

A Further Fragment of the Abridged Version of Cassiodorus's Commentary on the Psalms

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ABSTRACT

Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg Hr 2,19 is a recently described fragment of the abridged version of Cassiodorus's *Expositio psalmorum*, as found in Durham, Cathedral Library, MS. B II. 30. In the past, it has been debated whether the abridged commentary ever existed in more than one copy, the focus being on the relationship between the fragment Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf K16:Z03/01 and Durham MS. B II. 30. This note argues that Hr 2,19 provides evidence that at least three or perhaps four copies existed. An appendix provides a transcription, images of the fragment, commentary on variants, and corrections made in Hr 2,19 and the Durham manuscript.

INTRODUCTION

The eighth-century manuscript Durham, Cathedral Library, MS. B II. 30 contains an abbreviated version of Cassiodorus's Commentary on the Psalms. Up until now only one other possible copy of this version was known: Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf, K16:Z03/01 (CLA S.1786).¹ However, a second fragment of the text attests to a further copy of the text on the Continent. This is manuscript fragment Hr 2,19 in the Hessisches Staatsarchiv in Marburg, which consists of a bifolium written by a single hand in Insular minuscule approximating Insular set minuscule. The page layout consists of two columns with twenty-three lines each. The biblical lemmata and the commentary text are written in the same script but are distinguished by rubricated initials: red for the Psalm text and yellow or brown for the commentary. Furthermore, the initial letter of a given section of Psalm text or commentary is enlarged, and the biblical passages are marked by points and commas in the margin. It has recently been described and palaeographically associated with a particular group of manuscripts originating in or around the

¹ Digital images of the fragment are available via the Inventar der mittelalterlichen Handschriftenfragmente online (at the Heinrich Heine Universität Düsseldorf (HHU) website for the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek collections) and in *Das Jahrtausend der Mönche. Kloster Welt Werden 799–1803*, ed. J. Gerchow (Essen, 1999), pp. 378–79, no. 91. It is described in K. Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog der frühmittelalterlichen Fragmente der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf* (Wiesbaden, 2003), pp. 50–51.

Fulda–Hersfeld area and dating to around 800.² The fragment’s later history is not known in detail, but there are clear traces of its use as binding,³ and the place name *Kirchheimb* is found in faint lettering in a later hand on 1r. Given that the fragment is now held by the Staatsarchiv Marburg and is likely to have come from a local archive in Hessen, *Kirchheimb* most probably refers to the modern-day town of Kirchheim, around ten kilometres from Bad Hersfeld.

In the present contribution, I wish to examine the text as it is transmitted in this fragment, comparing it to the relevant passages in the Durham manuscript. This will confirm that the fragment contained the version also transmitted by the Durham copy and will also suggest that its exemplar was different from the latter, thus indicating that the abridged version of the commentary enjoyed a wider popularity than previously thought likely by scholars. An appendix provides a full transcription of the fragment, a transcription of the relevant passages in the Durham copy and in Adriaen’s edition of the Commentary,⁴ along with images of the fragment (Figs. 1–4), a list of changes made to the Marburg fragment and the Durham manuscript, and notes on textual differences. While the edition by Adriaen is problematic in that it does not accurately represent the manuscript tradition, the text is included in the comparison by way of reference as the recent edition by Stoppacci only covers the commentary on Psalms 1–50.⁵

² See my discussion in H. Imhoff, ‘Aus fuldischen Handschriften: Ein Fragment der seltenen Kurzfassung von Cassiodors Psalmenkommentar im Hessischen Staatsarchiv Marburg’, *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 73 (2021), 471–97. I discuss the script of the fragment in relation to Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Hr 2,4a–c and a group of fragments identified by Herrad Spilling, ‘Angelsächsische Schrift in Fulda’, *Von der Klosterbibliothek zur Landesbibliothek: Beiträge zum zweihundertjährigen Bestehen der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda*, ed. Artur Brall, Bibliothek des Buchwesens 6 (Stuttgart, 1978), 47–98, at 61, n. 39 (see also note 21 below).

³ There are also modern markings, perhaps from the fragment’s life in an archival or research setting: some of the columns are numbered at the top (1r, 1v and 2r), and 1r and 2r bear the Roman numerals I and II, respectively. For clarity add “at the top right, with a different Roman numeral I also appearing at the top of 1r, 1v and 2r.” On 1r, a line and arrow appear to highlight text, and on 1v, near the top of column b, there appears to be a mark left by a rusting paper clip. As noted in Imhoff, ‘Aus fuldischen Handschriften’, p. 471, the fragment is also accompanied by a slip of paper in modern handwriting. This briefly notes probable content and script, though it is not accurate in its details: ‘Psalmen-Kommentar zu Psalm 135 und 136. äusserst verwandt dem Kommentar des Aurelius Cassiodorus, bes. Psalm 136. (Migne: Patrologia 70.) Deutsch (Würzburger Gegend?) [irischer Einfluss i. d. Schrift.] 1. Hälfte des IX. Jhs.’

⁴ *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori expositio psalmodum*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 97, 98, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1958).

⁵ For an assessment of Adriaen’s edition, see M. R. P. McGuire, ‘Review of *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Expositio Psalmodum*, ed. Adriaen’, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 21.4 (1959), 547–9 – who while valuing the contribution the edition made, describes it as ‘not definitive’ – and the more recent and more detailed exposition in *Cassiodoro: Expositio psalmodum: tradizione manoscritta, fortuna, edizione critica. Volume I*, ed. P. Stoppacci, Edizione nazionale dei testi mediolatini d’Italia 28/1P (Florence, 2012), 15–17.

Durham, Cathedral Library, MS. B II. 30 is the main manuscript and the only nearly complete copy of this abridged version of the commentary.⁶ Other abbreviated versions of the work exist, but they are not identical with the Durham version, as indicated by Stoppacci in the introduction to her edition of the first part of the commentary. Stoppacci also points out that Durham's abbreviated version is in fact the earliest textual witness to Cassiodorus's commentary.⁷ Opinions have diverged both on the Durham manuscript's place of origin and that of the abridged version of the commentary contained within it, as have views on the likelihood of the text's wider transmission. Northumbria has been the prime candidate as a place of origin for the manuscript, with both Jarrow and York having been put forward as possibilities, but the question has not been settled conclusively.⁸ Alcuin appears to have been familiar with the

⁶ The manuscript is digitized and available as part of the Durham Priory Library Recreated project (<https://www.durhampriory.ac.uk/>); a description of the manuscript can be found online at the Durham Priory MediaWiki page, with digitized images here: <https://iif.durham.ac.uk/index.html?manifest=t2mrn3011371>).

⁷ Stoppacci's introduction to her edition of the first fifty psalms contains an exhaustive list of the commentary's manuscripts, including fragments and different versions, and describes the manuscripts and fragments of abbreviated versions of the commentary (*Cassiodoro: Expositio psalmsorum*, ed. Stoppacci, pp. 122–31). The manuscripts listed in the earlier edition by Adriaen were later supplemented by J. W. Halporn, 'The Manuscripts of Cassiodorus' 'Expositio Psalmsorum', *Traditio* 37 (1981), 388–396. Stoppacci also comments on the early date of the Durham version in the textual history of the commentary: 'È importantente sottolineare che il più antico testimone manoscritto dell'EP [Expositio psalmsorum] conservatosi è appunto un'epitome: il Cassiodoro di Durham, da sempre oggetto di studi particolari' (*Cassiodoro: Expositio psalmsorum*, ed. Stoppacci, p.122).

⁸ See CLA 2.152 for Lowe's attribution of the manuscript to Northumbria. R. N. Bailey, *The Durham Cassiodorus* (Jarrow, 1978), pp. 21–24, provided arguments for and against regarding Jarrow as its place of origin. A connection with York was proposed by D. A. Bullough ('Northumbrian Alcuin: "discit ut doceat"', *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation. Being Part of the Ford Lectures Delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 6 (Leiden, 2004), 252–330, at 256–8, and 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven. Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age', *Carolingian Essays. Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies*, ed. U.-R. Blumenthal (Washington, DC, 1983), pp. 1–69, at 18–22) on the basis of Alcuin seeming to make use of the abridged version found in the Durham manuscript. R. N. Bailey and R. Handley ('Early English Manuscripts of Cassiodorus' Expositio Psalmsorum', *Classical Philol.* 78.1 (1983), 51–55, at 54–55) concluded, on the basis of textual affinities with the complete version of the commentary in Cambridge St. John's College MS Aa. 5. 1.1, from the southwest of England, that the abridged version 'was a product of English scholarship' (Bailey and Handley, 'Early English Manuscripts', p. 55). J. W. Halporn, 'Further on English Manuscripts of Cassiodorus' Expositio Psalmsorum', *Classical Philol.* 80.1 (1985), 46–50, examined this conclusion critically, rejecting the idea of a close relationship between the Durham text and the Cambridge manuscript: 'This disagreement ... suggests that, whatever the relation may have been between g [Cambridge] and D [Durham], the ultimate source of the readings is too far removed from these MSS to assume that they are copies of one and the same MS' (Halporn, 'Further on English Manuscripts', p. 55). His discussion and not least his reference to the problems with Adriaen's edition (on which, see the previous note), used by Bailey and Handley as part of their comparison, are convincing.

abbreviated version of the commentary contained in the Durham manuscript,⁹ thus perhaps indicating a link with York, as tentatively suggested by Bullough and argued more strongly by Gameson.¹⁰ However, Fravventura's more detailed examination in her edition of Alcuin's text leads her to conclude that while Alcuin must have used a version of the abbreviated text as contained in Durham B.II.30, there are also differences in wording, with Alcuin including passages not contained in the Durham codex.¹¹ This need not negate the possibility of a connection with York: there may have been more than one copy of the text available, or Alcuin may have had access to more than just the abbreviated version. While arguments regarding the Durham manuscript's exact place of origin must remain circumstantial, the connection of the abbreviated commentary with York and perhaps even more with Alcuin personally is strong.

The Düsseldorf fragment consists of a single sheet, contains parts of the commentary on Psalm 144 (Vulgate numbering), and has been dated to the early eighth century and assigned a Northumbrian origin (CLA S. 1786). The question of the fragment's later transmission has not been addressed in any detail, although Lowe assigned it to Werden in CLA S. 1786 on the basis of the sixteenth-century

⁹ See Bullough, 'Northumbrian Alcuin', pp. 257–8, and 'Alcuin', pp. 18–20.

¹⁰ Bullough, 'Northumbrian Alcuin', p. 258: 'The possibility that this or a very close copy was read and excerpted by Alcuin in his early adult years is a strong one, and would indicate the existence at York of a sizable scribal community before mid-century: it is not proven'; Bullough, 'Alcuin', p. 22 (on several manuscripts, including the Durham Cassiodorus): 'on the evidence cited we are surely brought very near to the books that Alcuin had at his disposal during his years as Ælbert's assistant and as *magister* at York'. Richard Gameson, 'Northumbrian Books in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', *The Lindisfarne Gospels. New Perspectives*, ed. Richard Gameson, Library of the Written Word 57: The Manuscript World 9 (Leiden, 2017), 43–83, at 54: 'The most obvious explanation for these circumstances [Alcuin's use of an abbreviated commentary text and the possible connection of the Düsseldorf fragment with Werden] is that the Durham Cassiodorus and its sister copy have a common association with York'. It should be noted that Gameson explicitly describes the evidence as 'circumstantial' (p. 54). Bullough and Gameson are followed by Mary Garrison, 'The Library of Alcuin's York', *The Book in Britain. Volume I: c. 400–1100*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 633–664, at 649, in highlighting the possible York connection and speculative origin of the Durham Cassiodorus: 'Did Alcuin read and excerpt the Durham Cassiodorus (or a close relation) while at York? Was the Durham Cassiodorus perhaps even written at York? These are tantalising but unprovable possibilities.'

¹¹ V. Fravventura, ed., *Alcuini Enchiridion in Psalmos*, *Millennio Medievale* 112, Testi 27 (Florence, 2017), xxii: 'Pur a fronte di queste patenti affinità, i dati in nostro possesso autorizzano a prendere cautamente in considerazione l'ipotesi che Alcuino abbia attinto, per la stesura del suo commento, ad una versione dell'epitome leggermente più ampia di quella sopravvissuta in Du.', with examples on pp. xxii and xxiii.

entry 'Moers' on the fragment, referring to an area where Werden owned property. This adds to the attraction of the York connection, as it provides a possible, albeit speculative, route of transmission for the Düsseldorf fragment, as Werden's founder Liudger was a pupil of Alcuin's at York.¹² As Zechiel-Eckes cautions, however, the reference to Moers on the fragment is not necessarily proof of a Werden provenance.¹³ There has been discussion on whether the Düsseldorf fragment constitutes the remainder of a second copy of the abbreviated version contained in Durham MS. B II. 30, as argued in detail by Bailey and Handley in 1983 and supported by Zechiel-Eckes,¹⁴ or whether it was written to supply text omitted or lost from the Durham manuscript, as put forward by Halporn in 1974.¹⁵ Halporn also opposed the possibility of a further copy of the abridged commentary in an article responding to the findings of Bailey and Handley in 1985¹⁶ and, more fundamentally, also raised the question of whether the Düsseldorf fragment was part of the same abridgement at all, given that the text contained in it is missing at the end of the Durham manuscript and there is thus nothing to compare it to in the Durham version.¹⁷ This is an important point, mostly neglected in the discussion of the Düsseldorf's fragment's relationship to the Durham codex, and Stoppacci takes the view that the Düsseldorf version of the text is not the same as the abridgement in Durham MS B II. 30.¹⁸ Much, then, remains uncertain, and the Düsseldorf fragment may be a red herring entirely, but given the extent to which its relationship to the Durham manuscript has been discussed, it is relevant to any discussion of the abridged commentary. If it is indeed from the same version of the commentary as the Durham copy, it seems

¹² A possibility raised by Bullough, 'Northumbrian Alcuin', p. 257, and 'Alcuin', p. 21, *Das Jahrtausend der Mönche. Kloster Welt Werden 799-1803*, ed. J. Gerchow (Essen, 1999), p. 57, and Gameson, 'Northumbrian Books', p. 54, as well as Zechiel-Eckes in his catalogue description of the fragment (*Katalog*, pp. 50–1), but he also cautions that the Werden provenance of the fragment has not been proved.

¹³ Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog*, p. 51.

¹⁴ Bailey and Handley, 'Early English Manuscripts', pp. 52–54. Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog*, p. 50.

¹⁵ J. W. Halporn, 'A New Fragment of Durham, Cathedral Library MS B. II. 30', *Classical Philol.* 69.2 (1974), 124–25, at 125.

¹⁶ Halporn, 'Further on English Manuscripts', p. 46: 'It is beyond the bounds of probability that of this epitome, which had no future, a second copy was made of which the only surviving leaf contains a portion of the text not found in Durham B. II. 30'.

¹⁷ Halporn, 'A New Fragment', pp. 124–25: 'I am not sure how Lowe arrived at the conclusion that the leaf contains the same abbreviated text of the Psalm commentary as the Durham MS, since the Durham MS, in its present state, lacks the text after Psalm 143.3 ... in the original hand. A hand of saec. xii has added an epitomized text from *CCL* 98. 1283. 99 ... to Psalm 143.13 ...'

¹⁸ See *Cassiodoro: Expositio psalmodum*, ed. Stoppacci, pp. 124 and 126, and in slightly more detail, p. 279. Stoppacci believes the Düsseldorf fragment to be lost, but as is clear this is not the case.

most likely, as the majority of authors who have commented on this have held, that it was part of a separate copy, particularly as, to my knowledge, the question of how it might have become detached from the Durham codex and travelled to the Continent as a single leaf has not been addressed at all.

The fact that the Durham manuscript represents the only surviving more or less complete copy of this particular abbreviated version suggests that it did not gain wider popularity, a view reflected in Halporn's arguments that no second copy is likely to have existed. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, it provides our earliest direct manuscript evidence for Cassiodorus's commentary and is thus not entirely irrelevant for our understanding of the use of the commentary in parts of early medieval Europe. Fragment Hr 2,19 from Marburg therefore adds to our knowledge of the dissemination of this version. In contrast with the Düsseldorf fragment, there can be no doubt that the fragment formed part of a separate manuscript to the Durham codex: Fragment Hr 2,19 covers parts of the commentary on Psalms 134 and 136 (Vulgate numbering) and so contains text also included in the Durham manuscript.¹⁹ It therefore proves beyond doubt that at least one further copy of this abridged version existed and indeed indicates that the version was exported to the Continent. Furthermore, textual differences with the Durham text, discussed in more detail below, indicate that the fragment is not a direct copy of Durham B.II.30 and that if it derives from this, there must at least have been intermediary stages. One could, of course, envision a scribe consulting multiple manuscript copies during the copying process – perhaps a full copy of the commentary as well as the abbreviated version in the Durham manuscript – or making conscious decisions to change a word in the case of perceived textual errors. But the Marburg fragment contains clear mistakes, which suggests that its scribe was not engaged with the text on a sufficiently deep level to make conscious changes. A simpler solution presents itself, namely that the Marburg fragment's exemplar contained different readings to the Durham copy.

Assuming for a moment that both contain the same version of the commentary, there are also good indications that the Marburg and Düsseldorf fragments do not come from the same manuscript. For a start, their probable dates diverge: the Düsseldorf fragment is dated to the first half of the eighth

¹⁹ The text covered by the Marburg fragment corresponds to text in *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori expositio psalmorum*, ed. Adriaen, II, 1217–1219 and 1232–1233, with the same passages omitted due to abridgement as in Durham MS. B II.30.

century,²⁰ whereas the Marburg fragment shows palaeographical similarities with a group of manuscripts dated to around 800.²¹ More importantly, there are clear differences between the two in script and layout. Both have a two-column layout, but the Düsseldorf fragment is written entirely in an Insular hybrid minuscule, with at least thirty-seven lines per column, and red letters used for the first word or syllable of the Bible text. This contrasts with the Marburg fragment's twenty-three lines and red and yellow/brown rubrication for the psalms and the commentary text, respectively. The attention to visual cues suggests some care, and presumably forward planning, and so it seems unlikely that the layout would change so considerably part-way through the manuscript, especially given that both the Marburg and the Düsseldorf fragments come from the commentary on the last fifty psalms, which would have been regarded as one section.²² Thus, while the text in the two fragments cannot be compared, it seems safe to say that they did not form part of one manuscript.

If we assume a lost exemplar for the Marburg fragment, it seems likely that there were at least three separate copies in existence: Durham B.II.30, the Marburg manuscript and Marburg's exemplar. There may even have been four if the Düsseldorf fragment is witness to the same abbreviated version and if it and the Durham copy are separate entities. If none of the extant witnesses were the original copy of the abridged version, this increases the number of copies that existed. These conclusions suggest a somewhat wider popularity and dissemination of the abridged commentary than has previously been argued, albeit still within a wider Insular context if one accepts the arguments that the Marburg fragment was produced in the Fulda–Hersfeld region.

²⁰ Zechiel-Eckes, *Katalog*, p. 50.

²¹ For details, see Imhoff, 'Fragment', pp. 484–85. Apart from the general aspect of the script and the practice of running letters into one another (without necessarily ligaturing them), the combination of open, 3-shaped minuscule **g**, an almost closed and often top-heavy minuscule **e**, majuscule **N** at line end and a particular execution of minuscule **t** and round **d** suggest a closeness, in particular, to the fragments Hr 2,4d and Hr 2,4a–c in the Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg. According to CLA Addenda, 361, Hr 2,4d was written in Hersfeld, but this localization was changed to 'Wahrscheinlich Fulda (nicht Hersfeld)' in Bernhard Bischoff's *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden 1998–2014) I, no. 13333. Hr 2,4a–c is discussed by Spilling in the context of Fulda script (Spilling, 'Angelsächsische Schrift', pp. 58–60).

²² An outline of this division and the textual and visual organization of the commentary text by Cassiodorus is found in Halporn, 'The Manuscripts', at 388–9. Stoppacci provides a more detailed overview of the structure (*Cassiodoro: Expositio psalmorum*, ed. Stoppacci, pp. 3–6).

A textual comparison between the Marburg fragment and the Durham manuscript shows that they agree very closely but with some variation in wording and orthography. A full list of variation with commentary translation is given in the Appendix, following the transcriptions of the passages, but the most relevant variants indicating that there are at least intermediary stages between Marburg and Durham are presented in the following.

The clearest indication of this is the reading 'bonitate' in Marburg 2rb8 where Durham (252ra35) has 'uoluptati' (corrected from 'uoluptate'): 'quatenus dei carmina reuerenda hominum passim bonitate profundant ...' (I have added word division). Adriaen's edition reads 'uoluptate' (p. 1232). This reading cannot be a straight-forward misreading; instead, this may be a deliberate choice on the part of the scribe, it may be a mistake that came about in other ways than misreading, or it may be due to a difference between Marburg's exemplar and Durham B.II.30.

In Marburg 2ra16 the reading 'dicitur' corresponds to Durham's and Adriaen's 'dicit' (252ra23 and p. 1232, respectively). This variant may not be significant, as the ending -ur is abbreviated in Marburg and it is possible for a different stroke in the exemplar to have been misinterpreted as an abbreviation stroke. However, both readings are valid and it may be that Marburg's exemplar did in fact contain the reading 'dicitur'.

Finally, there are two variants in the last column of the fragment that may be significant. In 2vb12 Marburg reads 'ut uaro' where Durham and Adriaen have 'ut auaro' (252va3 and p. 1233, respectively). Both readings are grammatical, but 'ut auaro' makes much better sense. If Marburg's reading is due to scribal error, either on the part of the Marburg scribe or earlier in the text's transmission, it is possible that the exemplar in question used an open **a** followed by **u**, and the similarity between the two could have led to the omission of the initial **a** in *auaro*.²³ However, if this was the case, the exemplar was not the Durham manuscript, where a closed half-uncial **a** is used. The second variant occurs almost at the end of the Marburg fragment in 2vb19, where Marburg reads 'grauibus' instead of 'grauibus uiris' found in Durham and Adriaen (252va9 and p. 1233, respectively). As the sentence could be read without 'uiris' it is not necessary to posit any scribal error here.

Overall, while there is only one strong indication of Marburg and Durham's indirect relationship, other less significant variants could point in the same direction.

²³ The open **a** in Marburg's 'ut uaro' illustrates this possibility.

It is interesting to note that there are a considerable number of changes to the text in both manuscripts. Whether these changes were made directly after the copying process in the same scriptorium or some time later cannot be determined. The colour of the ink and, particularly in Marburg, the difference in the thickness of the strokes suggests that these changes were not made during the actual copying process itself. In the case of erasures in the Durham manuscript, the fact that these result in a gap and that the word has not been continued over the erasure by the scribe also indicates that they were carried out after the copy was complete. Moreover, there are attempts to close such gaps by connecting the letters on either side with a long stroke, for example in 'nefando' in 248rb17. The care taken with these erasures might perhaps indicate that they were part of the production of the manuscript, possibly in a proof-reading process following the actual copying. At the very least they were made by someone more concerned with the appearance of the page than the person who carried out the strike-through corrections in Marburg.

A more detailed analysis of the type of corrections and the strokes and ink used might perhaps provide answers to when the corrections were made, but this would be a significant and uncertain undertaking which is beyond the scope of the present contribution. However, for the sake of completeness, a list of all changes is provided in the Appendix. The corrections do not add to the conclusions reached above regarding the relationship of the manuscripts, as there is no clear pattern that would indicate a direct relationship between the two copies. In some cases, this would only be feasible on the basis of the uncorrected reading; in other cases the opposite is true. However, the shared uncorrected readings perhaps suggest that both fragments are fairly close to a shared ancestor in that the correction of obvious mistakes has not taken place yet (for example 'designat', corrected to 'designant' in Durham but not in Marburg, 'idem', probably reflecting the pronunciation of 'item', corrected to 'item' in Durham but not in Marburg, and 'contigeret', corrected to 'contigerit' in Durham).

It should also be noted that the punctuation appears to have been changed in some instances in Marburg. This aspect has not been considered further in any detail here.

CONCLUSION

The existence of the Marburg fragment and its comparison with the Durham text indicates that the abridged version of the commentary existed in at least three manuscript copies and probably more. While the Marburg fragment may not be of great textual significance for Cassiodorus's commentary as a whole, it

is an interesting piece of evidence, especially as it comes from a continental context. Bullough and others have discussed Alcuin's familiarity with the abridged version of the commentary, as outlined above, and Stoppacci focused on Alcuin's role in the dissemination of Cassiodorus's commentary.²⁴ A circumstantial argument has been put forward for the personal connection between Liudger and Alcuin explaining the presence of the Düsseldorf fragment on the Continent. If the Marburg fragment was written in the vicinity of Fulda, a similar argument could be advanced here. Alcuin's connection to individuals at Fulda is well known, most notably to his pupil and later abbot of Fulda and archbishop of Mainz, Hrabanus Maurus. As Spilling has pointed out, there is evidence for books being loaned out in one of Alcuin's letters,²⁵ and it is not inconceivable that the preservation of the abridged commentary on the Continent owes something to the personal connection between Alcuin and those active at the monastery of Fulda. However, much like the arguments regarding Liudger and Werden, this is speculative, especially given Fravventura's more cautious note on Alcuin's use of the abbreviated commentary. Nevertheless, the fragment is valuable in showing us the transmission on the Continent of what is regarded as a specifically English abbreviation of the Cassiodorian commentary.²⁶

²⁴ Bullough, 'Alcuin', pp. 18–22; *Cassiodoro: Expositio psalmorum*, ed. Stoppacci, pp. 276–80.

²⁵ H. Spilling, 'Die frühe Phase der karolingischen Minuskel in Fulda', *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*, ed. G. Schrimpf (Frankfurt, 1996), pp. 249–284, at 279, with reference to a passage in Alcuin's letters, found in *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* II, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epist. 4 (Berlin, 1895), 223–4 (no. 142).

²⁶ I am very grateful to Dr Johannes Staub for drawing my attention to this fragment in the first place several years ago, and I would like to thank him, the members of the Arbeitskreis Bibliotheca Fuldensis, Dr Elliott Lash, Dr Lukas Dorfbauer and Dr Peter Stokes for very helpful comments and suggestions as well as help consulting secondary literature I did not have access to. Two anonymous reviewers gave valuable feedback and constructive criticism on this article, from which I benefitted greatly and which considerably improved the final version. Any errors or misconceptions that remain are entirely my own. Permission to reproduce images of the fragment comes from the Hessisches Staatarchiv Marburg and I am grateful to Dr Francesco Roberg for facilitating this. I also very much appreciated Prof. Rosalind Love, Dr Ben Allport and Dr Joanne Shortt Butler's prompt replies to my queries during the revision and proofing process.

APPENDIX

TRANSCRIPTIONS

The transcriptions were made using digitized images of the manuscripts, copies of which are included as figures after the transcription text (Figs. 1–4). In the transcriptions underlining represents expanded abbreviations; square brackets indicate letters that are only legible with difficulty due to staining or damage to the parchment and a zero indicates that the letter is not legible, and the number of zeroes reflects the probable number of letters that are illegible. The hash sign indicates an erasure. Rubrication or enlarged letters at the beginning of sections have not been marked. Word division and line breaks are reproduced as in the manuscripts.

Readings and punctuation have been reproduced here incorporating the changes made in the fragments at a later point. The changes to the wording are given in a separate table on pp. 24–5, and changes to punctuation, where identifiable, have been footnoted in the following transcription. As the fragment is stained and marked in places, presumably as a result of its use as binding, some of the decisions regarding whether to transcribe a mark as punctuation or not have been difficult to make. These uncertain instances have been marked by a question mark in round brackets. Overall, the Marburg fragment displays a combination of medial points (the most common punctuation mark), a lower point (which is not always easy to distinguish from the medial point and appears in some cases to be written in lighter ink), and *punctus versus* and *punctus elevatus*. These latter two appear to be the result of later changes to the punctuation, with two possible exceptions that cannot be determined because of problems with legibility. A comma-like mark occurs occasionally on the line and also in a slightly higher, medial position, and this has been transcribed as a comma; it may however not in fact be distinct from the point. The psalm text is highlighted by a combination of points and comma in the margin.

The Durham manuscript appears to use a threefold distinction with regard to points, with a high, medium and low point, but for technical reasons the description transcribes the first two as a medial point and the third as a point on the line.

The text from Adriaen's edition is reproduced here in order to illustrate the abridgement in Durham and Marburg. Text contained in the two manuscripts is printed in bold in the text from the edition, whereas text omitted is roman and in a smaller font.

	<p>Hr 2.19 Ira</p> <p>q[u]o[di]o[med]iomundi id est palamatque uis[si]o[0]liter euenisse manifestumest ph[ar]o[0]inter praetatur dissipatio etcui [a]ptius dabitur nisi[di]abulo quihumanum genus crudili uoto per[s]o[0]quitur · in omnes seruos etuis [h]o[m]ines significat qui ip sius [u]oluntatibus obsecundant et id e[0] diabulus cum ministris 10 subm[e]rgitur quando fonte salut[is] [a]ri ch[ri]sti anus populus aneff[an]do errore liberatur · ·, qui percussit gentes multas et ·, occidit [r]eges fortes, 15 ···, reges di[c]it uitiorum noxias ca teruas quae nos intus uelut barba[r]e nationes semper af figunt has percussas dicit quan [do] [sati]o[0]f[act]ione paeniten tium uul[er]erantur nam quod 20 nobis [sa]lus illis uulnus est · occidit etiam in nobis reges fortes cum sp[iritu] immundus</p> <p>Irb peccatorum labedominantes inundatione delictorum reddit</p>	<p>Durham B II. 30 Starting at 248rb7</p> <p>quod in medio mundi · idest palam atque uisibiliter euenisse manifestum est · pharao interpretatur 10 dissipatio · etcui aptius dabitur · hoc nomen/ nisi diabulo · quihumanum genus crudeli uoto persequitur · in omnes seruos · homines significat qui ipsius uolunta tibus obsecundant · etideo 15 diabolus cum minis tris submergi tur · quando fonte salutari christianus populus anteefando errore liberatur · qui percussit gentes multas · et occidit reges fortes · reges dicit uitiorum noxias cateruas · quae nos intus uelut barbarae nationes semper affigunt · has per cussas dicit · quando satis factone paenitentium uulnerantur · nam 25 quod nobis salus · illis uulnus est · occidit etiam in nobis reges fortes · cum sp[iritu] immundus peccatorum labe dominantes · emundatione delictorum reddit extraneos · qui merito inuo luntates uolunt occidit · quianos 30 extingueret minime ualuerunt · seon regem ammorraeorum · et og regem basan · et omnia regna</p>	<p>Adriaen p. 1217</p> <p>...quod in medio mundi, id est palam atque uisibiliter euenisse manifestum est. <i>Signum</i>, est res praeter speciem quam ingerit sensibus nostris aliud aliquid ex se faciens in cogitationem uenire; sicut, uestigio usito, transisse animal cuius uestigium est cogitamus. Dicitum est uero signum ab eo quod significet. <i>Prodigia</i> quasi porro digna, id est longe praedictentia. Hoc et hodie facit, quando animas fideles per aliqua praemissa signa conuertit. <i>Pharao</i> interpretatur dissipatio. Et cui aptius dabitur nisi diabolo, qui humanum genus crudeli uoto persequitur? In omnes seruo eius, homines significat, qui ipsius uoluntatibus obsecundant. Illius enim famuli dicitur cui consentanea mente seruiamus. Et ideo diabolus cum ministris submergitur, quan- p. 1218 do fonte salutari christianus populus a nefando errore liberatur. 10. <i>Qui percussit gentes multas et</i> <i>occidit reges fortes.</i> Gentes dicit uitiorum noxias cateruas, quae nos intus, uelut barbarae nationes, semper affigunt. Has percussas</p>
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5	<p>extraneos qui merito inuoluntate sua dicunt occisiqua .., seonregem ammorracorum etog .., regembasan etomniaregna .., chanaan occidit .</p>	35	<p>chanaan occidit ; cum multis reges filii israel domino fauente prostrauerint - hic duotantum</p>	<p>dicit, quando satisfactione paenitentium uulnerantur. Nam quod nobis salus, illis uulnus est. <i>Occidit</i> etiam in nobis <i>reges fortes</i>, cum spiritus immundos peccatorum labe dominantes, emundatione delictorum reddit extraneos. Qui merito in uoluntate sua dicuntur occisi, quia nos extinguere minime ualuerunt.</p>
10	<p>domino fauente prostrauerint (?) hic duo tantum memorantur scilicet ut per interpretationem istorum nominum (?) ad illam significationem duceremur (?) quae hodie que in nobis agitur ; seon interpretatur temptatio oculorum .</p>	5	<p>248va memorantur ; scilicet ut interpretatiorem istorum nominum . ad illam significationem duceremur ; quae hodieque in nobis agitur ; seon interpretatur temptatio oculorum ; ammorrei amaricantes designant ; amara siquidem uita sunt ; quae nos ab illa beatitudine iocundissima deducunt ; haec habent diabolum regem quietis</p>	<p>11. <i>Sehon regem Amorrhaeorum et Og regem Basan et omnia regna Chanaan occidit</i>. Cum multos reges filii Israel, Domino fauente, prostrauerint, hic duo tantum memorantur; scilicet ut per interpretationem istorum nominum, ad illam significantiam ducamur quae hodieque in nobis agitur. <i>Sehon</i> interpretatur temptatio oculorum, <i>Ammorhaei</i> amaricantes designant. Amara siquidem uita sunt, quae nos ab illa beatitudine iocundissima deducunt. Haec habent diabolum regem, qui est transformatus in angelum lucis; ut per colorem atque speciem bonitatis deuotorum animas assidue temptat. Ista diuinitas</p>
15	<p>ammorrei amari cantes designat ; amara siquidem uitasunt . quae nobis ab illa beatitudine iocundissima deducunt ; haec habent diabolum regem quietis temptatio oculorum quando se</p>	10	<p>temptatio oculorum : quando se transformatur in angelum lucis . ut per colorem atque speciem bonitatis deuotorum animas assidue temptat ; ista diuinitas in nobis occidit ; quando se transformatur in angelum lucis . ut per colorem atque speciem bonitatis deuotorum animas assidue temptat ; ista diuinitas</p>	<p>prostrauerint, hic duo tantum memorantur; scilicet ut per interpretationem istorum nominum, ad illam significantiam ducamur quae hodieque in nobis agitur. <i>Sehon</i> interpretatur temptatio oculorum, <i>Ammorhaei</i> amaricantes designant. Amara siquidem uita sunt, quae nos ab illa beatitudine iocundissima deducunt. Haec habent diabolum regem, qui est transformatus in angelum lucis; ut per colorem atque speciem bonitatis deuotorum animas assidue temptat. Ista diuinitas</p>
20	<p>bulum regem quietis temptatio oculorum quando se transformatur (?) in angelum lucis . ut per colorem atque speciem bonitatis deuotorum animas assidue temptat ; ista diuinitas in nobis occidit . quando fidelium mentes ; ataliter uita liberauerit ; sequitur : et og re</p>	15	<p>occidit ; quando se transformatur in angelum lucis . ut per colorem atque speciem bonitatis deuotorum animas assidue temptat ; ista diuinitas in nobis occidit ; quando se transformatur in angelum lucis . ut per colorem atque speciem bonitatis deuotorum animas assidue temptat ; ista diuinitas</p>	<p>prostrauerint, hic duo tantum memorantur; scilicet ut per interpretationem istorum nominum, ad illam significantiam ducamur quae hodieque in nobis agitur. <i>Sehon</i> interpretatur temptatio oculorum, <i>Ammorhaei</i> amaricantes designant. Amara siquidem uita sunt, quae nos ab illa beatitudine iocundissima deducunt. Haec habent diabolum regem, qui est transformatus in angelum lucis; ut per colorem atque speciem bonitatis deuotorum animas assidue temptat. Ista diuinitas</p>
5	<p>te liberauerit ; sequitur : et og re</p>	25	<p>sed haec omnia uirtus diuina destruit ;</p>	<p>prostrauerint, hic duo tantum memorantur; scilicet ut per interpretationem istorum nominum, ad illam significantiam ducamur quae hodieque in nobis agitur. <i>Sehon</i> interpretatur temptatio oculorum, <i>Ammorhaei</i> amaricantes designant. Amara siquidem uita sunt, quae nos ab illa beatitudine iocundissima deducunt. Haec habent diabolum regem, qui est transformatus in angelum lucis; ut per colorem atque speciem bonitatis deuotorum animas assidue temptat. Ista diuinitas</p>

10	<p>gembasan ; og · conclusiodicitur .(?) basanconf[uj]ssio ; meritoergo confussionis . rex conclusio perhibetur : diabolus enimquan do nobis interitlad salutare concludit . inconfusione nos nefanda dereliquit inqua illeteterrimus regnat ; unde et ciuitas illiusbabylonia dicitur . quae idem confusio nominatur ; sed haec omnia uirtus diuina destruit . quandonos admise ricordiaesuae donaperducit ; ; addidit · et omniaregnachan naan occidit ; channaan interpretatur humiliatio ·</p>	<p>quandonos admisericordiaesuae dona perducit ; addidit · etomnia regna channaan occidit ; channaan interpre tatur humiliatio ; sed non illa quae perducit addominum ; nam et illi humiliati dicuntur ; quidehonore sancto decedunt · et pessima conuersatione merguntur ; qua propter hanc humiliationem quaeinmalo intellegenda est · ille solus occidit ; quicruem pro omnium salute suscepit ;</p>	<p>in nobis occidit, quando fidelium mentes a tali seruitute liberauerit. Sequitur et <i>Og regem Basan</i>. <i>Og</i> conclusio dicitur, <i>Basan</i> confusio. Merito ergo confusionis rec conclusio perhibetur. Diabolus enim quando nobis iter illud salutare concludit, in confusione nos nefanda derelinquit, in qua ille teterrimus regnat. Vnde et ciuitas eius Babylonia dicitur, quae item confusio nominatur. Sed haec omnia uirtus diuina destruit, quando nos ad misericordiae suae dona perducit. Addidit et <i>omnia</i> <i>regna Chanaan occidit</i>. <i>Chanaan</i> interpretatur humiliatio: sed non illa quae perducit ad Dominum. Nam et illi humiliati dicuntur, qui de honore sancto decidunt et pessima conuersatione merguntur; sicut in alio psalmo di-</p>
15	<p>11 et ciuitas illiusbabylonia dicitur . quae idem confusio nominatur ; sed haec omnia uirtus diuina destruit . quandonos admise ricordiaesuae donaperducit ; ; addidit · et omniaregnachan naan occidit ; channaan interpretatur humiliatio ·</p>	<p>30 perducit addominum ; nam et illi humiliati dicuntur ; quidehonore sancto decedunt · et pessima conuersatione merguntur ; qua propter hanc humiliationem quaeinmalo intellegenda est · ille solus occidit ; quicruem pro omnium salute suscepit ;</p>	<p>concludit, in confusione nos nefanda derelinquit, in qua ille teterrimus regnat. Vnde et ciuitas eius Babylonia dicitur, quae item confusio nominatur. Sed haec omnia uirtus diuina destruit, quando nos ad misericordiae suae dona perducit. Addidit et <i>omnia</i> <i>regna Chanaan occidit</i>. <i>Chanaan</i> interpretatur humiliatio: sed non illa quae perducit ad Dominum. Nam et illi humiliati dicuntur, qui de honore sancto decidunt et pessima conuersatione merguntur; sicut in alio psalmo di-</p>
20	<p>11 et ciuitas illiusbabylonia dicitur . quae idem confusio nominatur ; sed haec omnia uirtus diuina destruit . quandonos admise ricordiaesuae donaperducit ; ; addidit · et omniaregnachan naan occidit ; channaan interpretatur humiliatio ·</p>	<p>35 perducit addominum ; nam et illi humiliati dicuntur ; quidehonore sancto decedunt · et pessima conuersatione merguntur ; qua propter hanc humiliationem quaeinmalo intellegenda est · ille solus occidit ; quicruem pro omnium salute suscepit ;</p>	<p>concludit, in confusione nos nefanda derelinquit, in qua ille teterrimus regnat. Vnde et ciuitas eius Babylonia dicitur, quae item confusio nominatur. Sed haec omnia uirtus diuina destruit, quando nos ad misericordiae suae dona perducit. Addidit et <i>omnia</i> <i>regna Chanaan occidit</i>. <i>Chanaan</i> interpretatur humiliatio: sed non illa quae perducit ad Dominum. Nam et illi humiliati dicuntur, qui de honore sancto decidunt et pessima conuersatione merguntur; sicut in alio psalmo di-</p>
5	<p>11 et ciuitas illiusbabylonia dicitur . quae idem confusio nominatur ; sed haec omnia uirtus diuina destruit . quandonos admise ricordiaesuae donaperducit ; ; addidit · et omniaregnachan naan occidit ; channaan interpretatur humiliatio ·</p>	<p>5 perducit addominum ; nam et illi humiliati dicuntur ; quidehonore sancto decedunt · et pessima conuersatione merguntur ; qua propter hanc humiliationem quaeinmalo intellegenda est · ille solus occidit ; quicruem pro omnium salute suscepit ;</p>	<p>concludit, in confusione nos nefanda derelinquit, in qua ille teterrimus regnat. Vnde et ciuitas eius Babylonia dicitur, quae item confusio nominatur. Sed haec omnia uirtus diuina destruit, quando nos ad misericordiae suae dona perducit. Addidit et <i>omnia</i> <i>regna Chanaan occidit</i>. <i>Chanaan</i> interpretatur humiliatio: sed non illa quae perducit ad Dominum. Nam et illi humiliati dicuntur, qui de honore sancto decidunt et pessima conuersatione merguntur; sicut in alio psalmo di-</p>
5	<p>11 et ciuitas illiusbabylonia dicitur . quae idem confusio nominatur ; sed haec omnia uirtus diuina destruit . quandonos admise ricordiaesuae donaperducit ; ; addidit · et omniaregnachan naan occidit ; channaan interpretatur humiliatio ·</p>	<p>10 perducit addominum ; nam et illi humiliati dicuntur ; quidehonore sancto decedunt · et pessima conuersatione merguntur ; qua propter hanc humiliationem quaeinmalo intellegenda est · ille solus occidit ; quicruem pro omnium salute suscepit ;</p>	<p>concludit, in confusione nos nefanda derelinquit, in qua ille teterrimus regnat. Vnde et ciuitas eius Babylonia dicitur, quae item confusio nominatur. Sed haec omnia uirtus diuina destruit, quando nos ad misericordiae suae dona perducit. Addidit et <i>omnia</i> <i>regna Chanaan occidit</i>. <i>Chanaan</i> interpretatur humiliatio: sed non illa quae perducit ad Dominum. Nam et illi humiliati dicuntur, qui de honore sancto decidunt et pessima conuersatione merguntur; sicut in alio psalmo di-</p>
10	<p>11 et ciuitas illiusbabylonia dicitur . quae idem confusio nominatur ; sed haec omnia uirtus diuina destruit . quandonos admise ricordiaesuae donaperducit ; ; addidit · et omniaregnachan naan occidit ; channaan interpretatur humiliatio ·</p>	<p>10 perducit addominum ; nam et illi humiliati dicuntur ; quidehonore sancto decedunt · et pessima conuersatione merguntur ; qua propter hanc humiliationem quaeinmalo intellegenda est · ille solus occidit ; quicruem pro omnium salute suscepit ;</p>	<p>concludit, in confusione nos nefanda derelinquit, in qua ille teterrimus regnat. Vnde et ciuitas eius Babylonia dicitur, quae item confusio nominatur. Sed haec omnia uirtus diuina destruit, quando nos ad misericordiae suae dona perducit. Addidit et <i>omnia</i> <i>regna Chanaan occidit</i>. <i>Chanaan</i> interpretatur humiliatio: sed non illa quae perducit ad Dominum. Nam et illi humiliati dicuntur, qui de honore sancto decidunt et pessima conuersatione merguntur; sicut in alio psalmo di-</p>

²⁷ In right margin, there is what appears to be an n written and crossed out in pencil.

<p>uersus iste declarat priora illa non adlit terram debet[re] suscipi/ sedspiritali expo[s]itione sentiri · namterra promissionis israelitico populo · nonest hereditas data · quiaeam suis offensionibus am miserunt ; sedsub illorum praefiguratione terra reppromissio[n]is dat[ur] napace possit[ur]deant ; nam ut istam deberes aduertere repetit · hereditatem israel</p>	<p>15</p>	<p>Starting at 252ra9 uerum haec historia adspiritu/alem in telligentiam transferatur ; salices sunt arbores supra ripas fluminis pinguisima uiriditate gaudentes ; et fluentis necari nequeunt quamuis copiosa irrigatione satientur ; h[ic]s comparantur sancti ac fideles homines ; talibus ergo uiris organanostra sus pendimus ; quando communicatagra tia · descripturarum diuinarum lectione conferimus , ipsasunt enim nostra organa · quae e[ti]psalmodiae gratiam praestant ; et alternat[ur] collatione laetificant ; inmedio eius · babyloniae ciuitatis dicit nonfluminis ; quia necesse est inmedio mundisit sanctissimus christianus · quamuis adsuper na animouideatur esse translatur · quia · illic interrogauerunt nos quicap tuos duxerunt nosuerba cantionum · et quiaaduxerunt nos · ymnium cantate nobis decantatis sion ; quomodo cantabimus canticum domini in terra aliena ; addunt aliud pondus doloribus suis · utusque ad hoc ludibrium se peruenisse defleant ; quatenus dei, carmina reue</p>	<p>10</p>	<p>solus occidit, qui crucem pro omnium salute suscepit. 12. Et dedit terram eorum hereditatem, hereditatem Israel populo suo. Versus iste declarat priora illa non ad litteram debere suscipi, sed spiritali expositione sentiri. Nam terra promissionis israelitico populo non est hereditas data, quia eam suis offensionibus amiserunt; sed sub illorum praefiguratione terra reppromissionis datur sine dubio Christianis, quam aeterna pace possideant. Nam ut istam deberes aduertere, repetit, hereditatem Israel populo suo. Israel enim...</p>
<p>2ra adspiritalem intellegentiam transferatur · salices sunt arbores sup[er]aripas fluminis pinguisi ma uiriditate gaudentes .(?) et fluentes necari nequeunt quam uis copiosa irrigatione satientur [:(?)] hiis conparantur sancti ac fideles homines talibus ergo uiris organa nostra sus[pen]dimus quando communicata gratia des[er]u[er]iptu.²⁸ rarum diuinarum lectione con ferimus ; ipsa sunt enim nostra organa quae et psalmodiaegratiam</p>	<p>20</p>	<p>25</p>	<p>20</p>	<p>p. 1232, l. 54 Verum haec historia ad spiritalem intellegentiam transferatur. Salices sunt arbores supra ripas fluminis pinguisima uiriditate gaudentes, quae frequenter excisis palis, atque humidae terrae reconditis, altissima radice merguntur; et fluentis necari nequeunt, quamuis copiosa irrigatione satientur. His comparantur sancti ac fideles homines, sicut Isaias dicit:</p>
<p>5</p>	<p>30</p>	<p>15</p>	<p>15</p>	<p>15</p>

²⁸ The c has been added below the line but in the same hand and ink as the text.

15	<p>praestant et aeternas collatio ne laetificant · in medio eius babyloniae ciuitatis dicitur · non fluminis quia necesse est in me dio mundisit sanctissimus christia nus · quamuis adsuperna animo uideatur esse translatur ·</p>	<p>35</p> <p>renda hominum passim uoluptati profundant · fiatque illis necessitas pagānsdicere · quodsolaplebs domini</p>	<p><i>Exoritur tanquam femum in medio aquae et tamquam salix super defluentem aquam.</i> Talibus ergo uiris organa nostra suspendimus, quando communicata gratia de scripturarum diuinarum lectione conferimus. Ipsa sunt enim nostra organa quae et psalmodiae gratiam praestant et alterna nos collatione laetificant. In medio eius, Babyloniae ciuitatis dicit, non fluminis, quia necesse est in medio mundi sit sanctissimus Christianus, quamuis ad superna animo uideatur esse translatus.</p>
20	<p>·, quia illic interrogauerunt nos · ·, quicaptiuos duxerunt nos · uerba ·, cantionum et quia duxerunt nos ·</p>	<p>252rb consuevit audire ; sed ut magis illam partem quam coepimus exsequamur ; concupiscentia mundi noxios noster ; istae uero concupiscentiae quae iure captiuitatis illaqueant ; frequenter nobis suadent · ut psalmodiae uerba in locis profanis atque spectaculis · gesticulatione nefandissima canere debeamus ; sed eis non esse consentiendum praesens doctrina declarat · quando ammonet interra aliena · idest interactus uitiosos quisunt adeo alieni · ymnium domini non esse cantandum ; uerba enim domini sancta esse debent sanctorum ; / dexteramea ; stobilitas fuerotui hierusalem ; oblitiscatur me pollite uersu profeta ecclesiam dei numquam penitus obliuisci · conditionem sibigratissimam ponens ; quia necesse est ita fieri · sibi hierusalem contigerit non amari ; dextera quippe bonorum est christus dominus ; constringit itaque se profeta durus quidem uinculis · sed nequaquam nobis ut ipsi / e addomini saluatoris memoria · sibi hierusalem ab eis mentediscerit ; ipsa est enim mater fidelium · patria</p>	<p>5</p> <p>3. <i>Quia illic interrogauerunt nos, qui captiuos duxerunt nos, uerba cantionum.</i> <i>Et qui abduxerunt nos: Hymnum cantate nobis de canticis Sion.</i> 4. <i>Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena? Adducat aliud pondus doloribus suis, ut usque ad hoc ludibrium se peruenisse defleant; quatenus Dei carmina reuerenda hominum passim uoluptate profundant, fiatque illis necessitas paganus dicere, quod sola plebs Domini consuevit audire.</i> Superbus enim et arrogans uictor uult sibi iustus et delicias de</p>
5	<p>·, ymnium cantate nobis decantatis ·, sion quomodo cantabimus canticum ·, domini · interra aliena · addunt aliud pondus doloribus suis · (?) unusque ad hoc ludibrium se per uenisse defleant quatenus dei carmina reuerenda hominum passim bonitate pro fundant · (?) fiatque illis necessitas paganus dicere · quod sola plebs domini consuevit audire</p>	<p>10</p> <p>ammonet interra aliena · idest interactus uitiosos quisunt adeo alieni · ymnium domini non esse cantandum ; uerba enim domini sancta esse debent sanctorum ; / dexteramea ; stobilitas fuerotui hierusalem ; oblitiscatur me pollite uersu profeta ecclesiam dei numquam penitus obliuisci · conditionem sibigratissimam ponens ; quia necesse est ita fieri · sibi hierusalem contigerit non amari ; dextera quippe bonorum est christus dominus ; constringit itaque se profeta durus quidem uinculis · sed nequaquam nobis ut ipsi / e addomini saluatoris memoria · sibi hierusalem ab eis mentediscerit ; ipsa est enim mater fidelium · patria</p>	<p>10</p> <p>ammonet interra aliena · idest interactus uitiosos quisunt adeo alieni · ymnium domini non esse cantandum ; uerba enim domini sancta esse debent sanctorum ; / dexteramea ; stobilitas fuerotui hierusalem ; oblitiscatur me pollite uersu profeta ecclesiam dei numquam penitus obliuisci · conditionem sibigratissimam ponens ; quia necesse est ita fieri · sibi hierusalem contigerit non amari ; dextera quippe bonorum est christus dominus ; constringit itaque se profeta durus quidem uinculis · sed nequaquam nobis ut ipsi / e addomini saluatoris memoria · sibi hierusalem ab eis mentediscerit ; ipsa est enim mater fidelium · patria</p>
10	<p>sed ut magis illam partem quam cepimus exsequamur con/cu/pis centiam mundi noxios noster · istae uero concupiscentiae · laqueant [· (?)] frequenter nobis suadent · ut psalmodie uerba in locis profanis · atque spectacu</p>	<p>15</p> <p>numquam penitus obliuisci · conditionem sibigratissimam ponens ; quia necesse est ita fieri · sibi hierusalem contigerit non amari ; dextera quippe bonorum est christus dominus ; constringit itaque se profeta durus quidem uinculis · sed nequaquam nobis ut ipsi / e addomini saluatoris memoria · sibi hierusalem ab eis mentediscerit ; ipsa est enim mater fidelium · patria</p>	<p>15</p> <p>numquam penitus obliuisci · conditionem sibigratissimam ponens ; quia necesse est ita fieri · sibi hierusalem contigerit non amari ; dextera quippe bonorum est christus dominus ; constringit itaque se profeta durus quidem uinculis · sed nequaquam nobis ut ipsi / e addomini saluatoris memoria · sibi hierusalem ab eis mentediscerit ; ipsa est enim mater fidelium · patria</p>
15	<p>in locis profanis · atque spectacu</p>	<p>20</p> <p>numquam penitus obliuisci · conditionem sibigratissimam ponens ; quia necesse est ita fieri · sibi hierusalem contigerit non amari ; dextera quippe bonorum est christus dominus ; constringit itaque se profeta durus quidem uinculis · sed nequaquam nobis ut ipsi / e addomini saluatoris memoria · sibi hierusalem ab eis mentediscerit ; ipsa est enim mater fidelium · patria</p>	<p>20</p> <p>numquam penitus obliuisci · conditionem sibigratissimam ponens ; quia necesse est ita fieri · sibi hierusalem contigerit non amari ; dextera quippe bonorum est christus dominus ; constringit itaque se profeta durus quidem uinculis · sed nequaquam nobis ut ipsi / e addomini saluatoris memoria · sibi hierusalem ab eis mentediscerit ; ipsa est enim mater fidelium · patria</p>
25	<p>in locis profanis · atque spectacu</p>	<p>25</p> <p>numquam penitus obliuisci · conditionem sibigratissimam ponens ; quia necesse est ita fieri · sibi hierusalem contigerit non amari ; dextera quippe bonorum est christus dominus ; constringit itaque se profeta durus quidem uinculis · sed nequaquam nobis ut ipsi / e addomini saluatoris memoria · sibi hierusalem ab eis mentediscerit ; ipsa est enim mater fidelium · patria</p>	<p>25</p> <p>numquam penitus obliuisci · conditionem sibigratissimam ponens ; quia necesse est ita fieri · sibi hierusalem contigerit non amari ; dextera quippe bonorum est christus dominus ; constringit itaque se profeta durus quidem uinculis · sed nequaquam nobis ut ipsi / e addomini saluatoris memoria · sibi hierusalem ab eis mentediscerit ; ipsa est enim mater fidelium · patria</p>

<p>20 līs gesticulatione nefandissimi ma canere debeamus . . . sed eis non esse consentiendum . praesens doctrina monet in terra aliena</p> <p>2va²⁹ [id³⁰ est] int[e]o actu[s] uitiosos quisunt [adeo]dali] . ymnurū domini non esse cantandum . (?)</p> <p>[u]erba enim dominisancitja esse debent[an]ctorum ; (?)</p> <p>[. . .] obliu[is] fuer[]o [fui] hierusalem . pollicetur sē profetaecclesiam dēi . numquam penitus obliuiscicondi tionem . s[] [bigra]uissimamponens . quia necesseest itaferi . si hieru salem contingeret nonamari ;</p> <p>10 dextraquippebonorum[est]christusdominus . constringit itaque sē profetaaduris quidem uinculis . sed nequaquam nobis ut ipsi adomni saluatoris memoria s[] []erusalem abeitis [m]ente discessit ; ipsaest enim mater fidelium . patria felicitium . quamquihic obliuiscitur . ibi in regno d[] [] in i[n]imice collocatur .</p>	<p>30 felicitium : quam quihic obliuiscitur . ibi in regno domini minime collocatur ; a0 hereatlinguae[m] faucibus meis . sinon meminerotui : sinon proposuero hierusalem in principio laetitiae meae ; proponitur poenalissecunda condicio ; ut in domini laudibus obmutescat . s[] obliu[is]tus fuerit hierusalem : quod magnum habent praemium christianis ; quid enim probatur esse deterius . quam illud non posse loqui unde conseruit medicina praestari ? sequitur . sinon proposuero</p> <p>35 252va hierusalem in principio laetitiae meae ; sunt quidem principia mundanae laetitiae ; ut auro aurum inuenire . luxuriosos pulchram feminam ; sed absit ut haec principia laetitiae profe talicoueniant sanctitati : qui#(?) nummo dica mus quae honesta sunt . sed tamen ecclesiae sanctae non debeant ullatenus anteferri ; grauibusuiris et summa sē honestate tractantibus . principium laetitiae est filius natus . sicut zacharia ria de iohanne contigit : [End of Marburg 2v] uel post in fir mitatem sanitas corporis restituta .</p>	<p>Dei cantici exhiberi. Quibus respondendum est: <i>Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena? Sed ut magis illam partem quam coepimus exsequamur, concupiscentiam mundi obnoxios nos tenere</i> (estatur apostolus, dicens: <i>Video altam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meae et captiuum me ducentem in lege peccati, quae est in membris meis. Ista igitur concupiscentiae quae nos iure captiuitatis illaqueant, frequenter nobis suadent, ut psalmodiae uerba in locis profanis atque spectaculis gesticulatione nefandissima canere debeamus. Sed eis non esse consentiendum praesens doctrina declarat, quando admonet in terra aliena, id est inter actus uitiosos qui sunt a Deo alieni,</i></p> <p>p. 1233 hymnum Domini non esse cantandum. Verba enim Domini sancta, debent esse sanctorum; scriptum est enim: <i>Ne miseris margaritas uestras ante porcos</i>. His ergo monet nullatenus esse consentiendum.</p>
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²⁹ In centre of lower margin of page, 'xx' probably indicates pagination or quire numeration.

³⁰ May also be 'quod', but the word is barely legible.

20	<p>[*] adheratlinguaeafauci .. busme[s]sinonmeminerotui ; .. sinon propos uero hierusalem [*] inprincipiomeolaetiaemeae .</p> <p>2vb proponitur poenalis s[ec]lunda condicio · utindominilaudibus obmu tescat sioblitus fuerit hieru salem · quodmagnum habent praemium christiani ; quidenim probatur esse deterius · quam illudnon posseloqui unde consuevit medicina prae stari ; sequitur · sinonprosuero hierusalem · inprincipioloaeti tiaemeae · suntquidem princi pia mundanae laetitiae · utuaro aurum inuenireluxio riosso pulchramfeminam · sedabsit · ut haec principialaeti tiaeprofetali conueniant</p> <p>sanctitati · quiminio dicamus quaeonestasunt · sed tamen ecclesiae sanciae nondebeant · ullatenus anteferrigrauibus · et summasé honestate trac tantibus · principium laetitiae essifilius natus · sicut zachariae deiohann[e]contigit .</p>
	<p>5. <i>Si oblitus tui fuero, Ierusalem, obliuiscatur me dextera mea.</i> Pollicetur se propheta Ecclesiam Dei numquam penitus obliuisci, conditionem sibi grauissimam ponens, quia necesse est ita fieri, si Ierusalem contigerit non amari. Dextera quippe bonorum est Christus Dominus, sicut in quinto decimo psalmo dictum est: <i>Prouidebam Dominum in conspectu meo semper, quoniam a dextris est mihi, ne commouear. Astringit se itaque propheta duris quidem uinculis, sed nequaquam nouis, ut ipse a Domini Saluatoris memoria decidat, si Ierusalem ab etus mente discesserit. Ipsa est enim mater fidelium, patria felicium, regio beatorum, quam qui hic obliuiscitur, ibi in regno Domini minime collocatur.</i></p> <p>6. <i>Adhaereat lingua mea faucibus meis, si non meminero tui.</i> Si non proposuero Ierusalem in principio laetitiae meae. Proponitur poenalis secunda conditio, ut in Domini laudibus obmutescat, si oblitus fuerit Ierusalem, quod magnum habent praemium Christiani. Quid enim probatur esse</p>

<p>deterius quam illud non posse loqui, unde consuevit medicina praestari? Psalmodia est enim consolatio fletuum, cura dolentium, sanitas aegrotorum. Hoc animae remedium, hoc miseriarum omnium cognoscitur esse suffugium. Nam qui tali munere priuatur ab omni beneficio consolationis excluditur. Sequitur si non proposuero Ierusalem in principio laetitiae meae. Sunt quidem principia mundanae laetitiae, ut auaro aurum inuenire, luxurioso pulchram feminam, superbo iactantiam. Sed absit ut haec principia laetitiae prophetali conueniant sanctitati; quinimo dicamus quae honesta sunt, sed tamen Ecclesiae sanctae non debeant ullatenus anteferri. Graubus uiris et summa se honestate tractantibus, principium laetitiae est filius natus, sicut Zachariae de Ioanne contigit, qui...</p>		
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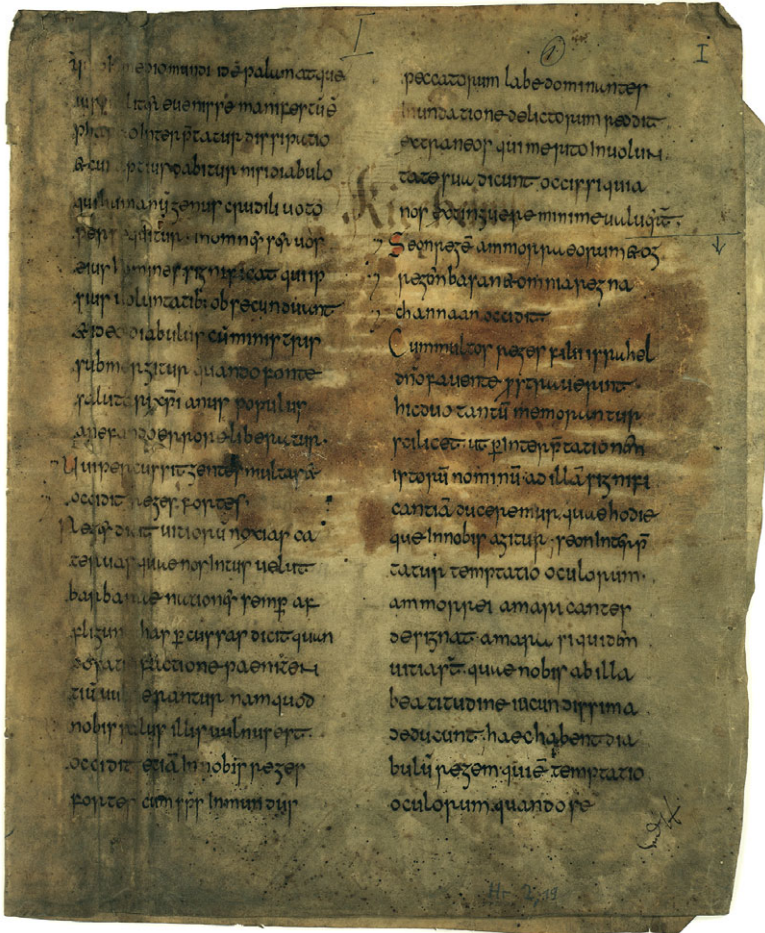
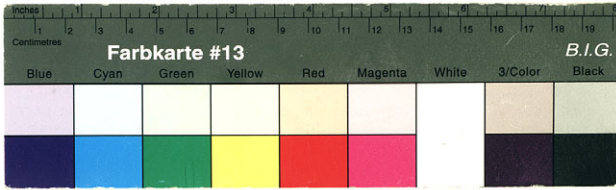


Fig. 1: Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg, Hr 2,19, fol. 1r. All images are reproduced with permission.



Fig. 2: Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg, Hr 2, 19, fol. 1v-2r

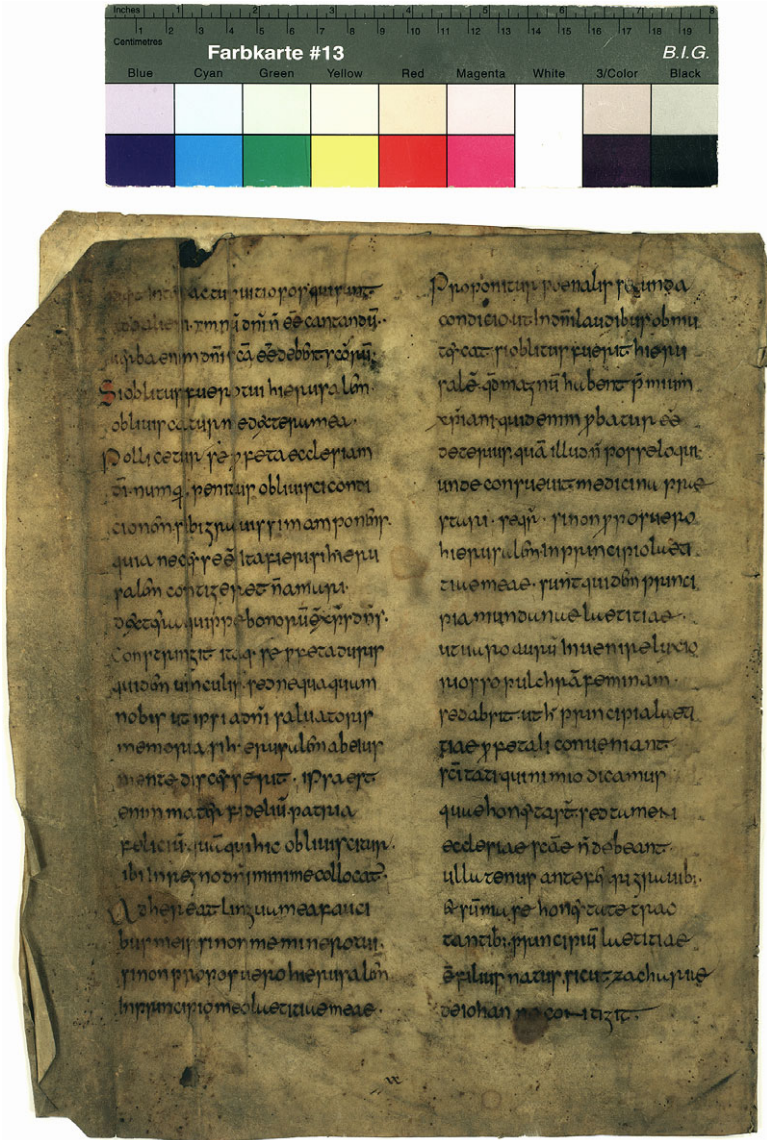


Fig. 3: Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg, Hr 2,19, fol. 2v

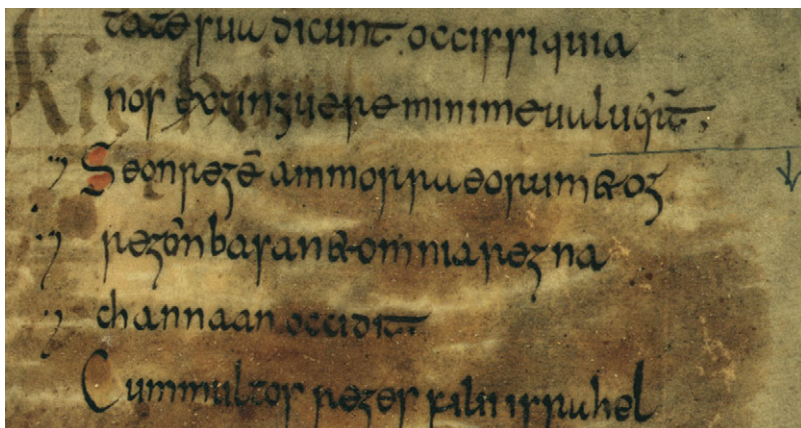


Fig. 4: Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg, Hr 2,19 fol. 1rb4–9; close-up showing rubrication, marginal punctuation for Psalm passages, and the faded Early Modern addition of the place name ‘Kirchheimb’ from the fragment’s use as binding. The lettering in ‘Kirchheimb’ is very faint, and it is possible that it bled through from a label affixed to the page. The line and arrow on the right appear to be traces of modern use in an archival or research setting. The script’s characteristic **g** and **e** (almost or entirely closed and frequently top-heavy) can be seen, and a form of minuscule **t** with a very short bar, which occurs more clearly in other instances in the fragment, can be made out in ‘extinguere’ (1rb5).

TABLE OF CHANGES

In the list of corrections the first two columns contain the readings from Marburg and Durham, respectively. The first word in a column indicates the original reading prior to correction, the corrected text is given after the arrow, and the folio and line number are provided in brackets. Instances where both manuscripts contain a correction to the same word have been marked in bold. Two dashes indicate that no correction has taken place in the manuscript in question, and a zero indicates an illegible letter or a letter that can no longer be determined. Square brackets indicate text that can only be read with difficulty, and a question mark indicates uncertainty.

Marburg		Durham	
1r			
uis[si]00liter (1ra2)	[--]	0 (248rb8)	→ ui#sibiliter
et cui [a]ptius dabitur nisi diabulo (1ra4)	--	et cui áptius dabitur, nisi diabulo (248rb10–11)	→ et cui áptius dabitur hoc nomen, nisi diabulo
obsecundant (1ra8)	→ obsecundant	obsecundant (248rb14)	--
diabulus (1ra9)	--	diabulus (248rb15)	→ diabolus
nef[an]do (1ra12)	[--]	0 (248rb17)	→ án#efando
dicunt (1rb4)	--	dicunt (248rb30)	→ dicuntur
occissi (1rb4)	--	0 (248rb30)	→ occi#sí
designat (1rb18)	--	designat (248va6)	→ designant
nobis (1rb19)	--	0 (248va7)	→ nós#
iucundissima (1rb20)	→ iacundissima	iucundissima (248va8)	→ iocundissima
diabulum (1rb21–22)	--	diabulum (248va9)	→ diabolium
1v			
liberauerit (1va7)	--	0 (248va16)	→ liberau#it
derelinquit (1va14)	→ derelinquit	derelinquit	--
idem (1va17)	--	idem (248va24)	→ item
suscipit (1vb8)	→ suscepit	suscipit (248va37)	→ suscépit
diabulus (1va11)	--	diabulus (248va19–20)	→ diabolus
suscipe (1vb12)	→ suscipie	súscipi (248vb4)	--
spiritali (1vb13)	--	spiritali (248vb5)	→ spiritali
am misserunt (1vb17)	--	0 (248vb8)	→ a#mi#serunt
possedeant (1vb21)	→ poss(i?) deant ²⁷	possedeant (248vb12)	→ possideant
2r			
spiritalem (2ra1)	--	spiritalem (252ra9)	→ spiritualem
intellegentiam (2ra1)	--	intellegentiam (252ra9–10)	→ intelligentiam
fluentis (2ra4–5)	→ fluentes	fluentis (252ra13)	--
irrigatione (2ra6)	--	irrigatione (252ra14)	→ irrigatione
his (2ra7)	--	0 (252ra14)	→ hi#s

²⁷ The e has been crossed through but it is unclear whether there is an i above the line or whether what looks like an i is still the stroke used to cross out the e.

communicata (2ra10)	→ communicata	communicata (252ra17)	→ communicata
aterna (2ra14)	→ aeterna	alterna (252ra21)	--
necessae (2ra17)	→ necesse	necesse (252ra24)	--
sanctistsimus (2ra18)	→ sanctissimus	sanctissimus (252ra25)	--
bonitate (2rb8)	--	uoluptate (252ra35)	→ uoluptati
conpiscencia (2rb12)	→ concupiscencia	concupiscencia (252vb3)	--
inlaqueant[0] (2rb15–16)	--	inlâqueant (252rb5)	→ illâqueant
2v			
contigeret (2va10)	--	contîgeret (252rb19)	→ contîgerit
ipsi (2va14)	--	ipse (252rb23)	→ ipsie
laetitiae (2vb9–10)	laoetitiae	laetitiae (252va1)	--
quinimio (2vb16)	--	?0 (252va6)	→ ?qui#nimmo

VARIANTS AND DISCUSSION

Below is given a short list of orthographic variants, including those that have come about through later changes to the manuscripts, and this is followed by a numbered list of more complex variants, which are also given in the context of the passage in question and marked in bold in these passages. Adriaen's text is given for comparison, but differences between the manuscripts and the edition text are not discussed, given the incomplete depiction of the manuscript tradition in Adriaen. Each passage is followed first by a translation (intentionally literal rather than idiomatic) of the passage as presented in Adriaen and then by a short comment on the significance of the variation. Erasures have only been commented on if the original readings can be guessed at with some certainty. Later changes to the manuscript text are indicated, with the original reading in brackets and preceded by an opening angle bracket, standing for 'changed from'. Word division is as in the manuscript, but line breaks are not reproduced.

Orthographic variation not considered further

Later changes to the reading are denoted with an arrow.

uis[si]ooliter Mr 1ra2; ui#sibiliter D 248rb8

crudili Mr 1ra5; crudéli D 248rb

diabulus Mr 1ra9; diabulus → diabolus D 248rb15

uelut Mr 1ra16; uelud D 248rb21
 occissi Mr 1rb4; occi#sí D 248rb30
 iucundissima Mr 1rb20 → iacundissima; iucundissima D 248va8 → iocundissima
 diabulum Mr 1rb21–22; diabolus D 248va9 → diabolus
 diabolus Mr 1va11; diabolus D 248va19–20 → diabolus
 am misserunt Mr 1vb17; a#mi#serunt D 248vb8
 possedeant → possi(?)deant Mr 1vb21; possideant D 248vb12
 intelligentiam Mr 2ra1; intelligentiam D 252ra9–10 → intelligentiam
 inrigatione Mr 2ra6; inrigatione D 252ra14 → irrigatione
 necessae Mr 2ra17 → necesse; necesse D 252ra24
 inlaqueant Mr 2rb15–16; inlaqueant D 252rb5 → illáqueant
 contigeret Mr 2va10; contígeret D 252rb19 → contígerit
 psalmodie Mr 2rb17; psalmodíae D 252rb6
 adomini Mr 2va14; addomini D 252rb23

Other variation

1.

Marburg	Durham	Adriaen
1ra4–6 etcui [a]ptius dabitur nisidiabulo quihumanum genus crudili uoto per[s] Oquitur ·	248rb10–12 etcui áptius dabitur, \hoc nomen/ nisi diabulo · quihumanumgenus crudéli uoto persequitur ?	p. 1217 Et cui aptius dabitur nisi diabolo, qui humanum genus crudeli uoto persequitur?

Translation: And to whom will [it] be given more appropriately than to the devil, who pursues the human race with cruel desire.

Comment: ‘hoc nomen’ (‘this name’) is an interlinear addition to Durham. While it is not certain when the addition was made, the hand, as far as can be judged on two words, looks later, perhaps of the same date as the leaves added at the end of the manuscript.

2.

Marburg	Durham	Adriaen
1ra22–1rb5 occidit etiam in nobis reges fortes cum spiritus inmundus [1rb]	248rb26–31 occidit etiam innobis reges fortes : cum spiritus inmundos peccatorum	p. 1218 <i>Occidit etiam in nobis reges</i> <i>fortes, cum spiritus</i> immundos peccatorum

peccatorum labedominantes inundatione delictorum reddit extraneos qui merito inuoluntate sua dicunt occisi nos extinguere minimeualuerunt ,	labe dominantes · emundatione delictorum reddit extraneos ; qui merito inuoluntatesua dicuntur [< dicunt] occi#si : quia nós extinguerent minime ualuerunt ;	labe dominantes, emundatione delictorum reddit extraneos. Qui merito in uoluntate sua dicuntur occisi, quia nos extinguere minime ualuerunt.
--	---	--

Translation: Likewise he kills strong rulers in us when he renders the impure spirits, which have power through the stain of sins, external through the cleansing of trespasses. Who justly are said to have been struck down in their desire because they did not at all have the strength to destroy us.

Comment: Both ‘inundatione’ (‘through overflowing, through inundation’) and ‘emundatione’ (‘through cleansing’) are grammatically valid readings. In terms of sense, however, ‘emundatione’ is preferable; moreover, its etymological origins as *e(x) + mundus* provide a satisfying counterpart to the *immundus* (< *im + mundus*) spirits. How the variation came about is difficult to say with certainty. It is feasible that the divergence is due to the confusion of *e* and *i* combined with a misreading of minim strokes in the course of transmission.

It appears that ‘dicuntur’ (‘they are said’) in Durham is a correction from ‘dicunt’ (‘they say’), with the abbreviation sign added in darker ink. This may indicate a shared reading of ‘dicunt’ in the exemplars of Marburg and Durham, despite ‘dicuntur’ being the better reading.

3.

Marburg	Durham	Adriaen
1rb15–21 seoninterpraetatur temptatio oculorum · ammorrei amari cantes designat ; amara siquidem uitiasunt · quae nobis abilla beatitudine iacundissima [< iucundissima] deducunt ;	248va4–8 seón interpraetatur temptatio oculorum : ammorréi amaricantes designant [< designat]; amara siquidemuitia sunt : quae nós# abilla beatitudine iocundissima [< iucundissima] dedúcut ;	p. 218 <i>Sebon</i> interpretatur tentatio colorum, <i>Amorrhæi</i> amaricantes designant. Amara siquidem uitia sunt, quae nos ab illa beatitudine iucundissima deducunt.

Translation: ‘Sehon’ is interpreted as the temptation of colours; the ‘Amorrhæi’ represent those that make things bitter. Since vices, which lead us away from the most joyful blessedness, are bitter.

Comment: The erroneous ‘designat’ has been corrected to ‘designant’ in Durham. The incorrect reading in Marburg may indicate a shared ancestor, but this error may also have come about independently by the omission of a nasal suspension stroke. It could perhaps also have been understood as referring to the word ‘ammorrei’ as such, rather than to the plural entity which it designates, and so in this case a singular may not have been regarded as an error. The difference in ‘nobis’ versus ‘nos’ is deceptive as the Durham reading has been corrected by erasure, the available space suggesting that the original reading may also have been ‘nobis’.

4.

Marburg	Durham	Adriaen
1va4–7	248va14–16	p. 1218
istadiuinitatis innobis occidit · quando fidelium me[n]te[s] : ataliseruitute liberauerit ;	istadiuinitas innobis occidit : quandom fidelium mentes atali seruitute liberau#it [< liberauerit?] ;	Ista diuinitas in nobis occidet, quando fidelium mentes a tali seruitute liberauerit.

Translation: The divinity will kill these in us when it will have liberated the minds of the faithful from such servitude.

Comment: It is hard to make sense of ‘diuinitatis’ in Marburg because it would mean either interpreting ‘ista’ as the head of the genitive phrase (‘he/she/it kills those things of the divinity in us’) or understanding ‘ista’ as a singular and the subject of the verb (‘that kills in us of divinity’). In the first case, the only possible singular subject in the wider context of this passage would be the devil, which would make little sense; in the second case, the genitive would have no reference point. The reading in Durham is thus preferable, and the Marburg reading is likely the result of error on the part of the scribe or may have been contained in the scribe’s exemplar and not recognised as incorrect.

Durham’s ‘liberauit’ has an erasure that, due to the space, may indicate correction from ‘liberauerit’.

5.

Marburg	Durham	Adriaen
1va11–17	248va19–24	p. 1218
diabulus enimquando nobis inter illud salutare concludit. inconfusione	diabolus [< diabulus] enim quando nobis iter illud salutare concludit.	Diabolus enim quando nobis iter illud salutare concludit, in confusione

nos nefanda derelinquit [< derelinquit] ínqua illeteterrimus regnat; unde et ciuitas illiusbabylonia <u>dicitur</u> . quae idem confussio nominatur ;	inconfusione nos nefanda derelinquit ; ínquáilleteterrimus regnat; unde et ciuitas illius babylonia dicitur ; quae item [< idem] confussio nominatur ;	nos nefanda derelinquit, in qua ille teterrimus regnat. Vnde et ciuitas eius Babylonia dicitur, quae item confusio nominatur.
---	---	--

Translation: For when the devil closes that salvation-bringing road to us, he leaves us in execrable disorder, in which he rules most hideously. And from this his city is called Babylon, which is also called disorder.

Comment: ‘Iter’ in Durham makes more sense than Marburg’s reading ‘inter’. ‘Inter’ (‘between’) appears to be grammatically faulty, leading to the non-sensical ‘For when the devil closes between that salvation-bringing to us’. It may have come about through a misreading, perhaps of an accent as a misplaced suspension stroke, or may have been present in the exemplar, but in any case appears to be a case of scribal error whether by the Marburg scribe or the scribe of the exemplar. The reading thus does not carry any weight with regard to the relationship between Marburg and Durham.

Marburg and Durham both originally contained ‘idem’ (‘the same’, masculine or neuter), which has been corrected to ‘item’ in Durham, in keeping with the edition’s reading. ‘Idem’ would not make grammatical sense here, as Babylonia and ‘ciuitas’ are both feminine, and so the correct form is likely to be the adverb *item*. This difference then is likely to be orthographic, due to the lenition of intervocalic t at this point.²⁸

In Mr 1va14, the correction from ‘derelinquit’ to ‘dereliquit’, achieved by crossing out the n, changes the tense of the verb. While a grammatical form when taken in isolation, ‘dereliquit’ does not match the remaining tenses in the sentence. The original ‘derelinquit’ is identical to Durham’s reading.

²⁸ An overview of this development is found, for example, in R. Posner, *The Romance Languages* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 234–7, and P. A. Kerkhof, *Language, Law and Loanwords in Early Medieval Gaul: Language Contact and Studies in Gallo-Romance Phonology* (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Univ. Leiden, 2018), online at <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/66116>, at 134–38 on the development in Latin in the areas that spoke Old English. See also §§ 256 and 286 in C. H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston, 1907).

6.

Marburg	Durham	Adriaen
1vb11–14	248vb3–5	p. 1219
uersus iste declarat priora illa <u>non</u> adlit teram debe [r]e suscip \i/ [< suscipe] · sed spiritali expo[s]itione sentiri ·	uersus iste declarat priora illa non adlitteram debere súscipi ; sed spirit \v/ ali [< spiritali] expositione sentíri ;	Versus iste declarat priora illa non ad litteram debere suscipi, sed spiritali expositione sentiri.

Translation: This verse demonstrates that those previous things should not be received in a literal sense but should be perceived by means of a spiritual explanation.

Comment: The reading ‘suscipi’ in Marburg may have been corrected in two stages. The **i** inserted above the word appears to be in darker ink more similar to that of the main text than the very thin line crossing out the **e**. The original ‘suscipe’ (2sg imper. act. of *suscipio*, i.e. ‘take up!’ or ‘receive!’), while a valid grammatical form when taken in isolation, is incorrect in the context of the sentence but may reflect a loss of distinction between unstressed *e* and *i*. It can thus be classed as orthographic variation and is not necessarily an error copied from the scribe’s exemplar.²⁹ Both ‘spiritali’ and ‘spiritali’ in Durham are valid readings, but the uncorrected reading agrees with Marburg. However, as it is not certain when the correction in Durham was made and given that the forms are interchangeable, it cannot tell us anything about Durham’s exemplar and thus about the relationship between Durham and Marburg.

7.

Marburg	Durham	Adriaen
2ra1–78	Ab 252ra9–15	p. 1232
... ad spiritalem intellegentiam transferatur · salices <u>sunt</u> arbores supraripas fluminis pinguissima uiriditate gaudentes.(?) et fluentes [< fluentis] necari nequeunt quam	uerum haec historia ad spirit \v/ alem [< spiritalem] intelligentiam [< intelligentiam] transferatur ; sálices sunt arbores supra ripas fluminis pinguissima	Verum haec historia ad spiritalem intellegentiam transferatur. <i>Salices</i> sunt arbores supra ripas fluminis pinguissima uiriditate gaudentes, ... et fluentis necari nequeunt, quamuis

²⁹ For examples of confusion in Latin inscriptions from Gaul, see J. Pirson, *La langue des inscriptions de la Gaule*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie & Lettres de L’Université de Liège 11 (Brussels, 1901), 30–36, referenced by Grandgent, *An Introduction*, § 219.

uiscopiosa inrigatione
satientur [;(?)] **hiis** con
parantur **sancti** acfideles
homines

uiriditate gaudentes † et
fluentis necari nequeunt
quamuis copiosa
irrigatione satientur ;
hi#s comparantur **sancti**
ac fideles homines ;

copiosa irrigatione
satientur. His
comparantur sancti ac
fideles homines

Translation: Doubtless this account should be transferred to a spiritual understanding [i.e. should be understood in a spiritual sense]. ‘Salices’ are the trees above the banks of a river delighting in rich viridity, and they cannot be killed by water flows, however much they may be saturated with plentiful watering. Holy and faithful people are equal to these.

Comment: In Durham, the original reading ‘spiritaem’ has been changed to ‘spirituaem’, similar to the change in example 6 above, with the uncorrected reading agreeing with Marburg. As it is not clear whether the change was made as part of the copying process and given the interchangeability of the two forms, its relevance for the discussion here is unclear. Similarly, it is not certain when the correct ‘fluentis’ was changed to ‘fluentes’ in Marburg. The reading ‘fluentes’ would have to be interpreted as a participle modifying ‘salices’ (‘Salices’ are the trees...delighting and flowing in rich viridity). It is a possible reading, as the following clause ‘necari nequeunt’ could be taken as beginning a new clause (‘They cannot be killed, however much they may be saturated with plentiful watering’), but the sense is questionable and ‘fluentis’ is the better reading. For our purposes, moreover, the main point is that the original readings of Marburg and Durham agree.

The erasure in Durham in ‘hi#s’ may well reflect an original ‘hiis’ as in Marburg, differing from the edition’s ‘his’. ‘Hiis’ is likely Classical *iis* from *is*, *ea*, *id*, rather than identical with ‘his’. The meaning is not affected, but the agreement in Marburg and Durham’s original reading is of interest.

8.

Marburg	Durham	Adriaen
2ra12–20 ipsa sunt enim nostra organa quae et psalmodiae gratiam praestant et aeternanos [< aterna] collatione laetificant · inmedio eius babyloniae ciuitatis	252ra19–26 ipsa sunt enim nostra organa · quae et psalmodiae gratiam praestant † et alternanos collatione laetificant; inmedio eius · babyloniae ciuitatis dicit	p. 1232 Ipsa sunt enim nostra organa quae et psalmodiae gratiam praestant et alterna nos collatione laetificant. <i>In</i> <i>medio eius</i> , Babyloniae ciuitatis dicit, non

8.

Marburg	Durham	Adriaen
dicitur · <u>non</u> fluminis quia necesse [< necessae] <u>est</u> in medio mundisit <u>sanctissimus</u> [< sanctistsimus] <u>christianus</u> · <u>quamuis</u> ad <u>superna</u> animo uideatur <u>esse</u> translatur ·	nonfluminis : quianecesse est in medio mundisit <u>sanctissimus</u> <u>christianus</u> · <u>quamuis</u> ad <u>superna</u> animouideatur <u>esse</u> translatur ·	fluminis, quia necesse est in medio mundi sit sanctissimus Christianus, quamuis ad superna animo uideatur esse translatus.

Translation: For these are our instruments, which not only give the pleasantness of psalm singing but also as a contribution bring us, in turn, joy. ‘In medio eius’ means [in the midst] of the city of Babylon, not [the middle] of the river because it is unavoidable that a very holy Christian must be in the midst of the world, however much he is seen to be moved in mind towards heavenly things.

Comment: The reading ‘alterna’, ‘in turns’, in Durham and the edition makes better sense. The change from ‘aterna’, an error, to ‘aeterna’ in Marburg is likely due to ‘aterna’ being identified as incorrect. ‘Aeterna’ would work if modifying organa – ‘These are our instruments, which ... being eternal, give us joy as a contribution’. ‘Dicitur’ in Marburg versus Durham’s ‘dicit’ may indicate a difference in the exemplar. The reading is grammatically valid and makes sense (“‘In medio eius’ is said of the city of Babylon, not of the river”).

9.

Marburg	Durham	Adriaen
2rb4–13 addunt alii pondus doloribus suis.(?) utusque ad hoc ludibrium <u>sé</u> per uenisse defleant quatenus <u>dei</u> carmina reuerenda hominum passim bonitate <u>pro</u> fundant.(?) fiat <u>que</u> illis necessitas paganis dicere. <u>quod</u> sola plebs <u>domini</u>	252ra32–252rb3 addunt alii pondus doloribus suis. utusque ad hoc ludibrium <u>sé</u> peruenisse defleant : quatenus <u>dei</u> , carmina reuerenda hominum passim uoluptati [< uoluptate] profundant · fiatque illis necessitas pagánisdicere. quodsolaplebs domini	p. 1232 Addunt aliud pondus doloribus suis, ut usque ad hoc ludibrium se peruenisse defleant; quatenus Dei carmina reuerenda hominum passim uoluptate profundant, fiatque illis necessitas paganis dicere, quod sola plebs Domini consuevit

consuevit audire sedut
magis illam partem quam
cepimus exsequamur
con\cu/pis [
conpiscentia]
centiamundi
noxiosnostenet ·

[252rb] consuevit audire;
sedutmagis illam partem
quam**coépimus**
exsequamur :
concupiscentia mundi
noxios nostenet ;

audire. ... Sed ut magis
illam partem quam
coepimus exsequamur,
concupiscentiam mundi
obnoxios nos tenere
testatur apostolus

Translation: They add another weight to their sorrows that they lament that they have come to this mockery. Since they are to pour forth the revered songs of God in different places for the pleasure of men and it is to be a necessity to them to say to pagans what only the people of the Lord is accustomed to hear. But so that we might pursue further that part which we have begun, the apostle testifies that concupiscence of the world holds us submissive [to it].

Comment: The sense of the passage is not improved through Marburg's reading 'bonitate' instead of 'uoluptate': 'Since they are to pour forth the revered songs of God in different places for the goodness of men' or perhaps 'Since they are to pour forth the revered songs of God for the goodness of men in many places'. It could perhaps be interpreted as referring to proselytizing activity: they are to sing the songs of God and to spread to pagans what only God's people usually hear in order for people to achieve goodness. This is a possible interpretation, but given the context of the passage, it is unlikely to be the correct reading and the overall more positive note that 'bonitate' adds to the passage is at odds with its otherwise negative tone. There are no other indications in the, admittedly short, Marburg fragment that the scribe intervened in the text this drastically; on the contrary, there are several errors that suggest the scribe was not concerned with correcting the text. The variation cannot, however, be due to the scribe mis-copying what was on the page. Instead, it is possible that, given the medieval Latin confusion between b and u in some parts of Europe, the Marburg scribe incorrectly memorised the words in the process of shifting between the exemplar and the copy, either because the exemplar actually read 'boluptate' or because the letters expressed a similar phonological value in the scribe's mind.³⁰ The Marburg fragment and Durham B.II.30 do both contain the reading 'nobis' for 'nouis' (2va14 and 252rb23, respectively), but this is intervocalic; moreover, in the Marburg fragment there is no other suggestion of this type of confusion. It does, therefore, seem more likely that 'bonitate' was found in the scribe's exemplar.

³⁰ I would like to thank Dr Lukas Dorfbauer and Dr Johannes Staub, in particular, for raising and discussing this possibility with me.

In Durham ‘coepimus’, from *coepere*, and Maburg’s ‘cepimus’, from *capio*, could be true variants, though with a similar meaning, but they may also reflect the pronunciation of *oe* as *e* and thus constitute orthographic variation.³¹

10.

Marburg	Durham	Adriaen
2rb20–2va2	252rb9–252rb13	pp. 1232–3
sedeis <u>non esse</u> consentiendum · praesensdoctrina declarat ·(?) quando ammomonet in terra aliena [2va] [id (quod?) est] int[e]0 actu[s] uitiosos quisunt [adeodalien]i. ymnum domini <u>non esse</u> cantandum.·(?)	sed eis nonesse consentiendum praesens doctrina declarat. quando ámmonet in terra aliena · idest interactus uitiosos quisunt adeo alieni · ymnumdomini nonesse cantandum ;	Sed eis non esse consentiendum praesens doctrina declarat, quando admonet in terra aliena, id est inter actus uitiosos qui sunt a Deo alieni, [p. 1233] hymnum Domini non esse cantandum.

Translation: But the teaching here states that they must not be agreed with when it recalls that in a strange land, that is among wicked deeds which are alien to God, the hymn of the Lord must not be sung.

Comment: ‘Ammo monet’ in Marburg is clearly a mistake and is likely to be a form of dittography. Marburg’s ‘[id]’ is hard to read at this point, but the word may have been ‘quod’ rather than ‘id’ as it looks like there may have been a descender, indicating **q** rather than **i**, and an abbreviation stroke. This would be a significant variant if so, but given the legibility issues, the reading can carry no weight.

11.

Marburg	Durham	Adriaen
2va12–16	252rb21–24	p. 1233
constringit itaque sé profetaduris quidem uinculis. sednequaquam nobis ut ipsi a <u>domini</u> saluatoris memoria sih[i]	constringit itaque sé profeta duris quidem uinculis. sednequaquam nobis utips \i/e [< ipse] add <u>omini</u>	Astringit se itaque propheta duris quidem uinculis, sed nequaquam nouis, ut ipse a Domini Saluatoris memoria decadat, si

³¹ Grandgent, *An Introduction*, § 215.

erusalem ab eius [m]ente discesserit ;	saluatoris memoria · si hierusalem ab eius mentediscesserit ;	Ierusalem ab eius mente discesserit.
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Translation: The prophet binds himself with fetters that are indeed hard, but by no means new, so that he should fall away from the memory of the Lord Saviour if Jerusalem should fall from his mind.

Comment: While ‘ipsi’ is a grammatically valid form, in the context of the sentence, the nominative singular ‘ipse’ of the edition as the subject of ‘decidat’ makes better sense. It is unclear why an attempt was apparently made to change it to ‘ipsi’ in Durham, but the original reading ‘ipse’ there, which differs from Marburg, may indicate a difference in the exemplars. However, due to the unstressed nature of the final vowel, the variation may also be orthographic.

12.

Marburg	Durham	Adriaen
2va20–3 adhereatlinguae fauci bus mei [s]sinon meminerotui ; sinon propos uero hierusalem in principio meolactitae meae.	a0 hereatlinguae faucibus meis · sinon meminerotui ; sinon proposuero hierusalem in principio laetitiae meae ;	p. 1233 6. <i>Adhaereat lingua mea faucibus meis, si non meminero tui. Si non proposuero Ierusalem in principio laetitiae meae.</i>

Translation: Let my tongue cling to the roof of my mouth, if I do not remember you, if I do not set Jerusalem above my highest joy. (Psalm text for Psalm 136; modern numbering: 137.6, New Revised Standard Version.)

Comment: The addition of ‘meo’ appears to be a mistake in Marburg, and a few lines later, the psalm text is cited correctly as ‘in principio laetitiae meae’ (2vb9) without the additional ‘meo’. This may have been prompted by the word ‘meae’ at the end of the phrase. Whether this mistake was in the exemplar or whether it is due to the Marburg scribe, it suggests that the scribe was not particularly attentive to the content of what was being transcribed, as a mistake in the Psalm text could easily have been identified and rectified if present in the exemplar. This is also why the reading has little value for establishing the relationship between Marburg and Durham: had the reading been in Durham’s exemplar, it may have been corrected by the Durham scribe.

13.

Marburg	Durham	Adriaen
2vb8–23 sequitur · sinon prosuero hierusalem · in principio laetitia meae · sunt quidem principia mundanae laetitia · utuaro aurum inuenire luxuriosso pulchram feminam · sed absit. ut haec principia laetitia profetali conueniant sanctitati · quinimo dicamus quae honestas unt . sed tamen ecclesiae sanctae non debeant · ullatenus anteferr grauibus et summasé honestate tractantibus. principium laetitia est filius natus. sicut zachariae de iohann[e] contigit.	252rb37–252va12 sequitur · sinon proposuero [252va] hierusalem in principio laetitia meae ; sunt quidem principia mundanae laetitia : utauaro aurum inuenire · féminam ; sed absit uthaec principia laetitia profetali conueniant sanctitati : qui#(?) nimmo dicamus quae honestae sunt · sed tamen ecclesiae sanctae non debeant ullatenus anteferr ; grauibus uiris et summa sé honestate tractantibus · principium laetitia est filius natus. sicut zachariae de iohanne cōtigit :	p. 1233 Sequitur <i>si non proposuero</i> <i>Ierusalem in principio</i> <i>laetitia meae</i> . Sunt quidem principia mundanae laetitia, ut auaro aurum inuenire, luxurioso pulchram feminam, superbo iactantiam. Sed absit ut haec principia laetitia prophetali conueniant sanctitati; quinimo dicamus quae honestae sunt, sed tamen Ecclesiae sanctae non debeant ullatenus anteferr. Grauibus uiris et summa se honestate tractantibus principium laetitia est filius natus, sicut Zachariae de Ioanne contigit, qui...

Translation: ‘Si non proposuero Ierusalem in principio laetitia meae’ follows. These are certainly the origins of worldly joys, that the gold finds the greedy one, the beautiful woman the extravagant person, boasting the proud one. But may it not be the case that these origins of joy are appropriate to prophetic sanctity. Indeed let us state that some things are honourable, but nevertheless they must not be given preference in any way to the holy church. To solemn men and those who conduct themselves with the greatest honour, the origin of joy is the son who is born, as it happened to Zacharias through John, who...

Comment: Marburg’s ‘**prosuero**’ appears to be a scribal error. Whether this was in the exemplar already or whether this is a case of eye-skip (reading and abbreviating ‘pro’ and then going back to the o of ‘po’ in the exemplar) on the part of the scribe of the Marburg fragment cannot be determined. It thus cannot be used when considering the relationship between Marburg and Durham. A small ‘o’ has been

added in lighter ink above 'laetitia' in the Marburg manuscript, resulting in a reading along the lines of 'laoetitia', as no letter has been deleted. It is not clear what the purpose of this addition is, and the original reading 'laetitia' is clearly correct. In the case of Marburg's 'uaro' ('to/through the knock-kneed one') as opposed to Durham's 'auaro', both readings are possible grammatically and Marburg may have been following its exemplar faithfully. However, given the sense of the passage, 'auaro' is the correct reading, and it is more likely that, as outlined on p. 8, 'uaro' is the result of a misreading of an open **a**.

The reading 'qui nimmo' in Durham may contain an erasure, as there is a line connecting the first **i** to the following **n**, as happens in erasures elsewhere in the manuscript, but it is not clear what letter would have been written originally if this is the case. Durham's reading is clearly preferable and 'quinimio' in Marburg may indicate a misreading of minim strokes. The phrase may have been interpreted as 'qui nimio' ('who excessively ...' or 'anyone excessively'), but it is unclear how 'qui' would operate in the context of the sentence as it is the only masculine singular nominative form. It cannot be a relative pronoun as it would have no grammatically suitable antecedent, and it cannot be a straight-forward pronoun as it would be the subject of an incomplete clause. 'Qui nimmo' is thus clearly the correct form. Whether the Marburg scribe introduced the error or was copying from a faulty exemplar cannot be ascertained with certainty, but it is clear that the scribe was either not following the sense of what was being written or was having trouble transcribing the exemplar correctly.

In the last section of the passage, 'uiris' has been omitted from the Marburg text. 'Uiris' is not necessary for the text to make sense if the adjective 'grauis' is used as a substantive, the resulting text meaning 'to solemn people and those who conduct themselves with the greatest honour'. This may thus not necessarily be a copying error and may represent an actual textual difference between Marburg and Durham, especially given that there is no obvious reason this may have come about in the Marburg fragment.

ABBREVIATIONS

CLA: *Codices latini antiquiores: a Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, ed. E. A. Lowe, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1934–1966)

CLA Addenda: B. Bischoff and V. Brown, 'Addenda to Codices Latini Antiquiores', *MS* 47 (1985), 317–366