

27. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57

“Regula Sancti Benedicti,” “Martyrology” of Usuard,
“Diadema monachorum” of Smaragdus, and other texts
[Ker 34, Gneuss 41]

HISTORY: MS 57, copied in a southern English Benedictine center in the late 10c or early 11c and owned by Abingdon at least by the 1040s, contains three principal texts: the “Regula Sancti Benedicti,” the “Martyrology” of Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and (now lacking its ending) the “Diadema monachorum” of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel. Other, shorter texts associated with the 9c Carolingian movement of Benedictine reform complete the manuscript, which itself reflects the English Benedictine reform of the second half of the 10c. The contents made the manuscript suitable for use in the monastic chapter house, and numerous additions in the manuscript establish that it obtained such use within the A-S period.

The copy of the “Rule of St. Benedict” in MS 57, assigned the siglum “g” by modern editors, belongs to the “mixed” recension known as the *textus receptus*, which originated in the Carolingian period. All surviving copies of the “Rule” produced in A-S England from the third quarter of the 10c onwards belong to this recension. However, numerous readings in MS “g” suggest that it also has links with the earlier *textus interpolatus* tradition represented by MS “O” (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton MS 48 [381]), an 8c, perhaps Northumbrian manuscript which was at Worcester in the later Middle Ages and which is the oldest surviving copy of the “Rule.” In MS 57, the “Rule” is followed on ff. 32v–40v by a group of short texts beginning with a dictum on the value of following the “Rule.” The dictum is here attributed to Fulgentius, but, as Sauer (1984) has shown, it is in fact an extract from the end of the “Liber de conflictu vitiorum et virtutum” by Ambrosius Autpertus (d. 784), Frankish abbot of the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in Italy. Next comes the text known as the “Memoriale qualiter,” believed to have been written in the late 8c and promoted in the 9c by Benedict of Aniane (750–821), the chief instigator of monastic reform under Emperor Louis the Pious (814–840). The “Memoriale qualiter” directs how the monk should act throughout the day, from the moment of rising, and includes a set of

prescriptive dicta on general monastic conduct. In MS 57 it is divided into two parts, of which the second is given its own title, “*Epitoma Lothuuici super regulam beati Benedicti.*” Next comes a brief text “*De festiuitatibus anni,*” stating which feast days are to be observed during the year. The text has been extracted from the proceedings of the Council of Mainz of 813, of which it is Canon XXXVI. Finally within this group comes the set of monastic decrees known as the “*Regula Sancti Benedicti abbatis sive Collectio capitularis.*” Although the preamble to this text ascribes it to the Council held at Aachen in 817, it is more likely that it was compiled under the direction of Benedict of Aniane at the Council held at Aachen in the winter of 818–819; according to the analysis of Semmler (1960), the text combines, and partly modifies, the decrees of the two Councils of 816 and 817.

This group of texts on ff. 32v–40v associates MS 57 with four other A-S copies of the “Rule of St. Benedict” in which the “Rule” is followed by some of these texts (see Sauer 1984): London, British Library, Harley 5431 (St. Augustine’s; second half of 10c); Cotton Tiberius A. iii [223] (Canterbury; mid 11c); Cotton Titus A. iv [235] (perhaps Winchester; mid 11c); and Cambridge, University Library, Ll. 1. 14, ff. 70–108 (second half of 11c). A fifth A-S manuscript contains two of the texts, but not the “Rule” itself: Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, U. 107 (1385), ff. 20–26 [444] (late 10c or early 11c). Of these manuscripts, the closest to MS 57 is Cotton Tiberius A. iii, which includes all the texts except the opening section of the “*Memoriale qualiter*” (the section that MS 57 treats as a separate unit on ff. 33r–34v), and which presents the texts in the same order as MS 57.

The “Martyrology” which occupies ff. 41r–94r of MS 57 was compiled ca. 850–865 by Usuard, monk of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Day by day throughout the year, it lists those martyrs and confessors who died on the day in question, and in many cases it provides brief information about the manner of their death. The final text in the manuscript, the “*Diadema monachorum*” by Smaragdus, abbot of Saint-Mihiel (d. 826 x 841), was intended by its author to provide edifying material for monastic reading. It is a compilation from earlier works, notably the “*Sententiae*” of Isidore of Seville and Taio of Saragossa, the “*Expositio super epistolas catholicas*” of Bede, and various works of Pope Gregory the Great.

The contents of the manuscript indicate that MS 57 was intended for service in the monastic chapter house. It was usual Benedictine practice to read from the “Martyrology” and the “Rule” at the morning gathering in the chapter house; normally the reading from the “Martyrology” would commemorate the

saints whose anniversaries occurred on the following day. Reading from the “Martyrology” and the “Rule” is laid down both in Canon LXXVI of the “Regula Sancti Benedicti abbatis Anianensis sive Collectio capitularis” (a canon omitted in the copy in MS 57), and in paragraph 21 of the “Regularis concordia,” the code that was drawn up at the Council of Winchester of ca. 970/973 to regulate monastic practice throughout England. Smaragdus specifically intended his “Diadema” to provide reading matter for the evening meeting in the chapter house, as he states in his preface (see f. 95r/20–23).

The place of origin of MS 57 is uncertain. However, that the manuscript was at the abbey of St. Mary, Abingdon, from an early point in its history is shown by the addition on the originally blank f. 94v of two formulae, one for the Abingdon community to announce the death of one of its members to the Christian faithful, the other for another community to announce the death of a member to the abbot and community of Abingdon. The second formula names Æthelstan, who was abbot from ca. 1044–ca. 1047. If the manuscript was made at Abingdon, as is possible, the overwhelmingly continental character of its contents suggests that it could reflect texts brought to Abingdon from France during the time of St. Æthelwold, who was abbot from ca. 954–963, and who sent the Abingdon monk (later abbot) Osgar to the abbey of Fleury to observe its Benedictine practice.

Numerous additions to the “Martyrology” attest to the use of MS 57 in the chapter house at Abingdon during the A-S period and later. Usuard’s original text included only a few English saints such as Cuthbert on 20 March (f. 51v/6–9) and King Oswald on 5 August (f. 71v/22–24). Additions in interlines, outer margins, and blank spaces within and at the end of lines adapt the text for English use by providing references to English saints, for example Chad on 2 March (f. 49v, interline between ll. 6–7); Dunstan on 19 May (f. 60r, interline between ll. 17–18); and Eadburga on 15 June (f. 64r, outer margin). These additions are in several hands. Most belong to the 11c, but several are 12c (e.g., Sexburga on 6 July, in the outer margin of f. 67r). Four additions by one 11c hand concern St. Bertin (ff. 57r/27, 64r/26 and outer margin, 68v/28, and 77r/16 and outer margin). These additions probably reflect the possession of relics of St. Bertin by Abingdon. The date at which the abbey acquired these relics is unrecorded; it was before 1116 when, according to the “Historia monasterii de Abingdon,” they were inspected by Abbot Faritus (1100–1117).

Many other additions in the outer margins of the “Martyrology” record obits. The obits include those of abbots identifiable as late 10c or 11c abbots of Abingdon, and of many monks described as “of our congregation.” The

abbots are Æthelwine (f. 48v); Æthelstan (f. 52v); Eadwine (f. 54v, with the first letter trimmed away); and Osgar (f. 61v). Æthelwine, Eadwine, and Osgar held office respectively in the years 1018–1030, 985–990, and 963–984. Other entries in ink and drypoint apparently prepare the text for reading aloud by providing a full written version of numbers that the original text gives in the form of Roman numerals (e.g., f. 72v, interline between ll. 7–8, and f. 73r, interline between ll. 5–6). Other ink additions indicate the status of particular feast days by directing how many responsories or lections there should be at the night office. Mostly entered in the outer margins, these additions take the form ‘III R’, ‘XII R’, ‘III Lc’, and ‘XII Lc’. The abbreviated form ‘Cap.’ is added beside two feasts, those of Laurence on 10 August (f. 72v) and the Assumption of the Virgin on 15 August (f. 73r). The abbreviation stands for *Cappis*, indicating that these feasts were to be celebrated with the brethren wearing copes.

Other additions in MS 57 suggest that while the manuscript was certainly used for reading aloud in chapter, it also served for private study and for instruction. The “Rule” is extensively glossed, with most of the glosses entered by a single A-S hand. The “Memoriale qualiter” and the “Diadema monachorum” have occasional glosses. All three texts have acquired numerous construe marks intended to make the Latin more easily comprehensible by picking out the principal elements in sentences and by establishing syntactical links. Most of the marks consist of two dots placed one above the other, with a tick-shaped stroke to the right; some marks, used for subordinate elements, comprise only two dots, aligned either vertically or horizontally. The marks occur usually below, but sometimes above the words to which they relate.

The few OE elements in the manuscript are further testimony to its probable use for study and instruction. They include eleven glosses in ink within the “Rule” and a number in drypoint within the “Diadema monachorum.”

There is no evidence to indicate the later medieval ownership of MS 57. It may have remained at Abingdon until the 16c. Its texts continued to receive annotations until the 13c, but these later annotations reveal nothing of the whereabouts of the manuscript at the time they were written. In the 15c a contents-list was entered on the verso of the front endleaf (f. 1). A mostly erased 16c note on the recto of that leaf perhaps relates to the 16c ownership of the manuscript before it entered the collection of Matthew Parker in the 1560s or early 1570s. Unlike other A-S manuscripts owned by Parker, this one apparently received little Parkerian attention, for its text has no annotations by

Parker or members of his circle. The Latin note on the verso of the front endleaf, stating that "This book is not to be scorned, for it is written in Latin in Saxon script," is probably Parkerian; within the note, the diagonal separating-stroke and the letters 'co(n)' added before 'temnendus' may have been written by Parker himself. The note in Gothicizing script on the last page of the surviving manuscript, which states that a quire is missing from the end and which James (1912) thought to be early 16c, could be either Parkerian or pre-Parkerian. MS 57 passed to the keeping of Corpus Christi College by Parker's indenture of 1575.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION: The leaves are mostly rather thick, with cream-colored or yellowish, sometimes scaly surfaces. Three leaves supplied in the 11c (ff. 8, 19, 22), and a supplied 11c patch in the lower area of f. 85, are somewhat lighter in color. Few leaves have holes acquired while the skins still belonged to their animals.

The leaves are mostly arranged so that hair side faces flesh side and vice versa, with hair side on the outside. In Quire VI, the central bifolium (ff. 44–45) has its flesh side on the outside. The three supplied leaves are arranged so that the disposition of their hair and flesh sides fits the pattern of the adjacent original leaves. The supplied patch on f. 85 probably has its hair side turned to the recto, like the leaf into which it fits.

The leaves measure ca. 328 x 254 mm. The written area measures ca. 280 x 203 mm. The text is laid out in single columns of 27 lines. The leaves were not pricked in the inner margins. The trimming of the outer, upper, and lower margins has removed all the prickings except those of the three supplied leaves, which retain the prickings in the outer margins. The ruling is in drypoint. On most leaves, for each line of script, there are two horizontal rulings: a baseline and a line at minim height. There are pairs of vertical bounding lines at each side of the column.

The original texts were copied by a single scribe writing a clearly legible, somewhat compressed A-S square minuscule, suggesting a date of the late 10c or early 11c. The three supplied leaves are the work of a single scribe writing a somewhat larger, more elongated form of A-S square minuscule which appears deliberately to imitate the original script, while occasionally using Caroline minuscule forms of the letters *g* and *r*. The supplied patch on f. 85 is written in a somewhat unsteady square minuscule and may be the work of another scribe. The three supplied leaves were apparently inserted after the "Rule of St. Benedict" had been extensively glossed by an 11c hand. The first

supplied leaf (f. 8) has glosses probably entered by the scribe who wrote the supplied leaves; he could have copied the glosses from the leaf he was replacing. The other two supplied leaves (ff. 19 and 22) have no glosses. The character of the script of the supplied leaves suggests that they were produced in the first half of the 11c. The leaves they replaced had perhaps become damaged.

Titles, openings, initials, and chapter-numbers are mostly written in metallic red lead pigment. The initial *O* opening the preface to the "Rule of St. Benedict" is in green pigment, with ink elements. Within the "Martyrology," some of the initial *K*'s beginning the entries for each month include simple forms of decoration, usually curls or foliate terminals. The skillfully-drawn bichrome ink and red pigment initial *H* that begins chap. 1 of the "Diadema monachorum" (f. 97v) has decoration of Wormald's (1945) Type II (b), with bird- and animal-like heads, narrow-band interlace, and foliate elements. Throughout the manuscript (but not on the supplied leaves or patch), many ink initials within the columns of the text have a filling of yellow pigment; sometimes these initials enclose sketches of human faces (as on ff. 11v–12v).

The leaves have suffered various forms of damage. Much of the red lead pigment has corroded and darkened, producing show-through. Some leaves have been scored or cut with a sharp point. On ff. 16–18, 78–79, and 78–81, shapes have been cut out in the outer or inner margin. On f. 81, scoring the outline of the initial *A* in the lower area of the verso produced a cut. Several leaves have tears, many of which rise diagonally from the lower inner corner (as on ff. 5, 6, and 72). The tears have been repaired variously with thread, patches, and modern gauze. Ff. 155–160 share a brownish liquid stain that descends diagonally from the upper edge; on ff. 159v–160r, some brownish fibrous deposit within the area of the stain has partly covered the script. The last page (f. 163v) has brownish liquid stains, and a brownish deposit (perhaps viscous spillage from the bottom of an inkpot) which partly covers the script of ll. 23–24, shows through on the recto, and has produced a small stain on f. 162v. The upper outer corner of the last page has a rectangular greyish-brown mark which presumably derives from a former binding, and which therefore shows that the manuscript had already lost its last leaves of text by the time of that binding. Trimming the edges of the leaves for binding has removed the top of the decorated initial on f. 97v, as well as portions of decoration and script added in the margins.

The present binding is a full binding of native undyed goatskin over millboards, with double endpapers at both ends; the front endpapers have

become detached, and are now inserted loosely. The binding is the work of John P. Gray of Green Street, Cambridge, in May 1953, as is stated in a note initialed by J. P. T. Bury, the former librarian of Corpus Christi College. The note is entered in the upper right area of the recto of the first front endpaper. The binding replaces an 18c binding of August 1748 which is recorded in the Library and Plate register of the College for the years 1708–1771 (Corpus Christi College, Archives B. 3, f. 88v).

COLLATION: ii + 163 + ii. Two 20c paper endleaves. I⁸ (8 supplied; ff. 1–8); II⁸ (ff. 9–16); III⁸ (3 and 6 supplied; ff. 17–24); IV⁸ (ff. 25–32); V¹⁰ (wants 9, 10; ff. 33–40); VI–VIII⁸ (ff. 41–64); IX¹² (lacks 2, 5; ff. 65–74); X⁸ (ff. 75–82); XI⁸ (ff. 83–90); XII⁸ (wants 5, 6; ff. 91–96); XIII⁸ (ff. 97–104); XIV⁸ (ff. 105–112); XV⁸ (ff. 113–120); XVI¹⁰ (ff. 121–130); XVII⁸ (ff. 131–138); XVIII⁸ (ff. 139–146); XIX⁸ (ff. 147–154); XX¹⁰ (lacks 2; ff. 155–163). Two 20c paper endleaves.

[**Note:** this collation differs from that of James (1912), who believed that Quire IX comprised 8 leaves, and that ff. 73–74 comprised a short quire of 2 leaves (his Quire “10”). But ff. 65 and 74 are conjoint, as the outer bifolium of Quire IX; within the quire, ff. 70 and 73 are single leaves, with their conjoint stubs between ff. 67–68 and 65–66 respectively. Quire XX (James’s Quire “21”) has nine leaves, not 8 as James believed; f. 162 is a single leaf with its conjoint stub between ff. 155–156. Quire numbers entered in pencil in the lower outer corner of leaves, beginning with “2” on f. 9r, are probably the work of James since they correspond with his collation. The number usually occurs on the first leaf of the quire, but the number “10” is on the ninth leaf of Quire IX (f. 73r), and the numbers “20” and “21” are on the second leaves of Quires XIX and XX (ff. 148r and 156r).]

CONTENTS:

- f. 1r Original front endleaf, originally blank, with later additions: faded late 10c or 11c pen-trials in the upper, middle right, and lower right areas, a mostly erased 16c note in the upper middle area, and the former and present Corpus pressmarks in the upper area.
- f. lv Late 10c or 11c pen-trials in the upper and lower areas (including mostly erased alphabetical trials at the lower right), compass-drawn drypoint sketches in the lower area, 15c contents-list of the volume in the middle area, and a 16c, probably Parkerian note on its language and script in the upper area.

1. ff. 2r/1–32v/11 Untitled “Regula Sancti Benedicti”: ‘OBSCVLTA O FILI P(RAE)CEPTA MAGISTRI ... regna patebunt æterna; | FINIT REGVLA BEATI BENEDICTI’ (ed. Chamberlin 1982). [In the upper margin of f. 2r is an added, faded, and trimmed late 10c or 11c note ending ‘prebeat. <ue>l q<uo>d distortum. <ue>l prauum q. . .’. (= Isidore, *Etym.*, PL 82.243A).]
2. f. 32v/12–17 Extract from Ambrosius Autpertus, “Liber de conflictu vitiorum et virtutum” (here signaled as a dictum of St. Fulgentius, recommending strict observance of the “Regula Sancti Benedicti”): ‘Dicebat uero s(an)c(tu)s fulgentius: iuxta regulam patrum uiue|re . . . sec|tatores suos p(er)ducunt ad celi palatia’ (ed. Sauer 1984).
- 3a. ff. 33r/1–34v/16 **MEMORIALE QVALIT(ER) IN MONAST(ER)IO CONVERSARI DEBEMVS** | ‘Nocturnis horis cum ad opus diuinum . . . misereatur n(ost)ri omnipotens d(omi)n(u)s am(en)’ (ed. Becker et al. 1963: 229–40).
- 3b. ff. 34v/17–37v/12 The second portion of the “Memoriale qualiter”: **INCIPIT EPITOMA LOTHVVICI IMPERATORIS SVPER | REGULAM BEATI BENEDICTI.** | ‘A kalendis autem octobris usque in pascha . . . Hi affectus in unu(m) | collecti ad memoriam reducantur’ (ed. Becker et al. 1963: 240–61).
4. f. 37v/12–22 Canon 36 of the Council of Mainz, 813: **DE FESTIVITATIB(VS) ANNI** | ‘Festos dies in anno celebrare sanximus . . . quorum in unaquaque parrochia s(an)c(t)a corpora requiescunt’ (ed. Werminghoff 1906: 269–70).
5. ff. 37v/23–40v/18 The “Regula Sancti Benedicti abbatis Anianensis sive Collectio capitularis”: **ITEM ABBREVIATIO EIVS QVI SVpra** | ‘Anno dominice incarnationis .DCCC.XVII . . . uoluerint abstine|re in ipsorum maneat arbitrio’ (ed. Becker et al. 1963: 515–35).
6. ff. 41r/1–94r/27 Untitled “Martyrologium” by Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, lacking Usuard’s preface addressed to King Charles the Bald: ‘KALENDAE MENSIS IANVARI | CIRCVMCISIO D(OMI)NI N(OST)RI IE(S)V CHR(IST)I. . . Retiarie s(an)c(t)i ermetis exorciste’ (ed. Dubois 1965).
- f. 94v Page originally blank, with added texts:
- 7a. f. 94v/1–7 Formula for announcing the death of a member of the community at Abingdon Abbey: ‘+ Domnus abba .N. totaq(ue) abbandoniensis coenobii caterua . . . VALETE. ET P(RO) ILLO ORATE’.

- b. f. 94v/7 Opening words of an antiphon for the Feast of St. Lucy (13 December): 'In tua paciencia possedisti animam tuam LVCIA sponsa (ch)risti'.
- c. f. 94v/8 Brief text (mostly erased), ending 'orate p(ro) me wulfric ad DOMINUM'.
- d. f. 94v/9–11 Formula for announcing the death of a member of another community to Abbot Æthelstan and the Abingdon brethren: '+ Karissimo domno. æþelstano. & cunctis fr(atr)ib(us) abbanduniensis monasterii . . . d(eu)m clemente(m) exoretis. VALETE'.
8. ff. 95r/1–163v/27 "Diadema monachorum" by Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, ending abruptly within chap. 84: **HVNC MODICV(M) LIBELLVM SMARAGDVS DE `DI`VERSIS VIRTUTIB(VS) | COLLEGIT. . .** 'Hunc modicum op(er)is n(ost)ri libellum . . . et mundavit conscientia(m) n(ost)ram ab op(er)ib(us) mortuis. i(d est). a peccatis' (PL 102: 593–677).

[**Note:** F. 163v, lower margin, contains a 16c note stating that a whole quire is missing. As the scribe would have required approximately another eighteen pages to complete the text, the lost quire probably contained nine or ten leaves.]

Old English Glosses: The OE glosses are as follows. Within the "Rule," eleven ink glosses: on f. 3r, interline between ll. 22–23; f. 5r, interline between ll. 6–7; f. 5v, interline between ll. 6–7; f. 7r, interline between ll. 26–27; f. 7v, interline between ll. 9–10; f. 8r, interlines between ll. 10–11 and 14–15; f. 9r, interline between ll. 10–11; f. 10v, interline between ll. 19–20; f. 18r, interline between ll. 23–24; and f. 23v, outer margin alongside l. 2 (ed. Napier 1900: 231). These eleven glosses are the work of several hands of the first half and middle of the 11c. Within the "Diadema monachorum" are several drypoint glosses, published by Page (1979). They include 'geclænsiað' above 'demulceant' (f. 95r, interline between ll. 10–11); 'bæron' above 'congressimus' (f. 95r, interline between ll. 18–19); 'ponne' above 'Quando' (f. 97v, interline between ll. 9–10); 'gyf . . .' (perhaps 'gyf listaglyt') below 'si denuo' (f. 98r, inner margin and interline between ll. 7–8); and 'elles' alongside the first element of 'ali|unde' (f. 98r, outer margin beside l. 9). There is also a drypoint note, probably 'lurtiecufo. fox' on f. 32v, midway down the otherwise blank area in the lower part of the page. The entry is unrelated to the text on the page. Other casual additions to the manuscript are a brief runic entry, including the Scandinavian personal name 'auarp', scratched into the outer margin of f. 30v; and several drypoint sketches inventoried by Budny (1997: 1.449–53).

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