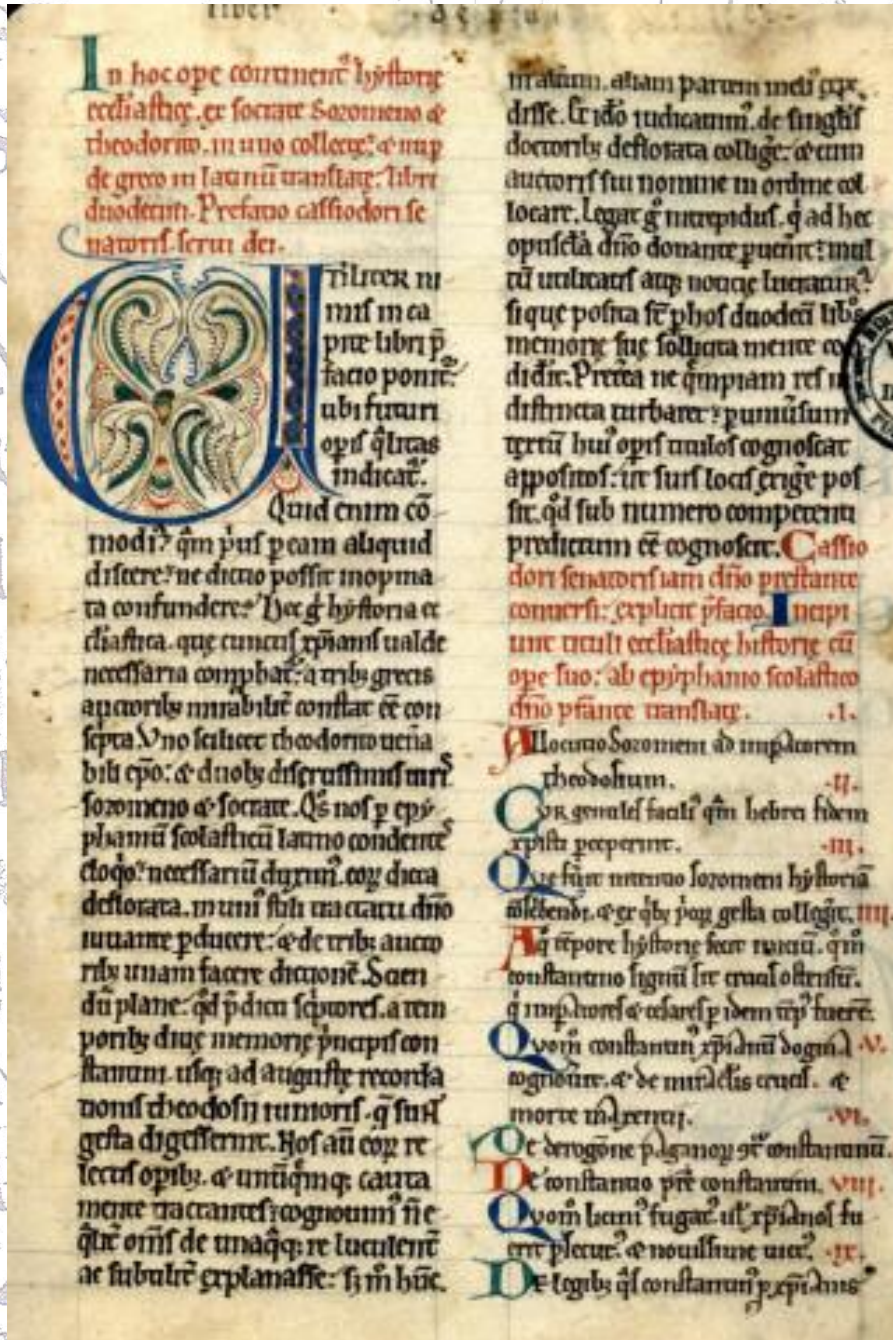


Ex Museo Petri Dubrowsky

The History of a Historia

Manuscript transmission of the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* by Epiphanius-

Cassiodorus



MA Thesis by
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 Utrecht University, July 2010

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Introduction

For a “best-seller for centuries”¹ the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* by Cassiodorus has been remarkably little studied by historians. Linguists have studied this translation of three Greek histories in Latin,² but the historical aspects of the work and its reception have not been studied up till now. This is a great shame, as the *Historia Tripartita* is a multi-layered work: the Greek histories were written in the 5th century, the translation into Latin was made in the 6th century, and the earliest surviving manuscript is from the 9th century, whereas it has been passed on in print well into the 16th century.

From this brief chronology of the transmission of the *Historia* many different questions may arise: why was it read for so many centuries, was it perceived in the same way, and if not, then what made the difference? There are many ways in which we can look at the past. The massive work edited by Pierre Nora, *Lieux de Mémoire* demonstrates this for France: a brief glance at the table of contents shows the many ways to look at history. Nora himself writes: “*La mémoire est la vie, toujours portée par des groupes vivants et au titre, elle est en évolution permanente, ouverte à la dialectique des souvenirs et de l’amnésie, inconsciente des déformations successives, vulnérable à travers les utilisations et manipulations [...].*”³

In this thesis it is not up to us, readers and modern historians, to make an appropriate choice how we wish to read the *Historia*: we will be concerned with the choices medieval users and readers made on how they wanted to use the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* in their own construction of memory.

As the reception of a text is a very large topic indeed, I shall focus in this thesis on the physical form and manner of the dissemination of history. From the physical form alone much can be discerned. If we compare it to modern literature we can ask: is it a story spread by an underground society, which prints its histories on recycled toilet paper, or does it appear as a glossy on the magazine shelf, and is it placed beside fashion or feel-good magazines? Or is this history perhaps produced in large expensive hard-cover books which are discussed in the classroom? The same type of questions can be asked about manuscripts, and the answers can provide insight on the people’s perception and image of history in any social context.

¹ As James O’Donnell calls the *Historia* in chapter 6 of his book *Cassiodorus*.

² See for example the extensive work of Sven Lundström: *Zur Historia tripartita des Cassiodor*, (Rome, 1952).

³ Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, (Gallimard, 1984), p. xix.

All information in this thesis is based on what has been written on the individual manuscripts, as it is impossible to visit all libraries where these manuscripts are kept in such a brief period of time as that provided for writing this thesis. My conclusions have a necessarily hypothetical character, but even as such, surveys like this are valuable bases for future research.

Chapter 1: Methods and assumptions

Written Society

Everyone in society is prone to play a part, be it consciously or not. This is most clear if we look at people with power, those who are at the centre of attention, as they play a part in order to fulfil expectations of a large audience. These expectations are founded on the one side on what such a person has shown in the past, and on the other on what fits the function of such a person. This is true for modern society, but similar mechanisms were at work in the Middle Ages. Every member of society had a role to play, an 'identity' which came with responsibilities, tasks and modes of conduct. These roles follow a certain 'script': (written) texts which were the basis of society's expectations, and which were read and compared with other texts and adopted and/or adjusted in order to play one's part in society.

One should keep in mind that historical texts stand in a literary tradition and are often written with the express aim of influencing a particular audience. Alternatively, their nature is such that they shape an idea of the past, the present, and an (ideal) future - and the place of the reader in this triangle. One should be wary, however, of seeing this audience as a group of people with a single mind, who read everything in the same manner and order. No society has a collective masterbrain.⁴ At most there is perhaps a shared identity, but even this is a fluid concept which cannot stand without contextualization and personalization. One should also be aware that a single literary work cannot time and time again change social reality. There are very important texts which did break taboos, but for one text single-handedly to change the mentality of a complete society, everyone must have read or heard about the text, agree with it, and adopt it. A text can assist in current issues, be very important even, but more factors play a role in the changing of society than that text alone: contextualizing and the study of other factors is important.

So, what did the world of the audience, these texts, and the actors who played their leading parts in society on the basis of these texts, look like? In relation to the text which is at the centre of this thesis, the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, one particular question is very important, one which is summarized in the term 'Epochenfrage'.⁵ The question comes down to an old problem in history: periodization. Historians have created periods, and it is at the

⁴ See for a good example the Borg in Star-Trek. A description of this fictional race can be found at <http://www.startrek.com/startrek/view/library/aliens/article/70558.html> .

⁵ Bernhard, Steinhilber "Der umbruch der antiker bildung" in: Peter Bruns ed. *Von Athen nach Bagdad: Zur Rezeption griechischer Philosophie von der Spätantike bis zum Islam* (Bonn, 2003), pp. 132-160.

watershed of one of these periods that the *Historia* was written. Should Cassiodorus be seen as a late Antique author, or a pioneer in the early Middle Ages? This seems a rather redundant question. Cassiodorus was very aware of the changes which took place in his time, but to wonder in which period he should be placed is to miss the point: it did not matter to the contemporary audience, nor did it matter for future audiences, for, as I shall discuss in detail later, the Carolingians still identified themselves with the Roman past and did not seem to have considered Romans from what modern historians call ‘Antiquity’ an essentially different kind of people, living in an essentially different age.

Social Writings

A society cannot be studied without understanding the script for the actions which take place in it; neither can a script be studied without understanding the stage and actors. Even the evolution of the letter forms in which the text was written down is bound by its social needs: a certain *mise-en-texte* fulfils a function to the user, and is also bound by conventions, which in turn are related to a certain perspective on how things are supposed to be. For example, one can think of conventions in illuminations, or the ordering of indices, which was not done according to the alphabet but seen in the light of the Book of Nature. Richard and Mary Rouse write in their article “Development of Research Tools” that alphabetical order in reference tools was illogical to medieval people since it disturbed the harmonious organization of relations created by God. “An author who arranged material [on the] basis of the alphabet seemed either to deny the logical relationships, or to confess himself incapable of perceiving them.”⁶ This example shows how mentality interferes even with the pragmatic functionality of objects which at first sight seem to have a purely practical purpose, with no extent thoughts attached to it. At all times we should realize that everything, and even utilitarian objects, has a human side - a circumstance which can hardly be excluded in any topic. Manuscripts are not some kind of pretty fossils. They did have a function in society, they were utilitarian objects, but there are other questions which can be asked of a codex than “what does it contain?”

This was no different in the Middle Ages. In 9th-century writing there is a “deliberate revival of antique letterforms” which relates to the *renovatio imperii*, the upgrading of society, looking back to the glorious days of the Roman Empire. This involves a conscious designing in which variations in letter forms are used and discarded. Not only letter forms, but also colours and miniatures, and even the writing in gold and purple adds to this “visual

⁶ R. Rouse, And M. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, (Indiana 1991), p. 240.

rhetoric of power.”⁷ Some of the manuscripts of the *Historia Tripartita*⁸ were written with gold. One could call this a “golden history” in which the old Roman past described in the *Historia* is connected to Rome, to the Church. Through the annals which were written and disseminated not long before the earliest of these manuscripts was written, in which Charlemagne is presented as a warrior of God, the old Roman past may even be connected to the reign of Charlemagne himself.

This is but one example in the long tradition of the manuscripts of the *Historia Tripartita*. But it does show how Carolingian power is similar to playing a part. Everyone believes in what is happening, but a king has a specific part to play, and so do the noblemen, clergymen and other members of society. This part does not come with improvisation: there is a script to follow, one written down in the Bible, but also in the tales told in history, either in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, or in the annals, and in other historic writings. In order to understand what happens on stage, one should look at the script for textual variations and try to understand how the script was interpreted by the actors. In this thesis I will try to gain this insight by collecting all the positive evidence I can find on the medieval use of the *Historia Tripartita*. This collection will contain a survey of all the manuscripts, medieval catalogues, and indirect material such as uses and mentions of the *Historia Tripartita* in medieval works and letters.

The objects themselves, the manuscripts, can also give us some clues on how the *Historia* was used, as I explained above, by looking at decoration, script, and marginal notations. As it was not yet possible to study the manuscripts in the libraries or in facsimile, I shall not include that part in this thesis. Rather, I shall focus on the mapping of manuscripts. On the basis of a schema of all manuscripts⁹ one can make an attempt to visualize in which areas and in which periods a text was popular.¹⁰ Also, each individual manuscript can be studied in its local context, as I shall demonstrate with two manuscripts.¹¹ In this way, the social context of this text can be understood, and conversely, the influence this text had on social reality.

⁷ David Ganz, ‘Roman Books’ Reconsidered: the theology of Carolingian display script” in: *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West*, Julia Smith ed., (Leiden 2000), p 305.

⁸ MSS 17, 22, 72, 97, 98, and 131. See the manuscript survey in the appendix for more detail.

⁹ See the appendix for a complete survey.

¹⁰ A provisional graph about locations appears in chapter 3.

¹¹ **Manuscript 1** in chapter 3 and the description of Sankt Gallen 561 below in this chapter.

An explanation of why the Historia is so important for methods

For my purposes of investigating the ways in which manuscripts reflect society and its machinations of power, in theory any text can provide information. It would be very unwise to suppose that the *Historia Tripartita* alone could provide a glimpse on the minds of people. This text did not reach everyone, and it should be seen in the light of current intellectual culture. Past traditions maintained some form of influence, be it consciously or not. However, the *Historia* is not an entirely random choice. Its wide spread over many centuries makes it suitable for a broad study, both in a broad geographic area and diachronically. Besides, it was a tremendously popular work with a remarkably wide spread, as shows in Guenée's survey.¹²

An example: St. Gallen cod. 561

Sankt Gallen cod. 561 is a collection of fragments of which only one was taken from the *Historia*. Collections like these show how the text was used in a different textual context, but they also show that at least a part of the *Historia* was known. What should be considered is, whether the scribe of the miscellany knew that he or she copied a piece from the *Historia*, whether the scribe composed the manuscript himself, or whether this was a copy from an already existing collection. An attempt at answering these questions can only be made with reproductions of these manuscripts, or with the originals, as codicological and palaeographical elements should give us more clues.

Codex Sankt Gallen 561 was written somewhere between the 9th and the 10th centuries and contains the following texts: *Passio apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, *Passio Andreae apostoli*, *Passio Iacobi apostoli fratris domini*, *Passio Philippi apostoli*, *Passio Iacobi apostoli fratris Iohannis*, *Passio Thomae apostoli*, *Passio Bartholomei apostoli*, *Passio Iohannis apostoli*, *Passio Mathei apostoli*, *Passio Symonis et Iude zelotis apostolorum*, [*Historia Tripartita*], *Sancti Basilii*, *Reversio sanctae crucis*, *Passio sanctae Eulaliae martyris*, *Vita sanctae Genovevae*, *Passio sancti Eustacii martyris*, *Passio sanctae Agnetis virginis*, *Passio sanctae Luciae virginis*, *Passio sanctae Agathae virginis*, *Passio sanctae Columbae virginis*, *Vita beatae Radegundis*. In the 11th century *De laude virginis*, [*Beda Venerabilis*, *Sermo de beata Maria Virgine*], *Vualdfridus abbas sermo in festivitate omnium sanctorum* and a

¹² Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et Culture Historique dans L'Occident Médiéval*, (Paris, 1980), see especially pp. 250-252 and 259-270.

Responsiorum et Versus were added, and somewhat later also a piece from a sacramentary containing *In nativitate domini*.

At first glance it may look like a random collection of saint's lives, but closer investigation shows that there is a pattern. The *passiones* which are placed before the *Historia* are all of apostles. They are the first followers of Jesus, and in fact the ones who carried the Gospel into the world. After this the fragment of the *Historia* is placed, which is identified by the modern Sankt Gallen catalogue as Book I. 2-5, and XI.15-18. The first selection treats the question of whether pagans and Jews knew Christ, and if not, whether their historical and philosophical works still have value. Book I.5 ends with the vision of Constantine which represents, in this context, the ultimate conversion of a pagan. The second selection is about a war in Mesopotamia, where Saracens fight side-by-side with Christians against the Persian King. This matches with the fragments of book I about 'righteous pagans'. The 'righteous pagans' are directed by God, and can only be of aid to Christians through divine intervention. These tales of a remote past dominated by pagans are followed by stories of 'contemporary times' as seen from a medieval perspective. These are about saints who lived in early Christendom and followed the aforementioned apostles. Concluding saints are Columbanus, the missionary, and Radegund, the queen who became a nun. By adding history to saints, and adding saints Columbanus and Radegund, royalty is sanctified and made part of a history of holiness.

This does not mean that history has been fiction by association. The term 'fiction' is problematic, as it implies a difference between truth and untruth, a particular untruth: one which can never be true as it never happened. This is opposed to an untruth which may be true as it could have happened. It is a very narrow distinction to make, but one that is crucial to understand the position of history in relation to miracle tales, and miracle tales in relation to fables and all these in turn to exempla. Miracles are reality in the sense that the Almighty God could very well have performed them. Such things are manifest in history, ranging from the apostles who after all witnessed Jesus Christ, to Roman history, to holy people who helped to create the Christian Empire as it was known at the time of writing. Is it fiction? No. It is untruth for those who do not believe a possible truth and doubt, and a proof of divinity of the present for those who do believe. Sankt Gallen cod. 561 gives us a small glimpse into the minds of medieval readers and the way they perceived history and miracle.

Manuscripts which contain selections of the *Historia*

By far the majority of the manuscripts contain, or once contained, the entire text of the *Historia*, but there are a few chapters which have been selected in other codices. There is a group of manuscripts which contain the *Historia* up to book 7 only: **MSS 9, 23, and 24**.¹³ These manuscripts and their relations among each other will be discussed in the next chapter. The question which should be asked in this context is: why this particular selection? There are two possibilities: the first is, that the text ends here not for specific reasons relating to content but rather to the exemplar these texts descend from. The second is, that the selection is indeed related to content, and that all three or at least the earliest of these had a particular function which needed the first six books of the *Historia* alone. For now the answers to these questions will have to wait, as each individual manuscript should be studied in its own context before conclusions can be drawn about its purpose.

Besides these three manuscripts which contain the same selection but no added texts, there is another class of manuscripts: those which use the *Historia*, or fragments of it, as part of a compilation of heterogeneous fragments, such as **MSS 71**¹⁴ and **58**. The latter makes use of books IX.30-32, IX.25, VIII.4, VII. 8-10, XII.2 in combination with Augustine's letter to Honorius and a few sections which the writer of the modern Berlin catalogue could not place.

MS 45 contains the text of the *Historia* up to I.2 only, but ends mid-sentence so that it is not clear how many leaves are missing. This part, if indeed chapter 2 was once complete, treats the use of history. The manuscript also contains a work of Orosius, Isidore's *Chronicon*, Valerianus on Alexander the Great, and a letter from Alexander to Aristotle. A small tract on the uses of history is a useful introduction to such a collection of histories. In the 11th century a letter from Gregory the Great was added to this collection.

MS 34 is a manuscript which contains the first two books of the *Historia* up to chapter 18 and a penitential. This is very appropriate, as book I treats the conversion of Constantine, and book II.17 is a quotation of the penitential text which was given to Eusebius and Theognio.

Another example of a manuscript which uses the *Historia* for very specific purposes is London British Library Royal 12. F. Here quotations from Cassiodorus are used as a comment on the sermons of Petrus Lombardus. A closer investigation of the contents of these quotations and their relation to the sermons may give an idea of how this reader interpreted the *Historia*.

¹³ The manuscript stops at book VI.25 mid-sentence. It seems like some leaves are missing now.

¹⁴ The exact selection of quotations is not defined in the catalogue.

Chapter 2: Cassiodorus and the *Historia Tripartita*

Cassiodorus

Marcus Flavius Cassiodorus Senator was born between 484 and 490 and died at the age of 93 between 576 and 582 at his monastery Vivarium in Squillace. During his life he held high positions in the service of Theoderic the Great, his son Athalaric and his mother Amalasantha. He was *quaestor*, which in practice meant that he wrote and edited official documents for the ruler, *magister officiorum*, and *praetorian prefect*. He remained in the last function at least until the sacking of Ravenna in 540. Throughout his life he had always been occupied with the expression of ideas - whether they were the ideas of the ruling authority, or his own ideas on Christian intellectual life and Greek culture. In 535-536 he attempted to found a school of Christian learning in Rome with the help of pope Agapatus, but the moment was unfortunate: in 537 Belisarius sacked Rome, its nobles fled to Constantinople, and in 540 Cassiodorus himself followed king Witigis there.¹⁵ After his return to Italy, Cassiodorus did not take up his former political activities. Instead, he returned to his family's properties and founded Vivarium, a monastery devoted to the copying and collecting of Christian knowledge, and he remained there till his death. It is in this monastery that the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* was written, a book compiled from three separate 5th-century histories: the *Historia* by Theodoret the Lector, the history by Socrates Scolasticus and the ecclesiastical history by Sozomenus.

Socrates wrote his *Church History* between 438 and 443 as a continuation to Eusebius' History.¹⁶ Socrates' work concentrated on themes which define the way he perceived history. The first is his sympathy for Origenist history, the importance of biblical allegory for the present. This touches upon Socrates' second assumption, that of 'cosmic sympathy'. It basically comes down to the idea that everything in the cosmos responds to changes elsewhere in the cosmos, and this is reflected in the relationship between Church and State: if the State is in trouble, challenges are posed to the Church as well. These troubles are partially explained by the pagan concept of Fortune, which refers to something we might call Divine intervention. This concept, however, is not used lightly, as the echo of paganism is still strong, and to use such a concept is indirectly to taint a Christian history with pagan ideas.

¹⁵ Pierre Courcelle, *Latin Writers and their Greek Sources*, transl. Harry E. Wedeck, (Harvard, 1969), pp. 334-336.

¹⁶ Glenn F. Chesnut., *The First Christian Histories, Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomenus, Theodoret and Evagrius* (Macon, 1986), p. 175.

Socrates struggles with language in order to devise a new terminology for the new context of this older concept.¹⁷

Sozomenus does not have this problem, as he used Socrates' history as a main source for his own, and in doing so copied Socrates' language.¹⁸ He does, however, search for the sources which Socrates had used, and re-uses them to give a different emphasis to the events described. Chesnut uses the description "Christian prose epic" as a characterisation for Sozomenus' history. Sozomenus seems to have had a different motive for writing his history: not piety but (political) advantage at Theodosius' court, as he was a Palestine born man who moved to Constantinople to make his fortune.¹⁹

Theodoret is the only one of these authors who was a clergyman. Socrates and Sozomenus had been lawyers, even though Socrates did know what he was talking about when he discussed theology, but Theodoret was the bishop of Cyrrhus. He wrote his history between 441 and 449, and, like Socrates', his history was a sequel to that of Eusebius. His solution to the issue of adapting the concept of Fortune was founded in Stoic philosophy: troubles and misery were an opportunity to test one's piety and show mercy to those who were struck by Fortune. Indeed, God could take His mercy away from mortals at any moment; they were sinners, and by showing mercy one could hope that Divine mercy would remain. The bishop of Cyrrhus did not only have philosophical ideas about contemporary issues. He was also involved in theological discussions about the Nestorian idea of the nature of Christ: was He both God and Man or was He a unity with his Father? The Nestorian doctrine was condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 413, but this decision was revoked at the council of Chalcedon in 451.²⁰ I shall return to this discussion below.

These three histories were collected by Cassiodorus, but translated by Epiphanius, a monk who worked on more translations at Vivarium.²¹ The extent to which Cassiodorus was involved in the actual compilation of the *Historia Tripartita* is still a matter of debate: was he the compiler or only the commissioner of this work?²² Though this debate is important for the understanding of how the *Historia* came into existence, it is of little importance for this thesis. Our interest lies in what the medieval audience thought, and, as can be learned from the titles

¹⁷ Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, 175-190.

¹⁸ Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, 199, 206.

¹⁹ Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, 202-205.

²⁰ Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories*, 208-214.

²¹ See the list of translations in Courcelle, Pierre, *Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources*, transl. Harry E. Wedeck, (Harvard, 1969), p. 338.

²² See for example Rudolf, Hanslik, "Epiphanius Scholasticus oder Cassiodor?, Zur *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*" in: *Philologus* 115 1.4 (1971), pp.107-113.

given to this work in the medieval library catalogues, they perceived it as written by Cassiodorus.²³

The language of the Historia Tripartita

Before I continue discussing some of the historical background against which Cassiodorus wrote the *Historia*, there is one thing regarding the element of translation which I should like to point out. *The Historia Tripartita* is made out of three separate histories. Each historia has been translated literally by Epiphanius. Though his knowledge of Greek was not advanced enough to make a flawless translation, he did not alter the style or rephrase the Greek texts. What does this mean? No-one in a specific social group (meaning a group of people with roughly the same education, morals etc.), though sharing linguistic conventions with people from that same group, uses exactly the same language. The use of language depends on personality, (hidden) agendas, preference for a certain style, and other factors which I shall not name here now.²⁴ The point I am trying to make is that a particular use of language is there for a reason, either a social one, or an individual one, or an ethnic one... I think it is important to understand these foundations before we can fully understand the building, that is, the text and its meanings. In this case the lack of stylistic influences proper to Epiphanius can also indicate something. Perhaps it has to do with a kind of *humilitas*, or the idea that a historical narrative does not need style: all the translator wants is to convey the contents. Questions about this topic will have to wait for another time, but it is important to raise awareness of this point.

Vivarium

Steinhauf argues that Cassiodorus founded Vivarium because after the fall of Athalaric he could no longer reach his goal of uniting the Romans and Goths in a single empire.²⁵ This is still a matter of debate, as even the founding date of Vivarium is unknown: it may very well have been founded before Cassiodorus left for Constantinople.²⁶

Vivarium had an enormous library, but Cassiodorus did more than just collect: he also made sure that the treasures in his library, which he collected from all over the world, were spread and multiplied by its scriptorium, and by encouraging his monks to work there.

²³ See the appendix for a survey of medieval catalogues which mention the *Historia Tripartita*, as well as chapter 3 for a discussion of this survey.

²⁴ Further research will also contain a part devoted to style.

²⁵ Steinhauf, "Der umbruch der antiker bildung", pp. 137-8.

²⁶ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, pp.189-90.

“Cassiodorus created a monastic community where biblical studies were integrated into a system of spiritual and manual work and where scribes acquired a special dignity”.²⁷ The retreat into a monastery was not very new,²⁸ but is it also possible to maintain that in the sixth century a new context for manuscript production grew into being? At the time when the oldest extant manuscript of the *Historia Tripartita* was written, the intellectual world looked very different: monastic scriptoria, rather than public notaries in the cities, gave rise to a different infrastructure for intellectual activity and the production as well as dissemination of manuscripts. It was possible that a ruler such as Charlemagne organized the production and promotion of reform texts from the top down via monastic centres, which by then were almost the only places where texts were produced. This makes Cassiodorus` Vivarium in retrospect one of the first of such places, where Christian ideology and intellectual activity as well as the production of the material needed for such activities came together.

There is a gap of 300 years between the writing of the *Historia Tripartita* and the oldest manuscript. What happened in between is unknown, as no-one knows what happened to Vivarium and its library after the death of Cassiodorus. There are two theories. The first is that the books travelled to the Lateran Palace and from there on to Bobbio, the other is that they were at the Lateran Palace and from there on were spread over Europe as gifts. The first theory is considered implausible by most scholars today. I shall return to this debate when discussing the St. Petersburg manuscript.

The Historia Tripartita

Contents

The *Historia Tripartita* is divided into twelve books of various lengths. Adolph Franz made a useful overview of the contents of the *Historia Tripartita* and the corresponding Greek texts.²⁹

Liber I (capita 20) from the conversion of Constantine to the Council of Nicaea	Socrates 1.1-1.15; Sozomenus 1.1-1.16; Theodoret 1.1-1.6
Liber II (capita 25) from the Council of	Socrates 1.5-1.18; Sozomenus 1.17-2.6;

²⁷ Bernhard Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, transl. M. Gorman, (Cambridge, 2007), p.7

²⁸ See for example the list in A. van de Vyver, “Cassiodorus et son Oeuvre” in: *Speculum* 6.2 (1931), pp. 254-261.

²⁹ M. Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, *ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der theologischen Literatur* Adolph Franz (Breslau, 1872), 112 – 113.

Nicaea to the abdication from saint Eustathius in 330	Theodoret 1.7-1.21
Liber III (capita 12) up to the death of Constantine in 337	Socrates 1.18-1.40; Sozomenus 2.7-2.34; Theodoret 1.21-1.32
Liber IV (capita 39) up to the death of Emperor Constance in 351	Socrates 2.3-2.27; Sozomenus 3.1-3.21; Theodoret 2.3-2.10
Liber V (capita 50) up to the death of Emperor Constantius in 361	Socrates 2.28-2.47; Sozomenus 4.6-5.1; Theodoret 2.13-2.32
Liber VI (capita 48) up to the death of Emperor Julianus in 363	Socrates 3.1-3.21; Sozomenus 5.1-6.2; Theodoret 3.3-3.26
Liber VII (capita 40) up to death of Athanasius and the elevation of future bishops of Rome as the successors of Saint Peter in 373	Socrates 3.22-4.20; Sozomenus 6.1-6.15; Theodoret 4.2-4.22
Liber VIII (capita 14) up to the death of Emperor Valens in 378	Socrates 4.23-4.38; Sozomenus 6.28-6.36; Theodoret 4.24-4.31
Liber IX (capita 50) up to the death of Emperor Theodosius in 395	Socrates 5.1-5.26; Sozomenus 7.4-7.29; Theodoret 5.1-5.25
Liber X (capita 35) up to the death of Emperor Arcadius in 408	Socrates 6.1-6.23; Sozomenus 8.9-8.25; Theodoret 5.22-5.40
Liber XI (capita 18) up to the death of Emperor Honorius in 423	Socrates 7.1-7.22
Liber XII (capita 17) from 423 up to 439	Socrates 7.24-7.48

Within each chapter there is no standard organization, though for each book individually chapters can be grouped in themes such as “Arianism”, “pagans and Jews” or “bad bishops”.

Three chapters- controversy

Cassiodorus’ life before he withdrew to Vivarium was closely involved with the conflict between the old Roman and the new Gothic elites in Italy.

In my opinion things started to go wrong, from a political point of view, the moment Amalasantha and Justinian began to work together in 527. For Amalasantha this was beneficial, as Justinian could protect her against her cousin Theodahad; Justinian had, through Amalasantha, a chance to involve Italy in his ambitions to renew the old Roman Empire. The

involvement of the Eastern Emperor touched the already upset feelings of individuality and authority of the Roman-Gothic elite. Perhaps things would have taken a different course if Justinian had not been involved after Witigis killed Theodahad by nudging his supporter in North-Africa, Belisarius, into a reconquest of Italy in 535. This gave the nobility a choice between Belisarius and the Emperor, and for a king of Gothic stock who married Amalsuntha's daughter to strengthen his claims to the throne.

While these developments were taking place in his country, Cassiodorus, exercising high political function, was by no means a passive figure. The most complete study of Cassiodorus, that of O'Donnell,³⁰ does not mention when he laid down his function, but in 538 he held a speech on the wedding of Witigis, the murderer of Theodahad, with the sister of Amalasantha. This suggests that at that time he still had an official function, and was in support of the Gothic reign. This is an important clue for my argumentation concerning the political thoughts inspiring Cassiodorus when he was involved in the writing of the *Historia Tripartita*. He followed Witigis to Constantinople when he was beaten at Ravenna in 540, and consequently was taken to the Imperial City. It is interesting to note that in 545 pope Vigilius had already left Italy for Constantinople, together with the bishops of Milan and Squillace, the latter being the province in which Vivarium was founded, and where the lands of Cassiodorus' family were situated.

During his stay in Constantinople, the reconquest of Italy on the initiative of Justinian continued to stir Italian politics. In 542, two years after the sack of the city, Ravenna was placed under a new bishop: Maximian, a man who was elected by Justinian, and who supported Justinian faithfully. The pragmatic sanction of 554 and the election of the new pope and Justinian's supporter Pelagius furthered Justinian's involvement in Italian politics. It made Ravenna the centre of imperial power and Rome the centre of religious power at the cost of and much to the anger of the other important bishoprics of Milan and Aquileia.³¹ At the centre of this conflict the Three Chapters controversy played an interesting role: it made loyalties and conflicts visible; it touched on the question of who had authority in Italy. The term "three chapters" refers to three authors who had been condemned in 449. Theodore of Mopsuestia, Ibas of Edessa and Theodoret, one of the Greek authors of the *Historia Tripartita*, were judged as pro-Nestorian, and therefore wrong on the dogma of the being of Christ. At the council of Chalcedon of 451, however, Theodoret's abdication as bishop of

³⁰ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* .

³¹ Claire Sotinel, "The Three Chapters and the Transformations of Italy" in: *The Crisis of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean*, Celia Chazelle and Catherine Cubitt eds., (Turnhout, 2007), p. 93.

Cyprus was reversed, which seemed to imply that his ideas were legitimate after all. The conclusion may be summarized as follows: the condemnation of 449 of the ideas still stands, but the council's fathers have nothing against the persons of the three condemned authors.³² In 533 a council was held at Chalcedon, again debating this topic, where the Three Chapters were disapproved of in strong terms. Sotinel writes that the Three Chapters did not intend to drive apart ecclesiastical and political power. Rather, it was Justinian's attempt to make these two authorities a unity.³³ In doing so, however, he passed over the reality in Italy at that time: the conflict of identity between Romans and Goths. Sotinel points to the "primacy of local solidarities over wider loyalties" and the "failure of the attempt at imperial restoration".³⁴ This is where the political element comes in: One might even doubt whether the Three Chapters were really important to the opponents of these three authors, or whether the imperial links attached to their abolition were the real issue.³⁵

O'Donnell argues that Cassiodorus' position in this conflict was ambiguous,³⁶ but that he stood behind Witigis until he was taken to Constantinople and used the history of Theodoret despite the abolition of the Three Chapters. The dissidents were slowly isolated in Northern Italy,³⁷ and Cassiodorus never returned to politics when he returned to Italy. To be sure, "the Goths" did not exist,³⁸ but nevertheless a group of people that lives on a piece of land have a sense of autonomy, an autonomy which they have either derived from a local power, or from an authority which they deem right. Old structures are important here, and the Rome and Ravenna-based centralism that Justinian was creating was not in tune with the old Roman division of Italy in ecclesiastical units. Distance will also have played a role: the opposition to imperial politics and the condemning of the Three Chapters was isolated in the North - far away from Constantinople.³⁹

Cassiodorus had been part of the old Gothic authority, but was also close enough to Greek culture to see its merit distinct from imperialism. By including Theodoret in his *Historia*, he took a stance. Yet he also showed his allegiance to Greek culture, which he thought should be kept available for the Latin present.

³² Richard M. Price, "The Three Chapters and the Council of Chalcedon" in: *The Crisis of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean*, Celia Chazelle and Catherine Cubitt eds., (Turnhout, 2007), 17-24.

³³ Sotinel "The Three Chapters", p. 108-109.

³⁴ Sotinel "The Three Chapters", p. 109.

³⁵ Sotinel "The Three Chapters", p. 109.

³⁶ O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, p.133.

³⁷ Sotinel "The Three Chapters", p. 114.

³⁸ See Patrick Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489 – 554*, (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 14-15, and 40-42.

³⁹ Amory, *People and Identity*, p. 18.

Ch 3 Chronological treatment of material

3.1 Existing manuscripts

There are 137 manuscripts mentioned in the most complete investigation of the transmission of the *Historia Tripartita: Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Sogenannten Historia Tripartita des Epiphanius-Cassiodor* by Walter Jacob, published in 1954. Besides these 137, I have found thirteen more manuscripts. I shall discuss the transmission as reconstructed by Jacob below, as well as the manuscripts he has not mentioned. It is important to note that Jacob has not included fragments in his list, as these do not provide essential information for the reconstruction of the archetype. The *Handschriftliche Überlieferung* was written as by-product of making the edition of the *Historia*, and thus this book is entirely aimed at finding out which manuscript represents the archetype best, and establishing the different families based on textual variations.

The survey is based on the works of Bernhard Bischoff,⁴⁰ David Ganz,⁴¹ Jacob's book and the catalogues of modern libraries which can be found in the bibliography. I shall not annotate these specifically so as to not clutter the survey. The stemmas in the appendices are adapted to suit this thesis: I changed the references Jacob gave in the stemma to my own chronological ordering, so as to make comparison of the stemmas with the argument of this thesis easier. Jacob's references are given in the manuscript survey in the second-last column.

As it is difficult to gain an overview of such a large number of manuscripts, I have presented all localized and dated manuscripts in three graphs. These graphs will be improved as my research continues, as I will date and localize those manuscripts which are currently not dated and/or localized. This makes the visualization somewhat provisional, but it gives some insight for now about the spread of the manuscripts over time and space. The geographic divisions in the graph are based on a map of the Treaty of Verdun with regard to the boundaries between France and Germany, and East and West Germany. The division between Northern and Southern France takes the line of the Loire as boundary. These divisions are not so much chosen for their political relevance - this is impossible when one deals with nine centuries – as on more pragmatic grounds: to structure the survey and give a more nuanced image of regional differences on a geographic basis. I admit that this seems arbitrary, but my

⁴⁰ Bischoff, Bernhard, "Handlist of Carolingian Manuscripts", transl. M. Gorman, in: *Scrittura e civiltà* 25 (2001), p. 93-116; *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, transl. M. Gorman, (Cambridge, 2007) and *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit I: Die Bayrischen Diözesen* (Wiesbaden, 1960).

⁴¹ David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen 1990).

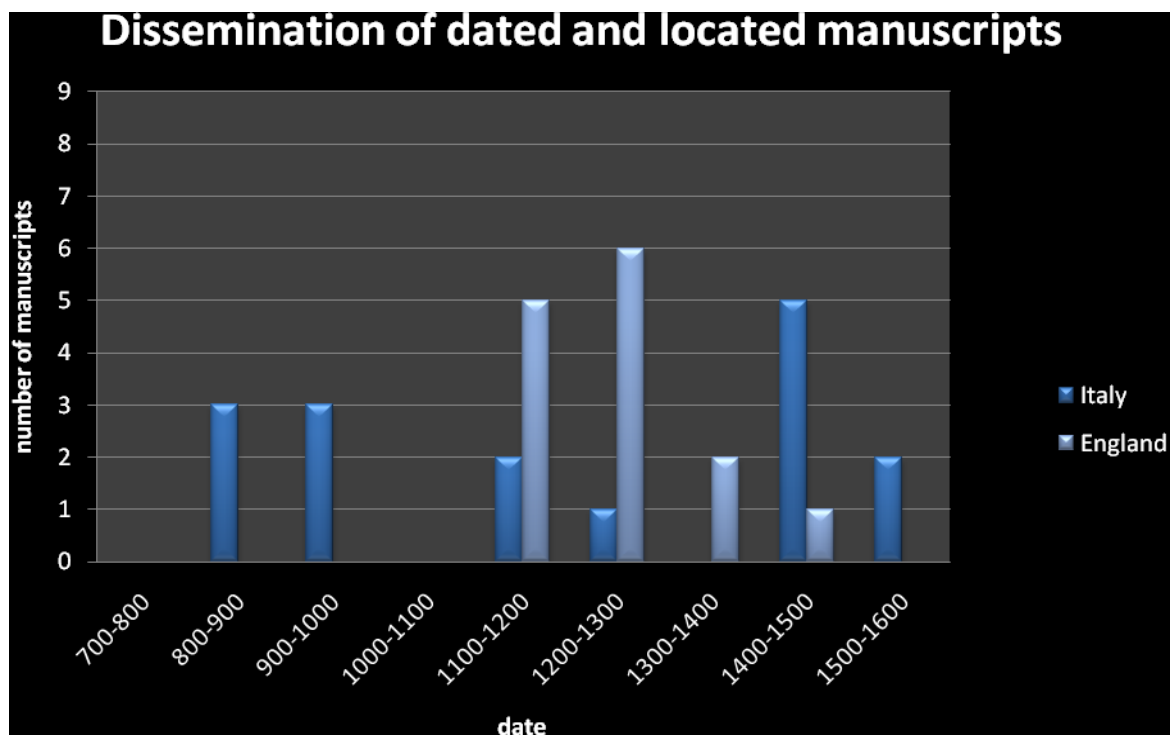
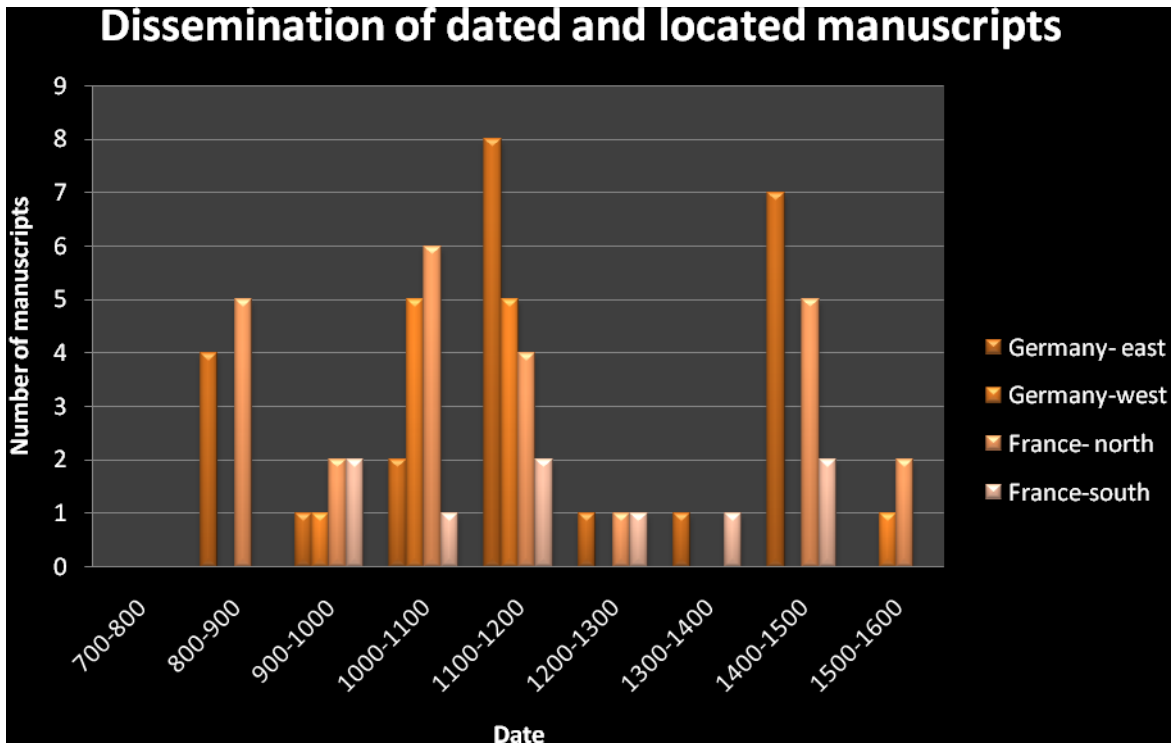
intention is not, at this stage at least, to show political alliances on the basis of the dissemination of the *Historia*; rather, I wish to indicate clusters of production. The image presented by these graphs will be interpreted in detail when this study proceeds, and I have been able to study the transmission of the *Historia* by regions.

The graphs show that the production of the *Historia* shows very strong peaks; it is by no means a stable development. This first peak begins early: in the 9th century in Eastern Germany and Northern France, which can be linked to the stemmas of group 1 and 3.

The East of Germany has the strongest tradition. In every century it produced at least some manuscripts, and in the peaks it is always the leading country, followed by the North of France. I suppose that this is because these are the areas in which important bishoprics and other centres of power were found, and where a text like this might count on a large audience. Overall, the South of France shows a remarkably low production rate. It may be possible that imperial-based ideologies were not so strong in this area, which is remote from the centres of imperial power such as Paris or Aachen in the Early Middle Ages, and that therefore there was not so great a potential audience for a *historia* which emphasises divine authority and imperial power.

England, too, remains remarkably low in the graphs, but in the 12th and 13th century there suddenly is a rise in production. Possibly the start of Plantagenet rule and the English invasion in Normandy under Henry II explain these intensified intellectual contacts. In peace, such contacts may have been there too, but the production of this continental history dies out after the Hundred Years' War has ended.

Italy clearly shows signs of the beginning of the Renaissance. Comparison with the manuscript survey shows that these are mainly luxurious codices, written in Tuscany.



3.2 Medieval catalogues⁴²

Apart from the witnesses of the text itself which are still present, medieval catalogues can tell us about manuscripts which are now lost. It should be kept in mind that not all libraries kept catalogues in the Middle Ages, and that not all catalogues are specific in their naming of the works they contain; nor does the context always give a clear answer. Many copies of the *Historia* may remain unidentified in edited and unedited catalogues. The survey of medieval catalogues is based on the collections of Lehmann, Lapidge, Laistner, Gottlieb, and Siegmund, unless indicated otherwise. References to these works can be found in the bibliography as well. This list of catalogues poses several problems: we do not know how manuscripts moved over time: perhaps a Metz manuscript was loaned to a monk from Florence who entered it into his catalogue. Marco Mostert made me aware of the many possible roads a single manuscript can take even in a period as brief as a decade. It is thus problematic to identify or exclude copies on the basis of medieval catalogues. Nevertheless, the survey gives an idea of where a copy could be found, and hypotheses can always be checked at a later stage when I have the possibility to look at the originals. I will focus on the Carolingian period in this thesis; I have only done careful research up to the 11th century. The catalogues of later period were added for completion's sake but they shall not be discussed in detail.

The following catalogues were mentioned in Siegmund, but without any further explanation. I could identify most of them with the help of Gottlieb and Becker but two remain without identification: Berlin 29,2: *tripertita historia*; Cambrai: *tripartita historia*.⁴³

9th and 10th century

The ninth century provides two catalogues for Reichenau. Whether these catalogues treat the same library is unknown, but likely. If so, **MS 4** seems to be the most reasonable candidate. Lehmann states that manuscript Donaueschingen 901 was possibly from Reichenau, and argues that this is also the place of the books mentioned in this catalogue. This opinion is not uncontroversial, as he himself indicates, and more research into the connection and

⁴² Gustav Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Hildesheim 1973); Max Manitius, *Handschriften Antiker Autoren in Mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen*, Beiheft 67 zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 319-322; A Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der Griechischen und Christlichen Literatur in die Lateinische Kirche bis zum 12. Jh.*, (München, 1949), pp. 56-5.

⁴³ Siegmund *Die Überlieferung*, pp. 56-57. Of St. Gerner de Fly, which is also mentioned by Siegmund, I could not obtain an edition, so that dating remains unknown. The *Historia* is referred to as: *historia item ecclesiasticam 3 virorum idest Zozomeni, Theodoriti et Socratis in uno cod.*

identification of both Reichenau catalogues and possible Reichenau manuscripts may be enlightening for the general context of the German cluster of the *Historia*.

St. Gall mentions a complete copy of the *Historia*. This copy cannot be identified with any of the ninth-century manuscripts in the list as it is, but there is a ninth-century compilation, St. Gall 561, which contains fragments of the *Historia*. If indeed there was a complete copy, it gives us a clue as to the composition of St. Gall 561: the fragments may have been taken from the existing copy, rather than being copied from an already existing compilation. Becker, however, remarks that at the time of writing his book the codex was still in Sankt Gallen. As I do not know of any other manuscript stemming from Sankt Gallen at the moment, and as I have not read about a recent loss of a manuscript either, I assume that Becker is mistaken at this point.

The catalogue which is titled “franco-gallica” cannot serve for any further identification. It could refer to **MS 1** from Corbie, **MS 7** from Rheims, **MS 9** from Cambrai or to any of the not yet localized manuscripts - or even to a now lost one.

The manuscripts mentioned in the catalogues of St. Riquier, Fontanelle and Würzburg all seem lost now: none of the localized copies seems to correspond to these entries, but perhaps closer investigation of the manuscripts themselves will bring more precise localizations and thus identification.

11th century

About the St. Vaast catalogue from 1070, Lapidge writes that this copy of the *Historia* was donated by Saewold, abbot of Bath, when he fled to Flanders.⁴⁴ If this is true, then it would be indeed one of the earliest manuscripts from the British Isles known to us.

In a letter to Stephanus the cleric Henry wrote a list of books he had in his possession. This is the Pompose catalogue, as it is referred to in the survey. Amongst the books in the list Henry mentioned “*Historiae libri XII.*” It is odd that he does not mention Cassiodorus directly as the author of the book, as he does name the authors of his other history books. He does write that he owns “*Cassiodori lib. I.*” after which he writes “*Lupi Servati lib. Historia Africana. Expositio super Cantica canticorum secundum modernos*”, followed by the mention of the *Historia Tripartita*. What Henry means by “*Cassiodori lib. I.*” is unclear, as a book on the Song of Songs was also written by Cassiodorus, and as the *Historia* is mentioned right after it, we may assume this combination refers to two different works of Cassiodorus. Possibly these were bound in one codex, but in this case the size of this codex must have been

⁴⁴ Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, (Oxford, 2006), p.139.

considerable. If indeed I am correct in identifying this *historia* as that of Cassiodorus, it may refer to **MS 20**, as it is the only one in the list which could have come from Italy in this century.

A man named Bernardus has a catalogue titled “*Hi sunt libro quos bernardus proprio sumpta conscribere fecit*”. The relevant entry reads: “*Cassiodorus*” which is mentioned after Orosius. As the catalogue seems well-structured, the context of this entry suggests that he refers to the *Historia* here, not to any other work of Cassiodorus. We cannot be entirely certain of this however.

The title of the Wessobrunn catalogue reads: “*Isti sunt libri quos scripsit et Sancto Petro tradidit Diemot ancilla Dei*”. It is a list of books written by Diemot, a female scribe. This would correspond to **MS 81**, which was also written by Diemot between 1125 and 1150 according to the modern manuscript catalogue of München. The Wessobrunn catalogue dates from the 12th century, but perhaps the dating of the Wessobrunn catalogue should be stretched 25 years, or else we may conclude from this that Diemot used a manuscript which was already present in the Wessobrunn scriptorium as an exemplar.

Peterborough: “*tripartita historia*”. Gottlieb dates this catalogue 12th century, Lapidge in the 11th, although I am not certain whether they mention the same catalogue, as Lapidge did not give the shelfmark, and I could not check the contents of London, British Library Harley 3667 as indicated by Gottlieb.

The St. Vaast catalogue has no ordering whatsoever. It names *De Ortographia* by Cassiodorus, whereas Bede’s *Historia Anglorum* is simply mentioned as “*historia de gentis anglica*”. It is an educated guess that this *tripartite historie* might be by Cassiodorus, at least they knew his works at St Vaast, but the context in this catalogue gives no further clues.

Concerning the catalogue named “Bernardus”, Gottlieb argues that Bernardus might be someone from the area of Minden around 1064, and that he is in some way affiliated with the diocese, possibly the monastery Sankt Martini.⁴⁵

The Peterborough catalogue poses some problems. Lapidge writes that it is not certain that this inventory came from Peterborough. An inter alia note on the death of a Peterborough monk, and the fact that the lists mentions many books which can be identified with previous inventories from Peterborough, seems to suggest that this list too can be placed at this abbey.⁴⁶ Becker writes that there is a 12th -century list of 80 books which were ordered by the

⁴⁵ Theodor Gottlieb, *Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, (Graz, 1955), p. 370.

⁴⁶ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, p.145.

abbot, Benedict, but he does not give the shelfmark of this manuscript, so reading this catalogue is impossible.⁴⁷

12th century

The Prüfening catalogue has as entry only “*tripertita hystoria*”, there is no mention of the author. However, as it is followed by Josephus and is surrounded by other histories it is very well possible that Cassiodorus is meant here.

The Fosse catalogue lists only antique authors such as Orosius and Sedulius. Isidore is mentioned by name. Cassiodorus fits in here perfectly, but it remains an educated guess.

The Corbie catalogue lists the other histories with their authors. Becker writes “460 ms de déficit” about the first *tripartita*. As the St. Petersburg manuscript was moved to Paris much later than this date, I assume it is the same. The second Corbie catalogue does mention Cassiodorus for *super psalmorum*, which suggests that some of his works were present in the monastery. The catalogue is alphabetically ordered; the context does not give any clue on the contents of this *historia*.

In the catalogue named “*Bibliotheca monasterii cuiusdam Anglici*” the entry is surrounded by other histories; it is well possible that this is Cassiodorus` work.

The entry in the catalogue from Bec is preceded by Eusebius. Why this *tripartite history* would have only 10 books is unclear to me; possibly a flawed copy was present here. Also, the entry is preceded by Eusebius, and as Cassiodorus and Eusebius are often mentioned after one another there is a possibility that indeed Cassiodorus is meant here.

15th century

The Salvator catalogue is a very late, but interesting nonetheless due to its structure. The *Historia* is mentioned in the register: “*2 libri biblie cum quibusdam sibi subservientibus ut sunt concordancie maiores et minores, flores concordanciarum biblie, scolastica historia, ecclesiastica historia, tripartita historia etc.*” As mentioned in the register of placemarks it is placed amongst the “*Biblie textus cum concordanciis et directoriis suis sub signature littere B, ubi sensus historicus contextus incipientibus et teneris lactis potum conferens, dum per sanctorum exempla ad imitationem sanctitatis rerum gestum simplici narratione invitatur quasi inchoando spiritualis edificii fundamentum iactat.*” The catalogue continues to explain which subcategories are under this heading; the *Historia*, as found in the register, is placed under A: “[...] scilicet ipsius A littere, tactum est, presnes armarium ex toto principaliter in reposicione

⁴⁷ Becker, *Bibliotheca Antiqui*, p. 289.

*librorum sic coordinatum est quasi ex omnibus, que in eo reponuntur, quedam erigatur et construatur domus spiritualis sive edificium ipsi menti humane, in quo anima hominis in sue pergrinacionis exilio deambulet et crescat et per incrementa doctrine et virtutum ad summum cacumen sue simplificacionis a multiformi distracionum distensione consurgat.*⁴⁸ About the histories in particular the catalogue reads: “*Huius autem domus spiritualis seu frabrice fundamentum est historia sive historialis sensus biblie, cui fides sancta catholica assentit credendo.*” The actual description in the catalogue is: “*Prima pars historie tripartite, habens sex libros primos. Continet enim duodecim libros in integro, quorum sex ultimo desunt, et dicitur tripartita, quia a tribus autoribus Grecis mirabiliter conscripta est, scilicet Theoderico episcopo et duobus disertissimis viris Sozomenuso et Socrate, ex quorum scriptis Cassiodorus, quondam senator, postea factus monachus flores contraxit et tripartitam nominavit*”.⁴⁹ As mentioned in the literature list: *Sequitur conformiter de quibusdam illustribus viris ordinis s. Benedicti, qui eleganter scripserunt in sacra theologia et aliis facultatibus. 560 Cassiodorus, Theodorici regis Italie quondam cancellarius ac Ravennate urbis senator, vir in secularibus scripturis eduditissimis, philosphus et rethor insignis, intravit ordinem s. Benedicti, multa opuscula edidit egregioia; de quibus vide supra folio 16.* This refers to the register at the beginning of the catalogue. Each book is entered topically, and each author is entered at the back with a small biography and a list of his works. It continues: *Insuper his subiecta: historiam tipartitam lib. 12. [...]*⁵⁰

St Ägidien kloster, Nürnberg is also a very elaborate catalogue. It reads: *Incipit registrum bibliothecum monasterii s. Egidii, ordinis divi Benedicti in Nürnberg, et primo ordo columinum secundum literas signatorum, secundo ordo auctorum aut materiarum contentarum seu diversorum librorum inibi in eis inveniendorum secundum seriem alphabeti etc.*⁵¹ The entry reads: “*H 12 ecclesiastica historia ‘Petitorum, dicunt, esse medicorum’.*”⁵² Then, it is also mentioned in the alphabetic index of this catalogue: “*Hystoria tripartita in pergameno H 13 [sic!]*”⁵³ and “*tripartita hystoria H 13.*”⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskatalogen* II, p. 242.

⁴⁹ Lehmann *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskatalogen* II, p. 277.

⁵⁰ Lehmann *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskatalogen* II, p. 567.

⁵¹ Lehmann *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskatalogen* III, p. 432.

⁵² Lehmann *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskatalogen* III, p. 485.

⁵³ Lehmann *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskatalogen* III, p. 530.

⁵⁴ Lehmann *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskatalogen* III, p. 567.

3.3 Stemma

Ranke as quoted by Jauss: “But I maintain that each period is immediate vis-à-vis God and that its value depends not at all on what followed from it, but rather on its own existence, on its own self”.⁵⁵ This goes for manuscripts too. We should not see a single manuscript as a part in a stemma, but rather as an actor in itself, which in turn may or may not have led to other manuscripts.

Walter Jacob wrote, in preparation of his edition of the *Historia Tripartita*, an excellent book on the manuscript tradition of the *Historia Tripartita: Die Handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der Historia Tripartitas des Epiphanius Cassiodors*. The book contains a list of manuscripts, their role in the tradition, and an analysis of each group of manuscripts he could discern based on the textual variants in the text itself. This is a very valuable book for the study of the *Historia Tripartita*, but it does not explain everything, such as “why this manuscript, why here, why in this form, why now?” Some of the questions in the previous sentence are not even asked. Rather, form and place are only determined on the basis of textual variants; palaeographical evidence is not considered, nor is the specific use and context of a particular manuscript mentioned. Besides, some manuscripts are discarded as worthless because they do not assist in resurrecting the archetype, or they do not contain particular variants, or are too contaminated by later scribal activities.

This perspective limits the understanding of the uses of a text severely, but the creation of a complete genealogy of manuscripts is a very useful tool if one supplements this with other information about the manuscripts and the scriptoria where they were produced.

Jacob divides the complete corpus into 6 groups, based on their textual differences. Of these, two groups stand out as remarkably close to the archetype, i.e. group 1 and 2.⁵⁶ The others are hierarchically seen as of lower standing in comparison to the manuscripts of these two groups.

In the appendix I have included the stemmas from Jacob`s book for reference, but I changed the numbers he gave to the individual manuscripts to match my own survey. Not all groups are represented in the appendix because some are either too small to need a stemma for the sake of clarity, or the relations between the manuscripts was deemed too uncertain by Jacob to make a stemma.

⁵⁵ H.R. Jauss, “Literary history as a challenge to literary theory” in: *Toward and Aesthetic of Reception*, tr. T. Bahti (Brighton 1982), p.7.

⁵⁶ Jacob, Walter, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung des Sogennanten Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita des Epiphanius-Cassiodors*, (Berlin, 1954), p.6.

1a

The first group consists of **MSS 15, 16, 12, 31, 111** and **88** which originated partially in Spain and southern France, partially in the centre of France.

As the manuscript survey shows, two of these **MSS, 31 and 12**, contained (fragments) of *Sermo de Lapsu* by Chrysostomus. Unfortunately **MS 31** is now incomplete, and the note in the margin stating the presence of the sermon dates from the 13th century. It is uncertain whether it is a coincidence that these textually related manuscripts contain the same texts, and, according to Jacob, have related styles in their initials, but it does not seem too far-fetched. It is remarkable that the text of the sermon in **MS 12** is in Greek; whether this is also true for **MS 31** we cannot know any longer, but it may be that these two manuscripts were particularly focused on Greek sources. According to Jacob's stemma they are derived from **MS 16**; however, this manuscript does not contain the Chrysostomus text.

MS 16 stems possibly from Corbie according to Ganz,⁵⁷ and "without a doubt" comes from France according to the catalogue of the Naples library.⁵⁸ Ganz remarks that this manuscript contains marginal notes, but what are they about? Can it possibly be that these are the same notes as those in **MS 1**, which is the oldest witness and comes from Corbie? If so, the dating of these three manuscripts can be made more precise than the individual modern catalogues indicate. As we know that **MS 31** was written in the middle of the 10th century, **MS 16** must be written before, or not much later than, 950. **MS 12** must post-date the middle of the 10th century, possibly postdating **MS 31**, as **12** is written in Catalonia and **31** has been written in France. This seems to suggest that **MS 16** was copied from **MS 1**⁵⁹, or from a manuscript which also copied the marginal notations, and which was copied in turn without marginal notations but in combination with Chrysostomus. According to Jacob, **MSS 31 and 12** are not copies of each other, but of **MS 16**. However, this cannot be correct as **MS 16** does not contain *Sermo de Lapsu*, and the initials are not similar to **31** and **12**. A now lost copy of **MS 16** must have been the exemplar.

The direct connection between **MS 1** and **MS 16** is also problematic, if one compares the descriptions in the library catalogues to Jacob's stemma. According to his analysis **MSS 18, 66** and **111** are derived from the same, now lost, manuscript, which is in turn derived from

⁵⁷ David Ganz, review of *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, (review no. 474) via <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/474>.

⁵⁸ See the bibliography for the catalogues I have used.

⁵⁹ This manuscript will be discussed in detail below.

another lost manuscript. **MS 15** must have been, according Jacob, a copy of the latter. As **MS 16** must have been written before 950, **MS 15** must be early 10th century at the latest. As this manuscript has not been dated more precisely, it is impossible to say how plausible this is without further investigation. It would imply that the now lost exemplar of **16** also copied the marginal notations, but how likely is it that these notations would be copied into three manuscripts? It would depend on various factors such as the contents and amount of marginal notations. Are they in the nature of glosses perhaps, and is that the reason for copying that particular exemplar? Although the copying of marginal notations is rather uncommon, I can see the use of copying interesting points of view from an authority, or copying references to other texts. The answers to this question will have to wait for now.

Closer investigation of the St. Petersburg manuscript (**MS 1**), however, might prove fruitful at this stage. Olga Dobias-Rozdestvenskaja's catalogue of the Latin manuscripts of the St. Petersburg library dates this manuscript between 814 and 821, though the only ground for this precise dating is the marginal notation from the 10th century which states that it was written during abbot Adalhard's exile. The manuscript is written in the so-called "ab-script" which occurred at Corbie during the late 8th and early 9th centuries. Ninth century corrections in punctuation are added, possibly by Adalhard himself. Further notes in the margin, written in the 9th century in Tironian notes, refer to dogmatic principles and can be identified with a group of scribes who also annotated other *historiae* and works on dogma. Dobias-Rozdestvenskaja argues that this manuscript was ordered by Adalhard, and written by some scribes from Noirmoutiers, who followed him in his exile.

Corbie had a special position within the Frankish kingdom from the moment it was founded as a daughter-house of Luxeuil. It was the first monastery to be founded on royal initiative rather than aristocratic or clerical command. As such it could function as an instrument of royal control over the region, function as a counterweight against episcopal power, control liturgy and religious cult through the sponsoring of this religious centre, and help cultural programmes in general.⁶⁰ The dissemination of texts from Corbie also takes an ideologically tinted position in the general transmission of texts in the Frankish kingdom. The history of Corbie begins with the foundation by Balthildis, an Anglo-Saxon princess, and her son Chlotar III, between 657 and 661. Due to the particular aim of Corbie as a place of cultural power, abbots were often royal relatives. **MS 1** is a clue as to how abbots played a

⁶⁰ Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 14.

role in this monastery and its textual production, as well as for the monastery's connection to and influence on intellectual culture.

When Charlemagne died in 814, Louis the Pious disposed of his father's loyal friends and replaced them with his own circle.⁶¹ This also happened at Corbie. Abbot Adalhard was sent into exile to the monastery of Noirmoutiers, and his brother Wala, formerly a courtier, was sent in his stead to Corbie. Adalhard II was replaced as abbot by Louis, but Louis needed the support of Wala, an indication that the monastery had its own power structures, which could not be tampered with so easily. Only in 821, at the synod at Diedenhofen, Adalhard was back in business.⁶² His exile, in my opinion, was meant to isolate Adalhard from his former environment, where he had great influence. After his removal for almost a decade, things had changed, and this man was no longer a threat to Louis, who could use his talents at court. Ganz argues that Adalhard was not as pro-Charlemagne as might have been suspected,⁶³ but I doubt this. He argues that Adalhard fled to Monte Cassino, as he had family in Italy and had been the tutor of Bernard of Italy. However, Charles had accepted him as abbot, and at one point he even became the councillor of Charles at court. Charles sent him to Rome as well, to collect information on the correct singing of Mass. The key indication that Adalhard was in fact a strong supporter of Charles is, that Louis took so much effort to exile him, and keep him away for so long.

Adalhard is an important figure for the history of **MS 1**, as a marginal note from the 10th century claims that it was written for him during his exile. The idea that the *Historia Tripartita* was written for Adalhard cannot be dismissed on the basis of the date of the marginal notation alone, although it was written 150 years later. At that time about three generations had passed, but it is possible that the story of this manuscript was passed on amongst the monks. Both Gasparri and Dobias-Rozdestvenskaja, however, dismiss the possibility that this claim is true; they simply call it a "*fruit de fantaisie*".⁶⁴ Why they call it so, however, is not clear. Dobias-Rozdestvenskaja argues that the origin of this manuscript lies in the "archaic"⁶⁵ taste of Adalhard, and Gasparri is of the opinion that it was written in the context of Adalhard's friendship with Alcuin and their close connections to the royal court at the time of the *renovatio imperii*. In other words: this text was part of a broad programme

⁶¹ Janet, Nelson 'The Frankish Kingdoms, 814-898: the West', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. II (Cambridge, 1995) p. 112.

⁶² Ganz, *Corbie*, p. 22-29, Nelson "The Frankish Kingdoms", p. 112-116.

⁶³ Ganz, *Corbie*, p. 23-24.

⁶⁴ As quoted in Françoise Gasparri,, "Le scriptorium de Corbie a la fin du VIIIe Siecle et le problem de l'écriture a-b' in: *Scriptorium* 20 (1966), p. 266.

⁶⁵ These are her words as quoted in Gasparri,, "Le scriptorium de Corbie", p. 266.

which was initiated by the royal court.⁶⁶ I would like to propose a different theory on the basis of the history of the ‘ab’-script, and the relations of both Adalhard and the monastery with the court and other monasteries.

The ‘ab’-script does not just occur in Corbie, but also in Jouarre, Soissons, Autun, Chelles, St. Denis,⁶⁷ Amiens, Beauvais, St Hubert, St. Vaast, Compiègne, possibly Fleury and Rheims but also St. Thierry, St. Riquier, Péronne, Cologne, and Montpellier. Nevertheless Corbie was probably the leading monastery in the development of ‘ab’.⁶⁸ How exactly this development took place is still a matter of debate, as several pre-Carolingian scripts were used, some even simultaneously, at Corbie.⁶⁹ Italian influences are not excluded by Jones,⁷⁰ but also Anglo-Saxon immigrants in the monastic community may have influenced the script,⁷¹ and the founding house Luxeuil would, through founding the scriptorium, have a strong influence on Corbie.⁷²

The script has some Merovingian traits concerning letter spacing and abbreviation methods⁷³ as well as letter forms,⁷⁴ and texts written in this script are often corrected in the Maurdramnus minuscule.⁷⁵ The accompanying illumination is unconventional for Frankish decoration, and the exemplars used for texts written in it probably come from the court library and insular centres. ‘Ab’-script also makes use of an Anglo-Saxon abbreviation system, and the *Historia Tripartita* in particular contains many insular abbreviations.⁷⁶ The main Corbie scriptorium used, unconventionally, the flesh side as the outside of the quire, whereas the ‘ab’-script did the reverse, more in line with contemporary practices. The script itself is not simple: the letter forms change according to their place within a word, depending on the surrounding letters,⁷⁷ and the ductus of the script has a particular elegance to it.⁷⁸ All this adds up to suggest that the script is conservative and complicated, but at the same time very much up-to-date with current traditions - it is by no means the last gasp of a dying

⁶⁶ Gasparri, “*Le scriptorium de Corbie*”, p. 266-7.

⁶⁷ Rosamond McKitterick, “Nun’s scriptoria in England and Francia in the eighth century”. In *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms, 6th-9th Centuries*, VII, pp. 4-6 and Ganz, *Corbie*, p. 49.

⁶⁸ Leslie W. Jones, “The Scriptorium at Corbie: II, the script and the problems” in: *Speculum* 22.3 (1947), pp. 366-7.

⁶⁹ See for a complete discussion the article of Jones, “The Scriptorium at Corbie: II”.

⁷⁰ Jones, “*The Scriptorium at Corbie: II*”, p. 392.

⁷¹ Jones, “*The Scriptorium at Corbie: II*”, p. 392.

⁷² Jones, “*The Scriptorium at Corbie: II*”, p. 393.

⁷³ Ganz, *Corbie*.

⁷⁴ Gasparri, “*Le scriptorium de Corbie*”, p. 267.

⁷⁵ Ganz, *Corbie*, p. 49.

⁷⁶ See for a complete survey of abbreviations Lindsay, W.M., “The old script of Corbie, its abbreviation symbols” in: *Revue des Bibliothèques* (1912).

⁷⁷ Ganz, *Corbie*, p.49-50.

⁷⁸ Gasparri, “*Le scriptorium de Corbie*”, p. 267.

phenomenon. Gasparri calls it the last stadium before the development of Caroline minuscule,⁷⁹ but Ganz argues that it should be seen as a separate script, as it was used side by side with Caroline minuscule.⁸⁰ Gasparri sees this as a form of conservatism and decline of the Corbie scriptorium, rather than a conscious development of script.⁸¹ The ‘ab’-scriptoria must have been fairly large, considering the long texts they could produce, and the quality of their work. Also, their choice of texts suggests that they were not providing a starter’s list, the essential books any parish church should have, or even those any monastery should keep in store. The ‘ab’-scriptorium ran alongside the “regular” Corbie scriptorium which produced manuscripts in Caroline minuscule.

The ‘ab’-scribes may have been royal scribes either still in office or retired.⁸² Also, Adalhard was once Alcuin’s friend, as well as a friend of Charlemagne’s sister. Two other monasteries which used ‘ab’-script were also linked to court: Adalhard’s own sister was abbess at Soissons, and Chelles had been founded by Balthildis. There are many family connections between the abbots and abbesses of these monasteries and the royal family, so this is not inexplicable. But can it be that Adalhard initiated the formation of a separate scriptorium which wrote unknown texts for scholarly purposes for royal elite monasteries? Or should the emphasis in the origin of texts in the ‘ab’-script like the *Historia Tripartita* be on Anglo-Saxon contacts? Balthildis after all had been of Anglo-Saxon origin, and both Adalhard and Theodrata had had close contact with Alcuin. Besides, the accessibility of the *Historia Tripartita* is uncertain at this time. What exactly happened to the original written at Vivarium is unknown. Perhaps the library was moved to the Lateran Palace in Rome, or it was moved earlier to England, as many Italian manuscripts moved with monks to England, and then with their missions back to the continent. The insular connection could explain how this text ended up where it did. In fact, none of the manuscripts written in the ‘ab’-script made use of an exemplar from Corbie; most exemplars came either from the British Isles or from the royal court.⁸³ ‘Ab’ is not just some other script, it seems to be some kind of prestige or ideologically charged script for the following reasons: the scriptoria and their connections point to royal patronage, if not direct interference; the script and codicology place it outside regular tradition; and the nature of texts written in it point to some kind of an elite audience. The significance of this theory will show later in the discussion of branch 2.

⁷⁹ Gasparri, “*Le scriptorium de Corbie*”, p. 267.

⁸⁰ Ganz, *Corbie*, p.48-51.

⁸¹ Gasparri, “*Le scriptorium de Corbie*”, p. 269.

⁸² T.A.M. Bishop, “the script of Corbie” in: De Haar, Lieftink and Gumbert eds., *Litterae Textualis I*, (Amsterdam, 1972), p.16.

⁸³ Ganz, *Corbie*, p.52.

1b

The second branch of the first group consists of **MSS 1, 33, 45, 133, 114, 34, 35, 139** and an incunabulum from Paris.⁸⁴

There are four located manuscripts in this group. Jacob characterizes this branch as one which starts particularly early, and is spread mainly in the North of France. However, a glance on the map shows that Navarra, the place of origin of **MS 33**, Corbie where **MS 1** comes from, and Basel, the home of the **MS 139**, are not exactly close to each other. **MS 1** is the earliest, and it seems reasonable to assume that this manuscript or its exemplar is the ultimate source of all manuscripts. As I argue in this thesis, part of the first branch seems to be connected to **MS 1** and this manuscript in turn leads to Northern Spain. This also explains how a manuscript can wander from Corbie all the way to Navarra. Unfortunately, little else is known about this manuscript, so that I cannot place it in the southward movement of the first branch of manuscripts.

Apart from manuscripts travelling south during the 10th century, another group of manuscripts seems to travel east: **MS 114** has been placed in Basel. Other branches of manuscripts, to be discussed below, are from the eastern part of the Frankish Kingdom.⁸⁵

1c

The earliest manuscript of the third branch dates from the 12th century, **MS 51**, and is thought to be written at Belval abbey, which lies west of Arras. Orval, the home of **MS 89**, is located east of Rheims, and the remaining manuscript, number **115**, has not been localized, nor is there any additional information available on its place of origin. Although we do know that it once belonged to Guillaume Budé, as a diplomat and royal librarian he had the connections to obtain his manuscripts from all over Europe, so that we can hardly call this a clue. The only hint we have, is that Jacob sees a connection between branch 1b and this branch, and as branch 1b circulated in France, it seems a reasonably educated guess that the manuscript from which these three were copied is French as well.

1d

The three manuscripts which belong to the fourth branch of this group, **MSS 11, 52, and 154**, originate from Italy, where the earliest manuscript arrived between 825 and 850. Considering

⁸⁴ I have not included it in the list as my main focus lies in handwritten material up to the 10th century. To include incunables in this survey would make the scope too broad. They will be considered as copies of now lost manuscripts at a later point.

⁸⁵ For my indications of regions I use the division of the empire of the Treaty of Verdun.

that the earliest manuscript dates from the early 9th century, and the general movement of the manuscripts from branch 1b occurs only in the 10th century, this suggests that the exemplar of these copies is different from the manuscript from Corbie, number **1**. Jacob remarks that **MS 11**, which is in fact the only one important for tracing the transmission history, as the others are direct descendants of **11**, is equal in textual status to manuscripts **1** and **16**, as they contain few textual variations from the archetype.⁸⁶ As it seems unlikely that **MS 1** is clearly related to **11**, since I suggested that it may have had an insular exemplar, it seems to me that **MS 11** was written from an exemplar which travelled from Vivarium or a from copy of the original *Historia* which never left Italy but was closely related to the copy which may have left for England.

1e

Branch 1e consists of **MS 13** only. Jacob suggests this manuscript hails from France, but David Ganz located it in present-day Belgium. Closer palaeographical investigation is therefore needed. The oddity is that Jacob dates this manuscript in the 10th century, but according to the catalogue it contains 9th-century glosses. Either Jacob or the catalogue must be wrong. The corrector clearly knew his grammar, and corrected many of the mistakes the scribe made as he hastily copied the manuscript. The text is in quality close to **MS 1**, but also has some word forms in common with **MS 7**. As the origin of **MS 11** is pretty near to Corbie, is it possible that this one too contains the same glosses as **MS 1**?

1f

This is a rather complicated branch, as one of its members, **MS 7**, is contaminated by several other manuscripts. As mentioned above, it seems similar to **MS 11**, which is close to **MS 1** as well, but Jacob argues that its textual features are also similar to those in group 6, which is spread out over northern Europe, from Austria to England, but not much more southerly than the centre of Germany.⁸⁷ Branch 1f itself has a very wide spread as well: **MS 7** stems from Orléans, **MS 17** was written in Italy, **MS 73** in Vallombrosa in Tuscany, **MSS 53** and **54** come from Italy and **MS 116** comes from France. The stemma shows that there is one archetype for branch 1f which divides into two branches, one which has manuscripts located in Italy, the other originating in France but moving to Italy as well. The French **MS 7** was written in the 9th century. A century later copies from this manuscript appear in Italy in the

⁸⁶ Jacob, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, p.71.

⁸⁷ Jacob, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, p. 141.

form of **MSS 53** and **54**. **MS 116** is also from France, but its owner was Alphonso V of Aragon, who was also king of Naples, and who had many (warlike) relations with the French royal family. Hence it is not strange that in the 15th century it was copied from a manuscript which appears to be in the Italian line. Would it be appropriate to suggest that the archetype lies somewhere in France, but that some copies moved to Italy, only to return in the humanist minuscule with Alphonso V of Aragon back to France?

Group 2

This is an interesting family, as the manuscripts are contaminated by manuscripts from other branches. Basically, there is a now lost manuscript which is at the head of two branches, one with **MS 3** as its descendant and **147** and **117** as descendants of **MS 3**. However, these two manuscripts only follow **MS 3** for the first chapter of book I. What happens then is unclear. Jacob could not figure out the exact moment of the change, but definitely from book VI.18 onwards, these two manuscripts have used manuscripts of the second branch as exemplars. This sub-branch has two stages, one with a manuscript derived from the archetype of this group, which is used by **MS 2**, and from this same lost manuscript another one was made with the help of Sozomenus's original Greek text in the 15th century in Italy. It is to this improved text that **MSS 147** and **117** turn somewhere between chapter I.2 and IV.18. They are joined by **MSS 152** and **146**.

MS 146 is somewhat of a mystery, as it does not fit in with the general look of the other manuscripts. It is written in cursive and on paper, whereas the others are luxurious codices. Jacob offers no solution for this, but I see no reason why all descendants should have had an equal function. The different uses of the *Historia* in combination with others texts are discussed in chapter 2 above, and I do not see why **MS 146** cannot have been a study text rather than an object for admiration in a nobleman's library.

From II.19 onwards, a manuscript from another group joins group 2. **MS 138** uses **MS 20** from group IIIf up to book II.18, and then a different scribe follows **MS 3** from group 2 from book II.19 onwards. The change at this point in the text is not completely random: **MS 20** changes exemplars at this point. **MSS 20** and **3** are from the same period and possibly from the same area as well. I shall return to the connection between these two manuscripts and their changes in sources at book II.18 in the discussion of branch 3f below.

Group 2 is part of a greater whole within the manuscript transmission. Groups 2 – 6 are characterized by several grammatical corrections. As these corrections are consistent, this means that the entire tradition apart from group 1 must have come from a single manuscript.⁸⁸

3a

This branch is made up of **MSS 55, 56, 118, 119, 144** and **120**, and is concentrated in Northern Italy from the 12th to the 15th century.⁸⁹ No connection between the b and c branches of group 3 can be proven according to Jacob, which suggests that, even though all manuscripts from groups 2-6 stem from the same archetype, the environment in which branch 3a produced its manuscripts is relatively isolated.

3b and c

Branch 3b contains four manuscripts. **MSS 4, 18, 19, 121**, and **24** from are all written in Northern Italy around the 10th century, apart from **MS 121**, which was written in the 15th century. They share the same archetype, but are not interrelated. This branch, however, is connected to a second one: **MSS 4** and **19** contain the same textual variants as four manuscripts from the 3c branch: **10, 36, 32**, and **155**. Little can be told about the exact origin of the four manuscripts of group b; the exact connection cannot be determined as yet. Jacob holds that these four manuscripts are independent of each other, but in his survey he does write that the hands of **MSS 4** and **18** are alike. Jacob argues that **MS 18** used a (now lost) exemplar which received corrections which the others have not. It is an interesting question why the scribe of **MSS 4** and **18**, if indeed it is the same one, wrote the text twice, rather than using the corrected exemplar to amend his first copy. Whether the scribe was aware of the corrections in the second exemplar is another question. Further palaeographical and historical investigation on these two manuscripts is needed to shed light on the relations between the manuscripts.

As **MSS 4** and **19** contain the same varieties as the core group of branch 3c, of which the earliest witness is written between 825 and 850, a version from which all these six manuscripts are derived must have been written before 850. The Bavarian tradition of group c must have been in motion already while the other branch of group b, led by manuscripts 4 and 19, started 100 years later.

⁸⁸ Jacob, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, p. 76-77.

⁸⁹ This localization is by Jacob, the individual library catalogues do not give information on this.

The implications of branch 3c, consisting of **MSS 10, 36, 85, 57, 141, 148, 32, 79, 109, 155, 81, 142, 143, and 58**, for general intellectual manuscript culture in Bavaria in the 11th and 12th century are huge. It shows a vast network of scriptoria which not only copy from each other, but also turn to each other for corrections on already written manuscripts, and these corrections are evidence of a conscious attempt at perfecting the text by using several exemplars in this process of correction.

MSS 10, 32 and 36 form a little group within the core. They are written independently in the area, but sometime between 1150 and 1200 **MS 36**, written in St. Emmeram, was corrected. This corrected version was used in several manuscripts in various ways. This dating was given by Jacob, but logic reasoning on the basis of his stemma and the dating of the manuscripts can prove to be enlightening. **MS 81**, dated 1125-1150, a copy of **MS 155**, is corrected after it was written down as a direct copy of **MSS 36 and 85**, written between 1150 and 1160 in Prüfening. The corrections cannot have begun earlier. However, they must have taken place before 1462, when **MS 19** was written with the corrections integrated into the text. However, the same corrections, according to the stemma, are also to be found in **MS 49**, copied in Mainz between 1100 and 1200. We can conclude from this that sometime in the second half of the 12th century a correction was made in **MS 36**, and that this correction travelled around between Mainz, Maihingen, Tegernsee, and the place where **MS 155** was at that time. To tighten up the relationships between these places I would like to emphasize Jacob's observation that the corrector of **MS 155** is the same as one of the scribes of **MS 36**. I conclude from this that there must have been a close connection between the scriptoria of St. Emmeram and Tegernsee, or at least between their monasteries. What may have happened is this, the Tegernsee scribe wrote the *Historia* around the year 1000, and then travelled to St. Emmeram, where he corrected the existing text with his own knowledge and a better exemplar. Alternatively the St. Emmeram scribes sent the text to Tegernsee for checking, as it was written by multiple scribes, and some form of revision must have taken place to see whether the text was correctly collated and no leaves or parts of the text were missing. In any case, after revising the St. Emmeram manuscript, the corrector went back to his own Tegernsee manuscript and made sure that the corrections were put into that text too,⁹⁰ after which the copy of the Tegernsee text from Wessobrunn was corrected as well.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Whether the corrector of the Tegernsee manuscript is the same as the scribe I do not know, unfortunately I have no images of this manuscript to check.

⁹¹ Further investigation to the monasteries and intellectual culture in this specific area and at this specific time will most definitely be pursued.

Apart from this travelling correction, there are more attempts at improving the text in this area by other means, at about the same time: **MS 57** made use of a copy of a parent of **MS 6**, which was written in Mainz between 900 and 1000,⁹² next to the St. Emmeram text.

3d, e and f

These texts circulated in the geographic area between the two areas discussed above, namely Italy and Bavaria. Branch 3e is a mixture of a Lorsch exemplar, **MS 25** from branch 3e, and **MS 57** from branch 3c, which was written in Mainz. Jacob points to the geographic element in this situation: both centres are close to one another. However, I wonder whether that is a warranty for influence. Of course it facilitates interaction between scriptoria, but the need and will to do so must also be present. Then there are **MSS 141** and **148**, which have some textual features in common with the 3d-branch. A closer investigation into the relations between Mainz and Lorsch, and between Lorsch and other areas, might give some more insight into how these interactions functioned in wider context.

Branch e, which consists of **MSS 25** and **38**, interpolated with another branch within the same family, but branch d is an 11th–century variation in group 3, which mixed with a correction of a manuscript of group 4, which will be discussed in detail below. Group 4 originates in the border area of modern Germany and France. Again the geographic element is, according to Jacob, the key in this interchange, but as I remarked before, more elements will need to be investigated.

MSS 110, 122, 59, 60, 20, 123 and in part **MS 138** make up branch 3f. This branch is interesting because it shows some parallels to the situation we saw in branch 3c, where a group of manuscripts influenced each other and created a network of recensions. The branch contains manuscript from the 10th up to the 15th century. The oldest, **MS 20**, stems from Italy from the 10th century, and is at the heart of two 15th-century, possibly Italian, manuscripts. All manuscripts stem from a now lost exemplar which must have been 10th-century at the latest. It is a direct parent of **MS 20**, which received at least before 1475 corrections up to book II.18 from its now lost sister-manuscript y. These corrections in y come from another, now lost, manuscript z. There is no way of dating or localizing these now lost manuscripts, as the manuscripts which received corrections are all 15th century. One will have to try to date the corrections in **MS 20** to make sure when these were made. These corrections, oddly enough, are not in the manuscripts which were copied from manuscript y, which seems to suggest that the corrections must have pre-dated the youngest copy, which is **59** from the 12th century.

⁹² This manuscript belongs in group IVc.

Thus, all copied manuscripts which belong to each other through the network of corrections are from the 15th century, but the corrections themselves seem to date from the 10th and 12th centuries, as **123** used a manuscript from branches 3b and c, which date from the 10th century, Germany. I already mentioned **MS 138** at the discussion of group 2. The corrections of **MS 20**, oddly enough, only go up to II.18, at it is only this part which **138** used, before switching to **MS 3**, from the 10th century. **MS 138** itself dates from 1475, but this too used a 10th century source. Since both **3** and **138** are from Badia, it seems an easy guess that **20** is also from Badia, but I am not so certain. Badia is not very close to the German border, and **MS 123** uses a German exemplar. Unfortunately, none of the copies of *y* or **20** other than **138** are located, but since the exemplar of **20**, which is also the exemplar of *y*, is so close in date to **20**, and it is also a direct exemplar of **MS 60** from Clairveaux, and because the direct copy of *y*, **59**, is similar in script to **60**, and **60** also made use of **MS 42** from Rheims, I suspect that the parent to all these manuscripts, *y*, and **20**, must have been close to the border, or in a monastery which had contacts with Rheims, Badia, and Clairveaux, so that this group could spread over a wide area in a brief period of time. I am thinking also about the possible influence of the Cistercian order here, as it is known that they maintained close relations with other Cistercian houses throughout Europe, and they were also occupied with the correction of texts.

4a

The manuscripts from this branch are from Western Germany. Jacob argues that the corrections which took place in these manuscripts do not prove that another manuscript with a better text was used, as each correction in the text may have been made individually. However, group 3 had in its c and f branches an interpolation shared between manuscripts in order to establish a better text. Secondly, the Carolingian Renaissance was also about the correction of texts. Jacob does not give a dating for the corrections, but perhaps a closer investigation of the stemma may prove enlightening. I cannot prove that different manuscripts were used to correct the texts, but it is clear that this group, too, which is located mainly in Eastern Germany, has used older manuscripts from the same stemma in the 15th century. The exemplar from which these manuscripts stem must have been written before the year 1000, and this may have been in France, as **MS 9**, which is the youngest, was written in Cambrai between 800 and 1000. The other manuscripts from this branch, **47**, **124**, **125** and two incunables are all from Germany. The incunable was established with both **MS 47** and its copy, a now lost manuscript which, as it postdates **MS 47**, must be written at the earliest in

1000. The incunable stems from Köln, and possibly **47** as well. Since I imagine that the printer used a text which was easily available, the now lost copy of **47** may also be from Köln. **MS 47** itself was corrected; the corrections can be found in all dependent manuscripts. Later, **MS 47** was corrected again; these corrections cannot be found in the dependent manuscripts, thus this second correction must postdate the latest dependent copy, which is either **124** or **125** of 1400.

4b

Group 4b consists of **MSS 26, 77** and **87**, and is regionally very limited: the manuscripts come from Trier and Frankenthal. As in all other groups, here too a very conscious treatment of the text around the year 1100 can be seen: all manuscripts use corrections, but each in a different way. The earliest manuscript, **26**, was written between 900 and 1100, and uses the corrections from its sister manuscript which is now lost, but must predate **MS 87** from Frankenthal around 1200. **MS 87**, too, uses the corrections from the lost manuscript, as it is its exemplar, but makes a selection of the corrections. Another sister of **MS 26** is also lost, but its copy, **77**, from Trier between 1100 and 1200, also used some other manuscript which Jacob could not identify.

4c

Branch 4c is very small and limited, both in dating and in localization. It consists of **MS 57, 6, 61**, and **153** which date between the 9th century and the 12th century, apart from **153** which was written in 1519 in Trier. All manuscripts come from this region: either from Trier, or from Rheims, or from Mainz. In my discussion of group 3c I mentioned **MS 57** briefly, as it makes use of one of 3c's members, **MS 36** from St. Emmeram. The main part of the text can be traced back either to branch 4c or to **MS 36**, but there are some variations which Jacob found either in **MSS 141** and **148** from branch 3c, or in **MS 38** from branch 3e. As **MSS 141** and **148** both date from the 15th century, and neither has been localized, I can only draw conclusions on the basis of Jacob's stemma about this, which is that these three also draw their text from the corrections of **MS 57**. **MS 38** makes more sense to me, as it was written in the 11th century in South Germany, which makes both the date and place fit. In the discussion of branch 3e I already discussed the relations between branch 3e, 3c, and 4e.

4d and e

These branches contain amongst others **MSS 62, 103, 48** and in part **39**, of which only **48** and **39** are located, in Echternach and Metz respectively. It is a rather early group; the earliest text is **MS 48**, which was written between 1050 and 1080. **MSS 62** and **39** are not far from this date either: they are from the 12th and 11th centuries respectively. Only **MS 103** is later than the others: it was written in the 14th century. Jacob cannot say much about the relationship between **MS 39** and the other families. It follows branch 4d for the second part of its text, but due to corrections this text cannot be placed anywhere else for the first part. It does make clear that the corrections of the now lost exemplar of both **48** and **62** must have been made before 1100. In **MS 48** Jacob also sees many changes and corrections in the text, which fits in the general picture that in the 11th century the *Historia Tripartita* is heavily corrected.

Branch 4e is also a small branch, and little can be said of it. It consists of **MSS 21** and **27** of which Jacob cannot establish their exact relation, neither is he certain about his localization of Moissac. The place of **MS 21** in Moissac may be confirmed in connection with a 12th-century catalogue from Moissac which lists this manuscript. Future investigations on the palaeography of these manuscripts and the history of Moissac in the context of the other monasteries and libraries from this family may shed some light on these manuscripts.

4f, mss 126, and 23

Branch 4f has only one manuscript: **MS 22** from Tours, written in the 10th century. The corrections in this text, however, come from group 1, specifically from a text similar to that of **MS 18** from 12th-century Orval. Jacob remarks that these corrections may have come from other manuscripts as well, as they occur only twice in the fragment which he used to establish the relations between the manuscripts.

MSS 23 and **126** are two manuscripts which seem to belong to group 4, but which have changed so much that they cannot be assigned to any branch. **MS 23** is a very early one; it dates from the 10th century and comes from the library of Pithou. This manuscript has some things in common with other manuscripts, but there is no evidence that they are related. Like **MS 9**, this one has the *Historia Tripartita* only up to book IV, but there is no link between these two manuscripts from a textual point of view. However, these are two French texts from the same period. It may be coincidence, but perhaps at least the reasons for copying the text up to the death of emperor Constans are alike. It also has a marginal notation in common with two other manuscripts. In the margin of I.20 the words “*laudestheodosii*” [sic!] can be read in

MSS 126, 129, and 130. Both **129** and **130** are from the 15th century and belong to branch 6c. I do not see any connection either.

MS 126 is from the 15th century; little else is known about it. Jacob does give some variants which are in common with other manuscripts, but I agree when he says that one variant does not prove anything.⁹³

5a

This branch contains **MSS 46, 63, 91, 90, 145, 137** and **151**, which were written between the late 11th century and the early 16th in Belgium and the Netherlands. Although this is a regionally limited group, the stemma does not show much contamination between the individual manuscripts: they are divided between three copies of the archetype in which only **145, 91, 63** and the Paris incunable from 1492 are closely related. **MSS 137** and **46** have some textual variants which seem to come from branch 1. This must have been a manuscript which was written before the 11th century, at which time the manuscripts of branch 1 were to be found in the North of France or the West of Germany or travelling south towards Italy. It cannot be said with certainty, as many manuscripts are lost and a single manuscript can travel far, but it suggests that most manuscripts from the region of Belgium and the Netherlands descend from group 1a. **MS 90** will be discussed later in detail in relation with branch 6a, as it belongs to branch 5 only for the first part.

5b

Branch 5b contains **MSS 41, 64, 92, 104,** and **127.** Jacob admits that this stemma is somewhat problematic: The textual variants in **41** appear in the rest, but this is not the case vice-versa. This means that, even though they all share **41** or its exemplars as their exemplar, they are individually altered by their scribes. **MS 40** belongs only in part to this branch. It is a mixture of the exemplar of **41** and **MS 1** after the corrections. It was written at St. Germain-des-Près, which is not far away from Corbie.

5c

This branch was corrected with manuscripts from group 6, although Jacob could not define which manuscripts exactly. A more precise indication of which manuscripts may have been used can perhaps be made using the same method as was used above for branch 5a. The manuscripts from branch 5c - **42, 43, 93, 94, 128,** and **112** - were written between the 11th and

⁹³ Jacob, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, p. 121.

the 14th century, most of them in the North-West of France. As the entire branch has the same corrections, the manuscript from which they come must be from the 11th century at the latest. The oldest manuscripts from this branch are from Crépy and Rheims, so the exemplar will most likely be from this area as well. Again, there are so many possible ways a manuscript can travel that this hypothesis is not certain at all, but if I must try to define the ways the manuscript tradition of the *Historia Tripartita* was disseminated, this seems the most likely hypothesis. Group 6 has only two manuscripts which predate the 11th century, and these are **28** and **44** from St. Bertin and St. Omer respectively. The stemma of branch 6cd shows that **44** is a copy of **28**, so even these two manuscripts are closely related.

The stemma Jacob made does not show the following connection, but he does describe it (on page 127): **MSS 65** and **128** used as a second source besides their own exemplars from branch 5d and 5c respectively the same, now lost, manuscript. This shows again how a stemma is an artificial division of a collection of manuscripts which, though very useful indeed, has its limitations when one tries to understand the relations between manuscripts on other than textual levels. This now lost manuscript survived for a long time though: **MS 65** was written in the 12th century, whereas **MS 128** was written in the 15th century. These manuscripts are not localized yet, but if further palaeographic investigation gives a place to these manuscripts, perhaps an entry in a medieval catalogue can be fitted into the stemma.

The relation between **MS 42** and branch 3f has already been discussed above. It does place this branch in context too: a group of manuscripts which are centred in the North of France, along the border with Germany.

5d

Branch 5d is, like branch 5b, interpolated with the corrected version of **MS 1**. The copy of this now lost contaminated exemplar of **MS 156** was also written in Corbie.

Another interesting manuscript in this branch is **65**. It uses a different exemplar for the first three chapters of book I. This is not an entirely odd point in the text to change exemplars: the first three chapters do not treat historical occurrences. Jacob characterizes this first part as younger.⁹⁴ I wonder whether this was also a conscious decision of the scribe: to turn to an older, perhaps more venerable, copy of the text. Would it still be known that the exemplar was corrected with the oldest Corbie manuscript, and would there be a sense of veracity or authority in the fact that it was a manuscript from Corbie, with the legend of Adalhard attached to it - and the fact that it was a very old codex?

⁹⁴ Jacob, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, p.132.

6a

MSS 50, 66, and 80 from this branch are very close to each other in time and space: they are all written in the 12th century, in Anchin and St Amand, which is only 20 kilometres apart. To these three manuscripts a fourth one may be added: **MS 90**, which uses **66** for the second part of its text as an exemplar. **MS 37** should also be added to this branch, because it is corrected with the corrections which characterize branch 6a, even though its main text comes from branch 3d.

In this small area the manuscripts, as we have seen often before in manuscripts which circulate in a small area, correct each other. The text of **MS 37** was already copied from the exemplar, when the text from 6d was used to make a new text in **MS 50**. That means that branch 6a is an interpolation between branch 3 and 6d. This manuscript in turn corrected the copy of its exemplar: **MS 37**. This corrected text was copied into **MS 80**, but it made use of branch 6d for a second round of corrections. There is considerable time between the correcting of **MS 37**: it was written in the 11th century, whereas **MS 50** was written between 1100 and 1200. It means that **MS 37** may have been waiting for as much as a century before it received its corrections. These corrections cannot have been made later than 1123, as the copy of **37, MS 80**, has the first round of corrections integrated into its text, and it was written between 1123 and 1132.

I have already mentioned **MS 28** briefly in relation to group 5c. I argued there that the corrections for this group may have come from either **MS 28** or from its copy **44**, as it fitted in the general picture for both time and place. **MS 28** seems to have played a role again in the corrections of **MS 50** in the 12th century, as Jacob identified certain textual variations which these two manuscripts have in common. It would be interesting to pay some more attention in future research to the connections between the monasteries of Crépy, Rheims, St. Bertin and St Amand in the 11th and 12th century, as their manuscripts travelled around to correct each other.

6b

Branch 6b, which contains **MSS 10 and 11** from 13th-century Devonshire and 14th-century Canterbury respectively, is a mixture of two families. On the one hand there is **MS 80** from branch 6a, on the other there is the group of manuscripts which depend on **MS 36** from branch 3c. Jacob could not identify the exact hierarchy between the manuscripts of this branch, and the way they used the manuscripts from the other branches, but what seems an even more interesting question to me is how these two manuscripts obtained a text from two

centres situated so far apart. There must have been an exemplar which met both the text from **MS 80** from St. Amand, and the text from either **36** from St. Emmeram, or **MS 57** from Mainz, as the other manuscripts from branch 3c postdate the Devonshire manuscript. Branch 4a was already in contact with branch 3f, which in turn had a connection to group 3c through **MS 123**. **MS 123** was written too late to be of influence to this branch, but perhaps there is something in the relations between group 3 and 4 which cannot be proven by textual variations. I hope that historical research of the monasteries and their connections sheds more light on this intriguing network of exemplars and copies. It is a strong indication on how complicated the intellectual highway between monasteries and their scriptoria was in the Middle Ages.

6c and d

For the sake of brevity I will pass over branch c in this discussion as it contains **MSS 129, 130, and 131**, which are all 15th century manuscripts. The stemma in the appendix shows how it is related to branch d.

Branch d was around the year 1000 at the coast of Northern France, and moved in the 12th century to England. Jacob argues that this happened after the Conquest, but the survey of medieval catalogues suggests that the *Historia Tripartita* was already in the 11th century in Peterborough. Besides, if, after further research, my hypothesis that there is indeed an English connection in the ‘ab’-script and Corbie is proven plausible, the text might even have been in England in the 7th or 8th century. The manuscripts in branch 6d are only loosely related to each other: most of its members had older exemplars which can be identified no longer. How the individual manuscripts received the same textual variations, those from 6d, is unclear.⁹⁵

Even though Jacob attempts to make some divisions, he concludes in the end that little can be made of it, as there is not enough material, and the individual word variations do not prove anything. His stemma shows at least a few groups of manuscripts which are slightly more related to each other than the others. The first cluster consists of **MSS 28, 44, 95 and 132**. **MSS 28 and 44** have already been discussed in relation to some manuscripts from other branches, and it adds to the general image of this branch as one which is an interpolation of many traditions. The second cluster contains **MSS 157 and 102**, which date from 1000-1300 Cîteaux and 1200-1400 Durham respectively. The third cluster holds **MSS 96, 99 and 100**. Here **96 and 100** have some textual variations in common which do not appear in **99**, but they

⁹⁵ Jacob, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, p.144- 148 lists the variations, but no further conclusions can be drawn from them.

do share the same old exemplar with **99**. For its corrections **99** belongs to the fourth cluster. It is interesting that manuscripts **96** and **99** belong to each other in the sense that their script is very similar. The catalogue of the British Library indicates that **MSS 96, 99, and 100** are related in style, script and the arrangement of the chapter headings. The relation between **99** and **100** is reflected in the stemma, but why was only **96** corrected, if this English cluster from the 13th century is indeed so close-knit?

The fourth cluster is just a collection of the remaining manuscripts: **68** and **69**. The same variations which made Jacob aware of the relation between **99** and the fourth cluster were also found in **MSS 102** and **95**.

6e

Jacob does not know for certain whether the two manuscripts from this branch, **78** and **133**, are even part of group 6. It is clear that **MS 133** was copied from **78**, but that is about everything he can say about it. It does seem to have a few variations in common with **MS 4** from branch 3b, but Jacob writes that this is not enough an argument for a connection. We have seen that 3b is based in Northern Italy, but that it has some relations to **MSS 10, 36, 32, and 155** of branch 3c. It is exactly this little group which forms the core of activity of correctors in branch 3c, and which influenced branch 6b. Perhaps these two manuscripts are not as alien as Jacob thinks they are...

6 f and g

As for branches f and g, Jacob does not know how exactly they are related, but the textual variants do suggest a close connection. The survey shows that **MSS 97** and **98** from branch 6f are from the 13th century, whereas branch 6g consists mostly of 12th-century manuscripts. There is little to be said about these branches, as Jacob sees no textual connection between them and other families. He does mention that **MS 158** from Heiligenkreuz may be related either to **MS 157** from Cîteaux or to **MS 75** from Zwettl through the relations between these monasteries. I have no reason to see any influence for Cîteaux in this branch, even though Jacob sees the similar size of the manuscripts as a clue, but the manuscript from Zwettl is part of this branch. The stemma shows three sister manuscripts (**158, 75, and 37**) on which all other manuscripts depend. Perhaps there was an exemplar in either Zwettl or Heiligenkreuz, which was copied in both monasteries? How a manuscript from Admont fits this hypothesis may only be answered after investigation of the relations between these three monasteries. If indeed **MS 37** is also part of the Heiligenkreuz-Zwettl connection, then the exemplar must

have been written before the second half of the 12th century. For now, all we can conclude about branches 6f and g is that apparently in the 12th century the *Historia Tripartita* had ended up in the East of Germany and modern-day Austria.

3.4 manuscripts not mentioned in Jacob

14: Freiburg im Breisgau 6

This MS was written in the middle of the 9th century in the Bodensee area, possibly at the Reichenau. The text was written by a single scribe in Caroline minuscule, with tituli in capitalis rustica. It contains notations in the margins from the 2nd half of the 11th century which may have been written by a cleric from Konstanz by the name of Wolferad. In the 15th century this manuscript may have belonged to Elisabeth Sch(m)idin from “pfarrkirche scha(ffhausen?)”, as an ownermark on the cover suggests.

The modern catalogue identified this manuscript with branches 3b and c.

29: Sotheby`s: lot 2 from sale L00507

Number 29 in the survey is a fragment amongst many from a sale at Sotheby`s. It is a bifolium fragment, which was cut to form the spine of a binding. Sotheby`s describes the script as a “fine Carolingian minuscule” with rustic capitals in orange-red ink and decorated initials coloured in red. It was written in Italy, in the 10th century.

30: Winchester Cathedral Library XXV

Very little is known about this fragment, which was kept in the archives of the parish church of Brockenhurst, England. The fragment comes from the North-East of France and was written between 925 and 950, and contains book 7.30-32 and 7.40. Bernhard Bischoff sees similarities with a manuscript from Namur, which was written at Saint-Hubert.⁹⁶

71: Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale 1212

This manuscript is a collection of exarpts from Augustine, Gregory the Great, Origines, Isidore of Toledo, Ambrose, "*Hilarius, Gregorius, Fulgentius, Beda, Joh Chrys, Cassiodorus, Eusebius...et alii*" Jerome, Sibille, *Vitae*, Bede, Firmianus Lactaneius and Verecundus from the 12th century. No further information is given on which fragment of the *Historia* is used in this manuscript, neither is anything written about the script or decoration.

⁹⁶ Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der Festländischen Handschriften des Neunten Jahrhunderts vol. I*, (Wiesbaden, 1998), number 691.

72: Cambridge, St John`s College 5

This codex consists of two volumes at least from the 16th century onwards. The first volume contains the *Epistula Gratiani Augusti* by Ambrose from Christ Church Canterbury, which was written in the 12th century. The second volume of this codex was written in St. Dogmael Abbey in Pembrokeshire in the early 13th century. This second volume contains three extracts about Rufinus, of which one is called “*tripartita historia*” in the catalogue of St. John`s College. This might be referring to Cassiodorus` *Historia*. Ker`s catalogue says this manuscript was combined for Canterbury, and gives it the title “Ambrose”, by which he refers to the first volume only.

82: Sotheby`s: lot 80 from sale L03240

This lot is a collection of 14 leaves from a 12th-century Cistercian manuscript which contained readings for Saint`s days. The reading for January 27, John Chrysostom`s life, was taken from the *Historia Tripartita*, book X.1-26. The lot details remarks that this manuscript is very large (520 by 390 mm). It is written in a Romanesque bookhand, with decoration of initials and rubrication in red, blue, and yellow ink. The selection of saint`s lives suggests a Central or Southern French origin.

83: Sotheby`s: lot 72, 1995

This is a complete version of the *Historia Tripartita*, written between 1150 and 1175 in Flanders or Lower Lorraine in a hand which is described by Sotheby`s as an “angular late romaneseque bookhand”. Initials are decorated with floral and “arabesque” motives; and the non-decorated initials are in red, blue, or green ink. The manuscript contains some marginal notes, and occasionally single leaves are missing. Jacob mentions this MS but claims that it is now lost; Sotheby`s identifies it as Barrois 126.

107: London, British Library, Royal 11 B. III

This manuscript is a collection of texts which can best be described broadly as “theological works”; the catalogue of the BL calls them “theological tracts”. The theological tract of Cassiodorus is taken from book I, chapters 1-9. It was written in Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, in the early 14th century.

108: London, British Library add. 69999

In this early 14th-century North-English manuscript Cassiodorus can be found amongst “an anthology of approximately 380 popular tales and fables”. It was bought from Sotheby’s in 1898, lot 90. The script is described by the catalogue as *cursiva anglicana libraria media*. The catalogue of the BL does not indicate which part(s) of the *Historia* were used.

135: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3175

Besides the complete *Historia Tripartita* this manuscript contains also a *chronicon mundi* up to Clemens VI and an *epistola de coelibatu S. Ulrico*. The catalogue does not give more information about the provenance or script of this manuscript except the date: 15th century.

136: Arezzo, Bibliotheca dello Città di Arezzo 442

The catalogue of Arezzo calls this manuscript “*florilegum ex patribus et auctoritatibus*”. It does not mention which part of the *Historia* was used. About the character of this florilegum the first sentence as quoted by the catalogue may give a clue: *Hic incipit tertia pars huius operis cuius tertie partis liber primus tractat de intelligentia, scientia et consideratione*. The manuscript can be traced back to the Church of San Pier Piccolo in Arezzo between 1440 and 1460.

140: London, British Library, add. 44055

This manuscript is, like BL 69999, a collection of exempla, which was compiled by John Sintram. In this collection Book VI.10 of the *Historia* was used, which is the tale of Julian the Apostate who insults the Church and is punished with disease and death. Notations in the margin are German verses which are a translation of the Latin maxims which occur in the text. The binding is contemporary and still has a chain. The label on the binding reads: “*narraciones miracula et exempla multa et ymagines fulgences et diuersa documenta cum tabula decretalium et eetera vidz*”. This text was not only compiled by Sintram, but he is also the scribe of this manuscript and may have given this book in 1444 to the Franciscans in Würzburg.

150: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale 145

This manuscript is written on paper, possibly at St. Amand, in the 16th century. It contains theological tracts of which the authors and works are not identified by the catalogue of Valenciennes. There is a tract which is called “*De iis quae contigerunt Constantinopoli circa*

confessionem tempore Nectarii...et de haeresi Novati- Ut de Socratis et Sozomenusi historia recte quis judicet", of which I strongly suspect that it was taken from the *Historia Tripartita*. No further information about this manuscript is given by the catalogue.

3.5 References to Manuscripts and Fragmentary use of the *Historia*

Apart from the direct evidence of existing copies and the indirect evidence of now lost copies in entries in medieval catalogues, there are also the suspected manuscripts. These can be divided into two groups: hypothetical manuscripts which Jacob supposes must have been a missing link in the transmission, and uses and mentions of the *Historia* by medieval authors. The first, the hypothetical manuscripts, are suggested on the basis of discrepancies in textual variants between a given copy and its predecessors. Their place in the tradition has already been discussed above, and identified with a mention in the medieval catalogues wherever possible. The uses and mentions may be accompanied by an explanation where the author may have copied or read the text, and may be identified either with existing manuscripts or mentions in catalogues. All this must remain hypothetical and speculative, but when accompanied with arguments a discussion may be opened. The least one can do is provide a survey to see for which purposes the *Historia* has been used. As indirect uses of the *Historia* can only be found by reading the texts that use the text themselves and identify their sources, I must rely on the observations of editors of these texts. Fortunately these observations have largely been already collected by Manitius, Laistner and Thiele; I will bring these three collections of observations here together. As they largely overlap, I suppose it is safe to assume that little material has been overlooked. A survey can be found in the appendix; below I will only briefly discuss the survey. For the sake of brevity I will not name and date the mentions, as such information can be found in the survey. The names by which I refer to the individual authors and their works are noted in the far right column of the survey.

History

Laistner remarks that Frechulf may have obtained his copy from St. Riquier's library, where it is listed in a contemporary catalogue.⁹⁷

Dogmatic issues

The mysterious Decretals of Pseudo-Isidore were written with the help of Cassiodorus; they make use of chapter 17 from book XII.

In 825 the Paris Synod used parts from the *Historia* in an argument against iconoclasm.⁹⁸ Interestingly enough a counter-argument was brought up by Jonas, who also

⁹⁷ Hans Thiele, "Cassiodor, seine Klostergründung Vivarium und sein Nachwirken im Mittelalter" in: *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner Ordens* 50 (1932), p. 415 and M.L.W. Laistner, "The value and influence of Cassiodorus' ecclesiastical history" in: *The Harvard Theological Review* 41.1 (1948), p.60.

used Cassiodorus' work. Laistner does doubt whether Jonas actually had a copy of the *Historia* at his disposal, but he asserts that Jonas was familiar with the work.⁹⁹ Walafrid Strabo also uses the *Historia* in this debate.¹⁰⁰

A little later the *Historia Tripartita* was used again in ecclesiastical debate: Nicholas used the *Historia*'s information in the conflict between Photius and Ignatius, when he cited a letter he wrote earlier to Emperor Michael.¹⁰¹ Ratramnus writes about this very same matter, using the very same source.¹⁰²

The Three Chapters controversy has been discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis, but there are two people who explicitly refer to the *Historia* in this context: Gregory comments that the *Historia* should not be read with as much enthusiasm as it has been in the past. Oddly enough, in doing so, Gregory named Sozomenus rather than Theodoret as the author of the work he advises against.¹⁰³ I have placed this mention in the survey, but I wonder how Gregory the Great could have made this mistake. Was it confusion on the part of Gregory or did he use a source which confused both authors? I have no evidence for this, but it might be worth looking into the matter, and to see how often such a mistake was made. Liberatus may have used the *Historia* to explain that the Three Chapters controversy was an evil plot to divide the Church. His work was partially based on, as he wrote, an ecclesiastic history translated from Latin into Greek. This might very well be Cassiodorus's work.¹⁰⁴

Paulinus mentions the *Historia Tripartita* in his letter to Charles the Great on the correct observance of the Rites of Office in 776 and 802.¹⁰⁵ Correct kingship in relation to the Church is described by Manegold¹⁰⁶ and Hincmar.¹⁰⁷ Amalarius uses the *Historia* for his argumentation on fasting in Lent.¹⁰⁸

⁹⁸ Thiele, "Cassiodor", p.415; Laistner, "The value and influence of Cassiodorus", p.53 and 59; Leslie W. Jones, "The Influence of Cassiodorus on Medieval Culture" in: *Speculum* 204, (1945), p 440.

⁹⁹ Laistner, "The value and influence of Cassiodorus", p. 53 and 59. Professor Marco Mostert suggested while discussing this thesis with me that Jones was the bishop of Orleans and as such might have had access to **MS 7** which was written at Orleans.

¹⁰⁰ Thiele, "Cassiodor", p. 415 and Laistner, "The value and influence of Cassiodorus", p.53.

¹⁰¹ Laistner, "The value and influence of Cassiodorus", p. 59.

¹⁰² Laistner, "The value and influence of Cassiodorus", p. 53 and 59.

¹⁰³ Laistner, "The value and influence of Cassiodorus", p. 59.

¹⁰⁴ Courcelle 369, Laistner, "The value and influence of Cassiodorus", p. 52.

¹⁰⁵ Jones, "The Influence of Cassiodorus", p. 440.

¹⁰⁶ Jones, "The Influence of Cassiodorus", p. 441.

¹⁰⁷ Thiele, "Cassiodor", p. 415; Laistner, "The value and influence of Cassiodorus", p. 53; Jones, "The Influence of Cassiodorus", p. 440.

¹⁰⁸ Laistner, "The value and influence of Cassiodorus", p. 53.

Exempla, sermons, vitae

John Pope argues that Aelfric had a copy of the *Historia* itself in his possession, rather than using the quotations given by Haymo in his *Historia Sacrae Epitomae*.¹⁰⁹

The Sankt Gallen codex has already been discussed, and serves as another example of how the *Historia* was used for moral purposes. In London, British Library Royal 12 F., a manuscript with theological texts, a reader inserted quotations from the *Historia Tripartita* in the margin of the sermons of Petrus Lombardus. The manuscript stems from Bury St. Edmund's Abbey in the thirteenth century.

Other mentions

Boniface took a few books with him from England to Germany. Amongst these books in his possession was the *Historia Tripartita*, as can be read in his letters to England.¹¹⁰ Levison, however, argues that these books were not from England, but that the influence was the other way around: Boniface must have come into contact with the *Historia* through his stay on the continent, as no evidence of knowledge of this work exists on the Isles before his time.¹¹¹ Schüling, whom Levison mentioned as his source, gives the source of these suspicions: there is a quote from a letter from Boniface to Daniel of Winchester in 726-7 which echoes the *Historia*. However, as Schüling writes, we cannot say with certainty when and where Boniface read the *Historia*. It may have been in England, but it may also have been in Germany, and it could have been his own copy.¹¹²

Anastasius, librarian to the pope, wrote in a letter to Paulus Diaconus that he could look up the *Historia Tripartita* as a Greek source for him.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ John Pope (ed.) *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection. Being Twenty-One Full Homilies of His Middle and Later Career For the Most Part Not Previously Edited, with Some Shorter Pieces, Mainly Passages Added to the Second and Third Series*. 2 vols. (London, 1967 and 1968), pp.159-160 and 394 mentions Max Förster, "Über die Quellen von Aelfrics Exegetischen Homiliae Catholicae" in: *Anglia XVI* (1894) as the source for his theory, and Father Smetana in *Traditio XVII* as the main scholar opposing this theory. In his oversight of sources quoted or used by Aelfric he identified some quotes used by Aelfric which were not in Haymo.

¹¹⁰ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 39.

¹¹¹ Wilhelm Levison, *England and the continent in the eighth century*, (Oxford 1946), p. 141.

¹¹² Hermann Schüling, "die Handbibliothek des Bonifatius", in: *Archiv für geschichte des buchwesens IV*, (1963), p. 315. In a footnote on this page he compares the quote from the letter with the quote from the *Historia*, but also with a quote from Rufinus, where this fragment was thought to stem from in the first place by Hahn. Neither is exact, though Schüling judges the first to be more likely.

¹¹³ Thiele, "Cassiodor", p. 415; Laistner, "The value and influence of Cassiodorus", p. 60.

Conclusion

Cassiodorus and politics

It does not do justice to the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* to read it without paying attention to the political circumstances in which it was born, and in which it was read during the subsequent centuries.

Cassiodorus himself was no ascetic man; he was not a monk who sat on an island far away from the world. Rather, he had been closely involved in Ostrogothic politics until the moment the last Gothic king, Witigis, was captured in 540 in Ravenna. Several conflicts intertwined at that time: the Italian politics of the Byzantine emperor Justinian, who wanted to restore the old Empire, the controversy of the Three Chapters, where one of the ‘Chapters’ was Theodoret, one of the three Greek writers worked into the *Historia Tripartita*, and the conflict of identity in Italy between Goths and the old Roman elite. These conflicts should not be seen separately, but as influencing each other as time passes.

During this search for political and religious direction the *Historia Tripartita* was composed, and used in the centuries to come as a work of reference on how correct politics and religion should be conducted. And already in the 9th century the *Historia* was used in dogmatic discussions concerning iconoclasm. The various tales of miracles and virtuous or evil kings which are also part of the *Historia* were used in exempla collections and sermons.

In this thesis I also suggested that the *Historia* had a particularly large audience in the areas where important bishoprics and other centres of power were located. This adds to the image of the *Historia* as an important work, one which was relevant for contemporary politics.

The road (less) travelled

In this thesis I have tried to sketch the history of the transmission of the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* in broad lines. A few of the roads these manuscripts took can be seen by looking at the graph in chapter 3, a map, and by looking at the families of texts Jacob discerned.

The earliest manuscripts come from Italy, in branch 1d, and Corbie in branch 1b. The copies of the Italian manuscript travelled north in the direction of Southern Germany. In Bavaria an important group circulated: group 3 which was active especially in the 10th

century, which in turn influenced branches 6f and g in the East of Germany, and which also travelled west to the border of France.

The manuscripts from Corbie travelled in the 10th century east towards Germany, north to Belgium, and south in the direction of Spain. I argued that the exemplar of the Corbie manuscript may have come from England. The earliest extant manuscripts from England are from the 12th century and came through branch 6, which circulated at the north-western coast of France. This information about the British Isles can be supplemented with data from the medieval catalogues which show that there were copies available in the 10th century, and the indirect mentions seem to suggest that there was a copy in Jarrow in the 9th century. Branch 6 also influenced branch 5, which circulated in the 11th century in what is today Belgium and the Netherlands.

Apart from branch 5, which remained relatively isolated, there are two more branches which circulated in a limited area: branch 4 between the 9th and 12th century in the border area between Germany and France, and branch 3a which circulated in the North of Italy between the 11th and 15th centuries.

In short, the tradition shows two important areas, the North of France and the South of Germany, as hubs from which manuscripts were spread all over Europe, where the border between France and Germany was an especially busy highway.

Future research

The controversy of the Three Chapters, the breach between the East and West, the development of Christianity and 6th century Italian politics will play a role in my future research, as these form the original context in which the *Historia* should be understood.

But the original context does not persist in the following ages: many changes occurred between the 6th and 10th centuries, even though the text remained the same and was copied over and over again. In order to fully understand how the interaction between various manuscript traditions worked, a detailed study of the connections between monasteries and scriptoria will have to be made. This will naturally also involve a more thorough investigation of the politics and important figures of that time and area. Not only will I have to conduct research on a local level, but also on that of general manuscript culture; intellectual traditions and the leading religious and political discussions which dominated the age will have to be studied to see in which way the *Historia* was relevant.

With a tradition stretching from the 6th century till today, and which consists of 158 manuscripts, future research promises to be anything but boring: the history of this *Historia* is one filled with variation, revolving around political relevance and religious discussions.

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Online resources

Books

O'Donnell's book is also online with a newly updated bibliography:

<http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/texts/cassbook/toc.html>

Edition of the Church Histories of Socrates and Theodoret can be found at

http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Nicene_and_Post-Nicene_Fathers:_Series_II

The map I used for reference concerning geographic argument can be found at Colin, Armand, *Histoire Et Géographie - Atlas Général Vidal-Lablache* (Paris, 1898) via:

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Partage_de_l'Empire_carolingien_au_Trait%C3%A9_de_Verdun_en_843.JPG

A digital edition of the notes of Bernhard Bischoff can be found at

<http://www.mgh-bibliothek.de/html/BISCHOFF.HTM>

Digital Facsimiles of Manuscripts

St. Gall cod. 561 via <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/csg/0561>

Valenciennes 498 (MS 80) via [http://bookline-](http://bookline-03.valenciennes.fr/bib/common/viewer/tifmpages.asp?TITRE=Ms+498&FILE=Ms0498.tif)

[03.valenciennes.fr/bib/common/viewer/tifmpages.asp?TITRE=Ms+498&FILE=Ms0498.tif](http://bookline-03.valenciennes.fr/bib/common/viewer/tifmpages.asp?TITRE=Ms+498&FILE=Ms0498.tif)

Troyes 250 (MS 60) via [http://patrimoine.agglo-](http://patrimoine.agglo-troyes.fr/simclient/integration/EXPLOITATION/dossiersDoc/voirDossManuscrit.asp?INSTANCE=EXPLOITATION&DOSS=BKDD_MS_0250_00)

[troyes.fr/simclient/integration/EXPLOITATION/dossiersDoc/voirDossManuscrit.asp?INSTANCE=EXPLOITATION&DOSS=BKDD_MS_0250_00](http://patrimoine.agglo-troyes.fr/simclient/integration/EXPLOITATION/dossiersDoc/voirDossManuscrit.asp?INSTANCE=EXPLOITATION&DOSS=BKDD_MS_0250_00)

Appendices

Existing Manuscripts

date	Origin	script and decoration	further remarks	shelfmark	Jacob's number	My Number
700-900	Corbie	'A-b' type. Capitals ending and beginning of books, but never coloured despite the fact that the contours were already drawn. Intials which did receive decoration have Irish traces. Palmettes and animal decoration.	According to a 12 th cent. note the MS was written in 814-821 for Adalhard during his exile at Noirmoutier. Marginal notes in 9 th -cent. Tironian script. Attempts at switching scribes at quires, in practice often at the end of any page. Punctuation possibly corrected by Adalard	St Petersburg, National Library, Lat. F. v. l. 11	7	1

800-1000	Italy	very narrow Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)	Contained once also fragments of Eusb.	Vatican City, Vatican Library, Barberini Lat. 581	28	2
800-1000	Badia		The scribe wrote dates (just the day and month, no year) in the margin. Unfinished Initials. Augensprung at VII.2 <i>adletam deificare</i> till VII.31 <i>Sozomenus. Ualens itaque. Ownermark: congregationis Sancte Iustine ordinis Sancti Benedicti deputatus Monasterio Sancte Marie siue Abbatie Florentine</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr 178	31	3
800-1000		regular Caroline minuscule (Jacob)	Two scribes worked simulataneously on this MS; each wrote 6 books.	Vercelli, Cathedral Library, 101	41	4

800-1000 800-1000, dated 10th century by Jacob 800-830	St. Gallen	Tituli in red rustica.	Fragments from book I and XI between passio and miracula. Many hands, possibly also from students. Many corrections and omissions.	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 561		5
	St. Martin, Rheims		Quires are in disorder	Vatican City, Vatican Library, Pal. lat. 823	76	6
	Orléans. Monasterii s. Petri Carnot. Ord. S. Benedicti Congregationis S. Mauri	Carolingian minuscule. Orléans Style initials.	First 7 folios are missing; the codex begins on 8 verso with a summary of contents of the first book, chapter 7. Folio 8 recto is blank but for some pen trials; closer investigation showed the erased praefatio (Jacob). Quire XIII (VI.46 <i>schemate</i> till VII.10 <i>ueritis</i>) and XVIII (IX.38 <i>mutauit</i> till X.7 <i>odiosum</i>) are missing. The	Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, 10 (21)	25	7

800-900 800-900-1000			manuscript was corrected by multiple hands. Ownermark written on the original binding.			
			Schenkl 1037	Cheltenham 457		8
	Cambrai	Regular Carolingian minuscule (Jacob) with titles in uncial and coloured initials.	Contains the <i>Historia</i> up to book VI only. <i>The Historia</i> is followed by a catalogue of the capitula library	Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 685	69	9
	825-850	Regensburg	Clear Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)		München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 6376	46
825-50	mid Italy	10 th -cent. Carolingian minuscule, (regular, broad, simple minuscule as described by Bischoff); 11 th -cent. Carolingian	Written in three parts: part one contains the <i>Historia</i> . Subscript in capitals and maiuscule. Chapters XII - XXXVIII of book V are missing, as well as chapters XLVII	Montecassino, Benedictine Abbey, 302	18	11

850-900-1000		minuscule; 11 th -cent. Beneventana; 12 th -cent. corrections in margin	and XLIX. 9 th -cent. hand ends with book VII at the lines <i>hereses scae. Fidei. Praedictae contrarias quae pie</i> . Beneventan script is used for the date and explicit of book XII.			
	Frankenthal	Two hands.	Contains <i>Sermo de Lapsu</i> in Greek and <i>Sermo in Psalmorum L</i> by Chry. as well.	Vich, Archivo Capitular de Vich, 72	3	12
850-900-1000	Belgium (Ganz) France (Jacob)	Writing slanted and somewhat flat (Bischoff), carelessly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)	9 th -cent. glosses. Text ends with <i>dicens si uixero</i> from book II. 14. In between several quires are missing: II.17 <i>quando non fuit</i> till II.20 <i>et sacerdotes</i> ; IV.34 <i>psallarent deo</i> till V.10 <i>strangulavit</i> ; VII.12 <i>et quicumque con</i> till VII.27 <i>quattuor</i> .	London, British Library, Add. 19961	21	13

			Marked as 9 th -cent. on the binding.		
850	Reichenau/Bodensee area	Carolingian minuscule. Titulae in Rustica. One hand.	Marginal notes from 2nd half of the 11th ct. Possibly written by Wolferad, a cleric from Konstanz. 15th cent. cover with ownermark: Elisabeth Sch(m)idin from pfarrkirche scha(ffhausen?). This manuscript is not mentioned in Jacob's Handschriftliche <i>Überlieferung</i> .	Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, 6	14
900-1000				Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv acq. lat. 1746	1 15

900-1000		possibly from Corbie according to Ganz, South-France or Spain according to Jacob	With marginal notes. Text stops at XI.1, the rest is lost with the old binding: quires I till 15 are still present.	Naples, Farnese Library, VI D 18	2	16
900-1000	Italy	Very pure and even Carolingian minuscule (Jacob), simple initials, some decorated	Gold on cover. Faded pages are re-written by a later hand.	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, San Marco 383	22	17
900-1000		The hand looks like that of MS4	Contains also a letter from bishop Leo of Vercelli. Quires 2 (I.5, <i>ut solet</i> till I.11, <i>philosophiam</i>) and 19 (VI.43, <i>dum</i> till VII.3 <i>scrupulositate con</i>) are missing. The last leaf is also missing.	Vercelli, Cathedral Library, 147	42	18
900-1000		Careful Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)		Milan, Library of the capitulary S. Ambrogio	43	19

900-1000	possibly from Italy	Capital subscriptions, also the mention of authors in capitals. Rest in Carolingian minuscule till fol. 194 (XII.9 <i>circa hoc</i>) where the last leaves are in a 15 th -ct Gothic cursive. Initials in maiuscule. Multiple hands.	14 th and 15 th -cent. Marginal notes.	Vatican City, Vatican Library, Lat. 1970	67	20
900-1000	Moissac	Irregular Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)	In 1678 in the possession of the Moissac abbey in the Languedoc, France.	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5083	83	21
900-1000	S. Gratien in Tours	Clearly and regularly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob). Capitals and uncials. Gold	Note at the end: <i>Liber abbatiae S. Mariae de Florentia</i> , according to Jacob in order to hide the theft of this manuscript in 1842	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acq. lat. 1603	85	22

		initials, first line of each book also in gold				
800-900 (900-1000 according to Jacob)		Regularly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob). Uncial N appears often in the middle of a word.	Only up to book VI. Owned once by someone named Raimundus and then by Pithou	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5082	87	23
900-1100			Contains Eusb. as well. Text stops at VI.25 <i>inordinate</i>	Turin, Bibl Nazarine, D II.2	45	24
900-1100	Lorsch	Clearly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)		Vatican City, Vatican Library, Pal. lat. 824	61	25
900-1100	St Martin, Trier.	Carelessly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)		Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Lat. 1194	73	26
900-1100		Regularly written Carolingian minuscule		Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5084	84	27

		(Jacob)				
900-1100	St-Bertin's	Carefully written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)	First two folios are rewritten in a 14th century Gothic hand	Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliotheque Municipale, Lat 102	118	28
900-1200	Italy	Fine Carolingian minuscule (Sotheby) with rustic capitals and initials	Bifolium fragment from the spine of a binding	Sotheby's, lot 2, sale L00507		29
925-950	North-East France		Fragment.	Winchester, Cathedral Library, XXV		30
950	Central France	Carolingian minuscule. Maiuscule initials and capitals.	Undefined numbering in margin. Corrections contemporary or not long after by three hands. Fol. 1 has note in Gothic cursiva that the codex also held book XII from <i>de lapso</i> by Chry., <i>super psalmum</i> book L and <i>de divite et paupere</i> .	Leiden, University Library, Vossiani lat. F. 62	4	31

1000	Tegernsee	Carolingian minuscule. Rustica titulae, initial maiuscles.	Irregular quire structure due to the attempt coincide the end of each quire with the ending of each book. The first two folios were cut off and replaced with 13 th -century leaves written in Gothic minuscule. This MS is also known from a letter of abbot Gozbertus, quoted in Jacob, see also the catalogue survey	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 18466	52	32
1000-1100	Navarra	Clearly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)		Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 17581	8	33
1000-1100			Contains only the beginning of the <i>Historia</i> up to ll.17, <i>consentire noluerint</i> . MS also contains a penitential.	Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, 55	12	34

1000-1100	St-Aubin, Angers	Very regularly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob). Capitals with animal decoration		Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 673 (613)	13	35
1000-1100	Sankt Emmeram		Written by multiple scribes	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 14374	47	36
1000-1100	Marchiennes	Regularly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob). Uncial titles.	Used to belong to the abbey of Marchiennes according to a 13th century catalogue. Also contains the <i>S. Stephani translatione Byzantium</i> . At the beginning of the codex a poem of 27 verses is written about the importance of reading ecclesiastical history. A note of Charles Godin, cleric of	Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Lat. 297	60	37

			Marciennes is also written there.			
1000-1100, late	Germany, possibly South-Germany according to Jacob	Regularly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob). Well-written (catalogue)	Owner Johannes Nymantem wrote on verso of last folio a part of the hymn <i>in laudem virginis</i> with musical instruction	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. 440	62	38
1000-1100	St. Arnoul abbey Metz	Regularly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)	Very small size.	Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, Lat. 189	82	39
1000-1100	St-Germain-des-Prés	Regularly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)	Text ends with XI.18	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 12525	95	40
1000-1100	St-Germain-des-Prés	Regularly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)	Also contains <i>recepta edica</i> and <i>decretum sancti gregorii de liberate manachorum, fragmentum</i>	Copenhagen, Royal Library, Kgl. s. 166 fol.	96	41

1000-1100			<i>epistolae ep. Rhemorum ad ludouicum germaniae regum and a receptum.</i>			
	St Thierry de Reims	regularly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)	After explicit of book XII: <i>Opus fratris Dudonis; qui illud abstulerit de hoc loco anathema sit.</i> Contemporary ex-libris reads: <i>Liber ecclesie sancti Theoderici. Anathema sit auferenti.</i>	Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1354 (k. 763)	101	42
1000-1100	St-Arnoul de Crépy	Carefully written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob). Fol. 222 contains images of Theodosius and the three authors of the <i>Historia</i>	Fol 222 contains the text: <i>Libri sancti Arnulfi episcopi et martyris. Si quis eum furaverit, anathema sit. Fiat, fiat, fiat. Amen.</i> At the bottom of folios 3-6 the following is written in rustic capitals: <i>Quod cernis, lector, studio constare</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1641	102	43

1000-1100	<p><i>columen noscito hoc Petri prepositi ac monachi quod tibi dat quae, martyr summe Alrnufle, obtentu Christo vivat ut ipse tuo. Hoc ne quisque sibi presumat tollere furtim, testor per Christum Arnulfumque suum.</i></p>				
	St-Omer	Regularly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob). Uncials and capitals in red.	Contains also Orosius; <i>cosmographia Aethici</i> ; chronicle of Jordanes. Catalogue remarks that the original text of the three historians of the <i>Historia</i> is also present in the library.	St.-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, Lat. 717	119 44

1000-1100		Written in two hands, of which the second starts in the 11th century at the letter of Gregory. The first is from the 9th. Several hands made corrections and marginal notations.	Fragment which contains the text up to l.2, <i>contradicens cre-</i> . Also contains Orosius, Isidore's chronicon, Valerianus on Alexander the Great, a letter from Alexander to Aristotle, a letter of Gegory VII.	Vatican City, Vatican Library, Lat. 1974	9	45
1000-1100, late	Utrecht	Regularly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob). Initials display Gratian and Theodosius I at the beginning of book 9, and Valentian and Theodosius II in the initials of book 12. The latter is	The missing last folios were replaced in the 15th century. On folio 2 four lines were erased to make room for an owner mark in Gothic minuscule: <i>Liber monasterii sci pauli in traieto inferiori</i> . And on folio 3 <i>de inuentione crucis lib. Ij.</i>	Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 217 (U.2.8)	93	46

1000-1200		depicted on the top of a celtic knot in a circle				
	Cologne?	Written simultaneously by multiple scribes. Romanic bookhand. Initials in many styles and unusually bright colours. In general style typical for initial decoration of the Rhine area.		Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. Fol. 901	70	47
1051-1081	Echternach	Regularly written Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)	MS of particularly large size. Note on fol 1: <i>Dominus abbas Regimbertus auctor libri huius et</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 8960	81	48

<i>Volkerus scriptor.</i>						
1100-1150	Mainz, St Jacob?	Late Carolingian minuscule (Jacob). Roman bookhand (Catalogue). Foliation initials which fit in the style of the Rhein-Maas area.	Ownermark: <i>Codex Sancti Jacobi apud Moguntiam</i>	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. fol. 673	49	57
1100- 1200	Anchin	Early Gothic Minuscule	Also contains a catalogue, <i>Altercatio quam contra Arrium; Sabellium et Forinum Vigilius, nomine Athanasij, edidit.</i>	Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Lat. 296	110	50
1100-1200	Belval abbey	Regular Gothic minuscule (Jacob)		Charleville, Bibliothèque Municipale, Lat. 4	17	51
1100-1200		Beneventan script	Contains the <i>Historia</i> from I.10 up to VII.24. According to Jacob directly copied	Vatican City, Vatican Library, Lat. 4948	19	52

			from MS 11.			
1100-1200	Italy?	stout Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)	Starts with I.11, <i>patenciam</i> and ends with XI.8, <i>non longo post</i> . Because the copy, MS 54, does contain the full text, the manuscript must have become incomplete at a later point. (Jacob) Italian binding	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acq. lat. 2379	26	53
1100-1200		Wide and coarse Carolingian minuscule (Jacob). Unfinished initials	This MS was copied from MS 73. Montfaucon calls this manuscript <i>cassiodordi historia tripartita et petri trecensis</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5086	27	54
1100-1200		Late Carolingian minuscule. Coloured initials and illuminations.	Contains also <i>Expositio Clarevallensis abb. In cantica canticorum</i>	Madrid, National Library, 14	35	55

1100-1200		Late Carolingian minuscule	Was kept at the Dominican monastery SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice	Venice, National Library, Marciana lat. 3484	36	56
1100-1200		Jacob dates this manuscript 10th century.	Codex contains Augustine' <i>epistola ad honorium</i> . Fragments of the <i>Historia</i> from book IX, VIII, IX, VIII, VII and XII. Also added in single leaves between book IX and VIII on blank space (?) <i>Justina Valentiniani matre, de Basilio Caesare Ep.</i> At beginning of XII (?) <i>Hieronymus ad Fabiolam</i> . At end XII <i>idem ad Algasiam, ad Marcellam, ad Avitum de libro Origenis</i> .	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 23448	59	58
1100-1200	Clairveaux?	Regular, late Carolingian minuscule	Script very similar to MS 60	Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Lat. 266	65	59

(Jacob)						
1100-1200	Clairveaux	Carolingian minuscule	Script very similar to MS 59	Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Lat. 250	66	60
1100-1200	St. Maximin of Trier abbey	Late Carolingian minuscule	Also contains the Roman history of Eutropius, a few <i>vitae</i> of roman emperors, letter from Innocent II to the abbey dated 1134, letter of Sibericus, privilege from Henry II dated 1656	London, British Library, Add. 19967	77	61
1100-1200		Written in irregular Gothic minuscule (Jacob)	The last part of the <i>Historia</i> is missing. Palimpsest according to Jacob, but the catalogue does not mention it, thus I do not know whether <i>Historia</i> is the upper or lower text.	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5085	79	62
1100-1200		Early Gothic minuscule	This MS used to belong to Chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 17582	90	63

1100-1200		Regularly written late Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)	Ownermarks in Gothic minuscule of St-Victor abbey in Paris	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 14642	99	64
1100-1200			Ownermark from 1610: <i>ex legato piae memoriae D. Valeriani Flossei, ejusdem ecclesie canonici et archidiaconi Brabantie.</i>	Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 688	109	65
1100-1200		Very regular Gothic minuscule	Contains also <i>Altercatio contra Arrium, Sabellium et Fotium, quam Vigilius nomine athanasii quasi coram ipsis herectis disputando edidit...</i> Ownermark tells us that it is from the Cambron abbey in Cambrai	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 1196	111	66
1100-1200	Bordesley	Gothic minuscule, well-written	Binding from around 1200. On which one reads <i>Fundabo te in</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. 606	113	67

<i>Saphiris</i>						
1100-1200	Gisburn, York	Carefully and clearly written Gothic minuscule.		London, Library of A. Chester Beatty, 45	124	68
1100-1200	English	Very good hand. Unfinished initials, faint animal sketches in margins with stylus (catalogue). Regular Gothic minuscule (Jacob)	Ends with <i>monens ut omnes pecunias</i> . XII.9.	Edinburgh, University Library, 178 (D.b.II 15)	125	69
1100-1200			Fragment with Augustine exerpts, Gregory the Great, Origines, Isidore of Toledo, Ambrose, " <i>Hilarius, Gregorius, Fulgentius, Beda, Joh Chrys, Cassiodorus, Eudebius...et alii</i> " Jerome, Sibille,	Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1212		71

1100-1200			<i>Vitae</i> , Bede, Firmianus, Lactaneius, Verecundus.			
	Benedictine abbey of St. Dogmael, Pembrokeshire	Fine black hands (catalogue), multiple hands. Gold initial.	three extracts about Rufinus, of which one <i>tripartita historia</i> (Cassiodore`s HT?) Bound with <i>ep gratiani augusti</i> from Christ Church Canterbury and 13 th cent. charters on rights of the abbey. Ker says it was for Canterbury, and calls this manuscript "Ambrose".	Cambridge, St John`s College Library, 5		72
1100- 1200 according to catalogue, 13thcent.according to Jacob.	Orval	Gothic minuscule. "Jolies capitales" (catalogue), green and red initials.	Also contains: <i>Quomodo Constantinus sit a lepra mundatus; de consignatione septiformis spiritus sancti adhibita constantino per</i>	Brussels, Royal Library, 19693	16	89

			<i>silvestrum papam; elenchus provinciarum ecclesiasticarum; cathalogus pontificum romanorum.</i> Many ownermarks.			
1100-1200 according to Jacob, 13th century according to the catalogue	Vallombrosa	Late Carolingian minuscule.	<i>Historia</i> from the beginning up to XII.10, <i>celestini litterae firmauerunt</i> copied from MS 18	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. soppr. 312	23	73
1100- 1200 according to catalogue, 13thcent.according to Jacob.	St. Amand, North-France	Carefully written Gothic minuscule (Jacob). Multiple hands. Rare colours used in the initials. Floral decoration. Emendations written in margine and interlinear.	Marginal notation from 1454 states that it was by that time already in the possession of the Cracow bishop. Very damaged and crude parchment.	Cracow, Bibliothek Jagiellńska, Lat. 417 CC III 16	103	93

1100-1200, late	Zwettl	Irregularly written, late carolingian minuscule from Zwettl by three hands. 153 r (last two folio) was written two later hands. Capitalis quadrata and uncials. French influence in writing. Style of decoration also present in other Zwettl codices and from Cîteaux.	Nikolaus von Dobersberg made the table of contents.	Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, 136 46	75
1100-1200, late	North Yorkshire, Guisborough priory	Very fine late romanesque bookhand. Decorated initials and penwork	Contains some notations in margine. Ownermark: <i>liber s[an]c[t]e marie de Gisburn</i> . Possibly chained in the library. Sothebys concluded from the notae signs	Sotheby`s, lot 20	76

			that a reader studied heresies.			
1100-1300	Trier, most likely from either the St Eucharius or the Matthias monastery	Early Gothic minuscule		Trier, Seminarbibliothek, Lat. 23	74	77
1100-1300	Altzelle, Meissen	Early Gothic minuscule	Quires 3 and 20 are missing. Gothic minuscule ownermark reads: <i>Liber monasterii Veteris Celle sanctae Marie</i>	Leipzig, University Library, Lat. 787	129	78
around 1200	Schäftlarn	Carolingian minuscule. Red initial maiuscule. Decoration similar to CLM 17125 and 17051.	Mainly one hand. Direct copy of MS 29. Note from the scribe on fol 198: <i>qui me scribebat. N. nomen habebat.</i>	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 17126	53	79
1123-1132	St-Amand abbey	Written in a regular Early Gothic minuscule (Jacob).	Followed by a note from 1123 on the death of abbot Absalone, who is succeeded by Walthero de Corda	Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Lat. 498	112	80

			in the church of St Amand.			
1125-1150	Wessobrunn	Red initials and rubrics. Maiuscule at the beginning of each chapter. The same hand is not as regular in CLM 22014	Probably written by scribe Diemot (female). Bound with earlier 12 th cent. <i>vitae</i> and prophesies. Originally chained book. Contemporary drawing of an angel in margin. The MS was written together with a MS which contains Eusb. (CLM 22014). A theological collection with Beda, Hieronymus and Isidore a.o. is also linked to this one (CLM 22016). Corrections are made on erasures.	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 22015	56	81
1150-1170	Central/Southern France	Romanesque hand. Decorated	Cistercian. Contains readings for Saints days,	Sotheby`s, lot 80, sale L03240		82

1150-1175		intials and penwork	John Chrysostoms life was taken from the <i>Historia</i> , book X.1-26		
	Flanders or Lower-Lorraine	Angular Late Romanesque bookhand	Contains some marginal notations, single leaves are missing. Jacob mentions this MS but claims that it is now lost. Sotheby's identifies it as Barrois 126	Sotheby's, lot 72	83
1150-1200	Admont	Regular Carolingian minuscule. Minatures and decorated initials with pen drawings. Writte by multiple hands. Style matches Admont mss 125, 164 and 132		Admont, Library of the Benedictine Abbey, 89	137 84

<p><1165. Possibly 1150-1160</p>	<p>Prüfening</p>	<p>Written in the Prüfening style by multiple hands of which one dissimilar to house style. Red initial maiuscule. Very pure writing (Jacob). Decoration similar to CLM 1362 where the so-called Eilolf initials can be found too.</p>	<p>Start of book XII is omitted, the page is left blank. <i>Historia</i> is followed by the <i>vita</i> of Alexius. Direct copy of MS 36</p>	<p>München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 13070</p>	<p>48</p>	<p>85</p>
<p>1170-1180</p>	<p>Neuburg</p>	<p>Regularly written late Carolingian minuscule (Jacob)</p>		<p>Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, 695</p>	<p>134</p>	<p>86</p>
<p>around 1200, Jacob dates this MS 12th century</p>	<p>Frankenthal, Augustiner Chorherrenstift</p>	<p>Regular late Carolingian minuscule (Jacob). German bookminuscule (Catalogue).</p>	<p>Erasure on the last folio under the <i>Historia</i>. Autograph: <i>Ego heinricus dei gratia abbas Frankendal.</i></p>	<p>Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 374</p>	<p>75</p>	<p>87</p>

		Two decorated initials.				
1200-1300	South France (Cataloge) Carcasonne (Jacob)	Careful Gothic minuscule (Jacob)	Also contains <i>Beati Guilelmi vita laudabilis</i>	London, British Library, Harley 3630	6	88
1200-1300	A(u)lne near Thuin in the diocese of Liège	Regularly written Gothic minuscule (Jacob). Elegant letters (catalogue). Initials in red and green.	Binding from around 1200 . Also contains <i>Gregoria contra Arrianum</i>	Brussels, Royal Library, Lat. II 1061	88	90
1200-1300	Signy	Carefully and regularly written Gothic minuscule (Jacob).	Was kept at the Signy monastery near Rheims	Charleville, Bibliothèque Municipale, Lat. 201	91	91
1200-1300		Gothic minuscule		Padua, University Library, Lat. 1497	97	92
1200-1300	Franciscans of Hereford	Small fine hand	Marginal notes on interesting chapters on folio 119v. Ownermark: <i>de communitate fratrum minorum</i>	Cambridge, St Johns College Library, 169	104	94

1200-1300			<i>herefordie</i> . In a different hand than the rest of the codex several Greek prayers with interlinear Latin translations are written on the flyleaf.			
	Canterbury?	Regularly written Gothic minuscule (Jacob). Finely written.	Ownermark: <i>Liber domus S. Petri Cantebrigg' dono M. Joh. Neuton, Thesaurarii ecclesie b. Petri Ebor. Quondam magistri collegii S. Petri Cantebrigg.</i>	Cambridge, Peterhouse College Library, 167	121	95
1200-1300		Script looks much like that of MS 99. Small illuminated initial, initials otherwise decorated with flourishes in red and blue	Followed by Hegesippus with latin glosses on synonyms and a chronological summary by Achialon which are bound later with the <i>Historia</i> after 1697.	London, British Library, Royal 13 C. X	127	96

1200-1300	Magdeburg	Regularly written Gothic minuscule (Jacob). Somewhat angular "Bruchschrift". Decorated line and page fillers. Some images have a golden rim.	Explicit: <i>explicit liber duodecimus historia tripertite. Sce dei genetricis marie sanctique pauli apostoli in magdeburch</i>	Berlin, Staatbibliothek, Lat. fol. 43	131	97
1200-1300		Fine black hands, multiple. Gold initial	Script very similar to MS 93. Also contains Eusb. <i>historia</i> , but they were not planned as a codicological unity.	Leipzig, University Library, Lat. 786	132	98
1200-1300, early	St. Alban`s Abbey	Very similar to MS 96, plain coloured initials	Followed by brief texts called <i>ubi abscondita est archa domini; epistola pontii pilati ad tyberium ceasarem de christo; de tempore lignorum cedendorum; de Herode et puella</i>	London, British Library, Royal 13 C. XIV	126	99

1200-1300, early			<i>saltante</i> and <i>de origene</i> . Press mark: <i>Titulus huius libri est tripertita historia et est de primo gradu et almariolo B</i> . First quire was written in the 14th century to replace a missing original.			
	Rochester?	Very similar to MS 96. Initials flourished in red and green	Titles and tables of chapters as in MS 96	London, British Library, Royal 13 D. III	128	100
1200-1300, late. Jacob dates 14th century	St. Augustine, Canterbury?	Late Gothic, regular minuscule	Also contains a <i>Martyrologium Romanum</i> , the <i>vita</i> and passion of Thomas the archbishop of Canterbury and his deeds after his martyrdom, <i>de indulgentia apud assisium</i> , a text on the coronation of Edward II, <i>La manière comment le roy fere</i>	London, British Library, Cotton vitellius C. XII	114	101

			<i>couronné</i> , the <i>vita</i> of Saint Edward, again the <i>vita</i> and passion of Thomas of Canterbury and the <i>vita</i> of st. Eadmund.			
1200-1400	Durham	Very narrow late Gothic minuscule (Jacob). Close and rather ugly hand. Rude ornament on f. 1 (catalogue)	folio 1 reads <i>Sum Iohannis Pilkingtoni Dunelmensis 1591. Also contains Bede's history.</i>	Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College Library, 30	122	102
1300-1400		Narrow Gothic minuscule (Jacob)	Also contains Eusb. <i>historia</i> . After the end of the <i>Historia</i> : <i>Explicit hystoria triptite liber duodecimus cum aliis precedentibus, quos fecit scribere frater iacobus dictus de cruce ordinis fratrum predicatorum in ciuitate.</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv soppr. G III 451	80	103

1300-1400	Avignon	Later Gothic minuscule	belonged to pope Benedict XIII according to Delisle	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5087	98	104
1300-1400	Charteux de Bonpas		Also contains Eusb. explanation of rhetorical terms, Paulus diaconus or Paulus Warnefridus' history of Lombards and the <i>vita</i> of St Victor de Vite. Book ends with " <i>Iste liber est Petri, iudicis sancte prime sedis Narbonensis archiepscopi et primatis'</i> as well as <i>"Iste liber est monasterii Bonipassus, ordinis Cartusienensis, Cavaliensis diocesis"</i> and written down end 15th ct: " <i>fuit extimata quadraginta flor de</i>	Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1348	108	105

camera"

1300-1400, early	Bury St. Edmunds Abbey		Fragments of book I amongst many theological works of many genres	London, British Library, Royal 11 B. III	107
1300-1400, early	Northern England	Cursiva anglicana libraria media	Fragment of <i>Historia</i> in an anthology of tales and fables, exempla. Bought from Sotheby's in 1898, lot 90.	London, British Library, Add. 69999	108
1328	Aldersbach	Gothic minuscule.	Quires in quiniones. The codex also contains <i>passio decem milium martirum</i> . Fol 135 contains dating and place: <i>iste liber est sanctissime dei genitricis Marie in</i>	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 2685	54 109

			<i>alterspach scriptus sub uenerabili domino abbate domino Chunrado. Anno domini M^oCCC^oXXVIII^o per scriptorium ulricu.</i>		
<1329		Regularly written Gothic cursiva (Jacob)		Madrid, Bibliotheca de Palacio, 2 C 2	63 110
1400	Barcelona (Jacob) or San Baudilio de Llobregat, Spain	Gothic minuscule, slightly cursive		Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, 71	5 111
1400- 1500	Paris, Sorbonne	Cursive Gothic minuscule (Jacob)		Paris, Biliothèque National, Lat. 16047	106 112
1400-1500		Gilt initials at each book. Text is written in a lightly cursive Gothic minuscule by a French hand.	No marginalia. With st. Jerome`s Eusb. and continuation. Eusb. differs here from Migne where book X is about Arian heresy rather than treating Christian Churches under Constantine and their prosperity.	Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 204	10 113

1400-1500		Gothic cursive. Multiple hands.	Only excerpts of the <i>Historia</i> are in this codex. With Origenes, <i>homiliis super quattuor priores libros Moysis</i> ; Jacobus de Misa, <i>Tractatus de dispensatione et fidei sacramentorum</i> , Stanislaus de zuoitna <i>Sententia catholica de adoratione crucis christi</i> ; Collectanea varia with a small chronology added inter alia, and a Genesis commentary.	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4496	11	114
1400-1500		Slightly cursive Gothic minuscule (Jacob)	Thought to belong to the library of Guillaume Budé	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat.16046	15	115
1400-1500	France	Humanist bookhand	<i>Historia</i> ends with VII.39 <i>speluncas remeare praecipit</i> . Then follows: <i>Et haec dicta</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5088	24	116

			<p><i>sufficient referentes laudes deo uiuio et uero [...] Amin.</i> Belonged to the library of Alfonse of Naples.</p>			
1400-1500	Florence	Decorated in Italian syle. Humanist hand	Related to MS 120 in writing and decoration. Many parts are missing now. Note on fol.1: <i>cesaris bahlanii emptum pisauri</i>	Copenhagen, kgl. S. 165 fol	33	117
1400-1500		Beautiful Humanist hand (Jacob). Luxurious manuscript	Also contains Eusb. <i>historia</i> . The <i>Historia Tripartita</i> is copied from MS 140	Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, Lat. D 95 sup.	37	118
1400-1500		Beautiful Humanist hand (Jacob). Luxurious manuscript	Copy of MS 95, this MS is but richer in appearance.	Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, Lat. C 142 inf.	38	119
1400-1500		Luxurious manuscript with miniatures. Written in a clear Humanist	Also contains Eusb. <i>Historia</i> and <i>Chronica</i> . Contains heraldic ownermarks, but these have not	Vatican City, Vatican Library, Lat. 5952	40	120

		hand	been identified yet.			
1400-1500	Italy	Beautifully decorated initials. Humanist hand (Jacob).		Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5090	44	121
1400-1500	ex libris Cl. Bernii et amicorum	Gothic cursive	Written on paper. Also contains <i>justini epitomae, ab initio mutil.</i> The <i>Historia</i> ends at XII.14, <i>si uixero</i> , the last leaf of the quire is missing.	Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 116	64	122
1400-1500		Beautiful Humanist hand (Jacob). Luxurious manuscript	Precious original binding.	Venice, National Library, Marciana lat. 3124	68	123
1400-1500	Germany	Heavily cursive large Gothic minuscule (Jacob)	Written on paper. Red and blue initials, pen drawings. Used to belong to the Marien munster. Contemporary binding has a large heraldic decoration	New York, Library of General Theological Seminary	71	124

			on; the catalogue only gives a detailed description, no identification.			
1400-1500	St. Alban's Abbey, Trier	heavily cursive Gothic minuscule (Jacob)	Written on paper. Same hand which wrote the HT wrote on the second flyleaf: <i>iste liber pertinet ad monasterium sancti albani ordinis Carthusiensis extra muros treuerensis</i>	Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Lat. 1196	72	125
1400-1500		Slightly cursive Gothic minuscule	Contains excerpts from Josephus, Eusb. <i>Historia</i> and Cassiodorus.	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. quarto 900	86	126
1400-1500		Slightly cursive Gothic minuscule, influenced by Humanist script (Jacob)		Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5089	100	127
1400-1500		Clear Gothic cursive (Jacob)	Also contains <i>martini gemblacensis de ordine</i>	Cambridge, Eton College Library, Lat. 131	105	128

			<i>predicatorum chronicon and vegetius de re militari</i>			
1400-1500	St Martin in Leuven	Late Gothic regular minuscule influenced by Humanist script (Jacob) Coloured intials.	Ownermark: <i>Pertinet monasterio cononicorum regularium vallis Sancti Martini in Lovanio</i>	Brussels, Royal Library, Lat. 241	115	129
1400-1500				Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 9714	116	130
1400-1500		Decorated capitals with gold	Further study of the binding may give more information: <i>"Relieure très curieuse du XVe sicle"</i> according to the modern catalogue	Brussels, Royal Library, Lat. 19118	117	131
1400-1500		Gothic cursiva		Oxford, Madalen College Library, Lat 210	120	132
1400-1500	Altzelle, Meissen?	Very cursive Gothic minuscule	Also contains Eusb.' <i>Historia</i> .	Leipzig, University Library, Lat. 785	130	133
1400-1500	Chiemsee	Late Gothic minuscule with		München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat.	135	134

1400-1500		cursive letterforms (Jacob)		5438		
			With <i>chronicon mundi</i> up to Clemens VI and <i>epistola de coelibatu S. Ulrico</i>	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3175	135	
	1440-1460	Italy	<i>Florilegium ex patribus et auctoritatibus</i> , amongst which Cassiodorus.	Arezzo, Bibliotheca Città di Arezzo, 442	136	
1465<	St-Jaques, Liège	A slightly cursive Gothic minuscule	Contains also the history of Orosius. Orosius and Cassiodorus were not designed as a codicological unity, but were put together soon after they were written. The end of Orosius and the beginning of Cassiodorus were written by the same hand. Scribe names himself: <i>fratrem Conrardum de</i>	Leiden, Universiteits Bibliotheek, 127 C	92	137

1424			<i>Molendino.</i> Ownermark reads: <i>Liber monasterii sancti iacobi Leodiensis</i>		
		Careless Humanist bookhand (Jacob)		Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Fiesole 159	34 138
1433, 1432 according to Jacob	Basel	Gothic cursive	With Hegesippus book V <i>de bello judaico</i> ; A tract called <i>Hec est excommunicatio grecorum data per summum pontificem nicolaum d.d. 8 kal. april 1103</i> ; A tract called <i>Tractatus fr. N. ordinis praedicatorum ut puto Jacobi contra legem Machometi</i> ; A tract called <i>Secundum dignitates et mores Romanorum</i> ; and a	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3141	14 139

		tract called <i>Subscripti articuli colligunt ut de libris Sancte Brigide aliqui dubii, alii tales quales.</i>		
<1450. (1415?)	Written in Würzburg, kept at Colmar in 1421	Part of <i>exempla</i> collection written by John Sintram where <i>Historia</i> VI.10 is used, the tale of Julian the Apostate who insults the Church and is punished with disease and death. Marginal notes have German verses which are a version of Latin mottos in the text. Chained book. Bought in 1859 from bookseller.	London, British Library, Add. 44055	140

1450		Very legible Gothic cursiva (Jacob)	Also contains <i>Tractatus Brevis de temporibus et annis generarium et particularium conciliorum</i> . At the end of the <i>Historia</i> is written: <i>Laus deo et sancto Bartholomeo M^oCCCCL^o</i> .	Naples, Farnese Library, Lat VIII C 1	50	141
1462	Füssen	Very clearly written Gothic minuscule	Quires are formed from a paper ternion inside and a parchment double folio folded around it. Last folio: <i>Finita et conscripta est hec presens hystoria tripertita in monasterio faucensi sub regimine uenerabilis patris ac domini domini Iohannis cognomento Hessen ꝑuati monasterii abbatis</i>	Maihingen, Fürstl. Öttingen-Wallersteinische Fideikommissbibliothek, Lat. II 1	57	142

1464			<p><i>per fratrem Conradum werdensem Sub anno dominice incarnacionis M^oCCCC^oLXII^o in crastino lucie uirginis.</i></p>			
	Waltenhoffen	Clear, easily legible Gothic cursiva (Jacob)	<p>Also contains Eusb. <i>Historia</i>. Dated on fol 92, at the end of Eusb. at 1463, at the end of the HT 1464. The scribe names himself: <i>Iohannis scriptorus de memmingen coadiutorem in diuinis waltenhoffen</i> and so does the comissioner of the manuscript: <i>Ego leonhardus allantsee Camerarius Caituli faucensis legau</i> <i>hunc librum ob memoriam et salutem anime</i></p>	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 12237	58	143

mee [...]

1465

Clean but not
all too prettily
written
Humanist
hand (Jacob).

Written on paper.
According to the
ownermark
localized at the
Visconti house. On
the flyleaf: *Deo
gratias;
consummatum est.
Explicit liber
historie
ecclesiastice
scriptus et feliciter
completus per
quendam
monachum, cuius
nomen scriptus sit
in libro uite, anno
domini nostri Jhesu
Christi M.CCC^o.LXV^o
vicesima die Martii
mensis, scilicet in
uigilia Sancti*

Oxford, Bodleian
Library, Canonici 109

39

144

			<i>Benedictis abbatis, temporibus uero domini nostri sanctissimi Pauli pape secundi. uiuat qui scripsit.</i>			
<1447	Namen, Belgium	Late Gothic minuscule	Also contains the <i>Confessiones</i> of Augustine. Owner mark: <i>istud volumen pertinet ecclesie fratrum ordinis sancte crucis in Namurco</i>	Brussels, Royal Library, Lat. 655	89	145
<1471		Gothic cursive	Written on paper. <i>Historia</i> is followed by a prayer of grace. Contains also <i>decretum abreuiatum</i> and <i>Haymo super apocalypse</i> .	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog- August Bibliothek, 37.37 Aug. 2 ^o .	30	146
1472	Florence	Humanist bookhand. Luxurious manuscript.	<i>Scriptum per Petrum de Traicto Almano Florentie sub Vespanio librario MCCCCLXXII die V</i>	Vatican City, Vatican Library, Urbin. Lat. 383	32	147

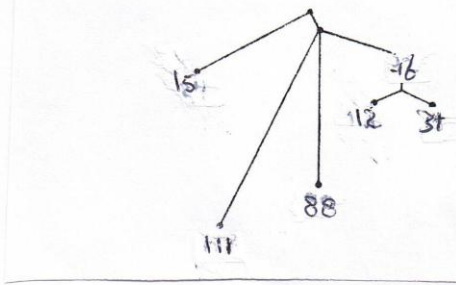
1472		<i>Spetembrii mensis.</i> Contemporary ownermark from Federico di Montefeltre			
	Gothic cursiva	Written on paper. The <i>Historia</i> was written by one hand but over a long period of time in different styles. Collation is faulty. The scribe left a mark on fol 152: <i>per me Crucem de Lecz scripta pro precio uenerabili domino Thobie p̄dictatori in noua plzna. Anno dni M^oCCCC^oLXXII^o ff II ante Galli.</i>	Prague, University Library, Lat. 51 I.A. 41	51	148
1475	Sancta Anna, Clarissen monastery in Kempten	Written on paper	New Orleans, Howard memorial Library	138	149
1500-1600	St. Amand?	Written on paper, contains theological tracts. <i>"De iis quae</i>	Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 145 (138)		150

			<i>contigerunt Constantinopoli circa confessionem tempore Nectarii...et de haeresi Novati- Ut de socratis et Sozomeni historia recte quis judicet"</i>			
1509	Utrecht	Narrow Carolingian minuscule	Scribe names himself: <i>explicit feliciter fratrem Wermboldum anno 1509 in profesto lamberti episcopi et martiris.</i> Manuscript is related to MS 45	Utrecht, University Library, Lat. 733	94	151
1513<	Vatican	Carefully written Humanist minuscule. Luxurious manuscript.	<i>Leo X pont. Max.</i> inscribed in the first intial.	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Lat. 67,22	29	152
1519	Trier	Written by scribe Michael Treveris. Gothic minuscule.	On paper. Also contains Eutropius <i>Historia Romana</i> . It is a copy from MS 68	London, British Library, Harley 3242	78	153
1600-1700	Vatican	Humanistic	fragment copied	Vatican City, Vatican	20	154

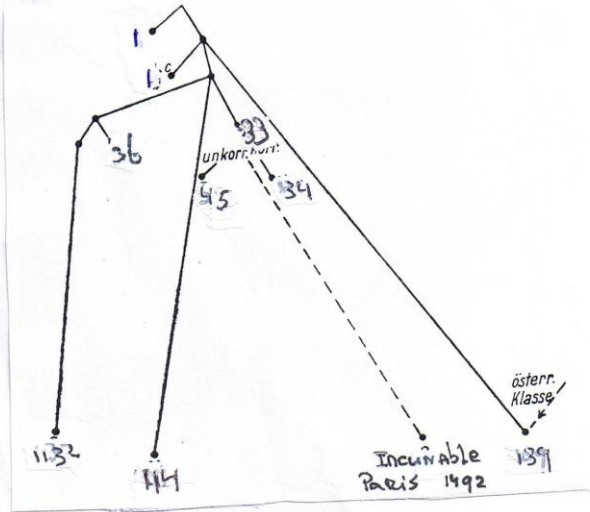
Addenda 900-1100		cursive	from MS 67	Library, Ottob. Lat 958			
		Clearly written Carolingian minuscule		Stuttgart Landesbibliothek Historische Hss fol. 402	55	155	
	1100-1200	Corbie	Gothic minuscule	Also contains <i>Historia persecutionis ecclesiae Africanae</i>	Vatican City, Borghes 30	107	156
	1100-1300	Cîteaux	Carefully and regularly written Gothic minuscule (Jacob)		Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Lat. 573	123	157
	1100-1200	Heiligenkreuz	Regularly written Caroline minuscule (Jacob)		Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, 80	133	158

Stemma

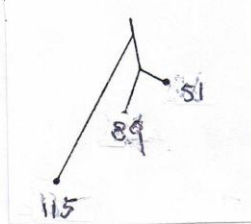
Ia



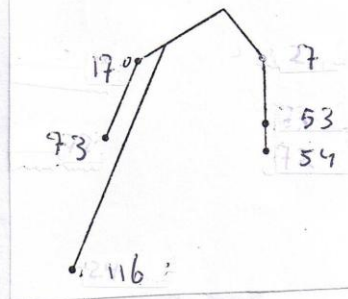
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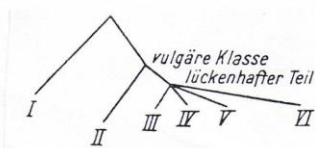
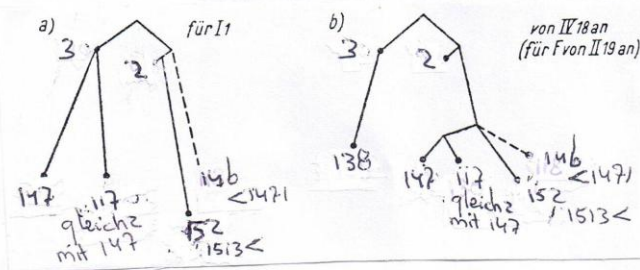
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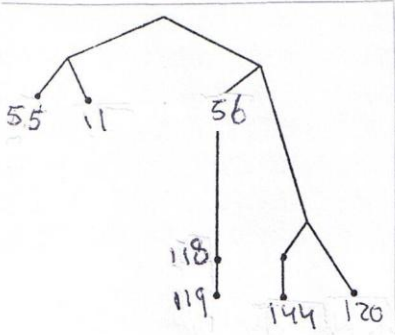
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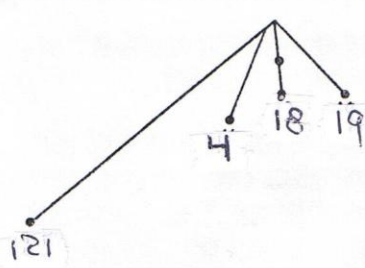
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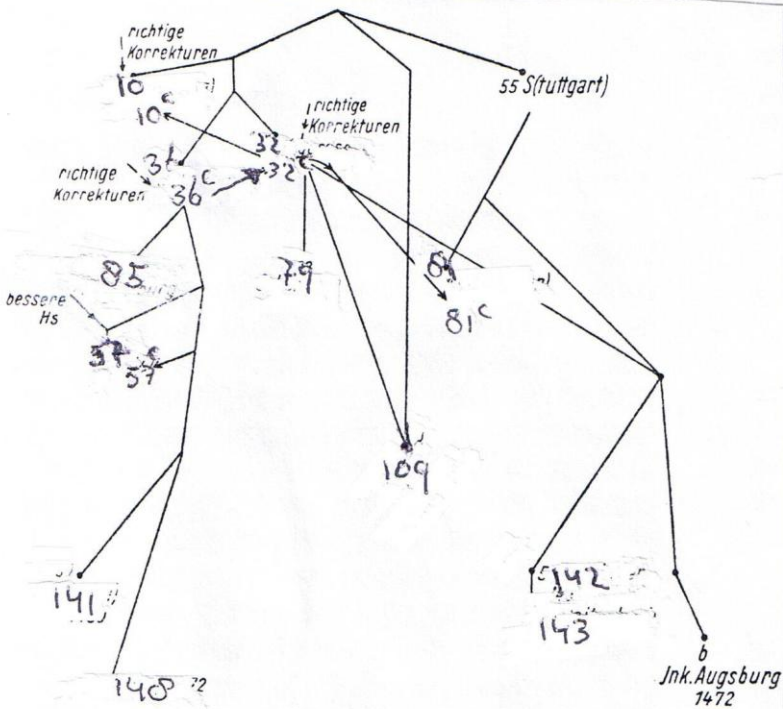
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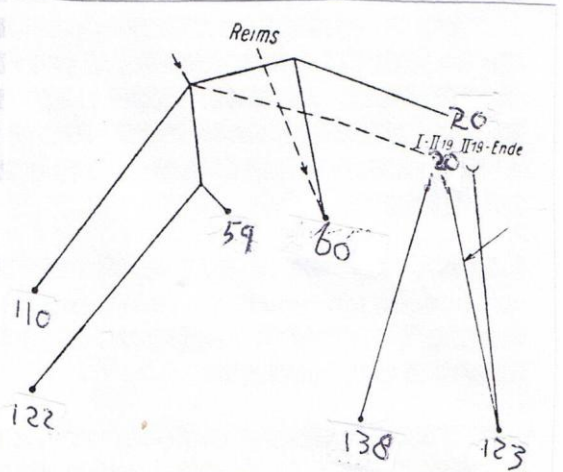
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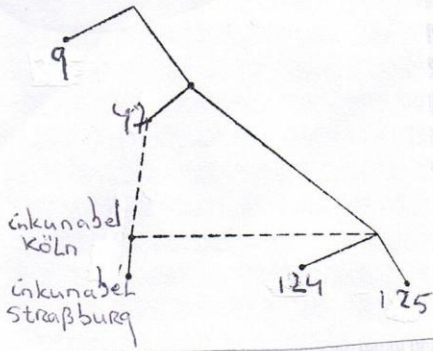
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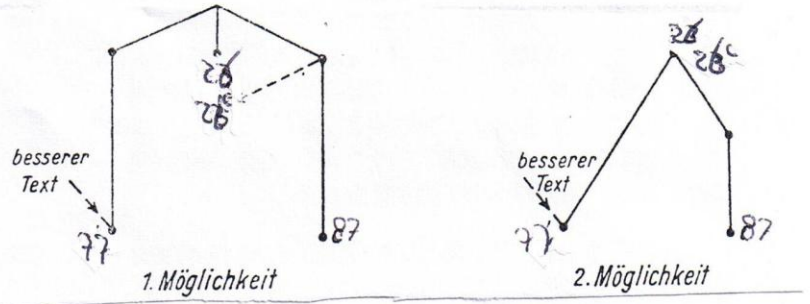
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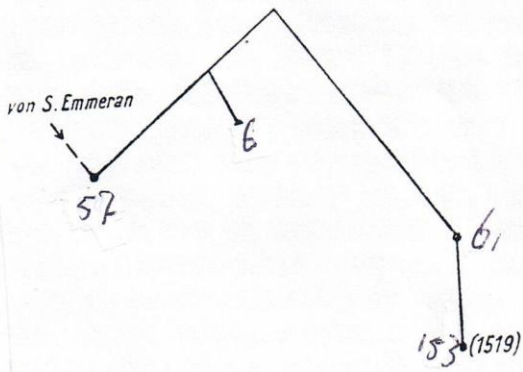
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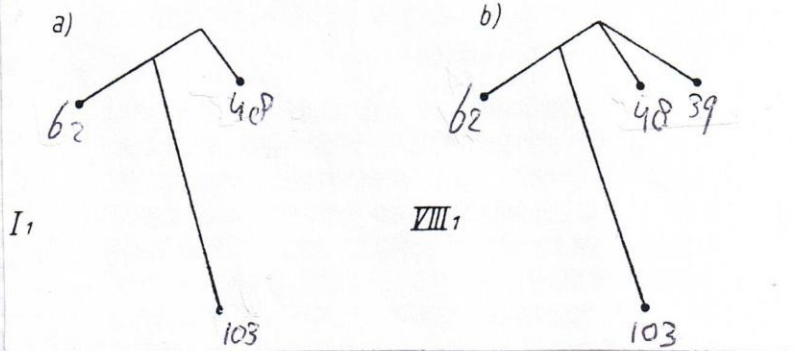
IV b



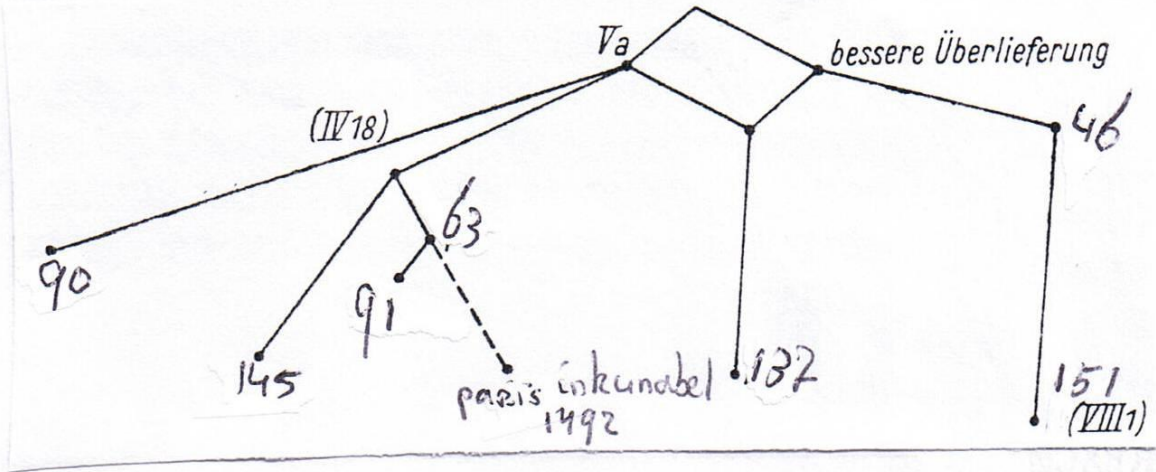
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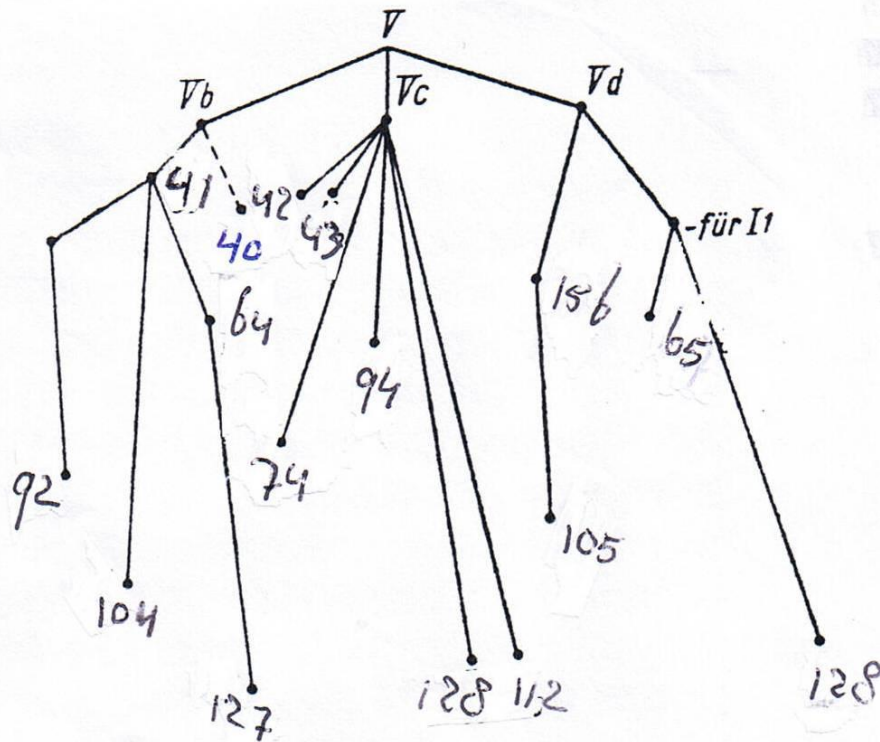
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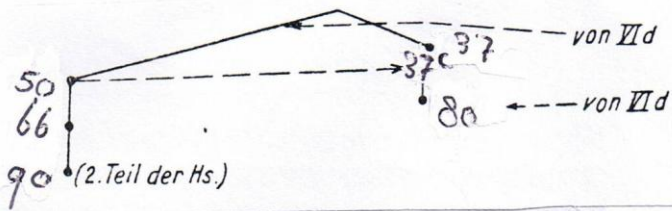
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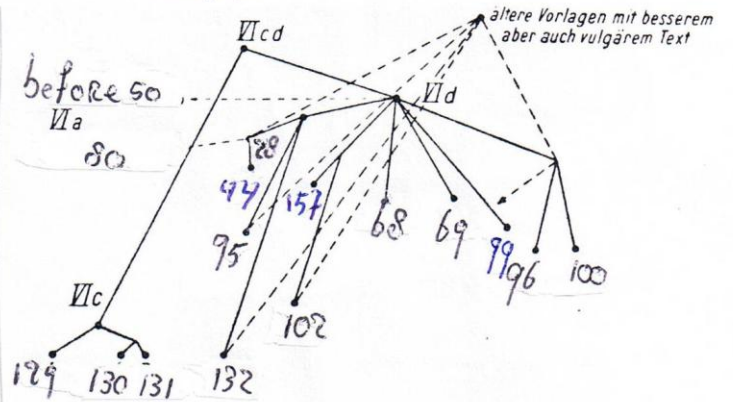
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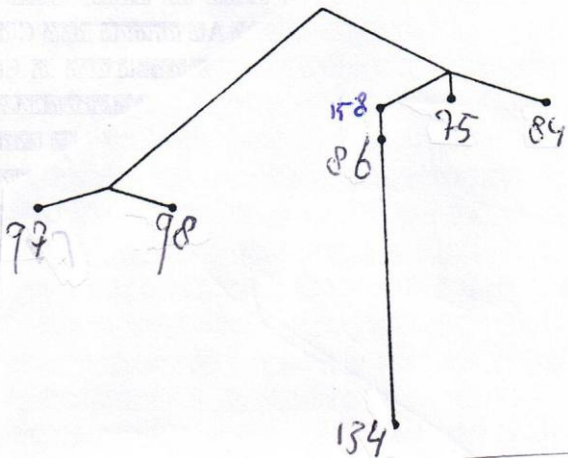
VI a



VI cd



VI fg



Medieval Catalogues

date	place	title of the catalogue/ section	mention in the catalogue	possible identification
831	St. Riquier		<i>“historia Socratis Sozomeni et Theodoriti”</i>	
823-333	Fontanelle		<i>“historiam item ecclesiasticam trium virorum, id est Zozomeni, Theodoriti et Socratis in codice uno”</i>	
850-900	St. Gallen	<i>Breuiarum librorum de coenoibio sancti galli confessoris chrsiti de lbiris ueteris testamenti</i>	<i>De Libris Cassiodori. Cassiodori Senatoris ecclesiasticae historiae de tribus auctoribus sumptae id est Sozomeni Theodoriti atque Socratis libri XII in codice I</i>	exemplar of MS. 5
850-900	Reichenau	<i>Hec est summa librorum qui ic habentur</i>	<i>Tripertitae II</i>	14
800-900	Würzburg, St. Salvator		<i>ecclesiasticae hystoriae de Greco in latinum a cassiodoro translatae. Cronica hieronimi. II uolumina</i>	
800-900	St. Wandrille			
800-900	St. Riquier			Freculf may have used this

				copy
800-900	Lorsch			
800-900	Bibliotheca Francogallica		<i>historia tripartita</i>	6, 7, 8, 13
800-900	Reichenau	<i>incipit brevis librorum, quos ego Reginbertus, indignus monachus atque scriba, in insula coenobio vocabulo Sindleozae Avva sub dominatu Waldonis, Heitonis, Erlebaldi et Ruadlhemii abbatum eorum permissu de meo gradu scripsi aut scriber feci vel donatione amicorum suscepi</i>	<i>in IX libro continentur passiones et vitae sanctorum, id est Haimrani, Lantberti, afrae, magrae, gregorii, georgii, malchi, eusebii, fileberti, hilarii, potiti, columbani, galli, germane, ambrosii, nservatii, et VIII epistolae Hieronymi et liber Cassiodori Senatoris</i>	14
984			<i>“item istoriae tripartitae vol 2”</i>	
983-1001	Gozbertus, abbot of Tegernsee	<i>Epistola XIII “Ad domnum H***”</i>	<i>tripartite Historiae duas partes conscriptas habemus, tertia pars ideo deest, quia exemplar alias acquirere non possumus nisi ob gratiam vestry nobis mittere dignemini</i>	32
900-1000	Cremona			
900-1000	Lorsch		<i>“tripertita historia lib XII Socratis, Sozomeni, Theodoriti in uno codice”</i>	25
1070	St Vaast		<i>lib. tripartite historie ecclesiastice</i>	
<1084	Toul		<i>cassiodori tripartita historia vol 1</i>	
1093	Pomposa	<i>a letter to Stephanus by cleric Henry</i>	<i>Cassiodori lib. I.</i>	20

1000-1100	Minden?	<i>Hi sunt libro quos bernardus proprio sumpta conscribe fecit</i>	Cassiodorus	
1000-1100	Wessobrunn	<i>Isti sunt libri quos scripsit et Sancto Petro tradidit Diemot ancilla Dei</i>	<i>Epistolaie Ieronuymi numero CLXIII; Tripartita historia; Ecclesiastica historia.</i>	81
1000-1100	Trier		<i>historia romana cum tripartita historia in uno volumine</i>	61
1000-1100	Peterborough		<i>tripartita historia</i>	
1000-1100	Chartres		<i>Ystoria tripartita</i>	7
1000-1100	Arras			
1000-1100	Fécamp			
1000-1100	Massay			
1000-1100	Ripoll			
1112-1123	Bamberg	<i>pie memorie Wolframmo abbati successit in regimine dominus Hermannus abbas, qui eius utpote spiritualis filius, heres et assecla, ita per omnia paterne in se probatis gerebat ymaginem, ut tam in liberali sciencia, quam in morum elegancia, in omnia quoque virtutum ornament et in imni religionis studio, sed et in lovrorum augendorum amore continuo ipsius representaret dignitatem. Cuius amoris succensus ardore votorum omnium piisimus executor fuit, quia et ipse libros perutiles emit atque comparavit, quos huic loco annotare placuit</i>	<i>tripartita Historia</i>	

1172-1201	Michelsberg, Bamberg	<i>Hi sunt libri, quos Rutgerus in librario invenit, sub Wolgramo abbate.</i>	<i>Tripartita historia</i>	
1142- 1164	Bec		<i>in alio tripartita historia</i>	69?
1158	Prüfening		<i>tripertita hystoria</i>	
Post 1165	Hirschau		<i>“libri cassiodori senatoris”</i>	
1100-1200	St Bertin		<i>historia tripartita”</i>	28
1100-1200	Angers, St. Aubin			35
1100-1200	Bury St. Edmunds			Maybe a now- lost exemplar of MS 107, d. 1300
1100-1200	Durham			102
1100-1200	Maillezais			
1100-1200	Moissac			21
1100-1200	Peterborough			
1100-1200	St. Amand			150 according to Laistner, but may also be 93
1100-1200	St. Maur-des- Fosses			

1100-1200	Bibliotheca monasterii cuiusdam Anglici	<i>historia tripartita</i>	67- 69, 72, 76
1100-1200	Corbie	<i>tripartita historia</i>	1, 16, may also have been used by Ratramnus of Corbie
1100-1200	Bec	<i>in uno alia hisotira tripartita que dicitur tripartita lib X</i>	69?
1100-1200	Ripoll	<i>tripartita</i>	
1100-1400	Cluny		
1100-1400	Crépy		43
1100-1400	St. Pons de Tomières		
1100-1400	Limoges		
1200	Fossatense	<i>historia tripartita</i>	
1200	Corbie	<i>historia tripartita. Idem tripartita</i>	1, 16
1201	Cremona	<i>istoriae ecclesiasticae tripertitae vol 1</i>	
1200-1300	Christ Church, Canterbury		95, 101
1200-1300	Marchiennes		37

1200-1300	South-French or Italian		
1200-1300	Zwettl		<i>"12 libri Cassiodori Senatoris"</i> 75
1343	Constance	<i>hic infra annotantur diversi sacre theoloye libri ecclesie Constanciensis</i>	<i>item de historia tripartita de littera antiqua</i>
1300-1400	Admont		84
1300-1400	Constance		
1300-1400	Heiligenkreuz		58
1300-1400	Klosterneuburg		86
1300-1400	Ramsey		
1300-1400	St. Martin des Champs		43 according to Laistner, modern catalogue disagrees.
1412	Amplonius		<i>Cassiodorus de XII libris auctoris defloratus</i>
1465	Ulm		<i>inc. auro pensetur et fin. prefectarum militem</i>

1483	Michelsberg, Bamberg	<i>in armario sive blibliotheca libros inventos secundum litteram alphabeti cum nummeris sive ciffris signatis</i>	<i>Historiam tripartitam</i>	
1485	St. Gallen	<i>ex legatione et per[missione domini] Mathie buerer de Lind[ow]</i>	<i>tripartite hystoriei</i>	5
1470-1500	Würzburg, St. Salvator		<i>Prima pars historie tripartite, habens sex libros primos. Continet enim duodecim libros in integro, quorum sex ultimo desunt, et dicitur tripertita, quia a tribus autoribus Grecis mirabiliter conscripta est, scilicet Theoderico episcopo et duobus disertissimis viris Sozomeno et Socrate, ex quorum scriptis Cassiodorus, quondam senator, postea factus monachus flores contraxit et tripertitam nominavit</i>	
1400-1500	Aggsback			
1400-1500	St. Augustine, Canterbury			95, 101
1400-1500	Salvatorberg, Erfurt			
1400-1500	Vienna			
1400-1500	Melk			

1400-1500	St Ägidien kloster, Nürnberg	<i>Incipit registrum bibliotheca monasterii s. Egidii, ordinis divi benedicti in Nürnberg, et primo ordo columinum secundum literas signatorum, secundo ordo auctorum aut materiarum contentarum seu diversorum librorum inibi in eis inveniendorum secundum seriem alphabeti etc.</i>	<i>H 12 ecclesiastica historia 'Petitorum, dicunt, esse medicorum'</i>
1552	Hartmann Schedel's library		<i>historia tripartita</i>
1500-1600	Fulda		<i>Cassiodorus super ecclesiasticam historiam and historia ecclesiastica tripartita Cassiodori</i>
1500-1600	Syon		

Mentions and uses

date	author	work	edition	abbreviation
540-604	Gregory the Great	Letters	MGH Epistulae I.II, and CCSL 140A, part I, pp.492-495	Gregory
560 and 566	Liberatus of Carthage	<i>Breviarium</i>	PL 68, p. 969	Liberatus
570- 636	Isidore of Seville	<i>Chronica</i>	MGH Auctores Antiquissimi XI.II, pp. 424-481	Isidore
680-754	Boniface	Letter to Daniel of Winchester	Rau, <i>Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutsche Geschichte des Mittelalters Ivb.</i> (1968)	Boniface
750- 802	Paulinus of Aquileia	letter to Charles the Great	MGH Epistulae IV, p. 516-528	Paulinus
775-850	Amalarius of Metz	Letter to Abbot Hilduin	MGH Epistulae V, p.247	Amalarius
written between 776-786	Hugeburc of Hindsheim	Vitae of SS Willibald and Wynnebald	MGH Scriptorum 15.I, pp. 80-117	Hugeburc
>780- 843	Jonas of Orleans	<i>De Cultu Imaginum</i>	Reviron, <i>Les Idées Politico-Religieuses d'un Évêque de IX Siècle</i> (1930), pp. 123-94	Jonas
780-856	Hrabanus Maurus	<i>Letter to Haistulph of Maur</i>	MGH Epistulae V, 386	Hrabanus, letter

	idem	<i>De ecclesiasticis oridinibus</i>		Harabanus, ecclesiasticis
800-850	Frechulf von Liseux	World Chronicle	PL 106, 917-1258	Frechulf
800-879	Anastasius	Letter to Paulus Diaconus	MGH Epistulae VII, pp. 395-442	Anastasius, letter
825		Writings of the Paris Synod	MGH Concilia II, p. 484	Synod
written around 880	Almannus of Hautvilliers	<i>Vita seu potius homilia de S. Helena</i>	Acta Sanctorum, Aug., Vol. III, p. 952	Almannus
806-882	Hincmar	<i>De regis persona et regio ministerio</i>	MGH Capitulae Rerum Francorum II, 518-30	Hincmar, de regis
	idem	<i>De fide Caroli</i>	PL 125, 961C	Hincmar, de fide
808/9-849	Walafrid Strabo	<i>De Exordiis et incrementis rerum ecclesiaticarum</i>	MGH Legium Sectio II.2, 474-516	Walafrid
820-867	Nicholas I	letter to Emperor Michael	MGH Epistulae VI, p. 481	Nicholas
878/9-942	Odo of Cluny		PL 69, 1145D-1146D	Odo
† 855	Haymo of Auxerre	<i>Historiae Epitomae</i>	PL 118, 817-74	Haymo
† after 868	Ratramnus of Corbie	<i>Contra Graecorum Opposita</i>	PL 121, 13-346	Ratramnus
2nd half of 9th cent.	Sedulius Scotus	<i>Collectaneum</i>	Hellmann, a.a.O 122-32	Sedulius, collectaneum

	idem	<i>Liber de Rectoribus Christianis</i>	Hellmann, <i>Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters I.1</i> , pp. 19-91	Sedulius, de rectoribus
9th cent.	Adalger	<i>Admonitio ad Nonsuindam Reclusam</i>	PL 160, 57- 834	Adalger
955-1010	Aelfric of Eynsham	<i>Catholic Homilies</i>	Malcolm Godden, <i>AElfric's 'Catholic Homilies': Introduction, Commentary and Glossary</i> , EETS 18 (2000)	Aelfric
10th cent.	John of Gorze a.o.	<i>Miracula S. Gorgonii</i>	MGH Studien und Texte 46	Gorze
1028-1083	Marianus Scotus	<i>Chronicon</i>	MGH Scriptorum V, 525	Marianus
1030-1112	Sigebert of Gembloux	<i>Chronographia sive Chronica</i>	MGH Libelli de Lite I, 308-430	Sigebert
1030/40- <1103	Manegold of Lautenbach	<i>Liber ad Gebehardum</i>	MGH Libelli de Lite II, 185-87	Manegold
1090-93	anonymous	<i>De unitate ecclesiae conservanda</i>	MGH Scriptorum Rer. Germ. (1912); Mierow, <i>Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies 10</i> (1928).	De unitate
† 1074>	Gozwin of Mainz	<i>Passio S. Albani</i>	MGH Scriptorum XV, pp. 985-990	Gozwin
1098-1158	Wibaldus von Corvey		Monumenta Corbeiensia ep. 167	Wibaldus
† 1101	Wido of Osnabrück		Schmale-Ott, Irene, <i>Quellen zum Investiturstreit: Schriften über den Streit zwischen Regnum und Sacerdotium</i> (1984)	Wido

1111/15- 1158	Otto of Freising	<i>Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus</i>	MGH Scriptorum XXXI (1903), pp. 78-181	Otto
1115-1180	John of Salisbury	<i>Policraticus</i> or <i>Liber Pontificalis</i>	PL 199, 1-1040; Chibnall, <i>Nelson's Medieval Texts</i> (1956)	Salisbury
1130-1186	William of Tyre	<i>Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum</i>	PL 201, 209-892 and Babcock, Krey, <i>Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies 35</i> (1943), english translation.	William
1155- 1215	Sicardus of Cremona	World Chronicle	MGH Scriptorum XVI, 31	Sicardus
1156-1212	Robert of Auxerre	<i>Chronicon</i>	MGH Scriptorum XXXI, 26	Robert
	Albertus Miliolus	<i>Cronica imperatorum</i>	Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptorum 68 (1879); MGH Scriptorum XXXI	Albertus
1120-30- 1202	Radulfus de Diceto	<i>Abbreviationes chronicorum</i>	MGH Scriptorum XXXI, p. 230	Radulfus
1265-8	anonymous	<i>Chronica pontificum et imperatorum Tiburtina</i>	MGH Scriptorum XXXI	Chronica pontificum