Knowing Rome from Home: Reassessing Early Manuscript Witnesses of Papal Letters, Pilgrim Itineraries and Syllogae in England and Francia, c. 600 – 900 CE

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Alcuin's *De Animae Ratione* explains how the tripartite soul facilitates the perception of distant people and places. Perception is facilitated through mental images, built from experience of the bodily senses. Alcuin illustrates the differences between the perception of a known or unknown place with an analogy, using Rome and Jerusalem as examples. Texts that reflect the cityscape of Rome, and the people associated with the cityscape, would have been an important medium through which distant readers perceived Rome. Three such types of text are papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae collections of inscriptions. These were often composed in Rome but read elsewhere. The materiality of these texts would have had an influence on the perception of Rome that was possible for their readers. However, the extant historiography of these three types of text has rarely considered the message in the medium through which their earliest readers accessed them. This thesis focuses on the early manuscript witnesses of these texts to explore the perception of Rome possible for their readers. These early manuscript witnesses are interpreted via application of Alcuin's explanation of perception of place in his *De Aminae Ratione*. Each chapter focuses on one or two core manuscripts. The first chapter will examine the dissemination of Alcuin's *De Animae Ratione,* by conducting a detailed analysis of the ninth-century manuscript copies. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 each focus on one key manuscript containing an early copy of one or more of the topographical texts. Chapter 5 will examine how papal letters and epitaphs are displayed in the earliest surviving manuscripts of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. These manuscripts provide a route into understanding the circulation, reading experience and impact of these texts as they were accessed by their earliest readers in England and Francia.

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Copyright

Chapter 1

Abbreviations

AN	Archives Nationales
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BC	Biblioteca Capitulare
Bodleian	Bodleian Library
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BL	British Library
BM	Bibliothèque Municipale
BR	Bibliothèque Royale
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
CCC	Corpus Christi College
CL	Cathedral Library
ChLA	A. Bruckner and R. Marichal (eds), Chartae Latinae Antiquiores: *Facsimile-edition of the Latin charters prior to the ninth century* (Dietikon-Zurich, 1997).
CLA	E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, XI Vols. (Oxford, 1934-1971).
Die Briefe	*Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. M. Tangl, MGH Epistolae Selectae I (Munich, 1912).
De Genesi	Augustine, *De genesi ad litteram libri duodecim*, ed. J. Zycha (Vienna, 1894); *Corpus Scriptorium Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum:* 28.1.
De Ratione	Alcuin, *De Ratione Aminae.* J.P. Minge, B. Flacci Albini seu Alcuini Opera Omnia, *Patrologia Latina* 101 (Paris, 1851), pp. 639-650; trans. J.J.M. Curry, *Alcuin:* De Animae Ratione: *A Text with Introduction, Critical Apparatus and Translation*, PhD thesis (Cornell, NY, 1966).
DTR	Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, C.W. Jones (ed.), *CCSL* 123B (Turnhout, 1977); Bede, *The Reckoning of Time*, trans. F. Wallis (Liverpool, 2012).

De fide	Alcuin, *De Fide Sanctae Trinitatis et de Incarnatione Christi*, trans. E. Knibbs and E.A. Matter (eds) (Turnhout, 2012).
Emerton	Trans. E. Emerton, *The Letters of St Boniface* (New York, NY, 2000).
Epp	Alcuin, *Epistolae*, E. Dümmler, Monumenta Germaniae Historiae, *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, 2 (Berlin, 1895).
EHD	D. Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents,* Volume 1 (London, 1979).
Gesta regum anglorum	R.M. Thomson (ed.), *William of Malmesbury Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1999).
HA	Bede, *Historia Abbatum,* in C. Grocock and I.N. Wood (eds. and trans.), *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 21-75.
HAB	Herzog-August Bibliothek
Haddan and Stubbs	A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs (eds), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, 3 Vols.* (Oxford, 1869).
HE	Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* trans. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (eds) (Oxford, 1969).
ICUR	G. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquores* (Rome, 1857).
Bischoff, *Katalog*	B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen),* Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe der Mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz / Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 3 vols (Wiesbaden, 1998–2014), Vol. 1: Aachen – Lambach, Vol. 2: Laon – Paderborn, Vol. 3: Padua-Zwickau.
LP	*Liber Pontificalis* [Book of the Popes]
Duchesne, *LP*	*Liber Pontificalis. Texte, Introduction et Commentaire,* Vol. I. (Paris, 1886); trans. R. Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes* (Liverpool, 1992).
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica

Epp.	*Epistulae*
Poet.	*Poetae*
ODNB	H.C.G. Matthew, et al. (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
Migne, *PL*	*Patrologia Latina*, J.P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-1866).
Questionnes	Alcuin, *Questionnes de Sancta Trinitate,* trans. E. Knibbs and E.A. Matter (eds) (Turnhout, 2012).
Reg	Gregory the Great, *Register Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae, 1-2.* P. Ewald and L. M. Hartmann (ed.) (Berlin, 1887-1899); trans. J.R.C. Martyn (ed.), *The Letters of Gregory the Great,* 3 Vols. (Toronto, ONT, 1959).
NLR	National Library of Russia
BSB	Bayerische Stiftsbibliothek
SB	Staatsbibliothek
Schaller, *Initia*	D. Schaller, *Initia carminum latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum: Bibliographisches repertorium für die lateinische dichtung der antike und des früheren mittelalters* (Göttingen, 1977).
UB	Universiteitsbibliotheek
UL	University Library
VC	*Vita Ceolfridi,* trans. C. Grocock and I.N. Wood (eds), *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 77-122.
VW	Stephen, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid,* trans. B. Colgrave (ed.) (Cambridge, 1927).

Introduction

Between the years 801 and 804, Alcuin wrote a letter-treatise on the nature of the soul at the request of Gundrada, cousin of Charlemagne.[1] This treatise, now known as *De Animae Ratione (De Ratione)*, explores how the soul mirrors God's trinitarian form and is comprised of three parts; memory, will and knowledge. Alcuin explained that the soul gives form to things perceived (*percipio*) *per carnales sensus* and forms images or symbols (*figura)* of them within itself *ineffabili celeritate* and stores the images in the *thesauro memoriae*.[2] Alcuin illustrated the role of memory in perception with an analogy that compared how the mind perceived two different places, one that was known and one that was unknown. Alcuin used Rome as an example of a known place, explaining that *Sicut enim qui Romam vidit; Romam enim fingit in animo suo et format quails sit. Et dum nomen audierit vel rememorat Romae statim recurrit animos illius ad memoriam ubi conditam habet formam illius et ibi recognoscit eam ubi recondidit illam.*[3]

Alcuin chose Jerusalem to illustrate the unknown place, and explained that *incognitarum rerum si lectae vel auditae erunt in auribus animae statim format figuram ignotae rei.*[4] According to Alcuin, the image of an unknown place, was created on the basis of forms known to us, and the soul *formam recognoscit quam pridem mira velocitate formavit*.[5] Alcuin clarified the mind's perception of an unknown place by

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[1] P.E. Szarmach, 'A Preface, Mainly Textual, To Alcuin's *De Ratione Animae',* in B. Nagby and M. Sebok (eds) ... *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways…: Festschrift in Honour of Janos M. Bak* (Budapest, 1999), p. 397.

[2] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV; trans. J. J. M. Curry, *Alcuin:* De Animae Ratione: *A Text with Introduction, Critical Apparatus and Translation,* Ph.D. thesis (Cornell University, NY, 1966); 'through the bodily senses…incredible speed…treasure-house of memory'.

[3] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'Take for example someone who has seen Rome; he pictures Rome in his mind and notes it's character, and when he has heard or recalled the name Rome, his attention immediately turns to the memory, where he keeps the image of Rome stored; and there, where he has preserved the image, he sees Rome again'.

[4] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'unknown things have been read or heard through the ears of the soul, it straightaway forms an image of the unknown thing'.

[5] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'recalls that image which is has previously, and with remarkable speed, constructed'.

explaining how the mind perceives an unknown person, using the biblical Abraham as an example. Alcuin is clear that the soul's perception of people operated in much the same way as the perception of place, by drawing upon what had been *lectae vel auditae erunt in auribus animae*.[6] In his *De Ratione,* therefore, Alcuin explained how the mind perceived distant places and people, whether they were known or unknown.

Alcuin's *De Ratione* was written in the closing years of his life and was addressed to Gundrada, an important figure in the intellectual network of the Carolingian court.[7] However, like many other contemporary letter-treatises, *De Ratione* was written with a wider audience in mind. Twenty-four manuscripts of *De Ratione* survive from the ninth century, and all but one of these manuscripts were copied in Caroline minuscule. One copy was made in Insular minuscule, now Valenciennes, BM, MS 195. This insular hand bears similarities to examples of ninth-century insular script attributed to southern-English scriptoria. However, the palaeography and codicology of Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 strongly suggests that it was copied in a continental scriptorium. This manuscript thus provides evidence for the awareness of *De Ratione* in an insular context in Francia.

English missionary activity in Francia facilitated the movement of scribes, who brought insular styles of script, decoration and parchment preparation.[8] Alcuin himself was a Northumbrian by birth and spent the earlier years of his life at the cathedral community of York.[9] At some point in the 780s, he was persuaded to join the palace school at Charlemagne's court, and thereafter remained in Francia, with the exception of a single journey to England from 790 to 792.[10] During this time, Alcuin often exchanged letters with contacts in England. His letters contain references to English

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[6] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'read or heard through the ears of the soul'.

[7] Gundrada's position at the court will be discussed below, see p. 21.

[8] On insular scribes operating on the Continent see, W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century. The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in the Hilary Term* (Oxford, 1946); R. McKitterick, 'Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany: Reflections on the Manuscript Evidence', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society,* 9.4 (1989), pp. 291-329; M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 77-86.

[9] D. Bullough, 'Alcuin [Albinus, Flaccus] (c. 740–804), abbot of St Martin's, Tours, and royal adviser', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/298 [Accessed on 28/12/2018].

[10] Ibid.

students travelling through Francia, many of whom passed through notable monasteries with introductory letters written by Alcuin.

The cornerstone of Alcuin's explanation of the perception of distant place is an analogy that uses Rome and Jerusalem as examples of a known and unknown place. Alcuin had travelled to Rome, but not to Jerusalem.[11] There are numerous examples of travellers of both secular and ecclesiastical backgrounds travelling to Rome from north western Europe.[12] *De Ratione* was also written soon after many of the Carolingian court had travelled to Rome to witness Charlemagne's imperial coronation.[13] In contrast, there are far fewer accounts of travel to Jerusalem from Francia or England. Two travellers, Arculf and Willibald of Einstätt left written accounts of their experiences, and a small group of *missi dominici* were dispatched to undertake a survey of the orthodox Christian establishments in Jerusalem.[14] For the majority of *De Ratione*'s wider audience, it was far more likely that Rome was a known place and Jerusalem an unknown place.

Alcuin explained that perception of known or unknown places was facilitated by mnemonic triggers that prompted the mind to recall what had been *lectae vel auditae erunt in auribus animae*.[15] The choice of language suggests that texts were an important source of information to facilitate the perception of distant place. Certain texts from this period had strong connections to Rome, its topography, and the papacy, particularly: papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae collections of inscriptions. These three types of texts were either produced as a result of travel to Rome, reflect a pilgrims' first-hand experience of the city, or were written to facilitate communication with people based in Rome. Part of Alcuin's explanation of the perception of distant place stated that mental images were created from forms already known to the perceiver. In the case

[11] For Alcuin's experience in Rome see, chapter 8 'Rome' in, D. Dales, *Alcuin: His Life and Legacy* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 105-116.

[12] On the historiography of pilgrimage to Rome, see pp. 6-7.

[13] On the imperial coronation and its aftermath see, R. Collins, *Charlemagne* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 141-159.

[14] On the survey of the Holy Land see, M. McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land: Wealth, Personnel, and Buildings of a Mediterranean Church between Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Washington, WA, 2011).

[15] Alcuin, *De Ratione*, Ch. IV; see above n. 6.

of pilgrim itineraries, papal letters and syllogae, the medium through which they were read would have been 'known' to the reader as much as the words of the text. Art historians and media theorists have long acknowledged the 'message in the medium'.[16] However, the extant historiography of these three genres has mostly focused on their content rather than the manuscripts that preserve them. This thesis will therefore use Alcuin's explanation of the perception of distant place in *De Ratione* to reassess the early manuscript witnesses of papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae, to offer new insights regarding how these texts were used to perceive Rome from afar.

Historiography

The corpus of surviving letters written by Alcuin is well studied overall, yet *De Ratione* has received markedly less attention.[17] An edition was included in Volume 101 of Jacques-Paul Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, and included as *epistola* 309 among the *epistolae* edited for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*[18] However, Dümmler removed the central 'treatise' part of the text leaving just the 'letter', thereby reducing the usability of the edition. J.J.M. Curry produced an edition and English translation of the text in a doctoral thesis from 1966 and provided a general overview of the text and its manuscript stemma.[19] Paul E. Szarmach is currently preparing an edition for the *Corpus Christiorum* series and published a short 'textual preface' in 1999.[20] There are several overviews of the surviving manuscript copies of *De Ratione.* Curry provided a list of fifty-two pre-twelfth-century manuscripts, and Szarmach listed thirty-one ninth- or tenth-century manuscript and twenty-two later manuscripts in his prefatory article. *De Ratione* is often copied alongside two other Alcuin texts, *Questionnes* and *De fide,*

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16 The phrase was coined by Marshall McLuhan in his, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (London, 1964).

17 On Alcuin's life and letter writing, see D. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Oxford, 2004).

18 Migne, *PL,* 101. Col. 639; Alcuin, *Epistolae,* MGH*, epp.* 309.

19 Curry, *Alcuin*.

20 Szarmach, Alcuin's *De Ratione Animae',* pp. 397-408.

and a comprehensive list of manuscripts of these texts can be found in the recent edition of *Questionnes* and *De fide* produced by Eric Knibbs and E. Ann Matter.[21]

Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 has not yet been the focus of a detailed study. The manuscript appears in Bischoff's catalogue of ninth-century manuscripts produced in Francia in which he attributed it to a ninth-century southern English scriptorium but with additions made at Saint-Amand in the ninth or tenth century. [22] The manuscript is also given a southern English origin in Helmut Gnuess and Michael Lapidge's catalogue of manuscripts written or owned in England before 1100.[23] The manuscript is attributed to Saint-Amand in Szarmach's list of manuscripts of *De Ratione* and the list of manuscripts of Alcuin's *De fide* and *Questionnes* compiled by Knibbs and Matter.[24] The manuscript was mentioned by David Ganz, in his overview of the manuscripts of Alcuin's work, and in Rosamond McKitterick's examination of the library of Saint-Amand during the ninth century.[25] Although Szarmach noted that Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 may be the earliest manuscript with an Anglo-Saxon connection, the insular style of the manuscript has not yet been examined in detail.[26]

The history of insular scribes working in Francia has its roots in missionary activity that began in the late seventh century. Principal insular centres established in Francia include: Echternach, founded by Willibrord in the last years of the 690s; Fulda, founded by Boniface in 744; Würzburg, established by Boniface and first occupied by Burghard in 742; and Mainz, also held by Boniface.[27] Books imported from England

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[21] E. Knibbs and E.A. Matter, *Alcuini Eboracensis: De fide Sanctae Trinitatis et de incarnatione Christi. Questionnes de Sancta Trinitate* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. xix-xlvi.

[22] Bischoff, *Katalog,* III, no. 6366a.

[23] H. Gneuss and M. Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographic Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (London, 2014), no. 940.5.

[24] Szarmach, Alcuin's *De Animae Ratione',* p. 405; Knibbs and Matter, *Alcuini Eboracensis,* pp. xliii-xliv.

[25] R. McKitterick, 'Knowledge of Plato's *Timaeus* in the ninth century: The implications of Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 293', in H.J. Westra (ed.), *From Athens to Chartres: Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought Studies in Honour of Eduoard Jeauneua* (Leiden, 1992), p. 93; D. Ganz, 'Handschriften der Werke Alkuins aus dem 9. Jahrhundert', in H. vok Ernst Tremp and K. Schmuki (eds), *Alkuin von York und die geistige Grundlegung Europas* (St Gallen, 2010), p. 187.

[26] Szarmach, Alcuin's *De Ratione Animae',* pp. 405.

[27] B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne,* trans. M. Gorman (Cambridge 1994), pp. 42-44; Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library,* p. 78.

would have been an important feature in the libraries of these foundations, and initially their scriptoria would have been staffed by scribes trained at insular centres.[28] These are by no means the only scriptoria where insular scribes were operating in Francia, and both scribes and books moved between sites on both sides of the Channel. Insular styles of script and decoration continued to influence Carolingian book production even after Carolingian minuscule became the default choice for script. This influence gave rise to the so-called Franco-Saxon style, based on capitals, illuminated with interlace and animal heads painted in bright colours.[29] This style developed in scriptoria in what is now northern France, and some of the earliest occurrences appear to have been at Saint-Amand. Although some scholars have attributed Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 to a southern English scriptorium, this thesis will argue, on account of close observation of the palaeography and codicology, that it must have been produced in Francia and most likely Saint-Amand.[30]

Many travellers coming from England would have spent time in Francia on their way to Rome. Pilgrimage to Rome was a well-established practice by the eighth and ninth centuries, and committed individuals could travel to the holy city from north western Europe more than once during their lifetimes.[31] Pilgrims were drawn to Rome by the presence of the pope and the opportunity to worship at the shrines of the martyrs

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[28] Ibid.

[29] A. Boutemy, 'Le Style Franco-Saxon, style de Saint-Amand', *Scriptorium,* 3.2 (1949), pp. 260-264; A. Boutemy, 'Que fût le foyer du style franco-saxon?', *Annales du Congrès Archéologique et Historique de Tournai,* 83 (1949), pp. 749-773; J. Guilmain, 'The Illuminations of the second Bible of Charles the Bald', *Speculum,* 41 (1966), pp. 246-260; J. Guilmain, 'On the Classicism of the 'Classic' phrase of Franco-Saxon manuscript illumination', *Art Bull.* 49 (1967), pp. 231-235; F. Unterkircher, *Karolingisches Sakramentar Vienna 958,* Codices Selecti Phototypice Expressi 25 (Graz, 1971); W. Koehler and F. Mütherich, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen, 7: Die frankosächsische Schule.* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 2009).

[30] See, pp. 41-42.

[31] G.B. Parks, *The English Traveller to Italy, Volume 1: The Middle Ages* (Rome, 1954), p. 9; B. Colgrave, 'Pilgrimages to Rome in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', in E. Bagby Atwood and A.A. Hill (eds), *Studies in Language and Literature and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later* (Texas, TX, 1969), pp. 156-172; D.J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages* (Rochester, NY, 1998), p. 6.

and saints.[32] The routes that pilgrims took to Rome, and the impact this had on the communities along these routes, has been well studied.[33]

Pilgrimage to Rome was by no means a uniquely Anglo-Saxon phenomenon, and many Frankish pilgrims also made the journey. However, the significance of the Gregorian mission in the history of the English Church gave Rome a special significance. Scholars who have studied texts composed by Anglo-Saxon authors have noted their tendency to portray Rome as central to their understanding of the Christian world and their own place on the periphery of that world.[34] Two recent doctoral theses have re-examined the relationship between Anglo-Saxon England and Rome. Oliver Pengelley focused on the cultural, religious and political relationship between Rome and Anglo-Saxon England in the ninth century.[35] Pengelley examined some papal letters, yet did not consider the manuscript evidence or the materiality of these letters.[36] Hollie Thomas took a thematic approach to re-examine the 'idea of Rome' in Anglo-Saxon literature, and explored the extent to which Rome was central to the Anglo-Saxon worldview.[37] However, like Pengelley, Thomas did not discuss the texts or manuscripts that were the focus of this thesis.

The extant historiography of papal letters, pilgrim itineraries, and syllogae collections of inscriptions has mostly focused on the texts themselves, rather than the

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[32] A. Thacker, 'Rome of the Martyrs: Saints, Cults and Relics, Fourth to Seventh Centuries', in É. Ó'Carragáin, C. Neuman de Vegvar (eds), *Roma Felix - Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome.* (Alderhot, 2007), pp. 13-49.

[33] S. Matthews, *The Road to Rome: Travel and travellers between England and Italy in the Anglo-Saxon centuries* (Oxford, 2007); D.A.E. Pelteret, 'Travel between England and Italy in the Early Middle Ages', in H. Sauer and J. Story (eds), *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent* (Tempe, AZ, 2011), pp. 245-274.

[34] N. Howe, 'Rome: Capital of Anglo-Saxon England', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies,* 34:1 (2004), pp. 147-172; M. Moore, 'Bede's Devotion to Rome: the periphery defining the centre', in S. Lebecq, M. Perrin, O. Szerwiniak (eds), *The Venerable Bede: Tradition and Posterity* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2005), pp. 199-208.

[35] O. Pengelley, 'Rome in Ninth-Century Anglo-Saxon England', Ph.D. thesis (University of Oxford, 2010).

[36] The most relevant chapter of Pengelley's thesis is Chapter 1 'Contact and Communication', in Pengelley, 'Rome in Ninth-Century Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 20-66.

[37] H. Thomas, 'Bishops, Giants and Ideas about Rome in Early Anglo-Saxon Literature, 597-c. 800' Ph.D. thesis (University of Queensland, 2014). The 'idea of Rome' has recently been explored in detail in Y. Coz, *Rome en Angleterre: l'image de la Rome antique dans l'Angleterre anglo-saxon, du VIIe siècle à 1066* (Paris, 2011)

manuscripts that preserve them. Early medieval itineraries of Rome have been studied for the information they contain regarding pilgrim activity in Rome and the topography of the late antique and early medieval city.[38] A longstanding historiographical trend has been to view these itineraries predominantly as pilgrim 'guidebooks' to be used on the streets of Rome.[39] Certain scholars have begun to move away from this approach, and have noted that the manuscript evidence does not suggest mass production intended for a primarily Rome-based audience.[40] This was probably affected by another recent historiographical trend to read topographical texts outside their literal geographical context.[41]

Theodor Mommsen, Giovanni Battista de Rossi, and Angelo Silvagni compiled comprehensive editions of the syllogae composed in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries.[42] In each edition, transcriptions of these syllogae are preceded by analysis of their date and place of composition and the manuscripts that preserve them. These

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[38] R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, NJ, 1980), pp. 33-143; D. Trout, 'Saints, Identity and the City', in V. Burns (ed.), *Late Ancient Christianity* (Minneapolis, MN, 2005), pp. 165-187; T.F.X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia, PA, 2009), p. 138; Dey, *The Aurelian Wall,* p. 229; M. Campanelli, 'Monuments and histories: Ideas and images of antiquity in some descriptions of Rome', in C. Bolgia, R. McKitterick and J. Osborne (eds), *Rome Across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c.500-1400* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 35-52; R. McKitterick, 'Roman texts and Roman history in the early middle ages', in Bolgia, McKitterick and Osborne (eds), *Rome Across Time and Space,* pp. 19-34; H.W. Dey, *The Aurelian Wall and the Refashioning of Imperial Rome, AD 271-855* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 229; R. McKitterick, 'Transformations of the Roman past and Roman identity in the early Middle Ages', in C. Gantner, R. McKitterick, and S. Meeder (eds), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 231.

[39] G. Schneider, 'Gli antori e il criterio di compilarione degli antichi itinerary delle Catacombe Romane', in *Nueve bullettino di archaeologia cristiana,* 15 (1909), p. 117; E. Barker Ross, *Rome of the Pilgrims and Martyrs; A Study in the Martyrologies, Itineraries, Syllogae, & Other Contemporary Documents* (London, 1913), p. 94; J.F. Romano, *Liturgy and Society in Early Medieval Rome* (Farnham, 2014), p. 96.

[40] Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages,* p. 97.

[41] B.A. Hanawalt and M. Kolbialka (eds), *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minnesota, 2000); M. Cohen and F. Madeline (eds), *Space in the Medieval West: Places, Territories and Imagined Geographies* (London, 2016); C.A. Lees and G.R. Overing, 'Introduction', in C.A. Lees and G.R. Overing (eds), *A Place to Believe in: Locating Medieval Landscapes* (London, 2006), pp. 1-18.

[42] Particularly T. Mommson, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL);* G. de Rossi (ed.), *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquores* (Rome, 1857); A. Silvagni, 'Nuovo ordinamento delle sillogi epigrafiche di Roma anteriori al secolo XI', *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Academia romana di archeologia* (Rome, 1921), pp. 179-229; A. Silvagni, *Monumenta epigraphica christiana saeculo XIII antiquiora quae in Italiae finibus adhuc exstant* i. *Roma.* Monumenti di antichità Cristiana, 2 (Rome, 1943); M. Buonocore, 'Epigraphic Research from its inception: the contribution of the manuscript evidence', in C. Bruun and J.C. Edmindson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 21-23.

editions have enabled scholars to use the biographical, topographical and historical information in the inscriptions in studies of the architecture and topography of early medieval Rome.[43]

Papal letters have also been primarily studied for their content, and the social networks their exchange represents.[44] This is particularly true of the papal letters that arrived in the seventh century, since they are important sources for the foundation and development of the English Church.[45] Scholars have also studied the preservation of fourteen papal letters in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum* (*HE*), and how Bede used these letters to build his narrative.[46] These studies, however, have tended to focus on Bede's use of the letters, rather than their impact on his readers. Other studies of the preservation of papal letters in Anglo-Saxon monasteries have focused on their transmission in tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts.[47] Papal privileges are also relatively understudied documents. Most studies have focused on their content, and the ecclesiastical politics surrounding their acquisition, rather their appearance, preservation, or their impact on early audiences.[48]

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[43] A. Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana* (Vatican City, 1942); J. Osborne, 'The Roman Catacombs in the Middle Ages', *Papers of the British School at Rome,* 53 (1985), pp. 278-328; L. Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (London, 1991); M. Maskarinec, 'The Carolingian afterlife of the Damasian inscriptions', *Early Medieval Europe*, 23:2 (2015), pp. 129-160; D.E. Trout (ed.) *Damasus of Rome: The Epigraphic Poetry: Introductions, Texts, Translations and Commentary* (Oxford, 2015).

[44] D. Jasper and H. Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, WA, 2001).

[45] Particularly, R. Meens, 'A Background to Augustine's mission to Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 23 (1994), pp. 5-17; I. Wood, 'The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English', *Speculum,* 69 (1994), pp. 1-17; I. Wood, 'Augustine and Gaul', in R. Gameson (ed.), *Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 68-82.

[46] P. Meyvaert, 'Bede's text of the *Libellus Responsionum* of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury', in P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (eds), *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 15-33; P. Hunter Blair, 'The Letters of Pope Boniface V and the Mission of Paulinus to Northumbria', in Clemoes and Hughes, *England Before the Conquest,* p. 9; J. Story, 'Bede, Willibrord and the Letters of Pope Honorius I on the genesis of the archbishopric of York', *English Historical Review,* 527 (2012), pp. 783-818.

[47] F. Tinti, 'The Preservation, Transmission and Use of Papal Letters in Anglo-Saxon England', R.H. Bremmer, and C. Dekker (eds), *Fruits of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages* (Leuven, 2016), pp. 93-119.

[48] On papal privileges in Anglo-Saxon England see, C. Rauer, 'Pope Sergius I's Privilege for Malmesbury', *Leeds Studies in English,* 37 (2006), pp. 261-281; S. A. Schoenig, *Bonds of Wool: The Pallium and Papal Power in the Middle Ages* (Washington, WA, 2016). A PhD thesis was completed during the period of research for this thesis but was not available to me at the time of writing, B. Savill, Papal Privileges in Anglo-Saxon England', Ph.D. thesis (University of Oxford, 2017).

Studies of the reception of papal letters in Francia have focused on the late eighth-century collection of papal letters commissioned by Charlemagne, now known as Codex Carolinus. The collection, and the late ninth-century manuscript that preserves it, was discussed in detail in the critical edition by Achim Thomas Hack in 2006.[49] A recent doctoral thesis and corresponding article by Dorine van Espelo explored the ideological programme behind the composition of the manuscript.[50] Most studies of the papal letters preserved as part of the Boniface correspondence have also focused on their content rather than their materiality.[51]

The content of papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae has often been used in studies of pilgrimage or letter writing. These studies have made good use of the editions and translations, yet rarely consider the early manuscript witnesses. Scholars have therefore overlooked that these texts were often read and circulated in the same manuscripts, and in compilations which reflect the interest of their compilers. Modern editions and translations have also masked the impact that the appearance of these texts had on those who read them. The message of the medium of these texts, in their earliest manuscript forms, would have had an important influence on the perception of Rome possible for those who read them.

The manuscript evidence for papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae is largely concentrated in Francia. This reflects broader manuscript survival patterns throughout the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. However, evidence suggests that papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae were all mobile texts that circulated on both sides of the Channel, far from the streets of Rome. Both the manuscript and documentary evidence demonstrate that their mobility operated within the cross-Channel network connecting libraries and scriptoria across England and Francia. When scholars have considered the impact of itineraries and syllogae, they have focused on readers in Rome, rather than the distant readers suggested by the earliest manuscript copies. Additionally, there has yet to be an examination of these texts in light of

[49] A.T. Hack, *Codex Carolinus: Päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 2006-2007).

[50] D. van Espelo, 'A Testimony of Carolingian rule? The *Codex Epistolaris Carolinus*, its Historical Context, and the Meaning of Impirium', *Early Medieval Europe*, 21:3 (2009), pp. 254-282; D. Van Espelo, ‘A Testimony of Carolingian Rule: The Codex Epistolaris Carolinus as a Product of its Time’, Ph.D. thesis (Universiteit Utrecht, 2014).

[51] On the Boniface letters see, G. Greenaway, ‘Saint Boniface as a Man of Letters’, in T. Reuter (ed.), *The Greatest Englishman: essays on St. Boniface and the church at Crediton* (Exeter, 1980), pp. 31-46.

Alcuin's explanation of the perception of distant place. This corresponds with the lack of scholarly attention on *De Ratione*, and the value of Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 as evidence for knowledge of the text within an insular context in Francia.

Research aims and defence of approach

The core aim of this thesis is to reassess the early manuscript witnesses of papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae. The texts that occupy these genres have much in common. They are all relatively short and were often composed in Rome with the intention that they be read elsewhere. Except for a very small number of original papal letters, they survive in manuscripts produced in the eighth or ninth centuries. In these manuscripts, papal letters, itineraries and syllogae were often combined with other texts, forming compilations that reflect a theme, interest of the compiler, or a previously established archival collection. This act of preservation was intentional, and often reflects aspects of how the texts were read, stored and interpreted by their early medieval audiences. The content, appearance and context of the early manuscript witnesses therefore provide important information regarding the initial impact of these texts, and the possible perception they provided of Rome. This analysis will focus on the circulation of papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae in the years after their production, and the script, decoration and layout of the earliest manuscript copies. This approach will offer new insights regarding how these texts enabled their readers to perceive Rome as a distant place, whether known or unknown.

Before providing a more detailed overview of the structure of this thesis, it is important to comment on the research process. At the outset, this thesis intended to focus on the impact and circulation of pilgrim itineraries, papal letters and syllogae among Anglo-Saxon audiences in the seventh and eighth centuries. However, it soon became apparent that the geographical and temporal boundaries needed to be broadened. This is mostly because many of the early manuscript witnesses of these texts were copied in the ninth century in Frankish scriptoria, which were centres with historic Anglo-Saxon influence. Although this thesis will still, in parts, take an Anglo-Saxon focus, many of the key arguments and insights can be applied to Frankish audiences. This approach aligns with the recent historiographical trend to blur retrospectively imposed geographical boundaries for the early medieval period. Some scholars have acknowledged the interconnected, intellectual network that operated between England and Francia, and that scribes, books and ideas crossed the Channel in both directions.[52]

There are of course two places in Alcuin's perception of place analogy, Rome and Jerusalem. At the time, both were important destinations for pilgrims, centres of ecclesiastical and political power and loomed large in the worldview of the Christian West. Although the focus of this thesis is on the perception of Rome, the research process has been mindful of Jerusalem's part in this perception. This thesis does not examine how Jerusalem was perceived through text. The extensive corpus of historiography on Jerusalem in the early medieval period has established that it had a different significance and attraction compared to Rome for pilgrims from north-western Europe. Jerusalem was therefore read and written about in very different ways from Rome. An entirely separate thesis could be written on the perception of Jerusalem in England and Francia using Alcuin's perception of place analogy in his *De Ratione.*

Chapter outline

The manuscript-based methodology of this thesis has shaped its structure. Each chapter focuses on one or two manuscripts that are at the heart of the discussion. This structure is also appropriate as certain manuscripts often preserve more than one example of pilgrim itineraries, papal letters and syllogae. Focusing on the manuscripts that preserve them allows these texts to be studied in a manner that is akin to the way they would have been accessed by their early readers. A genre-based thesis structure would be more suited to a study of the content of these texts, rather than the impact of their materiality.

The first chapter will focus on a copy of Alcuin's *De Ratione*, copied almost entirely in Insular minuscule. This will begin by examining the context within which Alcuin composed *De Ratione*, and how it circulated in Francia alongside two other letter-treatises in which Alcuin discusses the nature of the Trinity. This is followed by a discussion of how Alcuin's understanding of perception of distant place may have been known in England through an examination of the circulation of Alcuin's source material and references in the surviving corpus of Old English poetry. Following this is a detailed analysis of the Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, an understudied piece of evidence for the awareness of Alcuin's *De Ratione* in an insular context in Francia. The final part

[52] Levison's *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* laid the foundations for this historiographical interpretation.

of this chapter will compare notable characteristics of the Insular minuscule in this manuscript with other examples of the script from Southumbrian scriptoria in the early ninth century.

Chapter two will assess how papal letters in England facilitated a perception of the pope, and the place he inhabited, Rome. This will focus on the English evidence, while referencing evidence from Francia where appropriate. This focus is mostly the result of the survival of a letter composed by the bishop of London in 704 or 705, which is now the earliest original letter to survive on parchment from the Latin West. This letter, the Wealdhere letter, provides valuable insight into the materiality of letter exchange in England and thus makes it appropriate to consider the materiality of papal letters in an English context.

Chapter two will begin with a discussion of epistolary theory and will explore how a letter can act as both barrier and bridge. This will demonstrate that some early medieval letter writers considered the ability of letters to connect to distant people and places, and that the materiality of a letter played an important role in this process. Through a detailed analysis of the Wealdhere letter, this chapter will then establish the materiality of a non-papal letter in England. Following an overview of the papal letters known to have arrived in England, this chapter will compare the materiality of an Anglo-Saxon letter to that of a papal letter. A key aspect of the materiality of papal letters is that they were written on papyrus, and so this chapter will then explore other avenues through which Anglo-Saxons may have encountered papyrus. After discussing the impact of the materiality of a papal letter, this chapter will conclude by considering how papal letters facilitated perception of the pope, and through them, Rome.

Chapter three will focus on two seventh-century pilgrim itineraries for Rome copied into a collection of Alcuin's letters compiled under the direction of Arn of Salzburg in *c.* 799. The discussion will first analyse the content, codicology and palaeography of the manuscript, and establish how the itineraries fit into the intentions of the compiler and the possible impact of the manuscript on its readers. This chapter will examine the impact of the content and choice of language in the itineraries, before comparing these insights to other contemporary itineraries. This chapter will then discuss another of Alcuin's letters copied into the manuscript that explains the three types of vision and the different kinds of perception they provide.

The fourth chapter will focus on a sylloge, a liturgical text and a collection of poems preserved in a ninth-century manuscript. A codicological and palaeographical analysis of the manuscript will demonstrate that the collection of topographical texts reflects the interests of an individual or community. The chapter will first focus on the sylloge and then the liturgical text. The analysis of the sylloge will compare its notable characteristics to other contemporary syllogae and propose how these features facilitated the perception of Rome for distant readers. The final part of the chapter will examine the liturgical text, by focusing on the symbolism of the liturgy and its circulation in England. This will demonstrate how this manuscript reflected the experience of pilgrims in Rome and suggest how this compilation of texts could facilitate the perception of Rome for distant readers.

Bede's *HE* constituted an important medium through which a selection of papal letters and epitaphs circulated after Bede completed the text in 731. The final chapter of this thesis will therefore examine the letters and epitaphs copied into Bede's *HE,* and two other early eighth-century Northumbrian narratives, Stephen's *Vita Wilfridi* (*VW*) and the Anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi* (VC). The first half of the chapter will analyse the appearance of the papal letters and epitaphs in early manuscripts of *HE*. This will demonstrate that their appearance was inspired by the appearance of these texts in other contexts, such as their original form or another manuscript copy. The second half of this chapter will therefore examine the source material accessed by the authors of *HE, VW* and *VC.* This will consider the impact of papal letters and epitaphs in the manuscript copy of the narrative, and how this compared to the other ways that papal letters and epitaphs could be accessed in this period. This chapter will conclude by using Alcuin's *De Ratione* to consider how the materiality of papal letters and epitaphs in this context may have facilitated perception of Rome in the context of Bede's *HE.*

This thesis will examine the perception of Rome possible for readers of papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae in England and Francia. Alcuin's *De Ratione* provides a contemporary explanation of the process of perception of distant places that were either known or unknown. Alcuin's explanation values the experience of the bodily senses, and uses what is known of a place, through past experience or secondary sources, to form the mental images that facilitate perception. The early manuscript copies of papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae would have been an important source of the information that facilitated perception. By re-examining the earliest manuscript witnesses of papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae, this thesis aims to offer new insight regarding how they were circulated, read and preserved by their earliest audiences. This will be used to reconstruct the perception of Rome possible for their readers, according to Alcuin's explanation in *De Ratione.* This analysis will establish that this perception was a personal experience and facilitated access to Rome's catacombs and churches. The saints, martyrs and the papacy were at the heart of this perception, and often acted as the hook for distant readers to perceive a chronologically and geographically distant Rome.

Chapter 1

An insular copy of Alcuin's *De Animae Ratione*

Twenty-four full or partial copies of Alcuin's *De Ratione* survive from the ninth century.[1] This is a relatively large number, and suggests that it was a popular text, well read in the years after its completion. Twenty-three of these ninth-century manuscripts were copied in Caroline minuscule and one copied in an Insular minuscule hand. The manuscript copied in Insular minuscule, now Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, contains *De Ratione*, plus two other Alcuin letter-treatises, *De fide* and *Questionnes*.[2] This manuscript is a key witness in the early transmission of *De Ratione* and demonstrates awareness of the text within an insular context in Francia. The few scholars who have examined the transmission of *DRA* in England have not discussed the potential of this manuscript. McKitterick noted that the manuscript was written in an Anglo-Saxon hand but made no further comment on the script or its implications.[3] Szarmach simply noted that the manuscript had 'Anglo-Saxon features and further study could identify it as the earliest manuscript of Anglo-Saxon provenance'.[4]

Although Alcuin composed *De Ratione* in Francia, *De Ratione* has been studied in both Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian contexts. Alcuin's explanation of the cognitive processes which enabled perception were studied in a Carolingian context in Mary Carruthers', *The Craft of Thought.*[5] Carruthers examined the role of images in Alcuin's description of perception, and Alcuin's description of the 'mental messengers' which facilitated the formation and memory of mental images.[6] In 2011, Leslie Lockett's

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[1] Curry, *Alcuin:* De Animae Ratione, p. 10; Szarmach, Alcuin's *De Ratione Animae',* pp. 407-408.

[2] Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 940.5; Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, no. 6366a; the order in which these letter-treatises were copied will be discussed below, see p. 26.

[3] McKitterick, 'Knowledge of Plato's *Timaeus* in the Ninth Century', p. 93.

[4] Szarmach, 'Alcuin's *De Ratione Animae',* p. 405.

[5] M. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 118-122.

[6] Ibid., pp. 118-122.

monograph, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies* explored both the Latin and vernacular traditions of the workings of the mind.[7] Lockett briefly explored the circulation of the *De Ratione* in England, via manuscript and citation evidence, but focused on texts composed, or widely circulated, in England.[8] When Lockett examined *De Ratione*, she focused on Alcuin's explanation of the incorporeal soul and the body-soul relationship, and how *De Ratione* influenced Alcuin's student, Candidus, rather than the perception of place analogy.[9]

Alcuin's influence in England was also explored by Michael Godden in an article published in 1985.[10] Godden analysed the place of *De Ratione* in the classical tradition of psychological literature, and how later Anglo-Saxon authors, Alfred and Ælfric, were also part of this tradition.[11] Godden argued that Ælfric had access to a copy of Alcuin's *De Ratione*, when writing his *Homilies.*[12] The date at which *De Ratione* reached England was also explored by Peter Clemoes.[13] Clemoes discussed the possible influence of the *De Ratione* on Old English poems that described the mind thinking of distant things.[14] The relationship between the body and soul is a critical part of Alcuin's analysis, however *De Ratione* is not discussed in detail in the historiography of the two Old English poems, *Body and Soul.*[15]

Studies of *De Ratione* have therefore focused on Alcuin's representation of the soul in relation to the body, established Alcuin's debt to Augustine and Alcuin's legacy in later psychological literature. Alcuin's *De Ratione* has yet to be used to understand

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[7] L. Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* (London, 2011), pp. 13-16.

[8] Ibid., pp. 220-222, 281-312.

[9] Ibid.

[10] M. Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (eds), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 271-298.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., pp. 291-292.

[13] P. Clemoes, '*Mens Asentia Cogitans* in *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer',* in D.A. Pearsall and R.A. Waldron (eds), *Medieval Literature and Civilisation. Studies in Memory of G.N. Garmonsway* (London, 1969), pp. 62-77.

[14] Ibid.

[15] On the *Body and Soul,* see p. 32.

the role of text in the perception of Rome. Although it has been acknowledged that *De Ratione* was a well-read text in the ninth century, scholars have yet to examine the significance and impact of this or examine the corpus of manuscripts in detail.

This chapter will address this gap in the historiography through a detailed examination of the perception of place analogy in *De Ratione*, establishing how Alcuin adapted his source material and what this can reveal about how he intended the text to be read. Following this will be a detailed analysis of the early audience and circulation of Alcuin's *De Ratione,* using references in the text and the ninth-century manuscript witnesses. The chapter will then establish the evidence for the early transmission of *De Ratione* in England, and whether the key ideas of the perception of place analogy can be found in other texts composed in England. This chapter will then conduct a detailed palaeographical analysis of Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, by focusing on its insular features and similarities with manuscripts of the Southumbrian 'Tiberius group'. This will demonstrate that the insular-trained scribe who copied Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 may have been part of a cross-Channel network within which scribes and books would travel.

The Perception of Place Analogy in Alcuin's *De Animae Ratione*

Alcuin's *De Ratione* is an explanation of how the soul is made in the image of God's trinitarian form and is comprised of will, knowledge and memory. Alcuin initially adopted Augustine's view of the soul's relationship to the body, and explained that the soul displays intellect, passion and desire.[16] Alcuin later clarified that the principal part of the soul is the mind [*mens*] and equated the soul with the rational mind, explaining that the soul or mind is an intellectual, rational spirit.[17] Alcuin stipulated that the three Trinitarian parts of the soul, will, knowledge and memory, also constitute the mind. Alcuin stated, *una est enim anima quae mens dicitur una vita et una substantia quae haec tria habet in se*.[18]

[16] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. II; Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', p. 285.

[17] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. II.

[18] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. III; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'for there is one soul, which we call mind, one life, and one substance, which contains these three within itself'.

Alcuin then explored the soul's activities during life and its relation to the body, especially at the point of death.[19] Alcuin explained how in the process of perception the soul draws on mental imagery built from the experience of the bodily senses. Alcuin described this process as *miram velocitatem animae in formandis rebus.*[20] This process differed depending on whether the perceiver had seen the person or place with their own eyes, or through a third party. Alcuin compared how the mind formed images of places that are *cognitus* or *incognitus,* using Rome and Jerusalem as examples of a known and unknown place.[21] When thinking of a place known to the perceiver, the mind turns to the memory, where the images of the place had been stored, thereby allowing the place to be perceived once more.[22] For an unknown place, the mind uses images of similar things to form those mental images. Alcuin explained, *quicquid in aliis civitatibus vidit sibi cognitis hoc fingit in Hierusalem esse posse (ex notis enim speciebus fingit ignota)*.[23]

The perception of unknown people draws upon the same mental processing as the perception of unknown place. Alcuin explained that a mental picture of Abraham is based on what one has seen of other men and knows of themselves. The mind is aware of the right mental images to draw upon, clarifying that *nec enim in civitate Hierusalem fingit hominis membra sed aedificia civitatibus consueta*.[24] Through this analogy, Alcuin explained the role of the tripartite soul in the perception of near or distant people and places. Perception as a visual process based on sensory experience drawn from first-hand knowledge or other information read or heard about a place. From the

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[19] Szarmach, 'Alcuin's *De Ratione Animae',* p. 397.

[20] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'as the amazing speed of the soul in giving form to things it has perceived through the bodily senses'.

[21] Alcuin, *De Ratione*, Ch. IV; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'known…unknown'.

[22] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV.

[23] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'whatever he has seen in other cities with which he is familiar he thinks can also be in Jerusalem, for we construct the images of unknown things on the basis of forms known to us'.

[24] Alcuin, *De Ratione*, Ch. IV; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'doesn't picture the parts of the human body in Jerusalem, but the buildings normally found in cities'.

combination of memory, will and knowledge, the soul is able to form images within itself, *ineffabilis celeritas,* and then store those images within *thesaurus memoriae*.[25]

After the perception of place analogy, Alcuin elaborated upon the potential of the soul to facilitate the perception of something *spiritale,* not perceivable to the bodily senses.[26] Alcuin explained that the soul withdraws from the bodily senses, and *quamvis apertos habeat oculos quae praestuo sunt non vidit nec sonantem vocem intellegit nec tangentem corpus sentit*.[27] Alcuin clarified that *regit enim corpus per quinque sensus quae horum nihil est*.[28] The soul draws on past experience of the bodily senses, and what is known of that person or place from other things, and then builds the mental image that facilitates perception.

Alcuin's key source for *De Ratione* was Augustine's *De trinitate.* Alcuin made some key changes to adapt the *De trinitate* to suit the experience of his intended audience.[29] When Augustine wrote *De trinitate,* it was a highly original philosophical treatise that explored the Christian doctrine that God is both three and one.[30] The second half of the text became a philosophical treatise of the mind, exploring how the soul was also trinitarian since it was made in God's image.[31] In Book 8 of his *De trinitate,* Augustine also used an analogy to explain the perception of distant people and places. Augustine explained how one can know the soul and body of an unknown person, such as the Apostle Paul.[32] Augustine clarified this by explaining how the mind perceives two different kinds of place, one known through the bodily senses and the

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[25] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'with incredible speed…the treasure-house of memory'.

[26] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. VII; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'spiritual'.

[27] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. VII; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'although the eyes be open, it does not see what is before it, not understand a word spoken, nor feel a body touching it'.

[28] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. VII; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'the soul guides the body through the five senses but is not itself one of them'.

[29] Augustine, *De trinitate,* Book 8.6. For an overview of Alcuin's source material see, Curry, *Alcuin:* De Animae Ratione, pp. 5-9.

[30] G.B. Matthews (ed.), *Augustine. On the Trinity: Books 8-15* (Cambridge, 2002), p. ix.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Augustine, *De trinitate,* Book 8.6.

other through secondary information.[33] Augustine's known place was Carthage, since he had perceived it with his bodily senses.[34] Alexandria was his unknown place, as his mental image of the city had been built from the stories told to him by other people who had seen the city with their own eyes.[35] Augustine used the analogy of Carthage and Alexandria, two places familiar to him and his readers, to clarify how the soul perceives the Apostle Paul.

The focus of Alcuin's explanation of perception in *De Ratione,* however, is place not people. He adapted Augustine's Carthage and Alexandria, to Rome and Jerusalem, which were more relevant to his own audience's interests. Rome was more likely to have been a known place and Jerusalem an unknown place among Alcuin and his peers. Alcuin had travelled to Rome, but there is no evidence to suggest that he had been to Jerusalem.[36] Gundrada, the named recipient of *De Ratione,* was a cousin of Charlemagne and was a consecrated woman living at the Carolingian court.[37] In Paschasius' *Vita Adalhardi,* written soon after Adalhard's death in 826, Paschasius praised Gundrada for keeping her virginity despite living *quae inter venereos palatii ardores*.[38] She appears to have held an influential position at court in Charlemagne's later years.[39] On another occasion, Alcuin urged her to continue to act as a model of good behaviour for *ceterus in palatio virginibus*.[40] Given Gundrada's influential position at court, and status within the royal family, it is certainly possible that she was part of the cohort who travelled to Rome to witness the imperial coronation on Christmas Day 800. Even if she had remained at home, she would have been

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 See p. 3.

37 J. Nelson, 'Gendering Courts in the Early Medieval West', in J. Smith and L. Brubaker (eds), *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300-900* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 191.

38 Paschasius, *Vita Adalhardi,* Ch. 33; Migne (ed.), *PL* 120, col. 1526; Nelson, 'Gendering courts', p. 191; 'amidst the lustful heats of the palace'.

39 Nelson, 'Gendering courts', p. 191.

40 Ibid.*;* Alcuin, *Epistolae,* MGH, *epp.* 241, 'the other young women in the palace'.

surrounded by those who had recently travelled to Rome and had perceived the city as a known place.

Not only did he adapt the examples used in these analogies, Alcuin changed the whole focus of the perception, making place the focus rather than people. Alcuin clarified the perception of place analogy by explaining how the soul perceived Abraham.[41] This adaption perhaps suggests that his intended audience was more accustomed to or interested in the perception of distant place, rather than distant people. This may reflect the heightened religious significance of Rome and Jerusalem for Alcuin's readers, compared to the significance of Carthage and Alexandria for readers of *De trinitate.*

Alcuin's explanation is also much more concise than Augustine's, occupying roughly two paragraphs of Latin text.[42] This brevity corresponds with the size of *De Ratione* in comparison to *De trinitate* and Alcuin's intention for *De Ratione* to be an introductory text.[43] As part of this abridgement of Augustine's explanation, Alcuin used the terms *cognitus* and *incognitus* to refer to the two places in the analogy.[44] Alcuin coined these phrases as part of his agenda to summarise ideas expressed in detail by Augustine. These words also emphasised that to truly know a place, it had to be experienced first-hand with one's own eyes.

Alcuin's *De Ratione* explained the tripartite nature of the soul, comprised of will, knowledge and memory, and established that it was equal to the mind, as the intellectual part of the body. The analogy demonstrates that Alcuin felt his readers were familiar with the perception of distant place, and that Rome and Jerusalem were the most appropriate examples. This process of perception draws on the soul's engagement with the bodily senses, using things *lectae vel audite* to prompt the memory to form mental images based on what had been experienced by the bodily senses. These mental images facilitate the perception of both known and unknown people as well as place. The way that Alcuin adapted the analogy from Augustine's *De trinitate* demonstrates

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[41] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Alcuin explained this in his introductory statements to Gundrada, *De Ratione,* Ch. I.

[44] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV.

that his intended audience were familiar with the perception of Rome and Jerusalem, as known or unknown places.

Alcuin's three Trinitarian letter-treatises

Alcuin addressed *De Ratione* to Gundrada and her students, yet the manuscript evidence suggests that, like many other contemporary theological letter treaties, Alcuin had a wider audience in mind. *De Ratione* was being copied with complementary letter-treatises from an early date. Most of the ninth-century manuscript copies of *De Ratione* also contain two other letter-treatises written by Alcuin, *De fide* and *Questionnes*.[45] These three texts were almost always copied in the same order, beginning with *De fide,* then *Questionnes* and finishing with *De Ratione.*

De fide is a treatise on the nature of God, the Trinity and the soul written in three books and addressed to Charlemagne.[46] Alcuin wrote this letter in the final years of Charlemagne's campaign in Saxony, and its content would have been especially relevant for bishops and priests responsible for the conversion and baptism of the adult catechumens.[47] It has been suggested by Knibbs and Matter that *De fide* may have been disseminated at the 802 Council of Aachen.[48] Alcuin acknowledged the synod in the prefatory epistle of *De fide,* and it was described in the Lorsch Annals as a synod where, *universos canones … et decretum pontificum* were read among bishops and priests.[49]

After sending a copy of this text to Charlemagne, Alcuin may have also sent a copy to his friend and correspondent, Arn of Salzburg (archbishop 798-821) to pass on to Adalbert, Arn's chaplain.[50] Adalbert had recently written to Alcuin to request a letter

[45] Only two ninth-century copies of the *De Ratione* exist without *De fide* and *Questionnes;* Montpellier, Faculte de Medicine H 404 and Vatican City, BAV, Bibl. Apost. Reg. Lat. 69. See Curry, *Alcuin:* De Animae Ratione, p. 10.

[46] Knibbs and Matter, *Alcuini Eboracensis,* p. xii.

[47] Ibid., p. ix. *De fide* is, *Epp.* 258.

[48] Ibid. On the manuscript dissemination of *De fide,* see D.A. Bullough, 'Alcuin's Cultural Influence: The Evidence of the Manuscripts', in L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald (eds), *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court: Proceedings of the Third Germania Latina Conference Held at the University of Groningen, May 1995* (Germania Latina, 3) (Forsten, 1998), pp. 1-26.

[49] Knibbs and Matter, *Alcuini Eboracensis,* p. ix; 'universal canons … and pontifical decrees'.

[50] Ibid., p. xlvii.

confessione vel penitentia, and in return, Alcuin sent him a copy of a recent composition for the brothers of St Martin's.[51] In a letter to Arn, written soon after his letter to Charlemagne in 802, Alcuin instructed Adalbert to read a book he had recently written *De catholica fide, et domno imperatori per hunc puerum direxi.*[52] Alcuin instructed Arn to have a copy made for others who are interested in the topic. The title '*De fide'* was associated with the text from an early date, since roughly half of the earliest manuscripts use the title, *In hoc codice continentur de fide sanctae et indiuiduae trinitatis libri tres.*[53] The text, *de catholica fide,* that Alcuin instructed Arn to have copied and given to Adalbert was probably the same, *De catholica fide,* which he sent to Charlemagne in 802.

The prefatory epistle that precedes *Questionnes* reveals that the text was written for Fridugis, a student of Alcuin, of Anglo-Saxon birth, who would later become his successor as abbot of Tours (804-834).[54] Other texts written by Alcuin for Fridugis and texts that Fridugis wrote himself later in life demonstrate that he had an interest in topics covered in *De Ratione,* namely the ability of the soul to perceive and experience what the body cannot. *Questionnes* is styled as a series of answers to Fridugis' questions concerning faith in the Trinity.[55] The questions deal with very similar topics as *De fide,* and there is considerable overlap between the two texts.[56] In Book I of *De fide,* ten of the seventeen chapters cover the same subjects as sixteen sections of *Questionnes,* sometimes in almost identical words.[57] Seven chapters of Book II and five of Book III of *De fide* also discuss topics that were explored in *Questionnes.*[58] Alcuin may have written *Questionnes* based on Fridugis' questions upon reading *De fide,* and

[51] *Epp.* 258; trans. S. Allott (ed.), *Alcuin of York c.732 to 804 – his life and letters* (York, 1974), no. 145. The letter Alcuin wrote for the brothers of St Martins is now *Epp.* 131; 'on confession and penance'.

[52] *Epp.* 258; trans. Allott, *Alcuin,* no. 145. 'on the catholic faith and sent to the lord emperor through this boy [Fridugis]'.

[53] Knibbs and Matter, *Alcuini Eboracensis,* p. xlviii; 'This codex [contains] three books on faith in the holy and individual Trinity'.

[54] Ibid.; *Questionnes* is now, *Epp.* 289; trans. Allott, *Alcuin,* no. 132.

[55] *Epp.* 289; trans. Allott, *Alcuin,* no. 132.

[56] Knibbs and Matter, *Alcuini Eboracensis,* pp. xvi-xvii.

[57] Ibid., p. xvi.

[58] Ibid., p. xvii.

intended it to act as a supplementary text to *De fide*.[59] Fridugis also had an interest in the three types of vision, corporeal, mental and symbolic, and at some point asked Alcuin to write a treatise on the topic.[60] During his time at the court, Fridugis also wrote a letter to Charlemagne that examined the existence of non-physical matter that cannot be observed by the bodily senses.[61] Fridugis appears to have been one of a group of people in the orbit of the Carolingian court who were interested in the nature of the soul and sensory perception.

Although Alcuin gave no official title to his letter treatise to Gundrada, it is referred to as *De animae ratione* in the *Vita alcuini* and three early manuscripts describe the text as *De ratione animae*.[62] Alcuin's use of the word order *de ratione animae* in the opening paragraph has led modern scholars to settle on *De ratione animae* as its title.[63] *De Ratione* must have been written after Charlemagne's imperial coronation on Christmas Day 800, since Alcuin refers to Charlemagne as *sapientissimus imperator.*[64] Alcuin died in May 804, meaning that *De Ratione* was written in the closing years of his life, between 801 and 804.[65] The main letter-treatise part of *De Ratione* is followed by two poems, now known as *Qui mare* and *Te homo laudet*, and a prayer, beginning *Miserere domine,* all of which reflect Alcuin's interest in the nature of the soul.[66] These two poems and the prayer were probably written at the same time as the prose part of

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[59] Ibid., pp. xvi-xvii.

[60] *Epp.* 135. See p. 145.

[61] 'Fridugis', in J.F. Wippel (ed.), *Medieval Philosophy: From St Augustine to Nicholas of Cusa* (London, 1969), pp. 103-107; D. Howlett, 'Fredegisus 'De substantia nihili et tenebrarum', *Bulletin du Cange,* 64 (2006), pp. 123-143.

[62] Curry, *Alcuin:* De Animae Ratione, p. 2.

[63] Ibid., pp. 2-3; Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. I.

[64] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IX; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'most sagacious emperor'.

[65] Szarmach, Alcuin's *De Ratione Animae',* p. 397.

[66] On *Miserere domine,* see, Jullien and Perelman, *Clavis des Auteurs Latins du Moyen Âge Territoire Français, 735-987, tomus II: Alcuin, ALC 17* (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 121-125, esp. pp. 123-125; J. Black, 'Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin and the Preface to *De psalmorum usu', Medieval Studies* 64 (2002), pp. 1-60 at p. 30 no. 68 and p. 31 n. 71; D. Dales, *Alcuin, Theology and Thought* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 181-182; R. Choy, "The Brother Who May Wish to Pray by Himself': Sense of Self in Carolingian Prayers of Private Devotion', in S. Bhattacharji, D. Mattos, and R. Williams (eds), *Prayer and Thought in Monastic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Benedicta Ward SLG* (London, 2014), pp. 109-111.

the *De Ratione*. In the manuscripts, the two poems are often copied in the verse format preferred by different scriptoria. *Te homo laudet* is sometimes written in a distinctive layout, symmetrically aligning the six verses of the poem in two columns of three. The six verses of this poem are central to its meaning, as Alcuin stated that it had been composed according to the *numero nobile,* six.[67] Szarmach argued that a scribe who did not offer a layout reflecting the six stanza layout of the poem had failed to transmit the full meaning intended by Alcuin.[68] This illustrates how the appearance of a text, and its format on the page, can affect the message communicated to the reader.

That *De fide, Questionnes* and *De Ratione* are copied together in so many early manuscript witnesses probably represents the decision of an early editor, perhaps Alcuin himself.[69] Donald Bullough argued that this codicological arrangement is particularly prominent in the earliest surviving manuscripts and should therefore be attributed to Alcuin or the Tours scriptorium.[70] Compiling these three texts was probably a practical decision to complement the study of these three texts and their common topics. There is certainly a logic to their established order. *De fide* and *Questionnes* explore the nature of the Trinity, with *De fide* probably copied first because it was the most detailed text and was perhaps the first to be written. In *De Ratione* Alcuin applied that understanding of the Trinity onto the soul and explored the abilities of the soul based on its Trinitarian nature. By the early ninth century, the Tours scriptorium was accustomed to producing similar compilations of Alcuin's letters into collections that were also united by a common theme.[71]

Bischoff attributed one of the ninth-century copies of *De Ratione* to the Tours scriptorium. This manuscript, now BL, Harley MS 4980, ff. 76r-143v, is copied in a style of Caroline minuscule attributed to the region of Tours.[72] *De fide, Questionnes* and

[67] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IX.

[68] Szarmach, 'Alcuin's *De Ratione Animae',* p. 400.

[69] Curry, *Alcuin:* De Animae Ratione, p. 3.

[70] Bullough, 'Alcuin's Cultural Influence', p. 4.

[71] Bullough, *Alcuin,* pp. 57-66.

[72] *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum,* 4 vols (London: Eyre and Strahan, 1808-12), III (1808), no. 4980; *CLA*, II. no. 201; Bischoff, *Katalog,* II, no. 2484; Ganz, 'Handschriften der Werke Alkuins', p. 187; Knibbs and Matter, *Alcuini Eboracensis,* p. xxvi

De Ratione are copied in their usual order, and were later bound with a fragment of Augustine's *De civitate dei,* ff. 1r-2v and Bede's *Expositio actuum apostolorum,* ff. 3r-75v. An ex-libris inscription on f. 3r demonstrates that the copy of Bede's *Expositio* was at the Cathedral Church of St Nazaire, Carcassonne in the thirteenth century, which was perhaps when it was bound with the fragment of *De civitate dei* and the three letter-treatises.[73]

The first copies of *De Ratione* to leave the Tours scriptorium would have probably been sent to Gundrada and her students at the court.[74] The manuscript evidence also suggests that copies of *De Ratione* soon arrived at Arn's two institutions, the monastery at Saint-Amand and the cathedral at Salzburg. One early ninth-century copy now, Munich, BSB, clm 15813, was copied in a style of Caroline minuscule attributed by Bischoff to Saint-Amand around the year 810.[75] The manuscript was soon taken to the cathedral library at Salzburg, where the *magister* Baldo was able to add explanatory glosses.[76] It was relatively common for manuscripts in the early ninth century to be produced at Saint-Amand and then moved to Salzburg soon after production.[77] Bullough proposed that this copy may have been a close copy of an original produced by the Tours scriptorium under Alcuin's direction.[78]

As a concise explanation of complex ideas, first discussed by the church fathers, *De Ratione* would have been an appropriate text for students. The decision to circulate *De Ratione* alongside two complementary letter-treatises would have also benefited students interested in the nature of the soul and the Trinity. Gundrada's position in the intellectual and social network of the court may suggest that other members of this

[73] *CLA,* II. no. 201; Bischoff, *Katalog,* II, no. 2484; Knibbs and Matter, *Alcuini Eboracensis,* p. xxvi.

[74] On Gundrada's location, see above p. 20.

[75] B. Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit,* Vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1960-1980), pp. 61-65, 80-83, 124, 152; Bullough, 'Alcuin's Cultural Influence', pp. 13-14; Bischoff, *Katalog,* II, no. 3282; Knibbs and Matter, *Alcuini Eboracensis,* p. xxxi.

[76] Bullough, 'Alcuin's Cultural Influence', pp. 13-14; Knibbs and Matter, *Alcuini Eboracensis*, p. xxxi.

[77] On the scriptoria of Saint-Amand and Salzburg, see Lowe, *CLA*. X, pp. viii-xviii.

[78] See Szarmach, 'Alcuin's *De Animae Ratione',* p. 403, no. 15.

circle were also part of the intended audience of the text.[79] Treatises such as these were also often styled as letters even if they were intended for wider publication.[80] It is clear that Gundrada and her students were not the only people within Alcuin's social and intellectual network and at the royal court who were interested in the Trinitarian nature of the soul and its role in perception.

Circulation of *De Animae Ratione* in England

Copies of *De Ratione* cannot be securely attributed to Anglo-Saxon scriptoria until the eleventh century, yet textual evidence suggests that *De Ratione* or its major ideas may have been known much earlier.[81] Godden has argued that *De Ratione* was a critical text in the development of the Anglo-Saxon understanding of the mind and soul, and so was more widely circulated than the manuscript evidence suggests.[82] Anglo-Saxon writers approached the workings of the mind from both a classical and vernacular tradition.[83] The classical tradition was based on the legacy of authors such as Augustine, Boethius and Plato, and Alcuin's *De Ratione* played an important role in the spread of these ideas amongst the Anglo-Saxon intelligentsia.[84] Godden also argued that Alcuin's *De Ratione* influenced King Alfred's translation of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*.[85] At a point in the poem, Boethius referred in passing to the threefold soul. Most commentaries argue that Boethius was talking about the World Soul, yet Alfred interpreted this as a reference to the human soul, which Godden argued was based on

[79] M. Garrison, 'The Social World of Alcuin: Nicknames at York and at the Carolingian Court', in L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald (eds), *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court* (Groningen, 1998), pp. 59-80.

[80] G. Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections* (Turnhout, 1976), p. 11.

[81] London, BL, Royal 6 B VIII ff. 1-57 and Salisbury, CL, 165 ff. 122-178. These have been attributed to Canterbury and Salisbury respectively. See, Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 467 and no. 749.

[82] Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the mind', p. 284.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid., pp. 285-290; Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies,* pp. 283-295.

[85] Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the mind', p. 287.

Alfred's reading of *De Ratione*.[86] Although Godden acknowledged that Alfred could have read this passage via a commentary or gloss, it seems more likely that Alfred had access to the whole *De Ratione*.[87] Alcuin *De Ratione* had certainly reached England by the time that Ælfric of Eynsham quoted parts of the text in his homily on Christ's Nativity in the late tenth century.[88] In his explanation of the nature of the soul, Ælfric drew heavily on Alcuin's *De Ratione*, especially Alcuin's belief in the intellectual character of the soul and the Trinitarian nature of the soul, comprised of memory, understanding and will.[89]

One of the key differences between the classical and vernacular tradition is the locus of the mind in the body. Plato had located the rational soul in the head, the spirited soul in the chest and the concupiscible soul in the abdomen, whereas Cassiodorus located the soul in the head.[90] Alcuin, Alfred and Ælfric are all silent on the matter, whereas in the vernacular tradition the mind is normally thought of as residing in the heart or thereabouts.[91] The silence of the classical tradition may perhaps be an intentional rejection of these ideas. Indeed, Godden noted that when Alfred translated Boethius, he deleted all references to the heart as the seat of the soul or mind.[92] Alcuin and Ælfric appear to make the point that the intellectual faculty, here called the mind or soul, is closely associated with the life-spirit, which pervades all parts of the body.

Texts of the vernacular tradition generally locate the mind in the heart or chest. Similarities between texts of the vernacular tradition and *De Ratione* are visible in their portrayal of the relationship between the mind and body. Godden noted that *Maxims,*

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[86] W.J. Sedgefield (ed.), *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius* 'De Consolation Philosophiae', *Boethius: his Life, Thought and Influence* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 278-305; Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the mind', p. 287.

[87] Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the mind', p. 287.

[88] Curry, '*Alcuin,* De Ratione Animae', p. 10; Szarmach*,* 'Alcuin's *De Ratione Animae',* p. 399; Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies,* p. 220.

[89] Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the mind', p. 291.

[90] Cassiodorus, *De Anima,* J.W. Halporn (ed.), CCSL 96 (Turnhout, 1973), ch. 10; Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the mind', p. 302.

[91] Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the mind', p. 302.

[92] Ibid.

The Wife's Lament, and *The Seafarer* all use the phrase *heortan geþohtas*, and *Maxims* places the mind in the *breostum* and *The Wanderer* places the mind in the *breastcofa.*[93] The mind's location in the heart is perhaps what caused the mind to be seen as a faculty of thought and capable of feeling or emotion.[94] The Old English words *hyge, sefa, ferð* are also used for 'mind' in poetry. These are used almost interchangeably and are translatable as 'heart', 'mind', 'spirit', 'soul'.[95]

In Alcuin's *De Ratione,* the soul is equal to the mind and holds dominion in an intellectual capacity over the physical body.[96] Alcuin stated that the soul is *circumscriptus in singulis suae carnis membris totus*.[97] Alcuin stipulated that during the process of perception, the soul does not range outside the body but remains within itself and forms an image from what is known via the bodily senses.[98] In the poem *Que mare* that immediately follows *De Ratione,* Alcuin described how the soul *quae mare quae terras caelum quae pervolat altum quamvis sit carnis carcere clausa suae*.[99] Although the soul is confined within the body, its engagement with the bodily senses enables the soul to perceive distant, unknown places.

Alcuin's explanation in *De Ratione* suggests that the soul can be both a container, as a *thesauro memoriae* and confined within the body, but also that the mind can soar over *quae mare quae terras caelum*.[100] These two metaphors for the mind can also be found in Old English poetry, particularly *The Wanderer, The Seafarer,* and *Soul*

93 Ibid., p. 303; 'thoughts of the heart'.

94 Ibid.

95 M.J. Phillips, 'Heart, Mind and Soul in Old English: A Semantic Study', Ph.D. thesis (University of Illinois, 1985); Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the mind', p. 291, 301; A. Harbus, *The Life of the Mind in Old English Poetry* (New York, NY, 2002), pp. 9-13.

96 See p. 19.

97 Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. VI; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'confined but wholly present in each of the body's parts'.

98 Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV.

99 Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Qui mare; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'soars over the sea, the lands, the lofty sky, although enclosed in the prison of it flesh'.

100 Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'treasure-house of memory…the sea, the lands, the lofty sky'.

and Body II.[101] In all three poems, these metaphors reflect on the relationship between the body and soul during life and at the point of death.[102]

Clemoes has also argued that it is possible to detect influences of Alcuin's *De Ratione* in the depiction of the mind thinking of distant things in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*.[103] He argued that in *The Seafarer,* the author depicted the mind or soul as an entity that can survey the whole world, similar to the ability of the tripartite soul to be instantly present in any place.[104] In *The Seafarer,* the spirit of the narrator ranges out of the body and soars widely through all corners of the world.[105] This is particularly similar to Alcuin's description of the soul's experience of distant place in *Que mare,* as it flew over *quae mare quae terras caelum*.[106] Clemoes argued that this depiction of the soul can only be found in *The Seafarer* and *Que mare*.[107] Since it is unlikely to have come from one of Alcuin's sources for *De Ratione,* one of these two texts appears to be indebted to the other.[108] According to Clemoes, the author of *The Seafarer* was probably indebted to Alcuin, and if he had access to *Que mare*, he probably had access to the whole of *De Ratione*.[109]

Not all agree that the flight-of-the-mind passage in *The Seafarer* is taken from Alcuin's *De Ratione.* In a study of Anglo-Saxon psychologies, Lockett argued that the

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[101] See Soon-Ai Low, 'The Anglo-Saxon Mind: Metaphor and Common-sense Psychology in Old English Literature' Ph.D. thesis (University of Toronto, 1998); B. Mize, 'The Representation of the Mind as an Enclosure in Old English Poetry', *Anglo-Saxon England,* 35 (2006), pp. 57-90; B. Mize, 'Manipulations of the Mind-as-Container Motif' in *Beowulf, Homiletic Fragment II* and Alfred's *Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care', Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* 107 (2008), pp. 25-56; Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychology*; A. Harbus, *Cognitive Approaches to Old English Poetry* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 30-38.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Clemoes, '*Mens Absentia Cogitans',* pp. 64-73.

[104] Ibid., p. 70.

[105] *The Seafarer,* lines 58-64a; B.J. Muir (ed.), *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: An Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter MS 3501,* Vol. 1 (Exeter, 1994), p. 234.

[106] Clemoes, '*Mens Absentia Cogitans'*, pp. 63-64; Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'the sea, the lands, the lofty sky'.

[107] Ibid., p. 67.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Ibid.

passage in *The Seafarer* is an almost verbatim quotation of Lactantius' *De opificio dei,* and that this was more likely to be the source known to the author of *The Seafarer.*[110] Lockett also observed that a near quotation of this passage also features in the second *Lorsch Riddle*.[111] Lockett discussed whether Anglo-Saxon authors understood mind-travel to be a 'physical, spatial phenomenon or only a figural representation', and concluded that although this was difficult to discern, it was clear that mind-travel was associated with memories and imaginations of earthly people and places.[112] This is similar to Alcuin's explanation of the perception of distant people and places, which was based on what had previously been experienced of that person or place.[113]

Given the importance of the relationship between the body and soul in Alcuin's explanation of perception in *De Ratione*, it is important to consider another Old English poem that considers this relationship, *Soul and Body.* This poem survives in two recensions, *Soul and Body I,* preserved in Vercelli, BC, MS CXVII (the Vercelli Book), and *Soul and Body II,* preserved in Exeter, CL, MS 3501 (the Exeter Book). *Soul and Body* is one of the very few Old English poems to survive in two versions.[114] These poems explore the differing roles and experiences of the body and soul during life and how the relationship changes after death. In *Soul and Body II,* the soul addresses the body after death, and warns the body of its terrible fate following the former pleasures of the flesh.[115]

The comparison between the different roles of the body and soul during life, and their differing fates after death, is a frequently addressed theme in medieval literature.[116] One particular metaphor used within *Soul and Body I* and *II* is the idea of

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110 Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies,* p. 221.

111 Lockett discussed this riddle in chapter 5 of her, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies,* pp. 228-280.

112 Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies,* p. 38.

113 Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV.

114 N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957) no. 116; D. Moffat, *The Old English* Soul and Body (Woodbridge, 1990), p. 6. On Exeter, CL, MS 3501, see Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 257; On Vercelli, BC, MS CXVII, Ker, *Catalogue,* no. 394; Gnuess and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 941.

115 Harbus, *Old English Poetry,* p. 32.

116 See particularly, R.W. Ackerman, 'The Debate of the Body and Soul and Parochial Christianity', *Speculum,* 37.4 (1962), pp. 541-565; P. Boitani and A. Tori (eds), *The Body and Soul in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, 1999); Harbus, *Old English Poetry,* pp. 30-38.

the body as container.[117] The body acts as enclosure of the soul, of temptation derived from the bodily senses. In *De Ratione*, Alcuin stated that even though the soul can perceive outside the confines of the body, the soul itself only leaves the body at the point of death.[118] *Soul and Body I* and *II* also present the mind as enclosure. The idea of the mind as a storage space for thoughts and memories is also well-used by Anglo-Saxon writers.[119] In *De Ratione,* Alcuin explained that what the soul experiences through the bodily senses is used to form images, which are then stored in the *thesauro memoriae*.[120]

Alcuin's *De Ratione* and texts composed in England demonstrate strong similarities in their depictions of the soul, its abilities and its relationship with the body. Part of the reason for these similarities may be common source material. Alcuin's major source, Augustine's *De trinitate,* circulated in England since at least the early eighth century.[121] Lapidge identified citations from *De trinitate* in the works of Bede, Alcuin, Ælfric and Byrhtferth.[122] Bede, in particular, quoted from Books I–IV, VI–VII, XII–XV across his corpus of work, which suggests that he had access to the full work and had probably read Book VIII even if he did not quote from it.[123] Bede quoted from Book I of the work in the preface to his *DTR* and in his letter to Hwætberht.[124] Bede quoted a specific passage from Book I of *De trinitate* which defended his decision to write on topics that had already been covered by the ancients.[125] In his letter to Hwætberht, Bede

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[117] Ackerman, 'The Debate of the Body and Soul', pp. 541-565; Harbus, *Old English Poetry,* pp. 32-35; H. Znojemská, 'Medieval English Soul and Body Literature', *Litteraria Pragensia: Studies in Literature and Culture,* 17.34 (2007), pp. 20-29.

[118] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV.

[119] See particularly, Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought,* pp. 91, 95, 203; Harbus, *Old English Poetry,* pp. 30-38.

[120] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV.

[121] Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the mind', pp. 285-287; Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought,* pp. 118-122.

[122] Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library,* p. 287.

[123] Ibid., Appendix E, p. 200.

[124] A. Thacker, *Bede and Augustine of Hippo: History and Figure in Sacred Text* (Jarrow Lecture, 2005), pp. 10-11.

[125] Ibid., p.10; Augustine, *De trinitate,* I.3.25028; W.J. Mountain and F. Glorie (ed.), CCSL 50 (1978) 33.25-28.

used this quote to defend his contested chronology of the ages of the world.[126] Bede also quoted this passage in his Commentary on Luke.[127] By quoting Augustine, Bede took on the role of his predecessor as a scholar threatened by the opinions of those with inferior intellect who did not understand his work.[128] It is probable therefore that Bede had read the perception of place analogy in Book VIII of *De trinitate.*

Furthermore, two book lists survive from the eighth century that suggest Augustine's *De trinitate* constituted one of the key texts in Anglo-Saxon libraries. One booklist was copied into the final folio of a mid eighth-century Frankish copy of, coincidentally, Augustine's *De Trinitate,* now Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud Misc. 126.[129] *De trinitate* was partly written in uncials and partly in half-uncials that incorporate bird and fish ornamentation and have been attributed to north-eastern Francia.[130] On account of the particular type of uncials used in this manuscript, Lowe, Bischoff and McKitterick have attributed it to either the nunnery at Chelles, or perhaps that nearby at Jouarre.[131] There are many examples of English women travelling to Chelles. Abbess Hild wished to join her sister Hereswith at Chelles before she became abbess of Whitby and Mildrith, of Minster-of-Thanet, spent time at Chelles in her youth.[132] McKitterick has argued that these English connections are often manifest in the palaeography and codicology of books produced at Chelles, and the surrounding

[126] Ibid., p. 11.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid.

[129] E.A. Lowe, 'A hand-list of half-uncial manuscripts', in *Scritta di storia e paleografia pubblicati sotto gli Auspice di S. S. Pio XI in occasione dell'ottantesimo matalizio dell'E.mo Cardinal Francesco Ehrle,* Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle 4, Studi e testi 40 (Rome, 1924), p. 48, no. 71; Bischoff, *Katalog,* II, no. 3832a; *CLA,* II, no. 252.

[130] See E.A. Lowe, 'An Eighth-Century List of Books in a Bodleian MS. From Würzburg and its Probable Relation to the Laudian Acts', *Speculum* 3 (1928), pp. 3-4; Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library,* p. 82; D. Mairhofer, *Medieval Manuscripts from Würzburg in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 401-413.

[131] *CLA, II,* no. 252; B. Bischoff, 'Die Kolner Nonnenhandschriften und das Skriptorium von Chelles', *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, I (1966), p. 31; R. McKitterick, 'The Diffusion of Insular Culture in Neustria Between 650 and 850', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms, 6th-9th centuries* (Ashgate, 1994), pp. 406-407.

[132] Bede, *HE,* IV.23; Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, *Vita Mildrethe,* ch. 4, in D. Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England* (Leicester, 1982), p. 115; R. McKitterick, 'Nuns' Scriptoria in England and Francia in the Eighth Century', *Francia,* 19 (1992), p. 1.

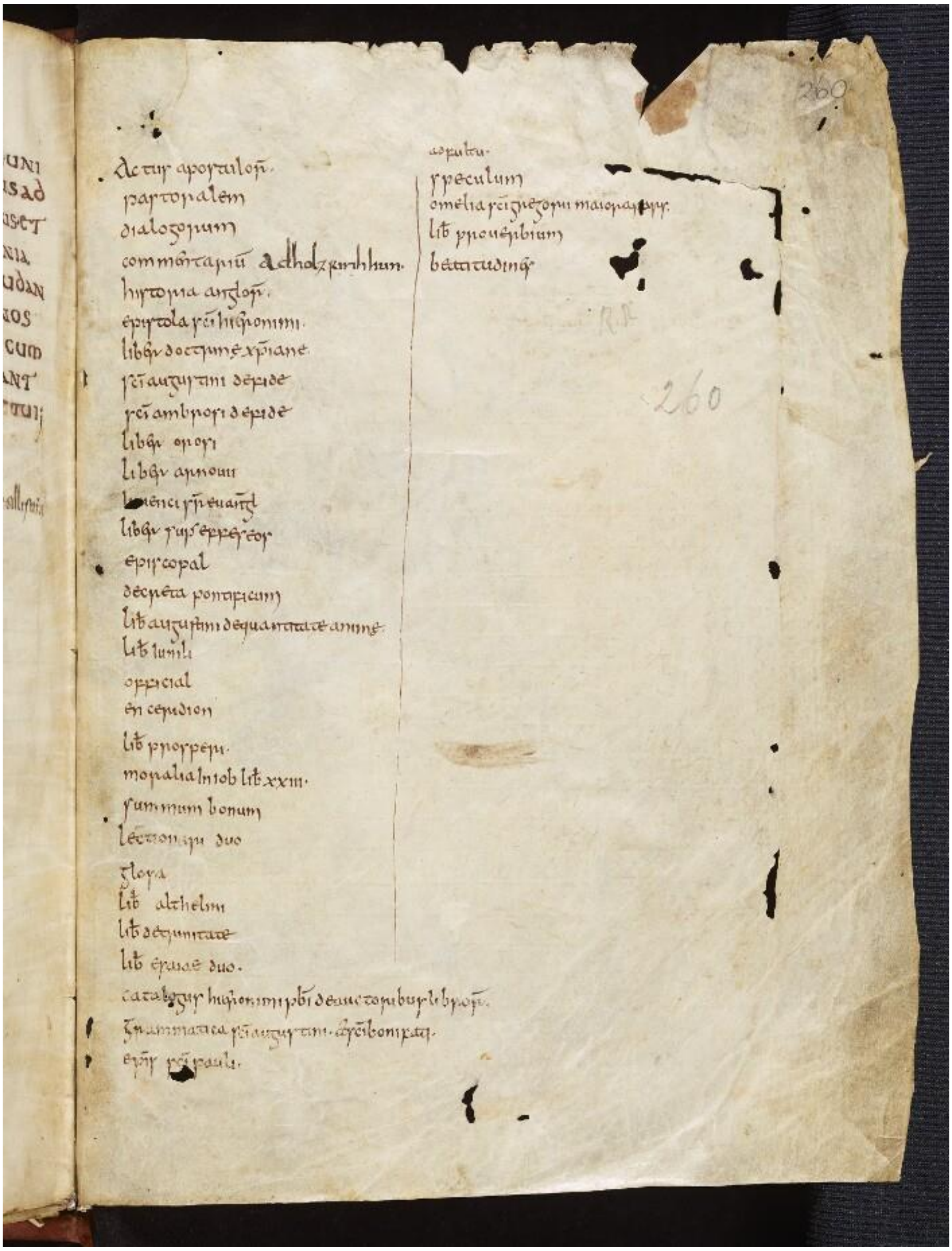

Fig. I.1 - Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud Misc. 126, f. 260r – The booklist in the left-hand column includes *De trinitate* on line 26 and Bede's *HE* on line 5. The right-hand column lists four books that were sent to Fulda (*ad fultu*).

area; particularly in the style of uncial.[133] Written in Insular minuscule, the booklist also demonstrates the insular connections of the community that owned Oxford, Bodleian,

[133] McKitterick, 'Nuns' Scriptoria', pp. 1-35.

MS Laud Misc. 126 later in the eighth century. The list was written on f. 260r, which was originally left blank at the end of the manuscript, in an Anglo-Saxon set minuscule dated to *c.* 800 [Fig I.1].[134] A copy of Charlemagne's letter *De litteris colendis,* sent in 787 to Abbot Baugulf of Fulda, was copied into a fly-leaf (f. 1r) in an almost identical hand as the list on f. 260r.[135] The hands used to write the booklist and Charlemagne's letter to Baugulf are contemporary, and it is possible they were added by the same scribe.[136] On the basis of the script, Daniela Mairhofer has argued that the list was added to the MS at Würzburg, and can be dated to the time of Bishop Berowelf of Würzburg (768/769–800) or shortly afterwards.[137] Furthermore, the booklist contains no mention of the works of Alcuin (d. 804) which would be expected if the list were compiled in the early ninth century.[138]

The booklist includes thirty-six books, four of which are noted as having gone to Fulda and one to Holzkirchen.[139] Lowe argued that the library that produced the list was borrowing books from both Holzkirchen and Fulda, and was probably Würzburg since both Holzkirchen and Fulda were dependencies of Würzburg.[140] Würzburg was first mentioned in a donation by Duke Heden II to Bishop Willibrord dated 1 May 704, and was later made a diocese by Boniface in 742.[141] Boniface also had a strong connection to Fulda, as it had been founded by his disciple, Sturm, and it was Boniface

134 Lowe, 'An Eighth-Century List of Books', p. 3.

135

Ibid., p.12. On Charlemagne's letter to Baugulf see, L. Wallach, 'Charlemagne's *De litteris colendis* and Alcuin: A Diplomatic-Historical Study', *Speculum* 26 (1951), pp. 288-305; E.E. Stengel (ed.), *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Fulda, Erster Band. (Die Zeit der Äbte Sturmi und Baugulf)* (Marburg, 1958), p. 251; T. Martin, 'Bemerkungen zur 'Epistola de litteras colendis'', *AfD* 31 (1985), pp. 228-241; M.M. Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 55-56; McKitterick, 'Diffusion of Insular Culture in Neustria Between 650 and 850', p. 145;.

136 Mairhofer, *Medieval Manuscripts from Würzburg,* p. 408.

137 Ibid., p. 403.

138 Ibid., p. 411.

139 Ibid., pp. 403-405; Lowe, 'An Eighth-Century List of Books', p. 3.

140 Lowe, 'An Eighth-Century List of Books', p. 11; Mairhofer, *Medieval Manuscripts from Würzburg*, pp. 403-405.

141 Ibid., p. 82.

who obtained a papal privilege for Fulda in 751.[142] Fulda went go on to become the main focus of Boniface's cult.[143] Both Willibrord and Boniface were both born in England but undertook missionary work in Francia that spurred the foundation of networks of monasteries.[144] Although the inventory reflects the holding of a continental monastery, Lowe observed that there is nothing typically Carolingian about its content and it might better represent the interests of the early period of the Anglo-Saxon mission.[145] The list includes Bede's *HE,* Augustine's *De trinitate,* and books by other church fathers and scholars such as Isidore of Seville and Gregory the Great.[146]

A similar booklist exists as an early eighth-century addition by an Anglo-Saxon scribe to Vatican City, BAV, Pal. Lat. 210, f. 1r.[147] Paul Lehmann argued that the manuscript probably originated in the Low Countries, although the precise origin of the list is unknown.[148] The fourth item on the list is *quindecim libri Augustini*, which is thought to refer to Augustine's *De trinitate,* since it is comprised of fifteen books.[149] The booklists in Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud Misc. 126 and Vatican City, BAV, Pal. Lat. 210 were both copied in Anglo-Saxon hands at centres of Anglo-Saxon missionary activity in Francia, and both note the presence of Augustine's *De trinitate*. It is important to note, however, that a third inventory survives in a copy of Isidore's *De natura rerum* which was written at Fulda in *c*. 800, now Basle, UB, F. III. 15a, which does not contain Augustine's *De trinitate.*[150] However, the presence of *De trinitate* in

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142 I.N. Wood, 'Boniface', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2843 [Accessed on 22/8/2016].

143 Ibid.

144 M. Costambeys, 'Willibrord', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29576 [Accessed on 22/8/2016]; Wood, 'Boniface', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2843 [Accessed on 22/8/2016].

145 Lowe, 'An eighth-century list of books', p. 11; Mairhofer, *Medieval Manuscripts from Würzburg,* p. 404.

146 Ibid.

147 P. Lehmann, *Fuldaer Studien: Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* phil.-hist. Klasse (1925), Abt. iii pp. 49-50; Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library,* p.83.

148 Lehmann, *Fuldaer Studien,* pp. 49-50.

149 Lowe, 'An eighth-century list of books', p. 6.

150 Lehmann, *Fuldaer Studien,* pp. 49-50; H. Spilling, 'Angelsächsische Schrift in Fulda', in A. Brall (ed.), *Von der Klosterbibliothek zur Landesbibliothek, Beiträge zum zweihundertjährigen Bestehen der*

two eighth-century book lists from Anglo-Saxon missionary establishments in Francia, as well as Bede's knowledge of the text, suggests that it would not have been out of place in a library in England at the same time. Lapidge has argued that these inventories are representative of a 'core collection' of manuscripts for Anglo-Saxon libraries, of which *De trinitate* was a part.[151] From the evidence of these eighth-century booklists and citations in texts composed in England, it is likely that Book 8 of *De trinitate* was available to scholars. Alcuin's *De Ratione* was not the only source of theories regarding how the soul perceived distant people and places.

Alcuin's *De Ratione* was certainly in England by the time that the earliest surviving manuscript was produced in the eleventh century, but there is evidence that the explanation of perception of distant place was known long before. Ælfric quoted parts of the *De Ratione* in the tenth century and it was perhaps known to King Alfred at the end of the ninth century. Certain Old English poems describe the experience of the soul during perception in a similar way to how it is described in Alcuin's *DRA.* There is also evidence that Augustine's *De trinitate,* Alcuin's major source for the perception of place analogy in *De Ratione*, was known in England from at least the early eighth century. The presence of *De trinitate* in two booklists copied in Insular minuscule hands dated to *c.* 800 also suggest that it may have been a key text in Anglo-Saxon libraries. Scholars did not need a copy of Alcuin's *De Ratione* to necessarily be aware of how the soul perceived distant people or place. The ideas in Alcuin's *De Ratione* aligned with insular thought on this topic, expressed in both Latin and vernacular texts preserved in England and Francia.

An insular copy of *De Animae Ratione*

Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 is the only known manuscript of *De Ratione* to be copied almost entirely in Insular minuscule. The manuscript contains Alcuin's *De fide,* ff. 1r-70r, *Questionnes,* ff. 70r-76r, and finishes with *De Ratione,* ff. 76r-90v. These letter-treatises are written in their conventional order and are the only texts present in the manuscript as it exists now. Scribe 1 copied most of the text in Insular minuscule, from

Hessichen Landesbibliothek Fulda, Bibliothek des Buchwesens 6 (Stuttgart and Fulda, 1978), pp. 62-64; Schrimpf, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse des Klosters Fulda,* pp. 5-6; Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library,* pp. 82-83.

[151] Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library,* pp. 81-85.

ff. 1r-89v, and then Scribe 2 took over halfway down f. 89v and finished the final two folios in Caroline minuscule. Scribe 3 made some additions to the text of *De fide* in the first 35 folios of the manuscript in a hand that can broadly be defined as Caroline minuscule but with insular symptoms. Bischoff, Helmut Gnuess and Michael Lapidge have attributed the manuscript to a southern-English scriptorium yet argued that it soon travelled to Francia.[152] However, close analysis of the palaeography and codicology of the manuscript, particularly the interactions between Scribes 1 and 3, demonstrates that these two scribes must have been working side by side. It is more likely, therefore, that Scribe 1 copied the manuscript in a scriptorium in Francia, as opposed to Scribe 3 working in England. This manuscript is therefore an important witness to the presence of *De Ratione,* and its ideas regarding the perception of distant place, within an insular context in Francia in the earlier ninth century.

Some scholars have argued that Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 was produced in Francia. Ganz proposed that the manuscript was copied in an insular centre in Francia, perhaps Fulda.[153] McKitterick identified the manuscript as one of those which were part of the library of Saint-Amand during the period Hucbald was active in the late tenth century.[154] The manuscript is now housed in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Valenciennes, which holds many of the manuscripts that were originally part of the early medieval library at Saint-Amand.[155] The script of Scribes 2 and 3, and the presence of the manuscript in Valenciennes has caused some scholars to attribute the manuscript to Saint-Amand.[156] Szarmach also gave Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 a Saint-Amand origin in his summary catalogue of early manuscript copies of the *De Ratione.*[157]

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[152] Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 940.5; Bischoff, *Katalog,* III,. no. 6366a.

[153] Ganz, 'Handschriften der Werke Alkuins', p. 187.

[154] McKitterick, 'Knowledge of Plato's *Timaeus* in the Ninth Century', p. 93.

[155] F. Simeray, *Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand au XII*[e] *siècle* (Paris, 1993), pp. 151-159; J.M.H. Smith, 'A Hagiographer at Work: Hucbald and the Library of Saint-Amand', *Revue Bénédictine* 106 (1996), p. 152.

[156] P.J. Mangeart, *Manuscrits da la Bibliotheque de Valenciennes* (Valenciennes, 1894), p. 174.

[157] Szarmach, Alcuin's *De Animae Ratione',* p. 405.

Arn of Salzburg was abbot of Saint-Amand (783-821) and bishop of Salzburg (785-821), an important member of the court, often acting as counsellor to Charlemagne and was a close friend of Alcuin.[158] Previous abbots of Saint-Amand had also been important members of the Carolingian court; Gislebertus was celebrated in verse by Alcuin, and Agilfrid was a member of the ruling Carolingian family.[159] The abbey was located near the border of modern Belgium, situated on the Scarpe River between modern cities Douai and Valenciennes.[160] Saint-Amand also produced some of the best examples of the Franco-Saxon manuscript style in the late ninth century.[161] Its location on the River Scarpe placed Saint-Amand on a water-route that connected it straight to the Channel. It is not surprising, therefore, to find scribes trained in England working in Saint-Amand from a relatively early date.

Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 measures 173 mm x 240 mm and contains 90 folios.[162] The text is written in a single column with an average of 19 lines per page. Pricking marks can be seen in both the inner and outer margins, suggesting that the sheets were pricked and ruled after folding in the insular fashion.[163] The manuscript is constructed of eleven quires that vary in size [Table 1]. The final folio of each quire is labelled with a Roman numeral in the lower margin of the verso, and modern foliation supplied in pencil in the lower margin of the recto.

Although the first and second quires are correctly labelled in both Roman and Arabic numerals, the labelling of quires 3, 4 and 5 feature some mistakes. The first folio of the third quire [f. 12r] is labelled with an Arabic numeral, the final folio in this quire [f. 19v] is not labelled with a Roman numeral. Additionally, the first folio of quire four [f. 20r] is not labelled with an Arabic numeral, and the final folio in quire four [f. 30v] has been incorrectly labelled with the Roman numeral 'III', probably causing the

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158 *CLA*, X. p. viii.

159 Ibid.

160 Ibid.

161 *CLA*, X. p. viii; Boutemy, 'Le Style Franco-Saxon', pp. 260-264; Boutemy, Que fût le foyer du style franco-saxon?', pp. 749-773; Koehler and Mütherich, *Die Frankosächsische Schule.*

162 Codicological information accessed via https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84525921 on 14/04/2019.

163 R. Clemens and T. Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (London, 2007), p. 16.

modern librarian who wrote the Arabic numerals to incorrectly label the beginning of quire 5 as quire 4. This mistake is corrected at the end of quire five, where the quire was correctly labelled with the Roman numeral 5. These mistakes were perhaps a cause or symptom of the division of labour between Scribes 1 and 3 in the first portion of the manuscript. The quire numbering is then correct until the very last verso of the manuscript and its final quire, which lacks a Roman numeral label. It may be that Scribe 1 was responsible for the Roman numeral quire markings, since this quire was completed by Scribe 2. Detailed analysis of the work of Scribes 1 and 3 demonstrates

Text	Length of quires	Ninth-century quire marks
De fide (ff. 1r-70r)	ff. 1r-8v	I
	ff. 9r-v	Slip leaf
	ff. 10r-11v	II
	ff. 12r-19v	III
	ff. 20r-30v	IV
	ff. 31r-41v	V
	ff. 42r-49v	VI
	ff. 50r-57v	VII
	ff. 58r-64v	VIII
Questionnes (ff. 70r-76r)	ff. 65r-72v	IX
De Ratione (ff. 76r-90r)	ff. 73r-80v	X
	ff. 81r-90v	XI

Table I – Collation of Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 – Quires are of irregular length, but most contain between six and ten folia.

that they were working simultaneously, side-by-side. This therefore means that the manuscript was copied in Francia, and cannot have been copied in a southern English scriptorium as suggested by Bischoff, Gnuess and Lapidge, unless we accept that scribes writing Caroline minuscule were working in England in the early ninth century.[164] The Insular minuscule hand of Scribe 1 been dated by Bischoff to the first quarter of the ninth century.[165]

Scribe 1 copied almost all the text, before abruptly finishing midway through f. 89v. The final sentence written by Scribe 1 is the prose sentence that follows the second poem, *Te homo* [Fig. I.2]. This final section of *De Ratione* summarises and concludes the main text, and ends with the prayer, *Miserere domine.* The rest of the text is completed by Scribe 2 in an even, neat, compact Caroline minuscule, beginning '*Cuius numeri rationem sicut et aliorum…'.* Scribe 2 does not encapsulate the characteristics of the 'Saint-Amand type' identified by E.A. Lowe in CLA Vol. X, such as the 'ar' ligature, the sweeping 'r' in the 'or' ligature, 's' descending below the baseline.[166] However the contribution of Scribe 2 is a relatively small sample to work from.

The contributions of Scribe 3 can be found on f. 9r, 9v, 10r, 20r, 30v and 31r. Scribe 3 wrote distinctive letterforms that are notably different from Scribe 2. This hand features tall, looped ascenders on the 'd's, 'b's, and 'h's, and the 'c' is written in a tall, double compartment form. The 'n' is sometimes capitalised, mid word, and the left-hand descender of 'n' descends below the base line and then flicks upward. An 'e' is often given a tongue despite the lobe being on a 45-degree angle. Additionally, in the insert, which has now become ff. 9r-v, Scribe 3 used 3 different forms of the letter 'g', one of which on f. 9v is similar to the insular form of the letter [Figs. I.3 and I.4].

Although Scribe 3's hand is certainly more caroline than insular, it is noticeably different than the hand of Scribe 2. The two defining features of this script — the looped ascenders and the tall, double compartment 'c' — occur in some other manuscripts copied in Frankish scriptoria in the late eighth century. One example is

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164 On the early history of Caroline minuscule in Anglo-Saxon England see, T.A.M Bishop, *English Caroline minuscule* (Oxford, 1971); D. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950-1030* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 86-110.

165 Ganz, 'Handschriften der werke Alkuins', p. 187; Knibbs and Matter, *Alcuini Eboracensis*, p.xliii; Bischoff, *Katalog,* III, no. 6366a.

166 Lowe, *CLA*, X pp. xiii-xiv.

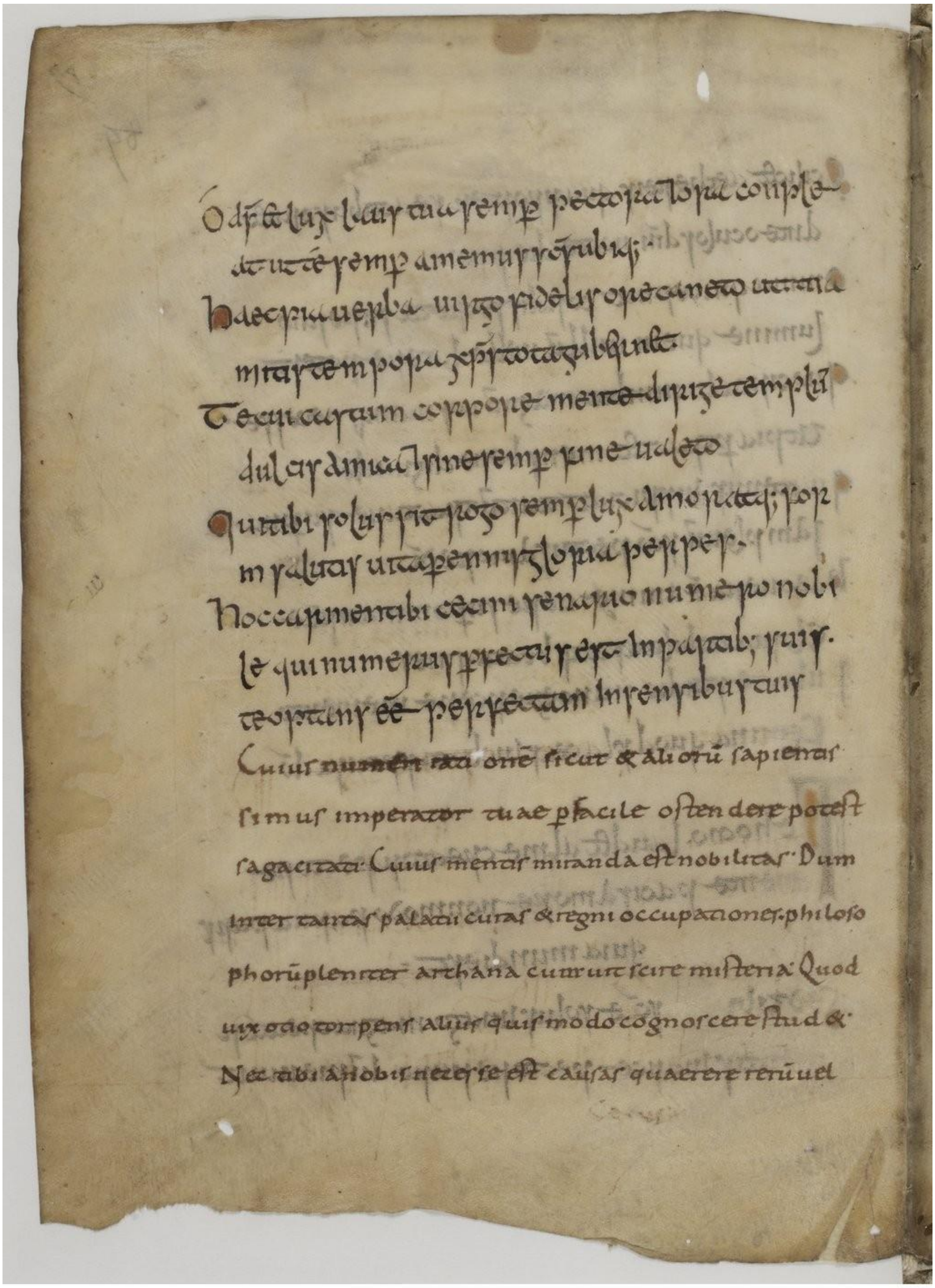


Fig. I.2 – Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, f. 89v – Scribe 2, writing in a Caroline minuscule, takes over from Scribe 1's Insular minuscule at line 12.

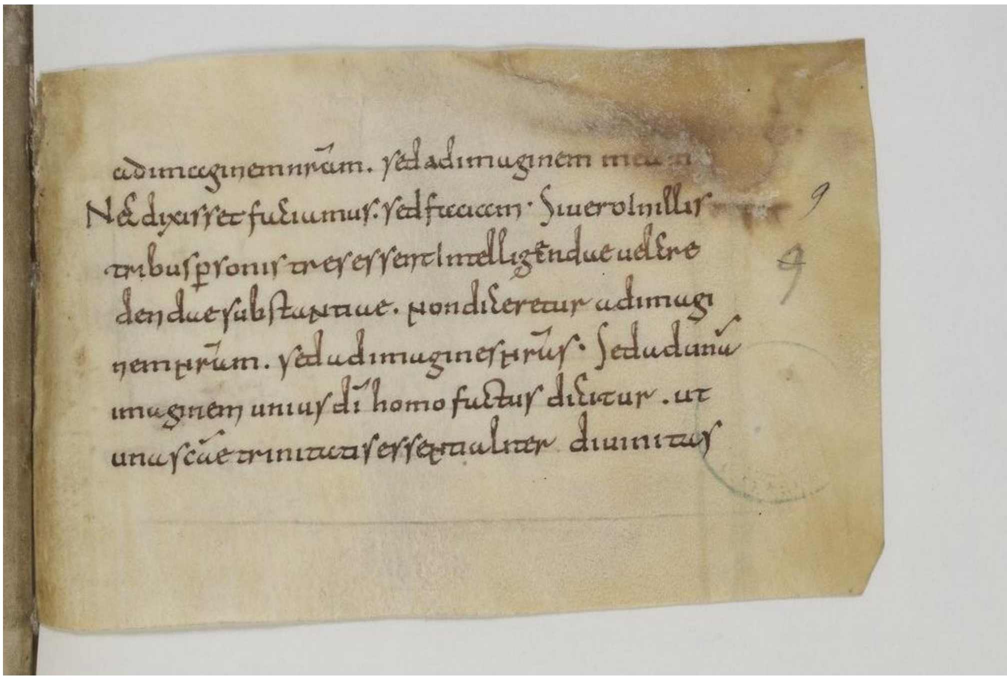


Fig. I.3 – Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, f. 9r – Final portion of *De fide* Book 1 Chapter 3 added by Scribe 3. Key features of the script include the tall, double compartment ‘c’, looped ascenders and the majuscule ‘n’ in the middle of words.

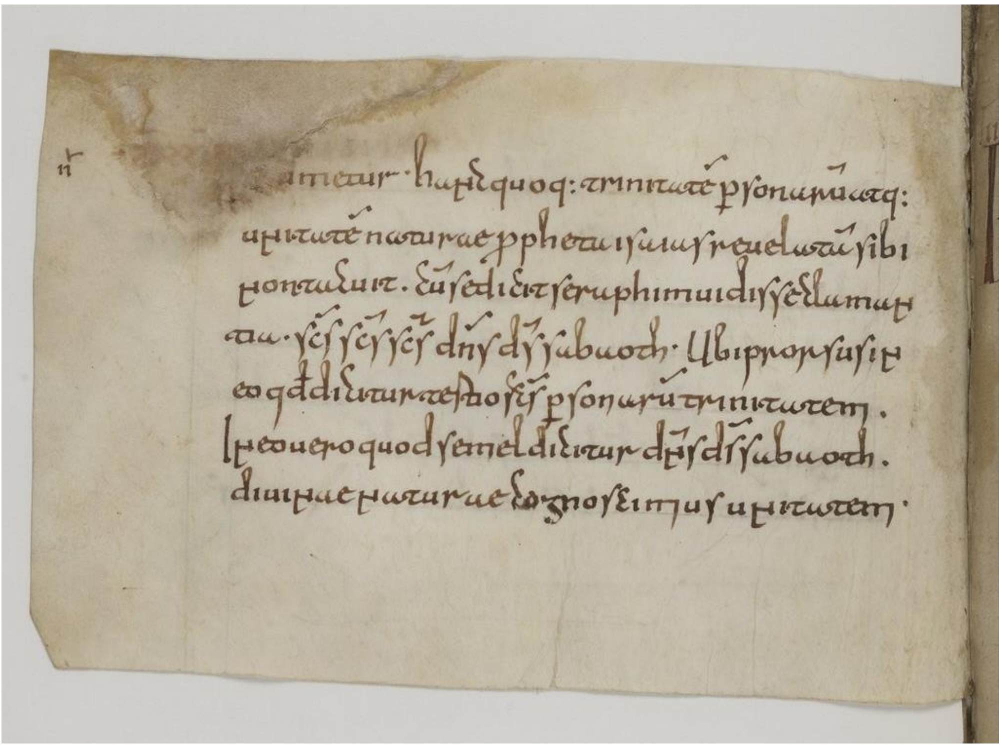


Fig. I.4 - Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, f. 9v – The continuation of *De fide* Book 1 Chapter 3 added by Scribe 3. An insular style ‘g’ is used on line 7.

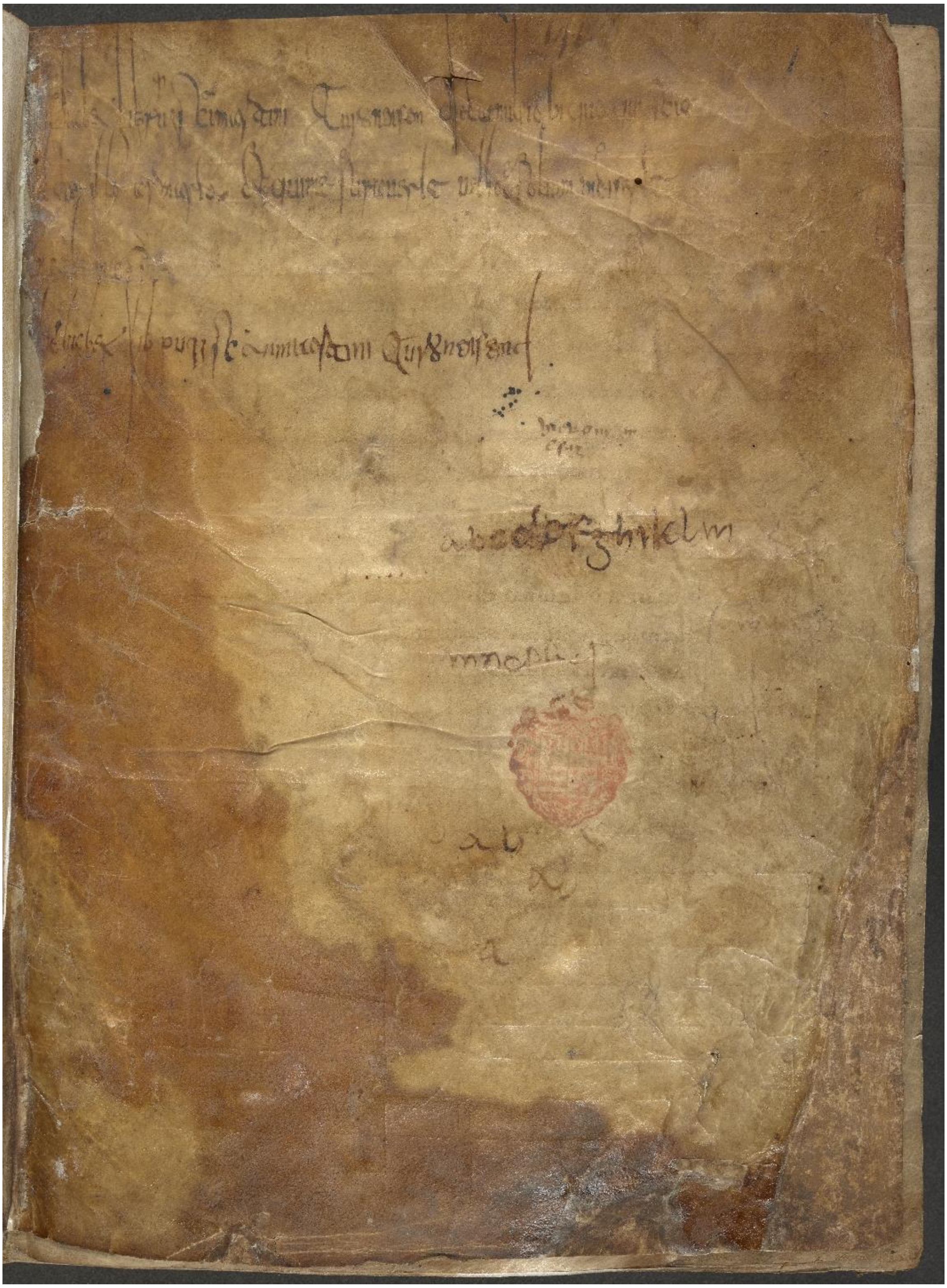


Fig. I.5 – London, BL, Egerton MS 2831, f. 1r – An ownership inscription is written in a mid eighth-century Merovingian cursive script, attributing the manuscript to the Benedictine abbey of Marmoutiers, Tours. This script features tall, double compartment ‘c’s, similarly to that of Scribe 3 in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195.

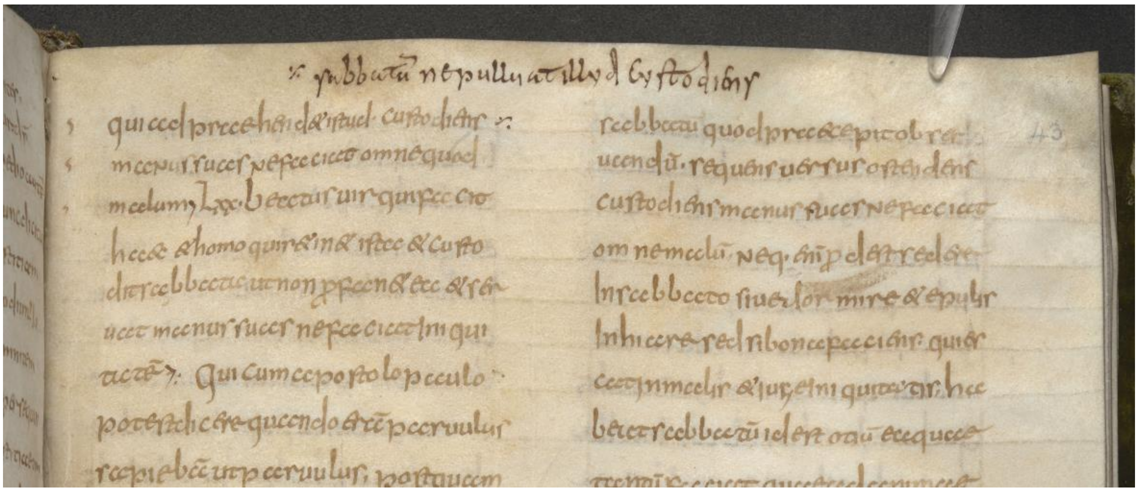


Fig. I.6 - London, BL, Egerton MS 2831, f. 43r – The annotation in the upper margin features looped ascenders and the tall, double compartment ‘c’, similar to the hand of Scribe 3 in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195

London, BL, Egerton MS 2831, a copy of Jerome’s *Commentariaum isaiam,* copied at Tours in the second quarter of the eighth century [Fig. I.5].[167] This manuscript is attributed to Tours on account of the ownership inscription copied on f. 1r, *hic habet librum Sancti Martini Turonensem de caenubio in quo quiescit.*[168] Key features of the script used for this ownership inscription and some interlinear annotations include elongated ascenders and descenders, looped ascenders and instances of tall, double compartment ‘c’s [Fig. I.6]. If Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 was copied in the early ninth century, it is possible that Scribe 3 was an older scribe, who had trained in the late eighth century.

At the end of the first quire, f. 8v, Scribe 1 had reached the middle of Book 1 Chapter 3 of *De fide,* ending quire I on f. 8v with the phrase *et filii et spritius sancti una esset persona, non diceretur.* However, at this point, there may have been some confusion between the two scribes [Fig. I.7]. Scribe 1 had not quite finished Book 1 Chapter 3 at the end of quire I and continued the rest of Chapter 3 on the first folio of a new quire. Perhaps without realising this, Scribe 3 also started a new quire. This quire now begins at f. 10r with the title of Book 1 Chapter 4, *Quod sit unus deus, pater et folius et spiritus sanctus,* even though Chapter 3 was still incomplete. The rubricated

[167] *CLA II,* no. 196a; P. McGurk, ‘Citation Marks in Early Latin Manuscripts’, *Scriptorium* 15:1 (1961), pp. 10-12; McKitterick, ‘The Diffusion of Insular Culture’, p. 340.

[168] McGurk, ‘Citation Marks in Early Latin Manuscripts’, p. 10.

chapter title, enlarged initials and the first four lines of Chapter 4 were all written by Scribe 3, with Scribe 1 taking over at the end of line 5. At some point, Scribe 3 realised that the final part of Chapter 3 had been omitted and wrote the missing part on a small parchment insert, now ff. 9r-v [Figs. I.3 and I.4]. The text on f. 9r begins *ad imaginem nostrum,* continuing the text where Scribe 1 left off at the bottom of f. 8v, and f. 9v concludes with the final portion of Book 1 Chapter 3.

A close inspection of the top of f. 10r reveals an erasure underneath the portion of text written by Scribe 3 [Fig. I.8]. The ascenders and descenders of the original text are just about visible since they stretch above and below the space occupied by the text written by Scribe 3. These ascenders and descenders have the pointed appearance of Scribe 1's Insular minuscule. Indeed, towards the beginning of the fourth line of text it is possible to see the remains of the 'l' that was part of the original text. The descender of the 'l' loops below the baseline and underneath the following letter. This looping 'l' is a distinctive feature of the Insular minuscule practised by Scribe 1 in this manuscript.[169] It is also possible to see the remains of a capital 'b' above the word *simul* at the end of the fifth line of text, which was the first word written by Scribe 1. The erasure only appears to be below the portion of text written by Scribe 3 and is not visible after the erased 'b' above *simul.* From what is visible, it appears that Scribe 1 originally wrote a portion of text at the top of f. 10r, only for it to be erased and written over by Scribe 3. This erased portion of text, however, is too small to be the final part of Chapter 3 which Scribe 3 would later add via the insert which is now f. 9.

The quire which Scribe 1 started when completing the final part of Book 1 Chapter 3 eventually became the fourth quire in the manuscript, ff. 20r-30v. The portion of Book 1 Chapter 3 written by Scribe 1, now on f. 20r, was crossed out by Scribe 3, as he had added this portion of text via the insert that is now f. 9 [Fig. I.9]. Scribe 3 then wrote three lines of text underneath the correction at the bottom of f. 20r. These three lines are a portion of the text from Chapter 17 of *De fide,* and thus continues the text unbroken from f. 19v. Scribe 1 ends the third quire half way through Chapter 17 on f. 19v, three lines worth of text are written by Scribe 3 on f. 20r and then the text is continued by Scribe 1 on f. 20v. If one ignores the crossed out part of the text on f. 20r, the text of chapter 17 runs as it should from ff. 19v-20r. Scribe 3 also writes part of the text on the final folio of quire four, f. 30v, and the first folio of quire 5, f. 31r. Scribe 3

[169] See, p. 54.

wrote the final line of text on f. 30v, which is part of Book 2 Chapter 10 of *De fide*, and then the first three and a half lines of text of f. 31r. At the top of f. 31r the text written by Scribe 3 overflows slightly into the margins, beyond the boundaries which Scribe 1 rarely breaks. This gives the impression that Scribe 3 was restricted for space, perhaps

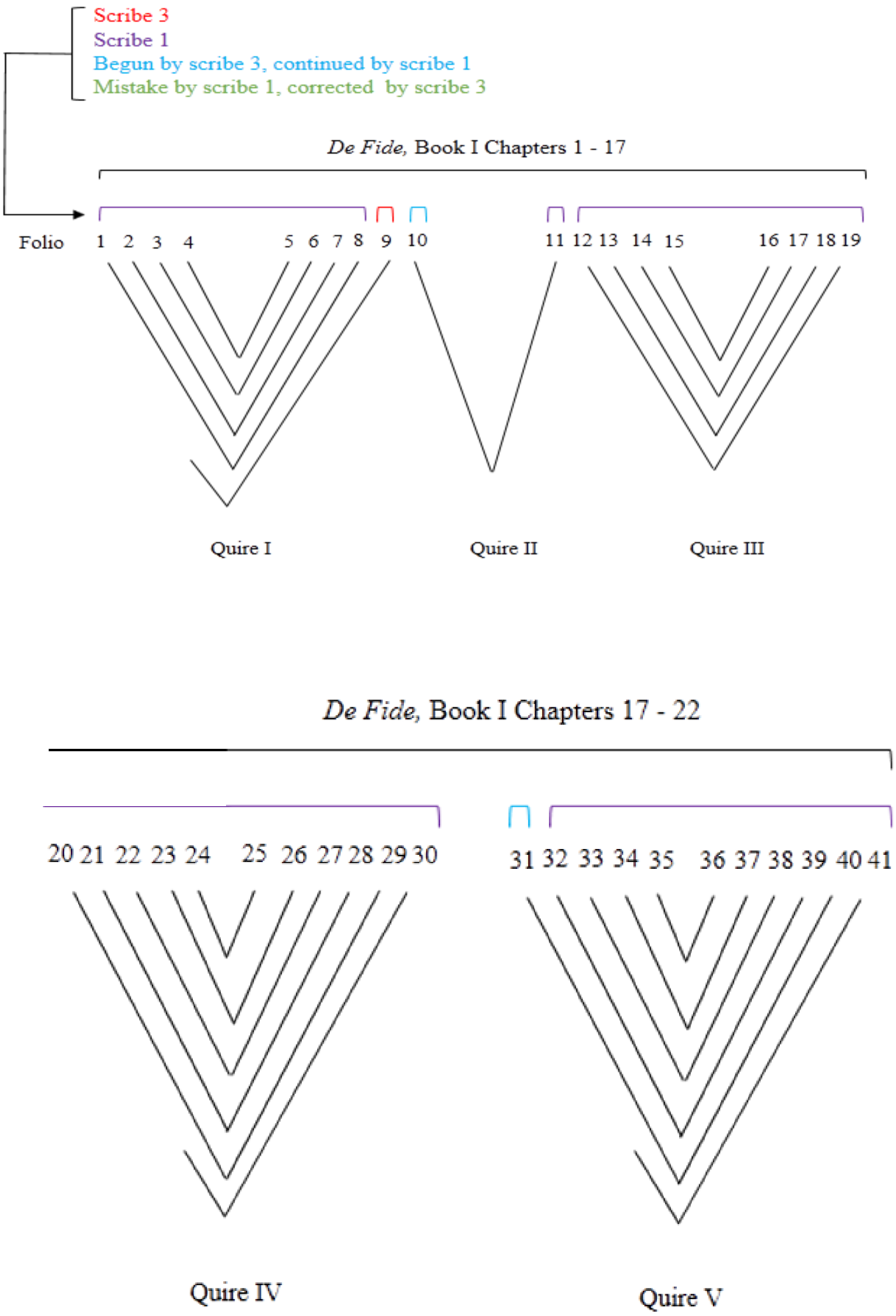
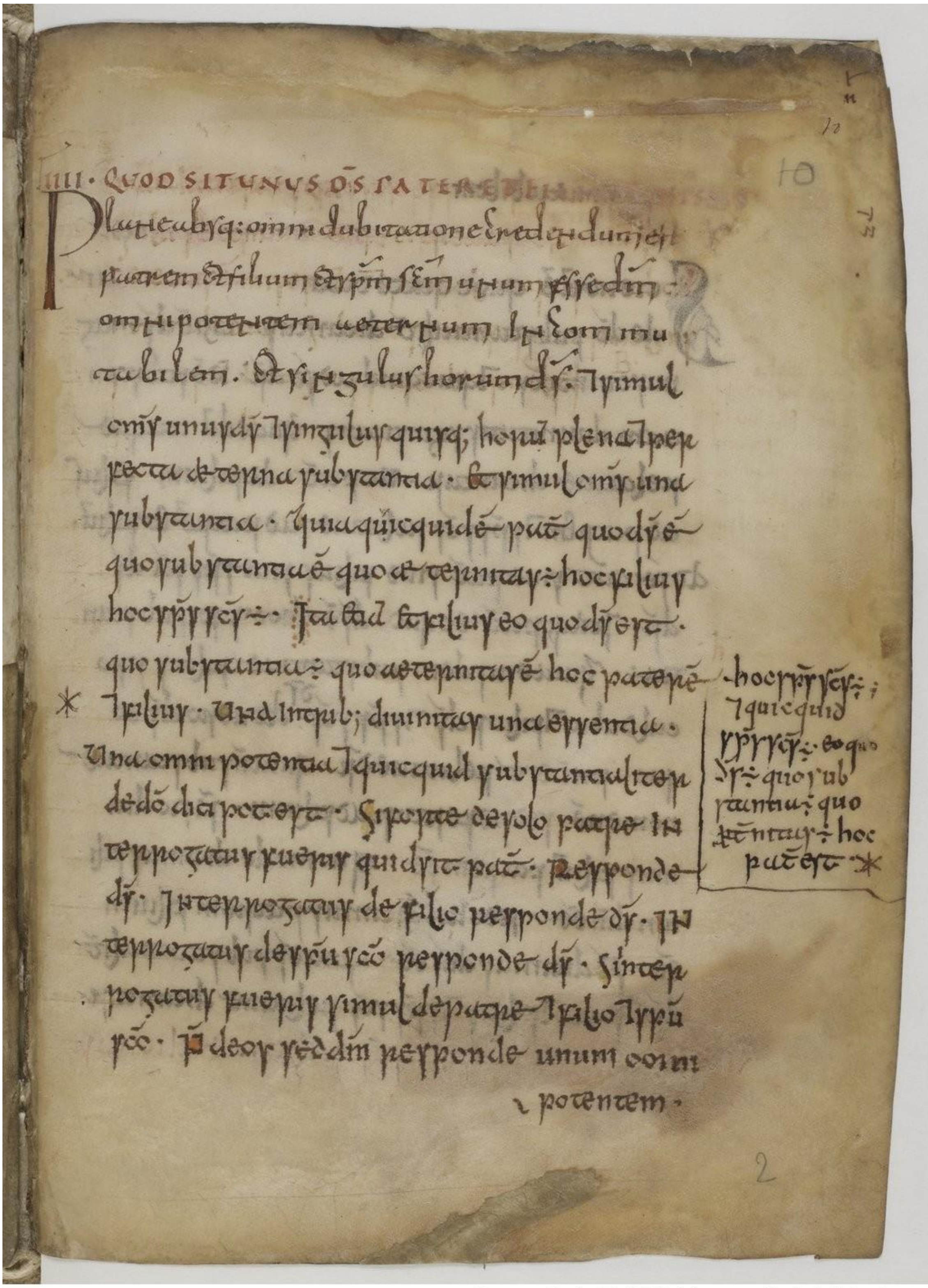
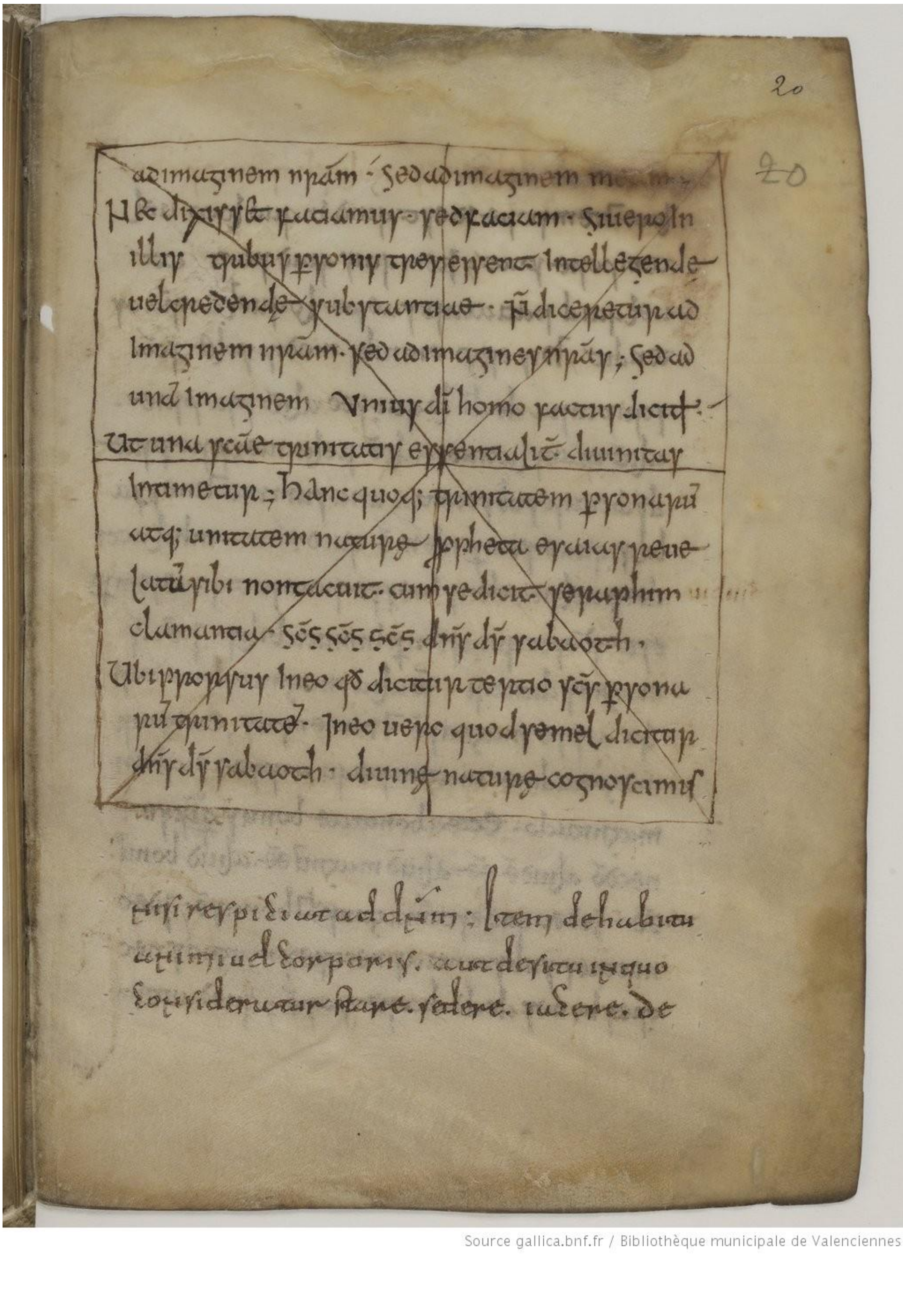


Fig. I.7 – Diagram of the first four quires of Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, ff. 1r-41v, displaying the interaction between Scribe 1 and Scribe 3.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque municipale de Valenciennes

Fig. I.8 – Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, f. 10r – Scribe 3 began *De fide* Book 1 Chapter 4 at the top of the page. Scribe 1 took over at the end of line 5, beginning ‘*et simul omnes unus deus…*’, and a capital ‘B’ is faintly visible above *simul.*



Scribe 1, wrote the final part of Book 1 Chapter 3, continuing the text from f.8v.

Scribe 3, continuing Book 1 Chapter 17 from the end of f.19v.

Fig. I.9 – Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, f. 20r – Scribe 1 finished *De fide* Book 1 Chapter 3, with the intention that this would be quire 2 and that the text would flow unbroken from f. 8v. His work was later crossed out by Scribe 3, who repurposed this page as the third quire, and continued *De fide* Book 1 Chapter 17 on line 15.

working within a gap left by Scribe 1. Additionally, f. 30v and f. 31r both have 20 lines of text on the page, whereas the average on other folios is 19. Scribe 3 was presumably forced to add an extra line of text at the bottom of f. 30v and at the top of f. 31r, to fit in the text omitted by Scribe 1.

The interactions between Scribes 1 and 3, and the mistakes made as a result of these interactions, demonstrate that they were working side by side. Scribe 3 made contributions at the beginning or end of the first five quires, perhaps the result of an intention to begin the quires. It is perhaps also because of this that Scribe 3 appears to be correcting mistakes made by Scribe 1 on f. 10r and f. 20r. After the mistakes in quire 5, they abandoned this practice, and Scribe 1 finished the rest of the text until Scribe 2 took over at f. 89v.

Although it is strange that Scribe 3 did not begin the third quire on f. 12r, this may have been part of the same confusion that caused the mistakes at the start of the second quire on f. 10r and the fourth quire on f. 20r. It is also important to note that the pen used by Scribe 3 had a slight defect that prevented the ink running properly from the centre of the pen, and therefore creating a gap in the centre of vertical and curved lines made by the pen. This pen was used to write part of the text on f. 9r, 10r, 20r and f. 30v, however on f. 9v and f. 31r, Scribe 3 had either recut this pen or switched to a different one.

That Scribes 1 and 3 were working alongside one another means that the manuscript was almost certainly copied in a Carolingian scriptorium, most likely Saint-Amand. This argument contradicts that made by Bischoff, Gnuess and Lapidge that this manuscript was copied in southern England, and then came to Saint-Amand by the end of the ninth century.[170] The current scholarly consensus is that scribes trained in Caroline minuscule were not operating in Canterbury until the mid-tenth century.[171] If we accept that Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 is a ninth-century manuscript, to argue for an English origin would require a reassessment of the established date at which scribes writing Caroline minuscule, in its Frankish form, began to operate in English scriptoria, whereas, it is well established that insular-trained scribes were active in Francia from

[170] Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 940.5; Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, no. 6366a.

[171] T.A.M Bishop, *English Caroline minuscule* (Oxford, 1971); Brooks, *Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, pp. 230-231, 270-273; Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 86-110.

the beginning of Anglo-Saxon missionary activity onwards. The development of the 'Franco-Saxon' style of manuscript decoration demonstrates the pervasive influence of the presence of these scribes in Francia.[172]

If Scribe 3 was indeed responsible for beginning the initial quires, this suggests that he was the more senior scribe in the scriptorium. Unusual aspects of the hand of Scribe 3 are also found in Merovingian scripts. There are other examples of manuscripts where a more senior scribe would sometimes be tasked with beginning quires or sections of the text in order to 'set the tone'. For example, in London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius C II, a ninth-century copy of Bede's *HE,* each of the five books of the *HE* is started by the same scribe, writing a neater, more rounded Insular minuscule than was used to write the rest of the text.[173] This scribe wrote the recto and verso of the beginning of Book I, f. 6r-v, yet only the portion of text on the first folio of Books II-IV on f. 34v, 60v and 94r. This scribe only wrote the first five lines of the beginning of Book V on f. 126r. However, the scribal practice in London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius C II corresponds to divisions within the text, rather than the quire structure as in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195.

Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 195 and the 'Tiberius group'

The insular training of Scribe 1 is evident in the style of Insular minuscule, the rubrication of chapter titles and the decoration of large and small capitals. The work of Scribe 1 displays many similarities to the group of eighth- and ninth-century Southumbrian manuscripts now known as the 'Tiberius group'. This group has been studied by Michelle Brown, and others, and is named after the early ninth-century copy of Bede's *HE,* London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius C II.[174] It is possible to see strong similarities between the specific style of script and decoration in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 and manuscripts of the 'Tiberius group'. These similarities may suggest that

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172 See, pp. 5-6.

173 *CLA*, IX no. 1385; J.J.G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts: 6th to the 9th Century* (London, 1978), no. 33; M. P. Brown, 'Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10861 and the Scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury', *Anglo-Saxon England,* 15 (1986), pp.119-137; Brown, *The Book of Cerne,* pp, 20, 21, 22, 171; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 377, pp. 301-302; M. Lapidge, 'Introduction', in M. Lapidge (ed.), *Storia degli inglesi = Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum.* Trans. F. Lorenzo Valla. (Milan, 2008), pp. i-cxxviii; C. Breay and J. Story (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Art, Word, War* (London, 2018) no. 18 pp. 94-95.

174 Brown, 'Mercian Manuscripts?', pp. 279-290.

Scribe 1 had been trained within the orbit of the Southumbrian network that generated the manuscripts of the 'Tiberius group'. This brings Alcuin's *De Ratione* into a cross-Channel network within which scribes and manuscripts travelled.

Although the manuscripts of the 'Tiberius group' share common features in their script and decoration, they have not yet been tied to a specific place of origin.[175] Although Christ Church, Canterbury has been suggested as the place of origin for many of the group, including London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius C II, it is not totally accepted. Instead of individual scriptoria, it is perhaps more appropriate to think of the 'Tiberius group' as manuscripts produced within a Southumbrian network generated by the regular movement of scribes and books.

Characteristic features of the Insular minuscule practised by Scribe 1 in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 include wedged ascenders, which are often heavily bifurcated, and elongated descenders [Fig. I.10]. When a minuscule 'e' occurs at the end of a word, the scribe often extends the tongue out with an upward flourish. This same upward lift also occurs in the head of the letter 't' when the letter occurs at the end of a word. The cross stroke on the 'e' is raised to the headline when the 'e' precedes a 't', making a common 'et' insular ligature. Scribe 1 also has a characteristic way of writing 'l', where the descender reaches below the baseline and loops underneath the following letter. This letterform also occurs in the rubricated, majuscule script used for the incipit and explicit statements in *De fide*. Here the straight arm of the majuscule 'l' stretches out to the right and the following letter is written above the arm. Scribe 1 also occasionally uses the majuscule form of 'n' when the letter appears on its own and as the base for an 'nt' ligature. Although instances occur throughout the manuscript, the scribe often uses this letterform to abbreviate *interrogatio* to *int* in the *Questionnes*.

Many of these palaeographical features are found in a manuscript of the 'Tiberius group', Paris, BnF, Latin 10861, which is an early ninth-century collection of Latin saints' lives [Fig. I.11].[176] This script also has a pointed appearance with wedged

[175] See Brown, 'Mercian Manuscripts?', p. 280.

[176] Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 898

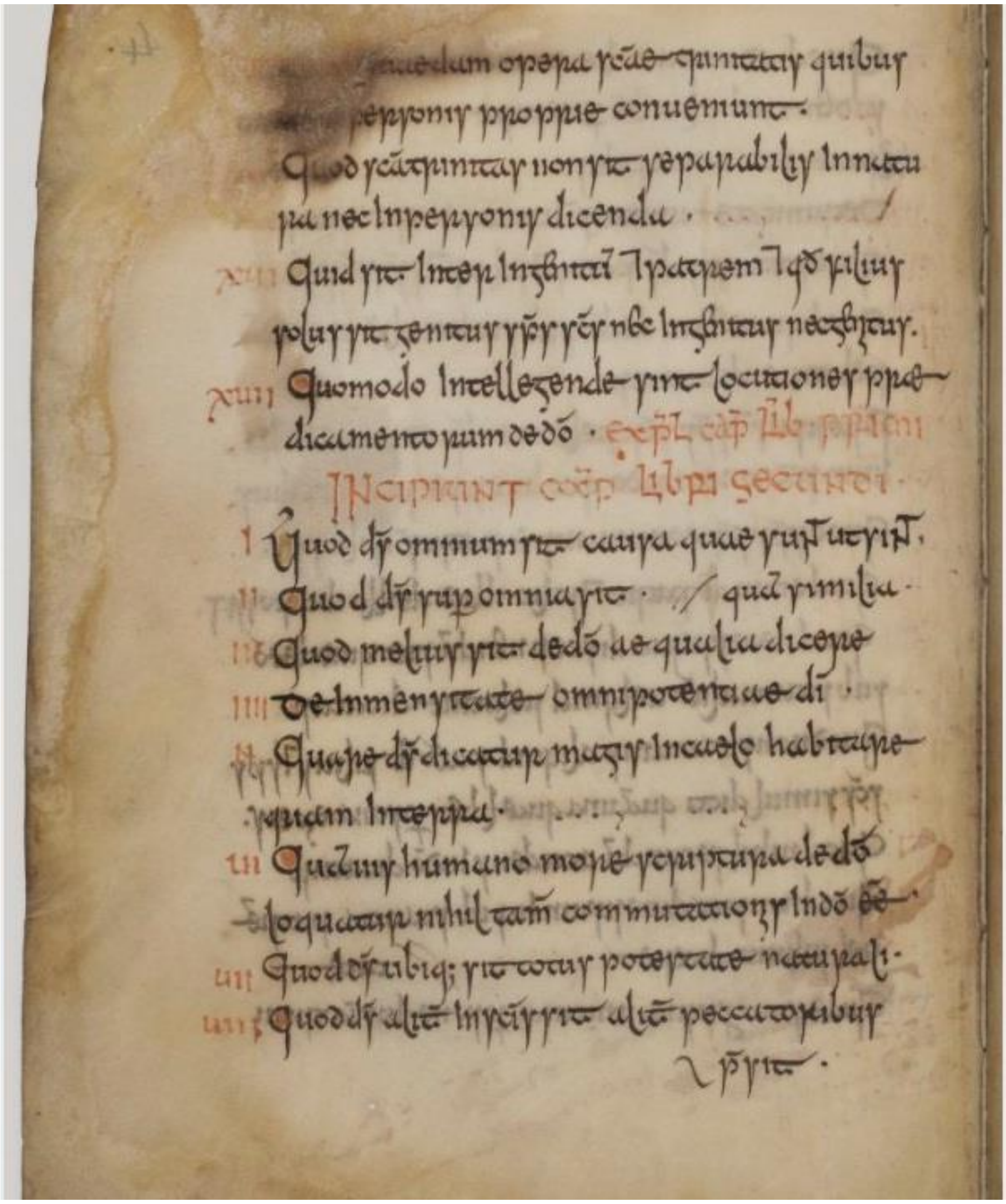

Fig I.10 – Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, f. 4v – Typical letterforms practised by Scribe 1 include the elongated wedged ascenders (‘b’ on line 1), the ‘l’ looping under the baseline (line 3), and the extended tongue on the ‘e’ (line 1).

ascenders, elongated descenders, an upward lift of the tongue of ‘e’s and the head stroke of ‘t’s. When writing the letter ‘l’, the scribe of Paris, BnF, Latin 10861 often loops the descender below the baseline and underneath the next letter in a similar fashion to the ‘l’s in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195.

Michelle Brown has noted strong similarities between the script in Paris, BnF, Latin 10861 and a group of charters produced at Christ Church, Canterbury, dated between *c.* 805 and *c.* 825.[177] These similarities led Brown to argue that although it is possible that this manuscript was produced in Francia, it was most likely produced at Christ Church, Canterbury during the first quarter of the ninth century.[178] One charter noted by Brown was London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus II 94 [Fig. I.12], dated to 831, which also features examples of the same looping ‘l’ found in Paris, BnF, Latin 10861 and Valenciennes, BM, MS 195.[179] A similar Insular minuscule to that practised by Scribe 1 of Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 was therefore also practised by scribes at Canterbury throughout the ninth century. However, many key features of the Insular minuscule in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 and Paris, BnF, Latin 10861 were by no means confined to Canterbury and can be seen in several ninth-century manuscripts now considered part of the ‘Tiberius group’.

The insular training of Scribe 1 is also evident in the decoration and formatting of Valenciennes, BM, MS 195. Scribe 1 often gave the capital letter at the beginning of chapters and sentences a colour wash of red or yellow [Fig. I.13]. For a letter ‘i’, Scribe 1 encircles the capital in small red dots, rather than using a colour wash. Similar decoration is found in manuscripts of the ‘Tiberius group’. Colour washes in yellow, green and red, and red dot outlines, are used in the Book of Nunnaminster, London, BL, Harley MS 2965.[180] Colour washes are also used throughout London, BL, Cotton MS

177 Brown, ‘Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10681’, pp. 119-137.

178 Ibid., p. 137.

179 Ibid., p. 129.

180 Lowe, *CLA,* II no. 199; N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957) no. 237; Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts,* no. 41; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 432.

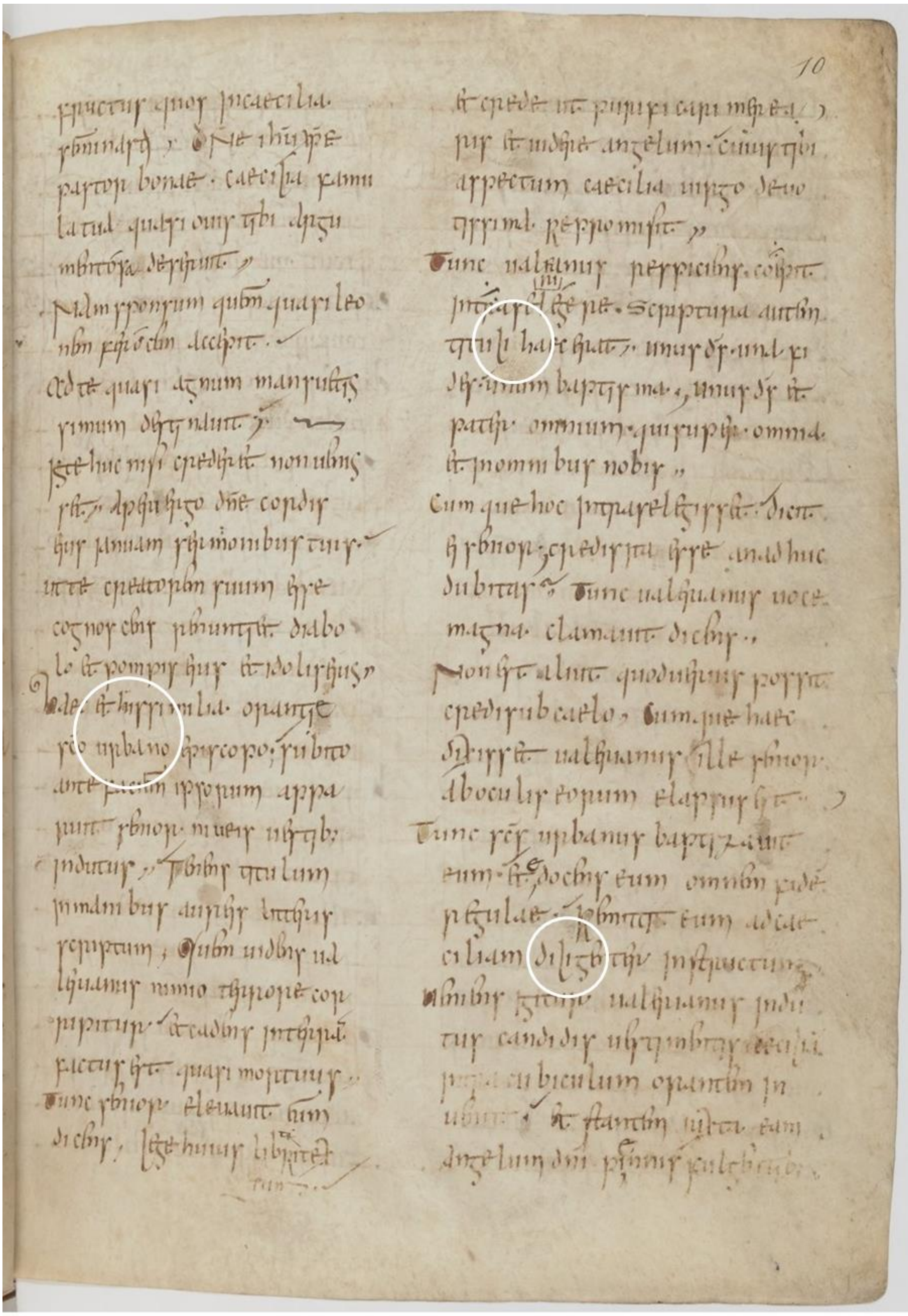

Fig I.11 – Paris, BnF, Latin 10861, f. 10r – This early ninth-century Insular minuscule displays similar characteristics as Scribe 1 in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, such as the elongated ascenders and descenders and the ‘l’ that loops below the baseline.

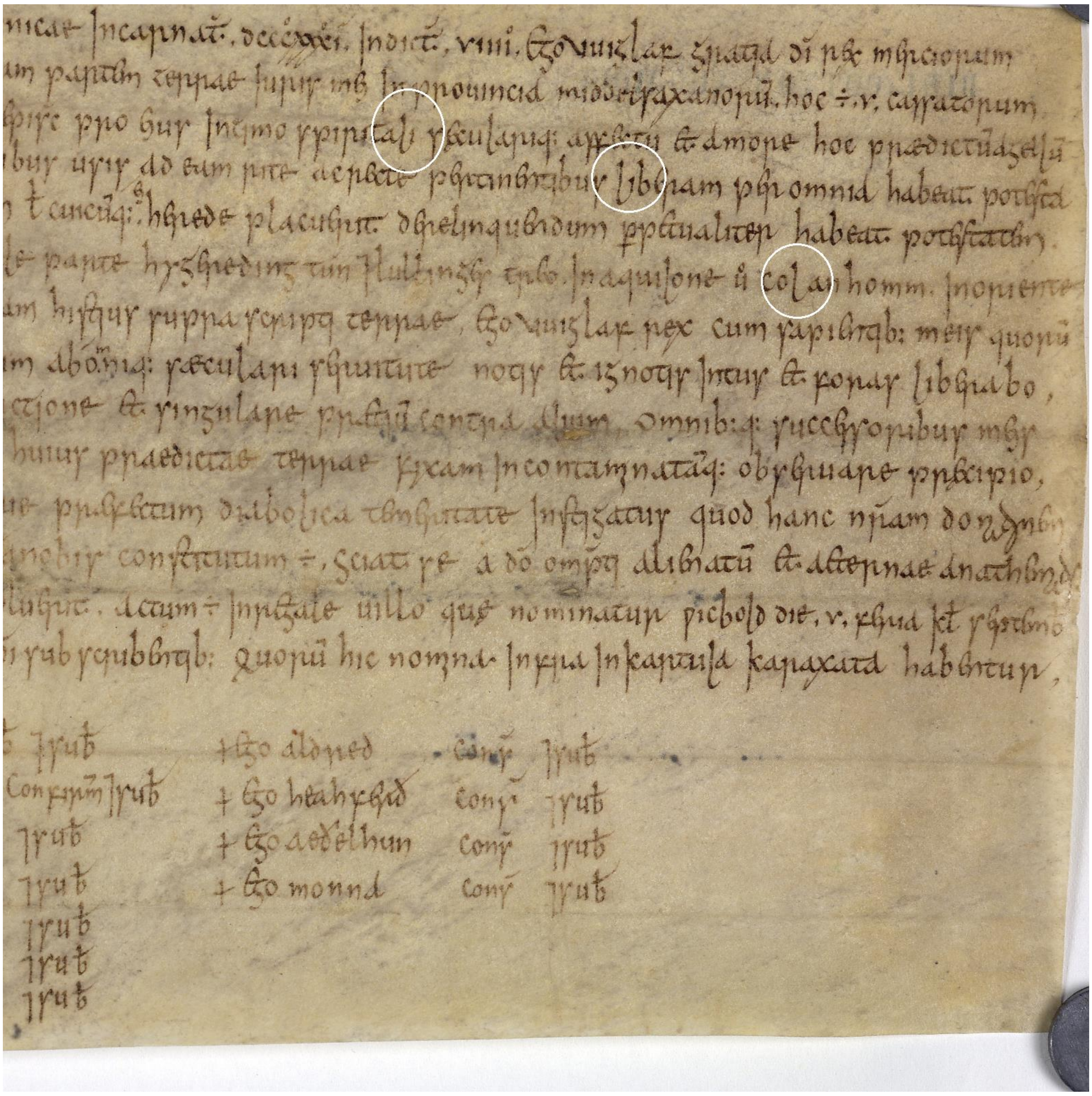

Fig I.12 – London, BL, Cotton Augustus II 94 – This script displays similar elongated, wedged ascenders and ‘l’ that loops under the baseline as Valenciennes, BM, MS 195.

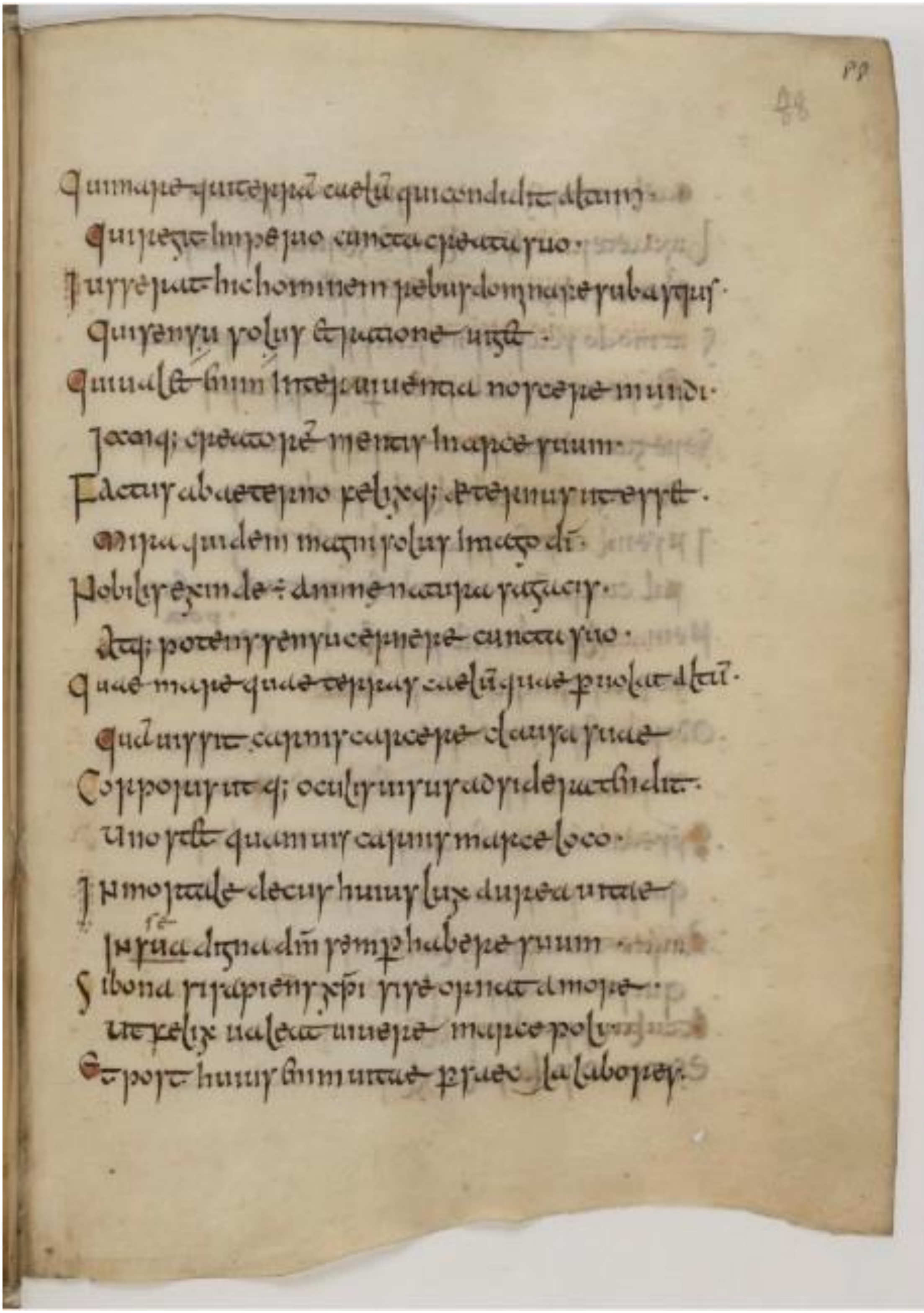

Fig. I.13 – Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, f. 88r – Colour washes or red dots at the beginning of each line of two poems, *Qui mare* and *Te homo laudet*, at the end of *De Ratione*.

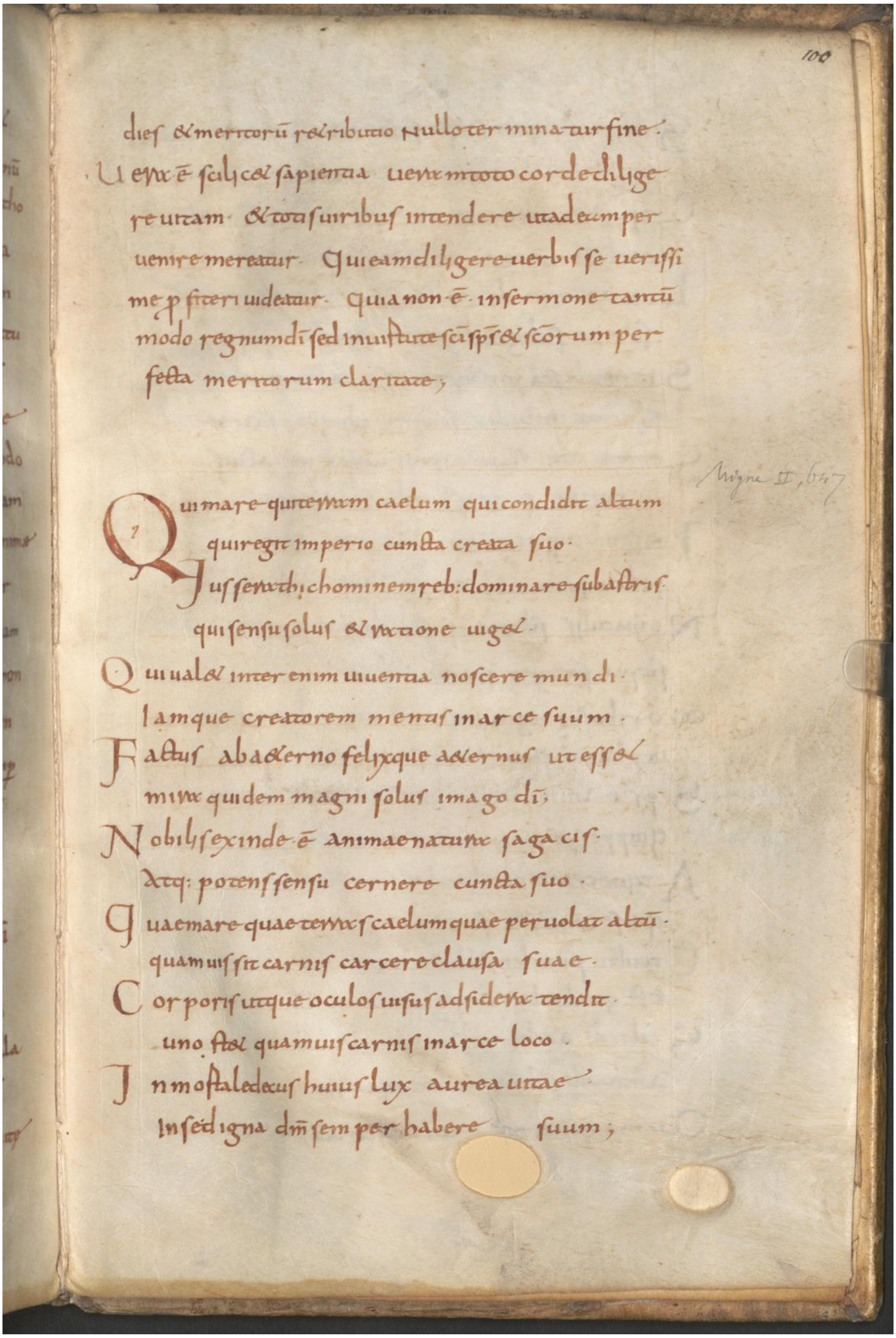

Fig. I.14 - Munich, BSB, clm 15813, f. 100r – Enlarged initials, set into the margin, are used to begin each line of the two poems, *Qui mare* and *Te homo laudet*, at the end of *De Ratione.*

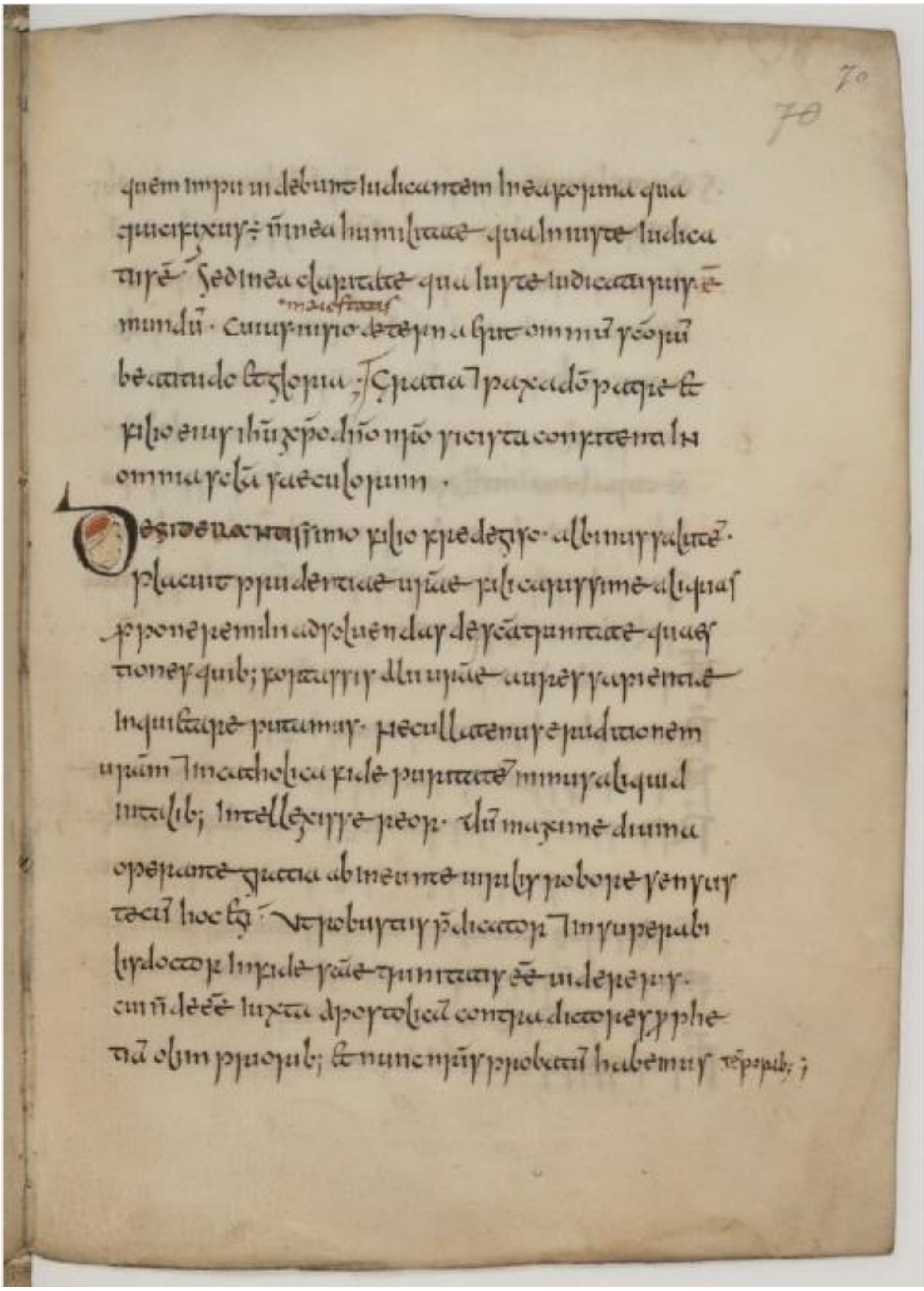

Fig. I.15 - Valenciennes BM, MS 195, f. 70r – The characteristic red and yellow style of decoration is featured in the enlarged D.

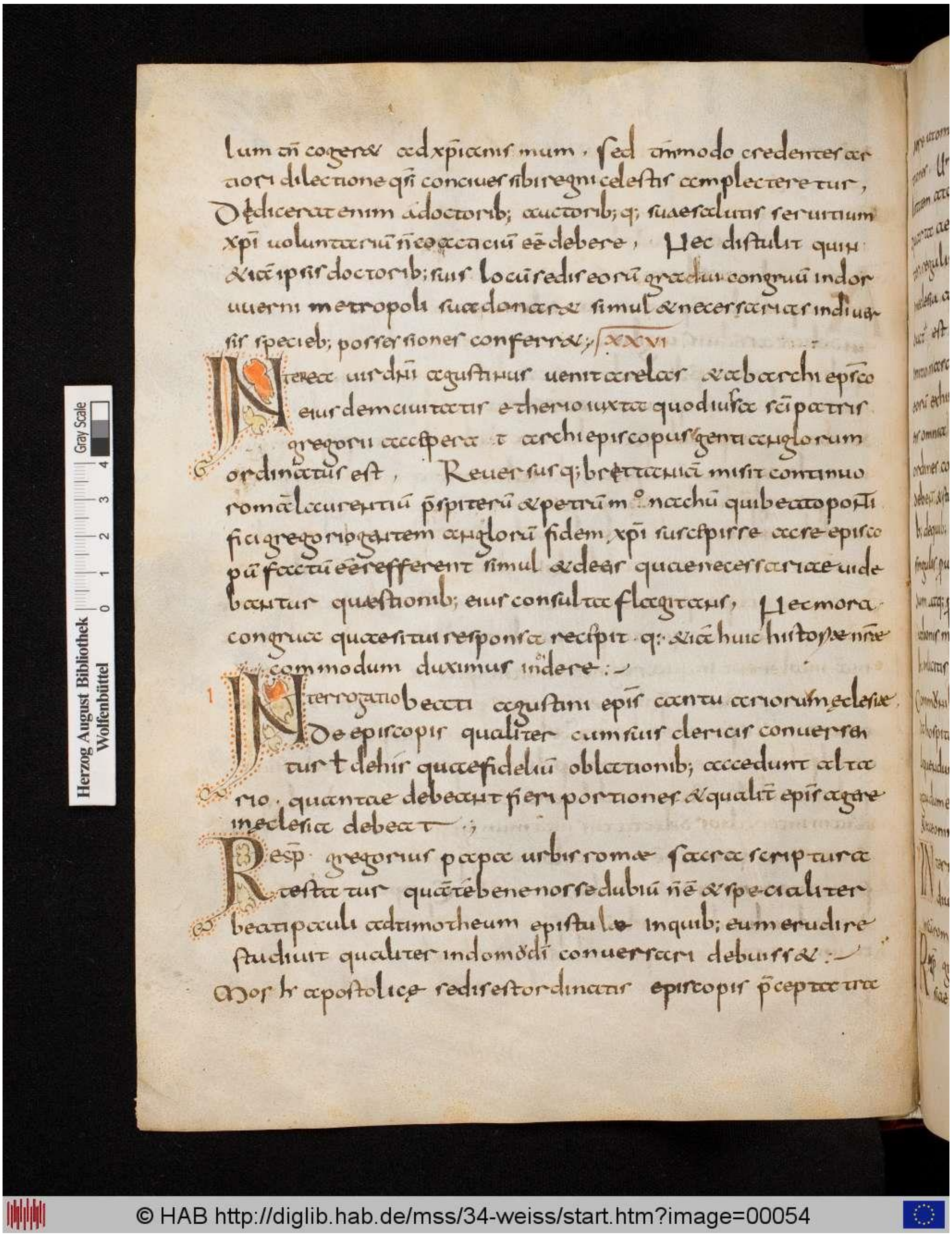

Fig. I.16 - Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Weissenburg 34, f. 21v – This late eighth- or early ninth-century copy of Bede's *HE*, perhaps produced at Lorsch, features an insular style of decoration for the enlarged initials in *Liber Responsionum* [I.27].

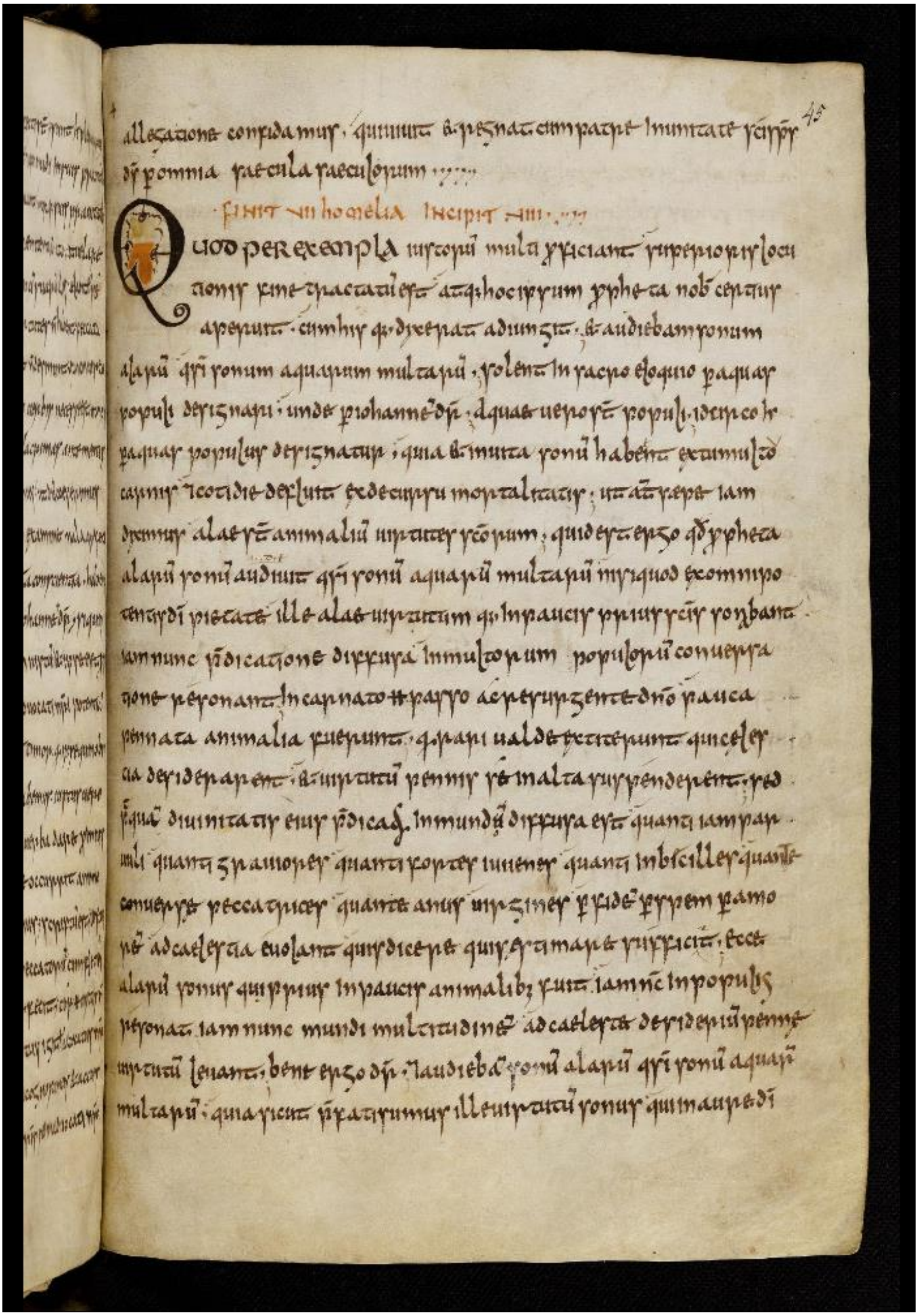

Fig. I.17 – Berlin, SB, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 356, f. 45r – The decoration in the enlarged 'Q' in this ninth-century manuscript copied in Werdun bears strong similarities to the decoration of the enlarged capitals in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 (see above Fig. I.15).

Tiberius C II and Paris, BnF, Latin 10861. This style of decoration is used to format the two poems at the end of Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, *Qui mare* and *Te homo laudet*. Each line of verse begins with the first letter highlighted with either a colour wash, mostly alternating between red and yellow, or encircled with small red dots in the case of an 'i'. The Carolingian scribes who copied other manuscripts of *De Ratione* in the ninth century did not use this kind of decoration. For example, in one of the earliest copies of *De Ratione*, Munich BSB, clm 15813, the letters that begin each line of verse are set into the margin and enlarged but no colour wash is used [Fig. I.14]. The style used by Scribe 1 of Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 was perhaps inspired by his insular training rather than the exemplar of the text.

The larger initials that begin different sections of the text in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 are also decorated with similar designs that can be found in certain 'Tiberius group' manuscripts. In Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, these initials are often filled with a colour wash, mostly red and yellow like the smaller initials, and alternating portions or diagonal stripes of colour [Fig. I.15]. Similar decoration was used for enlarged initials in an early copy of Bede's *HE*, now Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Weissenburg 34 [Fig. I.16].[181] Although the manuscript was copied in an early Caroline minuscule, dated by Bischoff to the late eighth or early ninth century and thought to have been produced at Lorsch, the decoration incorporates insular influences that suggest an Anglo-Saxon exemplar, perhaps acquired from Northumbria.[182] This style of decoration is also found in a ninth-century copy of Gregory the Great's Homilies on Ezekiel, now Berlin, SB, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 356 [Fig. I.17]. This manuscript was copied by an insular-trained scribe in Francia, and has been attributed to Werden by Bischoff. [183] There are clearly strong similarities between the insular style of the script and decoration in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, and other insular manuscripts copied in that time in southern English and continental scriptoria.

[181] *CLA*, IX, no. 1385; Bischoff, 'Frühkarolingische Handschriften und ihre Heimat', *Scriptorium* 22 (1968), p. 314; Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, p. 134; Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, no. 7387.

[182] *CLA*, IX, no. 1385; Bischoff, 'Frühkarolingische Handschriften und ihre Heimat', p. 314; Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, no. 7387; See Chapter 5, p. 199.

[183] Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, no. 460.

Conclusion

In his *De Ratione*, Alcuin provided a detailed explanation of how the mind was able to perceive distant people and places, whether they were known or unknown. Alcuin explained how things *lectae vel auditae* about a person or place prompted the soul to draw upon the memory to form mental images built from the experience of the bodily senses. These mental images facilitated perception as the soul ranged within itself. Alcuin adapted Augustine's perception of place analogy to suit the needs of his audience, making perception of place the focus and using Rome and Jerusalem as examples. Textual evidence from *De Ratione*, and its two companion letter treatises, *De fide* and *Questionnes*, demonstrates that *De Ratione* was written with a wider audience than just Gundrada in mind. The twenty-four surviving ninth-century manuscripts suggest that *De Ratione* was relatively widely read in Francia in the years following its completion. Although the earliest surviving manuscript of *De Ratione* was not copied in England until the eleventh century, there is good evidence that the text and its major ideas regarding perception were known some time before. This evidence includes references to *De Ratione* and its ideas in texts composed by Alfred the Great and within the corpus of Old English poetry. Additionally, Augustine's *De trinitate* may have been in Anglo-Saxon libraries from the early eighth century onwards.

An insular-trained scribe operating in Francia, probably at Saint-Amand, produced a copy of *De fide*, *Questionnes* and *De Ratione*, now Valenciennes, BM, MS 195. This insular-trained scribe was working on the manuscript directly alongside another scribe, writing a script similar to Caroline minuscule but with some unique features that suggest the scribe had trained in the late eighth century. The style of Insular minuscule in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 has strong similarities with the style of Insular minuscule practised by scribes of the Southumbrian 'Tiberius group'. Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 therefore constitutes an important piece of evidence for awareness of *De Ratione*, and its explanation of the perception of distant place, within an insular context in Francia.

Chapter 2

The message in the medium of a papal letter

At some point in the year 704 or 705, Bishop Wealdhere of London sent a letter to Archbishop Berhtwald of Canterbury [henceforth, 'the Wealdhere letter'].[1] Wealdhere wrote to request permission to attend a meeting between the East and West Saxons, which aimed to forge a peace agreement after a period of dispute between the two kingdoms. This was a routine letter sent for an administrative purpose. It is perhaps surprising therefore that this is the earliest original parchment letter to survive from the Latin West.[2] Its status as an original single sheet document was proposed by Hartmut Hoffman in 1964 and defended by Pierre Chaplais in 1981.[3] This letter survives from a time when other letters originally written on parchment are preserved in later copies, and so provides valuable insight into the materiality of letter exchange in the early medieval period.

Letters enable their readers to use the written word to connect with distant people and the places they inhabit. The document travels between the two locations, forming a textual bridge over temporal and geographical distance. The document can be touched and treasured in lieu of the distant correspondent, whose personal voice is captured in text letters possibly written in his or her own hand and who had touched the document the reader now held. The composition and arrival of a letter was a multi-sensory experience that scholars have described as an 'epistolary performance'.[4] In Janet Altman's monograph on the social theory of epistolarity, she argued that letters could be both barrier and bridge, acting as an 'instrument that both connects and

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[1] London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus II 18; Haddan and Stubbs, III, pp. 274-275; *ChLA,* III. no. 185; *EHD,* I. n. 164; P. Chaplais, 'The Letter from Bishop Wealdhere of London to Archbishop Berhtwald of Canterbury: the Earliest Original 'Letter Close' Extant in the West', in M.B. Parkes and A.G. Watson (eds), *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts & Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker* (London, 1978), p. 3.

[2] Chaplais, 'The Letter from Bishop Wealdhere', pp. 3-21.

[3] Ibid.; H. Hoffmann, 'Zur mittelalterlichen Brieftechnik', in K. Repgen and S. Skalweit (eds), *Spiegel der Geschichte: Festgabe für Max Braubach* (Munster, 1964), pp. 149-150.

[4] K. Kong, *Lettering the Self in Medieval and Early Modern France* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 237; J. Zweck, *Epistolary Acts: Anglo-Saxon Letters and Early English Media* (Toronto, ONT, 2018), pp. 5-10.

interferes'.[5] The materiality of a letter, and the performativity of its arrival, would have been an important part of how letters were able to act as both barrier and bridge.

Papal letters had a distinct function, materiality and treatment on arrival compared with contemporary, non-papal letters. The reception of a papal letter could be a semi-public affair, and the documents would likely have been displayed and read aloud upon arrival. The core audience would have been the Anglo-Saxon intelligentsia, a mixture of lay and secular elite. Letters enabled the papal voice to be an active agent in the establishment and development of the Anglo-Saxon Church and allowed the papacy to form relationships with royalty and churchmen whom they would never meet in person. The document carried the papal voice and was a physical manifestation of his authority. The pope would have been an unknown person, and Rome an unknown place, for many who experienced the arrival of a papal letter in England. Alcuin described in his *De Ratione* that the mind forms images of what is unknown, based on similar things that are known, and have been stored in *thesauro memoriae*.[6] This process of perception draws on the experience of the bodily senses. As a physical representation of a distant person, the materiality of a papal letter would have been an important contributing factor in the perception of the pope and Rome, as a distant person and place, in England.

In recent years scholars have begun to appreciate the complex, emotive impact of a letter and the event prompted by its arrival. In 1975, Giles Constable examined how letters were written, sent and read in the medieval period, and the impact of these processes within society.[7] Constable described letters as 'quasi-public literary documents, often written with an eye to future collection and publication'.[8] In 1982, Altman explored how letters connect two geographically distant points, and how this affected the epistolary narrative of a letter.[9] Recent studies have also examined the

[5] J.G. Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus, OH, 1982), p. 186.

[6] Alcuin, *De Ratione*, Ch. IV; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'treasure-house of memory'.

[7] Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections*, pp. 1-78.

[8] Ibid., p. 11; Constable expanded on this topic in his, 'Monastic Letter Writing in the Middle Ages', *Filologia Mediolatina*, 11 (2004), pp. 1-24.

[9] Altman, *Epistolarity*, pp. 12-30.

development of the *ars dictaminis* and discussed how the purpose of a letter affected its style, content and impact.[10]

Thus far, studies of Anglo-Saxon letter exchange have focused on letters sent during the conversion period, as well as the corpora of surviving letters written by Aldhelm, Boniface and Alcuin.[11] These studies have mostly focused on the content of these letters, rather than their materiality. A comprehensive study of Anglo-Saxon letter exchange has yet to be written.[12] Christine Fell intended to write a monograph on Anglo-Saxon letter writing and her introduction to the subject was published posthumously in 2002.[13] Jordan Zweck's monograph, published in 2018, focused on the performativity of Old English letters as described in vernacular texts in the later Anglo-Saxon period.[14] Zweck coined the term 'epistolary acts' to reflect the 'quasi-public', performative aspect of letter exchange.[15] Zweck does not focus on the Latin, papal letters examined in this chapter, but her interpretation and analysis is certainly complementary.

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[10] R.G. Witt, 'The Arts of Letter-Writing', in A. Minis and I. Johnson (eds), *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism Volume 2: The Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 68-83; J.T. Rosenthal, 'Letters and Letter-collections', in J.T. Rosenthal (ed.), *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe* (London, 2012), pp. 72-85.

[11] For the Boniface correspondence see, Greenaway, 'Saint Boniface as a Man of Letters', pp. 31-46; C.E. Fell, 'Some Implications of the Boniface Correspondence', in H. Damico and A. Hennessey Olsen (eds), *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature* (Bloomington, IN, 1990), pp. 29-43; A. Orchard, 'Old sources, New Resources: Finding the Right Formula for Boniface', *Anglo-Saxon England,* 30 (2001), pp. 15-38; J.H. Clay, 'Gift-giving and Books in the Letters of St Boniface and Lul', *Journal of Medieval History,* 35:4 (2009), pp. 313-325; L.M.C. Weston, 'Where Textual Bodies Meet: Anglo-Saxon Women's Epistolary Friendships', in A. Classen, and M. Sandidge (eds), *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 231-246. For the Alcuin correspondence see, D. Bullough, 'Reminiscence and Reality: Text, Translation and Testimony of an Alcuin Letter', *Journal of Medieval Latin,* 5 (1995), pp. 174-201; Bullough, *Alcuin*; Dales, *Alcuin: His Life and Legacy,* pp. 151-160.

[12] Jordan Zweck noted the absence of a comprehensive study of Anglo-Saxon letter writing in 2018, Zweck, *Epistolary Acts,* p. 7.

[13] C.E. Fell 'Introduction to Anglo-Saxon letters and letter-writers', in C. Hough and K.A. Lowe (eds), *'Lastworda Betst' Essays in Memory of Christine E. Fell with her Unpublished Writings* (Donnington, 2002), p. 279. P. Szarmach published a study of eleventh-century letter writing, see; 'Anglo-Saxon Letters in the eleventh century', *Acta: Proceedings of the SUNY Regional Conferences in Medieval Studies,* 1 (1974), pp. 1-14.

[14] Zweck, *Epistolary Acts,* pp. 1-23.

[15] Zweck thanked Martin Foys for suggesting the term; Ibid., p. 6.

Papal letters that arrived in England during the missionary period and the creation and dissolution of the archbishopric of Lichfield have been well studied by scholars seeking to understand papal involvement in these formative episodes in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church.[16] Peter Hunter Blair and Joanna Story have studied the letters of Pope Boniface V and Pope Honorius I respectively, analysing their original purpose and how they were incorporated in Bede's *HE*.[17] The preservation and subsequent circulation of papal letters in later Anglo-Saxon manuscripts was recently analysed by Francesca Tinti.[18] Studies of papal letters in Anglo-Saxon England have focused on the historical value of their content and the social and intellectual networks their exchange represents.

This chapter aims to address this gap in the historiography by examining how the materiality of papal letters influenced the perception of the pope and Rome that was possible for those who encountered these documents. This will begin by exploring references in contemporary letters to the physical document enabling a connection between two distant people. The following section will first reconstruct the materiality of letters not sent by the papacy in this period, in order to understand the distinct materiality of papal letters. Following this will be an overview of the papal letters known to have been sent to England and the intended function of these documents. This will be followed by an examination of the physical form of a papal letter and the possible performativity of their arrival. A key factor in the materiality of a papal letter is that it was written on papyrus, not parchment. The final part of this chapter will therefore explore other ways that papyrus may have been encountered in England.

Letters as both barrier and bridge

Letters facilitate communication between two parties where the distance between them prevents verbal communication. Letters can be composed orally or in writing, and can

[16] Particularly Meyvaert, 'Bede's Text of the *Libellus Responsionum',* pp. 15-33; Wood, 'The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury', pp. 1-17; Wood, 'Augustine and Gaul', pp. 68-82; Meens, 'A Background to Augustine's Mission', pp. 5-17; T.F.X. Noble, 'The Rise and Fall of the Archbishopric of Lichfield in English, Papal and European Perspective', in F. Tinti (ed.), *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art and Politics* (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 291-306; R. Shaw, 'When Did Augustine of Canterbury Die?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 67 (2016), pp. 473-491.

[17] Hunter Blair, 'Letters of Pope Boniface V', pp. 5-14; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord and the Letters of Pope Honorius I', pp. 783-818.

[18] Tinti, 'Papal Letters in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 93-119.

be read with the eyes, read aloud and can be touched, kissed and treasured in lieu of the presence of the sender. In Alcuin's explanation of perception in *De Ratione*, he is clear that the perception of known and unknown people or places draws upon things perceived (*percipio*) *per carnales sensus.*[19] Receiving a letter was a sensory experience that would have facilitated perception of the sender, and the place from which it was sent.

Surviving letters written by Alcuin and Boniface contain several references to letters acting as a physical substitute for the distant sender. In a letter to the bishop of Lindisfarne, Alcuin wrote, *et currens cartula ostendat in litteris, quod lingua resonare non valet in auribus, quatenus oculorum officio illud agnoscat, quod olim aurium ministerio cordis secretum cognovit.*[20] In a letter to a pupil, Alcuin advised frequent reading of his letter and stated, *quotiescumque eam perleges, me loquentem in corde tuo agnosce*.[21] Here, *cor* can be translated as 'heart' but also as 'mind', 'body' or 'soul'. In another letter Alcuin said to the recipient, who was in Rome at the time, *fiat tamen spiritalis praesentia, ubi corporalis est separatio*.[22] In these letters, the document acted as a substitute for the presence of the sender. However, in another letter, Alcuin treated the document as a physical substitute for the intended recipient; *hoc dolens dictavi, vel propter oblivionem mei, vel propter absentiam tui, paululum ferociori pumice cartam terens, ut vel iratus aliquid rescriberes*.[23] Similarly, Egberga wrote to Boniface; *aspectu corporali visualiter defraudata sim… Similiter supplex rogito, ut mihi aliquod solatium vel in reliquiis sanctis vel paucula saltim per scripta beatitudinis tui verba distinare digneris, ut in illis tuam presentiam semper habeam*.[24] In this case, however, Egberga references the document's ability to act as a physical substitute for Boniface, whilst also expressing her frustration that this is not the same as physical interaction.

[19] Alcuin, *De Ratione*, Ch. IV; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'through the bodily senses'.

[20] *Epp.* 124; trans. Allott, *Alcuin*, no. 160; 'let my speedy letter show in writing what my tongue cannot say in ears, that the eyes may replace the ears in communicating the secret of the heart'.

[21] *Epp.* 65; trans. Allott, *Alcuin*, no. 125; 'every time you read it, recognise me speaking in your heart'.

[22] *Epp.* 215; trans. Allott, *Alcuin*, no. 120; 'let us be together in spirit while separated in body'.

[23] *Epp.* 13; trans. Allott, *Alcuin*, no. 122; 'When I wrote this I was upset at being forgotten and separated from you, I rubbed my page with rather too fierce a pumice to sting you to reply'.

[24] *Die Briefe*, no. 13, Tangl (ed.); 'I am deprived of your bodily presence … I beg you earnestly to send me some little remembrance, perhaps a holy relic or at least a few written words, that so I may always have you with me'.

Frequent letter writers in this period appear to have been aware of the ability of letters to unite sender and recipient in mind and soul, despite their separation in body.

However, the surviving letters from this period also contain references to the limitations of letter writing, where the document and the words on the page did not provide enough connection with the distant people. The letters of the nun Berhtgyth, preserved with the Boniface correspondence, state these limitations quite explicitly. In three letters to her brother, Berhtgyth expresses her frustration at the distance between them, and urges her brother to visit her.[25] At this time, both Berhtgyth and her brother were involved in the English missionary efforts in Francia. Berhtgyth is clear that she wishes to see her brother in person, and that letters were insufficient for the connection she desired. She wrote, *ecce non possum omnia per litteras tibi indicare.*[26] Berhtgyth's letters demonstrate how letters could be as much a barrier for communication as they were a bridge.

Letter exchange certainly had the potential to solicit an emotive response, whether correspondents focused on the letter as a bridge or a barrier. For example, Alcuin was moved to tears when he received a letter from the brothers at York. He stated,

> *Venerabiles vestrae dilectionis ab Eanbaldo presbitero accepi litteras… ita ut inter lacrimas allocutionis nostrae vestras per singula verba voces me audire aestimarem. Quod et in litteris apertissime agnovi. In quibus legens vestras visum est mihi facies cernere.* [27]

Receiving a letter from a distant loved one would have been an emotive experience. Bishop Boniface wrote in a letter to Archdeacon Gemmulus, *sepe spiritaliter caritas iungit, quos corporaliter longa intercapidine disiungit*.[28] Letter exchange could unite

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[25] Trans. K. Maude, 'Berhtgyth's Letters to Balthard', *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality,* 7 (2017), pp. 1-24.

[26] trans. Maude, 'Berhtgyth's Letters to Balthard', p. 15; 'behold, I cannot make all this known to you in writing'.

[27] *Epp.* 43; trans. Allott, *Alcuin,* no. 2; 'I received you loving and religious letter from the priest Eanbald … so that I wept as we talked, for I thought I heard your voices in every word. This came to me most clearly in your letter too, for as I read, I seemed to see your faces'.

[28] *Die Briefe,* no. 104, Tangl (ed.); 'it often happens that love unites in spirit those who are widely separated in the body'.

two physically distant people, just as Boniface wrote that love could. This emotive language suggests that frequent letter-writers were aware of the abilities, and limitations, of the written word to facilitate perception of distant people and places. It is tempting to compare the emotional impact of this exchange to the impact of a contact relic. A notable example is the pallium, whose sacred value is derived from the time it spent on the tomb of St Peter, forever connecting it to St Peter and his cult as a result.[29] Similarly, letters retain a symbolic connection to the sender, even after they have travelled a great distance.

Some of the most emotive language regarding the possibilities of the written word can be found in the letters written by women in the Boniface correspondence and in the letters of Berhtgyth.[30] It is interesting to consider whether female writers had a heightened awareness of these advantages and limitations due to the restrictions on their physical travel compared with male authors. These limitations perhaps caused literate women to place more value on the written word's ability to connect distant people and places. It is perhaps part of this interest in the ability of the written word to transcend physical distance that caused Abbess Eadberga to write to Boniface, to request an account of the vision seen by the monk of Wenlock.[31] It may also be connected that, of all the members of Willibald's community at Eichstätt, it was the nun Huneberc who recorded his experiences in Jerusalem. Most significantly in the context of this thesis, it was Gundrada, to whom Alcuin directed his discussion of the soul's ability to perceive distant people and places, whether they were *cognitus* or *incognitus.*

When Alcuin and Boniface settled in Francia, they both retained connections with contacts in England. Most of Alcuin's letters survive from the final years of his life. Of the roughly 280 letters to survive, none has been dated before the early 780s and probably only around 15 were written earlier than the beginning of 793.[32] Alcuin resettled twice in the latter years of his life, first in Francia at the Carolingian court and secondly, in late 796, at St Martin's in Tours. Part of the reason that more letters

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[29] On the significance of the pallium in the early medieval period see, Schoenig, *Bonds of Wool,* pp. 21-275.

[30] See, P. Head, 'Who is the Nun from Heidenheim? A Study of Hugeberc's *Vita Willibaldi', Medium Aevum,* 71 (2002), pp. 29-46; Maude, 'Berhtgyth's Letters to Balthard', pp. 1-24.

[31] *Die Briefe,* no. 10, Tangl (ed.).

[32] Bullough, *Alcuin,* p. 38.

survive from Alcuin's time at Tours is due to the fact that the first manuscript collections of his letters were curated at Tours.[33] However, Alcuin was also sending more letters during this period, as he used letter-writing to overcome the barriers imposed by geographical distance. When Alcuin came to write about the perception of distant people and places in *De Ratione,* he must have been familiar with the ability of the written word to transcend geographical and temporal distance and connect distant people.

The materiality of a letter written in Anglo-Saxon England

Zweck's working definition of a letter is a 'written message addressed by one or more persons to another person or group to whom the message is expected to be delivered or anything that is written in this form'.[34] Letters would have been written and delivered in a format that reflected their purpose. In addition to parchment, messages could be inscribed on bone and wood, and written in either Latin or runic script.[35] Many messages were probably not written at all and were verbally conveyed by messengers and envoys.[36] Papal letters were received within this epistolary culture, and their impact would have been connected to the impact of other letters, not sent by the papacy.

The Wealdhere letter is an important source for understanding the physicality of letter exchange from the seventh to the ninth centuries. Its originality is now widely accepted. Chaplais argued it was an original document on the grounds of the Insular minuscule script, the folding marks visible on the reverse, and the faint remains of an address inscription.[37] The letter contains no dating clause but can be dated to *c.* 704/705 on the grounds of internal content. Both King Cenred of Mercia and Bishop Hædde of Winchester are mentioned in the letter, so it must have been written after Cenred came to the Mercian throne in 704 but before Hædde died in 705.[38] Although Wealdhere does

[33] Bullough, *Alcuin,* pp. 57-65.

[34] Zweck, *Epistolary Acts,* p. 4.

[35] Ibid., pp. 3-5; Fell, 'Anglo-Saxon Letters and Letter-writers', p. 279.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Chaplais, 'The Letter from Bishop Wealdhere', pp. 3-21.

[38] Chaplais, 'The Letter from Bishop Wealdhere', p. 4; B. Yorke, Hædde [St Hædde, Heddi] (d. 705/6), bishop of Winchester. *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12858 [Accessed on 30/5/2018];

not mention Hædde directly, he is clear that there was only one bishop of the West Saxons at the time of writing.[39] This bishop must have been Hædde, since the bishopric of the West Saxons was divided into the dioceses of Winchester and Sherborne upon Hædde's death.[40]

The letter was probably sent from Wealdhere's own see, London, and thereafter remained in the Canterbury archives. A later hand wrote *ep[isto]la inutil[is]*on the reverse of the document. Chaplais identified this as a twelfth-century hand from Christ Church, Canterbury by comparing it to the endorsements on London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus II 15, 46, 76 and 91.[41] These endorsements are the phrase *utile* or *inutile,* written by a single twelfth-century scribe, which Nicholas Brooks and Susan Kelly have argued to be an archival practice of Christ Church, Canterbury.[42] The endorsement, *ep[ist]ola inutil[is]* on the Wealdhere letter therefore implies that the letter was stored in the archives at Christ Church until Sir Robert Cotton acquired it in the late sixteenth century.[43]

The text is written parallel to the long side of a rectangular piece of parchment, measuring 363 x 145mm. The text is written in an Insular minuscule that Bruckner described as 'elegant', 'exact' and 'fluid' in the *ChLA*.[44] In his entry, Brucker dated the script to the late eighth century, and thus argued that the document was a later copy of the original.[45] However, Chaplais' subsequent persuasive argument for the letter's

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S. Kelly. Coenred (d. after 709), king of the Mercians. *ODNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5802 [Accessed on 30/5/18].

39 Chaplais, 'The Letter from Bishop Wealdhere', p. 4.

40 *Ibid.*; Bede, *HE,* V.18.

41 Chaplais, 'Letter from Bishop Wealdhere of London', p. 5. For London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus II 15 see, N.P. Brooks and S.E. Kelly (eds), *Charters of Christ Church Canterbury,* Anglo-Saxon Charters, 17-18 (Oxford, 2013), no. 133. For London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus II 46 see, Brooks and Kelly (eds), *Charters,* no. 80. For London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus II 76 see, Brooks and Kelly (eds), *Charters,* no. 92. For London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus II 91 see, Brooks and Kelly, *Charters,* no.10; *ChLA,* II. no. 190.

42 Brooks and Kelly, *Charters,* p. 40.

43 Ibid., pp. 82-85.

44 *ChLA,* III. no. 185.

45 Ibid.

originality dates the script to the years 704 or 705.[46] It is written in a compact hand, which uses relatively thick pen strokes and frequently features the elongated ascenders and descenders common to this script. Cursive script appears to have been the default choice for letters in this period. In a late eighth-century glossary linked to Charlemagne's court, the term *epistolaris* was used to describe cursive script.[47] Cursive script was probably favoured for letter writing because it was quick to write, and suited the short-term practicality of many written messages.[48] This Insular minuscule is a sharp contrast to the uncial script found in contemporary charters such as London, BL, Cotton Augustus II 2, 29, and 88.

Letters addressed to the papacy may have also been written in these *epistolaris* scripts. A contemporary copy of a letter from Charlemagne to Pope Hadrian, concerning Abbot Waldo of Reichenau survives as a palimpsest bifolium in Munich, BSB, 6333 ff. 88r-89v [Fig. II.1].[49] Mark Mersiowsky argued that the palimpsest is original on account of the Caroline minuscule script and the trace of folding marks.[50] The script is only partially visible with the naked eye, but is far clearer under ultra-violet light. If it can be accepted that this contemporary copy was made in the same script as Charlemagne's original letter to Pope Hadrian, it suggests that letters addressed to the papacy might have looked noticeably different from those received in return.

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Berlin, SBD, B. Sant. 66, p. 34, line 5 (by Hand B, the 'Italian scribe'); *CLA, Vol. VIII*, no. 1044 (Oxford, 1959); B. Bischoff, *Sammelhandschrift Diez. B. Sant. 66: Grammatici Latini et Catalogus Librorum* (Codices Selecti, 42; Graz, 1973) esp. pp. 17-18, 32, and 346; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord and the Letters of Pope Honorius', p. 807.

[48] For an overview of the cursive script used in Carolingian original letters see, M. Mersiowsky, 'Preserved by destruction. Carolingian original letters and clm 6333', in G. Declercq (ed.), *Early Medieval Palimpsests* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 82-94.

[49] E. Munding, *Königsbrief Karls d. Gr. An Papst Hadrian über Abt-Bischof Waldo von Reichenau-Pavia. Palimpsest-Urkunde aus Cod. Lat. Monac. 6333,* Texte und Arbeiten, 6 (Beuron, 1920), pp. 7-19; Wilhelm Erben, *Königsbrief, Historische Zeitschrift,* 127 (1923), pp. 287-289; Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen,* I, p. 33; *ChLA*, XII, no. 543; Mersiowsky, 'Preserved by Destruction', pp. 73-98.

[50] Mersiowsky, 'Preserved by Destruction', pp. 94-98.

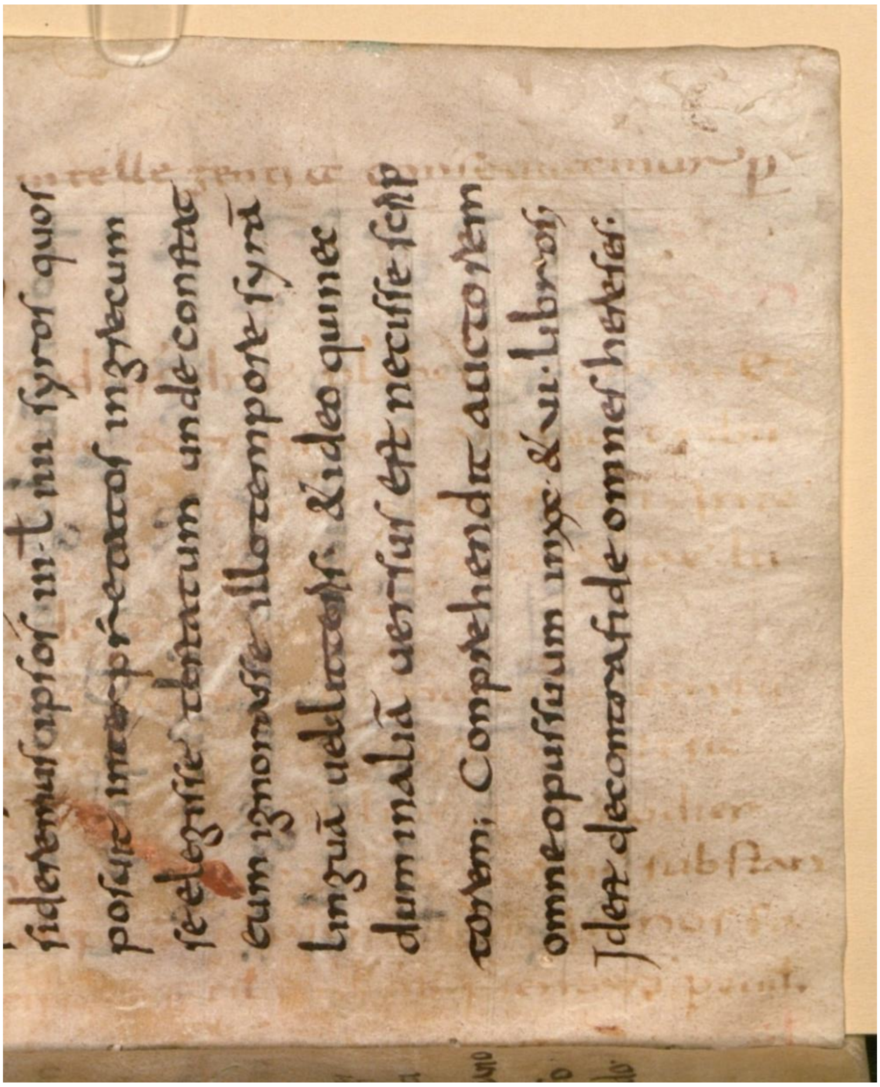

Fig. II.1 – Munich, BSB, 6333, f. 88r – Detail of a contemporary copy of a letter of Charlemagne to Pope Hadrian, preserved as a palimpsest. The Caroline minuscule written along the long edge of the page is faintly visible.

The arrangement of the text of the Wealdhere letter takes advantage of the landscape orientation of the parchment. The first line contains the entire salutation clause, with the final word on the first line reading, *salute[m]*. The text then keeps to the margin, perhaps set by the salutation clause, until line 16, where the scribe began the next clause on a new line, despite space left on line 15. Something similar happens on the final line. There is enough space on line 18 to begin the final line here, however, the scribe wrote the *conclusio* clause on the final line and indented the left-hand margin. The *conclusio* is as follows:

Hoc tibi per litteras intimare curavi ne inter plures devulgatum innotescat. orantem pro nobis almitatem vestram divina trinitas jugiter tuere dignetur.[51]

The statement of secrecy here is key to Chaplais' argument concerning the originality of the letter. Chaplais argued that in other original letters from the medieval period, the validation clause was often written in a different hand, possibly that of the named sender rather than his or her clerk. Chaplais argued that since Wealdhere's letter is written in one hand only, it was probably written in his hand, especially if the subject matter was indeed so secret. Chaplais inferred that since Wealdhere was presumably unable to travel to Canterbury in person, this written message was the most secure means of communication.[52] This may imply that a verbal message would have been the more common method to deliver a message of this kind, but Wealdhere felt that his purpose required a written message.

Chaplais also noted that there is no evidence the letter was sealed. Two horizontal and two vertical folding marks, most clearly visible on the reverse of the letter, suggest that the letter was folded down to roughly a third of its original size [Fig. II.2].[53] When folded the parchment would be quite compact at 125 x 55mm. Since there is no evidence of a seal, the letter would probably have been tied closed after folding. In 1964, Hoffmann stated that impressions of strings used to fasten the letter were still visible.[54] Chaplais was unable to see these impressions in 1981, and instead argued that the letter may have been tied with a strip of parchment.[55] Chaplais argued that the letter should therefore not be considered a 'letter close' in the strictest sense.[56]

References in Alcuin's letters imply that they could be sealed. In a letter to Angilbert, Alcuin insisted that a letter should be handed over *clausa*, so as not to offend

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[51] *EHD, 1,* no. 164; 'I have been at pains to intimate this to you by letter so that it may not be divulged and known to many. May the Divine Trinity deign constantly to protect your Grace, praying for us'.

[52] Chaplais, 'The Letter from Bishop Wealdhere', p. 17.

[53] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[54] Hoffmann, 'Zur mittelalterlichen Brieftechnik', pp. 149-150.

[55] Chaplais, 'The Letter from Bishop Wealdhere', p. 9.

[56] Ibid.

the recipient.[57] In another letter to the bishops of Britain, Alcuin said that he had added his seal so that the recipients would know it was his letter.[58] Although the act of sealing a letter was connected to authenticity, it would also have provided secrecy. Other references in Alcuin's letters imply that letters may not have been a secure means of communication. In a letter to Arn, written in *c.* 800, Alcuin explained, *quia multa tecum habeo conferre, quae per cartam propter infidelitatem portantium nolo indicare.*[59] Neither were letters fully secure when they were stored in institutional collections. In a letter to Arn, Alcuin stated *ego nolui, ut in alterius manus pervenisset epistola*, and he then put the letter into the fire, *ne aliquid scandali oriri potuisset propter neglegentiam cartulas meas servantis.*[60]

The address inscription is now faint, and difficult to read, yet is made far clearer with the aid of multispectral imaging. A possible transcription of the inscription is as follows: A UALDH. D(N/I/O) [space] [.] b[…]uald [Fig. II.3]. This could feasibly be: A UALDH[ARIO] d[omino] [space] ad berhtualdo. This transcription confirms that proposed by Chaplais in 1981 after he had viewed the inscription under ultra-violet light.[61] The short gap after the abbreviated *dominus* may reflect where the parchment strip lay after tying the letter closed and indicate that the address was added afterwards. The script used for this inscription is more akin to contemporary half uncial than it is to the Insular minuscule used for the main text of the letter. The unevenness of the end of the line may be due to the difficulties of writing on a folded piece of parchment.

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[57] *Epp.* 221; 'closed'.

[58] *Epp.* 104; trans. Allott, *Alcuin*, no. 25.

[59] *Epp.* 194; trans. Allott, *Alcuin*, no. 144; 'I want to confer with you on many points which I don't wish to refer to by letter owing to the unreliability of the bearers'.

[60] *Epp.* 184; trans. Allott, *Alcuin*, no. 65; 'I did not want the letter to get into other hands … lest any scandal should arise through the carelessness of the man who keeps my correspondence'.

[61] Chaplais, 'The Letter from Bishop Wealdhere', p. 7.

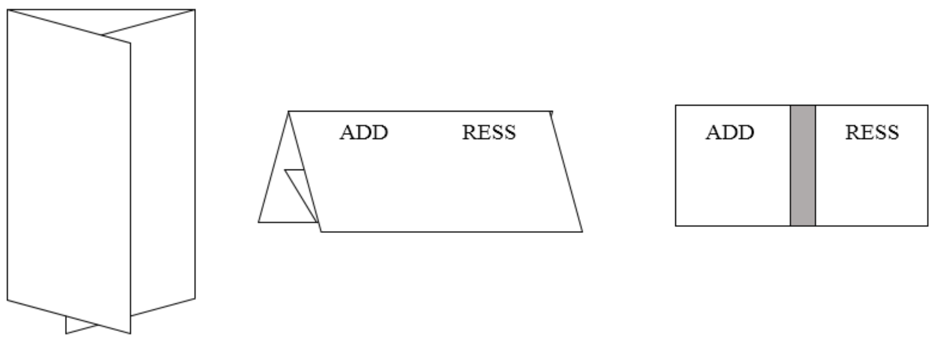
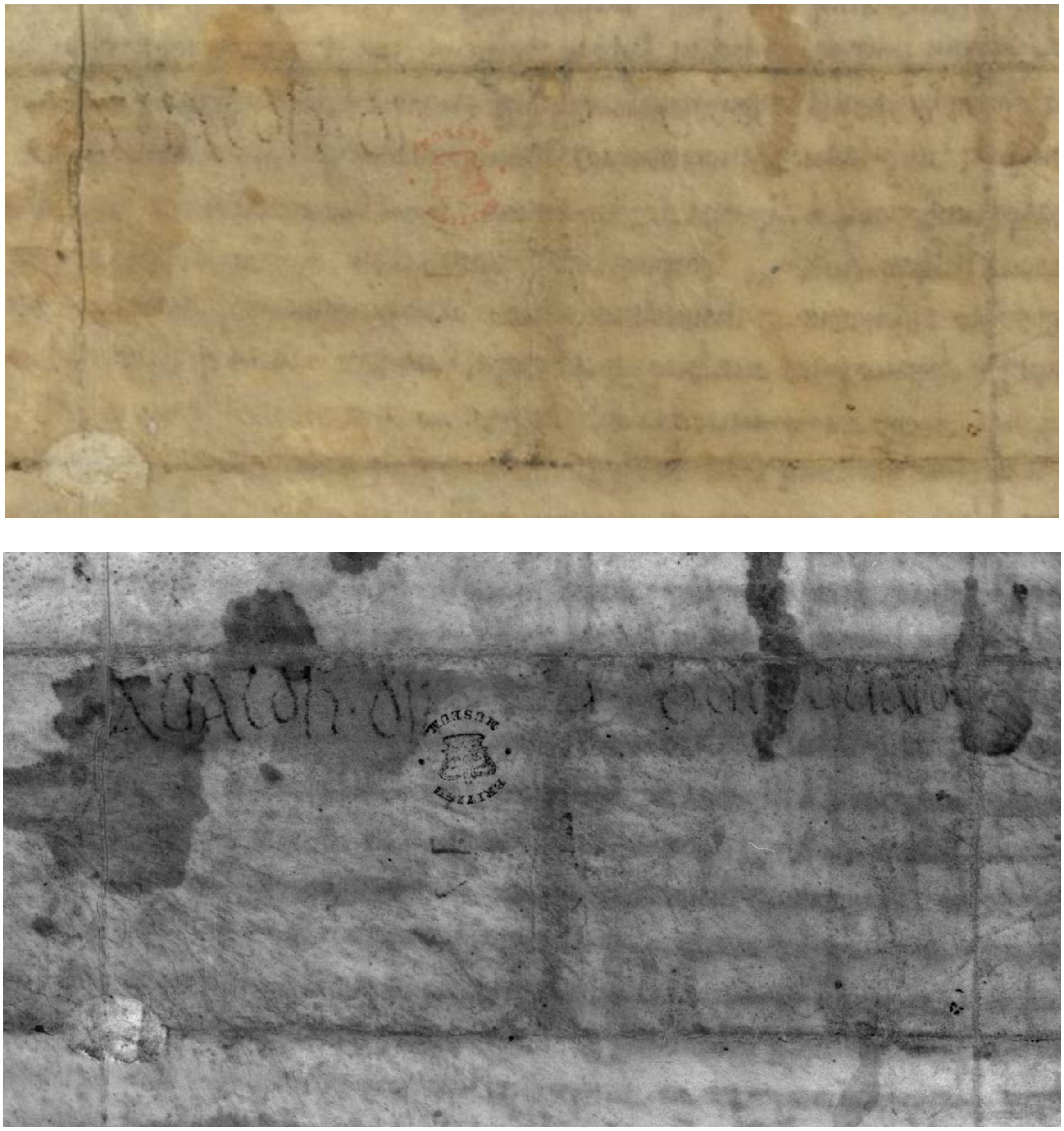


Fig. II.2 – Diagram of how a letter would be folded, based on a diagram in Chaplais, 'The Letter from Bishop Wealdhere', p.8.

This address inscription is similar in form and content to a series of inscriptions added after letters in an early manuscript that preserves part of the Boniface correspondence. This manuscript, Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 751, was copied in Mainz in the mid-ninth century.[62] The manuscript is primarily a collection of letters written by or addressed to Boniface and Lull, his successor as archbishop of Mainz, thereby combining letters from the register and recipient collection at Mainz. The manuscript contains several letters written by Englishmen. The inscriptions are added after the following letters; Archbishop Cuthberht of Canterbury to Lull, f. 44v; Bishop Eardwulf of Rochester to Lull, f.50r; Koena (Æthelberht of York) to Lull, f. 63r. Three other letters were also followed by short graphic signatures; from Abbot Eanwulf to Charlemagne, f. 54r; from Boniface to Abbot Fulrad of St Denis, f. 59r; Abbot Eanwulf

[62] Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, no. 7155; F. Unterkircher (ed.), *Sancti Bonifacii epistolae: Codex Vindobonensis 751 der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Faksimile-Ausgabe der Wiener Handschrift der Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius. Einfuehrung* (Graz, 1971), pp. 9-12.



A UALDH. D(N/I/O) [.] b[….]uald.

A UALDH[ARIO] d[omino] ad berhtualdo

Fig. II.3 – London, BL, Cotton Augustus II 18 – The address clause on the verso of the letter, before and after multispectral imaging. Multispectral imaging by Dr Christina Duffy, imaging scientist, British Library.

to Lull, f. 59v.[63] These inscriptions feature the name of the sender, followed by a short gap and then the recipient, just like the address inscription on the Wealdhere letter. These inscriptions suggest the manuscript was compiled from a recipient collection, and the inscriptions were once written on the outside of the original document, and then copied by the mid-ninth-century scribe of the manuscript.

Three other surviving original letters from ninth-century Francia bear similar impressions from folding and also feature an address inscription. These three letters include a mandate of Louis the Pious to Bishop Baderad of Paderborn (831 x 833), a letter of Charles the Bald to the people of Barcelona (876) and a mandate of Bishop Hildegrim of Halberstadt to Reginbert, provost of Werden (876 x 877).[64] Their respective address clauses are as follows, 'ad baderadum episcopum [space] et missum postrum', 'OMNIBUS BARCHI- [space] NONENSIBUS / PECULIARIBUS [space] NOSTRIS', 'ragenberto preposito [space] offerenda'. Like the Wealdhere letter, all three clauses leave a gap in the middle which would have left room for the tie that closed the letter.

On the basis of close analysis of the Wealdhere letter and complementary surviving documents, it can be argued that letters composed in England were most likely written on a single sheet of parchment, in a minuscule script, before being folded and possibly sealed before delivery. These documents were practical, functional, and often had little value after that function had been fulfilled. To those who received and read these letters, their materiality probably had familiar and functional connotations. These features would have stood in sharp contrast to the function and appearance of the letters they received from the papacy.

[63] Abbot Eanwulf's letter to Charlemagne quotes extensively from Pope Gregory the Great's letter to King Æthelberht of Kent. This letter was one of those preserved in Bede's *HE,* and exhorts him to encourage the spread of the Christian faith. Eanwulf's most likely accessed this letter via Bede's *HE.* See, Bede, *HE,* I.32; J. Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia c.750-870* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 51-52.

[64] On the mandate of Louis the Pious, Staatsarchiv Münster, Fürstentum Corvey, Urk, no. 4: *Kaiserurkunden in Abbildungen,* pl. I. 7a; C. Erdmann, 'Untersuchungen zu den Briefen Heinrichs IV', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung, xvi* (1939), p. 192 and n. 3. On the letter of Charles the Bald see, J. Calmette, 'Une lettre close originale de Charles le Chauve', *Mélanges D'Archéologie et D'Histoire,* xxii (1902), pp. 134-139, with facsimile in *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve,* G. Tessier (ed.), ii. No. 417; iii, 37. The mandate of Bishop Hildegrim is, Staatsarchiv Münster, Fürstentum Münster, Urk. no. 2: MGH, epp. Vi, pp. 194-195 (no. 30); Hoffmann, 'Zur mittelalterlichen Brieftechnik', p. 150.

Papal letters and privileges to arrive in England from the seventh to the ninth centuries

Before comparing the physicality of Anglo-Saxon letters with that of papal letters, it is useful to establish the content and purpose of the letters sent by the papacy during this period.[65] Letter exchange between the papacy and recipients in England was a core part of the Gregorian mission. These letters contained practical advice regarding the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon Church.[66] Following their arrival, Augustine sent Lawrence to Rome to inform the pope of their arrival, probably also carrying letters seeking advice.[67] From that point onwards, letter exchange with the papacy continued to be instrumental in the conversion period and the early development of the Anglo-Saxon Church. For example, the *Liber Responsionum,* contains direct answers to the questions Augustine asked Gregory the Great regarding conversion practices.[68] The wording of many papal letters implies that they were replies to letters sent from Anglo-Saxon churchmen. Communication flowed both ways between Rome and England throughout the seventh century, and this exchange allowed the papal voice to advise on the practical and theological problems of a developing Church.

These letters been a source of support for what must have seemed a daunting task. When Gregory the Great learned that the missionaries had decided to return to Rome before arriving in Kent, he wrote a letter to convince them to continue with their mission.[69] That letter, copied into Bede's *HE,* encouraged them to persevere in the difficult task which awaited them. This demonstrates the emotive potential of letter exchange, and how the exchange of letters with the papacy forged a metaphorical lifeline back to Rome for those early missionaries. These letters were not just a message

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[65] Jasper and Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages,* pp. 89-131.

[66] Key works on the importance of letter exchange in establishment of the Anglo-Saxon Church include; Wood, 'The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury', pp. 1-17; Meens, 'A Background to Augustine's Mission', pp. 5-17.

[67] Bede, *HE,* I.27.

[68] Bede, *HE,* I.27; *Register,* 8.37. On the *Liber Responsionum* see, M. Deanesly and P. Grosjean, 'The Canterbury Edition of the Answers of Pope Gregory I to St Augustine', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 10 (1959), p. 12; Meyvaert, 'Bede's Text of the *Libellus Responsionum',* pp. 15-33; Meens, 'A Background to Augustine's Mission', p. 17.

[69] Letter of Gregory to the missionaries; Bede, *HE,* I.23.

from the pope, they were sent from the leader of their mission and the heir of St Peter, and provided a link to home and familiarity in a distant and unfamiliar land.

Throughout the seventh century, kings and queens also received letters from the papacy as they converted to Christianity. A selection of them were copied into Bede's *HE* and will be discussed further in Chapter 5.[70] These were primarily letters of introduction, establishing a relationship between two people who had never met in person. Letters can provide a platform of self-styling, presenting the recipient with a specific image of the sender and the relationship between the two parties.

As the Anglo-Saxon Church developed, papal letters were used to resolve logistical problems and conflict between clergymen. Bishop Wilfrid travelled to Rome in 679 to resolve a dispute that resulted from Archbishop Theodore's reorganisation of the Church. Wilfrid brought back letters from Pope Agatho which supported his right to be restored to his diocese of York.[71] Wilfrid once again went to Rome following the Synod at Austerfield (702 or 703) that deprived him of all his sees except Ripon and returned with letters written by Pope Sergius supporting his claim to both Hexham and Ripon.[72] Archbishop Berhtwald also travelled to Rome to acquire letters of support from Pope Sergius. Berhtwald returned with two letters, one addressed to the kings of Mercia, Northumbria and East Anglia, and the other addressed to the bishops of Britain.[73] Although these letters from Sergius are now thought to be genuine, they were preserved amongst the series of forged papal privileges produced to support Canterbury's 'primatial ambitions' in the Anglo-Saxon period and were copied into William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum.*[74] In 757 or 758, Pope Paul I sent a letter to

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[70] Bede, *HE,* I.32, II.10, II.11, II.17, III.29. Gregory's letter to Bertha, *Register* II.35. For the arguments relating to Bede's knowledge of Pope Gregory's letter to Bertha see, S. Brechter, *Die Quellen Zur angelsachsenmission Gregors des Grossen; Eine historiographische Studie* (Aschendorff, 1941); R. A. Markus, 'The Chronology of the Gregorian Mission to England: Bede's Narrative and Gregory's Correspondence', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 14 (1963), pp. 16-30; P. Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory the Great* (Jarrow Lecture, 1964), p. 11 no. 40; Meyvaert, 'Bede's Text of the *Libellus Responsionum*, pp. 15-33; R. Shaw, *The Gregorian Mission to Kent in Bede's Ecclesiastical History Methodology and Sources* (London, 2018), p. 40.

[71] Stephen, *VW,* Ch. 32-34.

[72] Stephen, *VW,* Ch. 46-60.

[73] Editions of these letters can be found in Haddan and Stubbs, III, pp. 229-231. Letters of Pope Sergius to the Bishops of England and the kings of Mercia, Northumbria and East Anglia, William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum,* ch. 33, 34.

[74] Brooks, *Early History of the Church of Canterbury,* p. 77.

Eadbert, king of Northumbria (d. 758), and his brother Ecgbert, archbishop of York (d. 766). The letter instructed Eadbert and Egbert to return three monasteries to Abbot Forthred, as they had apparently been forcibly removed from him and given to 'a certain 'patrician" and his brother, Moll'.[75] Letters from this period demonstrate that as the Church matured, papal letters began to be used as a vehicle for papal authority.

Surviving letters sent to the papacy also demonstrate that communication flowed both in and out of Rome, as part of a two-way dialogue. Even with the distortion of survival rates, some centres clearly had a more regular dialogue with the papacy than others. A letter from Pope Gregory II to Abbot Hwæberht of Wearmouth-Jarrow, preserved in the Anonymous *VC*, informed the community that Abbot Ceolfrith had died on route to Rome and gave thanks for a great gift, now thought to be the Codex Amiatinus.[76] This letter was a reply to one sent by Abbot Hwæberht to Gregory, also copied into *VC*, and informed the pope of Ceolfrith's imminent arrival.[77] Two letters addressed to the papacy were also copied into Stephen's *VW*.[78] These were written in the name of Bishop Wilfrid and were presented at the papal court in defence of his position in the English Church. A letter also survives from King Coenwulf of Mercia to Pope Leo I regarding the dissolution of the archbishopric of Lichfield.[79]

The corpus of surviving letters written by or addressed to Bishop Boniface of Mainz contains letters written by Boniface to Pope Gregory II (715-731), Gregory III (731-741) and Zacharias (741-752).[80] Boniface's missionary work along the eastern frontier of Francia meant that much of his correspondence with the papacy discussed conversion practices and the problems of a diocese in its infancy.[81] These are issues

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[75] On Æthelwold Moll see, D. Rollason, Oswulf (d. 759), king of Northumbria. *ODNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20928 [Accessed on 30/5/18].

[76] Anon, *VC*, Ch. 39.

[77] Anon, *VC*, Ch. 30.

[78] Stephen, *VW*, Ch. 30, 51.

[79] See, pp. 84-85.

[80] On Boniface and the papacy see, Jasper and Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 96-102. For general works on the Boniface correspondence see, Greenaway, 'Saint Boniface as a Man of Letters', pp. 31-46; Fell, 'Implications of the Boniface Correspondence', pp. 29-43; Orchard, 'Old sources, 'Finding the Right Formula for Boniface', pp. 15-38.

[81] I. Wood, Boniface [St Boniface] (672x5?–754), archbishop of Mainz, missionary, and martyr. *ODNB* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2843 [Accessed on 30/5/18].

which would have also been relevant to the leaders of the developing Anglo-Saxon Church. Comparison between Anglo-Saxon bishops and Boniface should be made with caution however, since Boniface had been personally appointed to his mission by Gregory II and had a special connection with the papacy.[82]

This period also witnessed the arrival of a type of document that granted special privileges to monasteries: the papal privilege. In his *HA*, Bede recorded that privileges were acquired for Wearmouth and Jarrow by Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith respectively.[83] According to Bede, the privilege for Wearmouth was obtained during Biscop's journey to Rome in 679, and the privilege for Jarrow was probably obtained around the time of its foundation in 685.[84] References in Stephen's *VW* reveal that Wilfrid's two monasteries, Ripon and Hexham were also protected under papal privilege.[85] Aldhelm is believed to have acquired a privilege from Pope Sergius for Malmesbury Abbey and Frome Abbey.[86] Privileges for SS Peter and Paul in Canterbury, *Medeshamstede* (Peterborough), St Paul's, London, Chertsey Abbey and the monasteries of Bermondsey and Woking all survive in later copies, yet the lack of contemporary references casts doubt on their authenticity.[87]

The exchange of letters with the papacy was also a critical aspect of the creation and dissolution of the archbishopric of Lichfield. No letter of approval or privilege accompanying a pallium survives for Archbishop Hygeberht, even though he had probably received one by 787 when he signed a charter using the title of archbishop.[88] It is possible that the pallium and privilege were brought by Bishop George of Ostia as

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[82] Ibid.

[83] Bede, *HA,* Ch. 6, 15.

[83] Bede, *HA,* Ch. 15.

[84] Coates, S. *Benedict Biscop* [St Benedict Biscop] (c. 628–689), abbot of Wearmouth and scholar. *ODNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2082 [Accessed on 30/5/18].

[85] Stephen, *VW,* Ch. 45, 51. Stephen refers to the rights granted by Pope Agatho for the Church of St Peter, Ripon, in chapter 45. Chapter 51 preserved the plea Wilfrid made to Pope John and includes a request that the original privilege for both Ripon and Hexham granted by Pope Agatho be confirmed by Pope John.

[86] M. Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', *Anglo-Saxon England,* 36 (2007), p. 62.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid.

part of the legatine mission in 786. A document, now known as the legatine report, was composed by George, bishop of Ostia and Amiens and Theophylact, bishop of Todi during their time in Britain in 786.[89] The report references papal letters which they brought with them from Rome, but no longer survive. A copy of the legatine report was probably made in England before it was sent to Rome with George of Ostia in 786. The content was known by Archbishop Oda of Canterbury (941-958) and Archbishop Wulfstan of York (1002-1023).[90] This document preserved a descriptive list of the synodal chapters sent by the pope, which had been signed by the kings of Northumbria and Mercia and Anglo-Saxon churchmen. This document does not directly mention Lichfield's promotion to an archbishopric. However, Hygeberht apparently received his pallium only one year later, making it at least plausible that the two events were connected. The surviving report is also incomplete, containing a detailed account of George's time in Northumbria but lacking detail regarding Theophylact's time in Mercia and 'parts of Britain'.[91] The Mercian part of the report may have contained further information regarding the links between the legatine mission and Lichfield's promotion to an archbishopric.

Three letters survive which deal with Lichfield's return to bishopric status during the period from 798 to 802. One letter was sent from King Coenwulf to Pope Leo III, petitioning for Lichfield to be demoted.[92] This letter was preserved in William of Malmesbury's *De Gestis Regum.*[93] Pope Leo's replies also survive, the first written to Coenwulf in 798, and another written to Æthelheard, archbishop of Canterbury in 802. Pope Leo's letter to Coenwulf was preserved in the letter-collection compiled by

[89] Report of the Legates to Pope Hadrian (786); Whitelock (ed.), *EHD,* no. 191; C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils, c. 650-c. 850* (London, 1995), pp. 153-190.

[90] G. Schoebe, 'The Chapters of Archbishop Oda (942/6) and the Canons of the Legatine Councils of 786', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* 35 (1962), pp. 75-83; P. Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 2004), p. 219.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Letter of Cenwulf, king of Mercia, to Pope Leo III about the archiepiscopate of Lichfield (798); Haddan and Stubbs, III, pp. 521-523; W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum,* Volume VI (London, 1900), no. 287; trans. Whitelock, *EHD,* no. 204;.

[93] W. Stubbs (ed.), *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri qinque; Historiae Novella Libri Tres.* I (London, 1887), pp. 86-89.

Archbishop Wulfstan in the early eleventh century.[94] Pope Leo's letter to Æthelheard confirmed Canterbury's return to its previous primacy and is preserved in William of Malmesbury's *De gestis pontificum.*[95] The dialogue between King Coenwulf and Pope Leo that discussed Lichfield's dissolution gives an idea of the number of letters that must have passed between King Offa and Pope Hadrian before Lichfield was promoted to an archbishopric. This exchange also provides an insight into the letters that must have passed back and forth before York was promoted to an archbishopric in 735.

The materiality and performativity of a papal letter

Two papal letters sent to Francia survive in their original form. These original papal letters are papyrus fragments of a letter of Pope Hadrian sent in 788, followed by a privilege issued by Pope Paschal I, dated to 819 via the dating clause of the privilege.[96] Unlike the rest of the Christian West, which favoured parchment, the papal chancery continued to write on papyrus well into the eleventh century.[97] By using papyrus, the papacy were continuing a practise that stretched back to antiquity as a symbol of papal power.[98] Papyrus has a distinct appearance and usability compared to parchment. Papyrus was made by arranging narrow strips of thinly sliced pithy stalks in a layer of vertical and then horizontal rows, which the maker could press to create a fibrous writing surface.[99] Sheets of papyrus could be compiled into a codex format, or

[94] Pope Leo's reply to Cenwulf's Letter, Whitelock, *EHD,* no. 205. Letter of Pope Leo III to Æthelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury, trans. Whitelock, *EHD,* no. 209. London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian A XIV ff. 174r—175r. On the purpose and function of this manuscript for Archbishop Wulfstan see, G. Mann, 'The Development of Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript', in M. Townend (ed.), *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 265-267. On Wulfstan's letter collection see, p. 116.

[95] Haddan and Stubbs, III, p. 536; Birch no. 305; Whitelock, *EHD,* no. 209.

[96] R.I. Poole, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery down to the Time of Innocent III* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 37. Letter of Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne; Paris, AN, K 7, n^0 9^2; *ChLA,* XVI no. 630. On Privilege of Pope Paschal I, see L. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Milan, 1723) 2.1 p. 220.

[97] McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land*, pp. 706-708; B. Bischoff, trans. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, and David Ganz, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 8.

[98] Ibid. p.707.

[99] B. Shailor, *The Medieval Book: Illustrated from the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library* (Toronto, ONT, 1991), p. 6.

assembled into long rolls by overlapping their vertical edges and pasting the seams.[100] Given their length, early medieval letters from the papacy were probably written on a papyrus roll.

The preface to the Codex Carolinus, compiled in 791, provides further insight into the properties of papyrus as a writing material.[101] Although the original Codex Carolinus no longer survives, it is preserved in a later-ninth-century copy thought to be a close facsimile of the original manuscript.[102] The collection comprises 99 letters, all written by popes between 739 and 791, and mostly addressed to the Frankish rulers, Charles Martel (d. 741), Pippin III (d. 768), Carloman (d. 772) and Charlemagne (d. 814).[103] A preface to the collection, written in the voice of Charlemagne, lays out the ideological agenda behind the compilation of the collection.[104] The preface is written in red, rustic capitals similar to those used for the *lemmata* that precede the letters, themselves copied in Caroline minuscule. This preface highlights the intention to preserve these letters for posterity, and in doing so they also preserve the memory of the rise of the Carolingian dynasty and their historic relationship with the papacy.[105] This historic relationship was inherently connected to the Christian Roman past and present, and tied to the Carolingian reforms of the 790s and Charlemagne's imperial coronation in 800.[106] When the late ninth-century copy was made, the archiepiscopal see of Cologne had become involved in papal and Carolingian politics, and so had a vested interest in the content of this collection.[107] The stylised nature of this collection led Espelo to describe it as a 'monumental testimony of Carolingian rule'.[108]

[100] Ibid.

[101] Vienna, ÖNB, *Codex Vindobonensis* 449; F. Unterkircher (ed.) *Codex Epistolaris Carolinus: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex 449* (Codices Selecti Photoypice Impressi) 3; A.T. Hack, *Codex Carolinus: Päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 2006-7); van Espelo, 'A Testimony of Carolingian Rule?', p. 255; 'partly destroyed and erased'.

[102] van Espelo, 'A Testimony of Carolingian Rule?', p. 4.

[103] Ibid., p. 2.

[104] Ibid., pp. 51-54.

[105] Ibid., p. 212.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid., p. 211.

[108] Ibid., p. 212; van Espelo, 'A testimony of Carolingian rule?', pp. 254-82.

The preface to the collection explained that it was compiled because the papyrus letters needed to be renewed and copied (*renovare ac rescribere*) because the documents appeared *parte diruta atque deleta*.[109] One of the *lemmata* used to introduce the letters in Vienna, ÖNB, *MS* 449 also reveals that some letters were in an almost illegible state when copied into the original manuscript.[110] The *lemma* of Letter 15 summarised the letter and explained that it could not be copied in full because it had become unreadable.[111] Espelo has argued that this *lemma* was copied by the scribe of Vienna, ÖNB, *MS* 449 from the original manuscript, and reflects the fact that the original scribe could only copy part of the letter because it was partially illegible.[112] That original scribe clearly felt there was value in including part of the letter, even if he could not copy the full document.[113] Letters in this collection were composed between 739 and 791, meaning that the oldest letters were not yet 100 years old when the collection was compiled in *c.* 791.[114]

In some cases, the placement of the letters in the manuscript appears to have been given careful thought. This was particularly so in the case of the two letters in the collection which were sent by the antipope Constantine (767-768). These letters were copied at the very end of the collection perhaps also to emphasise the illegitimacy of the pope but the potential value of their contents.[115] These letters notified Pepin of his ordination and urged Pepin to recognise their authority. Following his ordination, Constantine struggled to gain recognition outside Rome, and for various reasons, he was overthrown in summer 768 and replaced by Pope Stephen III.[116] The inclusion of

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[109] van Espelo, 'A Testimony of Carolingian Rule?', p. 255; van Espelo, *The Codex Epistolaris Carolinus as a Product of its Time*, p. 52; 'partly destroyed and erased'.

[109] van Espelo, 'A Testimony of Carolingian Rule?'. p. 255.

[110] van Espelo, *The Codex Epistolaris Carolinus as a Product of its Time*, p. 52.

[111] Ibid., pp. 112-113.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Ibid., p. 2.

[115] Jasper and Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 104.

these letters in the Codex Carolinus confirms that these two letters were received, and probably stored in the main archive of letters from the papacy.

The language used in the preface suggests that these papyrus documents were not in the best condition when the original copy was made *c*. 791. Papal letters stored by English monasteries may have deteriorated at a similar rate, prompting them to be copied into similar letter-collections. Even in the archives, therefore, Anglo-Saxons may have been more used to encountering a papal letter as a parchment copy, rather than the papyrus original. Papyrus may have been more strongly connected to the immediate arrival of a papal letter and associated with communication with the pope, and Rome. That papyrus would have been encountered far less often than parchment may have also led it to take on exotic, prestigious and quintessentially 'papal' connotations.

Papal seals attached to the papyrus would have also been a key part of the visual appearance of the letter. The practice of attaching a leaden seal or *bulla* by means of tags of parchment or cords can be traced to the middle of the sixth century.[117] The use of lead rather than wax followed Byzantine practice.[118] Narrative accounts of the arrival of papal letters in England describe seals attached to the letters. In chapter 34 of *VW,* Wilfrid displays papal letters containing the *scripta apostolicae sedis iudicia* which were *cum bullis et sigillis signatis reddidit*.[119] Similarly, in chapter 57, Wilfrid presents a papal letter to King Æthilred of Mercia, *signata cum bullis et sigillis*.[120]

Several seals which entered the British Museum's collection in 1856 were issued in the name of seventh-, eighth- and ninth-century popes.[121] The Catalogue of Additions stated that Detached Seals XXXVIII.1-102 were acquired together, and are

[116] *LP,* Stephen III, c. 14; Duchesne (ed.), *LP,* I, pp. 468-485; Davis, *Lives,* pp. 87-105; R. Mckitterick, 'The *Damnatio Memoria*e of Pope Constantine II (767-768)', in R. Balzaretti, J. Barrow and P. Skinner (eds), *Italy and Early Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 231-248.

[117] Poole, *Papal Chancery,* pp. 24, 50.

[118] L. Webster and J. Backhouse, *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600-900* (London, 1991), p. 190, no. 149a.

[119] Stephen, *VW,* Ch. 34; 'written judgement of the apostolic See…all stamped with bulls and seals'.

[120] Stephen, *VW,* Ch. 57.

[121] *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1854-1875,* Vol. II (London, 1877), p. 817.

described as 'A series of leaden *bullae* of the Popes, from John V 685-6 to Pius IX 1846'.[122] This collection includes two *bullae* from John V (d. 686) [XXXVIII.1, 2], two *bullae* from Pope Sergius I (d. 701) [XXXVIII.3, 4] and one *bulla* from Pope Zacharias (d. 752) [XXXVIII.5], Pope Paul I (d. 767) [XLIX.123], Pope Nicholas I (d. 867) [XXXVIII.8], Pope John VIII (d. 882), and Pope Boniface VI (d. 896) [XXXVIII.10].[123] Another *bulla* [XXXVIII.6] in this collection was issued by a *STEPHANI PAPAE*, however this could be Pope Stephen II (d. 752), Stephen III (d. 757) or Stephen IV (d. 772).[124] Similarly, *bullae* [CXVII.9, 10] inscribed with the name *GRE/GORII* could be from Pope Gregory II (d. 731), Gregory III (d. 741) or Gregory IV (d. 844). The inscriptions on these seals follow a simple format, characteristic of early papal *bullae.*[125] One side is inscribed with PA/PAE, often preceded or followed by a cross, and the other side of the *bulla* is inscribed with the name of the pope, and the text on both sides is often surrounded by a beaded border. However, it is not known whether these seals were initially discovered in England or discovered and collected elsewhere.

An early lead or lead alloy *bulla* of Pope Paschal I (d. 824) was found in English soil, in Herefordshire, in 2004 [Fig. II.4].[126] The inscription reads +/PAS/CHA/LIS + on one side, and +/PA/PAE/+ on the reverse. Before deposition, the bulla was cut down on each vertical side, perhaps with the intention that it be used as jewellery or as a weight. Both the border and the arrangement of lettering are typical of papal *bullae* from this period and are similar to the designs of the seals acquired by the British Museum in 1856. The typical audience of papal letters in England would probably have been familiar with this style of papal *bullae*, perhaps enough to use their appearance as a marker of authenticity.

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[122] Ibid.

[123] de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals*, pp. 253-258.

[124] Ibid., p. 255.

[125] Reavill, P (2004) *HESH-ADE183: A EARLY MEDIEVAL BULLA*. Portable Antiquities Scheme. [Accessed via, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/69063, on 29/05/2018].

[126] Ibid.

Fig. II.4 – Papal *bulla* of Pope Paschal I (817-824), reproduced under Creative Commons license by permission of Birmingham Museums Trust.

The script of the letters would have also been a distinctive part of their materiality. The papyri in the Ravenna collection testify that the papal chancery continued to write a narrow, slanted Roman cursive until *c.* 700, and the first instance of well-formed Roman curial script is found in the privilege of Pope Paschal from 819.[127] Roman curial script is characterised by the circularity of the letter-forms, and the characteristic forms of a, e, q and t, and elongated ascenders and descenders, which were distinct from contemporary scripts from north-western Europe.[128] However, as with the caroline and Insular minuscule scripts used elsewhere for letter writing, this form of Roman curial script was similarly quick, practical and suited to the short-term lifespan of a letter. For many people, their exposure to papal letters would have been the only way through which they encountered Roman chancery script, and its appearance would have been inherently connected to the reception of an authentic papal letter.

[127] P. Rabikauskas, S.J. *Die römische Kuriale in der päpstlichen Kanzlei* (Rome, 1958), p. 26; Bischoff, trans. Ó Cróinín, and Ganz, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 101.

[128] Rabikauskas, *Die Romische Kuriale*, p. 12.

Delivering a papal letter

Epistolary exchange could also have a vocal, performative element. Evidence suggests that papal letters from this period were composed orally and written down by an amanuensis. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors noted that the copy of Pope Honorius' letter to Archbishop Honorius of Canterbury, copied into Bede's *HE,* retains Latin syntax used by someone for whom Latin was a living, spoken language.[129] Letters written in response to a papal letter could have probably also been composed orally and copied by a scribe.

Letters could also be read aloud upon arrival, and the messenger may have been required to translate the message or provide supplementary information. In a letter to Pope Zacharias, Boniface asked the pope to receive a priest who acted as his letter bearer.[130] Boniface then stated, *habet enim secreta quaedam mea, quae soli pietati vestrae profiteri debet, quaedam viva voce vobis dicere, quaedam per litteras notata ostendere.* [131] Pope Zacharias responded,

> *Interea predictus tuus gerulus Lul cum ceteris suis comitibus, quae iniuncta fuerunt a tua fraterna sanctitate tam in verbo quamque per scripto, omnia liquidius suggerentes innotuerunt. De quibus tam in verbo responsum dantes et per scripta tuae remisimus fraternitati*.[132]

If this 'Lull' was the same as the one who succeeded Boniface at Mainz after his death, he was an important churchman when acting as Boniface's messenger. Lull became a deacon by 745-6, and an archdeacon by 746-747.[133] If Lull was a typical case, messengers could be relatively important clerics, and intimately linked to the sender. Nothhelm, who brought copies of papal letters to Wearmouth-Jarrow, was also well

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129 Colgrave and Mynors detected that Bede retained the syntax of spoken Latin in certain papal letters included in the *HE,* Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's* Ecclesiastical History, p. xl.

130 *Die Briefe,* no. 86, Tangl (ed.); 'this priest of mine and bearer of my [his] letter'.

131 *Die Briefe,* no. 86, Tangl (ed.); 'he brings certain confidential messages for your gracious hearing only, partly by word of mouth, partly in writing'.

132 *Die Briefe,* no. 87, Tangl (ed.); 'your above-mentioned messenger Lullus and his companions have set forth very clearly, part orally, partly in writing, everything which your Holiness had entrusted to them. To this we have sent replies to you, my brother, also by word of mouth and in writing'.

133 M. Costambeys, 'Lul (*c.* 710–786)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39269 [Accessed on 3/102017].

known to Bede, had been recommended to him by Albinus and went on to become the archbishop of Canterbury. Additionally, Einhard wrote in a letter, *potius enim fideli homini, quam karte credendum iudico, nam charta sive membrana, si se ferenti elabitur, omne quod continet secret[um patefacit], at nuntius fidelis nec tortus sibi commissum prodit.*[134] Paul Dutton argued that, for Einhard, the written message was often an introduction and validation of the more important message that was to be delivered orally.[135] This is in keeping with other aspects of Carolingian diplomacy, whereby the written word coexisted with the spoken word.[136]

When papal letters were acquired to settle disputes or enact change in the Anglo-Saxon Church, they could also be displayed and read aloud before a synod or court. Wilfrid obtained papal letters to support his right to be reinstated as bishop of York, following Archbishop Theodore's restructuring of the Church in the 670s.[137] Stephen described how Wilfrid and the representatives of Archbishop Theodore made their case before the papal court by reading letters aloud.[138] Stephen stated that Andrew, bishop of Ostia, and John, bishop of Portus had read letters from Theodore and other Anglo-Saxon bishops before the council.[139] Ostia and Portus both lie at the mouth of the Tiber, and would have been natural stopping points for those travelling to Rome via sea. John the Notary then read Wilfrid's own petition aloud before the council in Rome.[140] When Wilfrid returned to England, the papal letters he brought in support of his right to the see of York were also read aloud before a council. The documents were again presented and read aloud before the king of Northumbria and the clergymen gathered at

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[134] MGH, *Epp.* 5.61; trans. P.E. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier: The Complete Einhard* (Peterborough, ONT, 1998), p. 158; 'it is better to trust a loyal man than a written document, since if a document or piece of parchment falls of its bearer, every secret it holds is revealed, but a loyal messenger does not betray the message entrusted to him'.

[135] P.E. Dutton*, Charlemagne's Moustache and other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (New York, NY, 2004), p. 142.

[136] J. Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian Government', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 265-270.

[137] Stephen, *VW,* ch. 29-33.

[138] Ibid., ch. 29.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Ibid.

a synod.[141] Stephen referred to the letter as *scripta apostolicae sedis iudicia*, and stated he had delivered the document *bullis et sigillis signatis*.[142] Although the judgement of the letters was not respected by King Ecgfrith, Stephen explained that it was because they had been obtained by bribery.[143] Their status as authentic papal documents was, apparently, never in doubt.

In Stephen's account, the physical document acted as a substitute for the absent pope. When Stephen referred to the letters, he did not use the Latin *epistolae, litterae, or cartae,* and instead spoke of the letters in metaphors. In one case, Stephen refers to the papal letter as *scripta apostolicae sedis iudicia.*[144] When Stephen described the death of King Aldfrith, he blamed his defiance of the *apostolicae sedis iudicia,* referring to his rejection of the papal letters Wilfrid brought back from his first appeal to Rome in 679.[145] Stephen's language suggests that the letter represented the decision, rather than contained the decision.

Stephen's account of the Synod of Nidd demonstrates that some papal letters may also have been translated into the vernacular upon arrival.[146] This synod was held in 706 to settle Wilfrid's claim to the dioceses of Hexham and Ripon. Wilfrid presented his case at the papal court, and returned with a letter of support from Pope John VI to King Æthilred of Mercia and King Aldfrith of Deria.[147] Archbishop Berhtwald also acquired papal letters which were presumably brought back by representatives who had been in Rome with Wilfrid.[148] Both letters were read aloud before the council. Stephen then stated that a nobleman, Berhtfrith, asked, *nos, qui interpretation indigemus, quid apostolica auctoritas dicit, audire delectat*.[149] Berhtfrith, and others attending the

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141 Ibid., ch. 34.

142 Ibid.; 'written judgement of the pope…all stamped with bulls and seals'.

143 Ibid.

144 Ibid.; 'the decision of the Apostolic See'.

145 Ibid.; 'judgements of the Apostolic See'.

146 Ibid., ch. 60.

147 Ibid., ch. 52-54.

148 Ibid., ch. 60.

149 *Ibid.*; 'writings from the Holy See…those of us who could not manage to follow the reading would be grateful if you would explain just what the Holy See means'.

council, may have been unable to follow the letter in Latin and required it to be translated into the vernacular. The legatine report produced by George of Ostia and Theophylact of Todi in 786 also includes a reference to papal letters being read both in Latin and *Teutonice,* meaning the vernacular.[150]

The legatine report also demonstrates that papal letters could have performative connotations. The report includes two lists of names, presumably the individuals present at the Northumbrian and Mercian councils. The names are signed in charter format, beginning with the Latin *Ego,* followed by the name and title of the person, and a short phrase confirming their agreement to the papal decrees.[151] The names of both King Ælfwald and Offa begin the list, followed by the archbishops of York and Canterbury, bishops of both archdioceses and some secular noblemen.[152] If the named individual did not write this phrase themselves, an amanuensis would have done it in his place. The report, written in the voice of George, addressing Pope Hadrian, described how those present at the synods interacted with the physical document. Before their names were included, George informed Hadrian that *signo sanctae crucis in vice vestra, in manu nostra confirmaverunt ut postea stylo diligenti in charta huius paginae exaraverunt, signum sanctae crucis infigentes*.[153] This implies that the attendees at the council first agreed by making the sign of the cross, and then confirmed their agreement in writing. In the only manuscript copy of the text, Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. Guelf. 454 Helmst, the first three names of the Northumbrian witness list, Archbishop Eanbald, King Ælfwald and Bishop Tilbert of Hexham, are followed by small crosses.[154] These perhaps reflect the autograph crosses on the original document. For the attestation of Bishop Æthelwine, the report states that he had agreed through

[150] Report of the Legates to Pope Hadrian (786), Whitelock, *EHD,* no. 191.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid.; ‘they confirmed them [the chapters] in our hand in your stead with the sign of the Holy Cross, and afterwards inscribed with a careful pen on the paper of this page, affixing thus the sign of the Holy Cross’.

[154] Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. Guelf. 454 Helmst. On this manuscript see, Story, *Carolingian Connections,* pp. 68-77.

representatives rather than in person.[155] This comment perhaps reflects the importance of the physical act of attestation.

In many Anglo-Saxon charters, the words *signum manus* precede the name of the witness. Even if this list was written by one scribe, the phrasing gives the impression of an interaction between the witness and the document.[156] Story has noted that autograph crosses were a regular feature of papal bulls but are not normally found in Anglo-Saxon diplomatic.[157] Other references to the attestation of papal pronouncements are found in the work of Bede and Stephen of Ripon. Stephen described in his *Vita Wilfridi* that at the Synod of Nidd in 706, the letters Pope Agatho had sent in support of Wilfrid against King Aldfrith had been confirmed by *una nobiscum paene totius Britanniae episcopi*.[158] When Bede described Ceolfrith's acquisition of a privilege for Jarrow, he explained that it had been publicly confirmed at a synod upon its arrival in the same way as the privilege acquired by Biscop for Wearmouth.[159]

The Legatine Report is not a simple document. It begins in the voice of George, bishop of Ostia, addressing Pope Hadrian, and then switches to the papal voice to list the laws to which the Anglo-Saxon Church must agree. The recipients heard this papal voice read aloud, then made their own contribution by signing their name in their own first-person voice. This report, therefore, became an interactive document, which facilitated a two-way dialogue between recipients in England and the pope in Rome. When the letter was read aloud, it recreated the oral method of composition and retained the sense of a verbal dialogue. When the signatories signed an autograph cross, they confirmed the cross they made in person as a vow to the pope and to Christ. When this report was read in Rome, the pope was able to retain a sense of the performance of the vow, as it had been made at the synod. The physical document, therefore, acted as

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155 Report of the Legates to Pope Hadrian (786), Hadden and Stubbs, III, p.434; Whitelock, *EHD,* no. 191.

156 S. Kelly, 'Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 42-44.

157 Story, *Carolingian Connections,* p. 68.

158 Stephen, *VW,* Ch. 60; 'the bishops of nearly the whole of Britain'.

159 Bede, *HA,* Ch. 15.

both a record of past performance and prompted performative behaviour in the future. The document acted as a textual bridge, enabling the pope to enact change and decision making within the distant English Church.

These accounts of the reception of letters at synods bears comparison to the image of the synod on f. 90v of the Utrecht Psalter [Fig. II.5].[160] In the illustration it is possible to see a scroll-like document being read, on show and physically visible, before a gathered audience, with books laid out on stands and scribes at work recording the event. McKitterick acknowledged that although it is now unfashionable to link manuscript images with anything the artist may have seen in real life, there is a possibility that the artist had a Frankish synod in mind when composing his drawing.[161] The public display and performance, of letters in this way would have also contributed to the exoticism and prestige of the physical document and its link to the papacy.

Fig. II.5 – Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32, f. 90v – Depiction of a synod illustrating the *Quicumque vult,* with a document being read in the centre.

[160] Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32, f. 90v; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* no. 939.

[161] R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 30.

Papal letters to royalty, or high-ranking churchmen, may have also been accompanied by gifts. Pope Gregory the Great sent gifts with his letters to both Æthelberht of Kent and his wife Bertha. Gifts were also sent with the letters of Pope Boniface to Edwin of Northumbria and his wife Æthelburh, and the letters of Pope Vitalian to King Oswiu.[162] Indeed, letters themselves were reciprocal in nature, written with the expectation of a resulting response or action. Liz Stanley has proposed that 'epistolarity can be helpfully thought around 'the system of the gift', as the very act of writing a letter is done with a purpose in mind, which often involved receiving something in return.[163] Gift exchange was an important social practice throughout the early medieval period.[164] Gifts that accompanied papal letters, such as the gifts that Pope Boniface sent to Edwin and Æthelburh, were sent with *benedictio protectoris uestri beati Petri apostolorum*.[165] Privileges, themselves a gift bestowed on the monastery, were made in the name of St Peter, and Pope Sergius drew upon the authority of St Peter in the letters he wrote in support of Berhtwald's claim to the archbishopric of Canterbury.[166] Any reciprocity owed was directed at St Peter, and the institution of the papacy, rather than the individual pope, and therefore prolonged the longevity of the gift and reciprocity owed.

Papal letters which arrived in England would have had a distinctly 'papal' appearance, which was easily recognisable compared with contemporary non-papal letters. Those who encountered these letters would have been aware that they had been written in Rome, in the name of the pope. This same audience appears to have been familiar enough with the appearance of papal letters to judge the authenticity of the document. The distinct physicality of the letter would certainly have had an impact on

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[162] Bede, *HE,* II.10,11. III.29.

[163] L. Stanley, 'The Epistolary Gift, the Editorial Third-Party, Counter-Epistolaria: Rethinking the Epistolarium', *Life Writing,* 8:2 (2011), p. 136.

[164] See particularly, M. Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London, 1969); I.F. Silber, 'Gift-giving in the Great Traditions: the Case of Donations to Monasteries in the Medieval West', *European Journal of Sociology,* 36 (1995), pp. 209-243; F. Curta, 'Merovingian and Carolingian Gift-Giving', *Speculum,* 81:3 (2006), pp. 671-699; J. Nelson, 'The Settings of the Gift in the Reign of Charlemagne', in W. Davies and P. Fouracre (eds), *The Languages of the Gift in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 116-148.

[165] Bede, *HE,* II.17,18; 'with the blessing of St Peter'.

[166] Letters of Pope Sergius to the Bishops of England, and the kings of Mercia, Northumbria and East Anglia. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum,* ch. 33, 34, N.E.S.A. Hamilton (ed.), *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque* (London, 1870).

those who could not understand the Latin text or recognise the hand of the papal chancery. Receiving a letter was often a multi-sensory experience, as the physical document engaged the eyes and the text read aloud engaged the ears. It was from this sensory perception that the reader would have formed mental images of the pope, the person whom the letter represented, and Rome, the place from which it came. The unique physicality of a papal letter can therefore be viewed as a visual hook for the mental image of what it is to be 'papal' and 'Roman'.

Encountering papyrus in England

One of the most recognisable aspects of a papal letter would have been that it was written on papyrus, not parchment. Papyrus would probably have been accessible to some Anglo-Saxons who travelled to Rome. Maginarius, abbot of Saint-Denis wrote a letter on papyrus in 788, which was preserved in the Saint-Denis archive, and is now Paris, NA, K7 No.9.[167] The letter was a report of the situation in Benevento, which Charlemagne had sent Maginarius and two royal *missi*, Atto and Gaddramnus, to investigate.[168] The letter explained how Maginarius and the two *missi* had gone to Benevento via two separate routes, and were sharing information regarding which regions were loyal to Charlemagne.[169] Maginarius may have written the letter on papyrus because that was the writing material he had access to in Benevento, or because he had passed through Rome.[170]

It is tempting to link this report-letter to the legatine report written two years previously in 786.[171] This was also a report, co-written by papal legates who had come from Rome and had perhaps brought writing materials with them. It is possible that the original document written by George and Theophylact was written on papyrus, particularly since the document was intended to be read by the pope. George certainly

167 *ChLA,* XVI. no. 629.

168 R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 220; Collins, *Charlemagne,* p. 42.

169 Ibid.

170 Ibid.

171 Report of the Legates to Pope Hadrian (786), Whitelock, *EHD,* no. 191.

brought papal letters to England, which would probably have been written on papyrus and displayed at the two synods held in Northumbria and Mercia.[172]

Papyrus may also have been imported by Frankish scriptoria from the late seventh to the early eighth century. A copy of letters and sermons of Augustine of Hippo compiled in a Frankish scriptorium, possibly Luxeuil or Lyon, in the late seventh or early eighth century is formed of quires of parchment and papyrus [Fig. II.6].[173] The original volume consisted of at least 30 quires in all, the majority surviving as Paris, BnF, Latin 11641 and seven quires as Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, Lat. MS 16.[174] The quires are formed of gatherings of three or four papyrus bifolia enclosed in at least one bifolium of parchment.[175] The scriptorium that produced this manuscript intended both papyrus and parchment to be part of the structure of the manuscript.

A privilege granted by Childeric II, dated 716, suggests that Corbie Abbey was also importing papyrus.[176] The diploma confirmed privileges originally granted by Dagobert I (*c.* 639) that granted Corbie exemption from the tolls on imports, which included fifty *tomi* [quires] of papyrus.[177] However, Peter Sawyer argued that this privilege is not reliable evidence for the early eighth century, and instead reflects the mid-seventh-century attitudes when the privilege was originally granted.[178] Indeed, Simon Loseby has raised doubts as to whether fifty *tomi*, equivalent of roughly 25,000 sheets, would have been available to Corbie Abbey in 716.[179] Even if this privilege may

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172 Ibid.

173 Paris, BnF, Latin 11641; CLA, X. no. 614; Bischoff, trans. Ó Cróinín, and Ganz, *Latin Palaeography*, pp. 8, 182, 194.

174 *CLA*, X. no. 614.

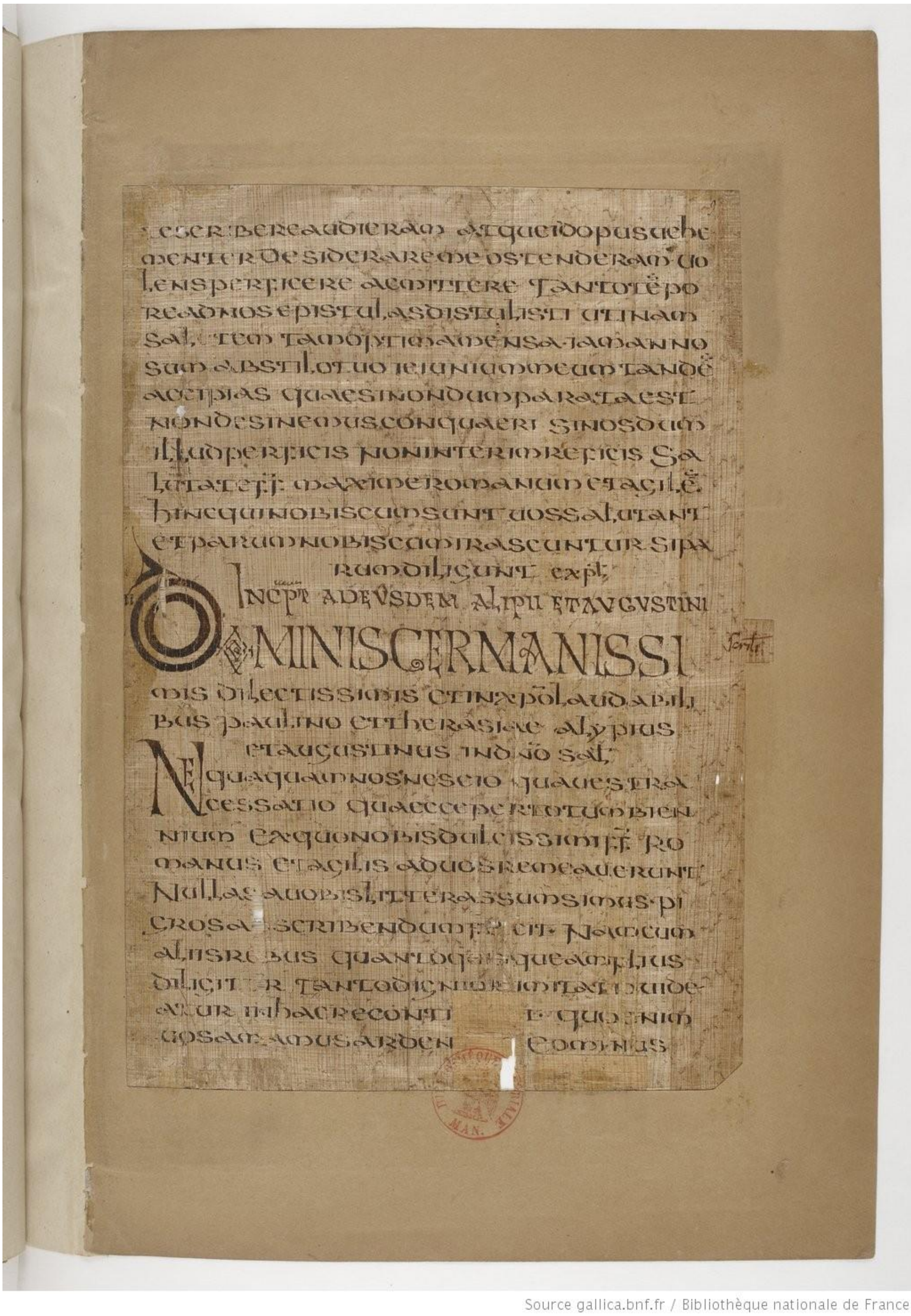
175 *CLA*, X. no. 614; Bischoff, trans. Ó Cróinín, and Ganz, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 8.

176 *ChLA*, II. no. 589.

177 S.T. Loseby, 'Marseille and the Pirenne Thesis II: 'Ville Morte', in I Lyse Hansen and C. Wickham (eds), *The Long Eighth Century* (Boston, MA, 2000), p. 178.

178 P. Sawyer, *The Wealth of Anglo-Saxon England: Based on the Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1993* (Oxford, 2013), p. 51.

179 Loseby, 'Marseille and the Pirenne Thesis II', p. 187. See also, E. Sabbé, 'Papyrus ey Parcemin au Haut Moyen Âge', *Miscellanae Historia in Honoris Leonis van Essen* (Paris, 1947), pp. 95-103, at p. 98. On the availability of papyrus in the West in this period see, D. Claude, *Untersuchugen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor und Frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel und Nordeuropa, II, Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters* (Göttingen, 1985), pp. 89-92.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. II.6 – Paris, BnF, Latin MS 11641, f. 9r – A papyrus folio of the papyrus-parchment copy of letters and sermons of Augustine of Hippo produced in the late seventh or early eighth century.

not be an accurate reflection of imports in Childeric's time, it still provides an insight into the amount of papyrus which may have been imported during the reign of Dagobert I (d. 639), who granted the original privilege. The toll placed on papyrus suggests that it was an expensive commodity and enough was being imported to make it worth being placed under toll.[180] Enough was being imported to allow the Merovingian chancery to continue to use papyrus until the later part of the seventh century. [181] There are five original papyrus documents which survive in the name of Clothar III (31 October 657 – 10 March 673).[182] In his writing, Gregory of Tours described papyrus being used in the manufacture of candles, and oiled papyrus used instead of glass in the lights of lanterns.[183]

Susan Kelly suggested that it may not be a coincidence that the earliest surviving Anglo-Saxon charter, made in 679 in the name of Hlothhere of Kent, dates to two years after the earliest surviving parchment charter issued by Theuderic III in in September 677.[184] The close connections between Frankish monasteries and southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, particularly Kent, have been well identified within the historiography.[185] It is possible that when the Merovingians switched from papyrus to parchment for administrative documents, scriptoria in Kent followed suit.[186] However, this argument is mainly hypothetical, and difficult to sustain, based as it is on the absence of evidence. General Frankish influence detectable in Anglo-Saxon charters is very slight, and so direct imitation of the Merovingian chancery therefore seems unlikely.[187] The date of the Hlothere charter, and its Kentish origin, also suggests a

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180 Loseby, 'Marseille and the Pirenne Thesis II', p. 187.

181 H. Pirenne, 'Le commerce du papyrus dans la Gaule merovingienne', *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1928), pp. 178-191; H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (Paris, 1937), pp. 91-93.

182 Kelly, 'Anglo-Saxon Lay Society', p. 41.

183 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Martyrum, MGH SS rer. Merov.* Vol 1, p. 558; *Liber Virtutibus S. Martini,* p. 644.

184 Kelly, 'Anglo-Saxon Lay Society', p. 41.

185 See the work of Ian Wood, particularly 'Frankish Hegemony in England', in M.O.H. Carver (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 235-241.

186 Kelly, 'Anglo-Saxons Lay Society', p. 41.

187 Ibid.

connection to the arrival of Archbishop Theodore, and the episcopal reform initiated during the 670s and 680s.[188]

It is also possible that papyrus was incorporated into the binding of parchment codices. In 2006, a psalter was discovered in a peat bog in Faddan More, County Tipperary, Ireland.[189] The psalter, dated to the late eighth century, was found in the bog in a leather cover, in a bag made from pig skin and then covered with a piece of white-haired calf hide.[190] Conservation work on the cover of the psalter revealed it to be made of sheep or goat leather lined with sheets of papyrus wrapped to form a large flap which was tied together at the head and tail.[191] The design of the cover displays many similarities with the bindings of early Egyptian, Nag Hammadi codices which date to the fourth century.[192] Although it is unlikely that the Faddan More cover dates to the fourth century, it is undoubtedly an import, and was probably not the only one of its kind.[193]

A surviving papyrus fragment may also be representative of a complete codex written in Italy and brought to England. This fragment was preserved in the pre-cut border of a leaf from an illuminated fifteenth-century copy of the Breviary of Margaret of York, which is now bound before four purple leaves of a sixth-century Greek copy of the gospels known as the Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus [Fig. II.7].[194] The remainder of the Breviary exists separately from the leaf containing the papyrus fragment, and is now Cambridge, St John's College, MS H.13.[195] Pieces from the same Breviary are

[188] Ibid.; London, BL, Cotton MS Augustus II 2; *ChLA*, III. no. 182.

[189] B. Meehan, *The Faddan More Psalter: Discovery, Conservation and Investigation* (Dublin, 2011).

[190] Ibid., p. 77.

[191] Ibid.

[192] Ibid.

[193] Ibid.

[194] London, BL, Cotton MS Titus C XV, ff. 1r-1v; Lowe, *CLA*, II no. 192; R. Babcock, 'A Papyrus Codex of Gregory the Great's *Forty Homilies on the Gospels* (London, Cotton Titus C XV), *Scriptorium* 54:2 (2000), pp. 280-289.

[195] Ibid., p. 283.

Fig. II.7 – London, BL, Cotton MS Titus C XV, f. 1r – Late sixth-century papyrus fragment framed in a pre-cut border in a leaf from an illuminated fifteenth-century copy of the Breviary of Margaret of York.

found in three other Cotton manuscripts, suggesting that the papyrus fragment was probably mounted while in the care of Robert Cotton.[196] The papyrus fragment is from a copy of Gregory the Great's *Forty Homilies on the Gospels*, written in half-uncial characters.[197] Gregory completed this work in 592 or 593, and the dating of the script confirms that this fragment could have been copied in Gregory's lifetime.[198] Robert Babcock proposed that the fragment had been part of a codex copy of the work brought to England as part of the Gregorian mission.[199] The text was newly composed at the time, written by the sponsor of their mission, and was directly relevant to preaching, thereby making it an extremely appropriate text for Augustine and his missionaries.[200] Babcock argued that in terms of preservation, it is most likely that the original codex arrived in England earlier, when it was a new text, rather than later, when more durable parchment copies of the text were available.[201] Babcock suggested that the fragment came into Cotton's collection having been used in a book binding, and that Cotton may have mounted the fragment on the parchment leaf and bound it with a sixth-century Greek manuscript.[202] Given the substantial number of books acquired in Rome by men who travelled there, such as Aldhelm, Wilfrid, Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith, it is certainly possible that papyrus was present in these imports.

Conclusion

Accounts of the arrival of papal letters in England demonstrate that they were not silent, passive objects. They were read aloud, translated and physically displayed upon arrival, in a public, performative manner. Their arrival was an audio-visual experience, whereby the physicality of the document itself was as important as the message it

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[196] Ibid., M.P. Brown, 'Sir Robert Cotton, Collector and Connoisseur?' in M.P. Brown and S. McKendrick (eds), *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interypreters: Essays in Honour of Janet Backhouse* (London, 1998), p. 295.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Ibid.

[199] Ibid.

[200] Ibid., p. 282.

[201] Ibid., p. 287.

[202] Ibid., p. 288.

contained. Letters sent both ways between England and Rome could enable an act or event in their place of arrival, or act as a record of an event which occurred in the place from which it was sent. The distinct appearance of a papal letter made it easily recognisable as a document that had come from Rome. It was partly this distinct and recognisable physical appearance which allowed papal letters to enact change and affect decision making in the distant Anglo-Saxon Church.

Early medieval letter writers were aware of the ability of letters to act as barriers and bridges to distant people and the places they inhabited. Both the message and materiality of a letter had an impact on this connection. The sensory experience of receiving a letter from the papacy would have contributed to the formation of mental imagery of the papacy and Rome. In his *De Ratione*, Alcuin explained that perception of distant place was enabled via this mental imagery, whether the place was known or unknown. The papacy's historic connection to the city of Rome, and the strong association between the two in the minds of the Anglo-Saxon intelligentsia, meant that a letter from the pope was also a symbolic connection to Rome.

Chapter 3

Reading two seventh-century itineraries for Rome in Carolingian Francia

In *c.* 798 a manuscript, now Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795, was compiled under the direction of Arn of Salzburg (d. 821).[1] The manuscript contains texts on grammar by Alcuin of York, extracts from exegetical texts by Alcuin and Augustine of Hippo and letters exchanged between correspondents such as Alcuin, Arn and Angilbert.[2] The manuscript also contains copies of two itineraries that describe a pilgrim's journey around the extra-mural churches and catacombs of Rome. These itineraries are now known as *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis romae* [*Notitia*] and *De locis sanctis martyrum* [*De locis*].[3] A list of basilicas also circulated as an appendix to *De locis,* with the title *Istae vero ecclesiae intus romae habentur* [*Istae vero*].[4] Although these itineraries were composed in mid seventh-century Rome, the manuscript, Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795, was compiled over 100 years later in a Carolingian scriptorium. This manuscript demonstrates that itineraries for Rome were being read, recopied and circulated far from the streets of Rome, long after their composition.

Thus far scholars have focused on how itineraries such as these were composed and circulated as a result of physical travel to the city. E. Barker Ross' 1913 study of Rome as a centre of pilgrimage argued that pilgrims would have acquired these texts in

[1] T. von Sickel, 'Alkuinstudien', *Sitzungserichte der k. Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften* 79 (1875), pp. 468-486; *CLA* X. 1490; Bischoff, *Katalog,* III, no. 7160; Bischoff, *Ma. Studien* 2, S.233 u.3, S.138; M. Diesenberger and H. Wolfram, 'Arn und Alkuin 790 bis 804: Zwei Freund und Ihre Schriften', in *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg,* M. Niederkorn-Bruck and A. Scharer (eds) (Munich, 2004), pp. 81–106.

[2] On the contents of the manuscript see the introduction to the facsimile, F. Unterkircher, *Alkuin-Briefe und Andere Traktate: Im Auftrage des Salzburger Erzbischofs Arn um 799 zu Einem Sallemband Vereinigt,* Codices Selecti Phototypice Impressi, 20 (Graz, 1969).

[3] For editions of the texts see, R. Valentini, and G. Zucchetti, *Codice topografico della città di Roma: a cura di Roberto Valentini e Giuseppe Zucchetti, ect, Volume II* (Rome, 1942), pp. 67-131; trans. M. Lapidge, *The Roman Martyrs: Introduction, Translations and Commentary* (Oxford, 2018) Appendix IV, pp. 659-666.

[4] Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico,* pp. 118-131.

Rome to act as guides or souvenirs.[5] However, Debra Julie Birch later argued it was unlikely that these texts were composed and read by pilgrims on the streets of Rome due to the difficulty of copying itineraries in large volumes and the trouble that many pilgrims would have had with the Latin text.[6] It is perhaps more indicative of their earliest audiences, that the manuscripts which preserve the surviving copies were produced in scriptoria north of the Alps.

In recent years, scholars have approached medieval geography and geographical texts outside a literal, phsyical context.[7] Nicholas Howe and Martin Foys have examined the flexibility of Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards time and space. Howe has analysed the inherited, invented and imagined landscapes of Anglo-Saxon England and the extent to which Rome was viewed as the symbolic capital of Anglo-Saxon England.[8] Foys has examined how the Anglo-Saxon *mappa mundi,* preserved in the eleventh-century manuscript London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius B V/1 f. 56v, created a form of virtual world through its use of text and image to represent space.[9] However, this historiographical perspective has not yet been applied to *Notitia* or *De locis.* Scholars who have studied the itineraries have focused on the value of their topographical content to support studies of the development of Roman topography in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries.[10]

In the introduction to their edition of *Notitia* and *De locis,* Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti discussed these itineraries in relation to the broader understanding of early medieval pilgrimage to Rome.[11] *Notitia* and *De locis* have also been discussed in studies of Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795. In 1969, Franz Unterkircher produced a facsimile

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[5] Barker Ross, *Rome of the Pilgrims and Martyrs,* p. 94.

[6] Ibid., p. 97.

[7] Hanawalt and Kolbialka (eds), *Medieval Practices of Space*; Cohen and Madeline (eds), *Space in the Medieval West;* Lees, and Overing, 'Introduction', pp. 1-18.

[8] N. Howe, 'The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England: Inherited, Invented and Imagined', in J. Howe and M. Wolfe (eds), *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe* (Gainesville, FL, 2002), pp. 91-113; Howe, 'Rome: Capital of Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 147-172.

[9] M. K. Foys, 'The Virtual Reality of the Anglo-Saxon *Mappamundi', Literature Compass,* 1 (2003), pp.1 -17. The itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric was also preserved in Cotton MS Tiberius B V/1 ff. 22r-23v and will be discussed in greater detail below, pp. 136-142.

[10] Dey, *The Aurelian Wall,* p. 229; Trout, 'Saints, Identity and the City', p. 183.

[11] Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico,* pp. 72-131.

of Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 which included a detailed analysis of its codicology, palaeography and content.[12] Unterkircher's analysis was particularly indebted to Bischoff's previous analysis of the manuscript.[13] Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 has also featured in studies of Alcuin and his letters, and in Diesenberger and Wolfram's study of Arn and Alcuin's relationship between 790 and 804.[14] In his seminal monograph, Bullough examined the position of Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 among other manuscript copies of Alcuin's letters produced in the 790s or early ninth century, and discussed how and why certain letters came to be included in the manuscript.[15]

Scholars have not yet fully considered the appeal of these itineraries to distant readers consulting them far from Rome. This chapter aims to address this gap by examining the presence of *Notitia* and *De locis* in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795, including an analysis of the production of the manuscript and the possible intentions of the compilers. This chapter will then aim to reconstruct the impact of these itineraries on their early audiences and explore what form of perception they provided for distant readers, by drawing upon Alcuin's explanation of perception of place in his *De Ratione*. This impact will be compared to other itineraries, or itinerant-style poems, which survive from the early medieval period. This discussion will conclude with an analysis of another of Alcuin's letters copied into the same manuscript in which Alcuin explained the three possible types of vision; corporal, symbolic and mental. Alcuin's explanation of the three visions helps to understand the image of Rome that was possible for readers of *Notitia* and *De locis* in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795.

Content and context of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 795

The original core of Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 was probably compiled in *c*. 798, and additional quires were appended either side of the original core shortly after [Table II]. Before the addition of these quires, a series of alphabetical quire marks were added to

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[12] Unterkircher, *Alkuin-Briefe,* pp. 9-41.

[13] B. Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit: Die Vorwiegend Österreichischen Diözesen* (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 115-119.

[14] Sickel, *Alcuinstudien,* pp. 10-28; Diesenberger and Wolfram, 'Arn und Alkuin 790 bis 804', pp. 81-106.

[15] Bullough, *Alcuin,* pp. 44-52.

the original core, from ff. 21r-191v.[16] These quire marks were copied into the centre of the lower margin of the first recto and last verso of each quire. Bischoff, Lowe and Bullough all argue that these quire marks were added in the early ninth century by Baldo, *magister* of Salzburg.[17] The extra quires added to the original core are now ff. 1r-20v and ff. 192r-205v [Table II]. More than one scribe contributed to the original core of the manuscript, ff. 21r-191v, all writing early Caroline minuscule of varying quality.[18] The form of Caroline minuscule favoured by these scribes was typical of that practised by scribes trained in the Saint-Amand-Salzburg fashion.[19] Bischoff argued therefore that the original core of the manuscript was copied at Saint-Amand and then moved to Salzburg where the quire marks and extra quires were added.[20] Unterkircher, however argued that scribes who contributed to the original core of the manuscript also copied parts of the late additions on ff. 192r-205v, suggesting that the manuscript was entirely produced at Salzburg.[21] Scribes probably moved between Saint-Amand and Salzburg as frequently as manuscripts, given that both were under Arn's governance, and that the style of script practised by each scriptorium had much in common. [22] Indeed, Bischoff has noted that it is often difficult to identify whether manuscripts were copied at Saint-Amand or Salzburg.[23] Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 remained at Salzburg until it was brought to Vienna in 1806, as part of the general movement of manuscripts from Salzburg Cathedral Chapter Library and the Archiepiscopal Library.[24]

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[16] E.A Lowe demonstrated that it was not uncommon for Carolingian manuscripts produced in the late eighth or early ninth century to make use of quire marks. It seems to have been slightly more common for manuscripts produced under Arn, at either St Amand or Salzburg. See Lowe, *CLA,* X. pp. viii-xvii.

[17] Lowe, *CLA,* X, no. 1490; Bischoff, *Südostdeutsche Schreibschulen* 2, p. 115; Bullough, *Alcuin,* p. 44.

[18] Unterkircher, *Alkuin-Briefe,* p. 30; Bischoff, *Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen,* p. 115.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Bischoff, *Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen,* p. 116; Bullough, 'Alcuin's Cultural Influence', pp. 1-26.

[21] Unterkircher, *Alkuin-Briefe,* pp. 30-31.

[22] See, Lowe, *CLA,* X. pp. viii-xvii.

[23] Bischoff, *Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen,* pp. 190-191; Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries,* p. 42.

[24] See information provided by ÖNB in the digital catalogue. [Accessed via, http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/1002EC92 on 12/01/2019].

Date	Folios	Content	Labelled quires
Added after 798	ff. 1r-21r	Alcuin letters and grammar texts, and alphabets of Greek, Anglo-Saxon and Gothic script	
Pre-798	ff. 21r-150v	Exegesis on the New Testament by authors such as Augustine and Jerome	A-Y
	ff. 148v-150v	Alcuin, Exegetical texts	
	ff. 150v-183v	Alcuin letters	
	ff. 184r-187v	*Notitia ecclesiarum urbis romae*	Z
	ff. 187v-191r	*De locis sanctis martyrum*	
	f. 191v	*Istae vero*	
Added after 798	ff. 192r-197v	Alcuin letters	
	ff. 197v-199r	Letters from Angilbert to Arn	
	ff. 199r-199v	Alcuin, Verse to Candidus (incomplete)	
	ff. 200r-203v	Charlemagne letter to Alcuin. MGH ep. 144	
	ff. 204r-205v	Later medieval additions	

Table II – Diagram of Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795

The manuscript contains a mixture of texts that were probably of interest to Arn or were clearly copied from the archives at Saint-Amand or Salzburg. The first part of the original core of the manuscript, ff. 21r-148v, includes extracts from exegetical texts on the New Testament, followed by four exegetical texts attributed to Alcuin, copied at ff. 148v-150v. This is then followed by twelve letters sent by Alcuin to various recipients, copied from ff. 150v-183v, of which none are dated after 798. The first three letters in this series constitute a small group of short letter-treatises, one on a theological or philosophical problem and two on exegetical problems.[25] The scribes who copied these three letter-treatises do not feature elsewhere in the collection.[26]

[25] *Epp.* 133; *Epp.* 81; *Epp.* 135; Bullough, *Alcuin,* p. 46.

[26] Bullough, *Alcuin,* p. 46.

Next is a letter to Charlemagne that is one of the earliest documents to reference Charlemagne's responsibility for the *christianitatis imperium.*[27] Followed by a letter on the dangers of Adoptionism, and a letter of recommendation written by Alcuin for messengers on their way to Rome.[28] Following this is a small group of letters addressed to English recipients, including two letters to Eanbald of York containing advice on his new position as archbishop.[29] Bullough noted that this group of letters, copied from ff. 156r-183v, would have had particular relevance to Arn after his bishopric of Salzburg had been raised to an archbishopric on 20 April 798.[30] On the basis of the proposed dating of these letters, Bullough argued that Alcuin may have made attempts to meet with Arn in late spring 799.[31] This meeting would have provided Alcuin with an opportunity to present this collection of letters to Arn, to aid his professional development as a newly promoted archbishop.[32] None of the letters in this section post-date 798, meaning that it is certainly feasible that the letters found their way into Arn's scriptoria at Saint-Amand or Salzburg in time to be copied into this manuscript soon after.[33]

The two itineraries, *Notitia* and *De locis*, are copied from ff. 184r-191v, directly after this collection of Alcuin's letters to Arn, and were intended to fill an entire quire. This quire is labelled 'Z' in the alphabetical sequence and was therefore the final quire in the original core of the manuscript. Although there was space at the bottom of f. 183v, the scribe began the *Notitia* at the top of f.184r, clearly separating it from the letters in the previous quire. The scribe wrote the full title, *Notitia ecclesiarum urbis romae,* into the upper margin, and began the itinerary with an enlarged, decorated 'P' before continuing the text in Caroline minuscule. According to Bullough, the text of *Notitia* was begun by a scribe who did not contribute to earlier sections of the

[27] *Epp.* 136; trans. Allott, *Alcuin,* no. 66; Bullough, *Alcuin,* p. 47.

[28] *Epp.* 140.

[29] Bullough, *Alcuin,* p. 48.

[30] Ibid., p. 49.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., p. 44.

manuscript, yet quire Z was completed by scribes who did contribute to the earlier part of the manuscript.[34]

The text of the *Notitia* finishes roughly halfway down f. 187v, and the *De locis* follows immediately after. That text is introduced with the title, *De locis sanctis martirum quae est forus civitati romae.* The first letter, 'd', is slightly enlarged and set into the margin, and the title is then completed in the same Caroline minuscule used for the main text of the itinerary. There is a small marginal annotation directly adjacent to the capital 'd', and though it is difficult to read, Unterkircher has suggested that it could be transcribed as '*de libro'* [Fig. III.1].[35] This may be a reference to the exemplar. Additions to the text were also added in the upper margin of f. 190r, and inter linear corrections were made on f. 190v and f. 191r. Each major route in the itinerary of *De locis* is also preceded by the letter 'k', presumably short for *kapitula.* These are not included in *Notitia,* or the two other manuscript copies of *De locis,* which will be discussed in detail below.[36] The ink used to write these 'k's is darker than the rest of the text, suggesting that they were added at a different time than the main text was copied. They may have been added by the scribe who wrote the annotations to *De locis.* The scribe ensured that *De locis* finished by the end of f.191r, allowing *Istae vero* to be copied on f.191v, the final folio of quire Z [Fig. III.2]. The scribes who copied *Notita, De locis* and *Istae vero* intended these texts to occupy a single quire, which may have also been the final quire in the manuscript as it was originally planned.

After the alphabetical quire marks were added to the original core, extra quires were added to the beginning and the end of the manuscript. The first part of the manuscript, now ff. 1r-20v, includes letters from Alcuin, Alcuin's *De orthographia* and a runic alphabet. The quires at the end of the manuscript, now ff. 192r-205v, are mostly letters sent by or addressed to Arn and were probably copied from Arn's recipient collection.[37] The three letters that follow are thought to have been addressed to Arn and

[34] Ibid.; Unterkircher, *Alkuin-Briefe,* p. 37.

[35] Unterkircher, *Alkuin-Briefe,* p. 26.

[36] See pp. 121-162.

[37] Bullough, *Alcuin,* p. 50.

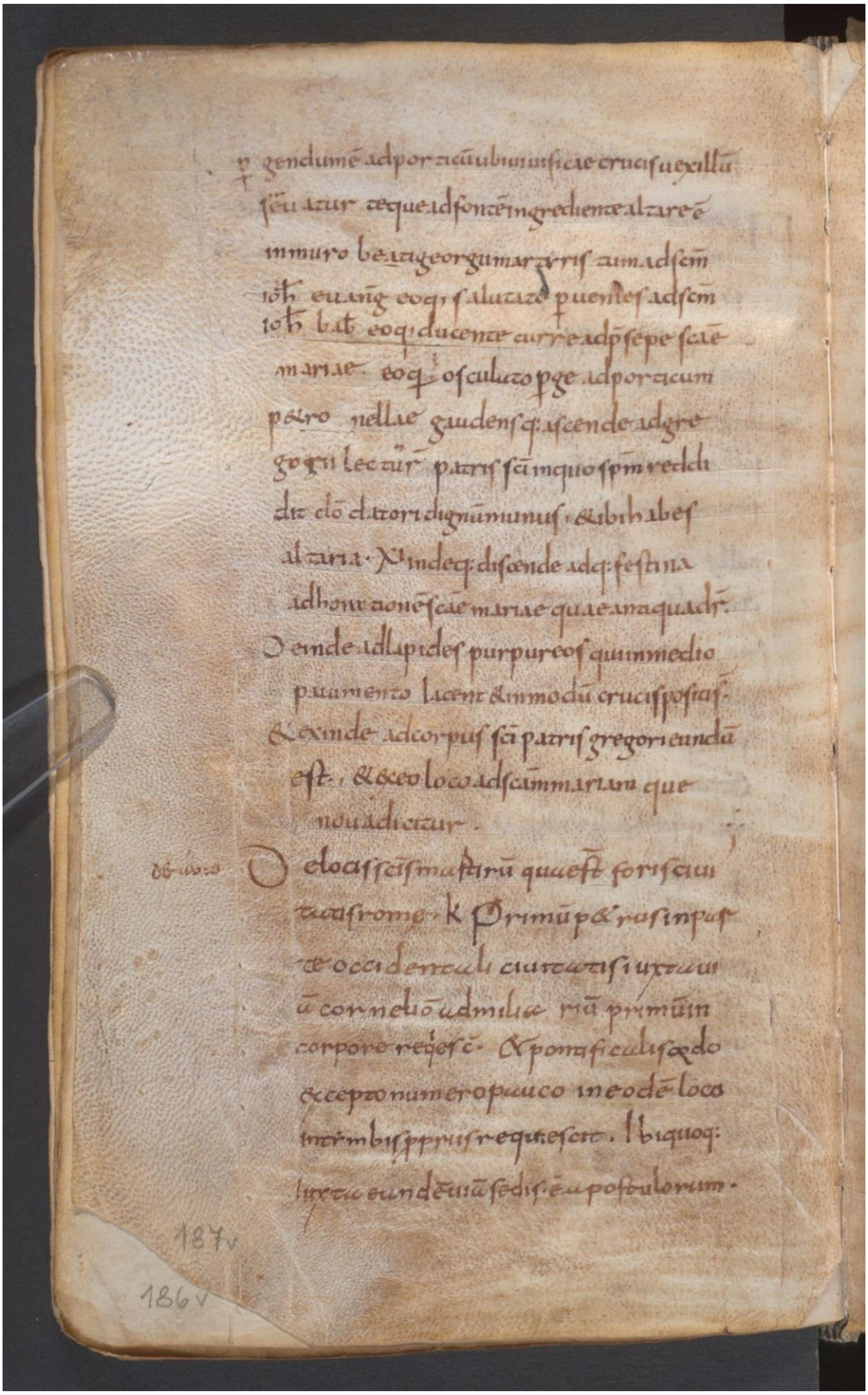

Fig. III.1 – Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795, f. 187v – *De locis* begins on line 17, with the marginal annotation *de libro*. The title finishes on line 18 and a 'K' precedes the beginning of the first section of the itinerary on line 19.

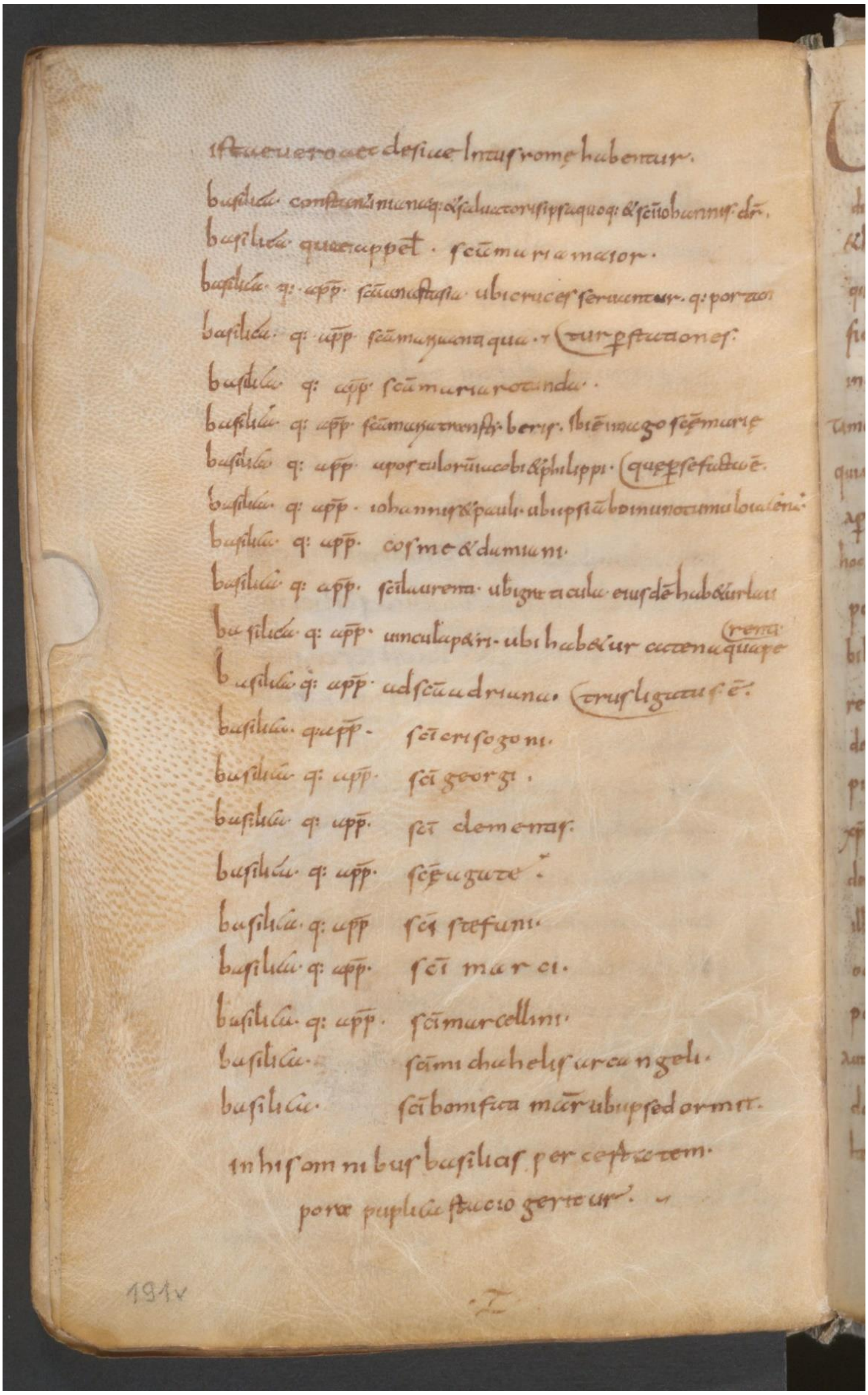

Fig. III.2 – Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795, f. 191v – *Istae vero* begins on the first line and fills the entire folio. The concluding sentence is aligned in the centre. The quire mark ‘Z’ in the lower margin signifies that this as the final quire in the original core of the manuscript.

kept as a formulary group.[38] A *vade mecum* poem attributed to Alcuin and addressed to Candidus Wizo was added to the final folio of this manuscript, on ff. 199r-199v, and will be discussed in detail below.[39]

Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 is primarily a collection of Alcuin letters compiled by or for an archbishop, to reflect matters of interest to a man of his position. The manuscript can be compared to a compilation of letters and other documents assembled by Archbishop Wulfstan in the early eleventh century following his appointment to the archbishopric of York.[40] This manuscript, now London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian A XIV, ff. 114-179, began life as a collection of letters sent by Alcuin to various Anglo-Saxon recipients including Archbishop Eanbald of York and Æthelheard of Canterbury. Alcuin's letters to Eanbald and Æthelheard advise them following their new appointments as archbishops and would have certainly been relevant to Wulfstan, who had recently been made the archbishop of York.

Gareth Mann argued that the manuscript was compiled by Wulfstan for his own personal use as a pastor and legislator, and evolved into a compilation of texts designed to support the rights of an eleventh-century archbishop.[41] Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 may have been compiled for a similar purpose. Arn was also a newly promoted archbishop, and both London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian A XIV and Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 evolved over time to reflect the interests of the archbishops who compiled them. Alcuin probably intended many of his letters to have a pastoral purpose. In a letter to Eanbald copied from ff. 136r-142r in London, BL, Vespasian A XIV, Alcuin instructed Eanbald to have the letter copied out and to keep it with him and read it often.[42] These pastoral qualities were perhaps part of what made these letters so appealing for archbishops like Arn and Wulfstan.

Another collection of Alcuin's letters worthy of note here is a manuscript featuring mostly letters from Alcuin to Charlemagne, compiled in an English

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[38] Ibid., p. 51.

[39] Alcuin, *Carm.* 44, Dümmler, MGH, *Poet. I*, p. 255.

[40] Now, London, BL, Cotton Vespasian MS A XIV; Mann, 'Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript', pp. 235-278; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 383.

[41] Mann, 'Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript', p. 236.

[42] *Epp.* 114; trans. Allott, *Alcuin*, no. 6.

scriptorium at some point in the early tenth century, now London, Lambeth Palace, MS 218 [Fig. III.3].[43] This manuscript is unique among other collections of Alcuin's letters for being lavishly decorated, as opposed to the plain, functional style of the majority of Alcuin letter books. The first two lines of each letter are written in display capitals coloured in red, orange and yellow, with decoration that features animal and human faces, and the main text is written in insular square minuscule. The style and decoration of this manuscript is that of a high-status book and suggests that it was commissioned by or for a wealthy patron. The content of the letter book, primarily letters from Alcuin to Charlemagne, suggests that the patron was interested in discussion of good kingship and the relationship between Alcuin and Charlemagne. The deluxe style and content of this collection suggests a lay, rather than ecclesiastical, patron.

Alcuin's letters were often selected and compiled to reflect the needs and interests of a patron or intended audience. In the case of Vienna, ÖNB MS 795, it is likely that the initial patron and intended reader was Arn of Salzburg. The contents reflect the needs and interests of a newly appointed archbishop at the Carolingian court. The exegetical texts and the letters written by Alcuin to Anglo-Saxon recipients, for example, would have been of use to Arn in a pastoral capacity. *Notitia* and *De locis* were intended as part of the original core of the manuscript. Travel to Rome, and an interest in Rome's sacred topography, was probably of both personal and professional interest to an archbishop such as Arn.

Notitia and *De locis* were not the only texts in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 connected to Rome. The manuscript also contains a letter of introduction written by Alcuin for monks travelling to Rome, f. 172r, and the *Vade mecum* for Candidus Wizo on ff. 199r-199v. Arn had travelled to Rome in 798 to receive the pallium from Pope Leo III after having been made archbishop and travelled to Rome again in 800 with a substantial portion of the Carolingian court to witness Charlemagne's imperial coronation.[44] Marios

[43] M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lambeth Palace Library* (London, 1930), pp. 350-352; D. Ganz, 'An Anglo-Saxon fragment of Alcuin's letters in the Newberry Library, Chicago', *Anglo-Saxon England* 22 (1993), pp. 167-177; Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 68-70; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 511.

[44] Neuhardt 'Papst Leo III. Verleiht Arn, dem Erzbischof und Metropoliten der beyerischen Kirchenprovinz, das Pallium (798 April 20)', in Heinz Dopsch (ed.), *1200 Jahre Erzbistem Salzburg: die Alteste Metropole im Deutschen Sprachaum: Beitrage des Internationalen Kongresses in Salzburg,* vom 11. Bis 13. (1998), p. 18.

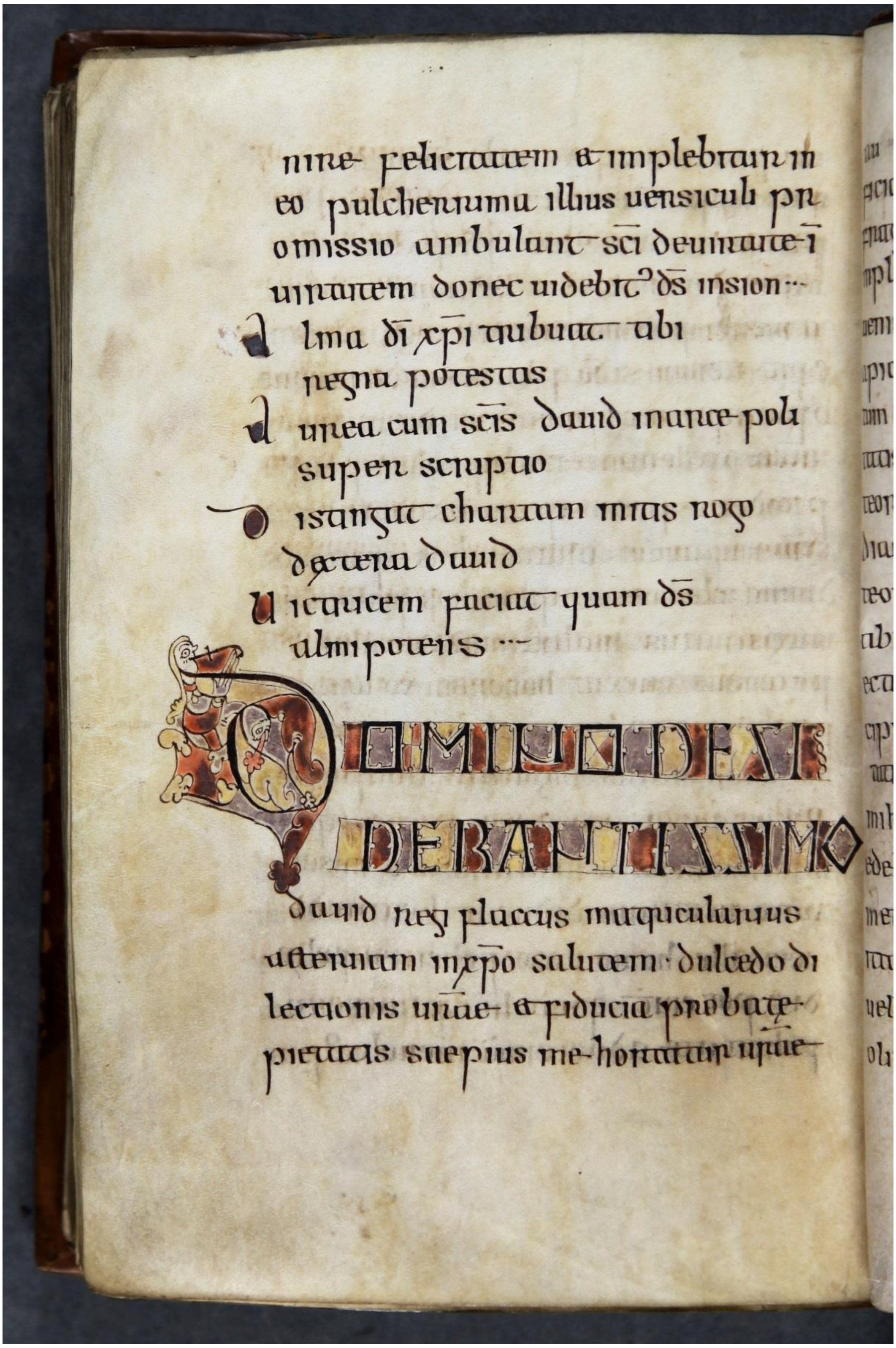

Fig. III.3 – London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 218, f. 191v - Display capitals used to write the first two lines of a letter from Alcuin to Charlemagne in an early tenth-century collection of Alcuin's letters copied in southern England.

Costambeys noted that the late eighth century witnessed a general increase in emissaries, pilgrims and merchants making their way to Rome, and cites this traffic has 'clear context' for the presence of these itineraries in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795.[45] Travellers to Rome would not have been strangers at Saint-Amand and Salzburg, as both were important ecclesiastical and political centres in Francia and would have been convenient stopping points for pilgrims travelling to Rome from Francia or England.

<u>Other manuscript copies of *De locis*</u>

Although *Notitia* only survives in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795, *De locis* survives in two other manuscripts.[46] One manuscript is a ninth-century theological miscellany, which Bischoff attributed to Salzburg, now Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008.[47] *De locis* was also copied in a late ninth-century copy of Bede's *Martyrology,* now Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, th.f.49, which Bischoff attributed to Würzburg or Regensburg [Fig. III.4].[48] *Istae vero* is copied directly after *De locis* in both Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008 and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, th.f.49. In their edition of *De locis,* Valentini and Zucchetti use Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008 as the base for their edition. Although they note variations between the three versions of the text in the footnotes, there has yet to be a substantial overview of the key differences between the three manuscript copies and what this can reveal about the early circulation of the *De locis*.

The key difference between the three manuscripts of *De locis* is that only the scriptorium that produced Vienna, ÖNB MS 795, either Saint-Amand or Salzburg, copied both *De locis* and *Notitia*. Whereas, the compilers of Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008 and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, th.f.49 only included *De locis.* If we accept that the scribes would have copied *Notitia* if they had access to it, the two other manuscripts

[45] M. Constambeys, 'Alcuin, Rome and Charlemagne's Imperial Coronation', in Tinti (ed.), *England and Rome,* p. 267.

[46] Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico,* p. 101.

[47] Ibid., p. 101; Sickel, *Alcuinstudien,* p. 14; Bischoff, *Sudostdeutsche Schriebschulen,* 2, p. 94; Bischoff, *Katalog,* III, no. 7198.

[48] Sickel, *Alcuinstudien,* p. 14; Lowe, *CLA*, IX. no. 1413; Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico,* pp. 101-102; B. Bischoff and J. Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani: die Würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek IM VIII und IX Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1952), p. 125 no. 97; Bischoff, *Sudostdeutsche Schriebschulen,* 2, pp. 133-134; Bischoff. *Katalog,* III, no. 7487.

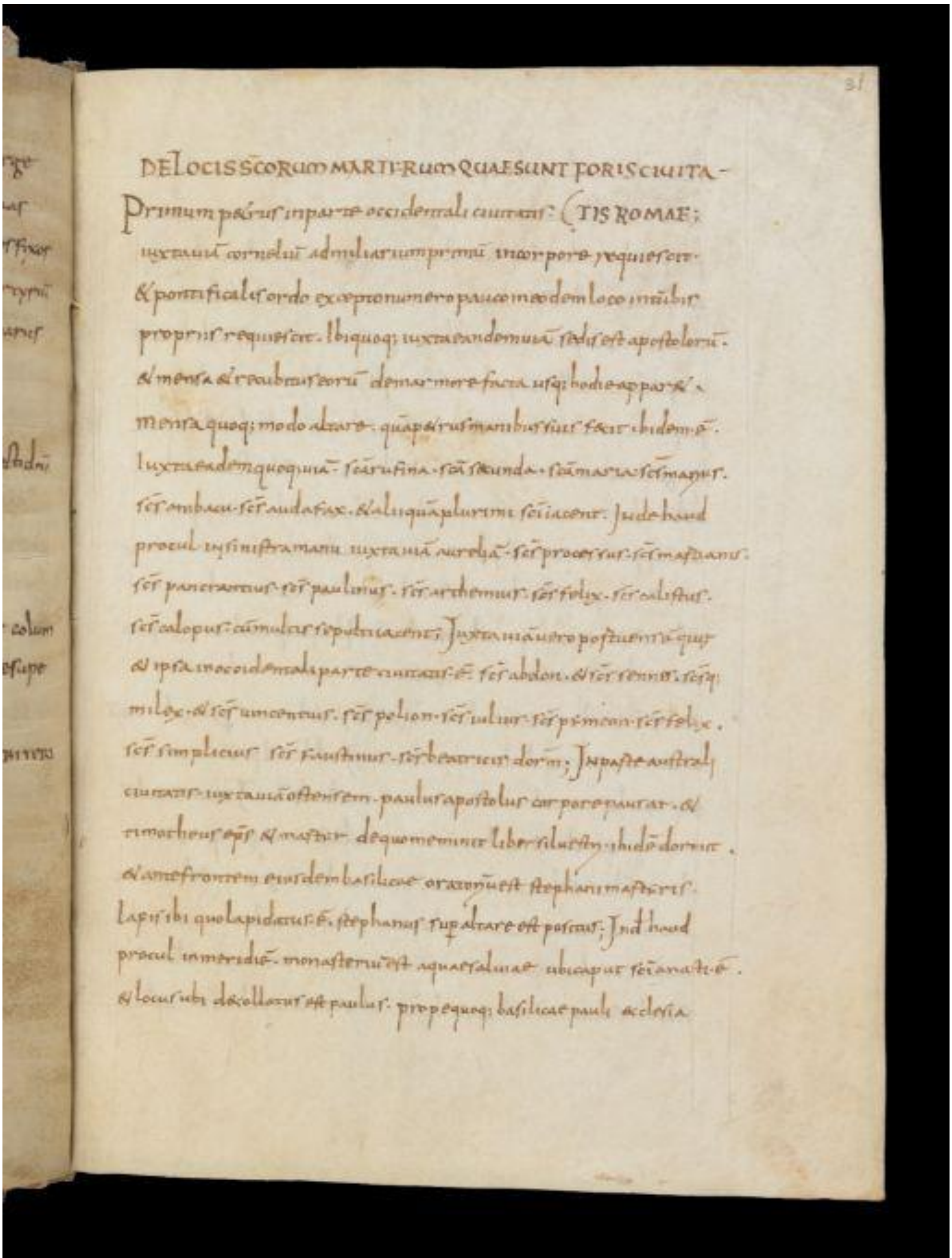

Fig III.4 – Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, th.f.49, f. 31r –*De locis* begins on line 1 with the full title written in capitals.

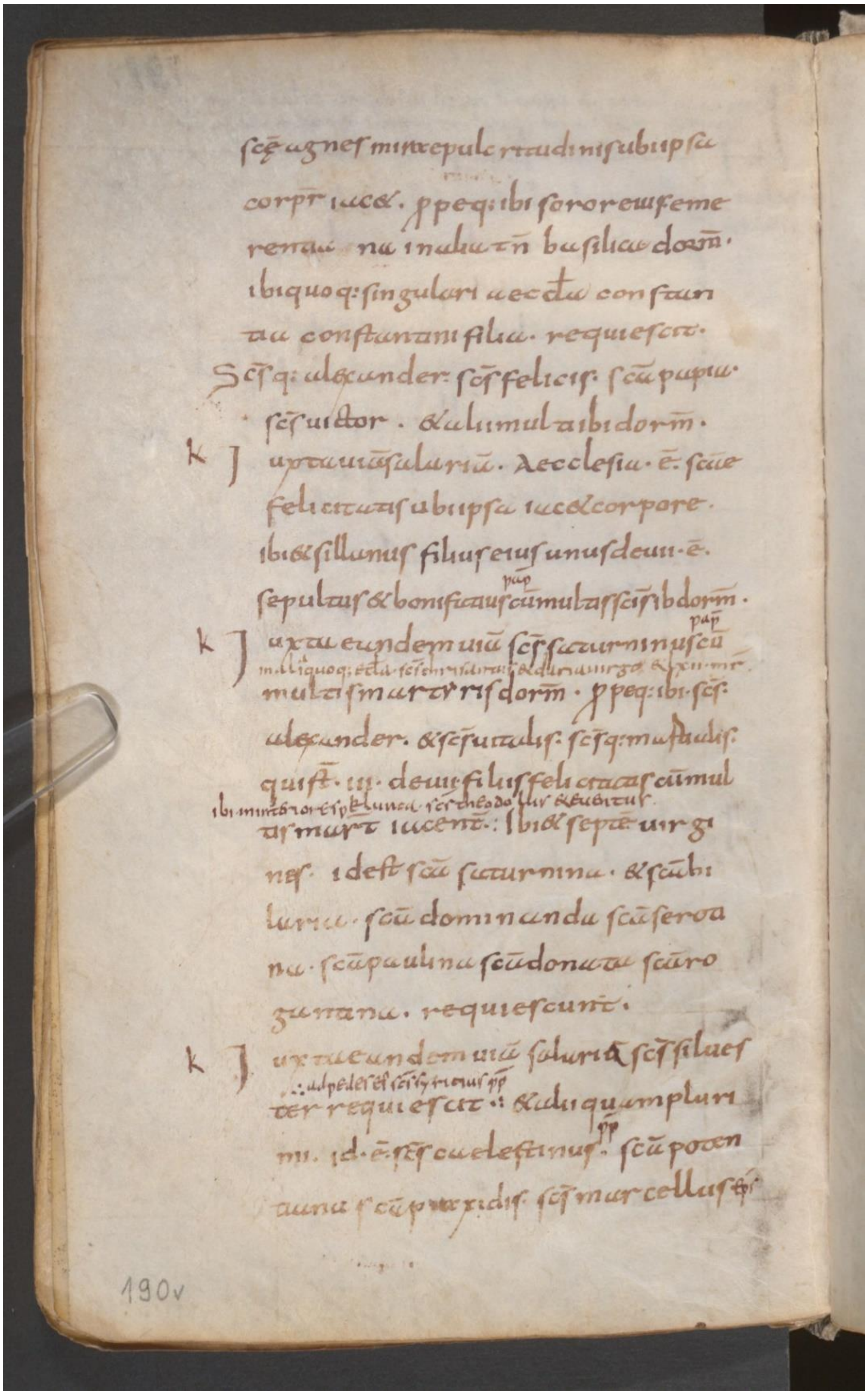

Fig. III.5 – Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795, f. 190v – Some of the interlinear annotations to *De locis* were drawn from *Notitia.*

of *De locis* imply that it was probably circulating independently of *Notitia.* This may suggest that the compiler of Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 acquired *Notitia* and *De locis* independently of one another. Additionally, if Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008 was indeed copied at Salzburg, as suggested by Bischoff, this suggests that they had access to a copy of *De locis* separate from that in Vienna, ÖNB MS 795. Similarly, Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, th.f.49 suggests that a copy of *De locis* was in Würzburg or Regensburg by the late ninth century. These three manuscripts demonstrate that itineraries like *Notitia* and *De locis* continued to circulate and be copied in Carolingian scriptoria throughout the ninth century, long after their production in the late seventh century.

The three copies of *De locis* have only minor differences and there is no discernible pattern. They may be the product of scribal error or evidence that slightly different versions of the text were circulating in Francia. For example, 'd's and 't's have often been confused with one another and there is the occasional omission of certain words or letters. All three copies are accompanied by the full title. In Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 the title is written in the same Caroline minuscule as the main text, in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008 the title has been added in the margin and in Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, th.f.49 the title is written in capitals in the upper margin. Another key difference is that Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008 is copied in two columns of text, beginning on f. 198v line 8, breaking from the one-column format of the previous text on f. 198v.

A scribe who worked on Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 was able to make a series of additions to *De locis* based on his reading of *Notitia,* copied just above. For example, an interlinear gloss added in the *De locis* route for the Via Salaria Nuova on f. 190v informed the reader that the SS Chrisantus and Daria were also buried on that road [Fig. III.5]. SS Chrisantus and Daria were both included in the route for the Via Salaria Nuova in *Notitia.* This information was not added to *De locis* in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008 or Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, th.f.49.

However not all the marginal annotations to *De locis* in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 derive from *Notitia.* At the end of the route for the Via Latina, the following statement is written into the margin, *et eadem via ec[c]lesia est Sancti Stephani protomartyris.* In the account of the Via Salaria, the interlinear gloss stated that St Silvester lay *ad pedes eius sanctus Syricius papa.* There is no mention of the burial place of St Stephen or Pope Syricius in either *Notitia* or the two other surviving copies of *De locis.* The relics of Pope Silvester were moved from the Via Salaria into the city by Pope Paul I (d.767), so this information must have been added based on another itinerary, composed more recently to the compilation of the manuscript, or from personal observation.[49] Diesenberger and Wolfram have argued that the annotations were made in the hand of Baldo, *magister* of Salzburg, perhaps based on observations made by Candidus in Rome, conveyed to Baldo as he passed through Salzburg.[50] However, Candidus was probably not the only person to pass through Saint-Amand or Salzburg, having recently been to Rome. Arn, abbot of Saint-Amand and bishop of Salzburg, had been to Rome more than once during his lifetime.[51]

There are also some slight differences between the copies of *Istae vero* which accompanied *De locis* in all three manuscripts. In each manuscript, the full title is written in different formats. The scribes of Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 enter the title in Caroline minuscule in the upper margin, whereas the scribes of Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008 and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, th.f.49 use capitals. Additionally, some stations in the list are omitted from one copy but present in the other two. The first station *Basilica Constantiuna quae et Salvatorus ipsa quoque et Sancti Iohannis dicitur* and the seventh station *Basilica quae appellatur Apostolorum Iacobi et Philippi,* are both omitted in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008 yet present in MS 795 and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, th.f.49. The scribes working on Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008 may have had access to a different exemplar which did not include this station. However, the fourteenth basilica on the list, *Basilica quae appellatur Sancti George,* is present in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 and Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008 but omitted from Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, th.f.49. It is perhaps more likely therefore, that these omissions were due to scribal error.

Another key difference between the three copies of *Istae vero* occurs at the end of the list. The last station in all three copies is *Basilica Sancti Bonifaci martyris, ubi ipse dormit,* and this is then followed by the phrase '*In his omnibus basilicis per certa tempora puplica statio geritur'* in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, th.f.49. It is interesting that this phrase is aligned in the centre of

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[49] *LP,* Paul I, c. 5. Duchesne (ed.), *LP,* I. pp. 463-467; Diesenberger and Wolfram, 'Arn und Alkuin 790 bis 804', p. 101; Davis, *Lives,* pp. 79-83.

[50] Diesenberger and Wolfram, 'Arn und Alkuin 790 bis 804', p. 101.

[51] See pp. 117-119.

the page in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795, unlike the rest of the text. However, just before this concluding statement in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008, the scribe copied an abbreviated form of *Basilica* five times but left the rest of the line blank. These gaps may suggest that the scribe of Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008, or the exemplar, intended to add further stations but never completed them. *Istae vero* is quite a formulaic text, and each station on the list is written on a new line, beginning with the phase, *Basilica quae appellatur*. A list of these abbreviated phrases appears to have been written first in all three manuscripts. In Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, th.f.49, one line per basilica was not enough and the scribes were forced to finish the entry on the line above or below. The extra entries in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008 may have been the fault of a scribe who wrote the abbreviated form of '*Basilica'* five times more than was necessary.

The differences between the three copies of *De locis* makes it unlikely that the three copies were made from the same exemplar. This suggests that multiple copies of *De locis* were circulating, independently of *Notitia*, from the eighth century onwards. *De locis* and *Notitia* were probably acquired separately by the scriptorium that produced Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795, or by a third party who passed them onto the patron of the manuscript, perhaps Arn. The two itineraries were then arranged in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 in an order that took the distant reader on an aesthetically pleasing route around Rome's extra-mural catacombs and back again, beginning and ending on the Via Flaminia. The marginal annotations added to *De locis* in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 further suggests that the manuscript was in the hands of someone with an interest in, and perhaps familiarity with, the sacred topography of Rome. If this manuscript can be described as a bespoke compilation, reflective of personal interest, the impact of reading *Notitia* and *De locis* would have been similarly as bespoke and personal.

Knowing Rome through *Notitia* and *De locis*

Notitia and *De locis* were not recent compositions when they were copied into Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 in *c*.798. De Rossi dated their composition to the mid-seventh century.[52] The itineraries were certainly composed during or after the papacy of Honorius I (625-

[52] De Rossi, *Rom Sott. Crist.* I, pp. 144-145.

638), since both *Notitia* and *De locis* often reference Honorius' building work.[53] De Rossi also noted that the relics of St Anastasius are present in the *De locis* on the Via Ostiense.[54] Anastatius was martyred in 628, and his relics were in Rome by 642, since the Liber Pontificalis records the church built for his relics by Pope John IV (640-642).[55] The author of *De locis* included St Felician on the Via Nomentana, meaning that the text had to be composed before his remains were moved inside the city by Pope Theodore (642-649).[56] SS Simplicius, Faustinus and Beatrice were also included on the Via Portuense in *De locis,* rather than the intra-mural church of St Bibiana, where they were moved by Pope Leo II (682-683).[57] This suggests that both itineraries were composed in the mid-seventh century, perhaps during the papacy of Theodore (642-649). De Rossi has noted, however, that the *Notitia* was perhaps updated slightly in the mid-eighth century, in the final section on the Via Cornelia concerning the basilica of St Peter.[58] It makes sense that *Notitia* and *De locis* were composed in the mid-seventh century. This period witnessed a sharp increase in pilgrim traffic to Rome, which itself prompted an increase in church building and decoration, and the beginning of the movement of relics to intra-mural basilicas.[59]

Istae vero, the list of intra-mural basilicas appended to *De locis*, has been dated to the mid-seventh century by De Rossi in his *ICUR* and Valentini and Zucchetti.[60] Herman Geertman, however, noted that the list must have been composed after the dedication of S. Angelo in Pescheria in 755 since this must be the church referred to by the station Basilica Sancti Michaelis Archangeli.[61] This intra-mural list of basilicas was a more contemporary reflection of the pilgrim experience when Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795

[53] Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico,* p. 69.

[54] De Rossi, *Rom Sott. Crist.* I, pp. 144-145.

[55] Ibid., p. 145; *LP,* John IV, c. 2; Duchesne (ed.), *LP,* I, p. 330.

[56] *LP,* Theodore, c. 4; Duchesne (ed.), *LP,* I, pp. 331-335.

[57] *LP,* Leo II, c. 5; Duchesne (ed.), *LP,* I, pp. 359-362.

[58] De Rossi, *Roma. Sott.* I. pp. 138-140.

[59] Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City,* pp. 89-142.

[60] De Rossi, *Roma. Sott. Crist.* I. pp. 141-143; Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico,* p. 69.

[61] H. Geertman, *More Veterum: Il* Liber Pontificalis *e gli Edifice Ccclesiastici di Roma Nella Tarda Antichità e Nell'Alto Medioevo* (Groningen, 1975), pp. 158-163.

was compiled, and would have been a complementary addition to the two seventh-century extra-mural itineraries.

Notitia begins in the north of the city, leading the pilgrim out of the Flaminian Gate, along the Via Flaminia and then onto the Via Salaria, moving clockwise around the city. *Notitia* ends with a detailed description of the many saints and martyrs buried on the Via Cornelia. *De locis* then begins on the Via Cornelia and proceeds anticlockwise around the city. A reader of Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 was therefore taken on a clockwise route around the city and back again, beginning and ending on the Via Flaminia. The two routes mention many of the same saints and martyrs yet include enough variation to give both itineraries value for the reader.

The perception of Rome from reading these seventh-century itineraries in *c.* 798 would be rather different from the perception gained by their contemporaries who physically travelled there. For a late eighth-century pilgrim, the experience would have been centred upon the intra-mural basilicas, rather than the extra-mural catacombs which were the focus of *Notitia* and *De locis.* It is interesting that these older, mid-seventh-century itineraries, were copied into this manuscript, since the compiler, Arn had recently travelled to Rome and may have been exposed to itineraries that were more reflective of the pilgrim experience in *c.* 798.[62] The itineraries were copied directly after a series of Alcuin letters in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795, and it is possible that Alcuin may have supplied Arn with copies of the itineraries as well as the letters. Alcuin had travelled to Rome on three occasions in his lifetime and often maintained epistolary contact with friends in Rome, and so would have also had opportunity to acquire more 'up-to-date' itineraries.[63]

It is perhaps worth considering whether the antiquarian nature of these itineraries was exactly what made them so appealing to Arn and his circle. During this period, the papacy became increasingly involved in saints cults, building and refurbishing churches and integrating these churches into situational liturgy.[64] This went hand in hand with a move to style Rome as a home for all saints and a hub of

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[62] On Arn's journeys to Rome, see p. 123.

[63] On Alcuin and Rome see, Dales, *Theology and Thought,* pp. 107-118.

[64] M. Maskarinec, *City of Saints: Rebuilding Rome in the Early Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, PA, 2018), pp. 117-118.

Christian sanctity, as the papacy styled themselves as the guardians of the memory of those saints.[65] By focusing so closely on the burial places of the saints, leading the reader along the highways of sanctity that surrounded the city, *Notitia* and *De locis* were in fitting with this ideology.

During the eighth century, there were also major changes to the topography of Rome, as increased pilgrim traffic led to relics from the extra-mural cemeteries being moved inside the city or taken away by pilgrims. Despite this intra-mural building work, interest in the extra-mural sites of worship remained high.[66] This may be due to the continued significance of the original location of a burial or site of martyrdom, even if the location was no longer an activity cemetery.[67] Additionally, Constambeys argued that tensions between northern pilgrims and the popes that arose as a result of these changes, influenced the way Alcuin and his circle thought and wrote about Rome.[68] According to Constambeys, references to Rome in Alcuin's letters are almost ambivalent, frequently referencing to Rome's contemporary degradation compared to its historical glory.[69] *Notitia* and *De Locis* represent a pilgrim's interaction with the saints and martyrs, through their relics located in the extra-mural catacombs. Pilgrims travelling to Rome during Alcuin and Arn's lifetimes would have had a different interaction with those saints and martyrs if their relics had been moved. The perception possible through these itineraries was not one which could be achieved via physical travel. The itineraries facilitated the perception of an image of Rome that was chronologically distant, as much as it was physically distant.

Both *Notitia* and *De locis* describe place and direct the reader in a similar fashion. The directional language is quite minimal, and mostly moves the pilgrim from one saint to the next. The verbs used for this directional language are conjugated in the second person singular future tense in the active voice. By using this conjugation, the author who composed these itineraries created the impression of speaking directly to the reader. This gave the text a personal tone and a sense of intimacy between author and

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65 Ibid., p. 118.

66 L. Izzi, *Representing Rome: The Influence of Rome on aspects of the public arts of early Anglo-Saxon England (c. 600 – 800).* Ph.D. thesis (University of York, 2010) pp. 58-60.

67 Ibid.

68 Constambeys, 'Alcuin, Rome and Charlemagne's Imperial Coronation', p. 272.

69 Ibid.

reader, surpassing the potential barriers of time and distance. It placed the composer of the itinerary and the reader on the same side of this account, with the saint or martyr on the other, in an exchange where the text, and the medium through which it was read, acted as a bridge between both sides. The use of the future tense makes the text prescriptive, implying that the pilgrim-reader will undergo the experience after reading. This differs from other narrative accounts of pilgrimage, or indeed other itineraries, which are descriptive, written in the past tense as a record of an experience that had already happened. *Notitia* and *De locis* were both prescriptive rather than descriptive, enabling experience rather than acting as a record.

The saints and martyrs lie at the heart of how the composers of *Notitia* and *De locis* described sacred space and the pilgrims' movement through Rome's extra mural sites. The authors mention the saint to whom a particular church or shrine is dedicated, and often explicitly state where the body lay in the church or tomb. *Notitia* and *De Locis* present an image of these sites as places swarming with groups of martyrs, each ready to tell the *passio* of their martyrdom.[70] In some cases, the authors make no reference to the church or shrine at all, simply stating that the pilgrim will meet one saint and then be passed to another. The authors use verbs such as *quiesco, jaceo,* and *requiesco* in the present tense to describe the location of the saint on the cityscape and emphasise the presence of the saints' corporal remains in that place of worship. The presence of their corporal remains was what made that place holy and caused people to worship in that place.

In Alcuin's *De Ratione,* he described how the soul perceives distant place, and explained that known or unknown people were perceived via the same mental processes. Alcuin used Abraham as his example, and explained *ex eo quod alios homines vidit sic sibi fingit membra omnia sicut in aliis vel in seipso cognocsit*.[71] This connection between the martyrs and saints and the pilgrim experience of Rome also occurs in a letter that Alcuin wrote to Archbishop Æthelhard of Canterbury in 801.[72] At the close of the letter, Alcuin urged Æthelhard, who was about the travel to Rome, *ut*

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[70] Izzi, *Representing Rome,* pp. 71-72.

[71] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV; trans. Curry, *Alcuin*; 'from what one has seen of other men one imagines all of Abraham's limbs to be the same as he knows them in other men or himself'.

[72] Alcuin, *Epistolae,* MGH, *epp.* 230*;* trans. Allot. *Alcuin,* no. 51.

apud sanctos apostolos et marthyres Christi mei habeatis memoriam; sicut apud Sanctum Martinum vestri habere dulce habemus.[73] To stand before the burial place of a saint is to be in their presence. For distant readers of *Notitia* and *De locis,* the saints and martyrs could be perceived in a similar way as a distant, unknown place. Indeed, perception of the saints and martyrs may have acted as an important gateway to the perception of Rome's sacred topography

The composers of *Notitia* and *De locis* also provided very little practical information or advice for potential readers consulting these texts on the streets of Rome. The authors gave no indication of how long the journey should take or how the pilgrims were to travel between the extra-mural roads. This is perhaps the result of the prescriptive nature of the language. Their prescriptive style omits physical information, and thus removes the pilgrim-reader from the physical constraints of time and space, leaving that to their own interpretation. The distant readers who experienced Rome from afar through texts such as *Notitia* and *De locis* would have had no need of these practical details based on physical pilgrimage. Whether Rome was a known or unknown place for their readers, their experience upon reading these itineraries would have been as personal and bespoke as the manuscript from which they read them. As Alcuin wrote in his *De Ratione,* unknown people were perceived via the same mental processing as distant place. The saints and martyrs were at the heart of these itineraries, and no doubt at the heart of the perception of Rome available to those who read them. They were the hook with which readers could build a mental image of that person, and the place they inhabited, from the *thesauro memoriae* as Alcuin put it in his *De Ratione*. These saints and martyrs were intertwined with the sacred topography of Rome and remained constantly significant to the pilgrim experience. It is perhaps this timeless impression that aided the appeal of these antiquated, mid-seventh century itineraries when they were copied out in Arn's scriptoria in *c.* 798.

[73] Ibid.; 'to remember me before the holy apostles and the martyrs of Christ as I remember you tenderly before St Martin'.

Other early medieval pilgrim itineraries

A seventh-century itinerary in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*

William of Malmesbury completed his *Gesta Regum Anglorum* in 1125.[74] This work was an account of the deeds of English kings, spanning from 499 to 1120, styled largely on Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica.*[75] In the fourth book of *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* William described the first crusade initiated by Pope Urban II.[76] William described the eastward journey made by Robert of Flanders and Stephen of Blois, who were two leaders of the northern contingent of the Crusade.[77] As the crusaders passed through Rome, William paused to include two documents that highlight the glory and majesty of Rome.[78] The first of these texts is a poem by Hildebert (d.1133), bishop of Le Mans and later archbishop of Tours.[79] The second is an itinerary that describes the major extra-mural places of worship that surround Rome, in a clockwise route around the city.[80] William stated that he included this itinerary to honour the remains of the saints because they too contribute to the glory of Rome just as its ancient prosperity or present majesty does.[81]

De Rossi dated this itinerary to the mid-seventh century, because it includes the relics of SS Primus and Felicianus on the Via Nomentana, where they were translated in 648.[82] This itinerary has many similarities to *Notitia* and *De locis.* The route takes the same extra mural focus and moves clockwise round the major roads, in the same direction as *Notitia.* The route begins on the *Via Cornelia,* just like the *De locis,* and

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[74] R.M. Thomson (ed.), *William of Malmesbury Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, Volume II. (Oxford, 1999), p. xvii; for a translation see also, Lapidge, *The Roman Martyrs,* Appendix IV pp. 664-666.

[75] Thomson (ed.), *William of Malmesbury Gesta Regum Anglorum,* p. xiv.

[76] *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* IV.350.

[77] *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* IV.350.

[78] *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* IV.351.

[79] *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* IV.351.

[80] *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* IV.352.

[81] *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* IV.351.

[82] De Rossi, *Roma. Sott. Crist.* I. p. 146.

refers to many saints who are also mentioned in *Notitia* and *De locis.* The Malmesbury itinerary was certainly composed within the same pilgrim-milieu that produced *Notitia* and *De locis,* since their routes have so much in common. The Malmesbury itinerary, however, conjugates the verbs in the third person plural present tense as opposed to the second person singular future tense used in the *Notitia* and *De locis.* This gives the Malmesbury itinerary a descriptive rather than prescriptive effect. The difference in tone between *Notitia*, *De locis* and the Malmesbury itinerary perhaps reflects the personal nature of the pilgrim experience and the intended function of these itinerant texts.

On account of its seventh-century date of composition and the Malmesbury connection, Lapidge has argued that Aldhelm (d. 709) may have brought the itinerary back from Rome.[83] Multiple martyrs included in the itinerary were commemorated in the catacombs decorated with Damasan *tituli* that were known to Aldhelm.[84] The Malmesbury itinerary would have been an ideal accompaniment for a pilgrim with Aldhelm's interests.[85] It is certainly feasible that Aldhelm returned from Rome with a copy of this itinerary, and it was thereafter stored in the archives at Malmesbury, being incorporated into William's *Gesta Regum Anglorum.* Rodney M. Thomson has suggested that this itinerary may have once been part of a manuscript of the sylloge compiled by Milred of Worcester, which will also be discussed in detail in chapter 4.[86] Patrick Sims-Williams compared the route of the Malmesbury itinerary to the content of Milred's sylloge, and other syllogae compiled in the early medieval period.[87] However, he concluded that, pending the discovery of further evidence, it is not possible to say whether or not William had access to a manuscript which contained this itinerary and a sylloge.[88]

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[83] Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', pp. 55-57.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid.

[86] R.M. Thompson, 'The Reading of William of Malmesbury', *Revue Bénédictine* 85 (1975), p. 399 no. 1.

[87] P. Sims-Williams, 'William of Malmesbury and *La silloge epigrafica di cambridge', Archivum Historiae Pontificae* 21 (1983), pp. 31-33.

[88] Ibid., p. 33.

Another possible candidate for the transmission of the Malmesbury itinerary from Rome to Malmesbury is Hildebert of Tours (d.1133). A poem by Hildebert directly precedes the itinerary in the narrative and must have reached Malmesbury at some point before William wrote *Gesta Regum.* Given the similarity of the Malmesbury itinerary to *Notitia* and *De locis,* in content and style, it is interesting that the Malmesbury itinerary is copied directly after a poem sent from Tours. It has been suggested above that Alcuin, who was abbot of Tours from 796 to 804, may have been responsible for passing *Notitia* and *De locis* onto Arn of Salzburg.[89] The two other copies of *De locis,* in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1008 and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, th.f.49, demonstrate that seventh-century extra-mural itineraries were certainly circulating in Carolingian scriptoria throughout the ninth century. Although it is difficult to identify how William obtained this itinerary, it is clear that these itineraries were circulating in Francia, and possibly England, long after their composition.

The Einsiedeln Itineraries

A series of twelve short itineraries for Rome are preserved in a mid-ninth-century manuscript produced in the St Gall region, now Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326 (1076).[90] The itineraries are part of a series of topographical texts copied into the centre of the manuscript, which include a sylloge, the itineraries, a description of the Aurelian Walls, and a liturgical text. A detailed analysis of the content, codicology and palaeography of Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326 will be conducted in chapter 4. The twelve itineraries, copied ff. 79v-86r, are relatively short routes through Rome, often beginning and ending along the city walls. The itineraries were composed between the late eighth and the early ninth centuries. They were certainly composed after the foundation of the monastery of San Silvestro in 752-767, since it is included in one of the routes.[91] The itineraries are often bounded by the Aurelian Walls, and so must have been composed before the construction of the Leonine Walls in 848-852.[92] The Einsiedeln itineraries focus on the intra-mural churches, rather than the extra-mural catacombs in *Notitia, De locis* and the

[89] See above, pp. 118-119.

[90] On the date and place of origin of this manuscript, see chapter 4, pp. 156-162.

[91] Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico,* p. 155.

[92] L. Richardson Jr. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London, 1992), p. xxi.

Malmesbury itinerary. The final itinerary finishes halfway down the page on ff. 83v-84r, and a description of the Aurelian Walls is copied at the bottom of f. 84r. This description surveys the gates of the city walls in a clockwise route, beginning at the Porta Sancti Petri and ending at the Porta Aurelia and the stretch across the Tiber.[93]

The Einsiedeln itineraries are well known for their incorporation of ancient monuments alongside Rome's major churches.[94] A reader of Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326 who consulted both the itineraries and then the description of the city walls would be presented with an image of Rome as a network of landmarks, major churches and monuments, bounded by the city walls. A reader would be aware, just as a physical traveller to the city would, that the imperial prestige of Rome's past cast a long shadow on the city's contemporary Christian glory. The image conveyed by these itineraries and the description of the city walls is vastly different from the extra-mural network of saints and martyrs in *Notitia*, *De locis* and the Malmesbury itinerary. At the time of production, the image of Rome provided by the content of the Einsiedeln itineraries was akin to that known to a contemporary pilgrim who had seen Rome with their own eyes.

The unique layout of the Einsiedeln itineraries enhanced this perception even more so. Each route in the Einsiedeln itineraries was given a title that stated the beginning and end point of the route, and was copied in rubricated capitals, beginning on the verso and running over to the recto. The route of the itinerary is then copied in black, Caroline minuscule, by scribes who also contributed to other topographical texts in the Einsiedeln MS 326(1076). When these routes were walked by pilgrims in Rome, the buildings and monuments could either be on their left- or right-hand side, or directly in front of them. The scribe replicated this by copying the itineraries on an open page spread, the buildings on the left-hand side on the verso and the buildings on the right-hand side on the recto. The buildings on the recto and verso are labelled with *in sinistra* or *in dextra* or their abbreviated forms *INS* and *IND.* All directional instructions are therefore conveyed by the layout of the page, almost as a diagram, and no information is given in the text itself.

[93] Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico,* pp. 202-207.

[94] Richardson Jr. *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome,* p. xxi; N. Thomson de Grummond (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the History of Classical Archaeology* (London, 1996), p. 386; J.W. Ermatinger, *Daily Life of Christians in Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 2007), p. 186; Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians,* p. 138; McKitterick, 'Transformations of the Roman past', p. 231.

When a reader consulted this manuscript in a library or scriptorium, they would be able to orientate themselves amongst the landmarks on the route in a way that was reminiscent of a pilgrim on the streets of Rome. De Rossi noted that many buildings were not on the immediate left or right of these routes, and so readers would have required good knowledge of the Roman landscape to navigate these routes.[95] It is possible that the Einsiedeln itineraries were not meant to be read quite so literally, and were not intended to represent the topography of Rome as modern audiences now expect with maps. In an article from 1999, Daniel K. Connolly examined the interactive nature of the pilgrimage maps in a manuscript of Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* (London, BL, Royal MS 14 C VII) and discussed how this may have facilitated imagined pilgrimage.[96] Connolly argued that Paris' itinerary maps 'invited its monastic readers to use its pages and appended flaps as dynamic tools, and so engaged their bodies in practices that helped sustain an imagined pilgrimage'.[97] The layout of the Einsiedeln itineraries on the page may have acted in a similar way, as a dynamic prompt for readers to perceive the topography of the city as it would have been experienced by a pilgrim on the streets of Rome.

Alcuin wrote in his *De Ratione* that in perception, a mental image of what is unknown is built from what is known from other sources. In the case of the Einsiedeln itineraries, both the content and the way it was formatted on the page were central to the image it would prompt the reader to form. A reader who consulted the Einsiedeln manuscript in its place of production, the region of St Gall, would have been required to locate their body in relation to the manuscript, and therefore in relation to the physical space which the manuscript represented. The layout of these itineraries facilitates a 360-degree perception of the city of Rome, leading the reader through the built environment of Rome and not just in a linear route from one location to another.

[95] De Rossi, *Roma. Sott. Crist,* I. p. 154.

[96] D.K. Connolly, 'Imagined Pilgrimage in the Itinerary Maps of Matthew Paris', *The Art Bulletin,* 81:4 (1999), pp. 598-622.

[97] Ibid., p. 606.

The Itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric

According to the 'F' version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Archbishop Sigeric (d.994) travelled to Rome in 990 to collect his pallium after having been elected archbishop of Canterbury.[98] During the tenth century it became common practice for newly elected archbishops of Canterbury to travel to Rome to collect the pallium in person, rather than for it to be sent via an envoy, as had been common in the early Anglo-Saxon period.[99] A two-part itinerary, preserved in a single manuscript witness, survives as a record of Sigeric's journey.[100] The manuscript is an eleventh-century miscellany manuscript compiled in Canterbury, now London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius B V/1. The content of the itinerary and its presence in this manuscript was discussed in the introduction to the facsimile of this manuscript by Patrick McGurk in 1983.[101] An edition and analysis of Sigeric's itinerary was also produced by Veronica Ortenberg in 1990.[102] Ortenberg briefly compared the itinerary to others that survive from the early medieval period, yet she does not consider their audiences, impact or their manuscript witnesses.[103]

The first part of the itinerary records the basilicas Sigeric visited in Rome. Sigeric began at St Peter's basilica, as would make sense for a pilgrim arriving from the north, and Anglo-Saxon pilgrims residing at the *Schola Saxonum*.[104] The itinerary

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[98] *ASC,* s.a. 900; trans Whitelock, *EHD,* no. 1, p. 212.

[99] F. Tinti, 'The Archiepiscopal Pallium in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in Tinti (ed.), *England and Rome,* p. 307.

[100] For a transcription and analysis of the itinerary see, Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome', pp. 199-200.

[101] P. McGurk *et al* (eds), *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany: British Library Cotton Tiberius B V Part 1, Together with Leaves from British Library Cotton Nero D. II.* Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vol. 21 (Copenhagen, 1983), pp. 1-35.

[102] V. Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome', *Anglo-Saxon England,* 19 (1990), pp. 197-246. Ortenberg incorporated the work of two earlier scholars into her thesis; F.P. Magoun Jr, 'An English Pilgrim Diary of the Year 990', *Medieval Studies* 2 (1940), pp. 231-252; Magoun, 'The Rome of Two Northern Pilgrims: Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury and Abbot Nikolas of Munkathvera', *Harvard Theology Review,* 33 (1940), pp. 267-289; B. Pesci, 'L'Itinerario romano di Sigerico arcivescovo di Canterbury e la lista dei papi da lui portata in Inghilterra (anno 990)', *Rivista Archaeologica Cristiana* 13 (1936), pp. 43-61.

[103] Ibid., p. 200.

[104] W.J. Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum* (Fribourg, 1937); Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome'. pp. 211-212; V.R. Santangeli, 'Hosting Foreigners in Early Medieval Rome: From *Xenodochia* to *Scholae Peregrinorum',* in Tinti (ed.), *England and Rome,* pp. 69-88.

recorded the progression of Sigeric and his party around the major intra-mural and extra-mural pilgrim basilicas of Rome. The composer recorded the point at which the party returned to their accommodation for the night, and when Sigeric dined with Pope John in the Lateran. The second part of Sigeric's itinerary lists the places where the party stopped on their return journey to Canterbury. The party travelled through northern Italy, across the Alps, and through central Francia before crossing the Channel. The itinerary is copied into London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius B V/1 on ff. 23v-24r in two distinct paragraphs, one for the Roman itinerary and one for the journey home [Fig. III.7]. Both parts of the itinerary are written in a traditional narrative format and use very simple directional language. The composer described Sigeric's progress from one basilica to the next, referring to them via their dedicational saint. The verbs are conjugated in the perfect tense with the passive voice, as would be expected for an account of Sigeric's experiences. The second part of the itinerary omits directional language altogether and lists the stations with Roman numerals. The different styles of the two parts suggests they were originally composed at different stages. Perhaps the Roman itinerary was composed shortly before the party left the city, and the homeward part completed on route or when the party arrived back in Canterbury.

The itinerary begins on f.23v and is introduced by the title; *Adventus archiepiscopi nostri sigerici ad romam primitus ad limiem beati petri apostolic.* The use of *noster* to describe Sigeric certainly suggests that the itinerary was written with a Canterbury audience in mind. Indeed, Ortenberg has argued that the churches visited by Sigeric may reflect saints who were of particular interest to Anglo-Saxons.[105] Most of the manuscript is copied in the hand of one scribe, whom the editors of the facsimile of the manuscript argue is that of the influential eleventh-century Christ Church scribe, Eadwig Basan.[106] The script is a clear and confident Caroline minuscule, with some use of rustic capitals throughout the codex. The uniformity and consistency of various aspects of the manuscript, such as the written space measurements, the numbers of lines written, the style of script and colours used, suggest that the manuscript was copied in

[105] Ibid., pp. 225-228.

[106] McGurk et al (eds), An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Miscellany, p.33, 34; P. Gameson. 'Eadwig [Eadui] Basan (fl. c. 1020), Benedictine monk and scribe', *ODNB* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/55374 [Accessed on 17/8/2018].

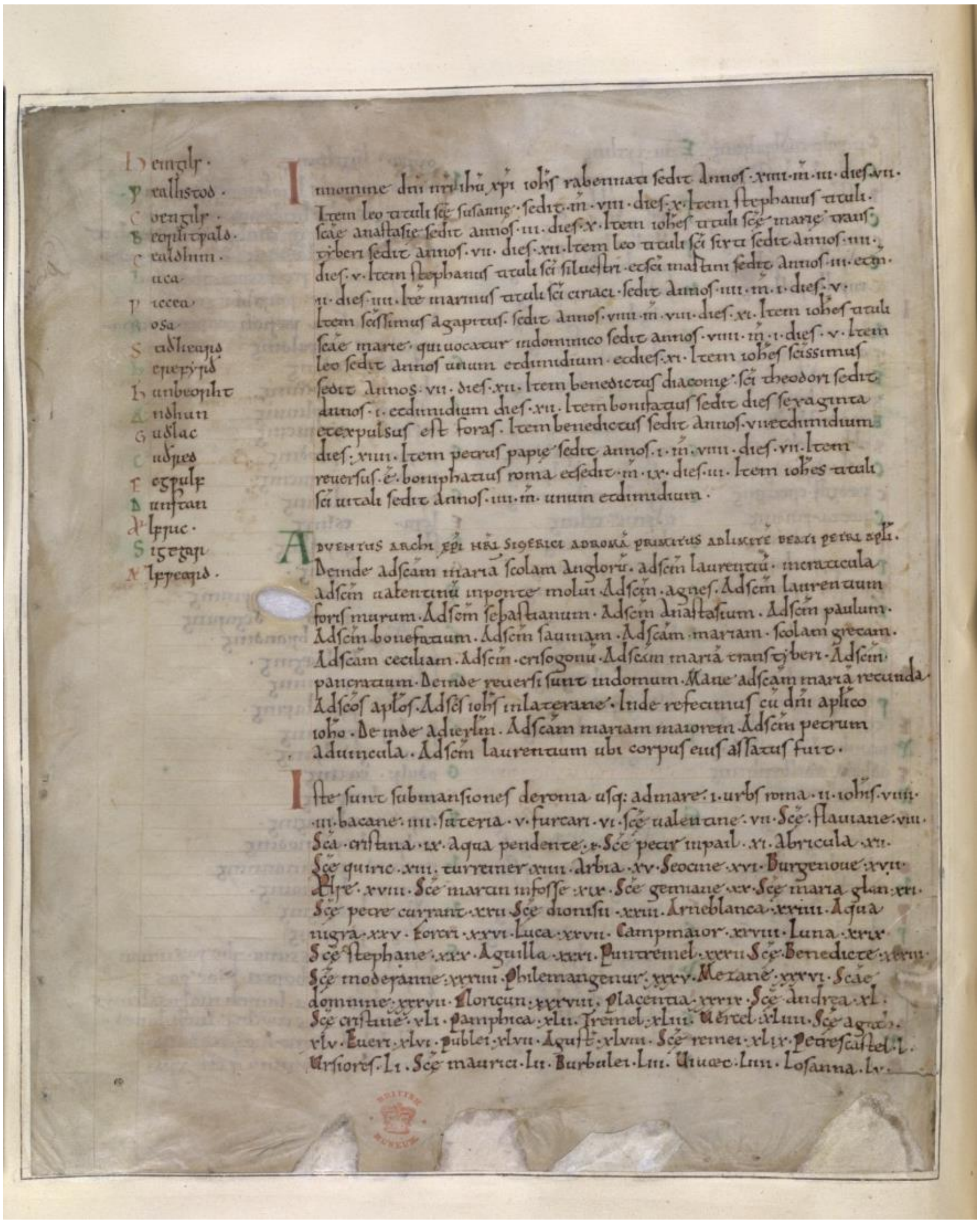

Fig. III.7 – London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius B V/1, f. 23v –Sigeric's itinerary in Rome is the second paragraph and the itinerary for the journey home to Canterbury constitutes the third paragraph.

one time and place.[107] The scribe who copied the itineraries into the manuscript may have been working from a document close to the original.

London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius B V/1 is known for its eclectic content of both secular and ecclesiastical interest and its lavish illustrations. The editor of the facsimile, McGurk, described the codex as an 'illustrated miscellany', yet also noted that to call it a miscellany 'hardly reflects the deliberately restricted range of interests that it represents: geography, science, history and ecclesiastical materials rub shoulders on its pages'.[108] The itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric is situated in the first portion of the manuscript, ff. 23v – 23r, and follows a selection of computus material and the genealogies, abbots and bishops of England, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Rome, as well as the kings of various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. These genealogical lists span the major centres of the Christian West, from late antiquity to the late tenth century. These documents demonstrate the progression of time, as measured by human activity, and provide a direct complement to the previous section that deals with the calculation of time. The text copied immediately after the itinerary is Ælfric's *De temporibus anni,* a tenth-century treatise on chronology by which incorporates material from Bede and Isidore of Seville.

Following this is more computus material, and then the famous 'Cotton World Map' that precedes Priscian's geographical poem, a translation of the '*Periegesis'* of Dionysius. The manuscript was damaged in the Ashburnham House fire of 1731 and has since been disbound and each folio mounted in a paper frame. Therefore, even though Priscian's geographical poem currently follows the *mappa mundi,* it is difficult to determine whether the map was intended to accompany the poem. Both map and poem are in keeping with the wide geographical focus of the manuscript's content, and it is certainly possible that the map would have guided and inspired readers even if it was not intended to reflect exact geographical details of the poem.[109] The final section of the manuscript includes a translation of Cicero's *Aratae,* and the Old English prose piece, *The Marvels of the East.*

[107] Ibid., p. 30.

[108] Ibid.

[109] These issues were discussed in the introduction and essays in the facsimile of the manuscript. For a summary of the argument to date see, E. Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London, 1997), p. 76.

Although London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius B V/1 may quite rightly be referred to as an 'illustrated miscellany', themes of time and space run throughout, illustrated in different textual and graphic forms. The combination of texts explores aspects of Anglo-Saxon history and situates that history within texts that explore the wider world and their place in it. It is interesting, therefore, that Ortenberg points out that one of the 'chief problems' with the itinerary is the representation of time and space.[110] The minimum length of Sigeric's stay may be inferred from the break in the middle of the Roman portion when the party returned to their sleeping quarters. However, Ortenberg rightly noted that it would not make sense to undertake such a long and perilous journey from England for a mere two days in Rome.[111] It is possible that the itinerary represents the first two days of a longer trip, or there were more stations recorded but that portion of the itinerary no longer survives.[112] Ortenberg noted that this time frame was so unfeasible, perhaps it ought not to be taken literally.[113]

This two-day time frame is part of the wider editorial decisions made by the author to textually represent the journey through space and time. The composer included very little directional language, perhaps because he felt that a reader did not need to know this information. The manuscript that preserves this itinerary, London, BL, Cotton Tiberius B V/1, was copied in Canterbury, which suggests a primarily Canterbury-based audience for the Sigeric's itinerary. This audience would have had less need for the detailed, accurate geographical information, that would have been more geared towards a primarily Rome-based audience. Distant readers of this itinerary were, after all, not constrained by the same temporal and geographic limitations as Sigeric and his party. Instead, the composer intended to provide the reader with an account of Sigeric's experience in Rome. Reading the two-day time frame of this itinerary too 'literally' may perhaps reflect modern expectations regarding travel accounts, and the historiographical trend to approach these documents as pilgrim 'guidebooks' to Rome.

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110 Ortenberg, Pesci and Magoun have inferred from the route of the itinerary that the journey probably took two and a half days; Ibid., p. 207.

111 Ibid.

112 Ibid.

113 Ibid.

A major theme that runs throughout London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius B V/1 is movement through time and space. The itinerary captured an important Anglo-Saxon churchman's intimate interaction with one of the most important places in Christianity, and readers of London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius B V/1 would have been able to share in Sigeric's experience. The homeward journey encourages a reader to consider the influence of Rome, and Sigeric's experience in Rome, on Anglo-Saxon England. The text that follows is an old English copy of Ælfric's *De temporibus anni* and continues this return to Anglo-Saxon material. The content that follows the itinerary and Ælfric's *De temporibus anni* continues to take a geographical focus, reflects an interest in the wider world and a desire to conceptualise and understand it via different media.

Modern scholars have argued that accurate or literal representations of movement through time and space were not among the primary concerns of the authors, artists and compilers. In 2003 Foys discussed the Cotton *mappa mundi* in London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius B V/1 alongside the idea of 'virtual reality'.[114] Foys argued that the map dissolved 'temporal distinctions' and the 'geographical limitations placed upon it as a territory of alterity' and served a broader, more ideological function within the manuscript and Anglo-Saxon society.[115] Sigeric's itinerary may have been composed with a similar agenda in mind and had a similar impact on its readers in London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius B V/1 who were not constrained by 'temporal distinctions' or 'geographical limitations'. According to the explanation of perception of distant place in Alcuin's *De Ratione*, readers who accessed this itinerary in Canterbury would have formed mental images of the places listed. These images would be built from memories of what the bodily senses had experienced about that place from other sources. The name of the place in the itinerary acts as a hook, or a prompt, for perception, just as the saints and martyrs do in the *Notitia, De locis* and the Malmesbury itinerary. Sigeric's itinerary is written in the past tense and focuses on the personal experience of a named pilgrim. This experience had transformed Rome into a known place for Sigeric and his party, and one could argue that the itinerary allowed the readers to follow in Sigeric's footsteps and perceive the city through his eyes.

[114] Foys, 'Anglo-Saxon *Mappamundi',* pp. 1-17.

[115] Ibid., p. 12.

Alcuin's Itinerant letter poems

Copied into Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 is an incomplete poem composed by Alcuin for his student Candidus Wizo to accompany his journey back from Rome.[116] The poem was copied into the quires added after the original core of the manuscript, from ff. 199r-199v [Fig. III.8]. Since Bischoff and Unterkircher have argued on the basis of scribal identification that these quires were added at Salzburg, it is likely that this poem was copied into the manuscript from an exemplar available in the Salzburg scriptorium.[117] Bischoff also noted that the scribe who copied this poem was also one of the major contributors to the earlier part of the manuscript.[118] These quires, at the end of the manuscript, also contain letters to Arn, written by either Alcuin or Angilbert, which were probably taken from Arn's own recipient collection.[119] Alcuin's poem for Candidus could very well have entered Salzburg's scriptorium in the company of one such letter. Alcuin may have sent Arn a copy of the poem after Arn returned from a trip to Rome in 798 to collect his pallium. It is possible that Candidus may have also made a copy when passing through Salzburg on the return journey from his own trip to Rome. Bischoff has argued that this poem was added to a previously blank folio, f.199, when the book was already in Salzburg, even though the scribe made major contributions to the earlier part of the manuscript.[120] The poem is written on the final folio in a quire, and is incomplete perhaps because the final folio in this quire has since been lost.[121] The poem is written in the style of a *vade mecum* for a pilgrimage to Rome by an author who was evidently familiar with the journey across the Alps and the churches a pilgrim might visit while in the city.[122] Alcuin spoke directly to Candidus, and instructed him in a similar tone to *Notitia* and *De locis.* Alcuin described how Candidus would move

[116] Alcuin, *Carm.* 44, Dümmler, MGH, *Poet. I,* p. 255; Bullough, *Alcuin,* p. 51.

[117] Unterkircher, *Alkuin-Briefe,* p. 30; Bischoff, *Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen,* 2, p. 117.

[118] Bischoff, *Sudostdeutsche Schriebschulen,* 2, p. 117.

[119] Unterkircher, *Alkuin-Briefe,* pp. 27-28; Bullough, *Alcuin,* pp. 45-46.

[120] Bischoff, *Südosteutsche Schreibschulen,* 2, p. 117.

[121] Bullough, *Alcuin,* p. 51.

[122] Dales, *Alcuin: Theology and Thought,* p. 226.

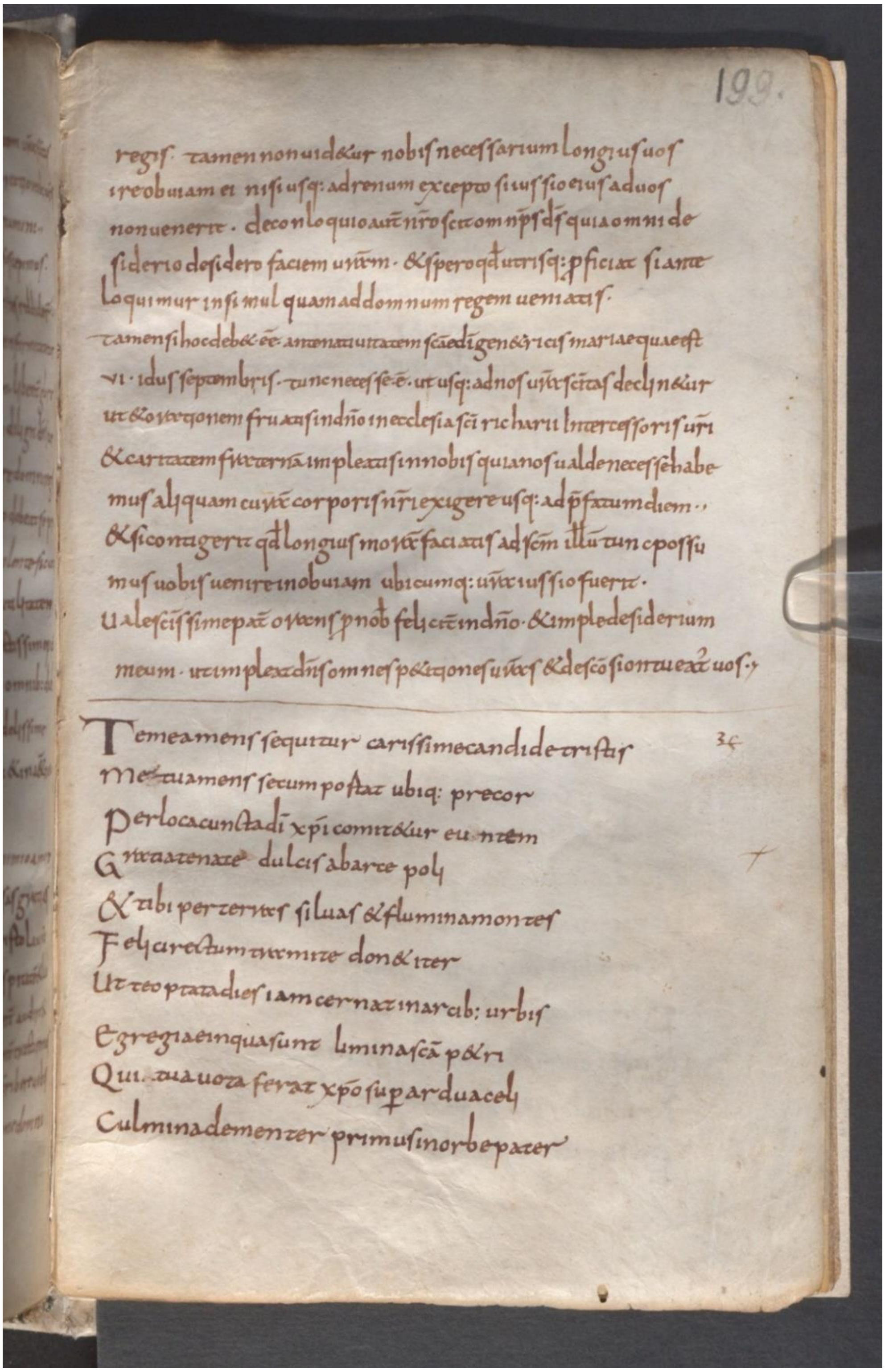

Fig. III.8 – Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795, f. 199v – Alcuin's *Vade mecum* for Canidus Wizo begins on line 15 with '*Te mea mens sequitur...*'.

between the saints and martyrs in what could be an emotionally charged experience. Alcuin expected Candidus to worship at the shrine of St Peter *cum lacrimis.*[123] Similarly, in the *Notitia,* the author expected the pilgrim to shed tears when they worshipped at the tomb of St Peter.[124] Alcuin also beseeched Candidus to return with relics for his church in Tours, such as pieces or hair or clothing associated with the saints and martyrs of the city. Although this poem is not an itinerary as such, it describes a pilgrim's progress around Rome, yet does not necessarily have to be read by someone on the streets of Rome.

Alcuin wrote another itinerant, topographical poem, now known by its first line, *Cartula perge cito trans pelagi aequora cursu*.[125] The poem is written under the guise of a poetic epistle, in which a *cartula* travels around prominent locations in Francia.[126] The poem is preserved in a single manuscript witness, Paris, BnF, Latin 528 at ff. 132r-v.[127] The manuscript contains a signature that demonstrates it was in the library of Saint-Martial of Limoges from the eleventh century.[128] Bischoff, however, has argued that the manuscript should be attributed to Saint-Denis, and was probably assembled during the abbacy of Fardulf (793–806).[129] This is because Saint-Denis is the final stopping point in the journey of the letter poem. The *cartula* begins at the mouth of the Rhine and progresses through major locations in Francia. In the poem, Alcuin instructed the *cartula* to meet the various abbots and bishops on route. The *cartula* meets Alberic at Utrecht, Hroberct at Dorestad, Bishop Ricwulf at Cologne, Bishop Beonrad at

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[123] Alcuin, *Carm.* 44, Dümmler, MGH, *Poet. I,* p. 255.

[124] This is included in the pilgrim's instructions for the *Via Cornelia.*

[125] Alcuin, *Carm.* 4, Dümmler, MGH, *Poet. I,* p. 220.

[126] D. Schaller, 'Vortrags – und Zirkulardichtung am Hof Karls des Großen', *Mittel-Lateinisches Jahrbuch* 6 (1970), pp. 14-36; S. Lebecq, *Marchands et navigateurs frisons du haut Moyen Age,* 2 vols. (Lille, 1983) 1 p. 218; L. Sinsi, 'From York to Paris: Reinterpreting Alcuin's Virtual Tours of the Continent', in H. Sauer and J. Story (eds), *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent* (Tempe, AZ, 2011), pp. 179-198.

[127] Paris, BnF, Latin 528; Bischoff, *Katalog,* II, no. 2390; Bullough, *Alcuin,* p. 76.

[128] Sinsi, 'From York to Paris', p. 27.

[129] B. Bischoff, 'Ein Karolingisches Denkmal des Gotischen (Zweite Halfte des Neunten Jahrhunderts)', in idem, *Anecdota Novissima: Texte des Vieten bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts,* Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Phillologie des Mittelalters 7 (Stuttgart, 1984), p. 256. For an overview of the historiography surrounding the dating of this manuscript see Sinsi, 'From York to Paris', p. 277.

Echternach, Archbishop Lull at Mainz, Bishop Bassinus at Speyer, and Abbot Fulrad at Saint-Denis. These figures all provide key chronological reference points which allow the poem to be dated to roughly the year 780.[130] Not only were these key sites of religious and political importance in Francia, but they were also key sites in the history of Anglo-Saxon missionary activity in Francia.[131] The tour allowed the *cartula* to pay homage to places which were considered important in the Anglo-Saxon view of their own history, travelling as much through time as space.

For this poem, Alcuin adopted a model that had been used by poets such as Horace, Ovid, Martial, Statius and Ausonius.[132] A similar style was used by Pindar to instruct his song to go by any available ship to spread the good news of Pytheas' victor.[133] Similarly in Sidonius' *Carmen* 24, the author exhorts a book to travel to comrades of the poet who lived in distant places.[134] In 1970, Dieter Schaller argued that Alcuin's poem should be thought of as a 'Vortragsdichtung', which was intended 'to be read aloud to his many eminent friends'.[135] Schaller also argued that the poem could also be a 'Zirkulardichtung', whereby the poem is delivered to each of the places of residence of the various addresses.[136] However, Luisa Sinsi has argued that the poem does not correspond with either of these poetic genres and should be instead viewed as somewhere between a *Hodoeporicon* and an ironic *vade-mecum.*[137] Sinsi argued that Alcuin wrote the poem for someone who was about to undertake a journey to Francia, and that the poem was intended to accompany the pilgrim and guide what they should say, do and see during the journey.[138] In both *MGH Carm.* 4 and 44, Alcuin was able to textually accompany a pilgrim on their physical journey, using the written word to overcome the barrier of geographical distance. Thus, future readers of these two poems

[130] Sinsi, 'From York to Paris', p. 278.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Ibid.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Schaller, 'Vortrags – und Zirkulardichtung am Hof Karls des Großen', pp. 14-36.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Sinsi, 'From York to Paris', p. 290.

[138] Ibid., p. 291.

would also be able to follow in the footsteps of the pilgrims in the text, and experience distant place through their eyes.

Alcuin's letter to Fridugis on the 'three visions' theory

A letter from Alcuin to his student Fridugis was also copied into Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795. Fridugis was also the recipient of Alcuin's *Questionnes* and references across Alcuin's corpus of surviving letters demonstrate that he was embedded in Alcuin's social and intellectual circle.[139] In the letter copied into Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795, Alcuin explained to Fridugis that there were three different types of vision: *unum corporale, aliud spiritale, tertium intellectuale.*[140] Alcuin explained that corporal vision was obtained through the eyes of the body.[141] Symbolic vision was to see through the spirit alone through the act of imagination, based on previous corporal perception.[142] Mental vision, however, was based on the activity of the mind alone.[143] For example, when you read in the scriptures '*Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum'*, the letters are read through bodily sight, the neighbour is imagined through the spiritual imagination and love is seen by the mind's understanding alone.[144] According to Alcuin, the first kind of vision is best known of all, the second is familiar to most, yet the third is unknown to most because they are unable to distinguish between what is symbolic and what is mental.[145] In his *De Ratione*, Alcuin explained that perception of people or place, whether known or unknown, is facilitated via mental images, built from the experience of the bodily senses. This process of perception would have utilised corporeal and symbolic vision. Analysis of the presence of Alcuin's letter to Fridugis in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795, and in other instances during this period, can help to assess broader awareness of the three visions theory during this period.

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[139] See discussion of *Questionnes* in chapter 1, pp. 24-25.

[140] *Epp.* 135; 'there are three ways of seeing things: one is corporal another symbolic and the third is mental'.

[141] *Epp.* 135.

[142] *Epp.* 135.

[143] *Epp.* 135.

[144] *Epp.* 135; 'love your neighbour as yourself'.

[145] *Epp.* 135.

This letter is copied into the manuscript on ff. 154v-155r, at the end of quire 'S'. The letter finishes with an *EXPLICIT* at the bottom of f. 155r, f.155v is then left blank and quire 'T' begins on f. 156r. The letter was therefore copied into the original core of this manuscript along with *Notitia* and *De locis.* The letter constitutes one of three short letter-treatises copied from ff. 150v-155r, one of which was on a theological or philosophical problem and two on exegetical problems. All three treatises were directed to named students.[146] Bullough observed that the scribes who copied these three letter-treatises do not figure elsewhere in the collection.[147]

Fridugis also became abbot of Tours upon Alcuin's death in 804, and held the office until his own death in 834.[148] While abbot of Tours, Fridugis wrote a letter-treatise of his own entitled *De substantia nihili et tenebrarum* 'On the Substance of Nothing and Shadows'.[149] The treatise was written as if from Charlemagne and addressed to an Irish scholar named Dúngal.[150] Fridugis carefully constructed his treatise so that the style and form of the poem was just as important as its content, or in other words, the message lay also in the medium. The treatise begins with a salutation in Charlemagne's name, stating its address to Dúngal, followed by a discussion of the nature of nothing. The second salutation states that the second part of the treatise was written by Fridugis and discusses the substance of nothing and the nature of shadows. David Howlett has examined the detailed symbolism behind the composition of this poem. [151] Howlett explained that Fridugis wrote the poem so that each letter of the Latin alphabet corresponded with a numerical value, beginning with a = 1. Howlett pointed out that in this system, CAROLUS has a value of 3+1+17+14+11+20+18 = 84, which is also the number of letters and spaces between words in the first salutation which states

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[146] Bullough, *Alcuin,* p. 46; *Epp.* 133; *Epp.* 81; *Epp,* 135.

[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Fridugis, *On Nothing*; Migne (ed.), *PL* 105, cols. 751-756; Trans. H. Dressler, in Wippel and Wolter (eds), *Medieval Philosophy from St Augustine to Nicholas of Cusa,* pp. 104-108.

[150] It survives in three manuscript witnesses: Paris, BnF, Latin 5577 ff. 134-137; Vatican City, BAV, MS Reg. Lat. 69; Brussels, BR, MS 9587 ff. 51-53.

[151] Howlett, 'Fredegisus 'De Substantia Nihili', pp. 123-143.

Charlemagne as the author of the letter.[152] The treatise was clearly a reflection of both Fridugis' skill as an author and his intellectual training. It demonstrates that Fridugis was interested in the nature of perception, a topic closely connected to the three types of vision.

The three types of vision were also discussed in other texts written by Alcuin. In his *Commentary on the Apocalypse.* Alcuin explained,

> *Tres itaque visionum modos patres nostril intelligendos docuerunt: corporalem, ut videmus per oculos solem, lunam, et reliqua; spiritalem, quae sit per mentis excessum sive vigilantibus sive dormientibus viris, cum non res corporales, sed similitudines rerum corporalium per spiritum intuent … Tertius est qui intellectualis appellatur, per quem nec corporales res, nec earum similitudines, sed ipsa rerum veritas intuentibus manifestatur*.[153]

When dealing with the line *averte oculos tuos a me, quia ipsi me avolare secerunt*, in his *Commentary on the Song of Songs,* Alcuin explained, *id est, oculos mentis tuae*.[154] Contemporaries of Alcuin, Paulinus of Aquila and Smaragdus of St Mihiel also spoke of the different forms of vision.[155] Alcuin's contemporary Theodolf of Orléans spoke of the *mente internis oculis*, where certain things can only be perceived by a kind of spiritual vision that was not rooted in matter or corporality.[156] Members of Alcuin's social and intellectual circle were certainly interested in the three types of vision.

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[152] Ibid., p. 139.

[153] Alcuin, *Commentariorum in Apocalypsin Libri Quinque;* Migne (ed.), *PL,* 100, col. 1089A-B; 'Our fathers taught us that there are three kinds of sight that must be understood: the corporal, so that we see the sun, the moon and all the rest with our eyes; the symbolic which happens when a waking or sleeping person takes leave of his mind and sees through the intent perception of his spirit… The third is called mental and through it not corporal things, nor their likenesses, but the very truth of things is made plain to those who are in deep contemplation'.

[154] Alcuin, *Compendium in Canticum Canticorum;* Migne (ed.), *PL,* 100, col. 657D; 'turn your eyes from me for they torment me…that is, your mind's eye'.

[155] T.F.X. Noble, 'The Vocabulary of Vision and Worship in the early Carolingian period', in G. de Nie, K.F. Morrison, H.I. Kessler and M. Mostert (eds), *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Papers from 'Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible: 400-1000 (Utrecht, 11-13 December 2003)* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 229-230.

[156] Theodulf of Oréans, *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini).* A. Freeman. MGH, *Concilia* 2, Supplementum I (Hannover, 1998). I.18, 'inward eye of the mind'; Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians,* p. 224.

Alcuin's theories about vision were almost wholly taken from the work of Augustine, particularly *De genesi ad litteram* and *De trinitate.*[157] Augustine explained in *De Genesi* that there are three kinds of vision; *diliges proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum, tria uisionum genera occurrunt: unum per oculos, quibus ipsae litterae videntur, alterum per spiritum hominis, quo proximus et absnes cogitator, tertium per contuitum mentis, quo ipsa dilectio intellect conspicitur'.*[158] When explaining the 'spirit' vision, which is of most relevance to our purpose here, Augustine used the same place analogy as he did in his *De trinitate* to explain perception. According to Augustine, *aliter enim cogitamus carthaginem, quam nouimus, aliter alexandriam, quam non nouimus.*[159]

Augustine continued, *siue caelestia siue terrestria, et praesentia uidentur in suis formis et absentia cogitantur in imaginibus animo inpressis et faciunt duo genera uisorum: unum per corporis sensus, alterum per spiritum, quo illae imagines continentur.*[160] A very similar explanation of the three visions is repeated by Augustine in Book 15 of *De trinitate,* and in a short work, possibly a sermon, *On Faith in Things Unseen.*[161] The extent to which Alcuin would later use these two Augustine texts to write his *De Ratione,* demonstrates that he had good access to both texts.[162] Augustine's *On Faith* survives in two manuscripts, one of which has been dated to the eighth

[157] Noble, 'Vocabulary of Vision and Worship', pp. 218-222.

[158] Augustine, *De genesi ad itteram libri duodecim,* 12.6; J. Zycha (ed.), *CSEL,* 28.1 (Vienna, 1894), pp. 386-387; 'you shall love your neighbour as yourself…one through the eyes by which we see the letters themselves; another through the spirit by which the neighbour is contemplated even though he is absent; and a third through a perception of the mind whereby this very love is seen to be understood'.

[159] Augustine, *De genesi ad litteram libri duodecim,* 12.6; Zycha (ed.), *CSEL,* 28.1, pp. 386-387; 'it is one thing to think of Carthage, which we know, and another thing to think of Alexandria, which we do not know'.

[160] Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim,* 12.6; Zycha (ed.), *CSEL,* 28.1, pp. 386-387; 'we can think about heaven and earth and all that we can see in them even when we are standing in the dark and seeing nothing with our bodily eyes and yet contemplating bodily images in our soul. These might be true images, in so far we have seen those bodies and kept them in memory, or imaginary images, in so far as our thinking has fashioned them'.

[161] Augustine, *De trinitate Libri XV,* 8. 4. 7, W.J. Mountain (ed.), *CCSL* 50 (Turnhout, 1968), pp. 275-276.

[162] Noble, 'Vocabulary of Vision and Worship', p. 220.

century and the other to the ninth. The theory of vision in these two Augustine texts certainly corresponds with Alcuin's own theory as presented in his letter to Fridugis.[163]

An annotated manuscript of Augustine's *De Genesi,* now Paris, BnF, Latin 2112, reflects interest in the theory of visions in scriptoria under the direction of Arn of Salzburg.[164] The manuscript was probably copied at Saint-Amand during the abbacy of Arn and was brought to Salzburg by the 830s.[165] Although the scribe of the main text of *De genesi* made some omissions, he included Augustine's discussion of the twelve different kinds of spiritual vision from visual memory through to dreams and ecstasy.[166] A series of annotations was also added to the text which appears to have been made by someone specifically interested in Augustine's theory of visions and their exegetical functions.[167] The Saint-Amand annotator also noted Augustine's use of spiritual allegories which build on everyday experience, suggesting that his interest was decidedly more practical than theoretical.[168]

It is likely that the three visions theory was also known outside Francia. Bede quoted Augustine's *De Genesi* extensively in his own commentary on the Book of Genesis.[169] In Bede's letter to Acca, which acts as a preface to the text, Bede listed Augustine's work alongside other known commentaries on Genesis.[170] Although Bede did not directly quote Augustine's discussion of the three visions, or discuss the three different forms of vision in his own work, he was clearly familiar with the text as a whole. A copy of Augustine's *De genesi*

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[163] Ibid.

[164] Bischoff, *Schreibschulen* vol. 2, 61-73; Bischoff, *Katalog,* III, no. 4131; On the impact of *De Genesi* in the Carolingian period see, J. Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages: The Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400-900* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 150-168.

[165] Bischoff, *Schreibschulen* vol. 2, pp. 61-73.

[166] Paris, BnF, Lat. 2112 ff.11r-12r; quoting Augustine, *De Genesi,* 12.23.45, 414 line 22, 415 line 29.

[167] M. Gorman, 'A Carolingian Epitome of St Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram', Revue d'etudes augustiniennes et patristiques,* 29 (1983), p. 140; Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions,* p. 159.

[168] Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions,* p. 162.

[169] For a list of quotes see Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library,* p. 199.

[170] Bede's letter to Acca; C.B. Kendall (Ed.), *Bede: On Genesis* (Liverpool, 2008), p. 65.

was therefore in the library of Wearmouth-Jarrow by the early eighth century.[171] Ælfric also quoted from Book 8 of *De Genesi* in his *Homilies* and Byrhtferth of Ramsey quoted from book 6 of Augustine's *De Genesi* in his *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*.[172] The three surviving Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of *De Genesi* all date to the late eleventh century.[173]

The three visions theory was also explained by Isidore of Seville in Book 7 of *Etymologies* within the explanation of the prophets. Isidore explained that there are three kinds of visions, *unum secundum oculos corporis … Alterum secundum spiritum, quo imaginamur ea quae per corpus sentimus.*[174] According to Isidore, *Tertium autem genus uisionis est, quod neque corporeis sensibus, neque illa parte animae qua corporalium [rerum] imagines capiuntur, sed per intuitum.*[175] Isidore's *Etymologies* was quoted in the works of Theodore and Hadrian, Aldhelm, Bede, Lantfred, Abbo, Ælfric, and Byrhtferth, and suggests that copies were available at Wearmouth-Jarrow and Canterbury from the late seventh century.[176]

Fridugis was not the only person in Alcuin's intellectual and social network interested in the three visions theory. Augustine's *De Genesi* was probably at Wearmouth-Jarrow from the early eighth century, suggesting that some Anglo-Saxons could certainly have been aware of the theory. The theory can also be found in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, which were known in England from the late seventh century. This theory underlines the importance of

[171] For an overview of Bede's library at Wearmouth-Jarrow see, R. Love, 'The Library of the Venerable Bede', R. Gameson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, I: c.400-1100* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 606-632.

[172] Ælfric, *Homilies,* Ch. I.I, 74-83; Byrhtferth*, Vita Sancti Oswaldi,* V.1; Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library,* p. 285.

[173] Lincoln, CL, 13 (A. 1. 26); Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 271. Salisbury, CL, 114, ff. 6-122; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 720. Salisbury, CL, 128, ff. 1-4; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 278.

[174] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies,* Book VII. viii. trans. S.A. Barney (ed.), *Etymologies Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2007); 'one according to the eyes of the body… a second according to the spirit in which we imagine what we sense through the body'.

[175] Ibid.; 'there is a third kind of vision, which is neither by bodily senses nor by that part of the soul where images or corporal things are grasped, but by insight'.

[176] Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library,* p. 312.

vision in Alcuin's perception of place in *De Ratione,* and further suggests that members of Alcuin's network were aware of the mental processes that allow the mind to see beyond the limitations of corporeal vision. Alcuin's *De Ratione* describes how symbolic vision would draw on corporeal vision of the past, to form the mental images that facilitate perception. The medium through which a reader accessed a text, such as their earliest manuscript copies, was a key part of the experience of that corporeal vision, which fed into the symbolic vision that facilitated the perception of distant place.

Conclusion

Notitia, *De locis* and the other itineraries discussed in this chapter were composed by authors familiar with the topography of Rome, and often followed the experience of pilgrims who had visited the city. However, the manuscripts that preserve early medieval pilgrim itineraries were all copied north of the Alps, suggesting that they were being read far from the streets of Rome. These manuscripts, therefore, imply that itineraries were mobile documents, which continued to be read, circulated and interpreted long after their composition. Indeed, Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 demonstrates that two seventh-century itineraries for Rome were being circulated, copied and read in Francia *c.* 798.

Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 is a composite manuscript, a bespoke creation tailored to the interests of its patron, most likely Arn of Salzburg. The collection of exegetical texts, pastoral Alcuin letters and the two itineraries for Rome, would certainly have been of interest to a newly appointed archbishop who had just returned from Rome with his pallium. It is perhaps significant that the itineraries in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) and London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius B V/1 are also preserved within compilations of different texts that were designed to reflect the interests of the person or community that compiled them. Alcuin's letter to Fridugis on the three visions theory helps to develop our understanding of how the mind draws upon corporeal and symbolic vision during the perception of unknown people or places. The mind uses what is known, through corporeal vision and the other bodily senses, to perceive what is not immediately present before the perceiver.

Chapter 4

A sylloge, itineraries and Ordo XXIII – A 'guidebook' for the mind?

At the core of a ninth-century manuscript, now Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076), is a collection of topographical texts that reflect different ways that pilgrims engaged with the topography of Rome.[1] These topographical texts were composed in Rome and subsequently brought north, before they were copied into this manuscript. The texts begin with a sylloge of over fifty inscriptions, followed by twelve short itineraries, a description of the gates of the Aurelian Walls, a liturgical text, known now as Ordo XXIII, and ends with a collection of various poems and epigraphic texts. The topographical detail of these texts suggests they were composed in Rome. However, Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) is thought to have been copied in the region of the monastery of Reichenau in the mid-ninth century.[2] The key audience of these texts must therefore have been readers north of the Alps, far from the streets of Rome. For these readers, this collection of texts could have acted as a medium through which Rome could have been experienced from afar, whether Rome was a known or unknown place in the mind of the perceiver.

The topographical texts in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) have not been studied for their impact on distant readers. Scholars who have studied these texts have thus far focused on their value as sources regarding the topography of early medieval Rome. The sylloge and itineraries are frequently cited in studies of the early medieval city, daily life and the architectural legacy of the city's imperial past.[3] Einsiedeln, SB, MS

[1] De Rossi, *ICUR,* II pp. 9-17; G. Walser, *Die Einsiedler Inchriftensammlung und der Pilgerführer durch Rom, (Codex Einsiedlensis 326)* (Stuttgart, 1987); Bischoff, *Katalog,* I, no. 1133; del Lungo, S. *Roma in età carolingia e gli scritti dell'anonimo augiense (Einsiedeln Bibliotheca Monasterii Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, 326 [8 Nr. 13], IV, ff. 67v-86r),* Miscellanea della Società Romana di storia patria 48 (Rome, 2004).

[2] Ibid.

[3] Richardson Jr. *A New Topographical Dictionary*, p. xxi; Ermatinger, *Daily Life of Christians,* p. 186; Thomson de Grummond, *History of Classical Archaeology,* p. 386; H.W. Dey, *The Aurelian Wall and the Refashioning of Imperial Rome, AD 271-855* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 24-32.

326(1076) has been studied by scholars of the Carolingian relationship with Rome and the papacy.[4] The sylloge in the manuscript is frequently included in studies of Roman epigraphy and compared to other early medieval syllogae.[5] Just as with the itineraries, scholars have begun to consider how syllogae may have been read by distant readers.[6] For example, Maya Maskarinec has recently examined Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) in the context of her research on the saints and martyrs of Rome in Carolingian Francia.[7] Maskarinec discussed how readers of Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) in Francia may have been able to 'conjure up a Rome of the mind'.[8] However this is not the focus of Maskarinec's analysis, and her discussion of Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) and the impact its description of the city on distant readers is relatively brief.

The topographical texts in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) have also been reproduced in editions and facsimiles. Editions of the sylloge and liturgical text in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) were included in volume II of Giovanni Battista de Rossi's *ICUR*.[9] In 1889, Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani published an edition of the twelve itineraries, accompanied by a detailed analysis of each part of the route.[10] In 1907, Christian Hüelsen produced another edition of the itineraries, a discussion of the codicology of the manuscript and how the itineraries relate to the other documents in the collection.[11] The syllogae, itineraries and description of the walls were all edited by Valentini and Zucchetti, who examined the history of the manuscript, its extant

[4] Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians,* p. 138; McKitterick, 'Transformations of the Roman Past', p. 231.

[5] Buonocore, 'Epigraphic Research from its Inception', pp. 23-24; T. Lansford, *The Latin Inscriptions of Rome: A Walking Guide* (Baltimore, MD, 2009).

[6] Z. Alto Bauer, 'Das Bild der Stadt Rom in Karolingischer Zeit: der Anonymous Einsidlensis', *RQ*, 92 (1997), pp. 190-228; R. Santangeli Valenzani, 'L'itinerario di Einsiedeln', in P.D. Maria Stella Arena, L. Paroli, M. Ricci, L. Sagui (eds), *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo: Archaeologia e storia* (Milano, 2001), pp. 154-160.

[7] Maskarinec, *City of Saints*, pp. 167-172.

[8] Ibid.

[9] de Rossi, *ICUR, II*, pp. 18-35.

[10] R.A. Lanciani, 'L'Itinerario di Einsiedeln e l'ordine di Benedetto canonico', *Monumenti Antichi* (1889) 1 pp. 437-552.

[11] C. Hüelsen, *La pianta di Roma dell'anonimo einsidlense: Con 6 Tavole e 15 illustrazioni nel testo* (Rome, 1907).

historiography and how the texts compared to contemporary syllogae and itineraries.[12] An edition of Ordo XXIII was produced by Michel Andrieu, who prefaced the edition with a discussion of the Ordo, its content, the possible origin of the text and its presence in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076).[13] A facsimile was also published in 1987 by Gerold Walser, which provided good quality images and a commentary on the syllogae and itineraries.[14] Walser's facsimile also included transcriptions of the inscriptions and itineraries, and an account of the location of the inscriptions and recreations of the itinerary routes.[15]

These editions and facsimiles have allowed scholars to develop a detailed understanding of the content of the topographical texts in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076). However, considering the manuscript was compiled far from Rome itself, scholars have yet to fully consider the impact of these texts on distant readers. This chapter aims to address this gap by conducting a detailed analysis of the codicology and palaeography of the manuscript in order to understand the intentions of the compiler and the impact on early readers of the manuscript. This chapter will then analyse three parts of the manuscript in detail, the sylloge, *Varia poemata* and the liturgical text. This analysis draws upon Alcuin's explanation of perception of place in *De Ratione* to consider what the materiality of the manuscript can reveal about the interests of the compiler and perception of Rome possible for the readers.

Background, content and context of Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 326(1076)

Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) is comprised of a ninth-century core of topographical texts bound between tenth-century additions on either side [Table III]. The 'topographical core' of this manuscript is structured as follows: ff. 67r-79v – Sylloge*;* ff. 79v-85r – Itineraries; ff. 85r-86r – Description of the Walls; ff. 86v-88v *Varia poemata.* At a later date, other texts were appended either side of the collection. Bound before and after the topographical collection are: ff. 1r-10v - Probus, Marcus Valarius,

[12] Valentini, and Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico,* pp. 155-207.

[13] M. Andrieu, *Les 'Ordines Romani' Du Haut Moyen Age, Volume 3. Les Textes (Ordines XIV-XXXIV)* Louvain, 1951), pp. 265-273.

[14] Walser, *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung*.

[15] Ibid.

Notae; ff. 11r-34r – *Gesta Salvatoris*; ff. 35r-66v – *Liber Poenitentialis;* ff. 98r-104r – *De Inventione S. Crucis*; ff. 104v – *Epitaphun* Xanthippae Parmae [Table III]. These additional texts were copied in a tenth-century Caroline minuscule.[16] An ownership inscription was added on f. 104v, the final folio of the manuscript, which reads *iste liber est monasterii Fabariensis,* referring to Pfäfers Abbey.[17] There are no ownership marks in the 'topographical core', so it is difficult to determine whether the ninth-century quires were bound between the tenth-century material before or after the ownership inscription was added at Pfäfers Abbey.

Details in the topographical texts suggest that they were composed in Rome by authors familiar with the layout of the city and the pilgrim experience.[18] Valentini and Zucchetti noted the variation of names used to refer to places and monuments in the sylloge and itineraries, and argued that they were probably compiled by different authors.[19] The itineraries also pre-date the foundation of the Leonine Walls, commissioned by Pope Leo IV (d.855) since they are not mentioned in the routes.[20] The mention of *S. Maria Antiqua* suggests that the itineraries were also composed before 847, since this church is thought to have been abandoned after the earthquake of 847.[21] The itineraries must also date to after the reign of Pope Paul (757-767) since the mention of a church of St Silvester near the Antonine Column must refer to Pope Paul's foundation of *San Silvestro in Captite.*[22] The description of the walls, on ff. 85r-86r, was also made when the walls were in bad condition, probably before repairs in the early eighth century.[23]

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[16] The digital catalogue information gives a tenth century date for these parts [Accessed via, https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/sbe/0326) on 07/04/2018].

[17] Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico,* p. 155.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Grummond, *Encyclopaedia of the History of Classical Archaeology,* p. 386.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

	Ninth-century quires arrangement	Text	Folio
Tenth-century addition		Probus, Marcus Valarius, *Notae*	ff. 1r-10v
		Gesta Salvatoris	ff. 11r-34r
		Liber Poenitentialis	ff. 35r-66v
Ninth-century core	I (ff. 67r - 73v)	Sylloge	ff. 67r-79v
	II (ff. 74r – 81v)	Itineraries	ff. 79v-85r
	III (ff. 82r– 91v)	Description of the Aurelian Walls	ff. 85r-86r
		Ordo Romanus XXIII	ff. 86v-88r
	IV (ff. 92r – 97v)	*Varia Poemata*	ff. 88v-97v
Tenth-century addition		*De Inventione S. Crucis*	ff. 98r-104r
		Epitaph of Xanthippae Parmae	f. 104v

Table III – Collation of Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076), identifying the ninth-century core and tenth-century additions

De Rossi dated Ordo XXIII to after 687 on account of the jewelled cross described by the pilgrim, which he argued was that found by Pope Sergius I (687-701) near the shrine of St Peter.[24] The author of the liturgical text may have been familiar with liturgical terminology used north of the Alps, using the words *candelabra* for *cereostata, minster* for *subdiaconus, turribulm* for *thymiamaterium* and *lumen* for *facula*.[25] It is possible therefore that Ordo XXIII was composed by a Frankish pilgrim, who brought the text home. *Varia poemata* was the final text to be added to the collection. This series of poems contains two epitaphs that commemorate Gerold, brother-in-law of Charlemagne, who died in 799, and a Bernald, a bishop who died in 844.[26] These two epitaphs were located at the monastery of Reichenau on Lake

[24] De Rossi, *ICUR, II*, p. 35; *LP*, Sergius I, c. 10; Duchesne (ed.), *LP*, I, pp. 371-382.

[25] Andrieu, *Les 'Ordines Romani' Du Haut Moyen Age*, p. 266.

[26] T. Mommsen, 'Handschriftliches zur lateinischen Anthologie', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie,* 9 (1854), pp. 299-300; M. Maskarinec, *City of Rome*, p. 169.

Constance, in the region of St Gall.[27] The addition of these two epitaphs ties the compilation of these topographical texts to a monastery in the Reichenau region at some point in the mid-ninth century.

It is relevant to consider another well-known text which was produced at Reichenau in the early ninth century, the Plan of St Gall.[28] The plan was produced by two scribes at Reichenau in the 820s perhaps under the direction of Haito, abbot of Reichenau (806-823) and Bishop Basel (802-823), and sent from Reichenau to Abbot Gozbert of St Gall (816-837).[29] Walter Horn and Ernst Born have argued that the Plan was made at Reichenau as a copy of an official architectural statement inspired by the ideals of Benedict of Aniane and developed at the court of Louis the Pious. It has been debated whether the Plan was intended as a pragmatic guide for all Carolingian monastic construction, or whether it was intended as a guide to an actual building.[30] The itineraries in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) and the Plan both use innovative and unique methods of displaying space on the page.[31] It is interesting, therefore, that Reichenau was likely the place of origin for both the Plan of St Gall and Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076).

Although the epitaphs on f. 97v suggest the collection was copied at Reichenau, or nearby, Bischoff has argued that the scribe had been trained in Fulda.[32] Ninth-century Fulda is certainly a place where one could expect a collection of topographical texts pertaining to Rome to be compiled.[33] Fulda was founded in the mid-eighth century

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[27] Ibid.

[28] St Gallen, SB, Cod. Sang. 1092; W. Horn and E. Born (eds), *The Plan of St Gall: A Study of the Architecture & Economy of, & life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery* (Berkeley, CA, 1979); K. Hecht, *Der St. Galler Klosterplan* (Sigmaringen, 1983); A. Zettler, 'Der St. Galler Kloster-plan. Überlegungen zu Seiner Herkunft und Entstehung', in P. Godman and R. Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 655-687; W. Jacobsen, *Der Klosterplan von St. Gallen und die karolingische Architektur* (Berlin, 1992); R.E. Sullivan, "What was Carolingian Monasticism?' The Plan of St Gall and the History of Monasticism' in A. Murray (ed.), *After Rome's Fall* (Toronto, ONT, 1998), pp. 251-287.

[29] W. Horn, 'On the Author of the Plan of St Gall and the Relation of the Plan to the Monastic Reform Movement', in J. Duft (ed.), *Studien Zum St Galler Klosterplan* (St Gallen, 1962), pp. 103-127.

[30] For a recent overview of these arguments see, A.A. Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 56-59.

[31] On the layout of the Einsiedeln itineraries, see pp. 133-136.

[32] Bischoff, *Katalog,* I, no. 1133.

[33] Maskarinec, *City of Saints,* p. 167.

by Sturm who had been a disciple of Boniface of Mainz. [34] From the beginning of the ninth century, Fulda began to mirror Rome through architecture and liturgy. A new church was consecrated in 819 which replicated the architecture of Old St Peter's Rome, and the altar was centred in the transept in front of the apse and directly above Boniface's tomb in direct imitation of the location of the altar in St Peter's, directly above the tomb of St Peter.[35] In the 830s the abbot of Fulda, Hrabanus Maurus, purchased over forty relics from catacombs along the Via Appia, Via Labicana and Via Pinciana-Salaria.[36] These relics were deposited in two main reliquaries in the church, or distributed to related churches, and were accompanied by paintings and inscriptions.[37] In the early to mid- ninth century, the community at Fulda were therefore modelling their church and liturgy on contemporary Rome.

The topographical collection in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) was originally intended as a self-contained, independent collection. Two quire marks, 'I' and 'III' are visible in the lower margins of f. 73v and f. 91v which label the final folio in the first and third quires, and therefore imply that the collection was originally comprised of at least four quires. In previous studies of the manuscript, De Rossi and L'Huelsen, observed that quire marks were visible on the last verso of the first, second and third quires though they did not give the folio numbers.[38] De Rossi did note, however, that the mark for the second quire is not quite as clear.[39] Through careful observation of the digital facsimile, it is possible to argue for the following collation of the manuscript: quire I, ff. 68r-73v; quire II, ff. 74r-81v; quire III, ff. 82r-91v; quire IV ff. 92r-97v [Fig. IV.1]. It is possible to identify where quire II ends and quire III begins on account of a string visible between ff. 86v-87r. Such strings were used to reinforce the binding and

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[34] K. Schmid, 'Die Frage nach den anfängen der Mönchsgemeinschaft in Fulda', in K. Schmid (ed.), *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im Früheren Mittelalter* (Munich, 1978), pp. 108-135.

[35] R. Krautheimer, 'The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture', *Art Bulletin,* 21.1 (1942), pp. 10-11.

[36] P.J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1978), p. 47.

[37] J. E. Raaigmakers, 'Fulda, eine Heilige Stadt: Hrabanus Maurus und die Reliquienstranslationen (835-838)', in M.A. Aris and S. Bullido del Barrio (eds), *Hrabanus Maurus in Fulda, mit einer Hrabanus Maurus-Bibliographie* (Frankfurt, 2010), pp. 219-238; R. of Fulda, *Miracula Sanctorum in Fuldenses Ecclesias Translatorum,* G. Waitz (ed.), MGH SS 15.1, pp. 328-341.

[38] Huelsen, *La Planta Di Roma Dell'Anonimo Einsidlense,* p. 4.

[39] De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* p. 10.

only appear at the centre of a quire. If ff. 86v-87r was the centre opening of quire III, and f. 91v the final folio, we can work backwards to identify f. 82r as the first. From this reasoning, quire II was comprised of four bifolia and quire III was comprised of five. The order with which these texts were copied into the manuscript, and the reasoning behind the addition of *Varia poemata*, which will be discussed in detail below, supports the argument that quire III would be larger than the others. Quire IV is incomplete, and so it is difficult to establish where the quire ended after the last surviving folio, f. 97v. However, it is plausible that quire IV was originally comprised of four bifolia, like quire II, and has since lost the final two folia. Similarly, as it currently stands, quire I is comprised of three bifolium and a single folio. It is possible that quire I was also originally comprised of four bifolia, the first folio now lost as it had originally been left blank.

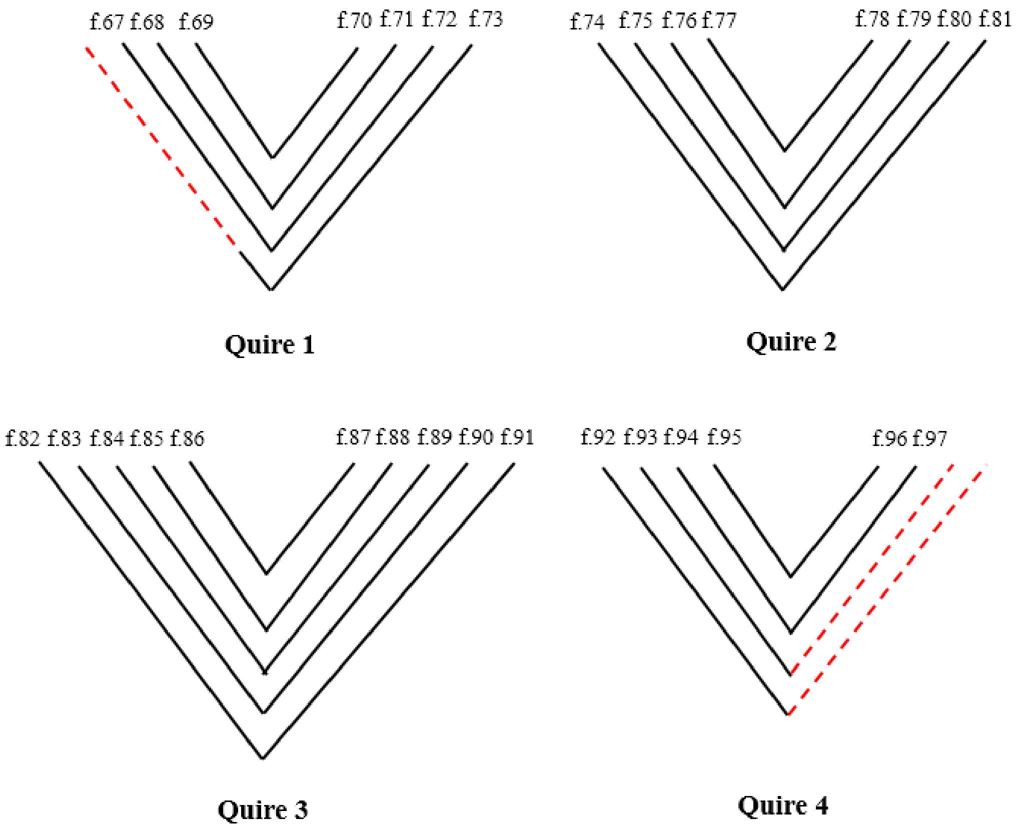


Fig. IV.1 – Original collation of 'topographical core' of Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076), now ff. 67r-97v.

More than one scribe contributed to this collection, and they wrote a well formed, regular Caroline minuscule and maintained a consistent use of rubricated capitals for the sub-headings. Manicules feature at various points throughout the collection. Five point to specific inscriptions in the sylloge, and one highlights the first poem in the *Varia poemata* on f. 88v. However, these are probably a later addition since manicules are most commonly found in manuscripts that post-date the twelfth century.[40] Overall, the regular palaeographical and codicological style suggests that the texts were copied into this manuscript at roughly the same time, probably under the direction of a patron with a specific interest in Roman topography.

The manuscript is relatively small, measuring 180 x 125 mm. Although this small size allows portability, the provenance of the manuscript suggests that it did not travel far after its creation. It is possible that the manuscript was intended to be portable on a smaller scale, around a church or the local landscape. The small size of the manuscript limits the number of people who could view it at one time, and therefore also suggests solo readership. The content of the collection of topographical texts certainly appears to reflect the compiler's personal interest in the Roman topography and the pilgrim experience. The bespoke nature of this collection is perhaps also reflected by the fact that the texts included do not survive in any other manuscript witness. The small size and bespoke content may suggest an intimate, perhaps meditative, reading experience of the texts copied into this manuscript.

The inscriptions in Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 326(1076)

Inscriptiones Urbis Romae

The Einsiedeln sylloge contains inscriptions copied from churches and monuments in Rome and northern Italy, which can be divided roughly into four parts.[41] The first 60 are a mixture of secular and religious inscriptions from monuments around Rome.[42] These include inscriptions found on the walls, altars and pulpits in the basilicas of St

[40] W.H. Sherman, 'Toward a History of the Manicule', R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote (eds), *Owners, Annotators and the Signs of Reading* (London, 2005), pp. 19-48.

[41] For a detailed discussion of the location of these inscriptions in Rome see, De Rossi, *ICUR, II.1*, no. II.1-82, pp. 18-33; Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims and Martyrs,* p. 240.

[42] De Rossi, *ICUR, II.1,* no. II.1-60, pp. 18-29.

Peter, Sant'Anastasia al Palatino, Santa Sabina, San Sebastiano fuori le mura, San Paolo fuori le mura, San Lorenzo fuori le mura. Inscriptions were also included from bridges, such as the Tibertine Bridge and the bridge of St Peter, and arches and columns, such as Trajan's Column and the Arch of St Peter. This part of the sylloge also contains inscriptions from ancient Roman buildings such as the Baths of Diocletian, the arch on the Circus Maximus, and the Theatre of Pompey. Following this, inscriptions 61-71 were copied from the tomb of Hadrian.[43] None of these first 71 inscriptions dates from later than the sixth century.[44] Following this is a collection of inscriptions from the extra-mural catacombs, constituting inscriptions 72 to 77.[45] The final inscriptions, numbers 78 to 82, were copied from the base of a bronze statue of St Peter in the basilica of Ticinum.[46]

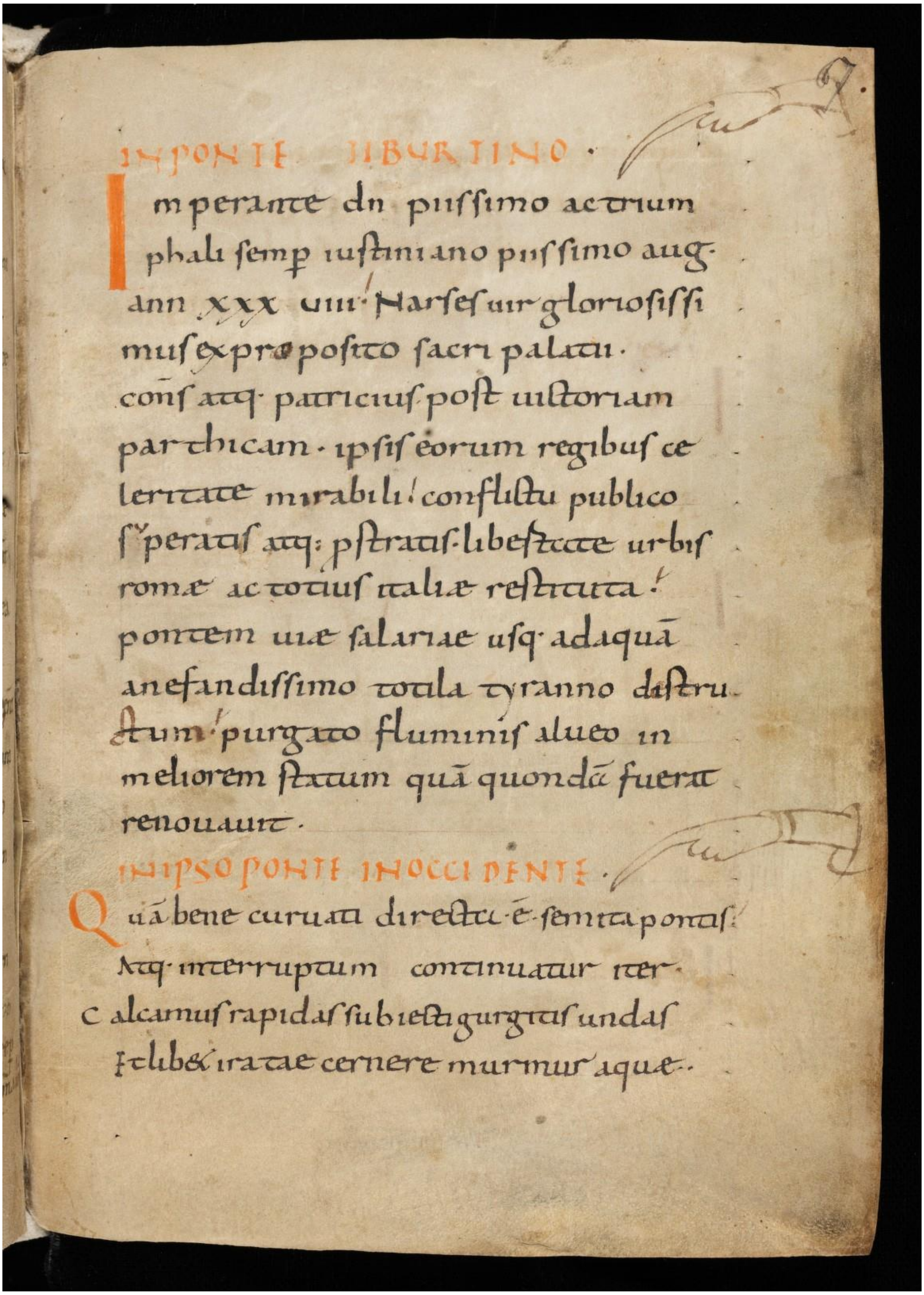
Most epigrams are preceded by a title written in red capitals, making them easy to read amongst the black Caroline minuscule used to write the text of the inscriptions. These titles state the monument upon which the inscription is located. The titles were probably recorded by the composer, and copied into Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) from the exemplar used by the scribe. Without even reading the epigram itself, the reader can identify the location of the inscription and anticipate its content. In some sections of the sylloge, the reader was able to follow the route taken by the author. For example, the title of the first inscription reads *In ponte tiburtino* and is followed by an inscription with the title *in ipso ponte in occidente* [Fig. IV.2]. Inscriptions from the tomb of Hadrian, begin on f. 76r with the title *In Adrianio,* followed by another title *in parte australi,* and then, *item in eodem.* These directional titles also accompany the inscriptions from the extra-mural catacombs, for example *in porta s[an]c[t]I petri usq[ue] ad s[an]c[ta]m paulem,* which is then followed by *in sinistra* or *in dexteram* in their abbreviated forms. These titles allow the reader to follow in a pilgrim's footsteps along an itinerant route through the cityscape. The titles also remind the reader of the original location of the inscription, and its function in that place, and how it relates to its

[43] De Rossi, *ICUR, II.1,* no. II.61-71, pp. 29-30.

[44] Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims and Martyrs,* p. 241.

[45] De Rossi, *ICUR, II.1,* no. II.72-77, pp. 30-32.

[46] De Rossi, *ICUR, II.1,* no. II.78-82, pp. 32-33; Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims and Martyrs,* p. 241.



INPONTE TIBURTINO ·
Imperante dn piissimo actrium
phali semp iustiniano piissimo aug·
ann xxx uiii· Narses uir gloriosissi
mus ex praeposito sacri palatii·
cons atq· patricius post uictoriam
parthicam · ipsis eorum regibus ce
leritate mirabili conflictu publico
superatis atq; pstratis· libertate urbis
romae ac totius italiae restituta
pontem uiae salariae usq· ad aquā
a nefandissimo totila tyranno destru
ctum purgato fluminis alueo in
meliorem statum quā quondā fuerat
renouauit·
INIPSO PONTE INOCCIDENTE·
Quā bene curuati directa ē semita pontis·
Atq· interruptum continuatur iter·
Calcamus rapidas subiecti gurgitis undas
Et lib& iratae cernere murmur aquae··

Fig. IV.2 – Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076), f. 67r – The first inscription in the sylloge begins on line 1 with the title *In Ponte Tiburtino*, accompanied by a manucule perhaps added after the twelfth century.

immediate built environment, tapping into the experience of the original pilgrim who copied the inscription in Rome.

Varia poemata

The final item in the ninth-century core of Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) is the *Varia poemata,* which begins on f. 88v directly after the last line of Ordo XXIII. Although the first poem is not given a title, a later scribe has added a manicule to mark the beginning [Fig. IV.3]. The collection then uses rubricated capitals for the titles of the poems. Codicological evidence suggests that these poems may not have been originally intended as part of the collection. The compiler may have added these poems to fill the space left in quire III after finishing Ordo XXIII.[47] The compiler and copyists were perhaps forced to add another quire, now quire IV, when the poems they chose overran the empty space left at the end of quire III.[48] Recurrent themes are present throughout the *Varia poemata,* suggesting they may have been chosen to reflect the specific interests of the compiler, as in the topographical texts.

The first poem in the collection, copied from ff. 88v-89r, is a series of verses that describe the defending of a city by a group of soldiers.[49] The second item is a short poem, copied ff. 89r-89v, listing the labours of Hercules by the fourth-century poet Ausonius.[50] From ff. 89v-91r, is a poem by Alcuin of York entitled the ‘Conflict of Spring and Winter’, which presents a dialogue between winter and spring.[51] The greed of winter is used as a metaphor for one of the vices that leads the soul away from Christ.[52] The collection then features a short extract from Isidore’s *Etymologies,* from

[47] Ibid.

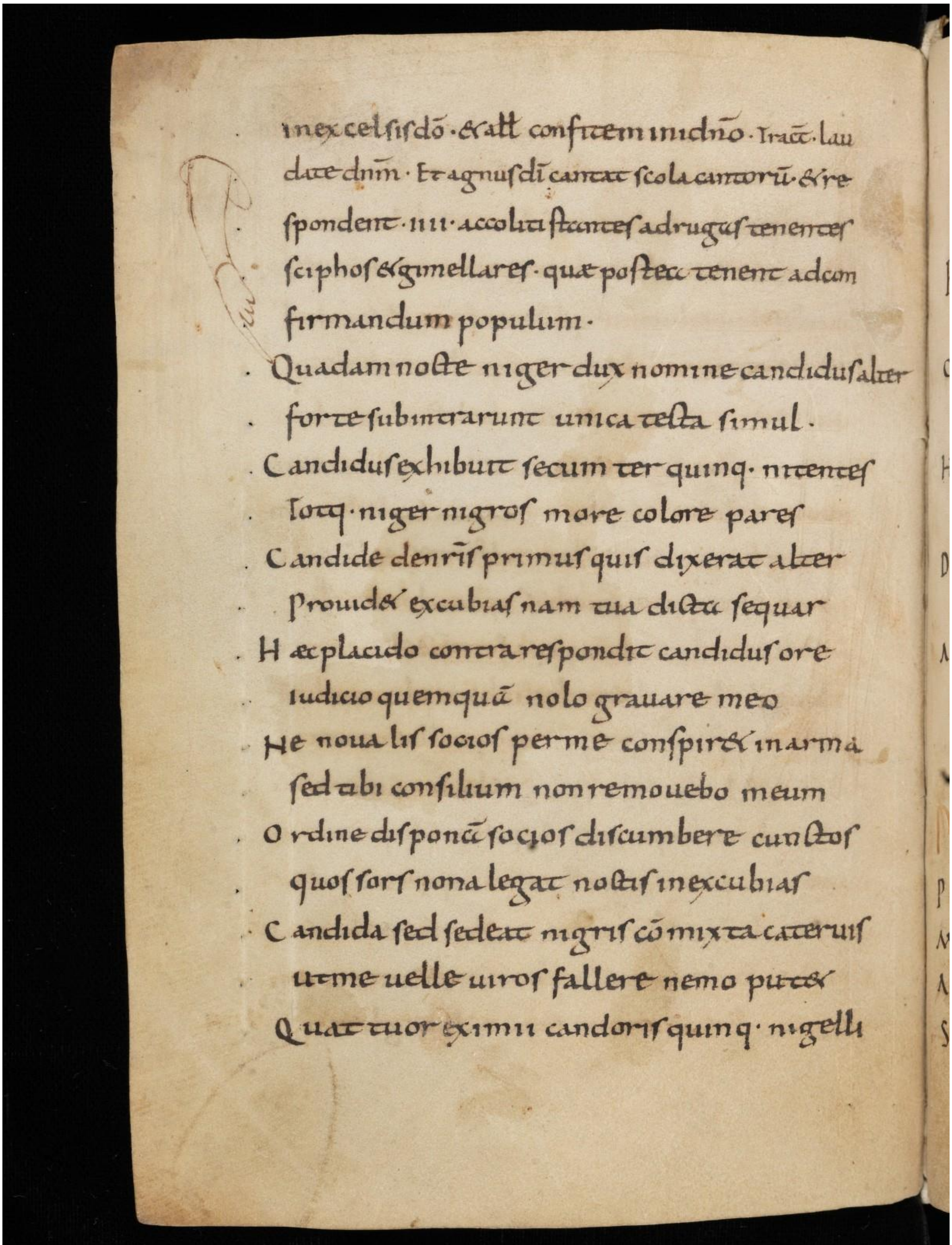
[48] Ibid.

[49] Bischoff, *Katalog,* I, no. 1133; Dümmler, MGH, *Poet*. 4.2, p. 1119-1120; Schaller, *Initia,* no. 12816.

[50] Schaller, *Initia,* no. 12481; S. Prete (ed.), *Decimi Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis Opuscula* (Leipzig, 1978), pp. 112-113; Bischoff, *Katalog,* I, no. 1133.

[51] Schaller, *Initia,* no. 2750; R. Martin (ed.), ‘Au Confluent des Traditions Antique, Germanique et Chretienne: le ‘Conflictus Veris et Heimis’ d’Alcuin’, *Revue des Etudes Latines,* 72 (1994), pp. 177-191; Bischoff, *Katalog,* I, no. 1133.

[52] Ibid.



in excelsis deo. & alleluia confitemini in domino. Tractus lau
date dominum. Et agnus dei cantat scola cantorum. & re
spondent iiii accoliti stantes ad rugas tenentes
sciphos & gimellares. quae postea tenent ad con
firmandum populum.
Quadam nocte niger dux nomine candidus alter
forte subintrarunt unica tecta simul.
Candidus exhibuit secum ter quinque nitentes
Totque niger nigros more colore pares
Candide denariis primus quis dixerat alter
Prouideat excubias nam tua dicta sequar
Haec placido contra respondit candidus ore
Iudicio quemquam nolo grauare meo
Ne noua lis socios per me conspiret in arma
Sed tibi consilium non remouebo meum
Ordine disponam socios discumbere cunctos
quos sors nona legat noctis in excubias
Candida sed sedeat nigris commixta cateruis
ut me uelle uiros fallere nemo putet
Quattuor eximii candoris quinque nigelli

Fig. IV.3 – Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076), f. 88v – The first poem of the *Varia poemata* begins on line 6, accompanied by a manucule perhaps added after the twelfth century.

ff. 91r-91v, which explains the different terms used for the soul according to its different functions.[53] From ff. 91v-97v, is the *Tituli historiarum,* composed by the late fourth-century poet Prudentius, which is 49 verses of Christian history that were originally intended as captions for the image cycle of a basilica.[54] The final items in this poetic collection are two epitaphs from Reichenau Abbey composed in honour of Gerold (d. 799), brother-in-law of Charlemagne, and a bishop named Bernald (d. 844).[55]

Both epitaphs contrast the temporal body and the immortal soul, like other epitaphs from this period.[56] Bernald's epitaphs remind the reader of the rewards that await the pious in death.[57] In Gerold's epitaph his soul is described as having been given to the stars in the classical tradition of astral immortality.[58] Both epitaphs demonstrate a synthesis of classical learning and Christian piety, using classical Rome as a resource to apply to the Christian present.[59] This reflects the image of Rome present in the sylloge and itineraries which intertwines the imperial and Christian Rome. These epitaphs were copied into this manuscript in the mid-ninth century, at which time Alcuin's *De Ratione* was also copied throughout Francia.[60] The presence of Alcuin's poem 'Conflict of Winter and Spring' in this collection demonstrates a connection between Alcuin's work and the compiler of this collection.[61] Maskarinec recently made the connection between the Alcuin poem in Einsiedeln, SB, MS

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[53] Bischoff, *Katalog,* I, no. 1133; Isidore, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum Libri XX,* 11.1.13, W.M. Lindsay (ed.) (Oxford, 1911).

[54] Schaller, *Initia,* no. 8588; trans. R. Phillinger, *Die Tituli historiarum oder das sogennante Dittochaeon des Prudentius* (Vienna, 1980) Bischoff, *Katalog,* I, no. 1133.

[55] Mommsen, 'Handschriftliches zur lateinischen Anthologie', pp. 299-300; Schaller, *Initia,* no. 9738, no. 13042; Bischoff, *Katalog,* I, no. 1133.

[56] C.A. Clarke, *Writing Power in Anglo-Saxon England: Texts, Hierarchies and Economies* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 46.

[57] Maskarinec, *City of Saints,* p. 171.

[58] Mommsen, 'Handschriftliches zur lateinischen Anthologie', pp. 299-300.

[59] Maskarinec, *City of Saints,* p. 171.

[60] See chapter 1, pp. 25-27.

[61] Maskarinec, *City of Saints,* p. 171.

326(1076) and ideas found in Alcuin's *De Ratione.*[62] She proposed that the collection of topographical texts in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) may have enabled the formation of a 'Rome of the mind', via the processes of perception Alcuin outlined in his *De Ratione.*[63] Maskarinec noted Alcuin's explanation of how the soul fashions mental images from the experience of the bodily senses, and how those images can then be drawn upon by the mind, whether the place is known or unknown to the perceiver.[64] Reading the topographical collection of texts in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) would prompt the reader to remember those mental images of Rome, and perceive the city, whether the images were gathered from their first-hand experience or secondary information.[65]

The final poems in this collection offer reflections on the soul and its path to salvation.[66] The addition of the *Varia poemata* to the topographical texts suggests that the compiler was interested in the relationship between the body and the soul as well as Roman topography. A reader who consulted these poems after the sylloge, itineraries and Ordo XXIII may have been prompted to consider the role played by the body and soul in perception of person or place. Both body and soul have an important role to play in the process of perception. Alcuin writes in his *De Ratione*, that the soul or mind draws on the experience of the bodily senses, which formulate all that is known of a person or place, in order to experience beyond the confined of the body. For a reader of Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076), a significant degree of what was known of Rome, whether it was a known or unknown place, could be drawn from the appearance and content of texts preserved in this manuscript.

Perceiving person and place through syllogae manuscripts

The sylloge and *Varia poemata* in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) were part of the wider circulation of Roman epigraphy in syllogae throughout the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. Syllogae were compiled from layers of editorial decision from the original

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[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV.

[65] Maskarinec, *City of Saints,* p. 171.

[66] Ibid.

composers in Rome to those who compiled and copied the manuscripts that preserve them, far from the city. Although each sylloge from this period is unique, they share some uniting factors. One of the most notable features of the sylloge and itineraries in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) is the inclusion of monuments from Rome's ancient, imperial past alongside monuments from its Christian present.[67] This eclectic combination is also found in other early medieval syllogae.

Sylloge Laureshamensis IV also contains a mixture of Christian, imperial, sometimes pagan, monuments.[68] *Sylloge Laureshamensis IV* is the fourth sylloge preserved in a ninth-century manuscript, now Vatican, BAV, MS Pal. Lat. 833 ff. 26r-84v.[69] This manuscript was originally known as Codex Palatinus, but was renamed by De Rossi to reflect its origins in Lorsch.[70] The first sylloge in the manuscript contains 34 inscriptions taken from Roman churches and was probably compiled in Rome by a monk from the monastery of Lorsch.[71] De Rossi dated *Sylloge Laureshamensis I* after 821, on account of the inclusion of the epigram from the mosaic in the apse of St Cecilia, and before 847, due to the inclusion of inscriptions on Pope Honorius' doors in the Vatican basilica which were destroyed during Saracen invasions in 846.[72] *Sylloge Laureshamensis II*, ff. 36r-41r, is a collection of pontifical epitaphs from St Peter's. The earliest epitaph in the collection is that of Pope Anastasius II (no. 4) from 498, and the latest in the collection is that of Pope John V (no. 13) which dates to 686.[73] De Rossi argued that the collection must have been originally composed between 686 and 687, since the epitaph for Leo the Great composed by Sergius I in 688 is absent from the

[67] See particularly McKitterick, 'Transformations of the Roman past', p. 231.

[68] De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* pp. 95-118; Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims,* pp. 244-245.

[69] De Rossi, *ICUR*, II, VIII.1-104, pp. 142-143; Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims,* p. 242; Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch*, p. 126; C. Vircillo Franklin, 'The Epigraphic Syllogae of BAV, Palatinus Latinus 833', *Roma, magistra mundi. Itineraria culturae medievalis: Mélanges offerts au père. L.E. Boyle à L'Occasion de son 75e Anniversaire* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1998), pp. 975-990; Bischoff, *Katalog,* III, no. 6559.

[70] De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* VIII.1-104, pp. 95-118 and XIII.1-35, pp. 142-173; Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims,* p. 242.

[71] Ibid.

[72] De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* XIII.26.

[73] De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* XIX.13.

collection.[74] *Sylloge Laureshamensis III*, ff. 41r-54r, is a collection of north-Italian epitaphs which must have been collected after 778, since it includes the epitaph of Bishop Theodore of Pavia (d. 778).[75] The earliest inscriptions in this collection, however, date to the fourth century.[76]

Sylloge Laureshamensis IV, ff. 54r-84r, contains 104 inscriptions copied in the seventh century, mostly from Christian monuments in Rome but also includes five from Spoleto and one from Ravenna.[77] Bischoff has argued that *Syllogae Laureshamensis I-III* were copied slightly before *Sylloge Laureshamensis IV*, probably in a scriptorium in north-eastern France before being brought to Lorsch at some point before 821 but before 835.[78] Bischoff argued that *Sylloge Laureshamensis IV* was added at Lorsch in a thick calligraphic hand typical of that which was practised at Lorsch in the period 830-835.[79] Furthermore, *Syllogae Laureshamensis I-IV* is included in a Lorsch library catalogue dated to 850-875, but not in an earlier catalogue compiled in *c.* 830.[80] Additionally, C. Vircillo Franklin observed that the parchment and ruling in the later quires of *Sylloge Laureshamensis IV*, beginning at f. 56, is of a noticeably different quality from the parchment used in earlier quires. [81] Both Bischoff and Vircillo Franklin agree that *Sylloge Laureshamensis IV* was added in a different scriptorium in north-eastern France, after the compilation of *Syllogae Laureshamensis I-III*.[82]

Sylloge Centulensis and *Sylloge Verdunensis* also include syllogae compiled in seventh-century Rome. *Sylloge Centulensis* is preserved in the manuscript St Petersburg, RNL, F. V. XIV. 1, which Bischoff and De Rossi have attributed to Corbie

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74 Ibid.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* VIII.1-104, pp. 95-118.

78 Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch,* p. 42.

79 Ibid.

80 De Rossi, *ICUR I.* p. 36; Franklin, 'BAV, Palatinus Latinus 833', pp. 988-989.

81 Franklin, 'BAV, Palatinus Latinus 833', pp. 987-988.

82 Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch,* p. 42.

in the late eighth or early ninth century.[83] The sylloge contains 68 inscriptions that were all composed before or during the time of Pope Honorius (625-638).[84] Although De Rossi attributed this manuscript to Corbie, the inclusion of the epitaph of a priest Caidocus, buried in the Monastery of St Riquier in Centula, suggests that the sylloge in this form may have originally been compiled at St Riquier.[85] This epitaph had been inscribed on Caidocus's tomb by Angilbert (740-814), abbot of St Riquier. It is possible that Angilbert added Caidocus' epitaph because Caidocus had been the compiler of the sylloge. Angilbert had travelled to Rome at least twice and may have also had an interest in Roman epigraphy and topography.[86] Corbie, however, is only forty miles up the Somme valley from St Riquier, and it is possible that the epitaph may have been added to the manuscript at Corbie.[87]

Similarly, *Sylloge Verdunensis*, is a collection of 32 seventh-century inscriptions preserved in a tenth-century manuscript now, Verdun, BM, MS 45.[88] The latest of these seventh-century inscriptions is the epitaph of Leo the Great commissioned by Sergius I in 688.[89] The sylloge was composed before 817, yet after 761 when the body of Pope Silvester was moved to the urban monastery of San Silvestro in Capite, as the title for Pope Silvester's epitaph reads, *ad s[an]c[ta]m silvestrum ubi ante pausavit super illo altare.*[90] *Sylloge Turnonensis* is another sylloge that was compiled in the seventh century, and then recopied at a later date. The sylloge contains forty-two inscriptions, mostly taken from extra-mural cemeteries, by a complier drawing upon a sixth-century

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[83] De Rossi, *ICUR II,* pp. 72-94; Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims,* pp. 250-252; Bischoff, *Katalog,* II, no. 2317.

[84] De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* pp. 72-73.

[85] De Rossi, *ICUR, II, VII,* p. 94 no. 68.

[86] Dales, *Alcuin: His Life and Legacy,* p. 145.

[87] R. Sharpe, 'King Cædwalla's Roman Epitaph', M. Lapidge, K. O'Brien O'Keeffe and A. Orchard (eds), *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge* (London, 2005), p. 174.

[88] De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* XII, pp. 131-141; Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims,* pp. 244-248; Trout, *Damasus of Rome,* p. 64.

[89] De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* XII, pp. 131-141.

[90] De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* XII, p. 138, no. 21.

source with a few exceptions of the fourth century by Damasus.[91] It has been suggested, on account of two inscriptions added to the sylloge, that the collection was compiled at Tours in the seventh century.[92] One of these inscriptions was on a votive tablet placed by Ionatus at Tours during the tenure of Bishop Chrodobertus (d.695).[93] It is possible that the sylloge was compiled soon after Chrodobertus' time as Bishop of Tours from 670-676.[94] This sylloge is preserved in two manuscripts which date from the eleventh or twelfth century, Klosterneuberg, SB, 723 and Göttweig, SB, 64 (78).[95]

Another sylloge, comprised of 41 papal epitaphs from Pope Damasus (366-384) to John VII (705-708) may have been preserved in a twelfth-century copy of the *Liber Pontificalis,* attributed to Worcester Cathedral Priory.[96] These epitaphs may have been taken from a lost early eighth-century sylloge collection.[97] This collection of epitaphs has come to be known as *Sylloge Cantabrigensi* on account of the provenance of the manuscript. Furthermore, Thomson has argued that William of Malmesbury was the compiler of this particular copy of *Liber Pontificalis* and acquired the papal epitaphs from a tenth-century English copy of the sylloge compiled by Milred, Bishop of Worcester in the mid-eighth century.[98] Although Sims-Williams agreed with Thomson's argument that William of Malmesbury may have used a tenth-century copy of Milred's sylloge, Sims-Williams also noted that many of the epitaphs are also found in *Sylloge Laureshamensis II*.[99] Although it may not be possible to identify the original

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91 De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* VI, pp. 58-71; Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims,* pp. 248-250.

92 De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* VI, p. 69 nos. 38, 38.

93 Ibid.; Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims,* pp. 248-250.

94 On Chrodobert, see Y. Hen, 'Changing Places: Chrodobert, Boba, and the Wife of Grimoald' *Revue Belge de Philologie et D'Histoire. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Philologie en Geschiedenis* 90:2 (2012), pp. 225-244.

95 De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* VI, p. 58; Trout, *Damasus of Rome,* p. 64.

96 Cambridge, UL, kk.iv.6, ff. 224r-280v; W. Levison, *Aus Englischen Bibliotheken,* II: *Englische Handscriften des Liber Pontificalis,* Neues Archiv 35 (1910), pp. 333-431; Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims,* pp. 254-277; Silvagni, '*La silloge epigrafica di cambridge',* pp. 9-33; Silvagni, *Monumenta Epigraphica,* pp. 84-112.

97 Silvagni, *La silloge epigrafica di cambridge',* p. 50; Levison, *Aus Englischen Bibliotheken,* p. 335.

98 R.M. Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury's Edition of the *Liber Pontificalis', Archivum Historiae Pontificae* 16 (1978), pp. 93-112; Milred's sylloge will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5, see pp. 244-246.

source of the *Sylloge Cantabrigensi*, the similarity of its content with other sylloge supports the argument that these were adaptable, mobile texts, circulating in England and Francia throughout the early medieval period.

Another common feature in early medieval syllogae is the topographical order of the inscriptions, as they would have been found by the original compilators, and the emphasis of this topographical order via the use of geographic titles. The titles that feature in the Einsiedeln sylloge make it clear how their order followed the order in which the pilgrim-composer encountered them on the streets of Rome. The topographical order of inscriptions in contemporary syllogae appears to be more informative and accurate when the surviving manuscript was produced soon after the composition of the sylloge. *Sylloge Laurenshamensis I,* for example, was composed between 821 and 847 according to De Rossi and was copied into the manuscript soon after.[100] Titles containing topographical information precede almost all the inscriptions in this section. *Syllogae Laurenshamensis II, III,* and *IV,* however, were originally composed in the seventh century, and appear to have lost any original topographical order by the time they were copied into Vatican, BAV, MS Pal. Lat. 833, ff. 26r-84v.

It is possible to see the remains of the original topographical order of the inscriptions in *Sylloge Verdunensis* and *Sylloge Turonensis*, two syllogae whose composition has been dated to the seventh century. *Sylloge Verdunensis* retains the majority of the topographical arrangement, with a few exceptions. In *Sylloge Turonensis*, very few of the inscriptions are preceded by a geographical title, yet they reflect a clear topographical order. The epitaphs are arranged topographically to reflect movement in a clockwise direction around the major roads that lead from the city.[101] Certain roads are missing, namely the Viae Flaminia, Salaria Vetus, Portuensis, Aurelia, Cornelia, suggesting that the exemplar was perhaps missing the first and last pages.[102] This route, moving clockwise around the extra-mural catacombs, is similar to the extra-

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[99] Sims-Williams, '*La silloge epigrafica di cambridge'*, pp. 29-30.

[100] De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* XIII.26.

[101] De Rossi, *ICUR, II,* pp. 58-71; Barker, *Rome of the Pilgrims,* pp. 248-250.

[102] Ibid.

mural focus of the seventh-century itineraries *Notitia, De locis,* and the William of Malmesbury itinerary discussed in chapter 3.[103]

The topographical order of inscriptions, and the level of information included as geographical titles varies substantially among the surviving syllogae. This would have been affected by the quality of the exemplar and the personal interest of the compiler. Syllogae were certainly bespoke compilations, and some appear to have developed over time to suit the evolving interests of their patron or the community that owned them. The four parts of *Syllogae Laureshamensis I-IV,* for example, were brought together in at least two distinct stages, first compiling *Syllogae Laureshamensis I-III* and then adding the fourth part.

The addition of local inscriptions to collections that were primarily Roman epigraphy may also be a symptom of their status as bespoke collections. *Sylloge Centulensis* includes Angilbert's epitaph for Caidocus, buried at St Riquier, and *Sylloge Turnonensis* includes two inscriptions visible in St Martins in the seventh century. The compiler of Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) also included the two epitaphs from Reichenau Abbey, commemorating Gerold (d.799), brother-in-law of Charlemagne, and a bishop named Bernald (d. 844), in the *Varia Poemata.* The *Varia Poemata* was itself a bespoke collection of poems and epigrams attached to a collection of texts which reflected different aspects of Roman topography.

A uniting aspect of almost all epitaphs and dedicational inscriptions is that they were composed in memory of a specific person or event and commemorate the continued connection of that person or event to a specific place on the cityscape. It is common for these epitaphs and dedication inscriptions to be written in the first-person voice, and to directly address the reader. Alcuin's epitaph provides a particularly clear example of this. The epitaph begins *Hic, rogo, pauxillum veniens subsiste, viator. Et mea scrutare pectore dicta tuo,* therefore directly addressing the reader and acknowledging their location at his place of burial.[104] Alcuin goes on to muse upon the nature of the immortal soul in comparison to the corporal body, before ending with a personal declaration of his name and by imploring the reader to pray for him; *pro que*

[103] Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico,* pp. 72-131.

[104] 'Here, I beg thee, pause for a while, traveller, And ponder my words in thy heart'; trans. L. Wallach, 'The Epitaph of Alcuin: A Model of Carolingian Epigraphy', *Speculum,* 30 (1955), p. 373.

funde preces mente, legens titulum.[105] Even when Alcuin's epitaph was read in manuscript form, the reader would be confronted by the image of Alcuin's place of burial, where the inscription was displayed in stone.

It has been suggested that epitaphs are inherently topographical texts, on account of their connection to the person they commemorate and their place of burial. In a discussion of the poetics of early modern epitaphs, Scott Newstok discussed the locative declarations that begin epitaphs and how this was central to their meaning and significance.[106] He argued that whether read on a tomb or within a manuscript, the reader played an important role in the series of interpretive and moral transactions initiated by the epitaph text, centred around the remains of the person the inscription was commemorating.[107] C.A.M Clarke later applied these insights to the poetic epitaphs found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, mostly composed in the tenth century.[108] Clarke argued that within the systems of reciprocity and exchange constructed by many poetic epitaphs, the role of the reader was central, and that epitaphs establish a transaction in which the reader is asked to reflect upon the life of the memorialised subject and offer in return praise, esteem and prayer.[109] Instructions for prayer and the moral transaction that results from reading inscriptions were the same whether inscriptions were read in stone or on parchment.

The Einsiedeln sylloge clearly had much in common with others from this period. Syllogae often preserved the topographical order through they were initially encountered by pilgrims and used titles to emphasise their location on the streets of Rome. Compilers included ancient, imperial monuments, inscriptions that dated back to the seventh century and recopied syllogae that were old at the time of writing. Just as the compilers of Vienna, ONB, MS 795 included *Notitia* and *De locis,* when these texts were already over 100 years old. Syllogae were personal, bespoke compilations and often reflected the interests and intentions of their compilers. In the Einsiedeln sylloge,

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[105] Ibid.; 'pour out prayers for me when thou quietly readest this inscription'.

[106] S. Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb* (New York, NY, 2009), pp. 33-35.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Clarke, *Writing Power,* pp. 44-79.

[109] Ibid., pp. 46-49.

just as in the itinerary, the image of Rome was of a historic city, whose history was symbolically and physically built into its significance. Through these features, the Einsiedeln sylloge, and others like it, preserved an essence of the experience of the original pilgrim. It has been argued that epitaphs innately hooked the reader into their location, inscribed upon the tomb of the saint, regardless of where the reader was accessing the text. This connection to the saints and martyrs at the heart of these inscriptions mirrors the connection between readers, and the people who inhabit Rome, that can also be found in the papal letters and itineraries. These saints and martyrs, and their connection to the landscape of Rome, were a critical part of the perception of Rome possible from these syllogae.

Experiencing place through liturgy – Ordo XXIII

Copied directly after the sylloge in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) is a series of twelve short itineraries.[110] Ordo XXIII was copied directly after these itineraries, and describes the papal ceremonies of Holy Week, focusing on the Good Friday procession.[111] Ordo XXIII is thought to have been composed by a Frankish pilgrim in Rome at some point after the beginning of Sergius' pontificate in 687, but before the mid-ninth century when this topographical collection was brought together.[112] The account is quite observational, describing certain aspects at length yet omitting details the author may have taken for granted. The account is too brief to have been intended as an official account or transcribed from an official source.[113] Éamonn Ó'Carragáin described the author as an interested and informed eyewitness, and noted the vivid, and sometimes unexpected details, which the pilgrim chose to include.[114]

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[110] For discussion of the content and materiality of these itineraries see chapter 3, pp. 133-136.

[111] De Rossi, *ICUR,* II. Appendix Liturgica pp. 34-35; Andrieu, *Les 'Ordines Romani' du Haut Moyen Age*, p.265.

[112] De Rossi, *ICUR,* II. Appendix Liturgica pp. 34-35; Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico,* p. 155; Andrieu, *Les 'Ordines Romani' du Haut Moyen Age,* p. 266.

[113] Ibid.

[114] É. Ó'Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the* Dream of the Rood *Tradition* (London, 2005), p. 189.

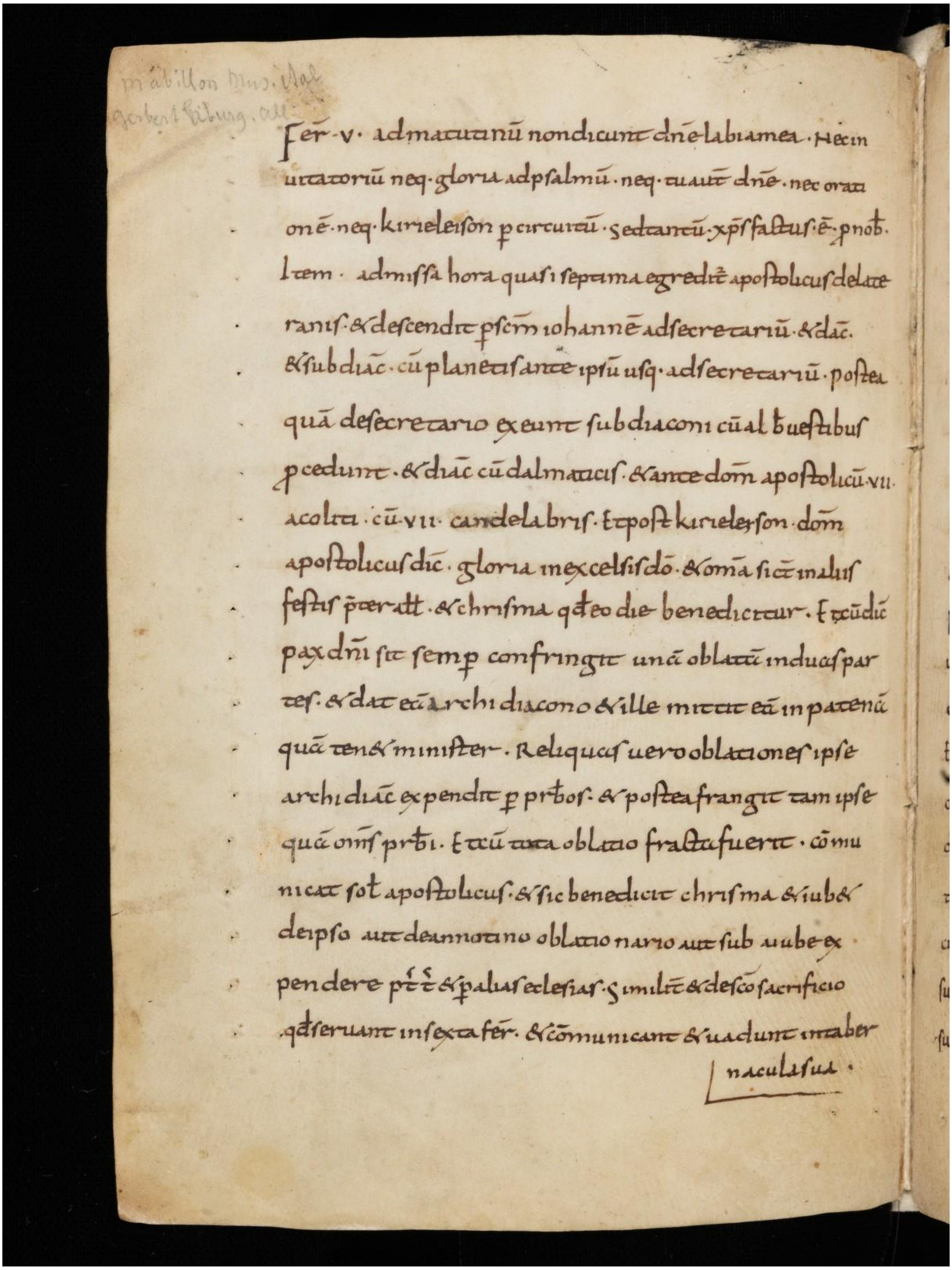

Fig. IV.4 – Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076), f. 86v – Ordo XXIII begins on line 1.

Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) is the only surviving manuscript witness to Ordo XXIII. The text, copied from ff. 86v-88v, in a similar form of Caroline minuscule as the sylloge, itineraries, and description of the walls, was dated by Bischoff to the mid-ninth century [Fig. IV.4].[115] The informal and descriptive style of Ordo XXIII is typical for other early medieval *ordines,* which were descriptive rather than prescriptive.[116] They were intended as a record of how things were done in Rome rather than how the text should be used.[117] Andrieu suggested that Ordo XXIII may have been intended as a memory aid for pilgrims to use when they returned north.[118] Through the textual record, they would be able to relive their experience in Rome and share it with others who had not physically travelled themselves.

The pilgrim who composed Ordo XXIII noted the use of a gilded cross, a reliquary for a fragment of the True Cross, during the papal procession from the Lateran to the basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. The pilgrim described how many priests, deacons and sub-deacons accompanied the pope along the procession, and the readings they performed. The pilgrim then described the procession back to the Lateran where worship continued. The basilica of Santa Croce is where St Helena is believed to have placed the relics of the True Cross she brought back from Jerusalem, thereby making it the most apt place to represent Jerusalem on the Roman cityscape.[119] At the head of the procession, the pope carried a gilded cross reliquary which contained a fragment of the True Cross. This procession was one of a number of similar processions made by the pope throughout Lent and Holy Week to particular basilicas specifically selected for pastoral reasons and the symbolism of the dedication and history of each basilica.[120] The route, stations, biblical readings, and the use of relics were used by the pope and his entourage to symbolically recreate Christ's original journey to Calvary on the Roman cityscape.

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[115] Bischoff, *Katalog,* I, no. 1133.

[116] Ó'Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood,* p. 189.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani: Du Haut Moyen Age,* p. 265.

[119] Ó'Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood,* p. 148.

[120] Ibid.

Scholars have noted that place and memory were at the heart of early medieval liturgical performance. Jesse Billett argued that the liturgy was 'bound up inseparably with the religious life and history of the city'.[121] Ó Carragáin echoes this, 'not least because of the variety and flexibility that obtained within Rome itself'.[122] It is striking therefore to find this *Ordo* copied alongside a collection of topographical texts that were also composed in Rome, brought north of the Alps, and copied in the St Gall region. Ordo XXIII provides a multi-layered perception of place: readers in the St Gall region read the description of a procession in Rome which was intended to symbolically recreate an original journey in Jerusalem.

Through their perception of Rome, readers of Ordo XXIII were also provided with a view of Jerusalem. In Alcuin's *De Ratione,* he chose Jerusalem as the example for his unknown place, a place that had never been experienced first-hand, by the bodily senses. Alcuin's use of Rome and Jerusalem mirrored his own experience of these two places, and that of most of his readers.[123] Jerusalem had a different significance in the worldview of the Christian West, particularly so in Anglo-Saxon England. Jerusalem was the setting of historical biblical events, the place where Christ had lived, been crucified and entombed, and thus the place where Christianity had found its origins. Readers in north-western Europe would have learnt about Rome and Jerusalem in different ways, and it is their prior knowledge that would have facilitated perception.

Readers in England would have learnt about Jerusalem from reading the Bible and exegesis. The Book of Ezekiel stated that Jerusalem was *in medio gentium,* and was surrounded by peoples other than the singular chosen people of Israel.[124] Jerome later commented upon this passage, describing Jerusalem as *umbilicus terrae,* or the place of salvation in the middle of the earth, which was surrounded at its four cardinal points by all the peoples of Asia, Europe and Africa.[125] In the latter years of his life, Bede produced a trilogy of exegetical texts focused on the Temple in Jerusalem, *On the*

[121] J. Billett, 'The liturgy of the 'Roman' office in England from the Conversion to the Conquest', in Bolgia, McKitterick and Osborne (eds), *Rome Across Time and Space*, p. 94.

[122] Ó'Carragáin, *The City of Rome,* p. 26.

[123] See p. 3.

[124] Ezek. 5:5; O'Reilly, 'Islands and Idols at the Ends of the Earth', p. 119.

[125] Psalms 73:12; Jerome, *Comm. In Hiezechielem,* CCSL 75; O'Reilly, 'Islands and Idols', p. 119.

Tabernacle, *On the Temple*, and *On Ezra and Nehemiah*.[126] These three exegetical texts demonstrate Bede's familiarity with the architectural details and descriptions regarding Jerusalem, which he had learned from the Bible.

The surviving travel texts for Jerusalem describe the pilgrim experience of the city in far more detail than surviving travel texts for Rome. Two pilgrims who travelled to Jerusalem in the seventh and eighth centuries left behind narrative accounts of their experiences. These two pilgrims were Arculf, *Galliarum episcopus* and Willibald of Einstätt. In the late seventh century, Adomnán, abbot of Iona, recorded the eye witness testimony of Arculf in the text now known as *De locis sanctis* (*DLS*).[127] Adomnán gave a copy of this text as a gift to King Aldfrith of Northumbria during a visit to Northumbria and, according to Bede, Aldfrith subsequently circulated the text among a wider Northumbrian audience.[128] Bede wrote his own version of the *DLS* in 702 or 703, which drew heavily upon Adomnán's *DLS* and older written sources from the fourth and fifth centuries.[129] Bede also included extracts from Adomnán's *DLS* in the fifth book of his *HE*.[130] In the eighth century, the nun Hugeberc also recorded the experience of Willibald of Einstätt who travelled to Jerusalem in the mid-eighth century.[131] Willibald was born in Wessex and joined a monastery at an early age, before embarking on a pilgrimage with his brother and father.[132] The narrative that Hugeberc wrote was first known as the *Vita Willibaldi,* but acquired the title *Hodoeporicon of St Willibald* in the seventeenth century as scholars began to see the text predominantly as a travel account rather than a hagiographical text.[133]

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[126] C. O'Brien, *Bede's Temple: An Image and Its Interpretation* (Oxford, 2015), p. 3.

[127] Bede, *HE,* V.15; Adomnán, *DLS*, Preface; 'bishop of Gaul'.

[128] Bede, *HE,* V.15.

[129] T. Foley, 'On the Holy Places: Introduction', in trans. W. Trent Foley and Arthur G. Holer (eds), *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany* (Liverpool, 1999), p. 1.

[130] Bede, *HE,* V.15-16.

[131] Hugeberc of Heidenheim, *Hodoeporicon of St Willibald,* O. Holder-Egger (ed.), *MGH SS* 15:86-106 (Hannover, 1887); trans. C.H. Talbot (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany* (New York, NY, 1954), pp. 153-177.

[132] C. Larrington, 'Willibald' [St Willibald] (*c.*700–787?)', *ODNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29575 [Accessed on 20/09/2016].

[133] R. Aist, *The Christian Topography of Early Islamic Jerusalem: The Evidence of Willibald of Einstätt (700-787 CE)* (Turnhout, 2009), p. 13.

These accounts are narrative texts that describe Jerusalem in a far more descriptive and detailed way than any text that survives as a product of travel to Rome. The authors of all these texts emphasise the eyewitness experience of the pilgrims and frequently note what biblical events had occurred on the landscape and whether these points were still commemorated in Arculf's and Willibrord's lifetime. The pilgrim experience of Rome and Jerusalem was ultimately a personal one, and would have differed from person to person, and trip to trip. That personal quality is reflected in the different style of texts that capture those experiences and provided distant readers with their own personal perceptions of the city. However, the multi-layered perception of place in Ordo XXIII suggests that perception of Rome may have been influenced by perception of Jerusalem, especially in light of Alcuin's use of both places in his perception of place analogy.

Ordo XXIII in Anglo-Saxon liturgy

Although Ordo XXIII survives in only one manuscript, there is evidence that it was known elsewhere in north-western Europe. Éamonn Ó'Carragáin has argued that a unique expression of the Good Friday Ordo is represented on the Ruthwell Cross.[134] The Cross is located in the church at Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire, which had come under control of the kingdom of Northumbria towards the end of the seventh century.[135] Displayed on the cross is a runic and Latin inscription and an iconographic program of 24 panels that depict the crucifixion of Christ on Good Friday.[136] The inscription provides a first person account of the events of the crucifixion told through the perspective of the cross.[137] The inscription features extracts from the Old English poem, *The Dream of the Rood,* preserved in the Vercelli Book.[138] Although it has been debated

[134] This has particularly been argued by Ó'Carragáin, see: 'The Ruthwell Cross Crucifixion Poem in its Iconographic and Liturgical Context', *Peritia* (1993), pp. 1-71; É. Ó'Carragáin, 'The Necessary Distance: *Imitatio Romae* and the Ruthwell Cross', in J. Hawkes and S. Mills (eds), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 191-203; É. Ó'Carragáin, 'The Periphery Rethinks the Centre: Inculturation, 'Roman' Liturgy and the Ruthwell Cross', in Bolgia, McKitterick and Osborne (eds), *Rome Across Time and Space,* pp. 63-83.

[135] Ó'Carragáin, 'The Necessary Distance', p. 191.

[136] Ó'Carragáin, 'The Ruthwell Crucifixion Poem', p. 2.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Ó'Carragáin, '*Imitatio Romae* and the Ruthwell Cross', p. 191.

whether the inscription was part of the original iconographic program of the cross or whether it was a later addition, it is now generally accepted that the inscription was indeed conceived as part of the original design.[139] Ó'Carragáin has argued that the cross had a liturgical function and would have been a regular part of the liturgical life of the Ruthwell community.[140]

The *Romanitas* of the liturgy on the cross was expressed via the inclusion of the *Agnus Dei* panels that used prominent themes in seventh-century Roman chant, and the adoration of Christ by the beasts that was also an important part of the Old Roman liturgy.[141] The second part of the poem on the Cross describes the followers of Christ coming together at the Holy Cross in Jerusalem on Good Friday evening after Christ had died.[142] This caused Ó'Carragáin to propose that the Ruthwell community also came together and worshipped at the foot of this cross, as the community in Jerusalem worshipped at Christ's body on Good Friday.[143] Just like the readers of *Ordo XXIII* in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) the Ruthwell community were enacting a liturgy performed in Rome which symbolically recreated the original journey through Jerusalem. The Ruthwell community were therefore engaging with a multi-layered, performative representation and perception of place. The Ruthwell Cross acted as a visual and verbal prompt for the community, just as Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) did for its readers.

Other evidence survives for the practice of Roman liturgy in England. Monasteries embraced a variety of liturgical practices depending on the size, location and political connections of the different institutions.[144] Liturgy was neither uniform nor

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[139] Ó'Carragáin, 'The Periphery Rethinks the Centre', p. 68. Paul Meyvaert argued that the runes were added some time after the Cross was carved. This does not affect the argument here. See, P. Meyvaert, 'A New Perspective on the Ruthwell Cross: *Ecclesia and Vita Monastica',* in B. Cassidy (ed.), *The Ruthwell Cross* (Princeton, NJ, 1992), pp. 164-165.

[140] Ibid., pp. 63-83.

[141] Ó'Carragáin, '*Imitatio Romae* and the Ruthwell Cross', pp. 191-203.

[142] Ó'Carragáin, É. 'Roman Pilgrimage, Roman liturgy and the Ruthwell Cross', in E. Dassmann, and J. Engemann (eds), *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie* (Münster, 1995), p. 635.

[143] Ibid.

[144] J.D. Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England, 596-c.1000* (London, 2014), p. 9.

static, whether practised in Rome or England.[145] Those who wished to emulate Roman liturgical practise looked to the traditions practised in Rome and adapted them to fit local connections and changing circumstances.[146] For example Benedict Biscop based his rule for monastic life at Wearmouth-Jarrow on the customs of seventeen different monasteries from the Continent and was particularly influenced by the Rule of St Benedict.[147] Anglo-Saxon monasteries were contributing to a living tradition, as open to adaption and evolution in Rome as it was in England. The variety in practice, however, means that it is difficult to project evidence for one monastic house onto another. It would be unwise, for example, to treat the *Romanitas* of liturgy at Wearmouth-Jarrow as the norm for Anglo-Saxon liturgical practice.[148]

While text was an important part of how the liturgy was transmitted and learned, many liturgical services were also committed to memory. In Æthelwulf's *De abbatibus,* Eanmund is described as having committed his liturgical teaching to memory rather than use a written rule.[149] Also, in the Anonymous *Life of Alcuin* a reference is made to a companion of Alcuin's youth, Sigulf, who was sent to learn chant in the Carolingian monastic centre, Metz.[150]

In his *DTR,* Bede demonstrated that he had a detailed knowledge of the liturgical developments made under Pope Sergius (686-701).[151] This is not surprising considering the time that John the Archcantor spent at Wearmouth-Jarrow. John had been responsible for the liturgy of St Peter's in Rome and had, according to Bede, *illo perueniens non solum uiua uoce quae Romae didicit ecclesiastica discentibus tradidit,*

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[145] Ibid.

[146] Ó'Carragáin, 'The Periphery Rethinks the Centre', p. 67.

[147] Bede, *HA,* Ch. 11; Anon, *Vita Ceolfridi,* Ch. 6; H. Mayr-Harting, *The Venerable Bede, the Rule of St Benedict and Social Class* (Jarrow Lecture, 1976); P. Hunter Blair, *The World of Bede* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 198-200; P. Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', repr. in P. Wormald, *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early English Christian Society and its Historian,* S. Baxter (ed.) (Oxford, 2006), pp. 4-7; Billett, *The Divine Office,* p. 80.

[148] Ibid.; J.D. Billet, 'The Liturgy of the 'Roman' Office in England from the Conversion to the Conquest', in Bolgia, McKitterick and Osborne (eds), *Rome Across Time and Space,* pp. 84-110.

[149] Ibid., p. 79.

[150] Ibid., p. 103.

[151] Bede, *DTR,* Ch. 47.

sed et non pauca etiam litteris mandata reliquit, quae hactenus in eisdem monasterii.[152] Before Abbot Ceolfrith departed for Rome in 716, he made a procession around the shrines at Wearmouth-Jarrow.[153] When Ceolfrith travelled from St Paul's in Jarrow to St Peter's in Wearmouth, he worshipped at altars dedicated to the two most important saints in Rome, thus uniting his community and linking them with Rome.[154] Ó'Carragáin has noted that it was roughly a six mile journey between the churches dedicated to St Peter and St Paul at Jarrow and Wearmouth, and also in Rome.[155] Both journeys would have been through open countryside separated by a river, where ancient Roman stonework would have been visible along the route. This procession could have been a symbolic recreation of the journey he hoped to make once he reached Rome.

Furthermore, around *c*. 700, a list of Roman station churches was copied into a sixth-century Gospel book (the Burchard Gospels), now Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, m.p.th.f.68.[156] Although the main text of the Gospels was copied in sixth-century Italy, a series of marginal annotations were made in uncial and rustic capitals which have been attributed to the scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow in the late seventh or early eighth century on account of their similarity to the capitals in Codex Amiatinus.[157] These annotations therefore provide evidence that Wearmouth-Jarrow was engaging with Roman liturgy.[158] Another surviving early list of Roman stational churches was copied on ff. 1r-2v of a Roman Lectionary, now Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, m.p.th.f.62 [Fig. IV.5].[159] The list of Roman stational churches

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[152] Bede, *HA*, Ch. 6; 'taught the monks at first-hand how things were done in the churches in Rome and also committed a good part of his instruction to writing'.

[153] Bede, *HA*, Ch. 17.

[154] H. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), p. 108.

[155] Ó'Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 10.

[156] Lowe, *CLA* IX, 1423b; Bischoff and Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, no. 7, p. 93; Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places*, p. 107; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 945.

[157] J. Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford, 1908), p. 51; Bischoff and Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, no. 7, p. 93.

[158] Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places*, p. 107.

[159] Bischoff and Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani*, no. 10, p. 96; H. Thurn (ed.) *Comes Romanus Wirziburgensis: facsimileausgabe des Codex M.p.th.f.62 der Universitäts-Bibliothek Würzburg* (Graz, 1968); C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans and rev. W. Storey, N. Rasmussen with J. Brooks-Leonard (Portland, 1986), pp. 339-340; J.F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character*

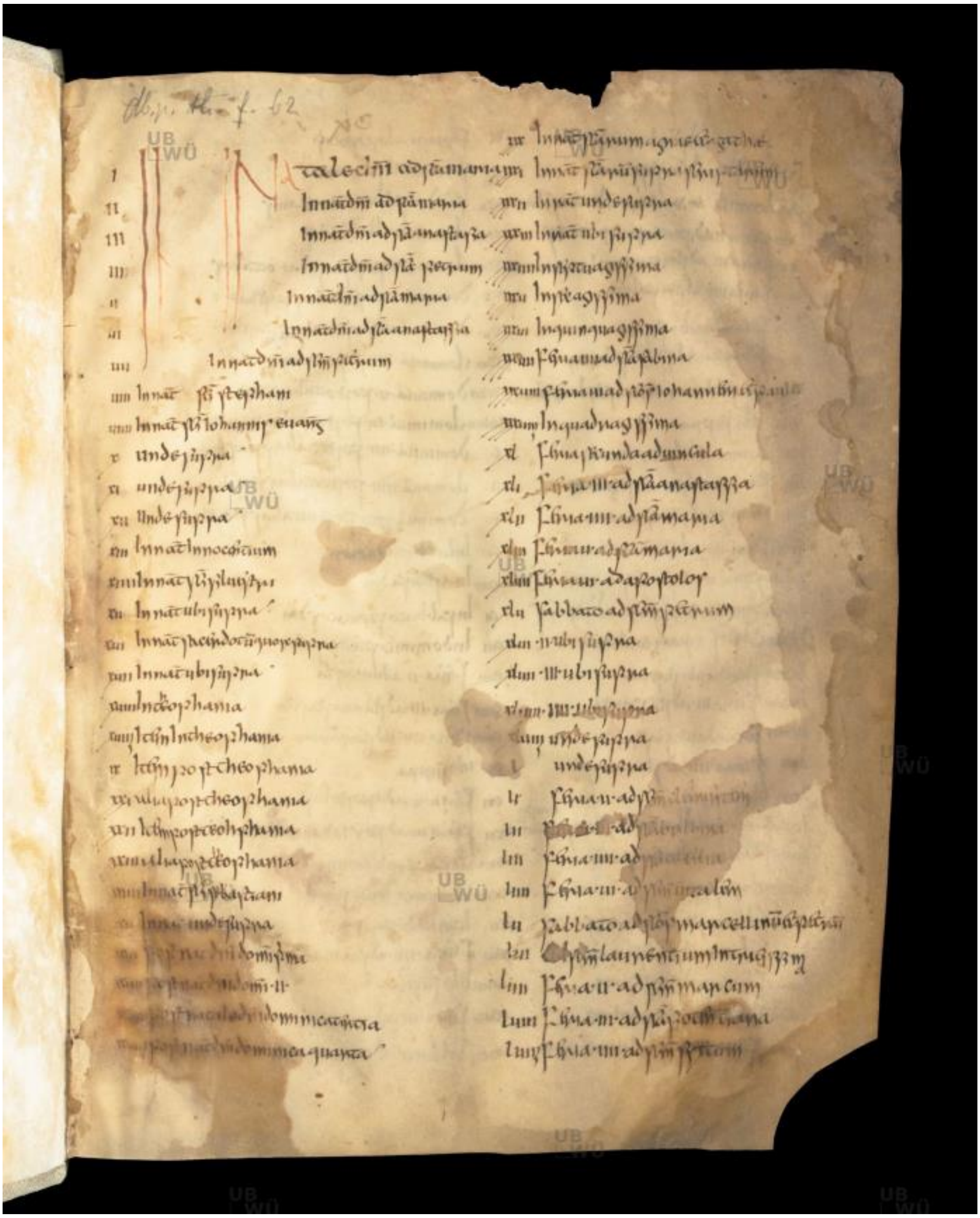

Fig. IV.5 – Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.62, f. 1r – The first folio of the list of Roman stational churches, copied in Insular minuscule dated to *c.* 700.

of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy (Rome, 1987), pp. 286-287.

is the first of three texts copied into this lectionary. The second is an overview of the biblical *epistles* that should be read at appropriate times during the year, and the third part is a similar overview of biblical readings for use throughout the liturgical year. The manuscript has been attributed to England, and the insular hand that copied the three parts has been dated to around the mid eighth century by T. Klauser, W.H. Frere, Bischoff and Hofman, and to the eighth century by Lowe and G. Kunze.[160] A lectionary had a practical purpose in church services, and it is likely that this purposes was also intended for the list of Roman stational churches copied into the manuscript.

Conclusion

Although the Einsiedeln sylloge, itineraries, Ordo XXIII and *Varia poemata* were probably composed separately, the compiler of Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) clearly intended them to be read as a unit. This compiler had an interest in Roman topography, perception of place and the relationship between the body and soul. Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) is therefore a bespoke collection, reflective of the compilers' interests, like Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795. The small size of this manuscript would have also limited the number of people who could have consulted it at once and suggests solo readership. Through their inherent topographical quality and use of the first-person voice, inscriptions in the sylloge allowed the readers to forge a connection with the person, or place, commemorated in the text, and the distant landscape they inhabited. The Einsiedeln sylloge is one of a number from the period that preserves a sense of the original pilgrim experience through the topographical order of the inscriptions, whose locations are emphasised using titles. These features may have enabled a distant reader to follow in the pilgrims' footsteps and grasp a sense of how Rome had become a known place for the perceiver. To refer to the three types of vision, the reader perceived Rome through their symbolic vision, based on information gathered by their corporal vision from the sylloge, which was itself a record of that experienced by the corporal vision of the pilgrim.

[160] For the arguments which date the hand to c.700, T. Klauser, *Das Römische Capitulare Evangeliorum* (Münster, 1935), p. 3; W.H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy,* III (Oxford, 1935), p. 27; Bischoff and Hoffman, *Libri Sancti Kyliani,* p. 96. For the arguments which date the hand to the eighth century see, Lowe, *CLA*, IX. p. 50; G. Klunze, 'Das Rätsel der Würzburg Epistelliste', *Colligere Fragmenta-Festchrift A. Dold* (Beuron, 1952), pp. 191-204.

Those who read Ordo XXIII in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) were also able to perceive Rome through the eyes of a pilgrim. The Ordo recorded the recreation of a journey through the streets of Rome that had originally moved across the landscape of Jerusalem. This multi-layered perception of place demonstrates an awareness that distant, possible unknown places, could be accessed from afar through ceremony, performance, and engagement with the history of the landscape.

Chapter 5

Knowing Rome through the papal letters and epitaphs in early Northumbrian narratives

The surviving papal letters that arrived in England between 600 and 900 are later copies, and not in their original form. Seventeen papal letters were preserved in narrative texts composed in early eighth-century Northumbria; fourteen in Bede's *HE,* one in the Anonymous *VC,* and two in Stephen's *VW*.[1] None of these letters is a duplicate. Copying the letters into narrative texts changed their context and opened them out to new audiences. These papal letters were not the only documents that Bede copied verbatim into his *HE.* Bede copied synodal proceedings, a letter written in the voice of Abbot Ceolfrith to Nechtan, King of the Picts, and extracts from Adomnán's *De locis sanctis.*[2] Bede also included the epitaphs of Gregory the Great, Cædwalla and Wilfrid, partial copies the epitaphs of Augustine and Theodore, and a hymn written in memory of Æthelthryth.[3] The epitaphs in *HE* and the papal letters copied into *HE, VW* and the Anon *VC* will be the focus of this chapter.

These historical and hagiographical narratives gave the papal letters and epitaphs a wider circulation in both lay and ecclesiastical audiences. The letters and epitaphs were copied verbatim, and the authors of these narratives often emphasised that the text available to readers was the same as in the original document or inscription. By emphasising that the text was copied verbatim, the authors reminded the reader that the text had once existed in another medium. The text may have remained the same but copying it into the manuscript as part of the narrative changed its physical appearance. Readers who encountered these letters and epitaphs in manuscript copies of these

[1] Bede, *HE,* I.23, I.24, I.28, I.29, I.30, I.31, I.32, II.4, II.8, II.10, II.11, II.17, II.18, III.29; Stephen, *VW,* Ch. 30, 54; Anon, *VC,* Ch. 39.

[2] Synod of Hertford, *HE,* IV.5; Synod of Hatfield, *HE,* IV.17; Letter of Abbot Ceolfrith to Nechtan, *HE,* V.21; extracts from Adomnán's, *DLS,* V.16-17.

[3] Bede, *HE*, II.1, II.3. IV.20, V.7, V.8, V.19.

narratives were accessing them through a different medium from those who encountered the original document or inscription. Chapter 2 examined the unique materiality of a papal letter, and how Anglo-Saxon audiences may have been able to recognise these letters as 'papal' from their materiality. Chapter 4 discussed how syllogae used geographic titles to emphasise the inherent topographical nature of epigrams, and to remind the reader of their original location in Rome. This chapter will therefore consider the impact of reading papal letters and Roman epitaphs in the early manuscript witnesses of these Northumbrian narratives, particularly focusing on the earliest copies of Bede's *HE*.

The papal letters copied into Bede's *HE* have mainly been studied as sources for the Gregorian mission and the early development of the Anglo-Saxon Church.[4] Two articles have studied the appearance of these documents in the early manuscript copies. Published by E.A. Lowe in 1958 and 1959, these articles examined the rustic and uncial script used for the farewell and date formulae of the papal letters in three early manuscripts of Bede's *HE*.[5] Lowe discussed how this change of script may have been modelled on the exemplars used by Bede, and explored whether they were the original documents or later copies.[6] Paul Meyvaert used Lowe's analysis of the script in his own study of the Gregorian letters in Bede's *HE*, to explore what the palaeography of the letters in the early copies of *HE* can reveal about Gregory's *Registrum*.[7] Lowe's

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[4] Both of these fields are extensive, yet the papal letters feature particularly prominently in: Brechter, *Die Quellen Zur Angelsachsenmission Gregors des Grossen;* Markus, 'The Chronology of the Gregorian Mission to England', pp. 16-30; H. Chadwick, 'Gregory the Great and the Mission to the Anglo-Saxons', in *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo, I: XIX incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana in collaborazione con L'Ecole Française de Rome, Roma, 9-12 Maggio 1990. Studi Storici* (Rome, 1991) pp. 199-212; N. Higham, *(Re)-Reading Bede: The Ecclesiastical History in Context* (London, 2006); V. Gunn, *Bede's Historiae: Genre, Rhetoric and the Construction of Anglo-Saxon Church History* (Woodbridge, 2009); A. Thacker, 'Bede and History', in S. De Gregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 170-190.

[5] E.A. Lowe, 'A Key to Bede's Scriptorium: Some Observations on the Leningrad Manuscript of the 'Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum', *Scriptorium*, 12 (1958), pp. 441-449; E.A. Lowe, 'The Script of the Farewell and Date Formulae in Early Papal Documents: As Reflected in the Oldest Manuscripts of Bede's 'Historia Ecclesiastica', *Revue Bénédictine*, 69 (1959), pp. 22-31.

[6] Ibid.

[7] P. Meyvaert, 'The *Registrum* of Gregory the Great and Bede', *Revue Bénédictine*, 80 (1970), pp. 162-166.

analysis of these scripts was also used by David Dumville and Olof Arngart in their dating of the early manuscripts of Bede's *HE*.[8]

Scholars have also examined Bede's acquisition of the letters of Pope Boniface V and Pope Honorius I, and how Bede used these letters in his narrative. Hunter Blair analysed how Bede used the letters of Pope Boniface V in his account of the conversion of Northumbria.[9] Although Hunter Blair acknowledged that Bede probably acquired these letters from copies made in Rome, he questioned whether their lack of a dating clause implied that they were acquired separately from the Gregorian letters.[10] The letters of Pope Honorius I copied into Bede's *HE* were the focus of an article by Story, which explored the genesis of the archbishopric of York in seventh- and early eighth-century Northumbria.[11] Story's article focused on the transmission and preservation of Honorius' letters, and examined copies of two Honorius letters found in an early eighth-century manuscript produced at Echternach for Willibrord (658-739).[12] Story argued that these copies were made from exemplars independent of Bede's *HE,* and discussed what this implies about the circulation of papal letters in the early eighth century.[13]

The papal letters do not feature prominently in studies of *VC* and *VW*.[14] The letter of Pope Gregory II copied in *VC,* sent to Abbot Hwæberht, has mostly been studied by scholars seeking to date the production of *VC* and its relationship to *HA.*[15] The arrival, transmission and preservation of the papal letters in Anglo-Saxon England

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[8] O. Arngart, 'On the Dating of Early Bede manuscripts', *Studia Neophilologica,* 45.1 (1973), pp. 47-52; D. Dumville, 'The Two Earliest Manuscripts of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History?', Anglo-Saxon,* 1 (2007), pp. 5-108.

[9] Hunter Blair, 'The Letters of Pope Boniface V', pp. 5-14.

[10] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[11] Story, 'Bede, Willibrord and the Letters of Pope Honorius I', pp. 785-786.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] The papal letter in *VC* is barely mentioned in the most recent critical edition of the text, Grocock and Wood (eds), *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow,* pp. xxi, 118-121. Furthermore, a recent edited volume on the life of Bishop Wilfrid contains no chapter which focuses on Stephen's *VW,* and Stephen's use of papal documents in the narrative; Higham, *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop Saint.*

[15] J. McClure, 'Bede and the Life of Ceolfrid', *Peritia,* 3 (1984), pp.71-84; Coates, 'Ceolfrid: History, Hagiography and Memory', pp. 69-86.

is a largely understudied topic.[16] An exception to this is a recent article by Francesca Tinti which analysed the preservation, transmission and use of papal letters in manuscripts compiled in tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon England.[17] Tinti examined the papal letters preserved in two letter-collections, a pontifical and a gospel book, to explore how the letters were used as sources of information by later Anglo-Saxon audiences.[18] However, there has yet to be an overview of the preservation of papal letters in early Anglo-Saxon England, or the significance of their appearance in early manuscripts of *HE*.

The epitaphs of Gregory the Great and Cædwalla are the most well-studied of all the inscriptions in Bede's *HE*. Richard Sharpe explored the circulation of Cædwalla's epitaph in syllogae and Bede's *HE*.[19] Sharpe proposed that Aldhelm's journey to Rome could have provided an opportunity for the transmission of Cædwalla's epitaph to England.[20] Scholars of Aldhelm's poetic works have noted his debt to Roman epigraphy, experienced either in person or through syllogae.[21] The epitaphs in Bede's *HE* are also a key part of Lapidge's reconstruction of Bede's lost *Liber epigrammatum,* which he listed in the bibliography in V.24 of *HE*.[22] The epitaphs in Bede's *HE* have also been cited in studies of the epigraphic tradition in Anglo-Saxon England.[23] Their visual appearance in the early manuscripts of *HE* was briefly discussed by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe within her studies of the composition of

[16] This is in fitting with the absence within the historiography of a comprehensive overview of letter exchange in Anglo-Saxon England, as noted in chapter 2.

[17] F. Tinti, 'Papal Letters in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 93.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Sharpe, 'King Cædwalla's Roman Epitaph', pp. 171-193.

[20] Ibid. p. 186.

[21] M. Lapidge and J. Rosier (eds), *Aldhelm: The Poetical Works* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 202-212; A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 203-209; Lapidge, 'Career of Aldhelm', pp. 53-63; J. Story, 'Aldhelm and Old St Peter's, Rome', *Anglo-Saxon England,* 39 (2010), pp. 7-20.

[22] M. Lapidge, 'Some remnants of Bede's Lost *Liber Epigrammatum', English Historical Review,* 90 (1975), pp. 798-810.

[23] Clarke, *Writing Power,* pp. 50-55.

Latin and vernacular verse in Anglo-Saxon England.[24] O'Brien O'Keeffe's analysis, however, focused on their appearance within the tradition of Anglo-Latin verse rather than within an epigraphic context, and did not compare their appearance to the other texts Bede copied verbatim into his *HE.* There has yet to be a comprehensive overview of the transmission of the epitaphs copied into Bede's *HE,* and their visual appearance in the early manuscripts within the context of the circulation of syllogae.

This chapter will begin by analysing the appearance of papal letters and epitaphs in two of the early manuscript witnesses of Bede's *HE*. The treatment of papal letters and epitaphs in these two manuscripts will be compared to four other early manuscripts of Bede's *HE* copied in the eighth or ninth centuries. This will demonstrate that the appearance of papal letters and epitaphs was influenced by the way these texts appeared in their original form or other manuscripts copies, such as letter-collections and syllogae. The next section of this chapter will therefore explore how the authors acquired these texts, and the materiality of their exemplars. This discussion will compare the impact of encountering these texts in the narratives with the impact of these texts when encountered through other media. This chapter will conclude by discussing the impact of papal letters and epitaphs when readers encountered them embedded in the early eighth-century Northumbrian narratives.

Papal letters and epitaphs in early manuscripts of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*

Bede copied fourteen papal letters into his *HE* that were sent to recipients in England from Popes Gregory the Great, Boniface V, Honorius I and Vitalian I [Table IV]. Bede also included five epitaphs, commemorating the lives of Gregory the Great, Augustine of Canterbury, King Cædwalla of Wessex, Bishop Wilfrid and Archbishop Theodore, and a commemorative hymn for Æthelthryth. Bede copied these letters and epitaphs verbatim into his narrative, and the early manuscript witnesses of *HE* use graphic cues to distinguish them from the narrative. This discussion will focus on the papal letters and epitaphs in two of the earliest manuscripts of *HE* copied in England:

[24] K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Graphic Cues for Presentation of Verse in the Earliest English Manuscripts of the *Historia Ecclesiastica', Manuscripta,* 31 (1987), pp. 139-146' K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 27-36.

- B - London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius A XIV.[25]
- L - St Petersburg, NLR, MS Lat. Q.v.I.18.[26]

These manuscripts will be compared to other early manuscripts of *HE* produced in England or Francia. The manuscripts of *HE* discussed in this chapter were selected because they use graphic cues to distinguish the papal letters and epitaphs from the narrative. Manuscripts discussed in this chapter include:

- C - London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius C II (the Tiberius Bede).[27]
- K - Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek, 4 MS Qu. Theol. 2.[28]
- H – London, BL, Harley MS 4978.[29]
- M – Cambridge, UL, MS kk.v.16 (2058) (the Moore Bede).[30]
- P – Paris, BnF, Latin MS 5227a.[31]
- U - Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Weissenburg 34.[32]

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[25] Lowe, *CLA,* S, no. 1703; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 367; Lapidge, *Storia degli inglesi,* pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi.

[26] Lowe, *CLA* XI, no. 1621. For a complete facsimile see O. Arngart (ed.), *The Leningrad Bede. An Eighth Century Manuscript of the Venerable Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum in the Public Library, Leningrad,* facs. (København, 1952); Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi,* pp. lxxxix-xc; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 846.

[27] *CLA,* IX no. 1385; Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts,* no. 33; Brown, 'Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10861', pp. 119-137; Brown, *The Book of Cerne,* pp, 20, 21, 22, 171; Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi,* p. lxxxvii; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 377, pp. 301-302.

[28] Lowe, *CLA* VIII, no. 1140; T.J.M. Van Els, *The Kassel Manuscript of Bede's* 'Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum' *and its Old English Material* (Assen, 1972); Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi,* pp. lxxxvii-lxxxix; Gnuess and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 835.

[29] L. Machielsen, 'L'Origine Anglo-Saxonne du Supplement Canonique à L'Histoire Ecclésiastique de Bède', *Revue Bénedictine,* 73:1/2 (1963), p. 35, C.E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani: A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1969), pp. 255, 451; Bischoff, *Katalog,* II, no. 2483.

[30] Lowe, *CLA,* II, no. 139; P. Hunter Blair and R.A.B. Mynors, *The Moore Bede, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 9* (Copenhagen, 1959); Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi,* pp. xc-xci; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 25.

[31] Bischoff, *Katalog,* III, no. 4355; Machielsen, 'L'Origine Anglo-Saxonne du Supplement Canonique', p. 35.

[32] Bischoff, *Katalog,* III, no. 7387; *CLA* IX, no. 1385; Bischoff, 'Frühkarolingische Handschriften und ihre Heimat', p. 314; Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch,* p. 134.

The relationship between these manuscripts, and their place within the manuscript stemma for *HE*, has been discussed by notable scholars of Bede's work and in facsimiles and editions of *HE*; particularly Plummer, Colgrave, Mynors, Lapidge, Lowe, Arngart and Dumville.[33] Their scholarship on this topic is extensive and is reflected in Lapidge's overview of the manuscript *stemma* in his recent critical edition of *HE* [Fig. V.1].[34]

The early manuscripts are divided into two groups, the m-group and the c-group. This distinction was first outlined by Plummer and is supported by recent analysis of other early manuscripts that were unknown to him.[35] L and B are thought to derive from a now-lost Northumbrian exemplar of the m-group and bear strong palaeographical similarities. Both are lavish, ornate copies, written in two columns of Insular minuscule script, which feature five, large decorated initials at the beginning of each book and smaller decorated initials at the beginning of each chapter.[36] Lowe argued that the uncial and rustic capitals used to write the farewell and date clauses of the papal letters in L and B were extremely similar to the scripts used in Codex Amiatinus.[37] Lowe argued that these manuscripts were probably produced in the same scriptorium, Wearmouth-Jarrow.[38] Arngart and Lapidge agreed that the four scribes who copied L were writing an accomplished form of set minuscule, which was characteristic of the scriptorium at Wearmouth-Jarrow.[39] Scholars have suggested that L might have been the exemplar for B, but it is now agreed that they shared the same exemplar.[40] Lapidge

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[33] C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedae, Historiam Ecclesiasticam* (Oxford, 1946), pp. lxxx-cxliv; Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's* Ecclesiastical History, pp. xxxix-lxxvi; Arngart, 'On the Dating of the Early Bede Manuscripts', pp. 47-52; Lowe, 'A Key to Bede's Scriptorium', pp. 182-190; Lowe, 'The Script of the Farewell and Date Formulae in the Early Papal Documents', pp. 450-458; Dumville, 'The Two Earliest Manuscripts', pp. 55-108.

[34] Lapidge (ed.), *Storia Degli Inglesi*, p. cxv.

[35] Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedae*, p. xciv; R.A.B. Mynors, 'The Early Circulation of the Text', in Hunter Blair and Mynors (eds), *The Moore Bede,* p. 33.

[36] Lowe, *CLA* XI, no. 1621; *CLA*, S, no. 1703.

[37] Lowe, 'Key to Bede's Scriptorium', p. 183.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi*, pp. lxxxix-xc; Arngart *The Leningrad Bede,* pp. 18-19; Wright, 'The Date of the Leningrad Bede', pp. 265-273.

has identified at least seventy cases where L and B agree in errors that differ from other early manuscripts, such as M.[41] This supports the argument that L and B derive from an exemplar that was from a different recension from M.

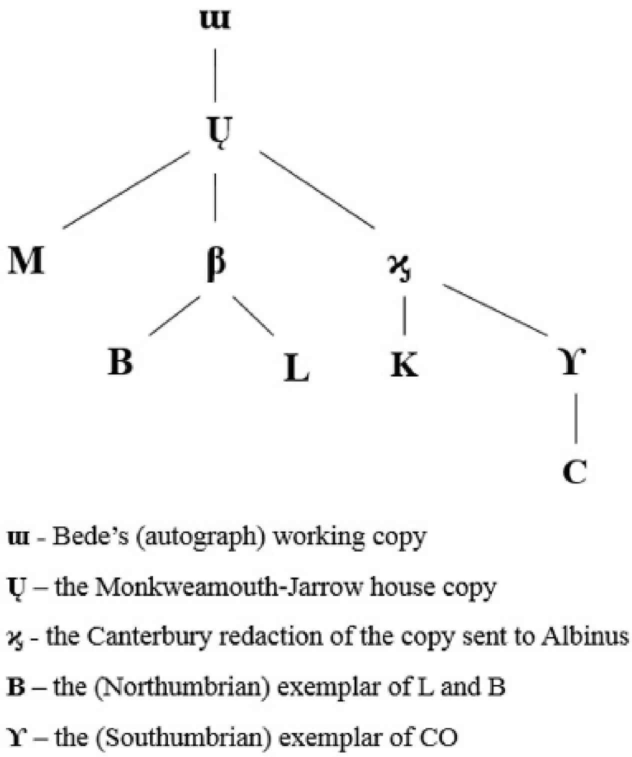

Fig. V.1 – Lapidge's *stemma* of the earliest manuscripts of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum.*

Of all the copies of Bede's *HE,* M is the earliest.[42] The text of *HE* in M was completed on f. 128r and then four annals were added for the years 731, 732, 733 and 734, which were then followed by chronological memoranda concerned with the Northumbrian royal house and events in Northumbria that occurred up to and including

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[40] Mynors argued that L was used as the exemplar for B in, Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's* Ecclesiastical History, pp. xlvi-xlvii. For arguments concerning the shared exemplar of L and B see, O.S. Anderson, *Old English Material in the Leningrad Manuscript of Bede's Ecclesiastical History* (Lund, 1941), p. 9, no. 1; Arngart, *The Leningrad Bede,* p. 34, no. 3; Arngart, 'On the Dating', p. 50; Dumville, 'The Two Earliest Manuscripts', p. 97.

[41] Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi,* pp. xcix-c.

[42] Lowe, *CLA,* II, no. 139; Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries,* p. 67.

the year 737.[43] These annals strongly suggest that M, or its exemplar, was copied in Northumbria. M was copied by a single scribe in Anglo-Saxon set minuscule in one column of long lines of text. The manuscript contains very little decoration and is a far less lavish copy than L and B. The scribes used numerous abbreviations and shortened the biblical quotations to just the first and last word, perhaps suggesting that this was a copy made in haste.[44] The script and the quality of the text led Mynors to suggest that the scribe was 'on a visit to Wearmouth or Jarrow, or had the loan of a copy from there in his own monastery for a limited time'.[45]

The dating of L, B, and M has been discussed extensively by scholars over the past century. M was dated to 737 by Lowe, on account of the list of Northumbrian kings on f. 128v that finishes with Ceolwulf (d.737).[46] However, Dumville has proposed that M was copied later in the eighth century and based on an exemplar copied in 737.[47] Lowe dated L to Bede's own lifetime, on account of a colophon on f. 161r, written in rustic capitals, 'BEDA FAMULUS CHRISTI INDIG[NUS]', which was considered possibly to have been written by Bede himself.[48] L has been dated to 746 on account of a series of date reckonings added by the rubricator.[49] These same date reckonings, however, are also found in B, and suggest that the annotations were part of the

[43] Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi,* p. xci; P. Hunter Blair, 'The *Moore Memoranda* on Northumbrian History', in C. Fox (ed.), *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe (H.M. Chadwick Memoria Studies)* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 245-257; J. Story, 'After Bede: Continuing the Ecclesiastical History', in S. Baxter, C.E. Karkov, J.L. Nelson and D. Pelteret (eds), *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald,* Studies in Early Medieval Britain (Farnham, 2009), pp. 165-184.

[44] Lowe, 'Farewell and Date formula', p. 454.

[45] Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's* Ecclesiastical History, p. xliv; Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi,* p. xci.

[46] *CLA,* II. no. 139; D. Rollason, 'Ceolwulf [St Ceolwulf] (d. 764), king of Northumbria', *ODNB* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5002 [Accessed on 17/9/2018].

[47] Dumville, 'The Two Earliest Manuscripts', p. 97.

[48] Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi,* p. xc. For Lowe's argument see, E.A. Lowe, 'An Autograph of the Venerable Bede?, *Revue Bénédictine,* 68 (1958), pp. 199-202. For Meyvaert's case against see, P. Meyvaert, 'Colophons dans Les Manuscrits de Bède', *Revue Bénédictine,* 69 (1959), pp. 100-101; P. Meyvaert, 'The Bede 'Signature' in the Leningrad Colophon' *Revue Bénédictine,* 80 (1970), pp. 274-286; Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi,* p. xc.

[49] Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi,* p. xc.

exemplar used for both L and B.[50] Lapidge has since proposed that L should be dated to the second half of the eighth century.[51]

B has been dated slightly later than L. Lowe dated B to the mid-eighth century, and argued it must post-date 746 since it includes the same date reckonings as can be found in L.[52] Lapidge has since argued on palaeographical grounds that B is unlikely to have been copied earlier than *c.* 800 and should be dated to the early ninth century.[53] Scholars are mostly in agreement that B was copied at Wearmouth-Jarrow.[54] Although the exact date and place of origin of L, B and M is still a matter of some debate, it is generally accepted that these are three of the earliest surviving copies of *HE* and that they have strong ties to the scriptorium at Wearmouth-Jarrow.

M also played an important role in the transmission of *HE* in Francia. The text of *HE,* copied in Insular minuscule, finishes on f. 128v, and is followed by an incomplete text on consanguinity copied in Caroline minuscule.[55] This addition was put together from Isidore's *Etymologiae,* ix. 6. 28-29 and the canons of the Roman Council of 721, and was perhaps intended as a supplement to the information on consanguinity in *HE*, mostly found in the *Liber responsionum*.[56] Bischoff drew similarities between this Caroline minuscule and that found in a copy of the Gospels produced at Charlemagne's court, now London, BL, Harley MS 2788.[57] Bischoff argued that M arrived in Francia by *c.* 800, and may have become part of Charlemagne's library.[58]

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Lowe, *CLA*, S, no. 1703.

[53] Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi*, pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi.

[54] Lowe, *CLA* II. 1703; Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi,* p. lxxxvi.

[55] *CLA,* II. no. 139; Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's* Ecclesiastical History, pp. xliii-xliv.

[56] Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's* Ecclesiastical History, pp. lxii-lxiii; K. Ubl, *Inzestverbot und Gesetzgebung Die Konstruktion eines Verbrechens (300-1100)* (Berlin, 2008), pp. 241-244.

[57] B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien,* 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1966-81) iii, pp. 160-161; Lowe, *CLA,* II no. 198; Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts,* pp. 58, 74; Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries,* p. 65 n. 45.

[58] Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien,* pp. 160-161.

Additionally, an *ex libris* mark on f. 128v attributes the manuscript to the cathedral of St Julian, Le Mans in the seventeenth century.[59]

Upon arriving in Francia, M acted as an exemplar for other manuscripts of *HE.* Eight manuscripts of *HE* produced in ninth-century Francia also feature the same consanguinity text, and are thought to share M as a common ancestor.[60] At least two of these manuscripts, H and P, use similar graphic cues to distinguish the farewell and dating clause of the papal letters as L, B and M. However, neither H or P were discussed in Lowe's two articles on the script of the farewell and dating clauses of the papal letters in L, B and M.[61]

H has been dated to the third quarter of the ninth century and attributed to central France, perhaps Reims, on account of the script.[62] H is copied in a single column of Caroline minuscule and although enlarged capitals are used to begin the five books, the manuscript features very little decoration. Plummer argued that H was 'unquestionably a direct transcript from M' and that the scribe of H had made the additions to M.[63] However, this was later disputed by Mynors, who pointed out that H was copied by multiple scribes working simultaneously.[64] This working pattern required several scribes to have access to quires from the exemplar at the same time, meaning that the quire breaks in the exemplar manuscript should match those in the manuscript being copied.[65] Mynors observed that the quire breaks in H do not match those in M.

The manuscripts of *HE* produced in Francia that also contain the consanguinity text were ordered into a *stemma* by Machielsen in 1963.[66] Machielsen argued that on

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59 *CLA,* II. no. 139.

60 Machielsen, L. 'L'Origine Anglo-Saxonne du Supplement Canonique' à l'Histoire ecclésiastique de Bède, *Revue Bénédictine*, 73 (1963), p. 37.

61 Lowe, 'Key to Bede's Scriptorium', pp. 182-190; Lowe, 'Farewell and Date formula', pp. 450-458.

62 Bischoff, *Katalog,* II, no. 2483.

63 Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedae,* p. xcviii.

64 Mynors, 'The Early Circulation of the Text', p. 36.

65 Ibid.

66 Machielsen, 'L'Origine Anglo-Saxonne du Supplement Canonique', p. 37.

textual grounds, H was copied from P, which has been ascribed to Tours in the ninth century.[67] P is also copied in a single column of Caroline minuscule, and is similar to H in its minimal style of decoration. Although Mynors argued that the exemplar used for H would have matching quire-breaks, close observation of the digital facsimile suggests that P does not share the quire breaks of H. P also contains several corrections which were added at a slightly later date. These corrections are mostly additions of punctuation, or interlinear additions of letters or words omitted by the original scribe. In some cases, longer omissions were added in the margin. These were copied alongside other marginal additions made by another scribe. It is easy to identify at which stage these annotations were added, since the ink used is of far darker colour than that used by the other corrector and the scribe of the main text.

Bischoff tied the script of the Caroline minuscule additions in M to the Carolingian court *c.* 800. Many of the manuscripts that share M as a common exemplar were copied in scriptoria in western France. Copies of *HE* produced in eastern France derive from a separate tradition, owing to the legacy of Anglo-Saxon missionary activity in this area. There was certainly a demand for Bede's work in this area in the mid-eighth century. At some point before 767, Bishop Lull of Mainz wrote a letter to Archbishop Æthelberht of York requesting copies of Bede's treatises in a similar fashion to their order in Bede's bibliography in Book V.[68] While this does not prove that Lull had a copy of *HE,* it certainly suggests familiarity with the work, and with Bede's corpus in general.[69] The exemplar of U and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, m.p.th.f.118 came via this route.[70] U was copied in an early Caroline minuscule and incorporated an insular style of decoration, perhaps inspired by its exemplar, which was probably of Northumbrian origin.[71] Bischoff ascribed U a Lorsch origin on the basis of the script, and dated it to the late eighth or early ninth century.[72]

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[67] Bischoff, *Katalog,* III, no. 4355.

[68] *Die Briefe,* no. 125, Tangl (ed.); Whitelock, *EHD,* I, no. 188.

[69] Story, 'Bede, Willibrord and the letters of Pope Honorius', p. 797.

[70] Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's* Ecclesiastical History, p. lxv.

[71] *CLA,* IX, no. 1385.

[72] Bischoff, 'Frühkarolingische Handschriften und ihre Heimat', p. 314; Bischoff, *Katalog,* III, no. 7387.

Manuscripts of the m- and c-groups continued to be copied in England throughout the eighth and ninth centuries. C, a notable member of the c-group, derives from a Southumbrian recension of *HE*, perhaps based on the copy that Bede sent to Albinus.[73] C is a lavishly decorated manuscript, and includes decorated initials that precede each of the five books and feature interlace, animal and plant-scroll work.[74] The text was copied after 800 by at least two scribes writing Phase II minuscule in hybrid, set and cursive form, in a characteristic Southumbrian style.[75] The script and decoration suggest that the manuscript was copied in Canterbury in the second quarter of the ninth century.[76] C may once have belonged to the community of St Cuthbert since a gloss, *nostro* was added between *patre* and *antistite Cudbercto.*[77] If C did indeed travel north at some point, a series of Old English glosses added in a Kentish dialect in the late ninth or tenth century, suggest that the manuscript soon returned to Southumbria.[78]

K is another c-group copy of *HE* that has been attributed to a Southumbrian centre.[79] This fragmentary copy of *HE* contains only books IV-V, thus missing Books I-III that contain all the papal letters. K was copied by three or four scribes in a set Anglo-Saxon minuscule, datable to the second half of the eighth century.[80] Lapidge argued for a Southumbrian origin for the manuscript on account of Julian Brown's identification of a form of Anglo-Saxon cursive minuscule practised by Southumbrian

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[73] Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi,* p. lxxxvii; On the letter to Albinus see, J.A. Westguard, 'New Manuscripts of Bede's letter to Albinus', *Revue Bénédictine,* 120:2 (2010), pp. 208-215.

[74] Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts,* no. 33; Brown, 'lat. 10861 and the Scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury', p. 135; Brown, *The Book of Cerne,* pp. 20-22, 171.

[75] T.J. Brown, *A Palaeographer's View,* J. Bately, M.P. Brown, and J. Roberts (eds) (London, 1993), pp. 199, 210, 216, 219. Chapter 1 of this thesis observed that a more senior scribe began each of the five books of *HE,* which was the continued by a different scribe.

[76] Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi,* p. lxxxvii.

[77] *HE,* praef., line 171.

[78] Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, p. 261 (no. 198); H.D. Meritt, 'Old English Scratched Glosses in Cotton MS Tiberius C II', *American Journal of Philology,* 54 (1933), pp. 305-322; H. Sweet (ed.), *The Oldest English Texts [Glossaries, the Vespasian Psalter, and other works written before A.D. 900]* (London, 1938), pp. 179-182.

[79] Lowe, *CLA* VIII, no. 1140; Van Els, *The Kassel Manuscript;* Gnuess and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 835; Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi,* pp. lxxxvii-lxxxix.

[80] See, Van Els, *The Kassel Manuscript,* pp. 267-272.

scriptoria.[81] At a later date, the manuscript travelled to Francia, perhaps forming part of the library at Fulda.[82] D.H. Wright has described K as a ‘utilitarian book’ meant for scholarly use, as it contains no rubrication and the chapters that precede each book are not numbered.[83]

Papal letters

Of the fourteen papal letters Bede copied into his narrative, ten retain their farewell and dating clause.[84] In both L and B, these clauses are written in uncial or rustic capitals, in contrast to the main text of the letters which were written in Insular minuscule. The scribe of L did not distinguish the farewell clause of the non-papal letter, sent by Ceolfrith to Nechtan, on f. 155v, suggesting that the use of uncial and rustic capitals was associated with the papal letters.[85] Although the scribes of M use uncials to begin the dating clause in two papal letters, they do not use uncial and rustic capitals on the same scale as the scribes of L and B.[86] This is in keeping with M’s status as a more functional manuscript.[87] A useful table illustrating the exact script used for the clauses in L, B and M was published by Lowe in an article from 1959.[88]

In both L and B, the farewell and dating clauses were written into empty space left by the scribes who copied the main text. In some instances, the scribes did not leave enough space, forcing the uncial and rustic capitals to be written unevenly or into the margin. In L for example, at the end of Gregory’s letter to Augustine [I.30] on ff. 23v-24r, the scribe who wrote the capitals was forced to switch to Insular minuscule to

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81 Lapidge, *Storia Degli Inglesi*, pp. lxxxvii-lxxxix. Lapidge acknowledges that Brown’s work on this subject was never published and attributed his knowledge of Brown’s work from his Lyell Lectures delivered to the University of Oxford in 1977.

82 Van Els, *The Kassel Manuscript*, pp. 28-37.

83 D.H. Wright, review of P. Hunter Blair (ed.), *The Moore Bede*, *Anglia* 82 (1964), pp. 110-117; Van Els, *The Kassel Manuscript*, p. 6.

84 Bede, *HE*, I.23, I.24, I.28, I.29, I.30, I.32, II.8, II.17, II.18, III.29.

85 Lowe, ‘Farewell and Date formula’, p. 450.

86 Uncials are used for the first two words of the letters in I.30 and II.8; Lowe, ‘Farewell and Date formula’, p. 453.

87 Lowe, ‘Farewell and Date formula’, p. 454.

88 Ibid., pp. 452-453.

complete the farewell clause in the lower margin of f. 23v [Fig. V.2]. The dating clause then had to be partially written in the upper margin of f. 24r. Elsewhere in L, the scribe left too much room, allowing the capitals to be spaciously laid out, such as for the farewell and dating clause of Pope Honorius' letter to Archbishop Honorius [II.18] on f. 46r [Fig. V.3]. The farewell and dating clauses also appear to have been filled in after the main text in B. On f. 33v, the final line of the farewell and dating clause begins slightly further into the column of text than the lines above [Fig. V.4]. This is probably due to the enlarged 'P' on the line below, which begins I.29. The uncial capitals were written around the 'P', demonstrating that they were added after the 'P' and the main text. In L and B, the farewell and dating clauses for the papal letters may have perhaps been added by a scribe who specialised in uncial and rustic capitals.

Sender	**Recipient**	**Location in *HE***
Gregory the Great	Augustine and the missionaries	I.23
Gregory the Great	Bishop Etherius of Arles	I.24
Gregory the Great	Augustine	I.27
Gregory the Great	Bishop Vergilius of Arles	I.28
Gregory the Great	Augustine	I.29
Gregory the Great	Abbot Mellitus	I.30
Gregory the Great	Augustine	I.31
Gregory the Great	Æthelberht	I.32
Boniface V	Justus	II.8
Boniface V	Edwin of Northumbria	II.10
Boniface V	Æthelburh of Northumbria	II.11
Honorius I	Edwin of Northumbria	II.17
Honorius I	Honorius of Canterbury	II.18
Vitalian I	Oswiu	III.29

Table IV – The papal letters copied into Bede's *HE*.

[Material originally supplied could not be reproduced here]

Fig. V.2 – St Petersburg, NLR, MS Lat. Q.v.I.18, f. 23v – The scribe who entered the farewell and dating clause on the final line of the right-hand column was forced to switch to minuscule script to fit the text in the allotted space.

[Material originally supplied could not be reproduced here]

Fig. V.3 – St Petersburg, NLR, MS Lat. Q.v.I.18, f. 46r – The scribe of the main text left plenty of space for the farewell and dating clause.

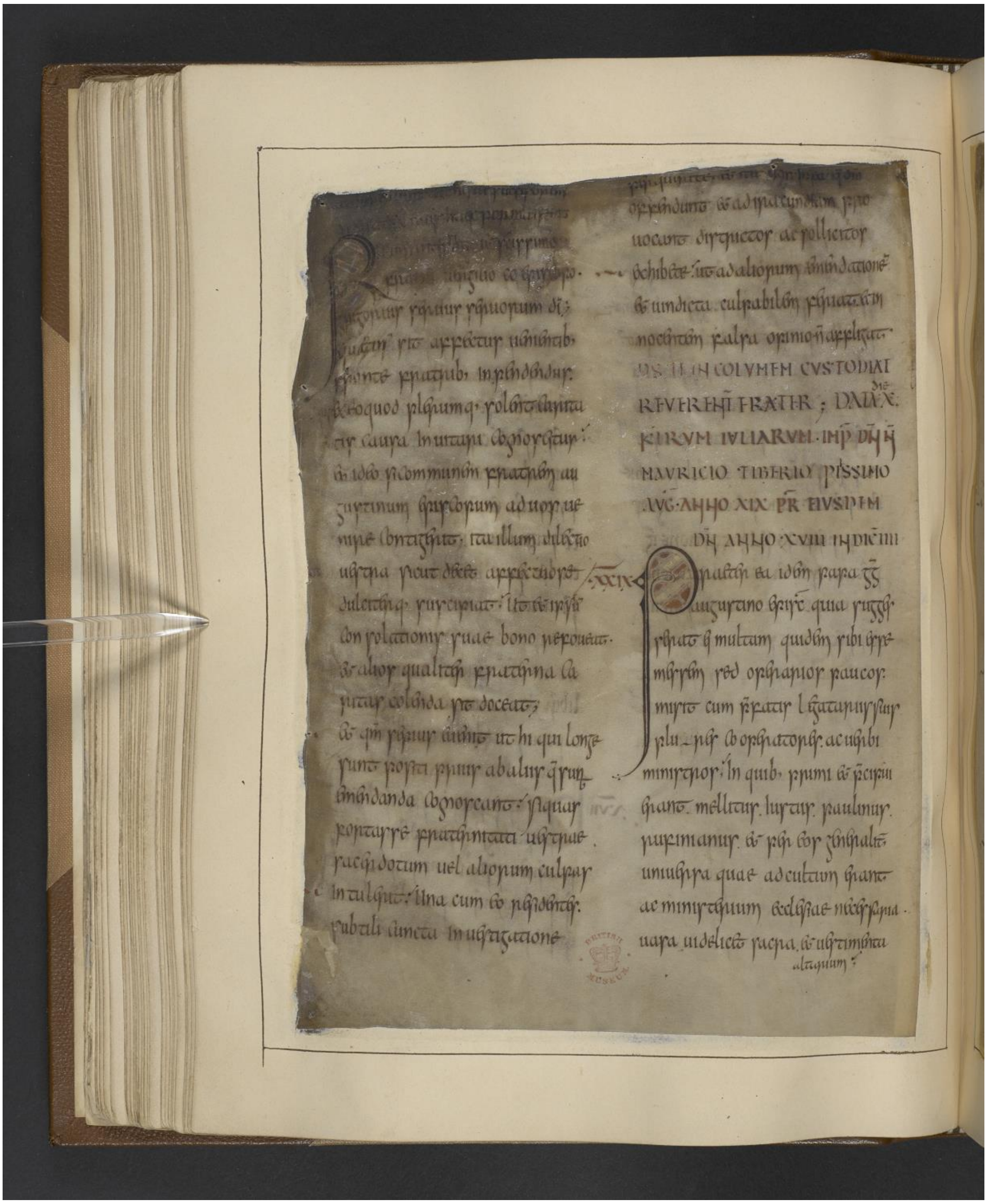


Fig. V.4 – London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius A XIV f. 33v – The scribe who added the farewell and dating clause was required to work around the capital ‘P’. implying that the text was added after the letter.

H and P used uncial and rustic capitals in a similar style to L and B. These well-spaced capitals are used consistently for the papal letters throughout Book 1 of H [Fig. V.5]. In P, however, the script used for the farewell and dating clauses is not as consistent [Fig. V.6]. On f. 23r, the scribe began writing the farewell and dating clause in capitals but switched to minuscule at the end of line 9 [Fig. V.7]. For the final two papal letters of Book I in P, the scribe of the main text left space for the farewell and dating clause to be added. These clauses were filled in by scribe who made substantial additions and corrections to the manuscript in an ink that is now darker than the main text [Fig. V.8].

Both H and P share M as a common ancestor.[89] They are not thought to be direct copies, but perhaps copies of a child of M.[90] It is interesting therefore that the scribes of H and P distinguish the farewell and dating clauses so clearly, when there is only a slight change of script for these clauses in M. For the papal letter in I.29, for example, the scribe of M wrote the entire clause in minuscule, apart from the following, abbreviated, part of the dating clause: *data die x kalendarum imperante domino nostro* [Fig. V.9].[91] This clause is written in a mixture of upper and lower case in P, but written completely in capitals in H. It is possible that the scribes of H and P had seen farewell and dating clauses copied in capitals in manuscripts of texts other than *HE*, and they copied them as they expected to find them.

Distinguishing the *conclusio* of a letter is well documented in the late antique and early medieval period. Original papal letters survive from the ninth century onwards and demonstrate that such distinctions were often made for the farewell clause, but not the dating clause.[92] Lowe noted that from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, the long farewell clause *Deus te (vos) incolumen (incolumes) custodiat* was shortened to

[89] Machielsen, 'L'Origine Anglo-Saxonne du Supplement Canonique', pp. 36-37.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Bede, *HE*, I.29.

[92] Lowe, 'Farewell and Date formula', p. 452. Facsimiles of these letters have been published by J. von Pflugk-Harttung, *Specimina selecta chartarum pontificum romanorum,* 3 parts (Stuttgart, 1885-7); *Pontificum Romanorum Diplomata Papyracea quae Supersunt in Tabulariis Hispaniae, Italiae, Germaniae Phototypice Expressa Iussu Pii Papae XI* (Rome, 1929).

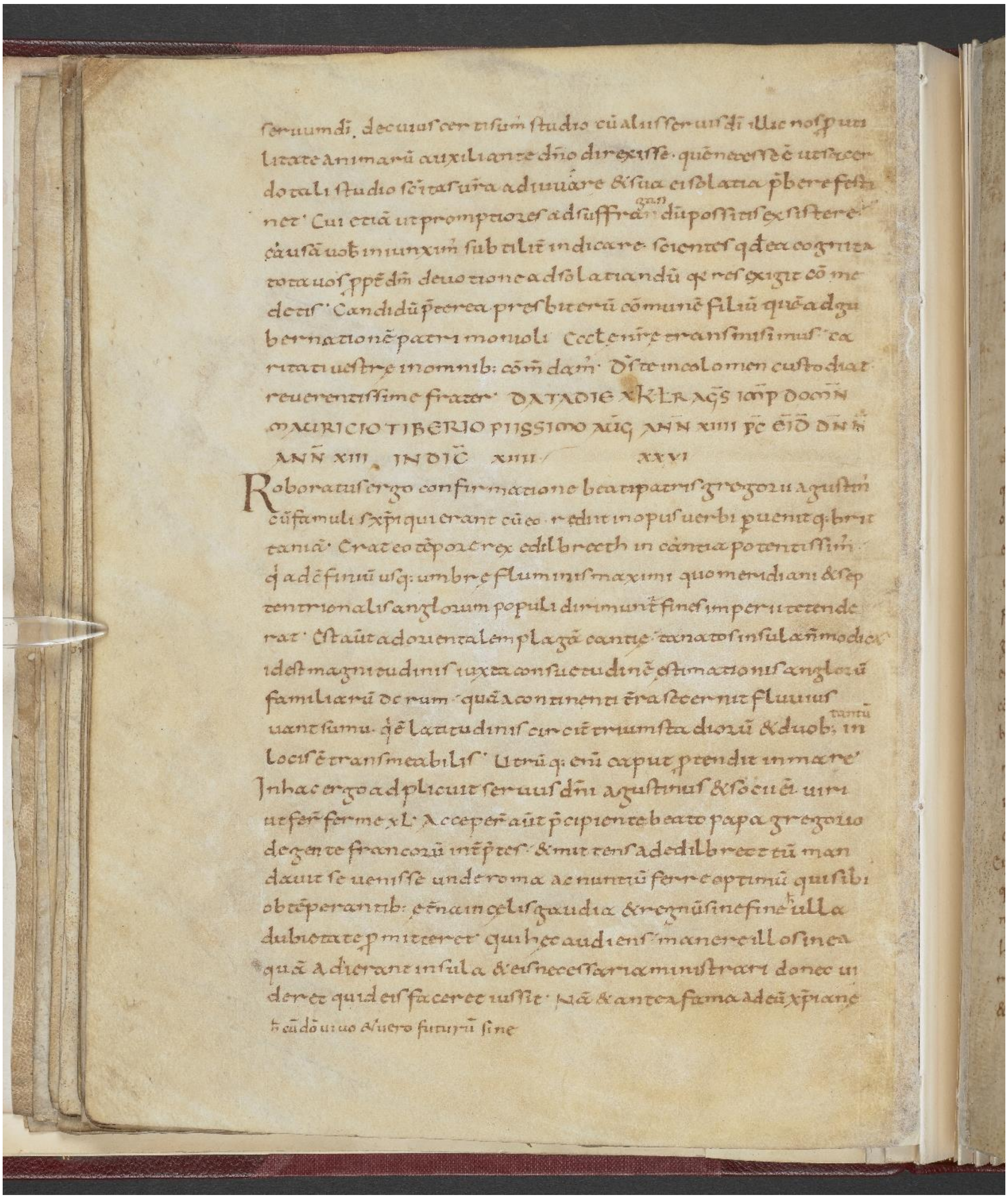
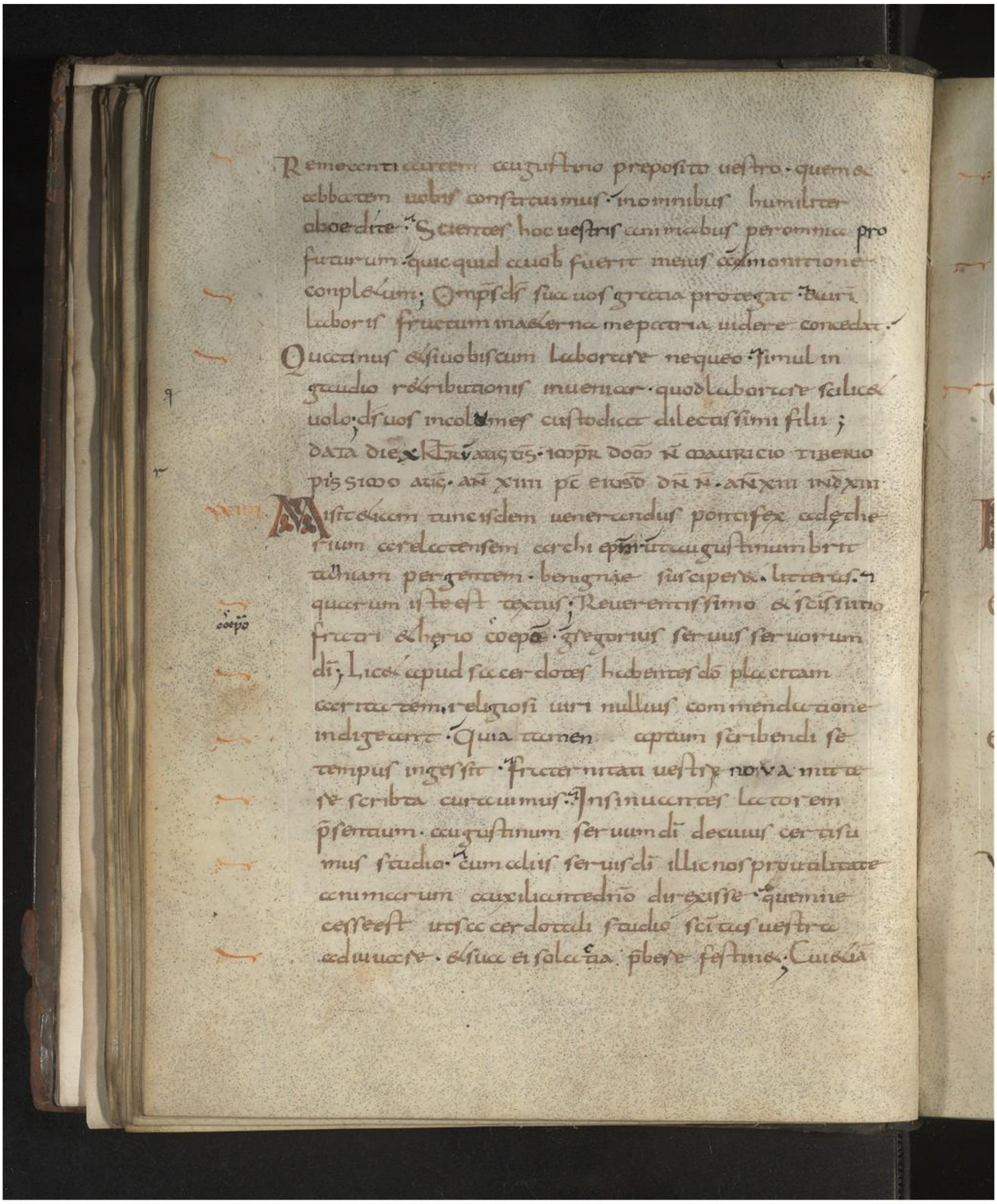
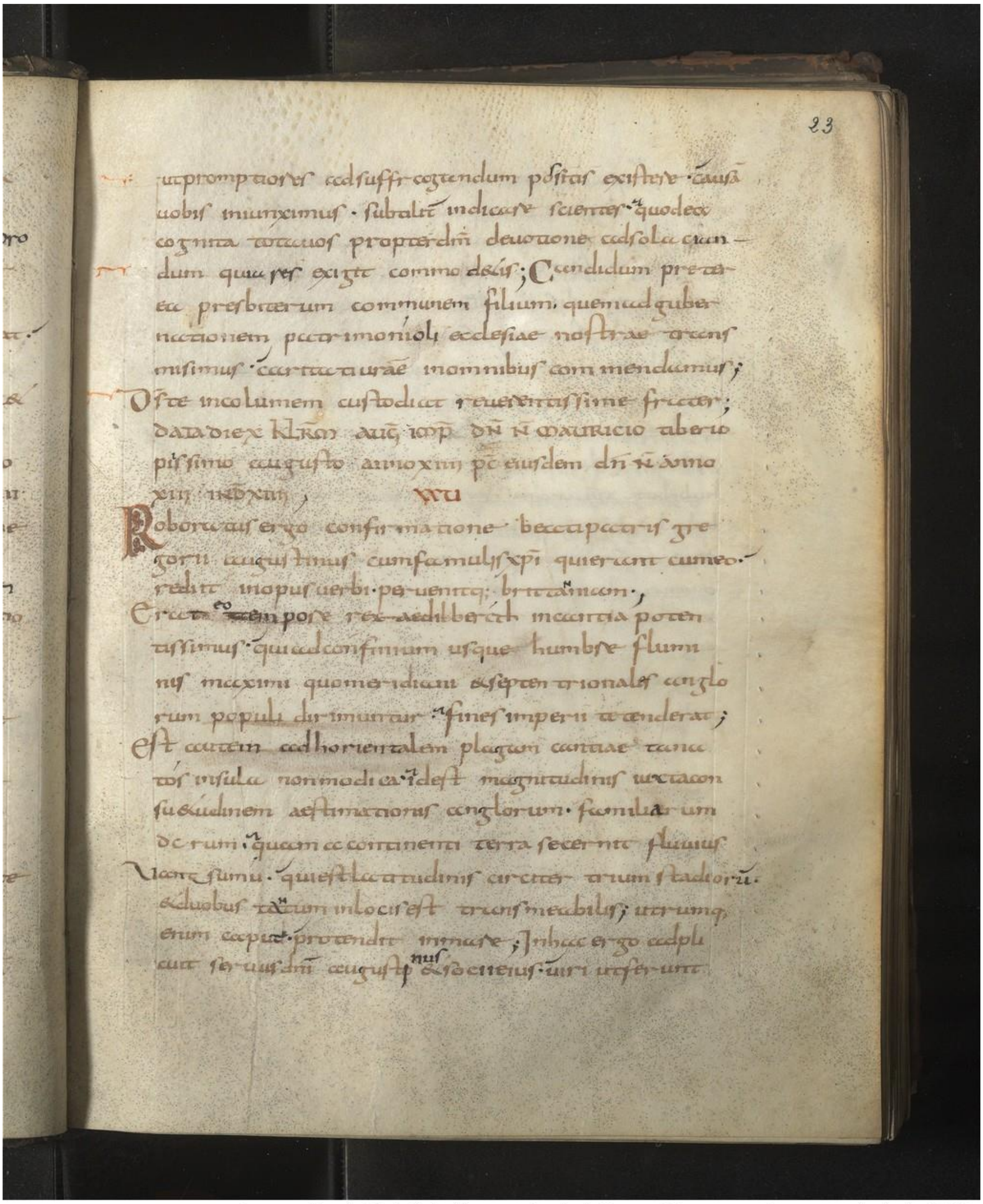


Fig. V.5 – London, BL, Harley MS 4978, f. 23v – The farewell and dating clause of I.24 is copied in capitals.



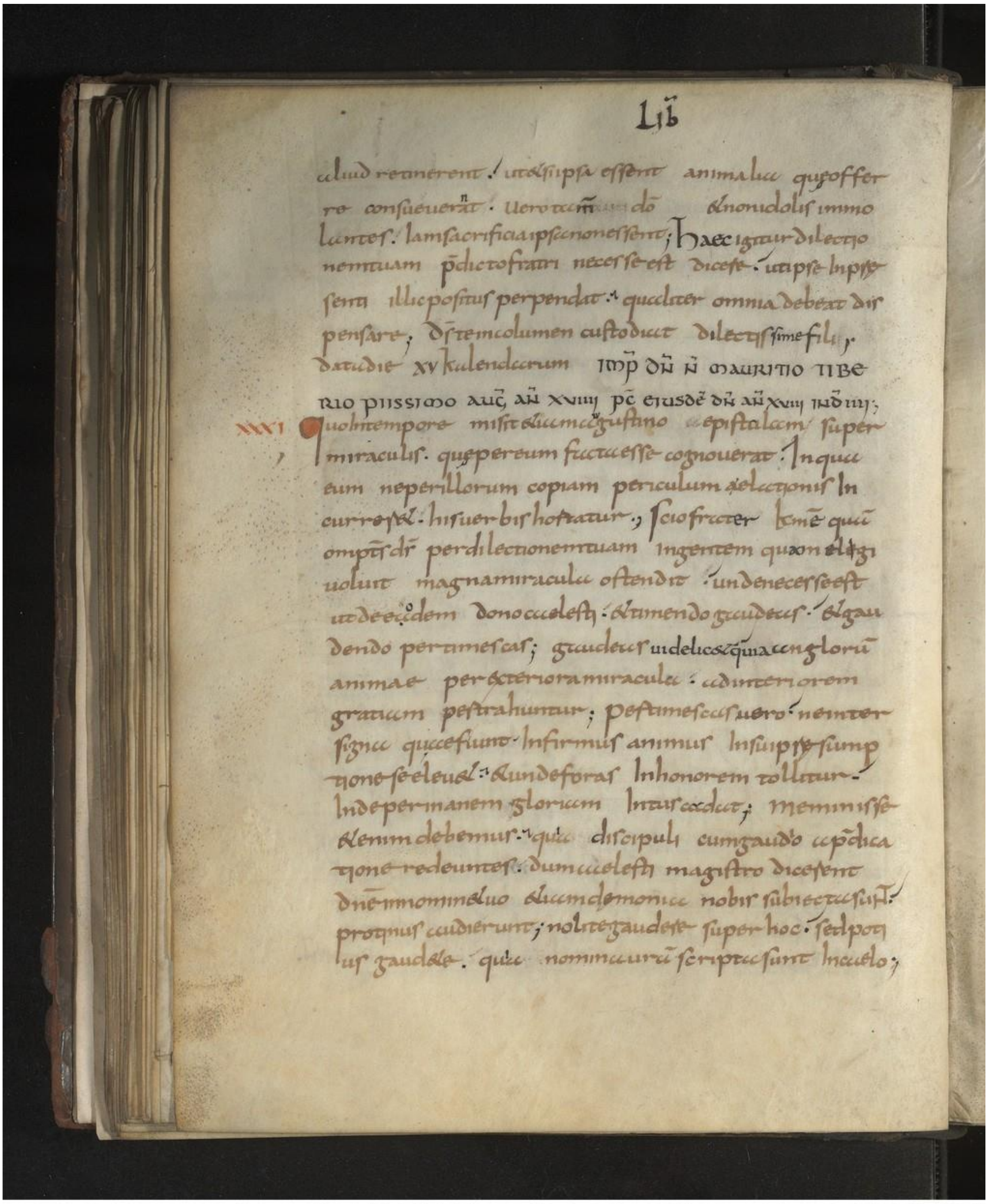
Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. Latin 5227A

Fig. V.6 – Paris, BnF, Latin 5227A, f. 22v – The capitals used on lines 10 and 11 for the farewell and dating clauses for the papal letter in I.23 are not as well spaced as those in L, B and H.


23

ut promptiores ad suffragandum possitis existere. causam
uobis iniunximus. sub alterius indicare scientes. quod ex
cognita uestra uos propter dnm deuotione ad sola curan-
dum quae res exigit commodatis; Candidum prae-
terea presbiterum communem filium, quem ad guber-
nationem patrimonioli ecclesiae nostrae trans
misimus. caritati uestrae in omnibus commendamus;
Deus te incolumem custodiat reuerentissime frater;
DATA DIE X KLRAN AUG IMP DN N MAURICIO TIBERIO
piissimo augusto anno XIIII pc eiusdem dni n anno
XIII IND XIIII, XXV
Roboratus ergo confirmatione beati patris gre
gorii augustinus cum famulis xpi qui erant cum eo.
rediit in opus uerbi. peruenitq; brittaniam.
Erat eo tempore rex aedilberct in cantia poten
tissimus. qui ad confinium usque humbrae flumi
nis maximi quo meridiani et septentrionales anglo
rum populi dirimuntur fines imperii tetenderat;
Est autem ad orientalem plagam cantiae tana
tos insula non modica id est magnitudinis iuxta con
suetudinem aestimationis anglorum familiarum
DC rum; quam a continenti terra secernit fluuius
Uantsumu. qui est latitudinis circiter trium stadiorum.
et duobus tantum in locis est transmeabilis; utrumq;
enim caput protendit in mare; In hac ergo adpli
cuit seruus dni augustinus et socii eius. uiri ut ferunt

Fig. V.7 – Paris, BnF, Latin 5227A, f. 23r – For the papal letter in I.24, the scribe began writing the farewell and dating clause in capitals but switched to minuscule at the end of line 9.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. Latin 5227A

Fig. V.8 – Paris, BnF, Latin 5227A, f. 36v – The farewell and dating clause for the letter in I.30 was added later in a darker ink in clear uncials like those in L and B.

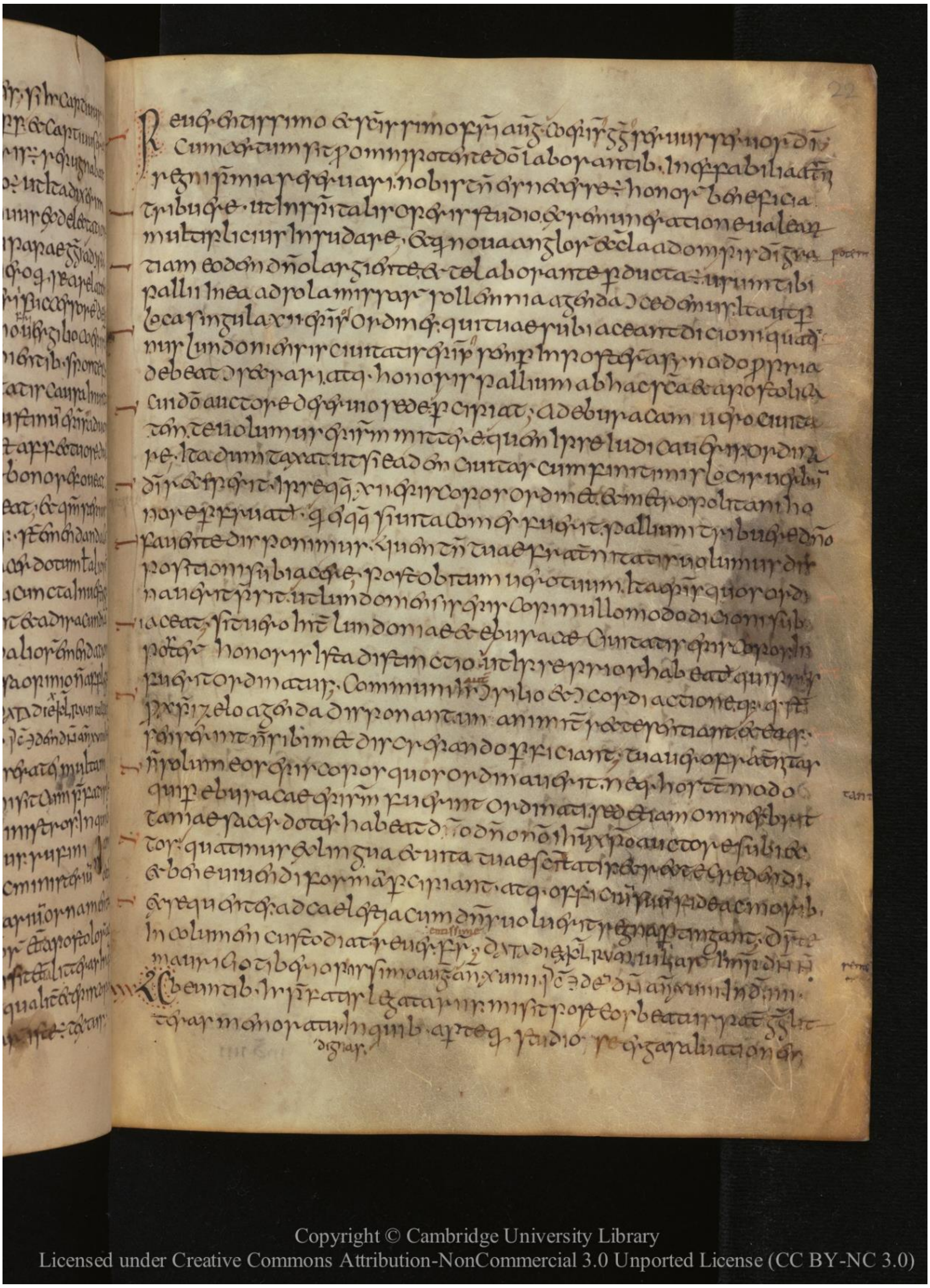


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Fig. V.9 – Cambridge, UL, MS kk.v.16, f. 22r – Capitals are only used for a small part of the farewell and dating clause that ends the papal letter in I.29 on line 30.

Bene Vale (Valete), and that these two words were written in uncial script from 819 until the tenth century.[93] Lowe therefore argued that the use of capitals for the farewell and dating clause in L, B and M may imitate the uncials in the original letters of Gregory the Great.[94] However, the earliest original parchment letter to survive from the Latin west, the letter of Bishop Wealdhere to Archbishop Berhtwald, does not distinguish the script of the farewell clause from the main text of the letter.[95] Although this distinction may not have been used in every letter, Bede, and the scribes at Wearmouth-Jarrow who copied L and B, may have known this as a relatively common practice.

Manuscript copies of letter-collections can also distinguish the farewell and dating clause from the main text of the letter. In certain manuscripts of papal and imperial letters, the words *et al manu* were inserted before the farewell formulae.[96] The distinction can also be seen in a sixth-century copy of the letters of Pope Leo the Great (440-461), now Paris, BnF, Latin 12097 [Fig. V.10].[97] In this copy, the farewell and dating clauses were written in a sloping cursive whereas the main text of the letters was written in half-uncial.[98] Additionally, in an eighth-century copy of Pope Leo's letters, Munich, BSB, clm 14540, the dating clauses were written in uncial whereas the main text of the letters were written in early Caroline minuscule.[99] A distinction is also made in the copy of the letter of Gregory the Great to Felix, *subdiaconus* and *rector* of the Appian Partrimony in the south of Rome, that was cut into stone and displayed in the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura.[100] The farewell clause, *bene vale,* and the dating clause are offset from the main body of text, and a smaller size of lettering was used for

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[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

[95] See chapter 2, pp. 76-77.

[96] C. Silva Tarouca, *Nuovi studi sulle antiche lettere dei Papi, I* (Rome, 1932), pp. 69-82.

[97] Lowe, 'Farewell and Date formula', p. 451.

[98] CLA, V, no. 619.

[99] CLA, IX, no. 1305.

[100] J. Story, 'Lands and Lights in Early Medieval Rome', in R. Balzaretti, J. Barrow and P. Skinner (eds), *Italy and Early Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 315-338.

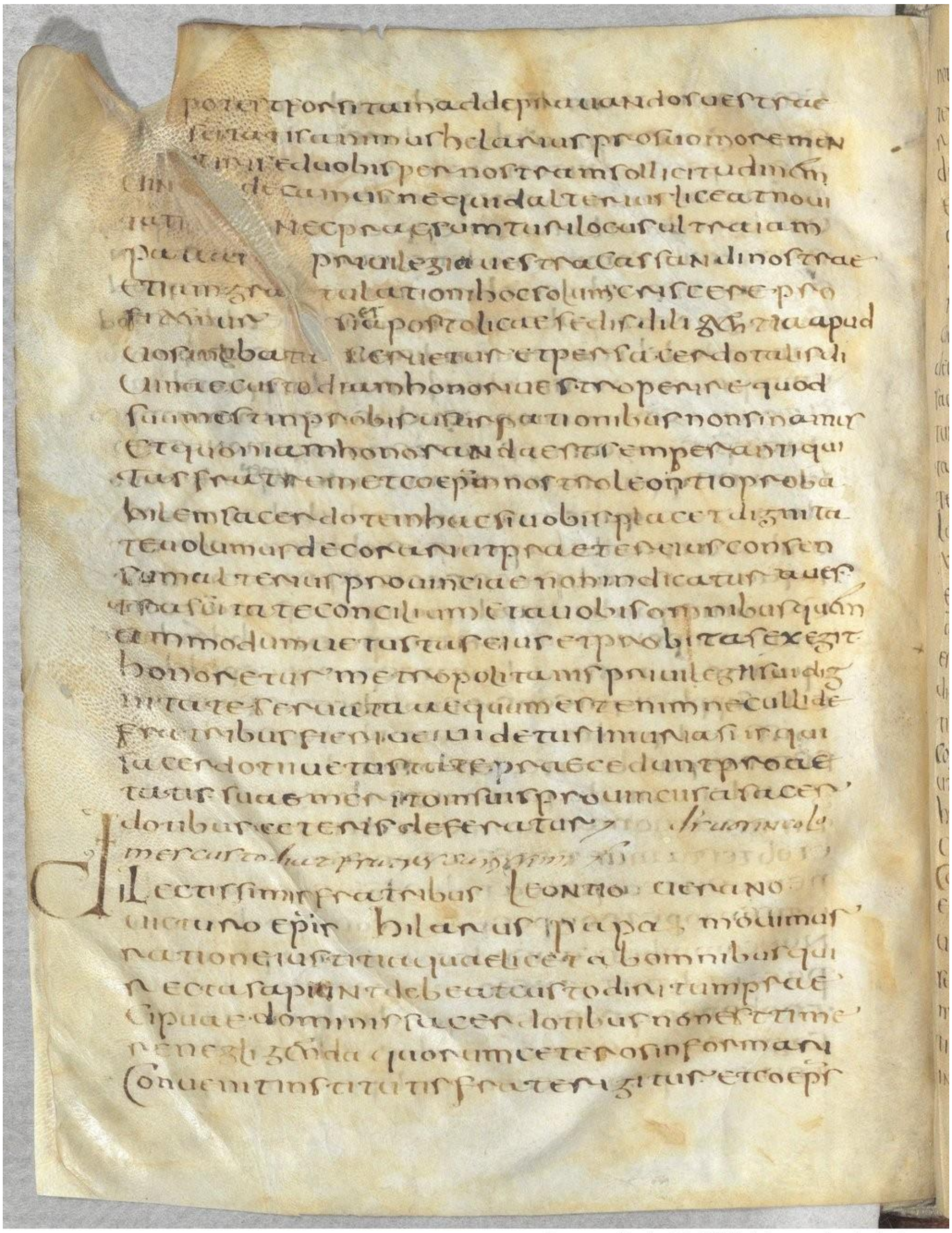

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Fig. V.10 – Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 12097, f. 86v – The cursive script on lines 24 and 25 was used to write the farewell and dating clause of a papal letter in this sixth-century collection of the letters of Pope Leo the Great (440-461).

the date.[101] This practice may not have been confined to papal letters. In copies of the profession of faith of Bishop Eadwulf of Lichfield, composed in *c.* 798, the validation is preceded by the following statement: *hanc praescriptam paginam ego Eadulfus Episcopus mea propria manu cum vexillo sanctae crucis christi confirmabo et subscribe*.[102] This statement emphasised that the final part of the profession was written in Eadwulf's own hand, and perhaps also in a different script.

Many early medieval letter-collections also used short introductions, or *lemmata,* to introduce each letter. These *lemmata* could summarise the sender, recipient and content of the letters. For example, *lemmata* preceded many of the papal letters in the only surviving manuscript of Codex Carolinus.[103] These *lemmata* are often rubricated and sometimes copied in capitals. Introductions akin to *lemmata* precede the letters of Pope Boniface to Edwin and Æthelburh of Northumbria in Book II of *HE.* The introductory statement for Boniface's letter to Edwin is as follows: *exemplar epistulae beatissimi et apostolici papae urbis romanae ecclesiar bonifatii directae viro glorioso eduino regi anlgorum.*[104] Boniface is described as *apostolicus papa urbis romanae,* emphasising the papal connection to the city of Rome. This phrase is not used at any other point in Bede's *HE* to refer to the pope, and no other papal letters in Bede's *HE* have introductions of this sort. In both L and B, these statements are written in uncial or rustic capitals, just like the farewell and dating clauses of the papal letters in Book I [Figs. V.11 and V.12]. The letters to Edwin and Æthelburh lack their farewell and dating clause, so the entire text of the letters is copied in the minuscule script used for the narrative of *HE.* It is possible that Bede may have copied this statement from his exemplar, which was from a difference source than the other papal letters in *HE.* These statements may therefore be another way that the scribes of early manuscripts of *HE* copied the papal letters in a way that echoed their appearance in the exemplars.

In L, B, M, P and U, bar-shaped symbols were added at regular intervals in the inner left-hand margin to distinguish the papal letters from the narrative [Figs. V.13, V.14, V.15, and V.16]. These small lines were often also used to note other original

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[101] Ibid., p. 321.

[102] H & S, III. p. 506; *Canterbury Professions,* M. Richter (eds) (1973), p. 16.

[103] van Espelo, 'A Testimony of Carolingian Rule'. On the Codex Carolinus, see pp. 88-90.

[104] Bede, *HE,* II.10 ,11.

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Fig. V.11 – St Petersburg, NLR, MS Lat. Q.v.I.18, f. 52v – Pope Boniface's letter to Edwin [*HE*, II.10] begins on line 17, in the right-hand column, preceded by an introductory statement written in capitals.

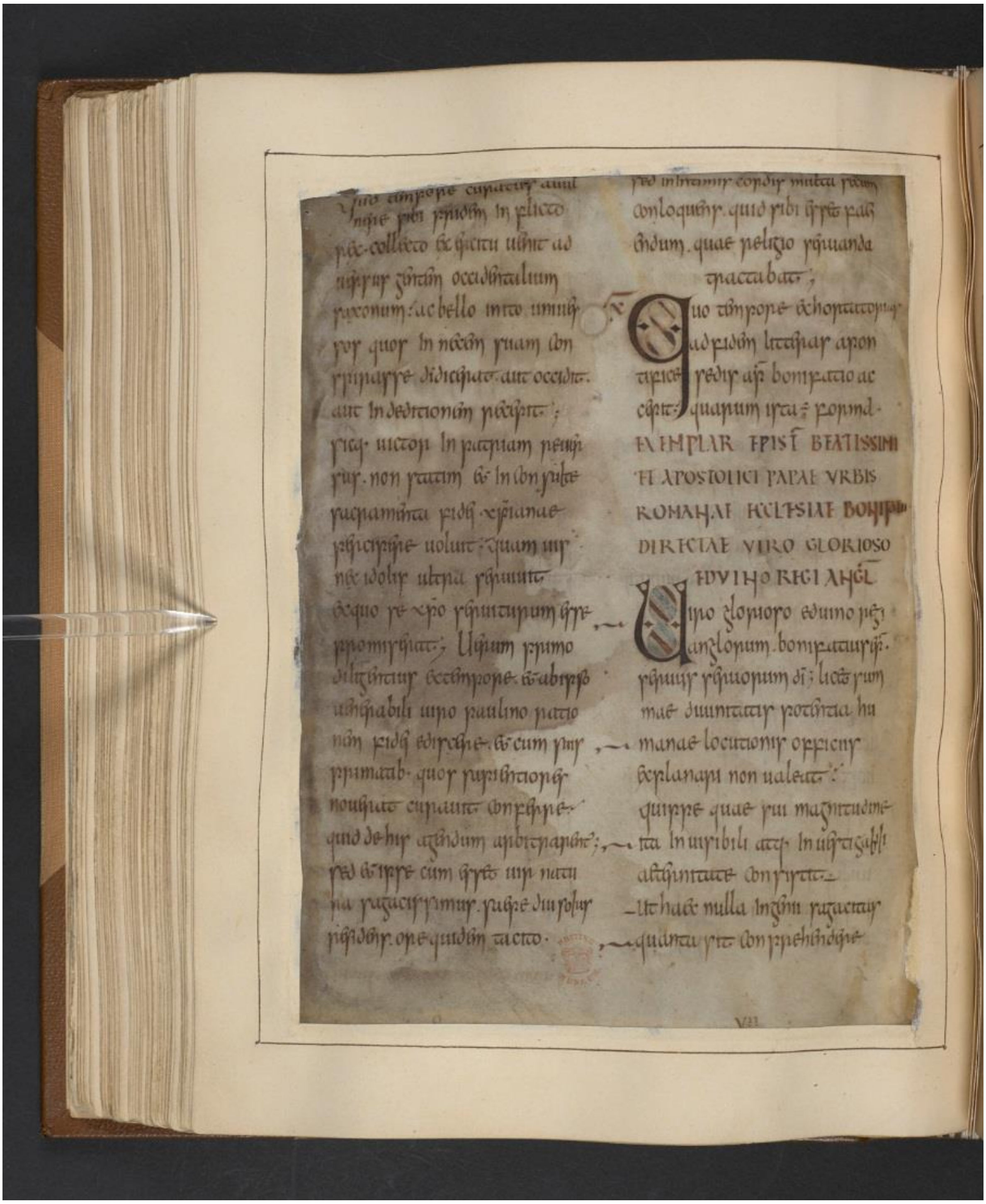

Fig. V.12 – London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius A XIV, f. 53v – Pope Boniface's letter to Edwin [*HE*, II.10] begins on line 14, in the right-hand column, preceded by an introductory statement written in capitals. The Insular minuscule used for II.10 is written around the enlarged, decorated 'Q', demonstrating that the capital was drawn in before the text was copied.

[Material originally supplied could not be reproduced here]

Fig. V.13 – St Petersburg, NLR, MS Lat. Q.v.I.18 f. 23r – Pope Gregory’s letter to Augustine [I.29] ends halfway down the right-hand column. The letter is highlighted by bar-shaped symbols in the inner left-hand margin.

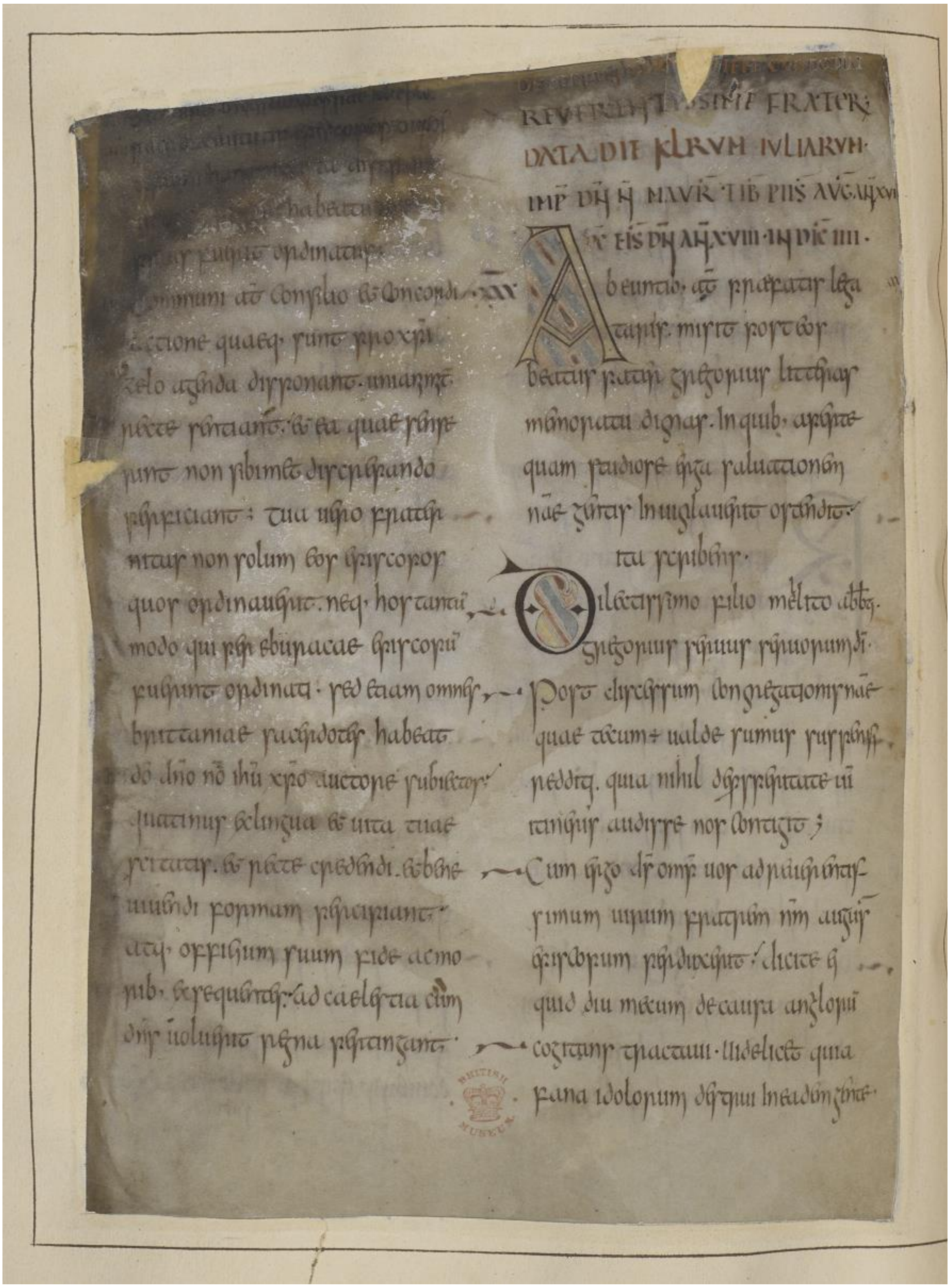

Fig. V.14 – London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius A XIV, f. 34v – Pope Gregory's letter to Mellitus [I.30], begins on line 13 in the right-hand column and is highlighted by bar-shaped symbols in the left-hand margin. The uncials on lines 1-5 of the right-hand column are the farewell and dating clause of the papal letter in the previous chapter.

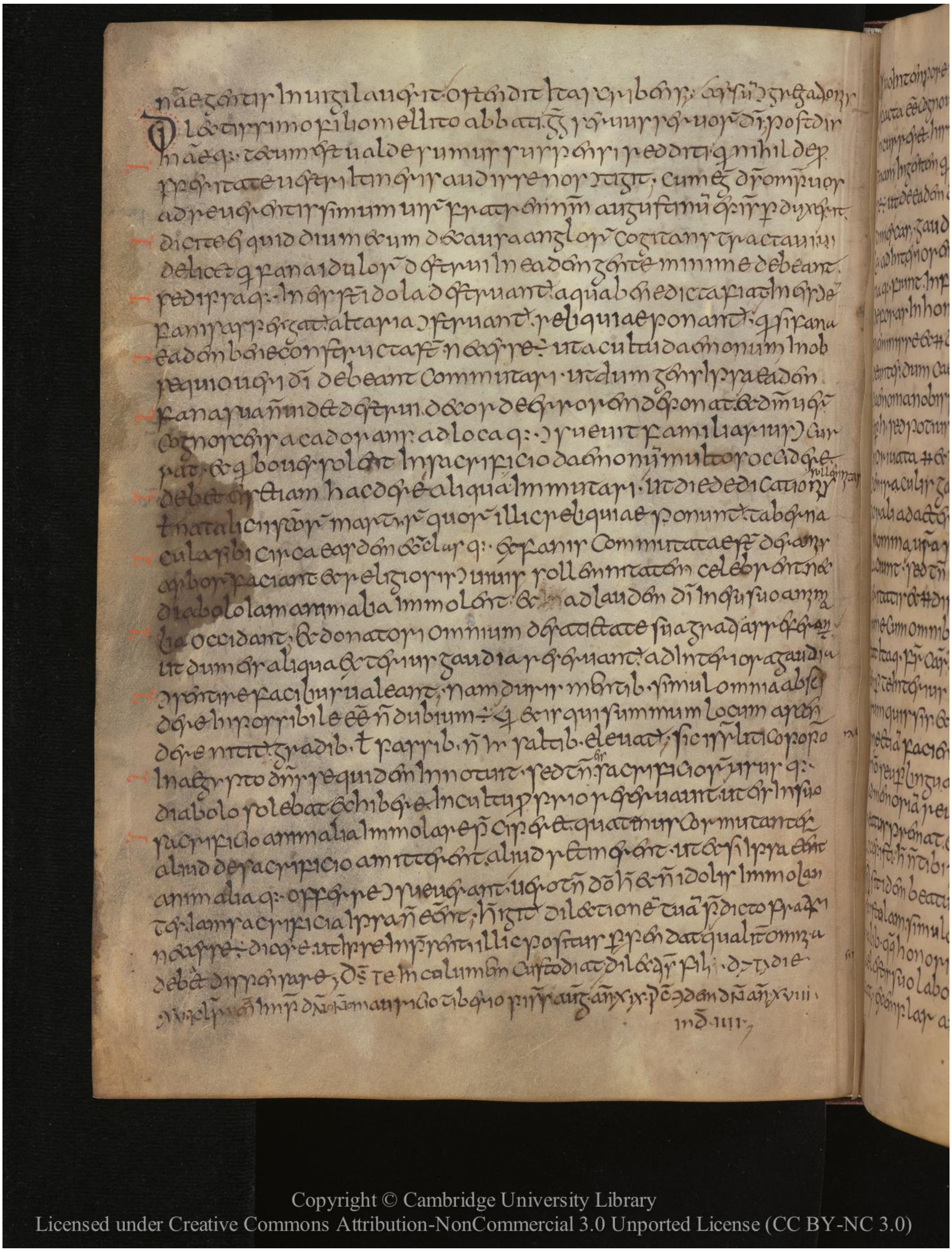

Fig. V.15 – Cambridge, UL, MS Kk.v.16 (2058), f. 22v – Pope Gregory's letter to Mellitus [I.30] begins on line 2, accompanied by bar-shaped symbols in the inner left-hand margin.

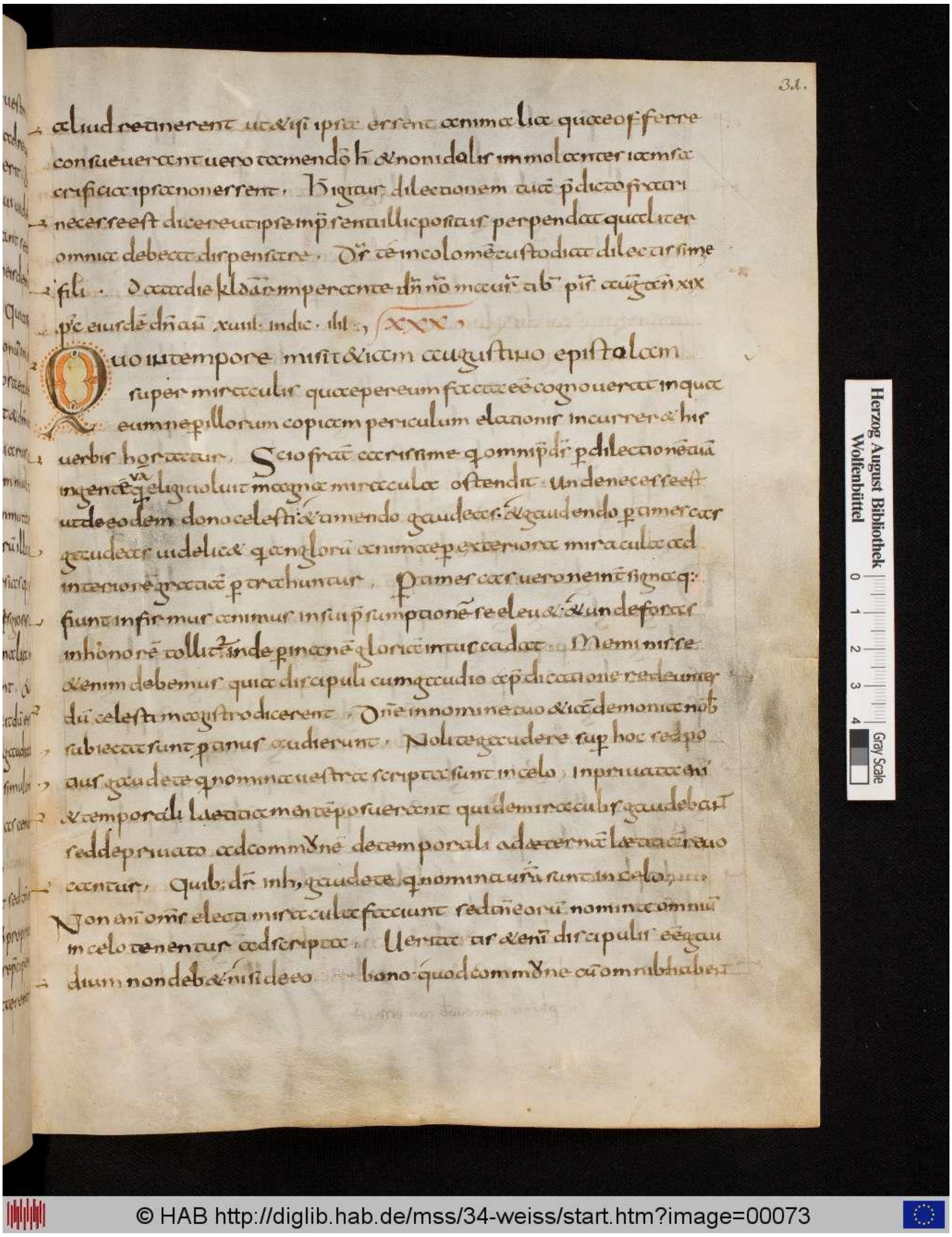

Fig. V.16 – Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Weissenburg 34, f. 31r – Pope Gregory's letter to Mellitus [I.30] begins on line 8, accompanied by bar-shaped symbols in the left-hand margin.

documents copied into the text, such as the epitaphs, the passages from Adomnán's *DLS* in V.16-17, and the passage that Bede quoted from Gregory's *Commentary on Job,* beginning *ecce lingua brittaniae,* in II.1. This form of marginal annotation was clearly a method used to mark out original documents, copied verbatim into the narrative. By using the left-hand margin, the scribe ensured that the reader saw the annotation before reading the line of text and immediately recognised its significance. The scribes of L, B, M, P and U, each had their own particular style for these bar-shaped symbols. Scribes in L, M and U favoured straight, horizontal lines bounded by two vertical lines at either end, while the scribes of B and P used a more flourished form. These bar-shaped symbols are not found in C, the earliest manuscript of the c-group, or later copies of *HE*. It is also interesting that these symbols were not used in H, considering the close relationship between H, P and M. It is possible that this feature is closely tied to the earliest scribes who copied *HE* at Wearmouth-Jarrow. Just like the change of script for the farewell and dating clauses, this marginal annotation appears to have been intended to make the papal letters stand out from the main narrative. The appearance of the papal letters in these early copies of *HE* reminded readers that these documents once existed in another medium, and echoed aspects of how they were presented in that medium.

<u>Epitaphs</u>

In the earliest manuscripts of *HE,* scribes also used a variety of graphic cues to distinguish epitaphs from the narrative. Some epitaphs are written in verse, some begin with enlarged capitals, and others are identified via bar-shaped symbols in the margin. Some manuscripts use the same bar-shaped symbols to signify the papal letters. Often, the appearance of these epitaphs echoes the way they were copied in other, contemporary manuscripts. Just as with the papal letters, readers of *HE* in these early manuscripts would have been aware that the epitaphs had once existed, and been experienced, in another medium.

Bede copied the epitaphs into his *HE* in a period of development in the graphic design of Latin verse. O'Brien O'Keeffe described the early eighth century as a 'watershed for developing graphic conventions' in the display of verse.[105] O'Brien O'Keeffe has examined how verse was presented in the early copies of Bede's *HE,* and

[105] O'Brien O'Keefe, 'Earliest English Manuscripts of the *Historia Ecclesiastica',* p. 114.

other surviving eighth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.[106] In Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, ff. 57-83, for example, verse runs across the column of text but capital letters and punctuation are used to separate lines of verse visually.[107] O'Brien O'Keeffe argued that changes in the appearance of Latin verse in manuscripts were the result of an increasing tendency to access verse through text, in lieu of memory and performance.[108] In 1981, Gneuss identified ten eighth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts that contain verse copied in the traditional format.[109] The graphic cues used to write verse was perhaps used to express textually what was usually conveyed through performance and preserved through memory.

The epitaphs are distinguished most clearly in L and B. The majority are written in verse and accompanied by bar-shaped symbols in the inner left-hand margin. The two exceptions are the epitaphs of Gregory the Great and Theodore, which were not given any visual distinction in L. As L and B are both well-decorated copies of *HE*, which distinguished the farewell and dating clauses of the papal letters, it is not surprising that their scribes also endeavoured to distinguish the epitaphs from the narrative. L and B were copied in two columns of text, so the scribes were unable to write each line of verse on a new line on the page. Instead, each distich began with an enlarged initial, slightly set into the left-hand margin.

In B, the empty space of these enlarged initials was infilled with a colour wash that mostly alternates between red, yellow and blue [Fig. V.17]. In L, the letters that begin each line of verse are not filled with colour washes, despite colour being used in the initials at the beginning of each book. In both L and B, most care and attention is given to the appearance of Æthelthryth's hymn in IV.20, perhaps because the epitaph is also an alphabetic acrostic [Fig. V.18].[110] The scribe of C also planned to begin each distich on a new line for Æthelthryth's hymn but failed to execute the design as well as

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[106] Ibid., p. 144; K. O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Orality and the Developing Text of Cædmon's *Hymn',* in M.P. Richards (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings* (London, 2001), pp. 221-250.

[107] Cambridge, CCC 173 ff. 57-83; *CLA,* II. no. 123; O'Brien O'Keefe, 'Earliest English Manuscripts of the *Historia Ecclesiastica',* p. 144; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Handlist,* no. 53.

[108] O'Brien O'Keefe, 'Earliest English Manuscripts of the *Historia Ecclesiastica',* p. 139.

[109] H. Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100', *Anglo-Saxon England,* 9 (1981), pp. 1-60.

[110] O'Brien O'Keefe, 'Earliest English Manuscripts of the *Historia Ecclesiastica',* p. 140.

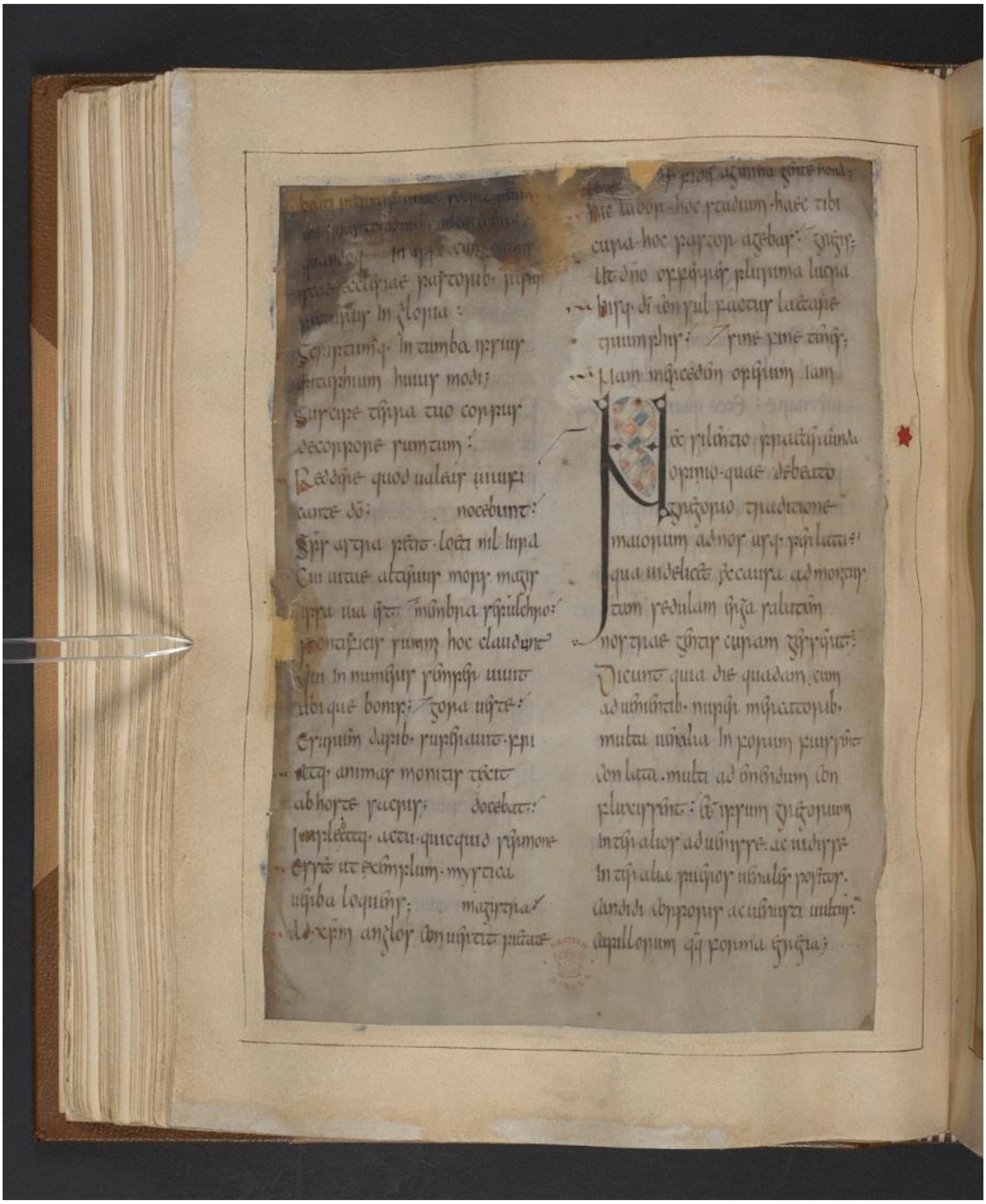

Fig. V.17 – London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius A XIV, f. 42v – The epitaph of Pope Gregory the Great [*HE*, II.2] begins on line 8 in the left-hand margin. The epitaph is written in verse, and the first letter of each line has been in-filled with a colour wash.

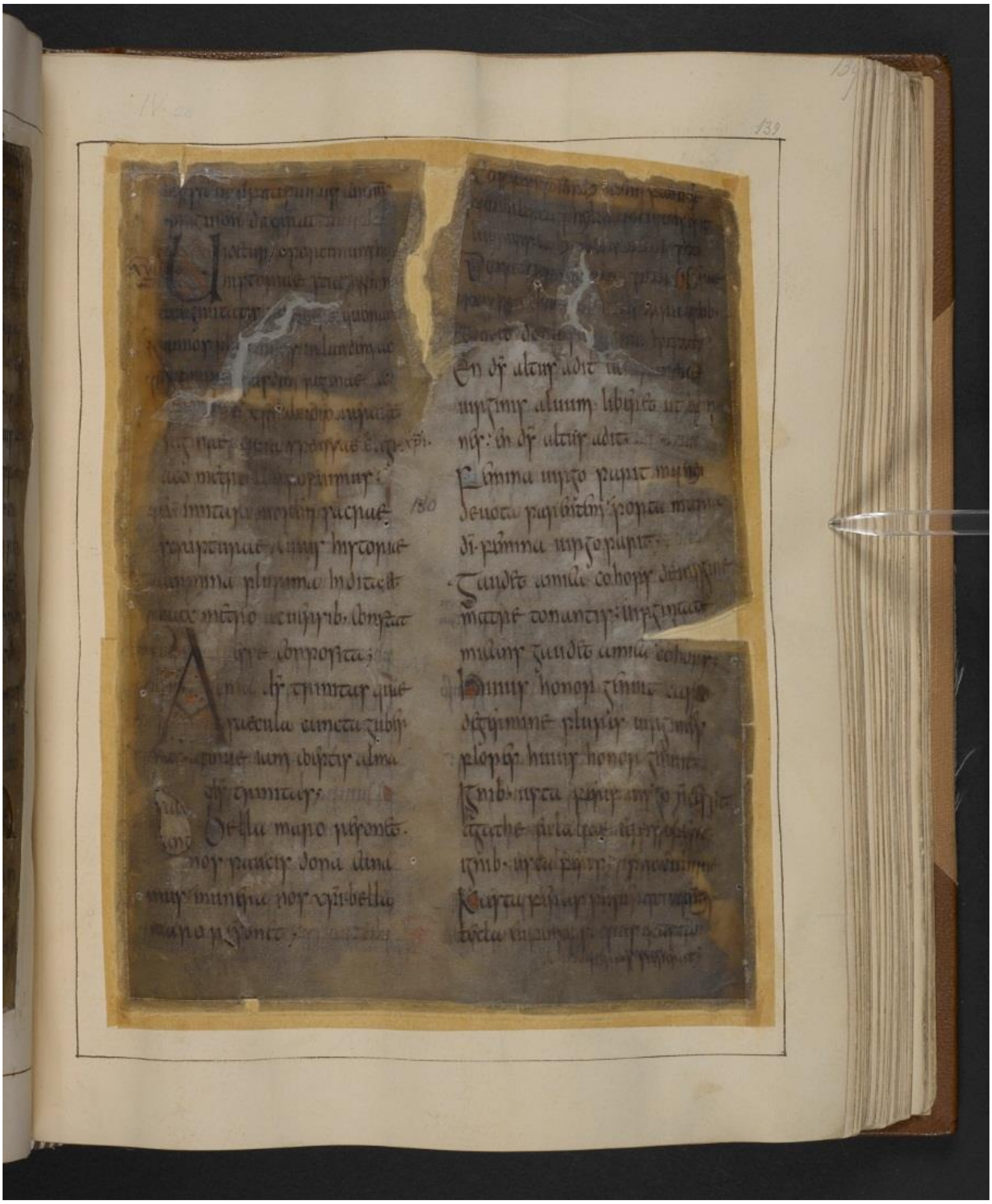

Fig. V.18 – London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius A XIV, f.139r – Bede’s hymn for Æthelthryth [*HE*, IV.20] begins in the left-hand column with an enlarged, decorated, capital ‘A’.

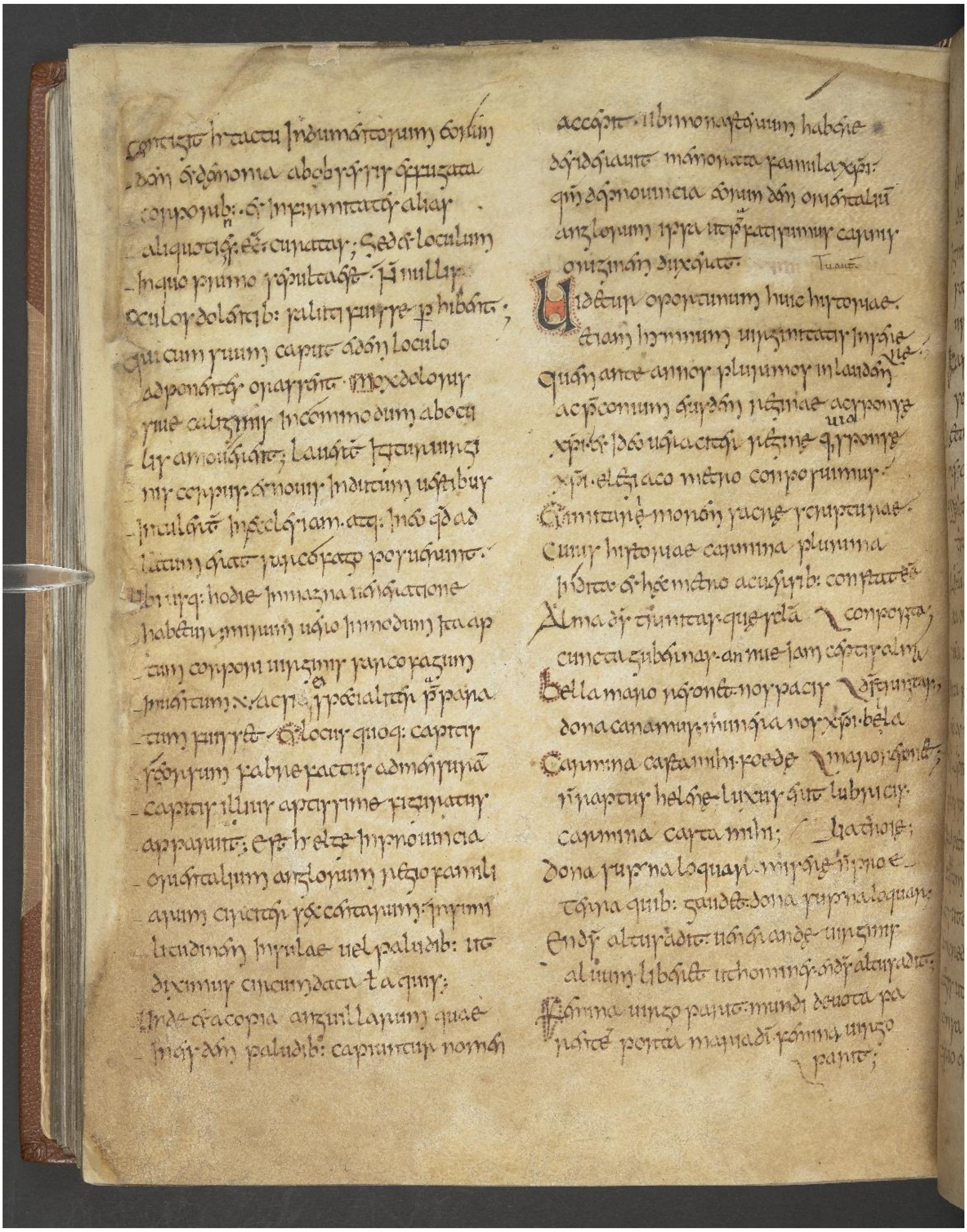

Fig. V.19 – London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius C II, f. 110v – Æthelthryth's hymn begins *Alma Deus Trinitas* on the fifteenth line of the second column. The first letter of each line of verse is decorated.

L or B [Fig. V.19].[111] The first letter of each line of verse is either decoration by a colour wash or by small red dots.

L, B and C are all written in two columns of Insular minuscule script, so the scribes did not have enough room to begin the lines of verse on a new line on the page. This, however, was not a problem in K [Fig. V.21] and another manuscript of *HE* copied in Insular minuscule, Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek, MS Theol. 162 [the Kassel fragment] [Fig. V.20]. The Kassel fragment preserves the part of Book IV that contains Wilfrid's epitaph. Both K and the Kassel fragment were copied in a single column of Insular minuscule script, and so the scribes had plenty of room to begin each line of verse on a new line. In the Kassel fragment the first line of each verse is also infilled with a yellow wash. It is interesting, however, that the scribe of this manuscript wrote the first three lines of the epitaph in long lines, before switching to verse for the line beginning *Cui claues caeli christus.* However, the display of the epitaphs in L, B and C are by no means uniform, and in the eighth and early ninth centuries, insular scribes were still experimenting with the format used for verse.

It is useful to compare the style of the epitaphs in the early manuscripts of *HE* with *Qui mare* and *Te homo laudet* copied from ff. 88r-89v in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195. The lines of verse in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 also begin on new lines with enlarged initials filled with a colour wash alternating between red and yellow [Fig. I.13]. Chapter 1 demonstrated that the design of these two verses in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 is noticeably different to their design in manuscripts of *De Ratione* copied in Caroline minuscule.[112] This suggests that the layout of verse in Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 was inspired by the scribe's insular training. Although the exact format used to copy Latin verse was continually evolving throughout the eighth and ninth centuries, and probably varied between scriptoria, the scribes of L and B made the effort to present the epitaphs to the reader as they would expect to find verse in other manuscript contexts.

The scribes of L and B also used bar-shaped symbols in the inner left-hand margin to distinguish the epitaphs from the narrative. These bar-shaped symbols were also used to distinguish the epitaphs in M and U, where the epitaphs are not in verse format. The lack of verse formatting in M and U is in keeping with their status as more

[111] Ibid., p. 143.

[112] See p. 63.

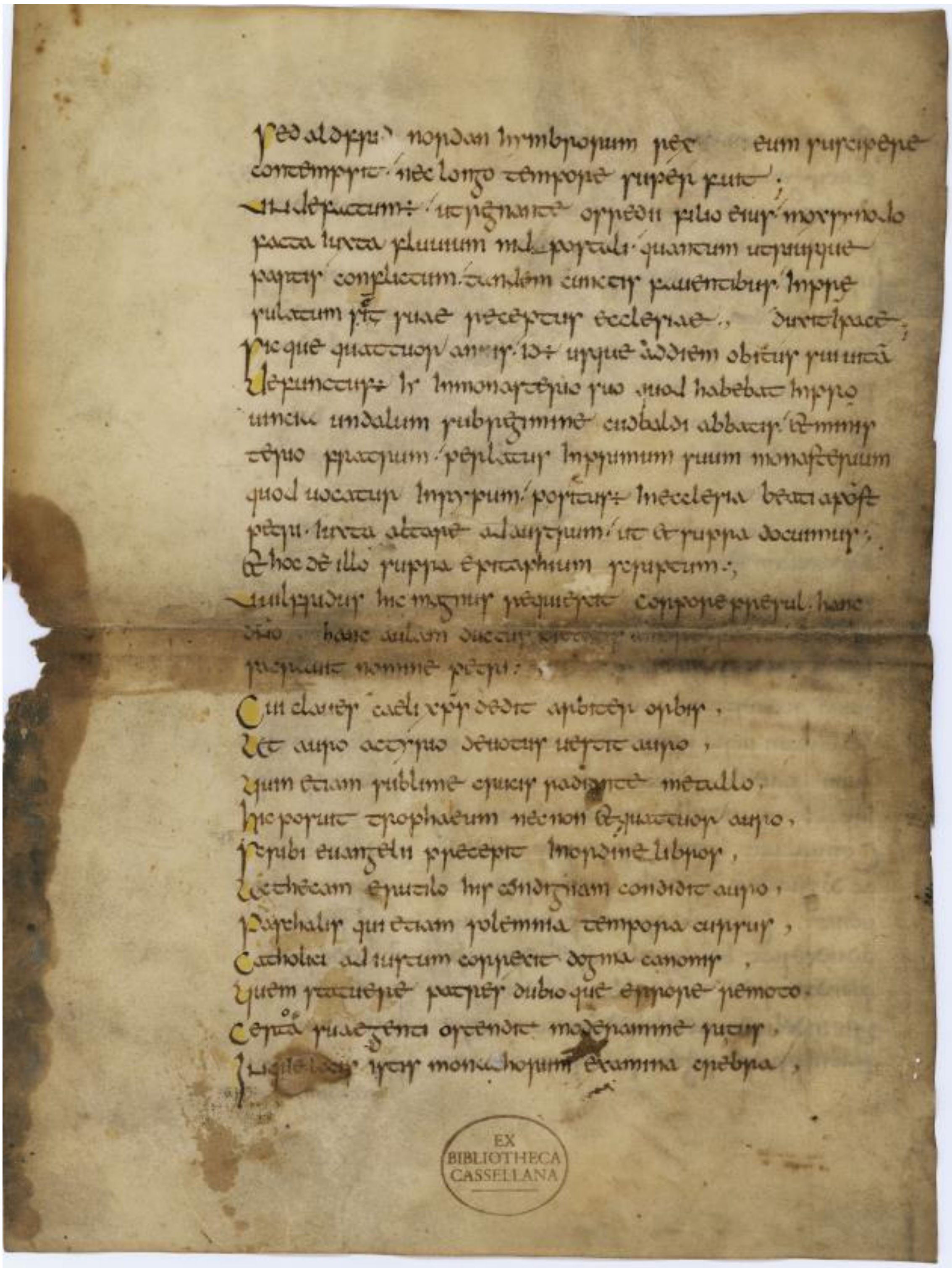

Fig. V.20 – Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek Theol. 162, f. 1v – Wilfrid's epitaph begins on line 14, but the scribe does not use a new line for a new line of verse until the third line of the epitaph.

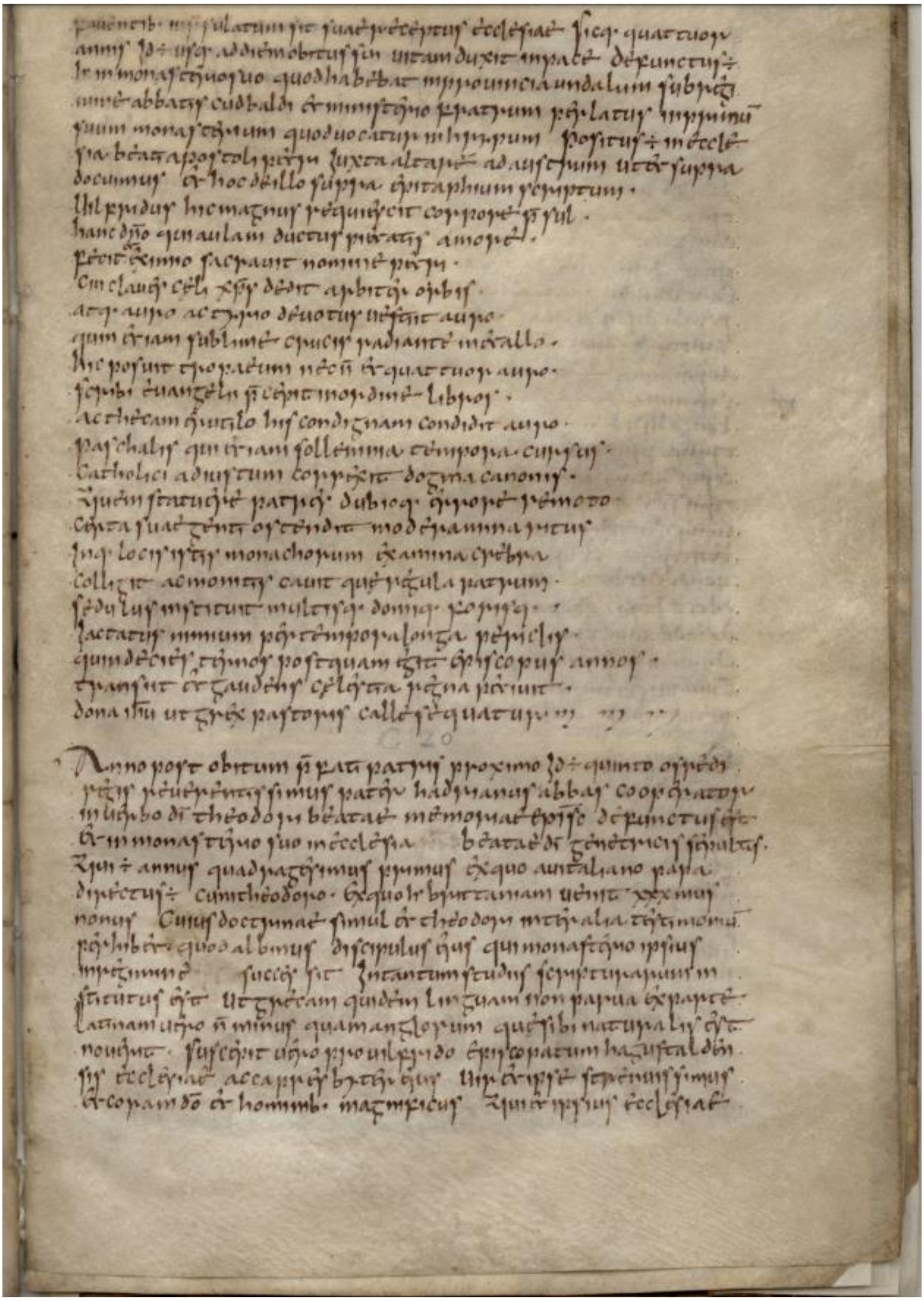

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Fig. V.21 – Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek, 4 MS Qu. Theol. 2, f. 41r – Wilfrid's epitaph begins on line 8 and each line of verse is written on a new line.

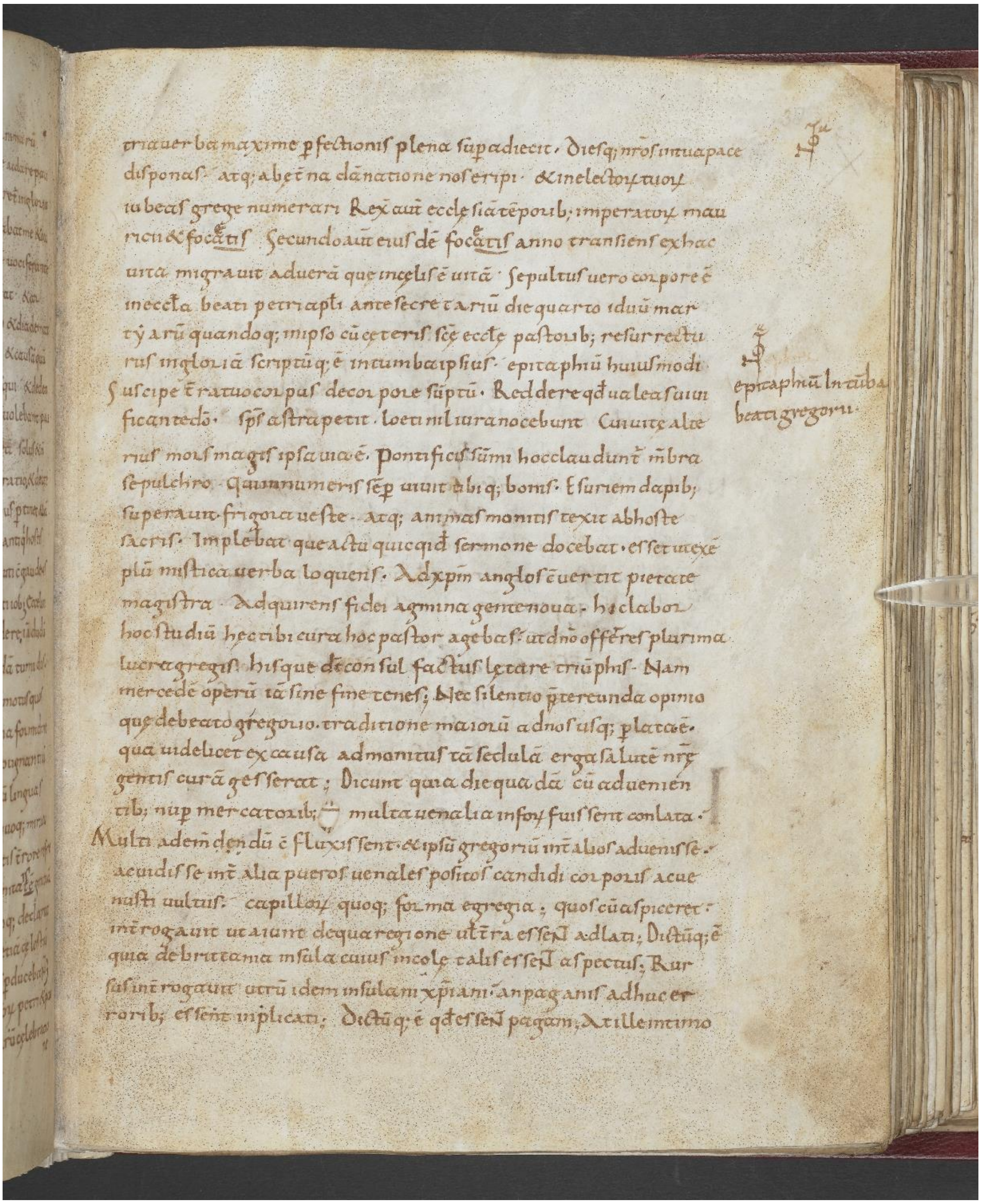
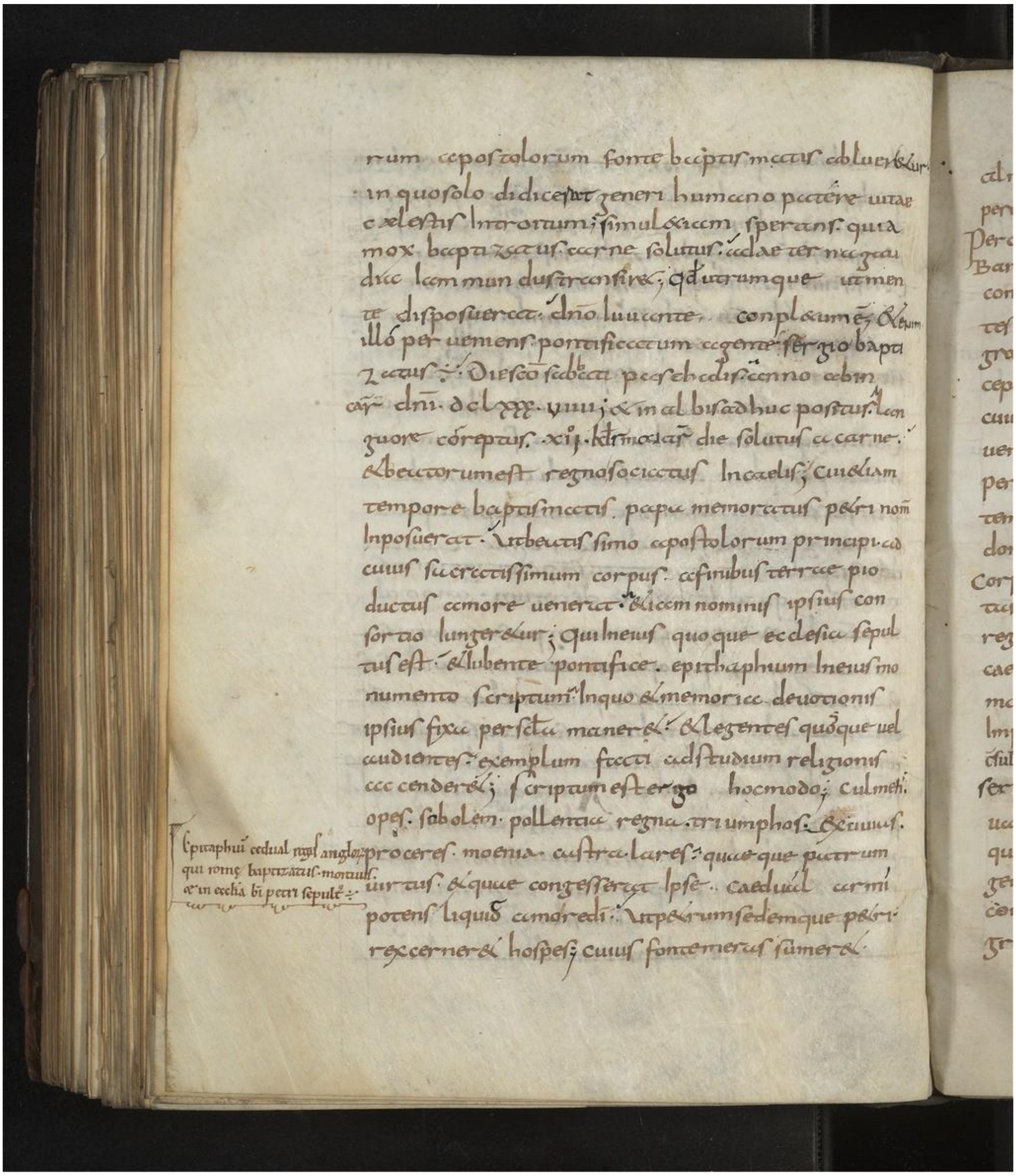


Fig. V.22 – London, BL, Harley MS 4978, f. 38r – The epitaph of Gregory the Great is highlighted by a marginal annotation reading e*pitaphum in tu[m]ba beati gregorii.*



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. Latin 5227A

Fig. V.23 – Paris, BnF, Lat. Ms 5227A, f. 173r – The epitaph of Caedwalla, highlighted via marginal annotation. This was added by a later scribe.

practical, sparsely decorated manuscripts. In M, however, the first letter of Æthelthryth's hymn is enlarged and decorated, and the beginning of Wilfrid's epitaph is marked with a small cross in the margin.

Although the scribes of H and P did not write the epitaphs in verse or use the bar-shaped symbols, their treatment of the epitaphs is certainly worthy of comment. The scribes of H and P added short notes in the left-hard margin to note the presence of the epitaphs. These marginal annotations vary in detail. Some in H simply state *epitaphum,* in an abbreviated from. The annotation for the epitaph of Gregory the Great in H is slightly more detailed and reads, *epitaphum in tu[m]ba beati gregorii* [Fig. V.22]. Some annotations in P give slightly more detail. In P, the note for the epitaph of Gregory the Great simply reads *epitaphum g[re]g[orii] p[a]p[ae],* whereas the note for the epitaph of Caedwalla reads *epitaph[m] cedual regas anglor[rum] qui rom[a]e baptitatus mortalis et in eccl[es]ia b[eat]i petri sepulc[hre] [est].* In Cædwalla's epitaph in P, the marginal annotation appears to have been added by a different scribe from that who wrote the main text, perhaps at a later date [Fig. V.23]. These annotations are also used in H and P to note other original documents copied verbatim into *HE*, just as the bar-shaped symbols are used in L, B, and M. However, considering H and P are thought to descend from M, it is interesting that their scribes chose to use these annotations to distinguish the epitaphs from the narrative, rather than the bar-shaped symbols that feature so prominently in M. While the method varied between manuscripts and scribes, there was clearly an interest in distinguishing epitaphs from the narrative and copying them in a manner that would be familiar to the reader. These graphic cues highlighted to the reader that the epitaph once existed in another medium, separate from the manuscript of *HE*.

Access and preservation of papal letters and syllogae

Several early manuscript copies of *HE* display the papal letters and epitaphs in a style influenced by the appearance of these texts in their original form, and other manuscript forms such as letter-collections and syllogae. Most papal letters sent during the early medieval period survive in manuscript copies, made to preserve the original document or appropriate it for a new purpose. The act of copying a letter was also influenced by the value of its content and the purpose intended for the copy. Scholars have noted that the selectivity of letter preservation caused informal or administrative letters to be poorly represented in medieval letter-collections.[113] Letters preserved from the early medieval period perhaps reflect the interests of the compilers of the manuscript copies, rather than what was originally sent.[114]

Manuscript collections of inscriptions were also made for a specific purpose. The epigrams found in syllogae represent the interests and agenda of the original pilgrim who copied down the stone inscription, and subsequently each scribe who compiled or recopied a sylloge. The networks of exchange which brought the papal letters and epigraphy to the desks of Bede, Stephen and the anonymous author were the same that would have brought them into the hands of those who read their narratives. The impact of the papal letters and epigraphy when copied into the narratives would have been influenced by the way readers interacted with these documents in other contexts. By exploring how Bede, Stephen and the anonymous author acquired these documents, it is possible to gain a broader understanding of how these documents were read and circulated. This context would have shaped the impact of papal letters and inscriptions in *HE, VW* and *VC* and the perception they provided of Rome for their distant readers.

Acquisition and preservation of papal letters in Anglo-Saxon England

In the letter to King Ceolwulf that acts as the preface to the *HE,* Bede explained how he acquired some papal letters from copies made from the papal register in Rome.[115] Bede described how Nothhelm, who was at the time a priest in London, had travelled to Rome and obtained permission from Pope Gregory II to search through the papal archives, and returned to England with copies taken from the archive register.[116] Gregory II had been the librarian in charge of the papal archives under the pontificate of

[113] Mersiowsky, 'Preserved by Destruction', pp. 73-98; trans A. Rio (eds), *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf: Two Merovingian Legal Handbooks* (Liverpool, 2008); Rosenthal, 'Letters and Letter-collections', pp. 72-85; W. Ysebaert, 'Medieval Letters and Letter-collections as Historical Sources: Methological Questions, Reflections and Research Perspectives (Sixth–Fifteenth Centuries)', in C. Hogel and E. Bartoli (eds), *Medieval Letters: Between Fiction and Document* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 33-62.

[114] Tinti, 'Papal Letters in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 93-114.

[115] Bede, *HE,* preface.

[116] Lowe, 'Farewell and Dating Clause', p. 456; P. Meyvaert', 'The *Registrum* of Gregory the Great', pp. 162-166.

Sergius I and was perhaps able to advise Nothhelm on which register collections would contain the most relevant material.[117] There, Nothhelm found *nonnullas ibi beati Gregorii papae simul et aliorum pontificum epistulas*, which Albinus advised him to bring to Bede.[118]

The most widely accepted date for Nothhelm's journey to Rome, and the trip to Northumbria that followed, is the mid to late 720s.[119] Bede's *De Temporum Ratione,* completed in 725, is key to the dating of Nothhelm's journey. At the time of writing, Bede did not know the precise date of Augustine's departure from Rome, as he presumably had to rely on information gained via the *Liber Pontificalis.*[120] If Bede acquired the majority of the Gregorian letters after completion of the *DTR,* he may have already been quite far along in the composition process of *HE.* This may explain why the majority of the letters were inserted in two main sections at the end of Book I and two pairs in Book II, as Bede was inserting them into a pre-established narrative.[121] Nothhelm, however, was certainly not the only person known to Bede who had recently travelled to Rome and who could have returned with documents of interest, such as the papal letters.[122] For example, in his *DTR,* Bede described how brothers from his community copied down an inscription from a candle in the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore.[123] It is possible that these brothers also returned with other documents acquired in Rome, such as other inscriptions or papal letters. Additionally, the brothers who continued to Rome in Ceolfrith's stead in 716 returned with a letter from Pope

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117 *LP,* Gregory II, ch. XX; Duchesne (ed.), *LP,* I, pp. 396-425; Davis, *Lives,* pp. 19-28.

118 Bede, *HE,* preface; 'some letters of St Gregory and of other popes'.

119 Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory the Great,* pp. 8-13; Markus, 'Chronology of the Gregorian Mission', pp.16-17; Higham gives an alternative view: Higham *(Re)-Reading Bede,* pp. 76-77; Story, 'Bede, Willibrord, and the letters of Pope Honorius I', p. 789.

120 Brechter, *Die Quellen zur Angelsachsenmission,* pp. 211-212; Markus, 'Chronology of the Gregorian Mission', pp. 16-17; Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory the Great,* pp. 8-13; Higham, *(Re)-Reading Bede,* pp. 76-77; P. Meyvaert, "In the Footsteps of the Fathers': the Date of Bede's *Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings* to Nothhelm', in W.E. Klingshirn and M. Vessey (eds), *The Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays on the Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honour of R.A. Markus* (Ann Arbor, 1997), p. 279.

121 Story, 'Bede, Willibrord, and the Letters of Pope Honorius I', p. 790.

122 Ibid., p.787; Duchesne (ed.), *LP,* I, pp. ccxxii-iii.

123 Bede, *DTR,* Ch. 47.

Gregory II, and possibly other documents too.[124] Duchesne has also argued that the same group returned to Wearmouth-Jarrow with a copy of the *LP,* the letter from Gregory II and possibly other documents.[125]

Bede could also have acquired letters from copies or originals stored in England. Suso Brechter proposed that the first two Gregorian letters, copied into I.23 and I.24 in *HE,* derive from originals kept at Canterbury.[126] Brechter argued that Bede acquired these letters via Nothhelm's first journey to Northumbria.[127] However, Meyvaert pointed out that the wording of Bede's preface implies that no papal letters were brought on Nothhelm's first journey north.[128] Meyvaert's argument is in accordance with the evidence from the *DTR* in regard to the dating of Nothhelm's two journeys to Rome.[129] It is also possible, however, that Bede may have acquired copies of papal letters from copies stored at Canterbury, since Bede explained in his preface that Abbot Albinus of SS Peter and Paul, Canterbury was an important source of information for the *HE*.[130]

The two letters of Pope Boniface to King Edwin and Queen Æthelburh of Northumbria may also have been acquired from a different source on account of the *lemmata* that preceded the two letters in *HE.*[131] It is possible that Bede acquired these letters from a recipient letter-collection compiled in Northumbria. Evidence for such a recipient collection can perhaps be found in the letter book compiled by Archbishop Wulfstan of York in the early eleventh century.[132] Although the original collection is mostly comprised of letters from Alcuin, the manuscript also includes an imperfect copy of a letter from Pope Paul I (d. 767) to Archbishop Ecgbert of York and King

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124 Anon, *VC,* Ch. 39.

125 *LP,* Gregory II, ch. XX; Duchesne (ed.), *LP*, I, pp. 396-425; Davis, *Lives,* pp. 19-28.

126 S. Brechter, *Die Quellen zur Angelsachsenmission Gregors des Grossen,* pp.11-13, 217, 227.

127 Ibid.

128 Meyvaert, 'The Registrum of Gregory the Great and Bede', p. 164.

129 Ibid.

130 Bede, *HE,* Preface.

131 Ibid., p.163, 165; Hunter Blair, 'Letters of Pope Boniface V', p. 9.

132 BL, Cotton MS Vespasian A XIV, see chapter 3 pp. 138-139.

Eadberht of Northumbria.[133] Scholars have argued that the 'northern interest' of the letter-collection in London, BL, Vespasian A XIV perhaps suggests a York provenance.[134] Although this letter has been dated to 757-758, roughly thirty years after Bede completed his *HE* in 731, its presence in London, BL, Vespasian A XIV perhaps testifies to the existence of a recipient collection of letters complied at York, which included papal letters addressed to Northumbrian recipients.

The fragility of papyrus in the Anglo-Saxon climate makes it unlikely that Bede used original documents as his exemplars.[135] Bede would, however, have witnessed the arrival of papal letters during his lifetime, and would probably have been familiar with key aspects of their materiality, script and formatting. A papal letter, from Pope Gregory II to Abbot Hwæberht, which arrived at Wearmouth-Jarrow shortly after 716 was copied into the Anonymous *VC*.[136] This letter paid respects to the community in light of the death of Abbot Ceolfrith and thanked them for the gift Ceolfrith had brought to Rome, the Bible pandect, now known as Codex Amiatinus.[137] This was a reply to a letter Abbot Hwæberht had sent to Gregory to inform him of Ceolfrith's imminent departure from Wearmouth-Jarrow and journey to Rome.[138] The first part of Hwæberht's letter to Gregory was copied in both *VC* and Bede's *HA*, and both copies end at the same point in the text.[139] Bede follows the letter with a short comment, *et cetera, quae epistolae sequential continent* acknowledging, as he often does in *HE*, that there was more to the original letter.[140] This similarity perhaps implies that the

[133] Whitelock (ed.), *EHD I*, no. 184; Birch, no. 184; Haddan and Stubbs, III, pp. 394-396.

[134] D. Bethurum, 'A Letter of Protest from the English Bishops to the Pope', in T.A. Kirby and H.B. Woolf (eds), *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies* (London, 1949), pp. 97-104; D. Whitelock, 'Wulfstan at York', in J.B. Bessinger and R.P. Creed (eds), *Franciplegius: Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun Jr* (New York, NY, 1965), pp. 214-231; J.E. Cross, 'Atto of Vercelli, *De pressuris ecclesiasticis*, Archbishop Wulfstan and Wulfstan's 'Commonplace Book", *Traditio*, 48 (1993), pp. 237-246; Mann, 'Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript', p. 236.

[135] On the fragility of papyrus in climate of north-western Europe see chapter 2, p. 89.

[136] Anon, *VC*, Ch. 39.

[137] Anon, *VC*, Ch. 39.

[138] Anon, *VC*, Ch. 30.

[139] Bede, *HA*, Ch.19.

[140] Bede, *HA*, Ch. 19; 'then follows the rest of the contents of the letter'.

exemplar used by both authors was not complete, or that one author copied the letter from the narrative of the other. There are only slight variations between the copies of the letter in *VC* and *HA*. One word, *divinitus,* is in *VC* but not in *HA,* and in one instance *VC* uses the word *corporeis* where *HA* uses *carneis.* A more detailed understanding of the exemplar for Hwæberht's letter to Gregory is therefore dependant on the dating of *VC* and *HA* and the relationship between the two texts.

The absence of Pope Gregory's reply to Hwæberht in *HA* is a key piece of evidence regarding the relationship between *VC* and *HA.* Bede's use of papal letters in *HE* suggests he would surely have included the letter if it had been available to him.[141] After Ceolfrith's death in Langres, a number of his brethren decided to continue on to Rome in Ceolfrith's stead to deliver the Bible pandect, Codex Amiatinus, to the pope. Another group of monks decided to return to Wearmouth-Jarrow, bearing news of Ceolfrith's death. Bede's account of Ceolfrith's death in *HA,* does not included the testimony of those who had continued to Rome and only described the return of the first group.[142] The absence of Gregory's reply to Hwæberht's letter in *HA* may suggest that Bede finished *HA* before the return of the second group in spring 717.[143] If *VC* was written after the second group had returned from Rome with Gregory's letter, it explains why the author was able to include a copy of the letter in his narrative. It has previously been argued, however, that *VC* was written first and that Bede used *VC* and not his own *HA* in his *Chronica maiora* completed in 725.[144] This implies that *VC* was written before 725, and Bede's *HA* at some point after 725 but before 731, in time for it to be included in Bede's bibliography in *HE.*[145] However it would be unwise to assume that Bede would have quoted only from his own work. Bede often drew upon the work of other authors in his writing, and it may have made sense to use *VC* rather than his *HA* if indeed *VC* was the more up-to-date account of the history of Wearmouth-Jarrow and

[141] Grocock and Wood (eds), *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow,* p. xviii.

[142] Bede, *HA,* Ch. 21-23.

[143] Grocock and Wood (eds), *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow,* p. xviii.

[144] McClure, 'Bede and the Life of Ceolfrid', p. 72; S. Coates, 'Ceolfrid: History, Hagiography and Memory in Seventh- and Eighth-Century Wearmouth-Jarrow', *Journal of Medieval History* 25.2 (1999), pp. 69-86.

[145] Ibid., p. 72.

the events of 716. Indeed, in their recent edition of *HA* and *VC*, Grocock and Wood argue that Bede's supposed quotation from *VC* in his *Chronica maiora* is not as definitive as had previously been argued.[146] Instead, Grocock and Wood propose that it would have indeed been unusual for Bede deliberately to ignore a papal letter if one were available, and that it is most logical that Bede wrote *HA* before *VC* had been written.[147]

Although both Bede and the anonymous author knew of the papal privileges acquired for St Peter's, Wearmouth from Pope Agatho, and for St Paul's, Jarrow from Pope Sergius, neither author copied them into his narrative.[148] However, both authors were well informed about the journeys where Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith had acquired the privileges, and described the performative reception of the document in Northumbria.[149] Perhaps it was not considered appropriate to copy them into narratives such as *HA* or *VC* which were intended for wider circulation, due to the special privileges they granted the monastery. One privilege which has been preserved from this period is that acquired by Aldhelm from Pope Sergius for Malmesbury and a nearby, unnamed institution dedicated to St John.[150] An Old English translation of the privilege was copied between the gospels of Luke and John in an Old English version of the gospels, copied in the eleventh century and attributed tentatively to Malmesbury.[151] Christine Rauer has argued that this Old English version is probably an authentic translation of an original Latin version.[152] The Latin version survives in three late medieval cartularies and in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta pontificium* and his

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146 Grocock and Wood (eds), *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow,* pp. xviii-xxi.

147 Ibid., p. xxi.

148 Bede, *HA,* Ch. 6, 15; Anon, *VC,* Ch. 20.

149 Bede, *HA,* Ch. 15. This was discussed in detail in chapter 2, see p. 84.

150 S. Kelly, *Charters of Malmesbury Abbey,* Anglo-Saxon Charters, II (Oxford, 2005), pp. 4-10. On this privilege see, H. Edwards, 'Two Documents from Aldhelm's Malmesbury', *Bull. Of the Inst. Of Hist. Research,* 69 (1986), pp. 1-19; C. Rauer, 'Pope Sergius I's Privilege for Malmesbury', *Leeds Studies in English,* 37 (2006), pp. 261-281; Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', p. 63.

151 London, BL, Cotton MS Otho C I, ff. 68r-69v; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Handlist,* no. 358, pp. 281-282.

152 Rauer, 'Pope Sergius I's Privilege for Malmesbury', p. 268.

edition of the *Liber pontificalis.*[153] It is perhaps significant that the earliest copy of this privilege dates to the eleventh century and survives into an Old English translation. This was long after it had been issued, and the document was far removed from its immediate ecclesiastical and political context. The choice to copy an Old English translation of the privilege in the middle of a gospel book may also reflect the place where these documents were stored by the institution.

Papal letters were also copied into the two other narratives composed in early eighth-century Northumbria, Stephen's *VW* and the Anon *VC.* The earliest surviving manuscript copies of *VC* and *VW* were copied long after the authors composed these texts. The earliest copy of *VC* has been dated to the tenth or eleventh century, and attributed to either Glastonbury or St Augustine's, Canterbury.[154] In this manuscript, *VC* is copied directly after Bede's Homily for Benedict Biscop and Bede's *HA.* This collection of texts associated with Wearmouth-Jarrow now constitutes ff. 1r-34r of the manuscript. The earliest copy of *VW* has been dated to the late eleventh century and attributed to a Northumbrian scriptorium on account of the Yorkshire provenance of the manuscript.[155] Neither manuscript make any visual distinction between the letters and the main text, perhaps due to the fact that these copies were made up to 300 years after the texts were composed.

Stephen of Ripon also copied two papal letters into his *VW* within his accounts of Wilfrid's two petitions to Rome in 679 and 704.[156] The first letter, copied into chapter 32 of *VW*, is the statement issued by Pope Agatho to confirm the outcome of Wilfrid's first petition to the papal court. Although this letter does not contain a salutation, farewell or dating clause, it was written in the papal voice and follows a similar formulae as Pope John's letter to King Æthelred of Mercia and King Aldfrith of Deira copied into chapter 54.[157] These two letters were those brought back by Wilfrid to prove the outcome of his appeals to Rome. These two appeals were important events in

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[153] R. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury,* 2nd edn (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 97-115.

[154] London, BL, Harley MS 3020; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 433.

[155] London, BL, Cotton Vespasian D VI, ff. 78-125; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 390.

[156] Stephen, *VW,* ch. 54.

[157] Stephen, *VW,* ch. 30.

Wilfrid's career, and by copying them verbatim into his narrative, Stephen allowed the documents to continue to support Wilfrid's position against those who challenged him.

Once Wilfrid had returned to Northumbria with the two papal letters, they were probably stored in a recipient collection for future reference, probably at either Hexham or Ripon. The *VW* is thought to have been completed at some point before 720.[158] The estimated age of Stephen of Ripon, sixty at the time of Wilfrid's death in 709/710, and the details about the first anniversary of Wilfrid's death strongly suggest that the text was written within ten years of Wilfrid's death.[159] It is possible that Stephen was working from the original documents, or copies made soon after. Indeed, as has been demonstrated in chapter 2, Stephen's accounts of Wilfrid's two petitions to the papal court in *VW* suggest he was present during the second petition, and his account of this journey to Rome was based on his own records. When Stephen copied Pope John's letter into chapter 54 of *VW*, it is possible that he was working from a copy he had made himself as part of Wilfrid's entourage. It is perhaps because of Stephen's direct involvement in the documentation of this synod that the papal letter in chapter 54 of *VW* was copied in full, including the salutation and farewell clause.[160] The lack of the salutation, farewell and dating clause for the papal letter copied in chapter 32 suggests that Stephen may have only had access to a later copy, or perhaps even a damaged version of the original document.[161]

<u>The circulation of syllogae in Anglo-Saxon England</u>

Almost all surviving syllogae compiled between the seventh and the ninth centuries were copied in Francia. However, there is evidence that syllogae were also circulating in England during this period. The epitaphs Bede copied into his *HE* were probably read by many of the same audiences who had access to syllogae. The epitaphs of Wilfrid, Augustine and Theodore were all composed and displayed in English kingdoms and Bede would have been able to acquire them through the sources he lists

[158] B. Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (London, 1927), p. x.

[159] Ibid.

[160] A. Thacker, 'Wilfrid, his Cult and his Biographer', in Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop Saint,* p. 9.

[161] Stephen, *VW,* Ch. 32.

in his preface.[162] The epitaphs of Gregory the Great and Cædwalla, however, were displayed on their tomb in Rome, and there are many possible routes that may have brought them to Bede's desk. Bede knew several Englishmen who had travelled to Rome and would have had an interest in visiting the tombs of Cædwalla and Gregory, both located in Old St Peter's, and who could have returned home with copies of their epitaphs.

The surviving early medieval syllogae manuscripts discussed in chapter 4 demonstrate that other early medieval pilgrims were recording Roman epigraphy while in the city and compiling syllogae in scriptoria north of the Alps. Bede may have accessed the epitaphs of Gregory the Great and Cædwalla through such syllogae. There is substantial evidence that from the late seventh century onwards, syllogae were being read and copied in England. Silvagni suggested that surviving fragments of syllogae copied in England reflect at least one sylloge compiled in Rome in the mid- to late seventh century by a scholar with Anglo-Saxon connections.[163] Scholars of Aldhelm's poetic corpus have demonstrated that syllogae were certainly in England by the late-seventh century.[164] Aldhelm used Roman epigrams as models for his own composition and quoted whole lines from epigrams that he probably found in syllogae.[165] In his *Carmina Ecclesiastica*, Aldhelm quoted verses from inscriptions also found in *Sylloge Turnonensis, Sylloge Laureshamensis IV,* and *Sylloge Centulensis.*[166] Lapidge also identified that in Aldhelm's treatise *De pedum reguliis,* he quoted the hexameter verse *virgo Maria, tibi Sixtus nova dicavi,* which is part of the dedication from the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore commemorating its reconstruction by Pope Sixtus (432-440).[167]

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[162] Bede, *HE,* preface.

[163] Silvagni, *ICUR,* n.s. 1 (Rome, 1922), pp. xxv-xxvii.

[164] A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 203-209; Sharpe, 'King Cædwalla's Roman Epitaph', pp. 171-193; Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', pp. 53-63; Story, 'Aldhelm and Old St Peter's, Rome', pp. 7-20.

[165] A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm* (Cambridge, 1994); Lapidge, 'Career of Aldhelm', pp. 53-60; A. Orchard, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works,* trans. M. Lapidge (Cambridge, 2009).

[166] Ibid., *ST* – De Rossi (ed.), *ICUR, II,* pp. 58-71. (no. VI); *SC* – De Rossi (ed.), *ICUR, II,* pp. 72-94 (no. VII); *SL IV* – De Rossi (ed.), *ICUR, II* pp. 95-118 (no. VIII). These syllogae are discussed in detail in chapter 3, see p. 166-174.

[167] *Aldhelmi Opera,* Ehwald (ed.), p. 153; Orchard, *Poetic Art of Aldhelm,* p. 203; Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', p. 59.

This dedicational inscription is found in the *Sylloge Turnonensis* and the *Sylloge Laurenshamensis IV*.[168]

The earliest manuscript witness to the *Sylloge Centulensis,* also contains copies of Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* (ff. 110v-122r) and *Enigmata* (ff. 134r-138v).[169] It is possible that the compiler of this manuscript may have acquired the two Aldhelm texts and the sylloge from the same source, which could possibly be from Aldhelm's own collection.[170] However, Aldhelm's texts were popular at Carolingian schools, and it is not surprising to find his work copied in Carolingian manuscripts.[171] *Sylloge Turonensis, Sylloge Centulenis* and *Sylloge Laureshamensis IV* all contain Cædwalla's epitaph, and if copies were available to Aldhelm, it is plausible that they could have also been available to Bede.[172] Richard Sharpe has noted though that the version of Cædwalla's epitaph in *Sylloge Turonensis* and *Sylloge Centulenis* contain substantial variations from the version Bede copied into his *HE*.[173] Gregory's epitaph is also present in *Sylloge Centulenis* and *Sylloge Laureshamensis IV,* but not *Sylloge Turonensis.*[174] Syllogae were often bespoke, personal collections reflective of the particular interests of the compiler. If Bede was working from a sylloge, it was probably similar to the surviving examples in style but not necessarily in content.

Aldhelm is known to have travelled to Rome at least once during his lifetime. In a letter to Aldhelm, an anonymous student referred to a journey that Aldhelm had made to Rome, and later accounts of Aldhelm's life by Faricius of Arrezo (d. 1117) and William of Malmesbury (*c.* 1125) include anecdotes of Aldhelm's travel experiences.[175]

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[168] Orchard, *Poetic Art of Aldhelm,* p. 203; Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', p. 59.

[169] On the manuscript see; *CLA,* V. no. 570; This manuscript is discussed in detail in chapter 3, see pp. 168-169.

[170] Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', p. 55.

[171] For the influence of Aldhelm's works in the eighth and ninth centuries, see Lapidge, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works,* pp. 1-3; Lapidge, *Aldhelm: The Poetical Works,* pp. 1-4.

[172] Sharpe, 'King Cædwalla's Roman Epitaph', pp. 171-193; Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', p. 60.

[173] Ibid.

[174] Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', p. 60. no. 203.

[175] Anon. Letter to Aldhelm; Ehwald (ed.), *Alhelmi Opera,* p. 494; M. Winterbottom, 'An Edition of Faricius, *Vita S. Aldhelmi', Journal of Medieval Latin* 15 (2005), p. 104; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum,* I. *Text and Translation,* M. Winterbottom (ed.) (Oxford, 2007).

Aldhelm may have travelled to Rome in the company of his kinsman, King Cædwalla of Wessex in 688, and could have been responsible for the transmission of Cædwalla's epitaph back to England.[176] There is evidence to suggest that Aldhelm's familiarity with Roman epigraphic verse, as shown through his epigraphic composition, owed as much to first hand observation as it did to his access to syllogae.[177]

Story has identified two mid-ninth-century manuscripts, which once belonged to St Remigius at Reims, that provide important insight regarding Aldhelm's knowledge of Roman epigraphy.[178] These two manuscripts, Paris, BnF, lat. 9347 and Paris, BnF, lat. 2773, are anthologies of early Christian poetry that constituted the core of the Carolingian 'school canon'.[179] Both contain six short epigrams, five of which are from St Peter's basilica. Story noted that Aldhelm quoted, almost exactly, the first two of these epigrams, entitled *De petro* and *De andrea*, in the opening and closing lines of the first and third poems in the fourth of his *Carmina ecclesiastica,* 'On the Altars of the Twelve Apostles'.[180] The epigrams in the two Reims manuscripts are not known from other syllogae, and Story argued that they preserve the text of the original tituli that Aldhelm had used as the source for his *Carmina.*[181] Story argued that Aldhelm's knowledge of these epigrams, and his frequent use of the phrase *claviger aetherius* demonstrates a familiarity with Roman epigraphy that was probably acquired from more than one trip to Rome.

Bede was certainly familiar enough with syllogae to compile a collection of inscriptions described as, *Librum epigrammatum heroico metro siue elagiaco,* in the

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[176] Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', pp. 52-64; Sharpe, 'King Cædwalla's Roman Epitaph', p. 192.

[176] Anon. Letter to Aldhelm; Ehwald ed. *Alhelmi Opera,* p. 494; M. Winterbottom, 'An Edition of Faricius, *Vita S. Aldhelmi', Journal of Medieval Latin* 15 (2005), p. 104; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum,* I. *Text and Translation,* M. Winterbottom (ed.) (Oxford, 2007), p. 186.

[177] Story, 'Aldhelm and Old St Peter's, pp. 7-20.

[178] Ibid.

[179] Ibid., pp. 12-13. For Paris, BnF, Latin 9347 see, F.M. Carey, 'The Scriptorium of Reims during the Archbishopric of Hincmar (845-882 AD), in I.W. Jones (ed.), *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of E.K. Rand* (New York, NY, 1938), p. 58. On Paris, BnF, Latin 2773, see: Bischoff, *Katalog,* III, no. 247.

[180] Story, 'Aldhelm and Old St Peter's, p. 13.

[181] Ibid., p. 18.

bibliography of *HE.*[182] Although this collection is now lost, Lapidge suggested that this was a sylloge collection of epigrams, largely of Bede's own composition.[183] Lapidge acknowledged that Bede could have also included other forms of poetry and dedicational epigrams, just as Milred of Worcester (*c.* 744-775) did in the sylloge he complied in the mid-eighth century.[184] Milred's sylloge is preserved through a transcription made by John Leland in the sixteenth century, which formed part of his *Collentanea,* now in Oxford, Bodleian, Top. Gen. C. 2.[185] The inscriptions copied out by Leland are mainly of English interest and were composed by Anglo-Saxon authors such as Aldhelm and Bede. It is interesting that the epitaphs in Bede's *HE* are spread out throughout the narrative, and are included in Books II, IV and V. Their seamless incorporation into the narrative may suggest that he had access to all five epitaphs from the early stages of his writing process. This is noticeably different to the incorporation of the papal letters, which were clustered around the end of Books I and II, presumably acquired after Bede had drafted those books.

Sylloge Cantabrigensis, preserved in the twelfth-century copy of the *LP,* may also provide evidence of the circulation of syllogae in England in the time of Bede and Milred.[186] Levison argued that the epitaphs incorporated into the *LP* were taken from a lost early-eighth-century sylloge, or a tenth-century copy of Milred of Worcester's sylloge.[187] It is true, however, that many of the papal epitaphs in the *Sylloge Cantabrigensis* are also found in *Sylloge Laureshamensis II,* which may have arrived in England contemporary with the compilation of this manuscript in the twelfth century.[188] Although it is difficult to identify the exact source of the epitaphs included in this copy

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[182] Bede, *HE,* V.24.

[183] Lapidge, 'Bede's Lost *Liber Epigrammatum',* pp. 798-820; M. Lapidge, *Bede the Poet* (Jarrow Lecture, 1993), pp. 1-28.

[184] Ibid.

[185] J. Leland, *Collecteana,* Vol. II. MS. Bodleian Library Top. Gen. C. 2. (Summary Catalogue 3118), pp. 111-115; Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams', p. 22; Orchard, *Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, pp. 206-210.

[186] Cambridge, UL, kk.iv.6, ff. 224r-280v. For full discussion of this sylloge see above, p. 172.

[187] Levison, *Aus Englischen Bibliotheken,* p. 46; Sims-Williams, '*La silloge epigrafica di cambridge'*, pp. 9-33.

[188] Ibid.

of *LP*, it suggests that syllogae were mobile and adaptable texts throughout the early medieval period.

Syllogae continued to circulate in England throughout the eighth century. Cuthbert of Hereford and Alcuin of York both composed epigrams.[189] Cuthbert composed one epigram for a piece of Cross-cloth and another intended as the epitaph of the common tomb of the bishops and nobles of Hereford.[190] Alcuin of York's accomplishments as an epigraphic poet are well known.[191] Alcuin would have been exposed to epigraphy throughout his lifetime, from Roman and Christian inscriptions visible in the building fabric at York and during the time he spent in Rome. Both authors probably consulted syllogae during the writing process. Alcuin quoted whole lines of Roman epigraphy in his own compositions, therefore suggesting a familiarity with inscriptions which could have come from regular access to syllogae or perhaps from his own experience in Rome.[192]

Syllogae compiled during the early Anglo-Saxon period may have continued to be copied in the centuries after their composition. A fragment of a sylloge, now University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, MS 0128, may preserve part of a later copy of Milred's sylloge.[193] This fragment consists of a bifolium roughly 375 x 230mm in size with 24 lines to the page. The text and title of the inscriptions were copied in Anglo-Saxon square minuscule dated to the early tenth century.[194] In Liutpold Wallach's analysis of the bifolium, he concluded that it formed neither the first nor the innermost folium within the original quire of a larger Anglo-Saxon syllogae no longer in existence.[195] The fragment contains sixteen *tituli* which were originally inscribed on

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[189] On Cuthbert of Hereford see, A. Williams, 'Cuthbert (d. 760), archbishop of Canterbury', *ODNB* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6977 [Accessed on 30/8/2018].

[190] Lapidge, 'Bede's lost *Liber Epigrammatum',* pp. 812-813.

[191] Wallach, 'The Epitaph of Alcuin', p. 367.

[192] Ibid., p. 371; Dales, *Alcuin: His Life and Legacy*, pp. 107-118.

[193] See, H.P. Kraus, *Catalogue* 88: *Fifty Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* (New York, NY, 1958), 8, item 4; Wallach, 'Urbana Anglo-Saxon Sylloge', pp. 134-151; D.J. Sheerin, 'John Leland and Milred of Worcester', *Manuscripta,* XXI (1977), p. 172; D. Schaller, 'Bermerkungen zur Inschriften-Sylloge von Urbana', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch,* 12 (1977), pp. 9, 13; D. Ganz, 'Anglo-Saxon Fragment of Alcuin's Letters', pp.167-177; Gneuss and Lapidge (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* no. 938.

[194] Wallach, 'Urbana Anglo-Saxon Sylloge', p. 147.

[195] Ibid.

church walls, fourteen of which were from Rome, one from Gaul and one from England.[196] Indeed, Inscription XV, entitled *Beda[e] In Absida Basilice* in the manuscript, has been ascribed to Bede and it may have originally been part of his *Liber epigrammatum*.[197] Sims-Williams noted that the Urbana fragment contains fourteen inscriptions of Roman origin in addition to epigrams composed in England. On the basis of this observation, Sims-Williams proposed that Milred's original syllogae may have also contained several inscriptions of Roman origin, and that Leland made a partial transcription that omitted the Roman material.[198] Sims-Williams noted that when Leland made his transcription in the sixteenth century, he may naturally have given priority to those inscriptions with a geographic or historic value for him.[199]

The Urbana fragment provides an important insight into the appearance of an Anglo-Saxon sylloge manuscript. Each inscription is preceded by a title written in red Insular minuscule of a similar size to the text of the inscription, and the first letter of each line of verse is written in an enlarged capital slightly set into the margin. The first letter of each poem or inscription is enlarged even further and filled in red. Although this manuscript has been dated to the early tenth century, and thus up to 200 years after Bede and Milred compiled their syllogae, it may not have looked too dissimilar from that compiled by Bede and Mildred. The key visual characteristics of the Urbana sylloge, namely the geographic titles and the use of verse format, mirrors that used in the surviving sylloge copied in Carolingian scriptoria in the eighth and ninth centuries. The enlarged, sometimes infilled, letters which begin each line of verse also bears strong similarities to the design of the two poems copied as part of Alcuin's *De Ratione* and the inscriptions in Bede's *HE* as they are copied in L and B. When Anglo-Saxon audiences read the epitaphs in early copies of *HE*, they would appear similar to how they encountered Roman epigraphy in other contexts.

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[196] Ibid., p. 137.

[197] Ibid., p. 144.

[198] Sims-Williams, 'Milred of Worcester's Collection', p. 26.

[199] Ibid., p.26, 27.

The impact of the original medium in new narratives

When the scribes of the earliest surviving manuscripts of *HE* copied the papal letters and epitaphs into the narrative, they styled the texts to match how they appeared in other forms. Readers would have been reminded that these documents once existed in a different medium, which reflected the audience's expectations for that particular medium. Readers were also reminded of the original form of these documents by the way that Bede introduced them in his narrative. Bede often prefaced papal letters with statements that emphasised they were full or partial copies of the original text. Bede used phrases such as *Cuius haec forma est* in I.28, *Quarum litterarum iste est textus* in I.29, and in the case of a letter to King Oswiu of Northumbria in III.29, *et huiusmodi litterae regi osuiu brittaniam remissae.*[200] The *lemmata* that introduce the two letters from Pope Boniface to King Edwin and Queen Æthelburh also emphasise their status as full copies of Boniface's letter.[201] The authors of *VC* and *VW* also introduced the papal letters with similar statements. The letter of Pope Gregory in *VC* is preceded by the statement, *quid uero de eo uel muneribus eius apostolicus papa senserit testator epistola, quam remisit, cuius hoc principium est.*[202] The anonymous author stressed that the letter was an original document, and that it was a witness to the thoughts and actions of Pope Gregory.

When Bede included the epitaphs in *HE* alongside his accounts of the deaths of the individuals, he explicitly stated that the epitaph was copied onto their tomb. Before Gregory's epitaph, Bede explained that Gregory had been buried in St Peter's, Rome and then stated, *scriptumque in tumba ipsius epitaphium huiusmodi.*[203] Bede also stated before Cædwalla's epitaph that he was buried in St Peter's, Rome, and that the pope ordered an epitaph to be displayed on his tomb, *in quo memoria devotionis ipsius fixa per saecula maneret, et legentes quoque vel audientes exemplum facti ad stadium*

[200] Bede, *HE*, I.28, 'this is the substance of it'; I.29, 'here is the text of this letter'; III.29, 'and this is the letter which was sent to King Oswiu in Britain'.

[201] Bede, *HE*, II.10, 11. These letters have been discussed in detail above, see p. 98.

[202] Anon, *VC*, Ch. 39; 'witness of what the Apostolic Father thought of him and of his gifts is provided by a letter which he sent in reply, which begins as follows'.

[203] Bede, *HE*, II.1; 'his epitaph written on his tomb runs as follows'.

religionis accenderet.[204] Bede prefaced Theodore's epitaph with a similar statement. Bede wrote, *cuius personam, vitam, aetatem et obitum epitaphium quoque monumenti ipsius versibus heroicis XXX et IIII palam ac lucide cunctis illo aduenientibus pandit.*[205] In each case, Bede reminded the reader that the epitaph had originally been inscribed on or above the tomb of the person whose life he was describing. This emphasis on the location of the inscription in Rome may have had a similar impact to the topographic titles that introduce the inscriptions in the syllogae.

When introducing Theodore's epitaph in *HE,* Bede explained that it described his *personam, versibus, aetatem et obitum*.[206] This suggests that Bede intended the epitaph to provide the reader with more information about the person's life and death, even though he only copied the first and last four lines. Bede may have felt that the epitaph had value and fulfilled its purpose in the narrative, by copying it in part, rather than paraphrasing or summarising its content. Bede's introduction to Cædwalla's epitaph also references the role that the epitaph played in the preservation of his memory. Bede explained that Pope Sergius ordered the epitaph to be placed on his tomb so that *memoria devotionis ipsius fixa per saecula maneret, et legentes quoque vel audientes exemplum facti ad studium religionis accenderet*.[207] Bede's decision to include these epitaphs verbatim, after reminding the reader that they were originally inscribed on the tomb of the person they were commemorating, suggests that there was a value in the epitaphs themselves, from their material existence and function at the place of burial, not just the information they contained. In the case of Theodore's epitaph, there was value in copying only the first and last four lines of the epitaph. This may be equally true for some of the papal letters which were only partly copied verbatim. For example, Bede only quoted about a quarter of the letter that Pope Gregory sent to Augustine after hearing of the miracles he had performed.[208] Since Bede had full

[204] Bede, *HE,* V.7; 'so that the memory of his devotion might be preserved for ever and those who read it or heard it read might be kindled to religious zeal by his example'.

[205] Bede, *HE,* V.8; 'the epitaph on his tomb, consisting of thirty-four heroic verses, openly and clearly describes to all comers his character, his life, his age and his death'.

[206] Bede, *HE*, V.8; 'character, life, age and death'.

[207] Bede, *HE,* V.7; 'the memory of his devotion might be preserved for ever and those who read it or heard it read might be kindled to his religious zeal by his example'.

[208] Bede, *HE,* I.31.

copies of the other Gregorian letters, he probably had a full copy of this letter but chose to copy only an extract. Copying part of the document still confronted the reader with its original form and prompted the reader to form a mental image of the place where the document was located or the person with which it was inherently associated. It is through these mental images, encouraged by the appearance of the document in the manuscript, that the reader was able to form a perception of distant person and place.

Scholars have noted Bede's debt to the historical tradition established by Eusebius, particularly in the broadly chronological arrangement of *HE*, the tracing of episcopal succession within the English kingdoms, and the concern with heresy.[209] This debt is also visible in Bede's inclusion of written documents.[210] Like Eusebius, Bede's approach to history was 'more archival than rhetorical in character', as he included documents in his narrative where the classical pagan historians had not.[211] Higham pointed out that extracts from original documents, whether quoted in part or in full, comprise approximately fourteen per cent of the entire work.[212] These documents were important pieces of evidence to guide and support the authenticity and reliability of his narrative.

Through close analysis of a series of legal disputes, Zweck and Wormald have argued that by the ninth century a special value appears to have been placed on documentary evidence as opposed to oral testimony.[213] Zweck noted numerous references in Anglo-Saxon literature to the retrieval of documents from archives and their use as witnesses to solve disputes.[214] When Bede, Stephen and the anonymous author copied documents into their narratives, they perhaps intended the documents to act as witnesses to the past events they were describing. Through their role in the

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[209] R. Markus, *Bede and the Tradition of Ecclesiastical Historiography* (Jarrow Lecture, 1975), p. 3; Thacker, 'Bede and History', p. 172.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Ibid.

[212] Higham, *(Re-)Reading Bede,* p. 129.

[213] P. Wormald, 'Charters, Law and the Settlement of Disputes in Anglo-Saxon England', in W. Davis and P. Fouracre (eds), *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 154; Zweck, *Epistolary Acts,* p. 150.

[214] Zweck, *Epistolary Acts*, p. 149; See also S. Keynes, *Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978-1016: A Study in their use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 149; D. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), p. 162-163.

narrative, as much as their appearance in the early manuscripts, they provided a bridge to chronologically and geographically distant people and places.

Zweck also discussed the impact of letters that were ‘embedded in late Anglo-Saxon hagiography’, and how the documents were able to act as a witness to an event temporally and geographically distant from the reader. [215] When discussing this act of preservation, Zweck also examined the ‘shifting relationship between the message and medium’ during the process of preservation of a letter.[216] The papal letters and the epitaphs were similarly embedded into Bede’s *HE,* and became part of the narrative and manuscript copy, while retaining the connection to their appearance in other contexts. As Alcuin describes in his *De Ratione,* the mental image of a person or place, whether known or unknown, would be built from what had been ‘read or heard’ of that person or place, and it was this that facilitated perception.[217] For readers of these early manuscripts of *HE*, the physical appearance of papal letters and epitaphs would have been just as influential on mental images formed as part of the reading experience as the words themselves. Readers would have been reminded of the original medium of the inscription in Rome via Bede’s language and the design chosen by the scribes to copy these epitaphs. Just like inscriptions in syllogae, these epitaphs may have allowed the reader to form a connection with the person commemorated and their place of burial in Rome. The change of script for the farewell and date formulae was reminiscent of the appearance of original papal letters and may have prompted the reader to consider the temporally and geographically distant nature of the event of the letter’s arrival.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the appearance of papal letters and epitaphs in the early manuscript copies of *HE* was often directly inspired by how these documents appeared in other contexts. These other media include original papal letters, epitaphs visible on a tomb, or manuscripts that preserve these texts, such as letter-collections and syllogae. When Bede introduced these texts in his narrative, he also emphasised that they had originally existed in another medium. Indeed, the role played by these

[215] Zweck, *Epistolary Acts,* p. 148.

[216] *Ibid.,* p. 184.

[217] Alcuin, *De Ratione,* Ch. IV.

documents in the narrative may have been directly tied to their original form. Chapters 2 and 4 have demonstrated how the materiality of letters and inscriptions in syllogae, was an important part of how these texts enabled the reader to perceive distant people and places. Through Bede's choice of language, and the appearance of the earliest manuscripts, the impact of the original medium was carried through into the reading experience. Papal letters and epitaphs could be thought of as multimedia additions to Bede's narrative.

In his *De Ratione*, Alcuin is clear that mental images, drawn from the experience of the bodily senses, facilitates perception. If a person or place is known, these mental images are built from the perceiver's eye-witness experience. If the person or place is unknown, however, these mental images are built from what is known or similar things. For readers of manuscript copies of *HE* in the eighth and ninth centuries, the multimedia addition of papal letters and epitaphs would have contributed to the mental images that facilitated perception of distant people and places. In the case of the papal letters and certain epitaphs in *HE*, this place was Rome and the people at the heart of these texts were inherently connected to the city. Their appearance in the earliest manuscript copies carried forth aspects of the impact of reading, hearing or encountering the document in other forms. They provided a bridge to the events, people and places that were both chronologically and geographically distant from the reader.

Conclusion

The early manuscript witnesses of papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae demonstrate that they were read, circulated and recopied in England and Francia, long after their initial composition. These texts were generally composed in Rome, with the intention that they be read elsewhere. They were often produced or acquired as a result of physical travel to the city and were intended to provide readers with a connection to Rome and people associated with the city. This thesis has demonstrated how reading these texts could allow distant readers to perceive Rome, and that the medium of these texts often guided that perception.

Alcuin's *De Ratione* includes an explanation of how the soul draws upon mental images formed via the experience of the bodily senses to perceive distant people and places. If a person or place was unknown, and had not been perceived first-hand, these mental images were built from what was known from other sources of information, such as text. Alcuin is clear that perception was personal, and that mental images of people and places might vary but still facilitate valid perception. The process of acquisition, appearance, and the context within which texts were read, would have all been an important part of the reading experience. This means that the medium of a text would have had an important bearing on the perception one could gain from it. This importance of the medium has much in common with the art historical and media approach, that emphasises 'message in the medium'.

This thesis has used Alcuin's explanation of the perception of place in *De Ratione* in order to examine how papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae could be used to form a perception of Rome in England and Francia. This involved a substantial reassessment of the early manuscript witnesses of these three genres. This manuscript-focused approach is different from how these texts have previously been studied. This approach has revealed new insights into how these texts were read, interpreted, and preserved by their earliest audiences.

Chapter one began with a detailed analysis of Alcuin's explanation of how the soul perceived distant place. This demonstrated that Alcuin adapted the analogy of Rome and Jerusalem from Augustine's *De trinitate.* Alcuin's choice of Rome as the known place and Jerusalem as the unknown place reflected his own experience, and probably that of most of his readers. This suggests that these were places his readers were used to thinking about, and perceiving, whether they were known or unknown.

Alcuin's *De Ratione* survives in a relatively large number of ninth-century manuscript copies, and in almost all of these, *De Ratione* is copied alongside the two Trinitarian letter-treatises, *De fide* and *Questionnes.* These three letter-treatises are copied in a logical order for readers interested in the nature of the Trinity and the abilities of the Trinitarian soul. From the evidence of these manuscripts, and the text itself, *De Ratione* was a popular text in the years after composition, circulated within Alcuin's social and intellectual network and was known to men like Arn of Salzburg, Fridugis, and perhaps also Charlemagne.

The second half of chapter one focused on a ninth-century copy of *De Ratione,* Valenciennes, BM, MS 195, which is almost wholly copied in Insular minuscule by Scribe 1. The manuscript also features contributions by Scribes 2 and 3, whose hands are Frankish. Close analysis of the palaeography and codicology of this manuscript demonstrates interactions between Scribes 1 and 3 that suggest two points: these two scribes were working on the manuscript simultaneously, and Scribe 3 was the more senior scribe in the scriptorium. It is most likely, therefore, that the manuscript was copied in a Frankish scriptorium, probably at Saint-Amand, rather than the southern English scriptorium proposed by some scholars. Valenciennes, BM, MS 195 is thus an important witness to knowledge of *De Ratione* in an insular context in Francia. Similarities between the style of Insular minuscule practised by Scribe 1 and the scribes of the 'Tiberius group', bring *De Ratione* into a historic, interconnected network of scriptoria on both sides of the Channel, within which both scribes and books would often travel.

Chapters two, three and four assessed the impact of the early manuscript witnesses of papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae, focusing on how these texts were read and preserved by their earliest audiences. Chapter two examined the impact of the recognisable papal materiality of letters from the pope in Rome. This analysis began with an overview of how letters connect distant people, and how this may have facilitated the perception of distant place. Letters carry the voice of the sender, and the physical document is often handled by the recipient in lieu of the sender's physical presence. Letters can act as a bridge by overcoming physical distance, or as a barrier when epistolary communication is compared to the emotive impact of face-to-face communication. The ability of letters to act as both bridge and barrier is frequently referenced and alluded to in early medieval letters. Indeed, it is interesting to consider whether Alcuin's familiarity with the benefits and limitations of letter writing made him particularly sensitive to the ability of text to facilitate access to distant people and places through the nature of the soul.

Chapter two considered the impact of the materiality of papal letters by comparing key aspects of their appearance to contemporary non-papal letters. Recognisably papal features of these letters include, the papyrus upon which they were written, the Roman curial script, the papal seal, and the performative way many of these letters would have been presented, read aloud and then translated upon arrival.

Chapter three examined how pilgrim itineraries facilitated perception of Rome by focusing on two seventh-century itineraries preserved in a manuscript compiled in *c.* 798, probably under the direction of Arn of Salzburg. The content of this manuscript appears to reflect Arn's interests as a newly appointed archbishop, meaning that the two itineraries for Rome were part of that interest. This chapter also considered how the language and content of these itineraries may have facilitated perception. The second part of this chapter considered the content and manuscript context of other, contemporary pilgrim itineraries or itinerant texts, and the image that they provided of Rome for their readers. The final part of this chapter examined a letter-treatise written by Alcuin and addressed to Fridugis and preserved in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795. This letter explained the three types of vision, corporal, symbolic and mental. Perception of distant people and places drew upon both corporal and symbolic vision, and those who knew the three visions theory may have also been familiar with Alcuin's explanation of perception in *De Ratione*.

Chapter 4 focused on a unique collection of topographical texts preserved in a ninth-century manuscript, Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076), comprising a sylloge, twelve short itineraries, a liturgical text and a collection of poems. This chapter began with an analysis of the sylloge and collection of poems, which focused on their content, appearance in the manuscript, and how this compared to other syllogae from the period. This proposed how specific features of this content and context aided the process of perception, most specifically how they retained a sense of the experience of the pilgrim who composed the collection, and how they allowed distant readers to follow in their footsteps. Analysis of Ordo XXIII discussed how the text described people in Rome performatively engaging with the landscape of Jerusalem, and the implications of reading this text north of the Alps, within a compilation of topographical texts based on perception of Rome. The final part of this chapter reassessed evidence for knowledge of Ordo XXIII, and other types of stational liturgy, in England, and considered what this can reveal about how readers engaged with, and perceived, distant place.

The final chapter examined how papal letters and epitaphs are presented in the earliest surviving copies of Bede's *HE.* These documents were copied verbatim, and their appearance in the early manuscripts mirrored the appearance of their original form or other manuscripts, such as letter-collections and syllogae. The chapter considered the motives of the scribes who copied and decorated these early copies of *HE,* and the impact of their design choices on their readers. This latter section explored how Bede and his readers may have accessed papal letters and Roman epigraphy in England. The final part of this chapter considered how the perception of Rome, possible through these papal letters and epitaphs, changed as a result of their inclusion in *HE*. Their formatting marked these texts as distinct from the main narrative, in a manner which made them almost a multi-media addition, acting as evidence for the author and windows into another time and place for the reader.

Reassessing the early manuscript witnesses of papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae, in light of Alcuin's explanation of how the soul perceives distant place, has highlighted a number of similarities between the language used in these texts and the way they were preserved in the manuscripts. Firstly, letters, itineraries, and inscriptions, and the manuscripts that preserve them, were often personal documents. Letters were immediate documents, written with a specific person, destination and purpose in mind, connecting the writer and recipient through text. Certain itineraries, such as the *Notitia* and *De locis,* were written in the voice of the pilgrim who composed them, thus forging a personal connection between the pilgrim and the reader. Inscriptions were tied to the memory of the person or event they were commemorating or the place they were displayed.

Letter-collections and syllogae, such as Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795 and Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076), are bespoke collections, reflecting the personal interest of their compilers. The texts they include are relatively short and were copied alongside other short texts that were purposefully selected. The compiler of Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076), for example, clearly had an interest in different ways of representing the pilgrim experience of Rome through text, and in representing Rome as a historic city where the pagan past was intertwined with the Christian present. These compilations could also have a personal connection to an institution. Many syllogae, including the

Einsiedeln sylloge, added epitaphs and inscriptions from their own institution to these collections of Roman epigraphy, almost combining Rome with home. A sense of this institutional connection is perhaps also seen in the itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric, in the decision of the scribe to describe Sigeric as *noster sigericus* in the *incipit* statement.

Additionally, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae often preserve aspects of the experience of the pilgrim who composed the text on the streets of Rome. The itineraries in Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) were copied in a topographical arrangement on the page that mirrors the location of the stations on the Roman cityscape. In the Einsiedeln sylloge, the inscriptions are copied in a topographical order, that reflects the way the inscriptions would be encountered by a pilgrim in Rome. The titles that precede these inscriptions often emphasise their location in the cityscape, in relation to one another. The original experience of the pilgrim is sometimes more subtle. In *Notitia* and *De locis,* the text is written in the voice of the author, speaking directly to the reader, and the author's own experience of Rome is evident in the detailed knowledge displayed of the extra-mural catacombs. Archbishop Sigeric's Itinerary introduces him with a title that ensures the reader is immediately clear that they are following Sigeric's experience. The pilgrims who composed these texts had experienced the place first hand, and to them Rome was a known place.

These pilgrims had forged a personal connection with Rome and experienced this distant place first-hand. In Alcuin's explanation of perception of place, this eye-witness experience is the defining factor that takes a place from unknown to known. The letter-treatise on the three types of vision, written by Alcuin to Fridugis, preserved in Vienna, ÖNB, MS 795, explains the nature of corporal, symbolic and intellectual visions. Corporal and symbolic visions had important roles to play in the perception of distant place. Those who read these texts far from Rome would have been drawing upon their corporeal vision when looking at the document or manuscript, and their spiritual vision would have used that experience of the corporeal vision to perceive the place from afar. The letters and epitaphs Bede copied into his *HE* had a similar effect, acting as eyewitness testimony to the time and place described in his narrative.

A close reading of papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae suggests that people were at the heart of the perception of Rome from afar. In his *De Ratione,* Alcuin clarified that the soul perceives distant, unknown people via the same mental processing as distant, unknown places. This personal connection to distant people and places was perhaps encouraged by the fact that these texts were often written in the first person and directly addressed the reader. Letters facilitated communication between two distant people, were written in the first person, and carried the voice of the sender. In the itineraries *Notitia* and *De locis,* the text directly addressed the pilgrim-reader, instructing them on how they would move through the extra-mural catacombs and encounter the saints at their burial places. The text stated that the pilgrim-reader would directly engage with the saints themselves. Many epitaphs were written in the voice of the person they commemorate, and directly addressed the reader, urging them to pause at the burial site and pray for the soul of the deceased. The connection to the tomb of a specific person is also emphasised by the use of geographical titles that often precede the inscriptions. Regardless of whether an epitaph was read on parchment or stone, the first-person voice, and the use of these titles, confronted the reader with the physicality of the epitaph and its function in the cityscape of Rome to commemorate the person in question.

Although the Einsiedeln itinerary and the itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric lack the detailed directional language used in *Notitia* and *De locis,* they refer to the stopping points via the dedicational saints of the churches. Other inscriptions in syllogae are often dedicational inscriptions for churches and altars, and focus on the life, death and worship of the dedicational saint. The papacy, pilgrims and saints lie at the heart of the texts discussed in this thesis. It is through perception of these people, that readers were perhaps able to forge a perception of altars, tombs, churches, and the cityscape of Rome with which they were inherently associated.

Texts discussed in this thesis could also have a performative element in the reading experience. Papal letters were often semi-public documents, and were displayed, read aloud, and probably translated at the point of arrival. Letters were often handled in lieu of the absent sender and gave a sense of connection between individuals who were physically separated. The prescriptive tone of *Notitia* and *De locis,* written in the second person singular, future tense and active voice, informed the reader what they will do upon reading. Epitaphs are similarly performative when they command the reader to pause before the tomb and pray for the soul of the deceased. Ordo XXIII and lists of stational liturgy provide other examples of how text can lead to performance, which itself facilitates the perception of distant place. This performative aspect would perhaps also have been influenced by the personal nature of these books, often tied to the interests and history of specific people or institutions. It is additionally worth noting the small size of Einsiedeln, SB, MS 326(1076) which suggests single readership, and perhaps also portability.

Reassessing the early manuscript witnesses of papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae has raised valuable new insights regarding how these texts were circulated, read and preserved by their earliest audience. When studied in the light of Alcuin's explanation of the perception of place in his *De Ratione*, these insights reveal the perception of Rome possible for distant readers of these texts. There is scope to take a similar approach for other texts from this period that were also associated with Rome or provided information about the city. Analysis of Ordo XXIII demonstrated the potential for further research on other itinerant liturgical texts. There is potential to reassess their early manuscript witnesses and examine how liturgical texts were initially read and preserved. Liturgical calendars could also be personalised to the interests of an institution, and so are in keeping with the personal, bespoke aspect of letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae. A clear next step would be to examine further the presence of a copy of Bede's *Martyrology* alongside *De locis* in Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, th.f.49, and the early list of Roman stational churches copied into a Roman Lectionary, now Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, m.p.th.f.62, in *c.* 800. Similarly, it would be useful to consider other early manuscript witnesses to texts that enable readers to learn about Roman topography, and its associated people, namely calendars and martyrologies and the *Liber Pontificalis.*

This thesis has reassessed the impact of papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae by examining the medium through which they were accessed by their earliest readers. These manuscripts reveal aspects of how these texts were initially acquired, read, and preserved. Alcuin's explanation of the perception of place in *De Ratione* suggests that those who read these texts in England and Francia were able to form their own perception of Rome from afar. The Rome they 'knew' from these texts was a specific kind of Rome, focused on the catacombs, churches, and the institution of the papacy, and in many ways reflected the physical experience of those who had travelled to or around the city. Whether Rome was a known or unknown place, a rich perception of the cityscape, and the people associated with it, was certainly attainable for those who received and read papal letters, pilgrim itineraries and syllogae collections of inscriptions.

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