁸⁷ J. Leclercq, ‘Le iii^e livre’, pp. 211-18.

⁸⁸ Munich 4533, from the beginning of the eleventh century and St Gall 433, 434, both s.ix.

⁸⁹ J. Leclercq, ‘Le iii^e livre’, p. 218.