

- 484. (Essen-)Werden, Kath. Propsteigemeinde St. Ludgerus, Fragmente Nr. 2.**  
 Fragments of Glossaries (“The Werden Glossary”) with Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS. Fragm. K19:Z9/1 [124a], Köln-Rath (private collection of C. Füngling) [149a], München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cgm. 187 (e. 4) [325], [Münster, Universitätsbibliothek Paulinianus 271] [329] [Ker App. 39, Gneuss --]

**HISTORY** (for the later, divergent histories of fragments at other locations see the individual descriptions):

A now-dispersed collection of glossaries of the early 9c, containing parts of three distinct glossaries of A-S pedigree, having numerous interpretations derived from A-S, many in OS and OHG incarnations (see Digilio 2011: 377–84). “[A]s it originally existed, the ‘Werden Glossary’ was a large-format, carefully-executed volume of at least 112 leaves . . .” (Doane 2006: 55). Twenty-six leaves are known to have survived into the 20c: fragments are now in Werden [484] (7 leaves), in Düsseldorf [124a] (a quire of 8 leaves), Munich [325] (4 leaves), and Köln-Rath [149a] (1 partial leaf); 6 leaves once at Münster [329] were destroyed in World War II. In its original form it contained an alphabetically complete copy of the glossary “Werden B”, better-known as the “Second Amplonian” or “Erfurt 2” (now more fully preserved in Erfurt Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, MS. Amplonianus 2° 42 [129] ff. 14v-34v). The Werden and Erfurt copies are textually and paleographically very closely related, both probably being produced during the reign of archbishop Hildebald of Köln (d. 819) from a common exemplar. Erfurt was probably produced in the episcopal scriptorium itself (Bischoff and Parks in Bischoff et al. 1988: 20–22). The second element in the Werden fragments are sections of the “Glossae Nominum” (“Erfurt 3/Werden C”), batches of nominals derived from a Latin-Greek glossary

(partially preserved in Erfurt Ampl. 2°, ff. 34v-37v and more completely in the 13c manuscript Cambridge, Peterhouse 2.4.6). The third element in Werden consists of fragments of a unique glossary known as “Werden A.” “Werden A” and “B” are closely related to the “Corpus/Leiden” family of glossaries ultimately deriving from the Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian in the late 7c (Doane 2006: 59, n. 51). The Werden glossary was produced in the Köln archdiocese, at the Abbey of St. Liudger at Werden on the Ruhr, now a suburb of Essen, on the south-western fringe of the OS-speaking area and, as mentioned already, probably in the second decade of the 9c. That all the dispersed fragments mentioned here are originally from the same manuscript is guaranteed by the unity of script and format, continuity of texts, history of the dispersion of the fragments, and the logic of a hypothetical reconstruction of the complete manuscript (see below). A single scribe wrote the text of all the extant fragments in a well-formed and distinctive carolingian minuscule with insular features derived from the script developed at Corbie in the late 8c (see Bischoff and Parkes in Bischoff et al. 1988: 21). The manuscript was probably broken up and incorporated into various bindings in the 15c or 16c.

The considerable collection of books once at Werden (now chiefly located in Berlin and Düsseldorf, see Stüwer 1980, *passim*, Krämer 1989: 826–28, Barker-Benfield 1991) was from the 15c gradually sold off and cannibalized for binding materials. The Munich fragment is from a incunable published in 1488 (see description to 325). When the monastery of Werden was dissolved in 1803 the approximately 11,000 remaining, mostly printed, books were finally dispersed. All of the surviving fragments of the “Werden Glossary” were recovered from bindings and the extant bifolia (i.e., those in Werden, Düsseldorf, Munich) show the same type of treatment and style of binding typical of the late-medieval Werden library and in association with materials indicating that the manuscript was probably broken up in the 15c. The fragments of the “Werden Glossary” preserved at Werden itself (two complete bifolia, two singletons, and two fragments from a single leaf) had been used in the binding of three different items.

Learning of the existence of the “Werden Glossary” in late 1893 or early 1894 from H. Jostes, H. Gallée managed to have the Werden and Münster fragments sent to him in Utrecht and to describe and edit them in a hasty appendix to his *Altsaechsische Sprachdenkmaeler* of 1894 (330–64), and in about 1900 they were consulted *in situ* by Paul Wessner, the student of George Goetz, who later published a rough transcript (Goetz 1923: 164). Ker (*Cat.*, 483–84) assumed that the leaves of Werden [484] were still accessible at Werden about 1957, but when J.D. Pfeifer sought them for inclu-

sion in the EEMF facsimile of the Werden glossary in the mid-1980s they had gone missing and were therefore not published with the other “Werden Glossary” fragments in 1988. Slightly later they were found in a safe in the attic of the Werden Pfarrhof by the Probst Dr. Heinrich Engels and Archivist, Johannes Fischer. Besides the glossary fragments, about 500 medieval items (all fragments released from bindings) were in the safe, mostly parish records and the like, but including several dozen items of Carolingian date. The recovered fragments were briefly noticed by Freise 1993: 1.44. The correct identification of the glossary-parts at Werden was made by Gerhard Karpp, of the University of Leipzig, in 1995 (p.c.). The present describer visited them in 1996 (see Doane 2006: 42–45). At that time the fragments were kept loose in an ordinary manila envelope in very dry conditions in the Pfarrhof office.

#### CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION AND CONTENTS of Werden [484]

(for the physical descriptions of the other dispersed fragments see the individual descriptions): Remains of 7 leaves in 6 fragments. Two bifolia, two virtually complete leaves once forming a bifolium, and two cut-down portions of a single leaf. Modern page/foliation notations, all in pencil: the notations in the style ‘(Ia)’, etc. seem to indicate the position of the fragments in the volumes from which they were released; the arabic numbers at the tops of the leaves indicate their present “foliation” as an ensemble; the sporadic numbers in the lower corners are cancelled and seem to indicate an abandoned attempt at pagination.

**Item 1** (“ff. 1–2”), complete intact bifolium: At top of sheet 1 recto, ‘1’ (dark lead) and ‘(IIa)’ (pencil). Foliated ‘2’ at the top of the second sheet, recto, in pencil. At bottom right ‘3’ has been crossed out. Hair outside, 404 × 277 mm., pricked on both margins and ruled for 31 lines; pricks are conspicuous on both leaves but scores are not visible. Dark brown ink, text very legible. Writing area 223 × 175/180 mm. with 31 lines of writing. Arranged in four columns (lemma/gloss | lemma/gloss) without vertical rules for columns, the distance from the left of column a to column d is about 94 mm. This bifolium illustrates well the size, layout, and appearance typical of the original book. Subsequently used as the front pastedown (f. 1) and fly leaf (f. 2), glue marks and impress of the leather of the cover on f. 1r. Binding holes at 10, 35, 69\*, 105, 145\*, 170, 215\*, 240, 270 mm. from top, the starred holes being original (comparing the leaves of Düsseldorf [124a]), the others added later to secure the leaves as binding material; threads still adhere to upper and lower holes, but these are probably from the later binding.

Parchment of fol. 1 is stiff, but probably the effect of glue; fol. 2 is supple, tan color.

**Text**, “Werden B,” cf. “Erfurt 2” (“Second Amplonian”), (index numbers as Bischoff et al. 1988; ed. Gallée 1894: 346–48) [photo labels given in sq. brackets]:

f. 1r [1] ‘auctimat istimat dicit Nominat . . . baccu uinu(m) babilonia. confusio’ (A661- B12);

f. 1v [1R] ‘basilla regina . . . bitem amaritudine(m) inuidia tristitia ira’ (B13–71);

f. 2r [2] ‘cornipes sonipes alipes aequus . . . concentu(m) q(uo)d hinc ex inde canitus’ (C389–446);

f. 2v [2R] ‘compagniauit conuinxit . . . conlegium societas conlegaru(m) in uno honore \ possitorum’ (C447–508).

**Item 2** (“f. 3”), a cut down leaf that was reused as pastedown and fly in an octavo volume. Glue side has at top in pencil ‘3’, indicating the order of the page in the alphabetical series of the glossary (call this the recto, or f. 3r). The verso has a number in pencil ‘(1b)’. At lower right is crossed out a pencilled ‘6’. Now 260 × 190 mm. As binding material it was turned sideways and formed two leaves (pastedown, 190 × 133 mm. and flyleaf, 190 × 121 mm.) The (new) recto was pastedown and formed the outside of the fly and shows (top half of the old, opened recto) the offset of the woodgrain of the board as well as impressions of the leather cover folded in around the board. Along the (later) central crease (running same way as writing) are at least six sewing holes to secure the reused leaf to the new binding; 31 lines of text still remain, but most of column a is cut off on f. 3r and the tail of column d cut off on the verso. Trace of glue at top right of the verso, probably where the leather of the binding lapped over. Prickings on outer edge of leaf are still visible. Rules faintly visible. The recto is the flesh side. The upper half of the recto (the pastedown) has suffered much damage and some text is lost. The text on verso is almost intact. On the bottom of 3v are seen offsets of the words at the top of the page from when the leaf was folded in upon itself (e.g. ‘Emulo sineullo exercitio’ f. 3v/6cd can be seen as the fourth offset up under the right-hand columns).

**Text**, “Werden B” = “Erfurt 2,” (coll. only for differences with “Erfurt,” Gallée 1894: 348–49):

f. 3r [3] ‘[du]xit nutrix . . . elogiam elogiam [sic] fama bona (ue)l eloquium & \ testam(en)tu(m) d(icitu)r cuius \ lib&’ (D293-E58);

f. 3v [3R] ‘elicit p(ro)vocate . . . eneruum emortuum’ (E59–108);

**Item 3** (“f. 4”), another cut down leaf, in configuration similar to Item 2 and in fact its match, the two originally constituting the inner bifolium of

a quire, with flesh outside. At top right of glue-free side (a small triangle of glue on upper left) is '4' in pencil and '(Ia)', this being the original recto. At bottom right of the verso is a cancelled '1'. Now 258 × 188 mm., folded into pastedown (188 × 130 mm.) and fly (188 × 128 mm.). Offsets at bottom of f. 4r (in area once wetted by glue) are from text at top of page because of folding. F. 4v shows glue, with leather cover and wood board offsets. Thirty-one lines of text, the top line partially trimmed off on recto, gone entirely on verso. Rulings and prickings on outside edge, evident on fol. 4r.

[Note: Items 1 and 2 must have been removed from front and back of same volume in which they were reused. The signatures '(Ia)' on fol. 4 and '(Ib)' on fol. 3 suggest that 4 was in the front and 3 in the back.]

Text, continuing immediately from Item 2 (partly coll. Gallée 1894: 348–50):

f. 4r [4] '[e]nisus eluctatus . . . ergata uicinus (ue)l operatus. g(rece) (E109–164).

[Note: Text in crease '[e?]os eoedo oriens' (cols. ab = E125) '[egus] dominus' (cols. cd = E151). In cols. cd, above this, four lines have been effaced = E121–124.]

f. 4v [4R] (top line [E165] trimmed) 'erus ere egum . d(omi)n(u) d(omi)ne d(omi)n(u)m . . . excusit deiecit' (E166–225).

[Note: Text in crease, cols. ab = "Euentus incurus" E182 but illegible, cols cd. 'ex[aranda] ab hominanda' E214.]

**Item 4** ("ff. 5–6") An almost intact bifolium that once formed the paste-down and fly, in a similar configuration to and probably in the same volume as Item 1. It is now known as ff. 5 and 6. At top center of f. 5r is pencil '5' and at the right '(II B)'. At bottom right is a crossed out '4' and a modern German note (too faint to read on film). A vertical strip has been cut off on the outer edge, just inside the prickings, about 10mm. wide. What remains is ca. 380 mm. wide × 280 mm. high. F. 5 is 280 × 190 mm. The parchment is very clear and light on fol. 5rv, and the script completely legible, very dark ink. Hair outside. Traces of threads in gutter, probably from later binding. Sewing holes at, from top, 20, 40, 72\*, 103, 145\* 173, 217\*, 240, 268 mm. (the starred measurements are the original holes, now very inconspicuous and covered with glue). Showthrough on right is from overleaf. At bottom added in reddish ink and smeared 'BNP', 13/14c. On f. 6r the glue shows through from the verso (pastedown). '6' at top, '5' crossed out in lower right. The reversed text on the right is offset from f. 5v. F. 6v, pastedown, showing in the glue the impressions of the leather cover wrapped around the boards, some offset of the wood and obvious brushstrokes with which the glue was applied. At lines 19–20dc, the surface (mostly glue) has been pulled away, but the text is legible: 'tritoma genus ÷ ferri in mari | triumph-

lis dies . gaudi dies.' This bifolium (hair outside) shows the scores, especially on f. 5 (ruled from the hair side).

Text, "Werden B" = "Erfurt 2 (f. 5rv partly coll. Gallée 1894: 352–53, f. 6rv ed. *ibid.* 353–57):

f. 5r [5] 'sab[b]a pappa uinu(m) q(ua)si dulciatu(m) . . . Scandit ascendit inde &ia(m) scandi uersus | d(icu)n(tu)r q(ue) pedit(us) conponunitur | quibus ascenditur' . . . (S38–92);

f. 5v [5R] 'scurra quasi parasitus publicus qui n(on) dese\ret cenas pu-  
plicas . . . seueritas censura districtio austeri' (S93–151);

f. 6r [6] 'testudo densit[.] romanum . . . tyara pillev(m) frigeum' (T32–91)

f. 6v [6R] 'torpor crime(n) (ue)l error signities . . . troph&u(m) d(icitu)r  
quoties de uicto hoste | barbares putate armis hostium | occisorum ipsa  
sunt trophica' (T92–144)

[Note: "Erfurt 2" goes to S259 "Spartum linea" where a leaf is lost after f. 33v; fortu-  
itously "Werden B" f. 6rv 'testudo densit[.] romanum', etc. supplies 109 items from  
this gap towards the end of "T", equaling almost one whole side of "Erfurt 2," which  
averages about 140 items per page. "Erfurt 2", f. 34r resumes at T143 'tropeum sig-  
num uictoriae' = Werden 6vcd/28 'tropheum signu(m) uictorie'.]

Items 5 and 6 form part of one original leaf "f. 7" that was cut down to form two pastedowns in a small volume:

**Item 5** ("f. 7rv" outer upper side of leaf), labeled '7ra' in pencil on recto [7] and '7vb' in pencil on verso [7 R]. At bottom of the verso an '8' has been crossed out. Parchment is very brittle and fragile from dryness. Cut-down size 142 × 96 mm. The writing size and original preparation are the same as the other leaves [in the photos items 5 and 6 are scaled so as to make the letters appear larger]. What is left are, on recto, the top 18 lines of the first two columns (lemmata and glosses) of the upper part of the leaf and on verso last few letters of column c and all of column d, for 18 lines from top. Prickings are visible on outer sides. The glue indicates this was the pastedown of a small volume, the woodgrain and the impression of the leather turn-ins of the cover being clearly visible on the recto. There is a vertical crease about 9mm. in from the inner edge where it was fastened into the (later) binding. About five (later) holes are along this crease. It is hard to tell because of the glue, but the verso (glueless side) seems to be hair side.

**Item 6** ("f. 7rv" inner upper side of leaf), labeled in pencil at top, recto '7rb' (almost effaced) [7/1 R] and verso '7va' [7/1]. A '7' is crossed out on the verso. This is the side-by-side match from the same leaf as Item 5, cut-down to 141 × 103 mm. to be reused as a pastedown and fly in the same small volume. Text has 19 lines (19th half gone) remaining from top. Pricks

visible on outer edge. Crease about 10 mm. from left edge of '7rb' with various deteriorated holes for later sewing where fixed into later binding. Impressions in glue of leather cover wrapped around and wood grain of board. This fragment also is very fragile and brittle from dryness. Recto (glue side) is flesh, verso hair.

**Text of Items 5 and 6** ("f. 7") (ed. Gallée 1894: 343–46, Goetz 1923: 164):

[**Note:** Items 5 and 6 together form the top of the same sheet. The reading is in the order Item 5 recto ('7ra') ~ Item 6 recto ('7rb'), originally the top 18+ lines cols. abcd, top half of the recto of the leaf; then Item 6 verso ('7va') ~ Item 5 verso ('7vb') as the top half of the verso. The text join can be seen in right and left edges of the photos labeled "7" and "7/1R" where line 7 in both pieces fits together (final stroke of "r") and where the ascenders of "l" and "s" of 'spectaculus' (written vertically) join. On verso the texts join up obviously ([7/1] and [7R] forming the original sheet). So in Item 6, '7vb', we see from the top on '7va' uectigal, uicedominus, uitta, uimelle, uicaru, uinacia, uialata, uitalia, uiaostensi, uiridaru(m), uiribraru(m), uicus, uilicus, uiaaq(ue), ultor, at the heads of lines 1–7, 9–15, 17. The integrity of the pieces can be seen better in the photo of "f. 7r" published by Gallée 1895 and reproduced in Bischoff et al., where the two pieces have been fitted together for the photograph. In this earlier photo the marks '7ra' / '7vb' have not yet been written on the fragments.]

'7ra' [7] (= f. 7r, cols. ab, lines 1–18) 'telis. g(rece) uolo | terebrantes. borendę `s(axonice)' . . . titulatio conpunctio | [. . .]'

'7rb' [7/1R] (= f. 7r, cols. cd, lines 1–19) 'toga dicta q(uod) corp(us) teg(it) e(st) aut(em) palleu(m) purum . . . tra[g]elap[us] g<rece> admixto nomine hirc[i] & cerui | [in spelun]cis [?] Nutriunt (ue)l in cauer[n]is | [. . .]'

'7va' [7/1] (= f. 7v, cols. ab, lines 19) 'trocleis hlędrę i(dest) funib(us) . . . turdus staer | tu. g(rece) illa | [. . .]'

'7vb' / "7R" (= 7v, cols cd, lines 1–18, the first letter(s) of col. c are preserved on '7va') '[u]jectigal a uechendo tributu(m) (est) uiscale | peculiaris pecunię . . . [ul]tor auis Nigra maior aquile & mandu[. . .].'

**Reconstruction of the original book** (see Doane 2006: 48–55, 61–84; also, independently, Tiefenbach 2006: 310–1, 314–5, who does not take account of sufficient textual space for quires preceding quire IX): At least 112 leaves. Original size of sheets about 404 × 277 mm., page size about 200 × 277 mm. Pricked and scored from hair side for 31 lines of writing, no vertical rules visible. Mostly quires of 8, arranged HHHH but some variation (the complete Düsseldorf quire is HFHH). The manuscript contained, in this order: "Werden B/ Erfurt 2," "Werden C/ Glossae Nominum/Erfurt 3," and "Werden A." Werden Item 1 begins at Erfurt 2 B 661 and must have been preceded by at least 6 leaves, a leaf + a quire of six or eight; Werden

Item 1 was the bifolium directly outside Munich Item 1 (Werden f. 1v ‘. . . bilem’ ~ Munich f. 1r ‘bisum’ = Erfurt 2, B71–72), Munich being sheet 3/6 of its quire. Werden Items 2/3 formed the inner bifolium of a quire (Werden f. 3v ends ‘eneruum’, f. 4r beg. ‘enisus’ = Erfurt 2 E108–109) and its text being separated by 462 (Erfurt 2) items from the end of the Munich leaf, it must have been in the following quire. The next extant item was the now-lost Münster ff. 3–4, which was the inner bifolium of its quire (“incentiua ~ intercipit” = Erfurt 2 I247–248), and as it is 731 entries further along from Werden f. 4v, it must be from the following quire. Intervening are 3843 lines in Erfurt, which would occupy four quires of eight. The next extant leaves are Werden Item 4, a bifolium which is outside of Munich Item 2 (Werden f. 5v ends ‘seueritas’, Munich f. 3r beg. ‘serio’ = Erfurt S151–152), and Munich ff. 3–4 are the inside sheet (‘struprum ~ strangulat’ = Erfurt 2 S274–275). This glossary must have ended near the end of this quire. The next component, the next quire as well, is the complete quire of eight (having the signature ‘x’) preserved at Düsseldorf, containing the beg. of “Glossae Nominum” (Werden C, Erfurt 3), ‘. . . abnegator ~ giler’ A11–G24. Remaining from the next quire is Münster ff. 2–5, continuing “Glossae Nominum,” ‘invisus ~ laberna’ and ‘picens ~ puluinus’, showing that this is an inside sheet. There are 122 and 125 items on these folios respectively, and the scale of the glossary suggests that only one leaf is missing before Münster f. 2, hence a quire of six. A following (lost) quire of eight would have held the end of “Glossae Nominum” and the beginning of the unique Werden A glossary. The latter is attested by the lost Münster ff. 1–6, which runs ‘cratera ~ purum’ and they form the outer sheet of the quire as shown by the quire signature “XIII” at the bottom of f. 6v as reported by the editors. The ending of Werden A is preserved as the final two leaves of a quire, one is Werden Items 5 and 6 (‘telis . . . ultor’) and the other is the Füngling leaf ‘uolumen ~ uua passa’ followed by *Differentia*, presumably as filler at the end of the manuscript. The following collation can be inferred:

[I<sup>8</sup>], II<sup>8</sup> lacks 1/8 and 4/5 (2/7 = Werden Item 1, 3/6 = Munich Item 1), III<sup>8</sup> lacks 1–3 and 6–8 (4/5 = Werden Items 2–3), IV<sup>8</sup> lacks 1–3 and 6–8 (4/5 = Münster ff. 3–4), [V–VIII<sup>8</sup>], IX<sup>10</sup> lacks 1–3 and 8–10 (3/6 = Werden Item 4, 4/5 = Munich Item 2), X<sup>8</sup> (= Düsseldorf, quire of 8, sig. ‘x’), XI<sup>6</sup> lacks 1, 3–4, 6 (2/5 = Münster ff. 2–5), [XII<sup>8</sup>], XIII<sup>18</sup> lacks three? inner bifolia (1/8 = Münster ff. 1–6, sig. ‘xiii’), XIV<sup>18</sup> lacks all on-leaves and two? off-leaves (7 = Werden Items 5 and 6; 8 = Füngling).



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