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From Marginal Glosses to Translations: Levels of Glossing in an Early Medieval Manuscript (Munich, BSB, Clm 19410)

Abstract: Clm 19410 contains a variety of texts, most of them of rather drab and unassuming nature like questionnaires, moral sayings or writing templates. Taken together, they constitute a utilitarian manuscript to be used in education and for self-study in more advanced topics or even practice in them. Hidden among the different texts lay a multitude of glossaries of varying educational levels, from explanations of basic monastic texts to esoteric farm vocabulary, as well as a glossed version of an Anglo-Saxon poem. The glossaries and the poem are analysed in regard to their setting in the manuscript as well as to their internal characteristics. This analysis reinforces the impression of the manuscript as a dual use tool for education as well as advanced activities of the learned clergy of the time.

1 Introduction

Glosses provide a unique view of the way texts were used by a medieval readership, often showing the hand of the users themselves. But far from merely being occasional annotations, they evolved into a complex supplementary genre of their own, displaying a bewildering variety of forms ranging from the humble note to the alphabetical lexicon. These different levels of organisation are neither exclusive of each other nor are they in a simple chronological sequence ranging from simplicity to complexity: lexica can be broken up into marginal notes, and conversely, marginal notes can be grouped into lexica according to the needs of the users of the texts. Manuscripts often display a synchronic collection of glosses at various levels of organisation, even more so if their contents and hence the materials to be explained cover different fields of knowledge. The present paper aims to analyse the collection of glosses in a single manuscript in order to interpret their functionality in the codex as a tool for performing different educational purposes.

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2 A case-study: the manuscript Munich, BSB, Clm 19410

Before studying glosses and glossaries of the manuscript Munich, BSB, Clm 19410, it is helpful to have a look at the manuscript itself, its contents and its origin.[1] Clm 19410 is a handy size, measuring 22 × 13 cm, and consist of 34 folios (68 pages). It was long thought to have been written at the monastery at Tegernsee in Southern Bavaria, where it was stored for hundreds of years before being moved to the Bavarian State Library in the nineteenth century. However, recent studies have shown that it is more likely to have been produced in Passau, an episcopal see in Upper Bavaria.[2] This is indicated by the mention of a bishop and of 'St Stephen's altar',[3] and also by the addition of a letter by Hartwig, who was Bishop of Passau from 840 to 866.[4] The mention of the tenth year of the reign of King Louis the German (843) in a formula on p. 44,[5] puts the manuscript's creation somewhere in the latter half of the ninth century. The writing shows marked variations in appearance, so a slow growth over time seems probable, even if it was not written by several different scribes.[6]

I will start this paper with an overview of the contents of the manuscript. The glossaries, which occur between the main texts of the manuscript, will be treated as a group in the second part of this paper. On pp. 1–23 there is a collection of questions and answers (Q&A) regarding various subjects. This Q&A approach gave the manuscript its medieval title *interrogationes*, written on the flyleaf. This textual unit is split into two parts. The first part, without title, consists of a local version of a work circulating in a number of highly variable forms and known as *Sententiae defloratae de diversis causis* ('Excerpts on different themes').[7] There are some indications of its earlier use in the missionary work of the border bishopric.[8] Here, the local version of that work has been mixed with other contents

1 See Halm 1878, 242; Bischoff 1960, 163–164; Rio 2009, 248–249; Brunhölzl 2000; Gretsch and Gneuss 2005, 17; Bergmann and Stricker 2005, no. 660.

2 See Brunhölzl 2000, 28–62.

3 Zeumer 1882, 456. Stephen (German 'Stephan') was the patron of the cathedral: see Bauer 1997.

4 Boshof 1992, 35.

5 Zeumer 1882, 458, Z. 17.

6 The case for 'mostly one writer' was made by Bischoff 1960, 163.

7 Edition and analysis: Soage 2016; Orth 2017. I would like to thank Mr Orth for providing me with a copy of his work.

8 Brunhölzl 2000, 43. For a criticism of this view, see Orth 2017, 44–45 and 55.

– all copied as one block of text – and seems to have lost this possible original purpose, as the whole manuscript is not of a missionary character.[9] The *Joca monachorum* ('Jokes of the monks'), which makes up the second part of the collection of Q&A, contains quizzes and riddles.[10] On pp. 24–39 there is a 'collection of sayings, admonitions, and excerpts of a religious and moral kind'.[11] It is difficult to sort out the origins of every single sentence in this florilegium, but there are strong agreements between this manuscript and insular collections of the same kind, which may have come from the British Isles and belonged to itinerant teachers. Three sequences of sayings in particular can be traced back to Irish and Anglo-Saxon traditions.[12]

On pp. 41–51 there is a collection of model letters and charters called *Collectio Pataviensis*, or Passau Collection.[13] Clm 19410 is the only witness of these templates and formulas. The tell-tale sign of a formula is the substitution of personal names and dates through placeholders such as *ille*, 'he' (see Fig. 1: *ille*, alone or in combination with other nouns, stands roughly for 'this person' or 'this place', so as to leave the information unspecified). The formulas are followed by a collection of poetry on diverse topics, some of which display an educational or formulary character. A poem composed from clippings of older poems by Charlemagne's court teacher Alcuin[14] and Eugenius, Archbishop of Toledo,[15] has been carefully anonymised and provided with metric strokes above the accentuated syllables (see Fig. 2).[16] It is followed by a series of inscriptions which have also been ascribed to Alcuin, although only on the basis of their proximity to the preceding poem connected to him.[17] Another series of Roman Christian

9 For information on similar collections, see Orth 2017, 44–49.

10 Text of Clm 19410 edited in Brunhölzl 2000, 54–62; Clm 19410, 13–19 (§§ 71–135). It is referred to as codex 'F' of version 'JM_1's of the *Joca* in Suchier 1955, 114–119. Edition from Paris, BnF, Lat. 13246 in Wright 2004.

11 Gretsch and Gneuss 2005, 18.

12 For more on the genre, see Wright 1993. Brunhölzl is critical of Wright: Brunhölzl 2000, 34, n. 94.

13 Edited (as *Epistolae Alati*) by Rockinger 1857, 169–185; Zeumer 1882, 456–460. For an analysis of the collection, see Rio 2009, 37–39.

14 Heil 1980.

15 Prelog 1989, 84–85.

16 SK nos 3980, 11004, 7223, 1984; edition on the basis of our manuscript, in *MGH*, *Poetae*, 1: *Poetae aevi Carolini (I)*, Alcuinus, *Carmina*, LV.1–4 (p. 266); between vv. 3 and 4: *MGH*, *Auct. ant.*, XIV, Eugenius, *Carmen* II (*Commonitio Mortalitatis Humanae*) (p. 233) (SK 10951).

17 SK 6949, 7299, 1175, 5391, 5997; *MGH*, *Poetae*, 1: *Poetae aevi Carolini (I)*, Alcuinus, *Carmina*, LV.5–9.

inscriptions[18] that are similar in terms of their content and style were probably lifted from the *Liber epigrammatum* by Bede, the Anglo-Saxon writer.[19] A kind of poetic dialogue between the Church Fathers Jerome and Damasus,[20] normally found as an introductory poem in manuscripts of the Psalms, closes this lyrical section of the manuscript.[21]

A double page (pp. 58–59) presents a variety of alphabets, among them a runic one[22] and three different Greek ones (see Fig. 3). The texts that follow the alphabets are later additions, which resume previous themes and genres such as template texts and poetry. The first of two episcopal letters on pp. 61–62 has been made into a formula by eliminating the proper names.[23] Three epitaphs resume the epigraphic content of pp. 53–56 as well as the formulaic one by formularising the second epitaph.[24] Two prose-letters conclude the collection.[25] The first, from a pupil to his teacher (*alumnus presbytero*), has been formularised as well and is written in a curious way just like the preceding verses, with line breaks for non-existent verses. This should likely be attributed to a distracted scribe who copied this prose text as being poetry under the influence of the previous text in this collection.

The contents of the manuscript can be loosely classified into two groups: 1. elementary materials like the Q&A collections and possibly the alphabets;[26] 2. advanced materials like the formulaic texts, which cover charters as well as epistolary writings. The glossaries have to be interpreted in this latter textual context.

18 SK 9571, 428, 9183, 13027, 7704, 14746, 8822; De Rossi 1888, 286.

19 Bernt 1968, 164–172. Bede wrote a comprehensive curriculum of books on the topics treated in early medieval education.

20 Jerome (Hieronymus) is famous for his Latin version of the Bible: the Vulgate. Pope Damasus I was crucial in his support for this project (Frank 1986).

21 SK 12730, 10728. *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi* II A, nos 585, 595, 929. Bruyne 2015, 66. Ferrua 1942, Nr. 60.

22 Derolez 1954, XXXIX, 206–212.

23 *MGH*, *Concilia*, 2,1, 196 and 197, note for line 5.

24 Epitaph of Eio of Ilmmünster: SK 10246; *MGH*, *Poetae*, 6,1 (pp. 156–157). Riculf: SK 16108; *MGH*, *Poetae*, 1, p. 432. Hothroc: SK 6483; *MGH*, *Poetae* 4,2,3, p. 1035.

25 Rockinger 1857, 22 n. 22; 23 n. 23.

26 These can also be used in simple cryptographic operations, which are not for beginners. Apart from being employed in important correspondence, substitutive cryptography was also playfully used in 'secret' scribal names or prayers. See Bischoff 1981.

3 Interlude: What are glosses and glossaries?

There is no consensus about what exactly constitutes a 'gloss' in an early medieval manuscript.[27] Some proponents argue in favour of a very wide definition such as this one: 'anything on a page which is not text proper, but which is intended to comment on the text'.[28] Following this definition, then, every addition to the main text, excluding additions with no relation to it,[29] would be counted as gloss. Consequently, additions such as technical signs, like obeli or asterisks, would have to be included as well as musical notation. While this definition has the advantage of including all the countless ways in which manuscripts could be annotated, it has the disadvantage of diluting the definition of what was traditionally meant by gloss – a short explanation of a difficult word. In fact, many kinds of glossaries are left out of this definition because they are transmitted as the main text and not as paratexts. In my opinion, wider terms like 'paratext' or 'annotation' are better suited to the many forms of additional texts and notes.

Traditionally speaking, glossing has a narrower meaning in Western medieval studies, which I will use in this paper. Glosses are 'a translation of Latin units', with the addendum that 'language difference should be the basis of any definition'.[30] Definitions of this sort are the most widely accepted historically, especially with regard to studies of Old High German, which was largely transmitted via bilingual glossaries.[31] This definition catches the characteristics of the most common texts: they are translations of uncommon Latin words and they often use the vernacular language (in our case: Old High German). It should be noted, though, that the usual language of explanation was Latin, both for synonyms and definitions. It is also difficult to subsume all traditional glosses under the umbrella term of 'translation', as a gloss may explain a difficult concept or make a correction to the text. For practical purposes, one should therefore take the variety of contents into account that can be expressed in the form of a gloss without making the definition meaningless by encompassing all kinds of annotations.

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27 Major editions of glosses: Götz 1888; Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879; Manuscripts for Old High German glosses: Bergmann and Stricker 2005; Introductions to the topic: Bergmann and Stricker 2009; Schiegg 2015.

28 Wieland 1983, 7. Cited according to Schiegg 2015, 8, see his discussion of the terms.

29 For example pen tests, doodles or unrelated notes.

30 Glaser 1994, 184; Glaser 2003. Both are cited in Schiegg 2015, 9.

31 The number of glossaries and the wide distribution of them dwarf the small number of literary texts that exist. For a comprehensive overview of Old High German literature, see Bergmann 2013.

Glosses can be distinguished from similar sorts of texts by certain additional criteria. For one thing, they are less than translations because they do not make up a coherent text.[32] Some translations however are very close to a glossary in terms of their form and style, as we will see shortly. Furthermore, glosses are different from scholia because they are not copied in manuscripts with a specific layout, to say with wide margins where the commentaries can be hosted. However, the dividing line between glossing a text and making a proper commentary is unclear, as a commentary also contains many glossographical elements in addition to long explanations.

A gloss consists of two parts: the word to be explained, i.e. the 'lemma', and the explaining word, phrase or sentence, i.e. the interpretation or Latin *interpretamentum*. For practical purposes – preparing editions, for example – the interpretation alone is often referred to as the 'gloss'. The first two kinds of glosses are additions to a pre-existing work – for example a book of the bible on which they comment. They are added by the users of the manuscript and can be differentiated by their position relative to their lemma. The first kind is the interlinear gloss, so named because of its position between the lines. It is the most basic of designs and is closely connected to the readers of the book, which were often the annotators. Closely related to the interlinear gloss is the marginal gloss – it only differs in the position of the *interpretamentum*; the contents are basically the same. What these two kinds of glosses have in common is that they are both additions to the main work, which is also intelligible without them. But glosses and works may often merge in transmission, thus turning into a single 'text' itself: in it, the commented work and its glosses are habitually copied together.[33]

The next step in the evolution of glosses is taken by the development of glossaries as a special form of text: In this case, the lemma and *interpretamentum* alternate in one line, while the uncommented text is left out. The lemmas thus do not constitute a readable text. This is a transition from annotations on a text to a text made of annotations. Glossaries serving as texts in themselves can be subdivided even further. 'Textual glossaries', as they are known, are closest to the original form of an annotated text. They include the lemmas in the order of their appearance in the source text (hence 'textual'). They are no longer marginal (as to their position on the page) like glosses that can be easily left out when the main work is copied into a new manuscript, but constitute texts of their own. The level

32 Schiegg 2015, 10.

33 This combining of the text and its commentary can also be seen in manuscripts containing texts and independent commentaries or even in the habitual grouping of separate text and commentary-manuscripts in a library.

of abstraction is raised further by different arrangements and choices of glosses. Topical glossaries collect explanations on certain areas of knowledge and are mostly independent of any special base texts. For example, a glossary on grammatical terms would normally incorporate the vocabulary from many elementary grammatical introductions and thus go beyond the limits of a single, annotated text. An even higher order of self-contained abstraction is achieved in alphabetical glossaries. While none of these reached the stage of what we would call an alphabetically ordered encyclopaedia, some of them present an astonishing breadth of knowledge. The largest glossaries of the early Middle Ages are of this kind.

4 The glossaries in Clm 19410

Clm 19410 contains a variety of glossaries at different levels of abstraction and difficulty. There are Latin-Latin and Latin-German glossaries interspersed between texts of other kind.[34] All in all, this manuscript contains sixteen different glossaries, often written in between other blocks of text without any distinction being made, which makes the count arbitrary. Many of these topical glossaries are written together, forming larger mixed glossaries on various subjects. These contain a total of 217 Old High German words. The glosses are intralinear, or *Kontextglossen*, meaning they are not written above the line, but within it[35] and thus constitute discrete, easy-to-copy texts in themselves. Here are some examples:

– p. 24: a mixed glossary on a variety of topics.[36] It directly follows the *Joca monachorum* and is written by the same scribe.[37] There is no apparent source text for the lemmas, nor any obvious theme, although there is a certain penchant for Greek words, such as *problema* (problem), *pisteuo* (believe), *ciliarcus* (captain (military)), *lithostrotos* (paved with stones), a widespread topic in medieval glossography.

34 All glosses (Latin and German) conveniently edited and provided with a linguistic commentary in Frank 1984, 127–133. An overview to the standard edition (of only Old High German glosses) is in Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879, IV 567–568 (no. 443) and Bergmann and Stricker 2005, no. 660.

35 Only one gloss is interlinear (p. 15).

36 Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879, no. MCCXXXI.

37 More specifically, the double alphabet (1. Inc. *A Adam B benedictio* Expl. Z *zelus*, 2. Inc. *A pro alfa* Expl. *Z pro zona quam cinxit adam*) with which they close in this manuscript.

– p. 33: glossary to Virgil (?) in the moral florilegium (pp. 24–39).[38] It is palaeographically identical and visually indistinguishable from the surrounding florilegium, but disrupts the text for the reader; this suggests a highly composite model where the glossary was nested in between two parts of the florilegium. This distinction was wiped out by a joint copy of all the texts, however. The glossary seems to be on the *Aeneid*, where most of the terms occur. Virgil's *Aeneid* on the exploits of Aeneas, the Roman national hero, was a staple school text throughout the Middle Ages.[39]
– pp. 36–38: glossaries on various subjects.[40] Four glossaries follow one another without any clear distinction, thus forming now a textual unit by copying four previously independent texts. A textual glossary on the Rule of Benedict, the fundamental monastic rule of the Early Middle Ages, is preceded by a two-lemma fragment of an *Aeneid* (?) glossary (*trinacria, alumnus*). The lemmas follow the order of the text of the *Regula Benedicti* and would have been of practical use in a collective reading, where the teacher was supplying the pupils with the correct interpretation of the word when it occurred. A glossary with no apparent source or topic follows, although a biblical or moralistic context is likely, judging by the vocabulary: *abrenuntio* (renounce), *abstinentia* (abstinence), *sub dutoribus* (!) (under [the supervision of] teachers), *nugaces* (drollery), *temeritas* (temerity). The two biblical glossaries that follow are shorter versions of a more comprehensive glossary on the first book of the *Bible*.[41] The four glossaries all deal with basic texts – Virgil's *Aeneid* (?), the *Rule of Benedict*, and the *Bible*, which would have occurred in elementary Latin education.
– pp. 39–41: *Carmen ad Deum*, a gloss-poem (a poetical paraphrase) on an earlier Latin model; see below.
– pp. 58–60: glossaries on various subjects.[42] The four glossaries are placed around the double-page alphabets on pp. 58-59 and continue on p. 60. A glossary on Isidore of Seville concerning parts of the body, a list of highly unusual agricultural terms, rare words from the *Bible* and terms relating to

38 Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879, no. MCXCVI.
39 Glauche 1978, 147, *s.v.* 'Vergil'.
40 The parts have been edited separately: Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879, nos DLXI, MCXCV, XIII, XXXVI.
41 The *Rz Genesis glossary. See Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879, V 108ff., on Hadrian and Theodor (connected to the gloss poem further below), 400; Baesecke 1924.
42 Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879, nos DCCCCLVII, MCXXXIX, CCCLXVI[a], DCCXIII[b].

ecclesiastical offices. These four glossaries are of a higher educational level than the preceding ones.

In the standard edition,[43] the glossaries have been edited separately according to their subject matter, but it should be kept in mind that the manuscript displays most of them as if they were linked to each other or to the surrounding texts. My impression of the stock of glossaries so far is that they concern mostly elementary texts, but contain intermediate vocabulary. The works – as far they can be identified – would have been required reading in a young monk's education (the Bible, the Rule of Benedict, and Vergil). The elementary glossaries are tightly integrated into the surrounding elementary texts of other genres, to the point of merging visually as if they were one text. The glossaries which were written or added in the blank spaces around the alphabets, on the other hand, are more easily distinguishable, convey more advanced vocabulary and are also separated – by their position at the end of the manuscript – by a host of other material from the other groups of glossaries.

One glossary (pp. 39–41), if it can be called that, transcends the mere utilitarian nature of the previous word lists: the *Carmen ad Deum*, a German translation of a Latin poem of Anglo-Saxon origin.[44] Its layout closely resembles that of the preceding glossaries (lemma and interpretation alternating), and the verse line break has been abandoned in favour of prose-style writing. The same hand wrote the poem, the previous school texts and the formulae that follow immediately in the manuscript seemingly in one session. The Latin poem has a long and tangled history, but ultimately came to the Continent via Alcuin.[45] The present text is the result of multi-level glossation. It preserves traces of an older Latin glossation as well as those of an Anglo-Saxon translation, which can only be treated in passing:[46] some words of the Latin texts disrupt the rhyme and thus cannot be the original wording. They are common synonyms for rare words that stand originally in the text and thus have the character of explanatory glosses in Latin. Other evidence of a Latin gloss is preserved in the Old High German translation. There are cases where it does not match its Latin counterpart, but rather resembles a translation of a gloss. Old English glossing is also apparent: sometimes the

43 Steinmeyer and Sievers 1879.

44 SK 14640. Many editions exist, the most notable being Gretsch and Gneuss 2005; Hellgardt 2008. On the author and origin, see Lapidge 1996. Previously on the same subject: Baesecke 1948.

45 As part of manuscripts of his *Enchiridion*: Gretsch and Gneuss 2005, 9–11, 14–16. Fravventura 2017, 88–89.

46 This is covered exhaustively in Gretsch and Gneuss 2005, 21–32.

German translation includes a very rare German word, which is morphologically similar to a much more common English word, thus pointing to the use of loanwords. The Old High German glosses are easily placed in this context: they accompany the difficult Latin of the poem for the better understanding of the pupils. The translation is not a literary work in itself, but a word-by-word translation meant to be read alongside the Latin, although it forms a syntactically coherent text in itself.[47] The whole educational nature of this text is underlined by an explanatory note at the end of it about dactyls and spondees, the metrical feet.[48] Thus the poem was annotated in the context of its English origin and – as the Old English glossation shows – it was used in an educational context. When this annotated version of the poem found its way to Passau – most likely in the libraries of travelling Anglo-Saxon scholars – the knowledge preserved in it was only accessible to the teachers themselves. This knowledge had to be adapted to the special circumstances of the Bavarian school where it would be put to use. A new translation was made in Old High German for this purpose, relying heavily on the Latin-English glosses. The translation, in the layout of a glossary, was included among other educational texts. This text collection as a whole was then copied into the present manuscript. This manuscript, in turn, being a copy of an earlier collection, presents us with a standardised compendium of educational materials.

5 Conclusions

Glossing in Clm 19410 is on a continuum from simple annotations to highly abstracted collections of glossographical and lexical materials. The glossaries show the same range – from elementary to advanced level – as the other texts in the manuscript and thus reinforce its hybrid nature. Interlinear or marginal notations occur here as 'solidified' into glossaries: they became texts of their own and were transmitted as such. The scholarly work done on these texts results in their multi-layered nature, where a glossing of a substrate text is often changed and expanded by continuous additions and new combinations. The gloss-poem of the *Carmen ad Deum* is a good example of this in view of its three-layered

47 On the continuity between a simple word-matching gloss and a poetical translation, see Sonderegger 1974, 78–79.

48 Which incidentally do not match the trochaic metre of the Latin poem.

stratigraphy of glosses, which have kept the poem relevant as a mean of teaching ever since it was created, even as its linguistic environment changed.

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Abbreviations

MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.
SK	Dieter Schaller and Ewald Könsgen, *Initia carminum latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977.

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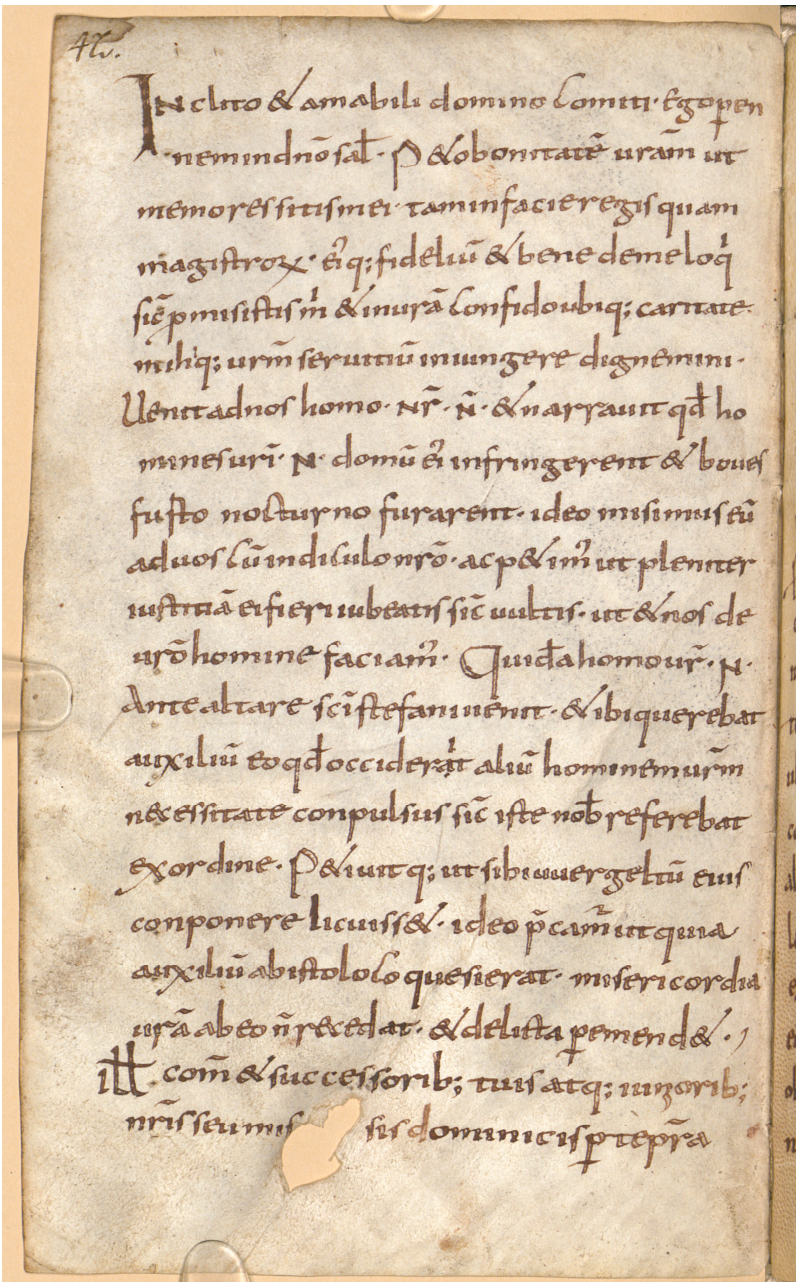

Fig. 1: Munich, BSB, Clm 19410, p. 42; courtesy of the BSB. The abbreviated placeholder '*Ille*' is visible at the bottom left.

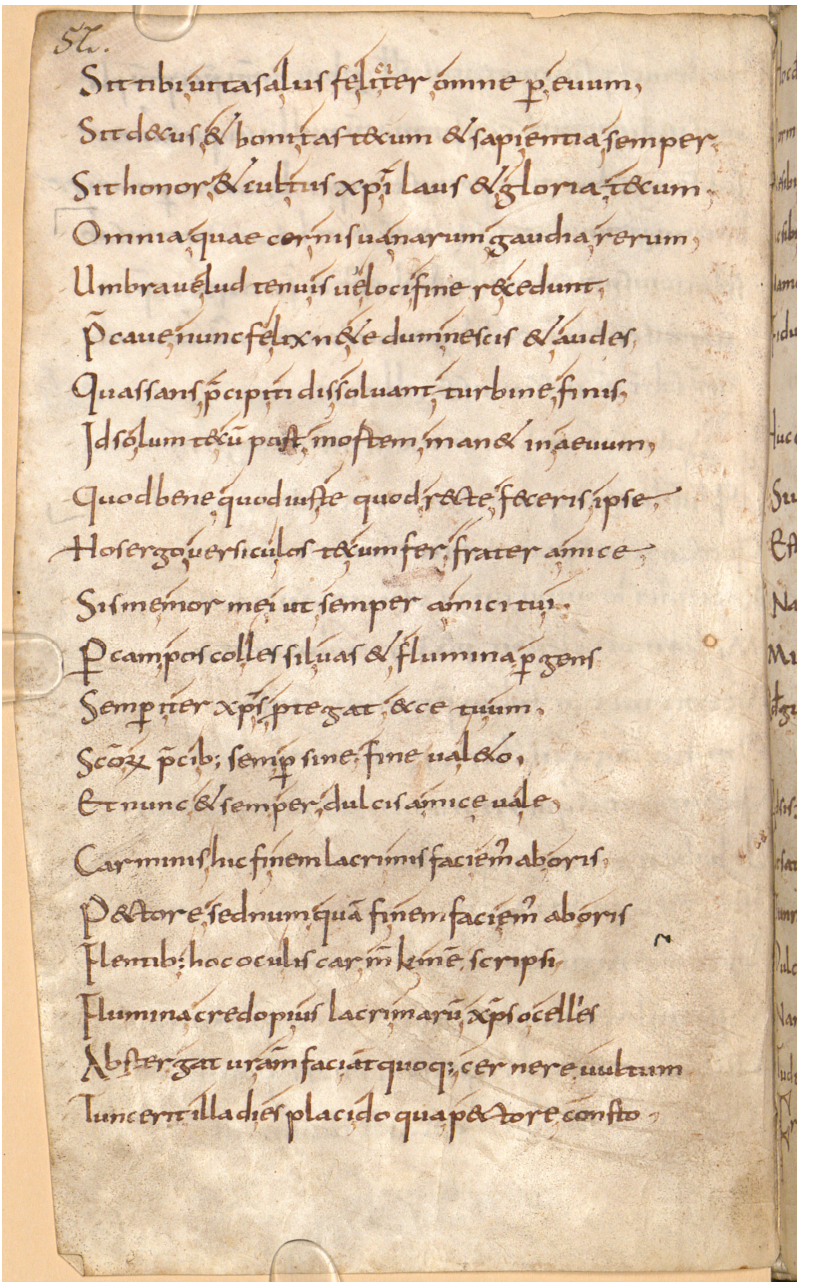

Fig. 2: Munich, BSB, Clm 19410, p. 52; courtesy of the BSB. Poetry with metric annotation.

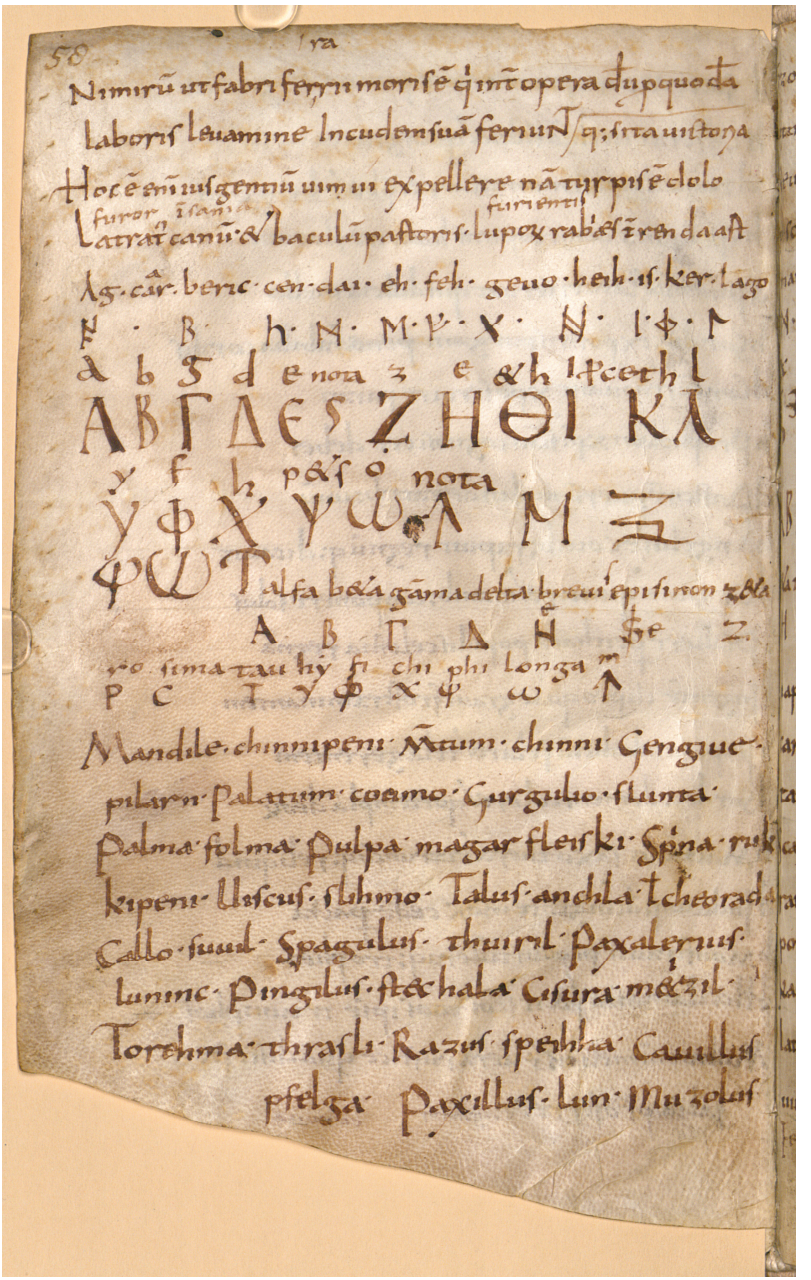

Fig. 3: Munich, BSB, Clm 19410, p. 58; courtesy of the BSB. Various alphabets.