

# THE ANNOTATED BOOK IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

UTRECHT STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL LITERACY

# UTRECHT STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL LITERACY

## *General Editor*

Marco Mostert (Universiteit Utrecht)

## *Editorial Board*

Gerd Althoff (Westfälische-Wilhelms-Universität Münster)

Michael Clanchy (University of London)

Erik Kwakkel (Universiteit Leiden)

Mayke de Jong (Universiteit Utrecht)

Rosamond McKitterick (University of Cambridge)

Árpád Orbán (Universiteit Utrecht)

Armando Petrucci (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa)

Richard H. Rouse (UCLA)



THE ANNOTATED BOOK  
IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES:  
PRACTICES OF READING  
AND WRITING

Edited by

Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude



BREPOLS

## British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

© 2017 – Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2017/0095/302

ISBN 978-2-503-56948-2

e-ISBN 978-2-503-56949-9

DOI: 10.1484/M.USML-EB.5.111620

ISSN 2034-9416

e-ISSN 2294-8317

Printed on acid-free paper



## Contents

Abbreviations	ix
List of Illustrations	xi
Introduction	
MARIKEN TEEUWEN and IRENE VAN RENSWOUDE	1
<i>Section I: Scholars and Their Books: Practices and Methods of Annotating</i>	
Voices from the Edge: Annotating Books in the Carolingian Period	
MARIKEN TEEUWEN	13
Technical Signs in Early Medieval Manuscripts Copied in Irish Minuscule	
EVINA STEINOVÁ	37
A <i>Peregrinus</i> 's Vade Mecum: MS Bern 363 and the 'Circle of Sedulius Scottus'	
GIORGIA VOCINO	87
The Making of the <i>De praedestinatione</i> of Ratramnus of Corbie (Including the Identification of a New Personal Manuscript)	
WARREN PEZÉ	125
The Making of a Tenth-Century Self-Commentary: The Glosses to Atto of Vercelli's <i>Perpendiculum</i> and Their Sources	
GIACOMO VIGNODELLI	157
<i>Section II: Textual Scholarship by Means of Annotation</i>	
The Earliest Anonymous Exposition of Priscian: Two Manuscripts and Their Glosses	
FRANCK CINATO	199

Source Marks in Scholia: Evidence from an Early Medieval Gospel Manuscript MARKUS SCHIEGG	237
Tironische Tituli: Die Verwendung stenographischer Marginalien zur inhaltlichen Erschließung von Texten des frühen Mittelalters MARTIN HELLMANN	263
Glossen aus einem einzigen Buchstaben ANDREAS NIEVERGELT	285
Space as Paratext: Scribal Practice in the Medieval Edition of Ammianus Marcellinus JUSTIN A. STOVER	305
The Margin as Editorial Space: Upgrading <i>Dioscorides alphabeticus</i> in Eleventh-Century Monte Cassino ERIK KWAKKEL	323
Making <i>notae</i> for Scholarly Retrieval: A Franciscan Case Study ALBERTO CEVOLINI	343
<i>Section III: Private Study and Classroom Reading</i>	
Reading and the Lemma in Early Medieval Textual Culture SINÉAD O’SULLIVAN	371
Reading between the Lines of Virgil’s Early Medieval Manuscripts SILVIA OTTAVIANO	397
Notker Labeo’s Translation / Commentaries: Changing Form and Function over Time ANNA GROTHANS	427
Transmitting Knowledge by Text and Illustration: The Case of MS Leiden, UB, VLO 15 AD VAN ELS	465
Monastic Practices of Shared Reading as Means of Learning MICOL LONG	501
Reading Horace alongside Other Classics: MS British Library, Harley 2724 PAULINA TARASKIN	529



*Section IV: Annotating Orthodox and Heterodox Knowledge*

The Censor’s Rod: Textual Criticism, Judgment, and Canon Formation in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages IRENE VAN RENSWOUDE	555
Text and Context: The Annotations in MS Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare XXII (20) LUCIANA CUPPO	597
Studying Jerome in a Carolingian Monastery JANNEKE RAAIJMAKERS	621
Deux témoins d’Ambroise sur le Psaume 118 et leur ancêtre PIERRE CHAMBERT-PROTAT	647
The Annotation of Patristic Texts as Curatorial Activity? The Case of Marginalia to Augustine’s <i>De Genesi ad litteram</i> in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages JESSE KESKIAHO	673
Reading the Catholic Epistles: Glossing Practices in Early Medieval Wissembourg CINZIA GRIFONI	705
Theological Issues and Traces of Controversies in Manuscripts Transmitting Works of the Church Fathers PATRIZIA CARMASSI	743
 <i>Epilogue</i>	
The Search for Glossed Clauses: An Autobiographical Account of a Corbie Study DAVID GANZ	767
Indices	773





## Section III

### Private Study and Classroom Reading



# Reading and the Lemma in Early Medieval Textual Culture

SINÉAD O’SULLIVAN

Reading in the Middle Ages is often examined for its different forms (oral and silent; public and private; slow and rapid; meditative and ratiocinative), its contexts (monastic, clerical, and secular), its roots (classical underpinnings), and its roles (acquisition of literacy and comprehension). It is integral to the study of disciplines such as grammar and rhetoric, and provides insight into the interplay between the vernacular and Latin in the medieval world.<sup>1</sup> This paper focuses on a kind of reading not aimed at facilitating rapid comprehension and ease of access to written information. It studies the lemma, the word or phrase in the text that is glossed, as a clue to reading heavily annotated texts that, I argue, often demanded an engaged level of concentration. The lemma thus demonstrates a reading practice that is different to but runs alongside what Malcolm Parkes has termed the “grammar of legibility”, which

<sup>1</sup> Its importance for this interplay is exemplified by Anna Grotans’s study of the pedagogical methods deployed by Notker at the abbey of St. Gall, in which texts were made “visually more legible and aurally more intelligible” through translation, commentary, punctuation and various verbal cues. See A.A. GROTRANS, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 2.

---

*The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing*, ed. M.J. TEEUWEN and I. VAN RENSWOUDE, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 371-396.

emerged in the seventh century and became more prevalent on the Continent in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.<sup>2</sup> Parkes together with Paul Saenger and others have shown that the graphical techniques for promoting legibility were fundamental preconditions for the expansion of written culture, the rise of the universities, the development of the scholastic model of reading, and the late medieval book.<sup>3</sup>

In the early medieval period, however, there existed alongside this 'grammar' a kind of reading that was by nature slow, complex, open-ended, non-linear, fragmentary, multivalent, and requiring effort. Even in an age that witnessed the spread of the highly legible Caroline minuscule, the evidence of the lemma in early medieval glossed manuscripts attests to a reading practice not always focussed on clarity but one which is nevertheless important in that it coheres with key aspects of early medieval textual and material culture, in particular with book format and layout, as well as with well established epistemological goals and hermeneutic strategies.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> M. B. PARKES, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992); ID., "Reading, copying and interpreting a text in the early Middle Ages", in: *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. G. CAVALLO and R. CHARTIER, trans. L. G. COCHRANE (Oxford, 1999), pp. 90-102; P. SAENGER, "Silent reading: Its impact on late medieval script and society", *Viator* 13 (1982), pp. 367-414.

<sup>3</sup> For the variety of new graphic conventions that heightened legibility, see PARKES, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 20-29, and also Paul Saenger, who identifies phases in the development of word separation from "aerated" to "canonical separation". P. SAENGER, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, CA, 1997). For the use of aerated text before the seventh century, see K. MOFFAT, "The 'grammar of legibility': Word separation in Ogam inscriptions", *Peritia* 22-23 (2011-2012), pp. 281-294. For the scholastic model of reading and the late medieval book with its new retrieval systems, tools and scholarly apparatus, see J. HAMESSE, "The scholastic model of reading", in: *A History of Reading in the West*, pp. 103-119. and M.B. PARKES, "The influence of the concepts of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* on the development of the book", in: *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J.G. ALEXANDER and M.T. GIBSON (Oxford, 1976), pp. 115-141. Very often scholars focus on major shifts in the history of reading, e.g. from the monastic, ruminative reading of the early Middle Ages to "the more public, structured reading processes" of the central and later Middle Ages, as in Suzanne Reynolds's study of glosses on Horace's *Satires* in twelfth-century manuscripts. See S. REYNOLDS, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* (Cambridge, 1996: *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 27), p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Caroline minuscule, which had few ligatures and variant letter forms, was, according to David Ganz, "particularly clear to read". For this and the focus on the "transformation of the written word" in the Carolingian age, see D. GANZ, "The preconditions for Caroline minuscule", *Viator* 18 (1987), pp. 23-44, at pp. 23 and 42-43. See also PARKES, *Pause and Effect*, p. 33, for Carolingian efforts to produce *litterae absolutae* ('invariable letters'), which he describes as "the graphic counterpart to their attempts to achieve a rationalized system of orthography". Despite

Like Susan Reynolds, I endeavour to give the term ‘reading’ “textual and historical substance” through a study of specific glossed texts.<sup>5</sup> As the starting point for interpretation of a text, the lemma is a good place to look for matters relating to “the *how* and the *what* of reading”.<sup>6</sup> It represents a deliberate choice, a dividing up of a text.<sup>7</sup> Of course, the lemma and its accompanying gloss also provide insight into a reading aimed at heightening lexical access and increasing comprehension of the text. Disambiguation and the resolution of ambiguity were important goals as witnessed by glosses whose function was technical, namely to clarify syntax and grammar and to provide lexical equivalents (e.g. synonyms, negated antonyms, hypernyms, and homonyms). But the lemma likewise attests to a mode of reading that was painstaking. To begin with, the lemma could comprise a single word, phrase, sentence, or a whole passage. Furthermore, the relationship of lemma to gloss was not always clearly signalled, and the *mise en page* of early medieval glossed manuscripts with crowding, layering, non-linear placement of information, as well as marginal and interlinear glosses linked in various ways, often blurred the specific connexion between lemma and gloss. Such circumstances frequently forced the reader to prise apart, even to assemble information. In such a context, reading was far from straightforward. This article argues that this kind of reading is in line with the ruminative imperative of medieval exegesis, with the open-ended nature of *collectio* and commentary,<sup>8</sup> and with the quiet concentration of meditative reading, a concentration reflected in terms associated, as Saenger notes, with reading with suppressed voice, terms such as *in silentio*, *sub silentio*, and *taciter* found in monastic and religious customaries.<sup>9</sup>

the innovations, everything contributed, as A. PETRUCCI, “Reading in the Middle Ages”, in: ID., *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, trans. C.M. RADDING (New Haven, CT., 1995), pp. 132-144, at p. 134, observed, “to keeping reading extremely slow, attentive, almost stumbling.”

<sup>5</sup> REYNOLDS, *Medieval Reading*, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See C.F. BRIGGS, “Literacy, reading, and writing in the medieval West”, *Journal of Medieval History* 26.4 (2000), pp. 397-420, at p. 398.

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., C. SHUTTLEWORTH KRAUS, “Introduction: Reading commentaries / commentaries as reading”, in: *The Classical Commentary: History, Practices, Theory*, ed. R.K. GIBSON and C. SHUTTLEWORTH KRAUS (Leiden, 2002: *Mnemosyne Supplement* 232), pp. 1-27, at pp. 10 and 13.

<sup>8</sup> Steven Fraade speaks of the potential of commentary to be open ended. S.D. FRAADE, *From Tradition to Commentary: Torah and its Interpretation in the Midrash Sifre to Deuteronomy* (Albany, NY, 1991), pp. 8-9.

<sup>9</sup> SAENGER, *Space between Words*, p. 397, n. 8. For the idea of silence as “a hermeneutic space that is emptied of outer, physical sound so that it can be opened to inner, permanent

### *The Nature of the Evidence*

Before studying the lemma, the ordering device for commentary in early medieval manuscripts, it is necessary to recall certain challenges of analysing glosses as evidence for the scholarly activity of reading. Crucially, in what context(s) glosses were used is uncertain.<sup>10</sup> A clearly identifiable reader thus remains out of reach. However, though actual readers prove elusive, we know of certain scholars who consulted specific glosses, for example Heiric of Auxerre, who, in the third quarter of the ninth century, made use of the oldest gloss tradition on Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* in his copy of the *Liber glossarum* now in MS London, BL, Harley 2735.<sup>11</sup> John Scotus Eriugena and Remigius of Auxerre also drew on the same gloss tradition for their commentaries on Martianus. Moreover, cross-fertilisation across different gloss traditions suggests the presence of readers excerpting information from glossed manuscripts for their own annotations.<sup>12</sup> Overlap between early

knowledge", see B. STOCK, *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA, 1996), p. 104.

<sup>10</sup> An important debate oscillates between the theories of glosses as classroom teaching versus private reading. For the *locus classicus*, see M. LAPIDGE, "The study of Latin texts in late Anglo-Saxon England: [1] The evidence of Latin glosses", in: *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. N. BROOKS (Leicester, 1982), pp. 99-140, and G.R. WIELAND, "The glossed manuscript: Classbook or library book?", *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), pp. 153-173. See also M. TEEUWEN, "The pursuit of secular learning: The oldest commentary tradition on Martianus Capella", *Journal of Medieval Latin* 18 (2008), pp. 36-51; and REYNOLDS, *Medieval Reading*, p. 2, for glosses as "traces of pedagogic discourse".

<sup>11</sup> For Heiric's hand, see B. BISCHOFF, "Paläographie und frühmittelalterliche Klassikerüberlieferung", in: ID., *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1966-1981), 3 (1981), pp. 55-72, at pp. 66-67. See also D. GANZ, "Liber Glossarum avec notes de la main d'Heiric d'Auxerre", in: *Saint-Germain d'Auxerre: Intellectuals et artistes dans l'Europe carolingienne, IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Auxerre, 1990), pp. 42-43; ID., "Heiric d'Auxerre: Glossateur du *Liber glossarum*", in: *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre de Murethach à Remi 830-908*, ed. D. IOGNA-PRAT, C. JEUDY, and G. LOBRICHON (Paris, 1991), pp. 297-305; S. O'SULLIVAN, *Glossae aeui Carolini in libros I-II Martiani Capellae "De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii"* (Turnhout, 2010: CCCM 237), pp. XIV-XV; M. ALLEN, "Poems by Lupus, written by Heiric: An endpaper for Édouard Jeuneau (MS Paris, BNF, lat. 7496, f. 249v)", in: *Eriugena and Creation: Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference on Eriugenian Studies, Held in Honour of Édouard Jeuneau*, ed. W. OTTEN and M. ALLEN (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 105-136. See also Franck Cinato's description of the Harley manuscript online at <http://liber-glossarum.linguist.univ-paris-diderot.fr/node/301>.

<sup>12</sup> E.g., glosses from the oldest gloss tradition on Martianus sometimes circulated with annotations which resemble those from the Eriugenian corpus. See O'SULLIVAN, *Glossae aeui carolini*, p. XXXI. Moreover, similar or identical glosses are found in different gloss traditions.

medieval glosses, glossaries, and florilegia points in a similar direction. That we find similar or identical information in different families of glossing in the same tradition, different gloss traditions and compendia of all kinds bears witness to the ebb and flow of information, as illustrated in the ninth century by the appearance of Servius's commentary on Vergil in glosses, florilegia, and as an independent text.<sup>13</sup> The ubiquity of glosses and the generation of industries of annotation on key authors such as Vergil in the early medieval world points to their contemporary relevance. Indeed, early medieval readers encountering widely-consulted authors such as Vergil would very often have done so in the context of a glossed manuscript.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the fact that the transmission of text and gloss was often not a separate process attests to the importance of annotations.<sup>15</sup> So too does the fact that glosses were often far from random accretions.<sup>16</sup> In short, the surviving evidence strongly suggests that glosses attracted the attention of all kinds of readers ranging from the well-known scholar to the anonymous compiler.

For this paper I draw on glosses on three prominent authors, namely Vergil, Martianus Capella and Prudentius, whose works enjoyed a *floruit* in the

E.g., a number of glosses on Vergil in ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts appear in glosses on Martianus Capella and Prudentius.

<sup>13</sup> For the circulation of Servius in the Carolingian world, see S. O'SULLIVAN, "Servius in the Carolingian age: A case study of London, BL, Harley 2782", *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 26 (2016), pp. 77-123.

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., imitation of Vergil's works in Carolingian court poetry in P. GODMAN, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London, 1985). According to Louis Holtz, 42 Vergil manuscripts or fragments of the eighth and the ninth centuries survive. Many Vergil manuscripts are annotated. See L. HOLTZ, "Les manuscrits latins à gloses et à commentaires de l'antiquité à l'époque carolingienne," in: *Atti del convegno internazionale 'Il libro e il testo'*, ed. C. QUESTA and R. RAFFAELLI (Urbino, 1984), pp. 160-66; ID., "La redécouverte de Virgile au VIII<sup>e</sup> et IX<sup>e</sup> siècles d'après les manuscrits conservés," in: *Lectures médiévales de Virgile: Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome (Rome, 1982)*, ed. J.-Y. TILLIETTE (Rome, 1985), pp. 9-30; ID., "Les manuscrits carolingiens de Virgile (X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles)," in: *La fortuna di Virgilio: Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli 24-26 ottobre 1983)* (Naples, 1986), pp. 127-49; D. GANZ, "Carolingian manuscripts with substantial glosses in tironian notes," in: *Mittelalterliche volks-sprachige Glossen: Internationale Fachkonferenz des Zentrums für Mittelalterstudien der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg*, ed. R. BERGMANN, E. GLASER, and C. MOULIN-FANKHÄNEL (Heidelberg, 2001: *Germanistische Bibliothek* 13), pp. 101-107, at p. 102. See also M. GEYMONAT, "The transmission of Virgil's works in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," in: *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*, ed. N. HORSFALL (Leiden, 2000), pp. 193-312, at p. 293.

<sup>15</sup> For discussion of the transmission of gloss and text, see O'SULLIVAN, *Glossae*, p. XXV.

<sup>16</sup> See M. TEEUWEN, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres: The "Ars Musica" in Ninth-Century Commentaries on Martianus Capella* (Leiden, 2002), p. 343, on the careful attention to the ruling, order and layout of glossed texts.

early Middle Ages. Codicological and palaeographical evidence demonstrates that glosses on these figures circulated widely in the early medieval West and were not random accretions. This is evident in the degree of standardisation across the various gloss traditions on the works of these authors, as is attested by the frequent appearance of similar or near-identical sets of annotations, *signes de renvoi*, symbols, figures, and diagrams in surviving manuscripts.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the reception histories of Vergil and Martianus Capella reveal similarities. According to Silvia Ottaviano, the reception of Vergil, whose works were heavily annotated, emerged in an initial 'French' phase before the wider diffusion of Vergil's work throughout the Carolingian world and southern Italy. She notes, in particular, the expansion of scholarly productivity in north-eastern France in the second half of the ninth century in the time of Charles the Bald.<sup>18</sup> This accords with what is known about the earliest reception of Martianus Capella. The oldest tradition of glossing on Martianus, predating the Carolingian commentaries of John Scottus Eriugena and Remigius of Auxerre, is initially extant in manuscripts dating mostly to the mid- and second half of the ninth century and circulating in major Carolingian scriptoria in the Loire valley, northern and northeastern France, that is, in the heartland of the Carolingian world.<sup>19</sup> As for glosses on Prudentius, they exist in two recognisable traditions, one circulating in a French tradition originating in northern France; the other emerging in East Frankish ecclesiastical centres in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

<sup>17</sup> Patterns emerge even at the level of the lexical gloss. See S. O'SULLIVAN, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' 'Psychomachia': The Weitz Tradition* (Leiden, 2004: *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte* 31), p. 84; EAD., *Glossae aevi carolini*, p. XXVII.

<sup>18</sup> See the unpublished doctoral thesis of S. OTTAVIANO, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio tra IX e XI sec.* (Pisa, 2013-2014), pp. 42 and 69-70. For a concentration of scholarly activity in the ninth century and in Northern France, see also D. DAINTREE, "The Virgil commentary of Aelius Donatus – Black hole or *éminence grise*?", *Greece and Rome* 37 (1990), pp. 65-79, at pp. 74-75. See also Silvia Ottaviano's paper in the present volume.

<sup>19</sup> The tradition later spread eastwards in the second half of the ninth and early tenth centuries to the region Trier-Lorsch-Cologne and found itself in the Low Countries in the tenth and eleventh centuries. See TEEUWEN, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres*, pp. 33-41; O'SULLIVAN, *Glossae aevi Carolini*, pp. XI-XIII; EAD., "Martianus Capella: Addenda", in: *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin translations and commentaries* 11 (Toronto, 2016), pp. 383-400.



*Reading as Fluid*

Though in a manuscript culture variability is to be expected either as a result of scribal misprision or complex transmission processes, nevertheless certain aspects of the lemma and, in particular, how it was linked to its accompanying gloss bear witness to a reading that was fluid by nature. The lemma could generate both marginal and interlinear glosses and comprise multi-word units not always in consecutive sequence. On occasion, a gloss had multiple lemmata,<sup>20</sup> provided the lemma for an additional gloss,<sup>21</sup> or the lemma itself became a gloss.<sup>22</sup> Variation of the lemma could happen across manuscripts within the same family, different families,<sup>23</sup> or even within the same manuscript. For instance, in the case of the gloss given below in bold it was copied in two places on the same page in MS Leiden, UB, VLF 48 (s. IX<sup>2/4</sup> or med, Auxerre?), f. 3v. It appears as part of two longer glosses which are linked by *signes de renvoi* to different lemmata:

<sup>20</sup> E.g., the following Carolingian gloss highlights three phrases from the text of Martianus (given below in bold), which function as multiple lemmata: “*VOLVCRVM DIVERSOS MEATUS ET OSCINVM LINGVAS ET PRAEPETIS OMINA PENNAE Tribus modis auguria auium noscebantur: cantu, uolatu et numero. Ostendit cantum cum ‘**oscinum linguas**’, uolatum inferens ‘**praepetis pennae**’, numerum inquiring ‘**diuersos meatus uolucrum**’. Et haec ad Apollinem pertinet, quia in die non in nocte fit*” (*De nuptiis* I.10; *Glossae*, p. 53, 10-13).

<sup>21</sup> The following Carolingian gloss on Martianus is written by two scribes: “*CYLLENIVM Cillenius filius Maiiae pelicis Iunonis quae utique mortalis fuit. Sed nato Cillenio statim eum suis uberibus applicuit ut esset immortalis. Iuno cum omnes riuales suas persecuta fuisset, ut fabulae tradunt, Maiam tamen non est persecuta (Queritur cur solam Maiam dilexerit add.) hac ratione, quia dum sol per Pliadas transitum agit, tunc siccitas aeris pluuiiarum copia temperatur. Inde quaedam amicitia inter Iunonem, i. aerem, et Maiam, i. partem sideris quam sol tempore aestiuo incoante transcurrit uidetur naturaliter esse*” (*De nuptiis* I.34; *Glossae*, p. 141, 36-43). The insertion “*Queritur cur solam Maiam dilexerit*” is written by a different scribe and adds to the original gloss. The original gloss thus functions as a kind of lemma for the addition.

<sup>22</sup> The following word in Martianus is written in Greek letters by a glossator: “*APOTHEOSIN: ΑΠΟΘΕΟΣΙΝ*” (*De nuptiis* II.206; *Glossae*, p. 428, 17).

<sup>23</sup> The following Carolingian gloss on Martianus is found in MS Leiden, UB, VLF 48, f. 3v l. 28 and in manuscripts within the same and different families (the lemma is different in other manuscripts): “*NEC NON ETIAM In hoc loco non solum tangit musicam cordarum, sed etiam celestem, ut sicut in arbore ea quae inferiora erant rauca grauitas quatiebat, sic etiam a terra usque ad lunam grauior sit sonus. At a luna per totam amplitudinem planetarum usque ad Saturni circulum uarietas sonorum intellegitur, sicut etiam in medio arboris uarietas sonorum fuit. A Saturni autem circulo usque ad signiferum acutus noscitur inesse modulatus. Quamuis e contrario quidam ista repugnent dicentes grauiorem esse sonitum in Saturni circulo, acutiorem in lunari, quia id quod breuius est, acutius sonat*” (*De nuptiis* I.11; *Glossae*, p. 63, 29-34; p. 64, 1-11).

*ILLIC AVTEM – POPVLI: Quod ait in specu Apollinis omnium esse Fortunas quicquid imminet seculorum sub specie fabulae figurate loquens. Hoc uidetur intimasse, ut omnis euentus (lege euentus) prosper siue sinister quae ab illis Fortuna dicebatur Apollinem de exactis, de instantibus et de futuris consultum sibi credebant prouenire. Nec non etiam quod nemus Apollinis succentibus duplis, sesquialteris ac sesquiteritiis reliquisque acutas ac graues dicitur personasse modulationes. Hoc indicare uidetur, quod circulus solaris circulis trium planetarum superpositarum et totidem suppositarum comparatur (lege comparatus) musica uidetur ratione (lege ratio) prouenire, quia sicut mese in lira medio posita tetracordum facit, sic sol in medio planetarum (De nuptiis 1.11; Glossae, p. 58, 1-11).*

*NEC NON ETIAM: In hoc loco non solum tangit musicam cordarum, sed etiam caelestem, ut sicut in arbore ea quae inferiora erant rauca grauitas quatiebat, sic etiam a terra usque ad lunam grauior sit sonus. At a luna per totam amplitudinem planetarum usque ad Saturni circulum uarietas sonorum intellegitur, sicut etiam in medio arboris uarietas sonorum fuit. A Saturni autem circulo usque ad signiferum acutus noscitur inesse modulatus. Quamuis e contrario quidam ista repugnent dicentes grauiorem esse sonitum in Saturni circulo, acutiorem in lunari, quia id quod breuius est, acutius sonat. Nec non etiam quod nemus Apollinis succentibus duplis siue sesquialteris ac sesquiteritiis reliquasque acutas ac graues dicitur personasse modulationes. Hoc indicare uidetur, quod circulus solaris circulis planetarum trium super se positarum (lege superpositarum) ac totidem suppositarum comparatur musica uidetur ratio prouenire. Sicut enim corda quae in medio est principalis est, ita sol medium tenet planetarum (De nuptiis 1.11; Glossae, p. 63, 29-34; p. 64, 1-11).*

From the above example it is clear that annotations moved around, and that the lemma could vary. In itself, this is not particularly surprising as variation was part and parcel of manuscript culture. However, it was the ways in which lemma and gloss were linked that demonstrate a reading practice that was fluid.

A number of methods were available to tie text and gloss: (a) graphic symbols known as *signes de renvoi* and (b) placement of glosses in the marginal and interlinear space close to or directly above their lemmata.<sup>24</sup> Additionally,

<sup>24</sup> E.g., in the following Carolingian gloss on Martianus, the reader is required to determine the lemma from the placement and content of the gloss which appears without a *signe de renvoi* in the left-hand margin: “*EXOVO – REDIMITO: Duo sunt filii Iouis: unus ad affligendum destinatus, i. Apollo; alter ad sedandum, i. Mercurius. Si enim peste inmissa deprecatus fuerit Mercurius potest sedare. Si uero ante pestem exoratus Apollo non fiet pestis. Sed melius est, sicut ipse Mercurius dicit, ut ante pestem exoretur Apollo ne inmittat, quam post pestem ipse ut sedet. Sed in hoc loco describit habitum Apollonis et indicium: habitum, quia fidibus personabat, indicium ad indicandum, quia pestilentiam inmittit*”, MS Leiden, UB, VLF 48, f. 5r ll. 2-4 (*De nuptiis* 1.19;

text words repeated in the glosses were another means of correlating text and gloss.<sup>25</sup> The most common ways of linking text and gloss, that is, by symbols and placement, often incurred problems. For example, *signes de renvoi* were of little use in identifying lemmata that consisted of longer phrases or passages (see *infra*). And occasionally, the *signes* had become obsolescent, for example in MS Paris, BNF, lat. 8670 (s. IX<sup>med</sup> or IX<sup>3/4</sup>, Corbie) where in the process of transmission the symbols were copied in the margins alongside the glosses but not in the text. Moreover, very often the relationship between text and gloss was not clearly signalled.<sup>26</sup> At times, glossators did not specify the precise lemma or assigned a lemma to a gloss in a rather loose fashion. Even in the same manuscript near-identical glosses could be given different lemmata, lemmata were sometimes found on the same line of text,<sup>27</sup> or a gloss could be tagged with a single text word even when the actual lemma was a sentence or passage.<sup>28</sup> The lemma could be removed from its gloss by some distance or, as a result of scribal error, copying from an exemplar or the pressures of space, be found on a different page to its accompanying gloss.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the *mise en page* of early medieval glossed manuscripts, with marginal and interlinear

*Glossae*, p. 90, 1-8).

<sup>25</sup> E.g.: “*EXCONTIGVIS Ideo dicit ‘ex contiguis’, quia secundum Platonicos Mercurii circulus soli est proximus*” (*De nuptiis* 1, 24; *Glossae*, p. 105, 26-28); “*SEDES PROPRIAS ‘sedes proprias’ dicit propter sidera fixa semper in firmamento*” (*De nuptiis* 1, 97; *Glossae*, p. 254, 5).

<sup>26</sup> E.g., in London, BL, Harley MS 2782 (s. IX<sup>3/4</sup> or s. IX<sup>4/4</sup>, northeastern France), the commentary on Vergil’s *Eclogues* is found as an independent text, the lemmata of which are generally hard to distinguish from the comments.

<sup>27</sup> The following very similar Carolingian glosses are tagged with different, but connected words from Martianus, words found on the same line of text in MS Leiden, UB, BPL 88 (s. IX<sup>3/4</sup>, Reims?), f. 6r l. 16: “*FOEBVS Phoebus Grece, Latine crinitus dicitur, eo quod mane crines emittat oriens*”; “*AVRICOMVS Crinitus, eo quod mane crines emittat ouans*” (*De nuptiis* 1, 12; *Glossae*, p. 67, 33-35). In MS Leiden, UB, VLF 48, f. 2v l. 1, the following identical glosses are written by different scribes and are placed near different words in the same sentence: “*MVNDLOQVAX Quod dii nuptias celebrarent*”; “*HVMANITAS Quod dii nuptias celebrarent*” (*De nuptiis* 1, 3; *Glossae*, p. 21, 39-40).

<sup>28</sup> E.g., in MS Leiden, UB, BPL 88, f. 7v l. 20, the following gloss is tied to the lemma *ammonebat*, but actually glosses a longer passage in *De nuptiis* 1.19: “*AMMONEBAT Describit habitum et indicium Apollinis: habitum, quia fidibus personabat, indicium, quia pestilentiam emittebat*” (*Glossae*, p. 90, 11-13).

<sup>29</sup> In the glossed Vergil manuscript, MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. Gud. Lat. 70 (s. IX<sup>2/4</sup>, prov. Lyon), f. 5r l. 17, the following gloss appears in the left hand margin linked by a *signe de renvoi* to its lemma two lines above on the right hand side of the page: “*QVERCVS per quercus iram Iouis, per Iouis iram Caesaris Augusti iram, quia quercus arbos dedicata est Ioui*” (*Ecl.* 1.17). See *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. G. THILO and H. HAGEN, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1881-1902), 3.2, pp. 18, 14-22.

glosses linked in various ways to the text, together with the accumulation and layering of glosses, suggests a reading practice that required an engaged level of concentration. In cases where glosses were only loosely tied to their lemma-ta or where the lemma was not signalled at all, the reader was required to determine whether the lemma was an individual word, series of words, or extensive passage. In such instances, the reader may simply have associated a gloss in a somewhat fluid manner with a broad section of text rather than with a specific lemma. Below I provide examples to demonstrate the problems incurred with how text and gloss were linked. I do so not as a modern text editor seeking to fix a particular gloss to a particular lemma, but to underscore how the available tagging systems resulted in a fluid reading process.

Lemmata that comprise multi-word units (e.g. a lemma consisting of a noun and adjective or verb and adverb) left readers with a choice: either to read each word in the lemma separately or as a unit, as in the following example where the lemma comprises a noun and adjective which are found side by side:

*COPVLA SACRA: coniunctionem sanctam (De nuptiis 1.1; Glossae, p. 6, 22; MS Leiden, UB, VLF 48, f. 2r2).*

Another such example is as follows:

*MIRO ... ARDORE: mirabili amore (De nuptiis 1.6; Glossae, p. 33, 6; MS Leiden, UB, BPL 88, f. 4r19).*

Here the adjective and its accompanying noun are separated, and another text word is glossed between the words *miro ardore*.<sup>30</sup> In both of the above cases, the various elements of the multi-word lemmata are glossed and these elements can be read separately or as multi-word units. The tagging of such lemmata to their glosses either by placement or the use of *signes de renvoi* presented problems. Often a multi-word lemma was linked to an annotation through a single word in the text (and not to all words in the lemma). Additionally, in line with the inflectional syntax of Latin which allowed for a highly flexible word order, the different parts of the lemma were frequently separated by space on the manuscript page. The reader was thus required to piece together the lemma. In the following examples, the glosses are linked to their lemmata through a sin-



<sup>30</sup> “*CVPIEBAT: amabat*” (*De nuptiis* 1.6; *Glossae*, p. 33, 7; MS Leiden, UB, BPL 88, f. 4r1. 19).

gle word in the text indicated in bold, and the individual parts of the lemma are separated by space on the manuscript page:

(i) **ARCANIS** ... **VINCLIS**: *secretis, misticis uinculis et tangit phisicam* (*De nuptiis* I.1; *Glossae*, p. 6, 15-16; MS Leiden, UB, BPL 88, f. 3r l. 5).

(ii) **REGINAM** ... **MEMPHITICAM**: *Reginam Memphiticam Isidem dicit quae luctu nimio maritum suum Osiridem a fratre Typhone intereptum (lege interemptum) diu quesierat inuentumque eius cadauer in paludem iuxta Sienem urbem sepeliuit. Vnde illa palus Stix uocatur, i. tristitia* (*De nuptiis* I.4; *Glossae*, p. 27, 80-84; MS Leiden, UB, VLF 48, f. 2v ll. 11-12).

(iii) **REPENTE** ... **IRRVPIT**: *repente intrauit* (*De nuptiis* II.114; *Glossae*, p. 286, 4; MS Leiden, UB, BPL 88, f. 21r l. 9).

In (i) and (ii), the glosses, written in the margins, are linked by *signes de renvoi* to individual words in the text (*arcanis* and *memphiticam* respectively). In (iii), the gloss is placed directly over the verb *irrupit* and repeats the text word *repente*. The adverb *repente* in the text qualifies the verb *irrupit*. In all of the above cases, the methods used to link text and gloss do not supply the reader with the whole lemma.

Similarly, all parts of the lemma comprising a phrase or cluster of words were often not clear, as in the following case:

**IN SVVM UNAQVAEQVE ILLARVM NECESSARIVM VSVM FACVLTATEMQVE**: *Bene dicit 'in suum necessarium usum et facultatem', quia dum adiuuimus non omnia capere possumus* (*De nuptiis* II.138; *Glossae*, p. 345, 19-20; MS Leiden, UB, VLF 48, f. 14v l. 13).

The above gloss, which includes a phrase from the text, is written in the inter-linear space above the text words *in suum unaquaeque illarum ne* (the text word *necessarium* runs over two lines). In this instance, the lemma is found on two lines and the gloss on one. Similarly, all parts of the lemma that consisted of a whole clause, sentence or passage were generally not identified. In a few instances such lemmata could be established from their accompanying gloss.<sup>31</sup> Mostly, however, only partial identification was provided.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> E.g.: "**AVRAM MENTIS CORPORIBVS SOCIAS** *Socias corporibus auram quae mens est, i. uitales aures (lege auras)*" (*De nuptiis* I.1; *Glossae*, p. 8, 1-2; MS Leiden, UB, VLF 48, f. 2r l. 5).

<sup>32</sup> In the following gloss the lemma comprises a long passage but the gloss is written over

### *Reading as Open-Ended*

Further evidence of a slow mode of reading is furnished by lemmata which were the source of different interpretations and commentary on various levels.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, the lemma could present glossators with multiple possibilities depending on how a word was read, as in the following cases found across a number of Carolingian glossed Martianus manuscripts:

(i) *INMODICO ... LABORE [I]* <sup>1</sup> *non modico <labore> | <sup>2</sup> uel non <modico> uel paruo <labore> || [2]* <sup>1</sup> *'In' aut pro 'paruo' aut pro 'magno' accipe | <sup>2</sup> Aut 'in' accipe pro 'non' ut sit sensus non modico labore, sed magno uel in modico <labore>, i. in paruo <labore>* (*De nuptiis* 1.22; *Glossae*, p. 99, 63-68).

(ii) *IN IVSSA [I]* <sup>1</sup> *in suum seruitium | <sup>2</sup> Ipsa quae est iniussa, i. a nullo iussa | <sup>3</sup> non iussa uel in sua iussa | <sup>4</sup> in suas leges | <sup>5</sup> subaudis suo imperio uel <in iussa> sua uel ipsa iniussa | <sup>6</sup> i. uel non iussa ab aliquo urget uel in iussa sua, i. in iussionem suam cogit | <sup>7</sup> In quicquid iubet | <sup>8</sup> aut in sua iussa aut a nullo iussa* (*De nuptiis* 1.22; *Glossae*, p. 99, 98-p. 100, 104).

In (i), the lemma was read as *inmodico labore* (with excessive toil) and as *in modico labore* (with moderate toil); in (ii) as *in iussa* (according to her command) and as *iniussa* (unbidden). Thus the lemma could be multivalent and reflect a reading practice that was driven not by the provision of a single interpretation but one that embraced variety and multiple possibilities. Indeed, it would seem that, very often, the lemma acted as a trigger for the accumulation of all kinds of information, sometimes even contradictory information.<sup>34</sup> It was

only a portion of the lemma (i.e. the first eight words):

*TVNC IVPITER PVBLICA ET QVAE SENATVM CONTRACTVRVS ASSVMIT – TEXVERAT Hic est descriptio caeli uel mundi. Nam Iouis mundus est ut philosophi dicunt uertex Iouis altissima pars mundi quae stellis fulget* (*De nuptiis* 1.66; *Glossae*, p. 188, 4-6; MS Leiden, UB, BPL 88, f. 14v 1-4).

<sup>33</sup> E.g., early medieval glosses on Prudentius's *Psychomachia* drew heavily on Bede to comment on the gemstones mentioned at the end of the poem. Drawing on earlier sources such as Isidore who provided a literal understanding, Bede added an allegorical dimension. See O'SULLIVAN, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius*, pp. 121-130.

<sup>34</sup> For contradictions, see M. TEEUWEN and S. O'SULLIVAN, "The harvest of ancient learning: healthy fruits or rotten apples?", in: *Fruits of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. R.H. BREMMER and K. DEKKER (Paris and Leuven, 2016: *Mediaevalia Groningana, New Series* 21), pp. 288-303, at pp. 300-301.

frequently part of an open-ended process rather than solely the means of providing finite solutions. To this end, glossators elucidated the lemmata in front of them sometimes regardless or unaware of variation, corruption, error, and confusion. Textual variants which had become standard in particular families of manuscripts were glossed accordingly.<sup>35</sup> In some instances, glossators recognised that the lemma was a textual variant.<sup>36</sup> Corruptions, too, were glossed.<sup>37</sup> In a number of cases, the corruptions were the result of incorrect word breaks, a problem in a manuscript culture.<sup>38</sup> And glossators themselves often stretched the meaning of the lemma, as in the text word *cunctalis* in *De nuptiis* which, in a number of instances, was understood as *cuncta lis*.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, even when the corruption made no sense in the context of the principal work, annotation was provided, as in the case of the text word *ambrosium* ('divine', 'befitting to the gods'), corrupted to *ambromum* ('glutton') and provided with commentary relating to the practice of cannibalism.<sup>40</sup> Clearly, the primary function of the lemma was provision of interpretation. We see this again in Carolingian annotations on the Greek of *De nuptiis* which had been heavily corrupted in the process of transmission, as illustrated by the text word ἐβδομάδων transcribed in a number of Carolingian manuscripts as ΕΘΗΛΟΜΑΛΟΝ and interpreted as the name of a mathematician or astronomer, identified in one manuscript as Nichomachus:

ILLA SENIS DEIERATIO: i. ΕΘΗΛΟΜΑΛΟΝ

<sup>35</sup> E.g., "INDVSTRIAE (intellege *illustri ea*) *sapientiae* | <sup>2</sup>*prudenciae* | <sup>3</sup>*sollertiae*" (*De nuptiis* 1.6; *Glossae*, p. 32, ll. 3-4).

<sup>36</sup> E.g., "DISCERNITVR Alibi *discerni dicitur*" (*De nuptiis* 1.45; *Glossae*, p. 172, l. 19).

<sup>37</sup> E.g., (i) "PEDE IRE (intellege *Pythai*) *componere uel cognoscere* | <sup>2</sup>*componere uel moueri* | <sup>3</sup>*i. moueri* | <sup>4</sup>*componere, mouere* | <sup>5</sup>*sensim incedere* | <sup>6</sup>*uel mouere* | <sup>7</sup>*ingredi*; FORMANTIS (intellege *reformantis*) *creatoris* | <sup>2</sup>*i. creantis*" (*De nuptiis* 1.68; *Glossae*, p. 203, ll. 9-12); (ii) "DECVSATA POLOSE (intellege *decusata, polos*) *i. decorata uel decursata, i. mota excelse. Alibi decusata ornata, hic mota significat*" (*De nuptiis* 1.37; *Glossae*, p. 152, ll. 49-50).

<sup>38</sup> E.g., the text words "*suadent emeritis*" in *De nuptiis* were rendered as *suadentem meritis* and annotated as such in Carolingian glossed manuscripts: "*SVADENTEM indulgentem* | <sup>2</sup>*hortantem* | <sup>3</sup>*rogantem* | <sup>4</sup>*uolentem* | <sup>5</sup>*deprecantem*; MERITIS *dignis*" (*De nuptiis* 1.93; *Glossae*, p. 248, ll. 7-12). See also Malcolm Parkes's discussion of the problem as attested by Servius and Pompeius in PARKES, *Pause and Effect*, p. 10. In early medieval manuscripts, scribes sometimes dealt with the problem by using a loop to tie together letters where there was an incorrect word break.

<sup>39</sup> *De nuptiis* 1.54; *Glossae*, p. 179, 6-16. The gloss resembles an Eriugenian annotation. See É. JEAUNEAU, "Le commentaire érigénien sur Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis*, lib.I) d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford (Bodl. Libr. Auct.T.2.19, f. 1-31)", in: *Quatre thèmes érigéniens (Conférence Albert-le-Grand, 1974)*, ed. É. JEAUNEAU (Montréal, 1978), p. 151.

<sup>40</sup> *De nuptiis* ll.116; *Glossae*, p. 291, ll. 9-22.

*SENIS: Nicomachi (De nuptiis II.107; Glossae, p. 270, 1-5).*

ΕΘΗΛΟΜΑΛΛΟΝ: *arithmeticus uel astronom[i]us*

ΕΘΗΛΟΜΑΛΛΟΝ: *Nomen praedicti senis, i. arithmeticus uel astronomus (De nuptiis II.108; Glossae, p. 274, 22-23).*

In other Carolingian manuscripts, however, ἐβδομάδων was corrupted to “*etiam* ΟΜΑΛΛΟΝ” or “*etiam* ΟΜΑΛΟΝ” and provided with a very different interpretation relating to the field of geometry.<sup>41</sup> Very often, it would seem, the lemma was the trigger for the accumulation of information. It fulfilled a gathering purpose which was in line with the encyclopaedism of early medieval culture, with its ideal of comprehensive compilation underpinned by the antiquarian practices of organising, excerpting, collecting, summarising and synthesising all kinds of material.<sup>42</sup> The lemma often provided the cue for stockpiling from authorities, as well as for inter- and intratextual cross-referencing.<sup>43</sup> In short, the lemma attests to a reading practice that was not only fluid, and required effort, but one that could be multivalent, part of an open-ended process, and reflect the encyclopaedic tendencies of early medieval textual culture.

### *Reading and mise en page*

The layout of early medieval glossed manuscripts provides further evidence for a kind of reading not focussed on accessibility. Though information was keyed to the text via the lemma and visual aids were furnished to help the reader link and differentiate between text and gloss, the *mise en page* of early medieval glossed manuscripts was far from straightforward.<sup>44</sup> As we have

<sup>41</sup> “ΟΜΑΛΛΟΝ *planarum figurarum*” (*De nuptiis* II.108; *Glossae*, p. 274, l. 24).

<sup>42</sup> For the gathering purpose of glosses, see M. TEEUWEN, “Glossing in close co-operation: Examples from ninth-century Martianus Capella manuscripts”, in: *Practice in Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. R.H. BREMMER and K. DEKKER (Leuven, 2010: *Mediaevalia Groningana New Series* 16), p. 94.

<sup>43</sup> For example, the following gloss on Vergil’s *Aeneid* 7, 637 found in MS Valenciennes, BM, lat. 407, f. 150v (s. IX<sup>2</sup>, northeastern France) is intertextual. It contains an excerpt from the *Etymologiae* which leads the reader from the Vergilian text to Isidore and back again: “*CLASSICA IAMQUE SONANT Esidorus classica sunt cornua quae uocandi causa erant facta et a calando classica dicebantur. De quibus Virgilius ‘classica iamque sonant’*” (see *Etymologiae* 18.4.4).

<sup>44</sup> Some of the visual aids were as follows: *signes de renvoi*, size of script, different scripts, lines or circles drawn around glosses. In the case of lemmatic commentaries such as Servius’s commentary on Vergil different scripts and the use of majuscule and minuscule were sometimes deployed by early medieval scribes to differentiate between gloss and text. In the Vergil



already seen, the boundaries between gloss and text were fluid.<sup>45</sup> Additionally, information had sometimes to be re-ordered, re-assembled, and even disentangled (see *infra*). Moreover, material placed in the marginal and interlinear space frequently resulted in a visually complex layout with crowding (text, glosses, diagrams, symbols, monograms, shorthand notes, neumes, syntactical markers, headings, and subtitles), as well as layering of annotation by contemporary and later hands. In sum, the layout did not facilitate rapid access to information. This contrasts with the later medieval book, where developments in the presentation of texts, together with the provision of new kinds of readers' aids, indices and scholarly apparatus, enhanced consultation and reference, as well as introduced a great level of organisation. These developments are highlighted by Malcolm Parkes. An example was the inclusion of the analytic table of contents in the thirteenth century which "facilitated readers' access to component parts of a work".<sup>46</sup>

Very often, the *mise en page* of early medieval glossed manuscripts attests to a reading that was non-linear and fragmentary. To begin with the book format of the codex encouraged, as Guglielmo Cavallo observes, a "piecemeal style of reading, ... a reading page by page".<sup>47</sup> Since the codex allowed for other materials to be included alongside the primary text, the result was a reading that moved back and forth, as is especially the case with glossed manuscripts. In some instances, the pressures of space even resulted in glosses themselves being broken up with different parts of a gloss copied in different sections of the manuscript page.<sup>48</sup>

With regards to layout, a wider value is perhaps suggested by the spatial understanding of medieval *memoria* inherited from the ancient world, whereby ideas were thought to be set in *loci*, that is, in locational structures to aid recollection and invention.<sup>49</sup> Essential components of *memoria* were background

manuscript, MS Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 172 (s. IX, Paris region or Fleury), the first letter of the lemma is often in capitals.

<sup>45</sup> See O'SULLIVAN, *Glossae*, pp. XXV-XXVII.

<sup>46</sup> PARKES, "The influence of the concepts of *ordinatio* and *compilatio*", p. 122.

<sup>47</sup> G. CAVALLO, "Between *volumen* and codex: Reading in the Roman world", in: *A History of Reading in the West*, pp. 64-89, at p. 88.

<sup>48</sup> E.g., in MS Leiden, UB, VLF 48, f. 3v l. 28, the gloss "*In hoc loco ... planetarum*" (see *supra*, note 23) is distributed over two parts of a manuscript page: the first section is written in the bottom right hand margin and the final portion is copied underneath the text at the bottom of the page.

<sup>49</sup> See F.A. YATES, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1966); M.J. CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990: *Cambridge Studies in Medi-*

placement and the storing of knowledge in an inventory. Layout was thus crucial, as is noted in a later period by Hugh of Saint Victor.<sup>50</sup> It provided a mnemonic place system with which to imprint information.<sup>51</sup> The very act of writing and inscribing, vital for *memoria*, together with the well-attested importance of the written word, suggest the inherent value of early medieval glosses. And the slow mode of reading which one can infer from the *mise en page* of glossed manuscripts was in line with other practices, for example with the laborious task of grafting information onto the memory.

In what follows, I focus once again on the lemma to underscore how the presentation of material in early medieval glossed manuscripts did not always facilitate rapid comprehension or ease of access to information.

### Mise en page and its Challenges

Crowding of information was endemic in early medieval glossed manuscripts. In such situations the lemma was not always immediately apparent, and effort was required to correlate lemma and gloss. Frequently, two or more glosses ran into one another in the same interlinear space, the work of the same or different scribes. This is the case in the following Carolingian glosses on Martianus in MS Trier, Bibliothek des Priesterseminars, MS 100 (s. IX<sup>2</sup>, France?), f. 68v l. 5, where different, but roughly contemporary, scribes wrote two glosses:

*i. illius numinis ab illis  
nihil eius potuit inueniri*<sup>52</sup>

*eval Literature* 10); *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, ed. M. CARRUTHERS and J.M. ZIOLKOWSKI (Philadelphia, 2002).

<sup>50</sup> From the twelfth century, we have the testimony of Hugh of Saint Victor concerning the “mnemonic utility of the manuscript page layout”. See CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory*, p. 9.

<sup>51</sup> See especially Frances Yates on the “commonest ... type of mnemonic place system ... the architectural type”, in: F.A. YATES, “The three Latin sources for the classical art of memory”, in: EAD., *The Art of Memory*, pp. 17-41, at p. 18.

<sup>52</sup> *De nuptiis* 1, 10; *Glossae*, p. 53, ll. 38-41. See [http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?tx\\_dlf%5Bpage%5D=136&tx\\_dlf%5Bid%5D=http%3A%2F%2Fzimks68.uni-trier.de%2Fstmatthias%2FS0100%2FS0100-digitalisat.xml&tx\\_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&chash=a67d93c361054bb2591ea7a3479e1c25](http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=136&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=http%3A%2F%2Fzimks68.uni-trier.de%2Fstmatthias%2FS0100%2FS0100-digitalisat.xml&tx_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&chash=a67d93c361054bb2591ea7a3479e1c25).

The first gloss (“*i. illius numinis*”) annotates the lemma “*NIHIL EIVS*”. It is written by a scribe over the text words “*eius potuit*”. The next gloss (“*ab illis*”), is written over the text word “*POTVIT*” in a slightly lighter ink by a second scribe. The two glosses, the product of different scribes, run into one another. The reader is thus required to disentangle the two glosses, as well as establish their lemmata.

In the next case, also found in the Trier manuscript, two glosses appear in the same interlinear space but have different lemmata:

*redintegrantur quia mortalia erant*  
*immortali* *fortitudine*  
*continuoque nouo solidantur membra uigore*<sup>53</sup>

The first lemma is a multi-word unit: “*NOVO ... VIGORE*”. It has a gloss consisting of two words, *immortali* and *fortitudine*. Gloss and lemma can be read either as a multi-word unit or as separate entities, that is, as “*NOVO ... VIGORE: immortali fortitudine*” or as “*NOVO: immortali*” and “*VIGORE: fortitudine*”. The second lemma is “*SOLIDANTVR*” and its gloss, “*redintegrantur, quia mortalia erant*”, is placed directly over the lemma. Visual clues help differentiate the two glosses. The second gloss “*redintegrantur, quia mortalia erant*” is written slightly higher than the first gloss. The reader, however, has to perform a number of tasks: (a) disentangle the two glosses and (b) correlate the different lemmata and glosses. One could imagine a reading scenario that involved several stages, starting with the individual text words and their glosses, and finally progressing to multi-word units and to the whole sentence.

Stacking glosses was a feature of early medieval glossed manuscripts, often the result of limited space. In the following example, two glosses in a Carolingian Vergil manuscript are found in the same interlinear space close to one another, the first of which is copied in a non-linear sequence.

*CASV DEINDE euentu uel miseracione obstupuit*  
*VIRI TANTO tam magno*<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> MS Trier, 100, f. 81v 26 (*De nuptiis* II, 140; *Glossae*, p. 351, ll. 18-20). See [http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?tx\\_dlf%5Bpage%5D=162&tx\\_dlf%5Bid%5D=http%3A%2F%2Fzimks68.uni-trier.de%2Fstmatthias%2FS0100%2FS0100-digitalisat.xml&tx\\_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&cHash=ac7494d14f224443ca215e8b8f99424c](http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=162&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=http%3A%2F%2Fzimks68.uni-trier.de%2Fstmatthias%2FS0100%2FS0100-digitalisat.xml&tx_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&cHash=ac7494d14f224443ca215e8b8f99424c).

<sup>54</sup> *Aeneid* 1, 614; MS Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 253 (s. IX<sup>2/3</sup>, northeastern France?), f. 65r.

In the first interlinear gloss, the initial five letters of the word *miseracione* (i.e. *misera*) are stacked above the letters *cione* and the last word (*obstupuit*) is also split with indication provided that the final two letters (*it*) belong to the word. The second gloss, written by the same hand as the first, is placed after the letters *it*. In the case of these two interlinear glosses, then, the layout is complex with letters stacked and two annotations running into one another.

In the next example, two different interlinear glosses are stacked one on top of the other but despite sharing the same interlinear space the glosses do not have the same lemma. The glosses appear in Trier, MS 100, f. 81v:

*terrena*  
*mortalitas carnis*  
*et gracilentia perit macies; uis terrea cedit*<sup>55</sup>

The first gloss, “*mortalitas carnis*”, is placed above the text words *terrea cedit* but glosses the lemma *VIS TERREA*; the second gloss, “*terrena*”, is written over the first gloss, *mortalitas carnis*, and glosses the text word *TERREA*. As in the previous examples, the reader has to correlate the glosses with their respective lemmata.

The final example offers insight into how challenging the layout could be. It appears in a Carolingian glossed Martianus manuscript, MS Leiden, UB, BPL 36 (s. IX<sup>ex</sup>, Lorsch?), f. 10v l. 21. Three marginal glosses are placed close to one another in the right hand margin, with one of the marginal glosses furnishing lemmata for two additional comments. All of the marginal annotations given below are copied by the same hand. The reader not only has to correlate the various glosses with their corresponding lemmata, but also has to disentangle and re-assemble information (see Fig. 1):<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> *De nuptiis* II, 140; *Glossae*, p. 351, ll. 27-28. See [http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?tx\\_dlf%5Bpage%5D=162&tx\\_dlf%5Bid%5D=http%3A%2F%2Fzimks68.uni-trier.de%2Fstmatthias%2F2FS0100%2F2FS0100-digitalisat.xml&tx\\_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&cHash=ac7494d14f224443ca215e8b8f99424c](http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=162&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=http%3A%2F%2Fzimks68.uni-trier.de%2Fstmatthias%2F2FS0100%2F2FS0100-digitalisat.xml&tx_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&cHash=ac7494d14f224443ca215e8b8f99424c).

<sup>56</sup> *De nuptiis* I, 91; *Glossae*, p. 239, ll. 1-12; p. 240, ll. 13-16.

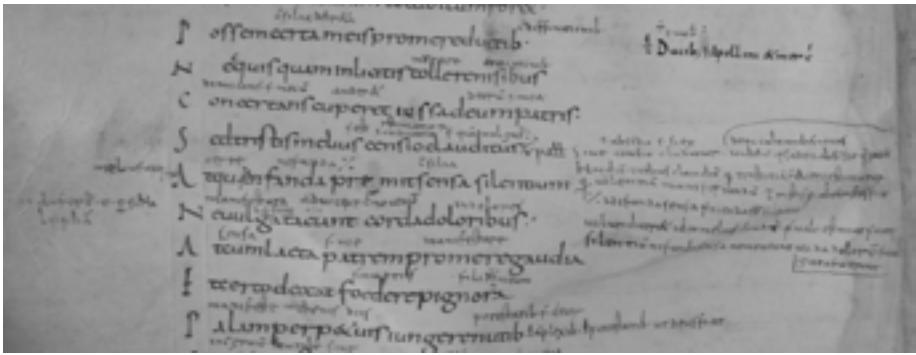


Fig. 1 MS Leiden, UB, BPL 36, f. 10v.

*i. absconsio s. si ex de occultandis iouis*  
*sed tristis melius censio clauditur* *Sive consio cluditur uidelicet ipsa dea absconsio quae gaudet*  
*Hoc dicit melius clauditur quia tristitiam facere aestimatur*  
*quam uero laetitiam manifestandum*

The first marginal gloss is to the text words “*CENSIO CLAUDITVR*”. The scribe furnishes textual variants and writes his marginal gloss over two lines, the final words of which (“*de occultandis Iouis*”) are written above the gloss in the far right hand corner:

*CENSIO CLAUDITVR Sive consio cluditur, uidelicet ipsa dea absconsio quae gaudet de occultandis Iouis*

The first marginal gloss, in turn, furnishes the lemmata for two additional comments:

*CONSIO s. absconsio*  
*CLVDITVR s. si excluditur*

Finally the scribe provides two further marginal glosses, this time to the lemmata “*MELIUS CLAUDITVR*” and “*TRISTIS*”:

*MELIUS ... CLAUDITVR Hoc dicit ‘melius clauditur’, quia tristitiam facere aestimatur, quam uero laetitiam manifestandum*  
*TRISTIS Tristis, quia alios tristes facit*

In the case of these marginal glosses, the reader is required to unravel and piece together information, information that is not immediately accessible on account of (a) the layout of the glosses (e.g. with one of the marginal glosses written over two lines) and (b) layering of annotation (e.g. glosses on glosses).

All the above cases demonstrate that the presentation of material on the manuscript page was far from straightforward. Multiple glosses, the work of one or several hands, regularly ran into one another on the same line, crowding was endemic, and the connexion between gloss and text was frequently unclear. What, then, can reasonably be inferred about early medieval reading practices from heavily glossed manuscript pages in which layers of commentary filled available space in no apparent order and pages presented multiple puzzles to be solved? Scribal error was, of course, a reality; the efforts of multiple glossators frequently led to confusion; copying from an exemplar often introduced error; finding space on the manuscript page was sometimes difficult. Nevertheless, the effect was the same: reading was slowed, it was labour-intensive, and the reader was commonly forced to prise apart, even to assemble the information. The *mise en page* of early medieval glossed manuscripts thus strongly suggests a reading practice that implicitly demanded a considerably greater level of concentration than the unglossed page. Indeed, it accords with the various functions of glosses, where clarification and disambiguation were clearly not the only goal, as demonstrated by the fact that glossators encrypted information, engaged in word play, created puzzles, allegorised and etymologised, furnished different levels of interpretation, and encoded the primary text with additional information of all kinds and references to authoritative sources, as well as made what was difficult easier to understand. The very presence of glosses, moreover, indicates an attentive reading.

### *Wider Context*

While the mode of reading foregrounded thus far ran counter to the ‘grammar of legibility’, it was nevertheless part of mainstream culture. In fact, there are well-established patristic and early medieval contexts for a reading that was open-ended, slow, and demanded effort. In the remaining portion of this paper I shall briefly outline some of these contexts. The first and most important one is to be found in the *ars grammatica*, the primary functions of which, according to Marius Victorinus, were “to write, to read, to understand, and to

prove”.<sup>57</sup> The *ars grammatica* was integral to medieval textual culture, an important manifestation of which appeared in the late eighth and ninth centuries when grammatical studies were embedded in Carolingian programmatic *renovatio*, which in turn was aligned with Frankish political ideology.<sup>58</sup> With its roots in the ancient world, the discipline of grammar had a wide compass ranging from its highly technical aspects (e.g. correct writing and pronunciation, and the decoding of graphemes, letters, syllables and words) to its broader remit (e.g. the comprehension and understanding of texts).<sup>59</sup> As one of the four categories of grammar, reading operated on various levels: at the levels of commentary and textual decoding.<sup>60</sup> Insight into the latter is provided by Hildemar of Corbie in the mid-ninth century who, writing for a monastic audience, associated, as David Ganz observes, reading with grammar, specifically underscoring the importance of correct punctuation and accentuation.<sup>61</sup> As part of the discipline of grammar, however, reading was not confined to the business of clarification and the provision of lexical understanding, but also embraced interpretation. As such, reading accorded with wider interpretative strategies and exegetical practices that were by nature open-ended in orientation.

The second key context was monastic, and one that is especially relevant for early medieval glossed texts which were regularly copied in monastic centres in the Latin West. Michael Lapidge notes the importance of reading in the *Rule of St. Benedict* and that “medieval monks appear to have read more slowly than modern scholars”.<sup>62</sup> As with grammar, monastic reading had various functions, one of which is foregrounded by Anna Grotans, who, speaking about the intrinsic oral / aural character of early medieval reading, underscores the

<sup>57</sup> Marius Victorinus, *Ars grammatica* 1.6, ed. I. MARIOTTI (Florence, 1967), p. 66. See J. LECLERCQ, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. C. MISRAHI (New York, 1961), p. 17.

<sup>58</sup> For the importance of the *ars grammatica*, see M. IRVINE, *The Making of Textual Culture: ‘Grammatica’ and Literary Theory, 350-1100* (Cambridge, 1994: *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature* 19).

<sup>59</sup> Jean Leclercq notes that Quintilian equated *grammaticae* and *litteratura* and that the terms *grammaticus* and *litteratus* designated a man who knows not only “how to decipher the letters, but how to understand the texts”. See Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 2.14.3. LECLERCQ, *The Love of Learning*, p. 17.

<sup>60</sup> Grammar encompassed various categories: *lectio*, *enarratio*, *emendatio*, and *iudicium*. For which, see GROTRANS, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, pp. 25-27.

<sup>61</sup> GANZ, “The preconditions”, pp. 38-39.

<sup>62</sup> LAPIDGE, “The study of Latin texts,” pp. 126-127.

functional orality of written texts ... deeply rooted in a 'classical past' with its grammatical and rhetorical traditions and a 'monastic present' in which the correct oral performance of liturgical and other texts was a crucial component of everyday life.<sup>63</sup>

Another vital function of monastic reading was meditation. A highly evocative metaphor for meditation was rumination, cogently analysed by Jean Leclercq in his discussion of *lectio* as both *oratio* and *meditatio*. Through the images of mastication and digestion, reflected in terms such as *os cordis* ('mouth of the heart') and *venter animi* ('stomach of the mind'), the physical nature of reading / understanding was denoted. As a meditative practice, reading was thus a slow, deeply immersive activity involving both mind and body.<sup>64</sup>

Moreover, the meditative mode of reading closely associated with monastic *lectio* accorded with other patristic and early medieval ideas, in particular with the idea of reading as an inward journey, the *locus classicus* for which was Augustine. According to Brian Stock, Augustine regarded the act of reading as

a critical step upwards in a mental ascent: it is both an awakening from sensory illusion and a rite of initiation, in which the reader crosses the threshold from the outside to the inside world.<sup>65</sup>

Reading and interiority were thus aligned. Indeed, for Augustine, reading could function as a vehicle for contemplation, self-knowledge and higher understanding. Such ideas found a reflex in early medieval thought, for example in Alcuin, who paired *legere* ('to read') and *intelligere* ('to understand').<sup>66</sup> The link between higher truth and interiority was, however, a vital component of Augustinian epistemology, as is exemplified by his concepts of the inner word, inte-

<sup>63</sup> GROTANS, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, p. 8.

<sup>64</sup> For discussion of *ruminatio* as "active" reading, that is, as an exercise in "spiritual nourishment", see LECLERCQ, *The Love of Learning*, pp. 72-73. See also CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory*, pp. 165-166; EAD., "Rhetorical *memoria* in commentary and practice", in: *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, ed. V. COX and J.O. WARD (Leiden, 2006), pp. 205-233, at p. 210; W.A. GRAHAM, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 134.

<sup>65</sup> STOCK, *Augustine the Reader*, p. 1.

<sup>66</sup> See M. CRISTIANI, "Le vocabulaire de l'enseignement dans la correspondance d' Alcuin", in: *Vocabulaire des écoles et des méthodes d'enseignement au Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque, Rome, 21-22 octobre 1989*, ed. O. WEIJERS (Turnhout, 1992: *Études sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du Moyen Âge* 5), pp. 13-32, at p. 21.



rior illumination and innate knowledge latent in memory.<sup>67</sup> The link is moreover found in Carolingian scholarly thought. An example is provided by the early medieval reception of Augustine's theory of vision, which maintained that the highest form of cognition was avisual and intellectual.<sup>68</sup> In his study of this reception, Jesse Keskiaho has gleaned fresh insight from annotations, and has reviewed the evidence of Carolingian exegetical and theological writings to demonstrate that the Augustinian epistemological theory of vision was known in the Carolingian age, albeit at times simplified and repurposed.<sup>69</sup> Another example of a Carolingian interest in higher truth and spiritual / inner ascent is provided by ninth-century glosses on the allegorical books of Martianus Capella, where we also find manifestations of the Augustinian interpretation of Platonic anamnesis.<sup>70</sup> Reading, then, which in an Augustinian sense provided access to illumination and self-knowledge, could be regarded as an inward journey, a recollection of higher or divine truth. Like the act of meditation, it operated at a deep, interior level, access to which required effort and time.

<sup>67</sup> See STOCK, *Augustine the Reader*, pp. 159-160 and M.E. AMSLER, *Etymology and Grammatical Discourse in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Amsterdam, 1989: *Amsterdam Studies in the theory and history of linguistic science* 44), p. 103.

<sup>68</sup> An earlier instance of an interest in spiritual versus physical vision is furnished by Virgilius Maro, who coined the word *uidare* to denote, as Vivien Law observes, the eyes of the mind in contrast to physical vision. See V. LAW, "Learning to read with the *oculi mentis*: The word-play of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus", in: EAD., *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (London and New York, 1997), pp. 224-245, at p. 236.

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, Keskiaho's discussion of the early ninth-century St. Amand manuscript, described as a "study edition". This manuscript transmits glosses on *De genesi*, a principal source for the Augustinian theory of vision; see Keskiaho's contribution to this volume. See also his analysis of the *Opus Caroli* and the uncertainty surrounding Theodulf's familiarity with Augustine's original discussion of visions, as well as a version of the theory found in Isidore. J. KESKIAHO, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages: The Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400-900* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 159-164, 175-176, 210, and 215.

<sup>70</sup> See S. O'SULLIVAN, "Martianus Capella and the Carolingians: Some observations based on the glosses on books I-II from the oldest gloss tradition on *De nuptiis*", in: *Listen, O Isles, unto Me: Studies in Medieval Word and Image in Honour of Jennifer O'Reilly*, ed. E. MULLINS and D. SCULLY (Cork, 2011), pp. 28-38; C.M. BOWER, "Quadrivial reasoning and allegorical revelation: Meta-knowledge and Carolingian approaches to knowing", in: *Carolingian Scholarship and Martianus Capella: Ninth-century Commentary Traditions on Martianus' "De nuptiis" in Context*, ed. M. TEEUWEN and S. O'SULLIVAN (Turnhout, 2011: *Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* 12), pp. 57-73, at p. 66. See also Alcuin's focus on "*altiora puri aetheris spectamina*" ("the higher sights of pure heaven") in his dialogue on true philosophy. M. ALBERI, "The better paths of wisdom: Alcuin's monastic 'true philosophy' and the world court", *Speculum* 76.4 (2001), pp. 896-910, at p. 901.

A means of access was provided by language, often regarded as a vehicle for illumination. Long-standing theories about the importance of language were bequeathed to the early medieval world, theories focussing on its relationship to reality, on its potential to recover transcendent truth, and its function as a tool for signification.<sup>71</sup> Key exponents of such theories were Augustine and Isidore, whose reception in the early medieval West is well attested. With regard to the former, any doubts about the utility of language were generally overlooked in favour of the notion of interior illumination and the mediating role of the inner word.<sup>72</sup> As for Isidore, words provided epistemic access and immanent meaning, as well as serving a memorial function.<sup>73</sup> These functions find another context in, what Grotans calls, the “paradigm shift” from a primarily aural to a visual conceptualisation of language that occurred in the early Middle Ages.<sup>74</sup> Influenced by ancient grammatical ideas of letters as both graphical and phonological entities, Parkes observes that “by the ninth century readers and scribes had come to perceive the written medium as an autonomous manifestation of language, which was apprehended as much by the eye as by the ear”.<sup>75</sup> A good example in the Carolingian age attesting to the success of this paradigm shift is the extremely high status accorded to the written word in deluxe manuscripts such as the Dagulf Psalter written in gold.<sup>76</sup> Further testimony that letters themselves were highly valued is gleaned from the words of an eminent Carolingian figure, Hrabanus Maurus, who wrote that “only letters are immortal and ward off death”.<sup>77</sup> Such ideas no doubt aligned with ancient ideas concerning memory as a written surface on which letters are imprinted.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>71</sup> For language and words as furnishing access to knowledge and the world, see especially Jacques Fontaine and Jean Jolivet. J. FONTAINE, *Isidore de Seville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1959-1983), 1, p. 41. J. JOLIVET, “Quelques cas de ‘platonisme grammatical’ du VII<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, in: *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. P. GALLAIS and Y.-J. RIOU (Poitiers, 1966), pp. 93-99.

<sup>72</sup> AMSLER, *Etymology*, pp. 103 and 108.

<sup>73</sup> S. O'SULLIVAN, “Isidore in the Carolingian and Ottonian worlds: Encyclopaedism and etymology, c. 800-1050”, in: *Brill's Companion to Isidore*, ed. A. FEAR and J. WOOD (Turnhout, forthcoming).

<sup>74</sup> GROTRANS, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, pp. 20-21. See also V. LAW, “From aural to visual: Medieval representations of the word”, in: EAD., *Grammar and Grammarians*, pp. 250-259.

<sup>75</sup> PARKES, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>76</sup> See especially GANZ, “The preconditions”, pp. 23-44.

<sup>77</sup> “*Grammata sola carent fato, mortemque repellunt*”. Hrabanus Maurus, *Ad Eigilum de libro quem scripsit*, ed. in: *MGH PP 2*, p. 186. GANZ, “Preconditions”, p. 33.

<sup>78</sup> See CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory*, p. 16.

If reading was a mental ascent, then the written word furnished the medium and the lemma / gloss the trigger.

Thus far, I have situated reading in the context of early medieval grammatical and monastic culture, as well as in epistemology. The final context I shall foreground is the field of early medieval hermeneutics. A slow and engaged mode of reading must surely have aligned with well-established hermeneutic strategies, in particular with the stylistic and intellectual preference for obscurity. Jan Ziolkowski outlines how in style, form, and language, ancient and medieval scholars, despite arguments in favour of stylistic clarity, were interested in obscurity. He notes various “obscurantist techniques” to underscore an “aesthetic that favoured difficulty, ornament, artificiality, amplification and periphrasis”.<sup>79</sup> Obscurity, moreover, was not only an aesthetic but also a fundamental way of knowing in line with the attention to exegetical difficulty, as well as with the schemes of interpretation at the heart of scholarly practice and training in the late antique and early medieval periods. Indeed, the techniques of obscurity were no mere affectation but demonstrated the desire to clothe as well as to uncover meaning in accordance with the well-known schemes of exposition available to medieval scholars. Such schemes focussed scholarly attention on the construction of meaning, at the heart of which was the addition of further meaning, often underpinned by architectural and clothing metaphors.<sup>80</sup> Patristic and early medieval writers also argued for the wider utility of concealment as a means of sharpening wit and producing a sense of intellectual satiety through hard work.<sup>81</sup> Though the strategies deployed were not especially abstruse and the methods of unravelling them often well known, the interest in obscurity points to a means of communication that favoured rendering things less than immediate. As such, obscurity, at the core of medieval hermeneutics, provides a further context for the reading practice outlined in this paper, namely a practice not focussed on accessibility.

<sup>79</sup> J. M. ZIOLKOWSKI, “Theories of obscurity in the Latin tradition”, *Mediaevalia* 19 (1996), pp. 101-170, at pp. 134 and 138. For an example of the use of obscurity, see LAW, “Learning to read”, pp. 224-245.

<sup>80</sup> See, e.g., elucidation of the levels of interpretation in Gregory the Great. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob, Epist. ad Leandrum*, ed. M. ADRIAEN (Turnhout, 1979-1985: CCSL 143), p. 4.

<sup>81</sup> These interests find a reflex in Carolingian glosses on Martianus, e.g. in annotations on the allegorical books that explore notions of hidden truth and arcane knowledge. See S. O’SULLIVAN, “The sacred and the obscure: Greek in the Carolingian reception of Martianus Capella”, *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 22 (2012), pp. 67-94.

## Conclusion

The lemma in early medieval glossed manuscripts provides insight into the act of reading. It shows a reading that was not always straightforward and aimed at disambiguation, but one that was slow, fragmentary, non-linear, fluid, open-ended, layered, complex, multivalent, inter- and intratextual. Early medieval glossed manuscripts moreover bear witness to the important encyclopaedic practices of dividing, gathering, organising and synthesising knowledge, crucial components in the construction of medieval memory. They foreground, above all, an attentive reading where the goal was not a terminus but an ongoing process of inscribing knowledge, and where the lemma was just the starting point for decoding and encoding information of all kinds.

This paper highlights a reading practice that is different to, but runs alongside, the new graphic conventions of the early Middle Ages. Much of the scholarship on medieval reading practice has tended to concentrate on increased formality and legibility, and “to locate sharp moments of transition when one set of practices yields to another: when reading passes from speech to silence, from public to private settings, from intensive to extensive or passive to active”.<sup>82</sup> Such models of reading are complicated by the evidence of early medieval glossed manuscripts which underscore a reading that was labour intensive, not focussed on rapid comprehension, and one that coheres with key aspects of early medieval textual culture.

Clarity and disambiguation were, of course, important intellectual goals, but not the only ones. Indeed, ancient and early medieval epistemology and hermeneutics bear witness to intellectual traditions that foregrounded interiority and obscurity as part of a fundamental ontology in line with the search for origins, the immaterial, higher truth and transcendent reality. For patristic and early medieval writers, knowledge was frequently orientated towards the extramundane and divine, and, as such, was often seen as hidden and concealed.<sup>83</sup> In line with well-established epistemological goals and mnemonic conventions, where accessibility was rarely the point, it is no surprise that early medieval glossed manuscripts attest to a reading that was slow, attentive, and requiring sustained intellectual effort.

<sup>82</sup> L. JARDINE and A. GRAFTON, “Studied for action: How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy”, *Past and Present* 129 (1990), pp. 30-78, at p. 32.

<sup>83</sup> See the orientation towards the ethereal and the hidden in glosses on Martianus in S. O'SULLIVAN, “Obscurity, pagan lore and secrecy in glosses to Books I-II from the oldest gloss tradition”, in: *Carolingian Scholarship and Martianus Capella*, pp. 99-121.