

## The Interlinear Glosses to the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* in Manuscript London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii: A Workshop on Textual Criticism

**ABSTRACT:** *Le glosse interlineari alla Regula Sancti Benedicti (RSB) nel manoscritto Londra, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii (T), che risale alla metà dell'undicesimo secolo, comprende interpretamenta in inglese antico e in latino, oltre a lettere dell'alfabeto, che, nel loro insieme, hanno l'obiettivo di illustrare le caratteristiche lessicali e grammaticali della RSB in T (TRSB). I copisti-glossatori non solo hanno inserito le glosse, ma hanno anche corretto il testo della TRSB, che era stato corretto a sua volta anche dai copisti che lo avevano trascritto. Hanno, inoltre, commesso una notevole varietà di errori, hanno interpretato erroneamente il testo latino e hanno tradotto le lezioni esclusive della TRSB. Di conseguenza, l'edizione delle glosse interlineari alla TRSB si configura come il prodotto di un laboratorio di tecniche ecdotiche. L'articolo si concentra su alcuni casi esemplari e sul mio approccio innovativo rispetto agli approcci adottati dagli editori precedenti, vale a dire Henri Logeman (1888) e Janna Müller (2013). La mia nuova edizione critica guida i lettori alla comprensione delle molteplici funzioni delle glosse evidenziando gli interventi dei glossatori-copisti sul testo latino e distinguendo graficamente questi ultimi dagli interventi dei copisti che hanno trascritto la TRSB.*

### 1. THE COMPLEXITY OF THE INTERLINEAR GLOSSES TO THE *REGULA SANCTI BENEDICTI* IN MANUSCRIPT LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON TIBERIUS A. III<sup>1</sup>

The interlinear glosses to the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* (RSB) in manuscript London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii (T) include Old English as well as Latin *interpretamenta* and

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr Christine Wallis for proofreading the English of my article and to the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions.

letters of the alphabet, which are designed to draw attention to lexical and grammatical features of *RSB* in **T** (*TRSB*)<sup>2</sup>. Almost all interlinear glosses are arranged between the lines of *TRSB*, some of them occupy part of the right margin and only three are written in the left margin. Most glosses occur above the Latin lemmata, while others have been written above another gloss, which, in turn, is placed above the Latin lemma. Other Old English glosses have been written so that each line of the *folium* containing one line of Latin text actually corresponds to four lines. Sometimes the Old English glosses are not placed exactly above their reference Latin lemmata. The glossator-scribes not only entered the glosses, but they also made extensive corrections to the *TRSB*. Moreover, they produced or reproduced a wide variety of mistakes and misinterpretations of the Latin text of the *Rule*, and translated **T**'s exclusive readings. Because of this, each folio of **T** transmitting *RSB* displays a wide range of phenomena, ranging from idiosyncratic spelling to transcription mistakes, to the addition of suppletive Latin readings, to additional Old English *interpretamenta* for Latin *interpretamenta* of Latin lemmata, and to miscopied letters of the alphabet<sup>3</sup>.

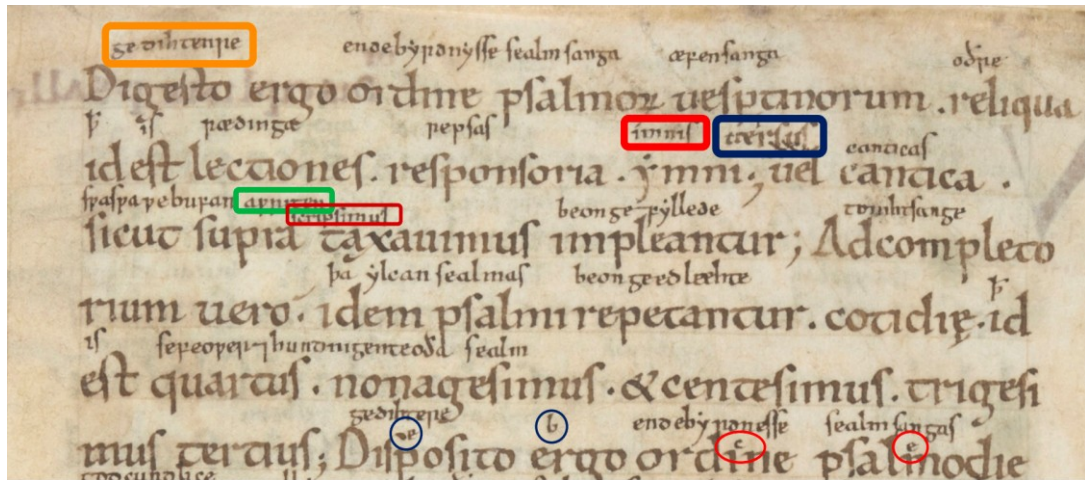
For example, at f. 137r/1-6 (ch. 18.18-20 of *TRSB*) **T** reads: OE *gedihtenre*, instead of *gedihtere*, with the idiosyncratic addition of *-n*, as the vernacular *interpretamentum* to Lat. *Digesto* (ch. 18.18, f. 137r/1)<sup>4</sup>; Lat. *imnis* as the erroneous repetition of the Latin lemma *ymni*, with the superfluous addition of *-s* (by analogy with *repsas* and *canticas* in the same line), instead of *lofsangas*, which is the expected Old English *interpretamentum* (ch. 18.18, f. 137r/2); Lat. *versus* as a suppletive reading to *TRSB* (ch. 18.18, f. 137r/2)<sup>5</sup>. Within these six lines, there also occurs OE *awriten* as the vernacular equivalent of Lat. *scripsimus*, which is the Lat. *interpretamentum* to *taxavimus* (ch. 18.18, f. 137r/3), while the miscopied letters **c** and **e** stand for **e** and **d** (ch. 18.20, f. 137r/6), respectively:

<sup>2</sup> On the features of **T** and the relevant bibliographical references, see § 6.

<sup>3</sup> LOGEMAN (1888, xxx-xli) was the first scholar to detect these tools in the interlinear glosses to *TRSB*. On the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* as teaching and learning tools for *TRSB* in particular, and on manuscripts witnessing teaching and learning tools for Latin texts in general, see MÜLLER (2013, 110-114, 129-147, 227-248). On teaching and learning Latin in England during the Middle Ages, see § 5. The present paper focuses on some phenomena which affect the transcription of *TRSB* as well as the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* and on how I have dealt with those phenomena in my forthcoming critical edition. For a detailed analysis of all the features of *TRSB* and of the interlinear glosses to *TRSB*, see the Introduction to the forthcoming edition of the interlinear glosses to *TRSB*.

<sup>4</sup> Henri Logeman detected the idiosyncratic addition of *-n* in numerous Old English interlinear glosses to *TRSB* although he erroneously considered *gedihtenre* to be a correct form (LOGEMAN 1888, xlvi, § 40).

<sup>5</sup> DE VOGÜÉ-NEUFVILLE (1971-1977, II, 532); HANSLIK (1977<sup>2</sup>, 79).



I. Ch. 18.18-20 of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* in manuscript London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, 137r/1-6.

## 2. THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MAIN LATIN TEXT AND FOR THE INTER-LINEAR GLOSSES

The interlinear glosses to *TRSB* and *TRSB* are the result of the work of different people<sup>6</sup>, that is, scribes, glossator-scribes and glossators. The scribes are those who copied *TRSB* and who occasionally corrected the text that they had just copied. I call glossator-scribes the scribes who copied the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* and who occasionally corrected *TRSB* or behaved as glossators because they entered their own translation of *TRSB*'s exclusive readings. The glossators are those who devised the Latin as well as the Old English interlinear glosses in the exemplar of the interlinear glosses to *TRSB*.

### 2.1. The scribes who copied the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* in Manuscript London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii

The scribes who copied *TRSB* made transcription mistakes affecting spelling, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary. For instance, they wrote *oedientie* instead of *oboedientie* (prol. 2, f. 118r/6); *habitatorum*, in *de habitatorum*, instead of *habitatore* (prol. 39, f. 119v/12); *se* instead of *sed* (prol. 30, f. 119r/18); *conversionis* instead of *conversationis* (ch. 1.3, f. 121v/7).

Throughout the *TRSB* there are omissions of single words, of some items in the list of headings, of a few headings in the text and of a few verses of some chapters of *RSB*, which are

<sup>6</sup> On scribes as “authors” of what they copied, see CANFORA (2002).

documented by the most genuine manuscripts. For instance, the scribes who copied *TRSB* omitted *esse* in the heading of ch. 24 (f. 120v/18) and *iunguntur* in the heading of ch. 26 (f. 120v/20); they also omitted the headings of chapters 44-68 (f. 121r/16) in the list of headings. The numbers of the headings, both in the list of headings and throughout the text are very often omitted. In fact, throughout the text, a number is provided only for chapters 8 (f. 132r/3), 18 (f. 135v/22), 20 (f. 137v/13), 21 (f. 138r/3), 23 (f. 138v/13), 25 (f. 139r/16), 55 (f. 152v/3), 56 (f. 153v/1), 57 (f. 153v/7), 58 (f. 154r/3), 59 (f. 155r/21); 71 (f. 162v/3). The headings and numbers of chapters 47, 69, 70 are also omitted (ff. 148v/11, 162r/1, 162r/9).

Other omissions are: *horum* between *heremitarum* and *qui* (ch. 1.3, f. 121v/6-7), only in *TRSB*; *ne* before *plus* (ch. 2.33, f. 124r/4), also in other codices of the Latin text of the *Rule*; etc. The end of ch. 7.38, the whole of ch. 7.39 and the beginning of ch. 7.40 are omitted (f. 129v/20) only in *TRSB*; the end of ch. 15.3 and the beginning of ch. 15.4 are omitted by homoeoteleuton in *TRSB* and in other manuscripts of *RSB* (f. 135r/6); the end of ch. 42.9 and the beginning of ch. 42.10 (f. 146v/13) are omitted only in *TRSB*.

The scribes who copied *TRSB* also produced adiphoric readings, such as *voluptatibus*, which is documented in other manuscripts transmitting the *RSB* other than **T**, instead of *voluntatibus* (prol. 3, f. 118r/9), which is considered the most genuine reading<sup>7</sup>.

The scribes who copied *TRSB* occasionally behaved as editors because they sometimes corrected their own mistakes while they were copying *TRSB*. An example is offered by *siquit* (ch. 3.6, f. 124v/9) which was corrected to *sicut* by crossing and partly erasing *q* and adding *c* above it. Despite the correction, in several places the original error is still clearly visible, and sometimes the corrected forms appear ambiguous, as in the case of *audieris* (prol. 16, f. 118v/10), which was corrected to *audiens*, but the stroke linking *r* and *i*, which was meant to change *ri* into *n*, is extremely thin. Therefore, **T** would appear to read *audieris* rather than *audiens*.

## 2.2. The glossator-scribes who copied the interlinear glosses to the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* in *Manuscript London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii*

The scribes who copied the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* are responsible for a number of transcription mistakes. Indeed, the Old English interlinear glosses and the syntactical letters feature a remarkable number of corrupt readings, which have been included in works already published<sup>8</sup>, while the Latin interlinear glosses are all correct.

<sup>7</sup> For a thorough and detailed analysis of transcription mistakes in Latin texts, see HAVET (1911), which is still a valuable resource despite its date of publication.

<sup>8</sup> Some transcription mistakes have been identified by Henri Logeman, Wilhelm Hermanns and Janna Müller. Both Logeman and Hermanns underlined that some corrupt readings are the result of Kentish forms

The majority of corrupt forms can be reasonably due to either the material conditions of the exemplar of T or to the inability of the glossator-scribes to understand the writing of their exemplar, because of their lack of familiarity with the script.

The manuscript reading *yð* ‘wave’ (glossing Lat. *AETAS* ‘age’, ch. 30.1, f. 140v/19), instead of the expected OE *yld* ‘age’, was probably caused by the cramped handwriting of the exemplar, where the letter <l> and <d> were crowded into a small space and hence <d> was miscopied as <-ð>. In the whole interlinear gloss to *TRSB*, OE *yld*(-) (9x) is otherwise correctly used.

A limited familiarity with the Insular letter-form of <f>, which was mistaken for <s>, is the probable reason behind corrupt forms such as *he is gelyst* (*creditur*, ch. 2.2, f. 122r/13) for the expected *he is gelyft* ‘he is believed’ or *srig* (*liber*, ch. 2.8, f. 122v/3) for *frig* ‘free’.

Numerous corrupt readings are the result of the addition of letters, mistaken letters (not because of a lack of familiarity with the Insular script) or metathesis. For example, a few Old English glosses feature an additional letter as the result of dittography, such as *yfele* (*malum*, ch. 7.29, f. 129r/20) for *yfel* (OE *yfel* ‘evil’ 7x).

In addition to this, the scribes who copied the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* appear responsible for numerous idiosyncratic forms, such as the doubling of consonants in *dægges* (2x), instead of *dæges*, but *dæg-* (26x), *dag-* (17x); *fyllian* (1x) instead of *fylian*, but *fyl-* (10x), *fil-* (1x); the simplifications of consonants in *done* (1x) instead of *donne*, but otherwise *donne* (8x), and *forlætene* (1x) instead of *forlætanne*, but *forlætanne* (1x) instead of *forlætane*. Moreover, there occurs the omission of <n> in <nd> and <dn> as in *fadunge* (1x) instead of *fandunge* (one occurrence only); *wacmodes* (1x) instead of *wacmodnes*, but otherwise *wacmodn-* (2x); the omission of <d> in standard <nd>, such as *angit-* (1x), but otherwise *andgit-* (5x) and *andgyt-* (1x) [no occurrence of *on(d)gi/yt-*]; *ion* (1x) next to *iond* (3x) and *geond* (9x)<sup>9</sup>.

The scribes who copied the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* occasionally behaved as editors of *TRSB*. Indeed, a considerable number of corrections can be attributed exclusively to the scribes who entered the interlinear glosses, although sometimes it is difficult to ascertain whether the corrections are by the scribes in charge of the transcription of *TRSB*, or by the scribes who entered the interlinear glosses. In these cases, *TRSB*’s corrupt readings have been emended by either modifying the erroneous Latin readings or supplying the Latin readings which had been formerly omitted. Most of these interventions match the *textus purus* and some match the *interpolutus* recensions of the *RSB*, while only the manuscript reading *vigiliis*

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misread and miscopied by West Saxon speaking scribes. See LOGEMAN (1888, lxiii, § 94) and HERMANN (1906, 113). Different kinds of transcription mistakes are listed in MÜLLER (2013, 54-56). For a detailed and updated analysis of the transcription mistakes in the interlinear glosses to *TRSB*, see DE BONIS (2018, 157-176, at 163-175).

<sup>9</sup> Most of these phenomena were firstly analysed by LOGEMAN (1888, lix, §§ 36-73).

(ch. 17.1, f. 135r/21) belongs to the *receptus* recension (unless *vigiliis* is the Latin noun implied in the Latin substantivised adjective *nocturnis*<sup>10</sup>). The majority of the corrections to *TRSB* are accompanied by their Old English counterparts.

For instance, the correction of *eorum* to *earum* (ch. 2.9, f. 122v/6) belongs to the *textus purus*<sup>11</sup> and it is accompanied by the Old English gloss *beora*. By contrast, the correction of *ad* to *id* (ch. 69.3, f. 162r/5), which also belongs to the *textus purus*<sup>12</sup>, is un glossed. The correction of *ampli/cet* to *appli-/cet* (ch. 4.42, f. 125v/3-4)<sup>13</sup> belongs to the *textus interpolatus* and it is glossed by OE *betæce*.

The supplying of *horum* between *heremitarum* and *qui* (ch. 1.3, f. 121v/6-7) belongs to the *textus purus*<sup>14</sup> and is accompanied by OE *þissera* and the letter of the alphabet *g*. By contrast, the supplying of *semper* between the abbreviation for *dominum* and the word *credamus* (ch. 7.23, f. 129r/9) belongs to the *textus purus*<sup>15</sup> and is un glossed.

On numerous occasions, the scribes who copied the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* behaved as glossator-scribes because they translated exclusive Latin readings (unless those exclusive Latin readings together with their Old English equivalent were witnessed by the exemplar).

The Old English adjective *godcundlice* translates Lat. *divine* (ch. 18.20, f. 137r/7), which occurs in **T**, instead of *diurnae* of the other witnesses of *RSB*<sup>16</sup>. OE *godcundlice* is also an example of erroneous translation of the Latin text. In particular, the Latin phrase *psalmodie / divine* (ch. 18.20, f. 137r/6-7) features the genitive singular of both the noun *psalmodia* and the adjective *divina*, but the glossator-scribe misunderstood them as a nominative plural and translated them accordingly with OE *sealmsangas / godcundlice*. The beginning of ch. 18.20 actually reads *Disposito ordine psalmodiae diurnae* ‘Once the order of the morning psalmody has been established’.

Some exclusive Latin readings, which were erroneous and appear to be erased in **T**, are endowed with an Old English equivalent as is evident in OE *is*, which renders Lat. *est* (ch. 3.2, f. 124v/3)<sup>17</sup>, and which had been erased but it was, and is, still visible.

On some occasions, Old English glosses translate corrupt Latin readings and produce

<sup>10</sup> DE VOGÜÉ-NEUFVILLE (1971-1977, II, 526); HANSLIK (1977<sup>2</sup>, 71).

<sup>11</sup> DE VOGÜÉ-NEUFVILLE (1971-1977, I, 442); HANSLIK (1977<sup>2</sup>, 22).

<sup>12</sup> DE VOGÜÉ-NEUFVILLE (1971-1977, II, 666); HANSLIK (1977<sup>2</sup>, 175).

<sup>13</sup> DE VOGÜÉ-NEUFVILLE (1971-1977, I, 458); HANSLIK (1977<sup>2</sup>, 34).

<sup>14</sup> DE VOGÜÉ-NEUFVILLE (1971-1977, I, 436); HANSLIK (1977<sup>2</sup>, 18).

<sup>15</sup> DE VOGÜÉ-NEUFVILLE (1971-1977, I, 478); HANSLIK (1977<sup>2</sup>, 48).

<sup>16</sup> DE VOGÜÉ-NEUFVILLE (1971-1977, II, 532); HANSLIK (1977<sup>2</sup>, 79).

<sup>17</sup> DE VOGÜÉ-NEUFVILLE (1971-1977, I, 452); HANSLIK (1977<sup>2</sup>, 29).

whimsical vernacular renderings. For example, OE *sæde* ‘I/he said’ is the lexical and grammatical equivalent of Lat. *ait* ‘I/he said’, for Lat. *aut* ‘or’ (ch. 43.18, f. 147v/12)<sup>18</sup>.

The faults in the transcription of the vernacular glosses and the general accuracy in editing *TRSB* reveal that the glossator-scribes who entered the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* had more textual familiarity with the Latin language and with the Anglo-Caroline script than with the Old English language and the Insular script. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the glossator-scribes who copied the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* had come from the Continent<sup>19</sup>.

### 2.3. The glossators

The combination of Old English and Latin glosses, together with letters of the alphabet to explain the lexical and grammatical features of *TRSB*, appears as the result of the work of several glossators, whose aim was to elucidate the language and the content of the *Rule* for an Old English speaking audience with (presumably) a reasonable knowledge of Latin. The interlinear glosses to *TRSB* offer an interpretation of the language and content of *TRSB* rather than a vernacular version of *TRSB*, which was meant to replace the Latin original. They are in keeping with the teaching and learning plans which started in the eighth century and received a new impulse during the tenth-century Benedictine Reform in England<sup>20</sup>.

The glossators employed a wide range of glosses.

### 2.4. “Ordinary glosses”

Most interlinear glosses to *TRSB* are Old English or Latin “ordinary glosses” which provide the complete and exact equivalent, from both the lexical and morphological point of view, of Latin lemmata belonging to *TRSB* or to other witnesses of *RSB*. For example, within OE *nu min spræc is asend*, which has been copied above Lat. *nunc meus sermo dirigitur* (prol. 3, f. 118r/8), OE *nu* is the exact equivalent of Lat. *nunc*; OE *min* translates Lat. *meus*; OE *spræc* renders Lat. *sermo* and OE *is asend* is the vernacular counterpart of Lat. *dirigitur*.

The only “ordinary gloss” in Latin is *scripsimus* (perfect indicative, 1<sup>st</sup> person plural of *scribere* ‘to write’), which is combined with its own “ordinary” Old English gloss *awriten* (perfect indicative, 1<sup>st</sup> person plural of *awritan* ‘to write out or down, to describe’, ch. 18.18, f. 137r/3) preceded by OE *we*, and which renders Lat. *taxavimus* (perfect indicative, 1<sup>st</sup> person

<sup>18</sup> de VOGÜÉ-NEUFVILLE (1971-1977, II, 590); HANSLIK (1977<sup>2</sup>, 120).

<sup>19</sup> For an overview of the contacts between England and the Continent, see ORTENBERG (1992). See also the essays in ROLLASON – LEYSER – WILLIAMS (2011). For an enlightening survey of the background and the milieu of the English Benedictine Reform, see GRETSCH (1999).

<sup>20</sup> On the teaching and learning plans from early medieval to post-Conquest England, see § 5.

plural of *taxare* ‘to value, to determine’).

### 2.5. Lexical Glosses

The interlinear glosses to *TRSB* also feature a remarkable number of lexical glosses which mainly focus on the meaning of Latin lemmata and include “crude forms” (which offer the base form of the Old English equivalent of the relevant Latin lemma), lexical “merographies” (which are the partial Old English lexical equivalent of the relevant Latin lemma)<sup>21</sup>, and lexical double glosses (that is paired words set close to each other providing two lexical alternative Old English equivalents for one single Latin lemma)<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> LOGEMAN (1888, xxxix-xli, §§ 3, 4) was the first scholar to introduce the phrase “crude forms” to identify Old English glosses which do not include the ending of the Old English equivalent of a Latin lemma, and the term “merographies” for the partial rendering of a Latin lemma. MÜLLER (2013, 111-113) chooses “merographies” for every kind of ‘partial’ *interpretamentum* of Latin lemmata, be they lexical or morphological because “crude” has got a negative connotation which does not fit the glosses under examination. Other scholars (GOOSENS 1974, KORNEXL 1993, GRETSCH 1999) use the term “merographs” instead of “merographies”. In my description of the interlinear glosses to *TRSB*, “crude form” identifies the base form of the Old English equivalent of a Latin lemma. In particular, for nouns and adjectives, the “crude form” is the nominative singular of the vernacular equivalent of a Latin lemma, while for verbs the “crude form” is the uninflected infinitive of the vernacular equivalent of a Latin lemma. My definition of “crude form” partially differs from Logeman’s. Indeed, Logeman underlined that “crude forms” express «the sense of the Latin word [...] ‘the word’ in the abstract, which of course in Teutonic philology always coincides in form with the nominative» and also added that some nouns inflected in the nominative plural would be “crude forms” for the dative plural, which is not convincing (LOGEMAN 1888, xxxix-xl, § 3). As for “merographies”, I have grouped them in lexical, morphological and syntactical “merographies”, which identify the partial rendering of the meaning, of the morphological or of the syntactical features of the relevant Latin lemmata, respectively.

<sup>22</sup> The presence of two, or more, *interpretamenta*, set close to each other above their relevant Latin lemma is amply documented in pre-Conquest England, both with a different aim in each text and with different aims within the same text. They are connected with King Alfred’s translation programme (BATELY 1988, 93-138, at 123-5). Probably for this reason, they are employed in the Old English translation of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*: WHITELOCK (1962-1980, 57-90, at 76) notes that the translator shows «a fondness for rendering a single Latin word by two English synonyms». Moreover, double glosses are not infrequent in the Lindisfarne Gospels, see SKEAT (1871-1887). Double glosses accompany Æthelwold’s translation of the *Regula S. Benedicti* as well as the Royal Psalter, see GRETSCH (1999, 263-268). The Latin Psalter with continuous interlinear glosses in London, Lambeth Palace Library 427 has double, triple and even quadruple glosses, see LINDELÖF (1904-1914). On double glosses in Old English texts, see also KOPACZIK – SAUER (2017).

### 2.5.1. “Crude forms”

Examples of “crude forms” include OE *bebodung* (nom. sg.) for Lat. *evangelii* (gen.sg., prol. 21, f. 118v/20); OE *heard* (nom. sg.) for Lat. *duris* (dat. pl., ch. 2.12, f. 122v/15); OE *habban* (pres. inf.) copied above Lat. *habita* (past part., ch. 58.14, f. 154v/6).

### 2.5.2. Lexical “merographies”

*Soðfæsten* is a lexical “merography” for OE *soðfæstnesse* as the vernacular equivalent of Lat. *Veritatem* (ch. 4.28, f. 125r/17); *for* is a lexical “merography” for OE *forma* in OE *se for* anticipating *se forma stepe* rendering Lat. *PRIMUS GRADUS* (ch. 5.1, f. 126.17).

### 2.5.3. Lexical double glosses

Lexical double glosses are OE *smea oððe sec* translating Lat. *inquire* (prol. 17, f. 118v/13) and *wenað tellað* for *wenað vel/oððe tellað* rendering Lat. *putaverint* as future perfect indicative (ch. 1.9, f. 121v/21).

### 2.5.4. Loan-formations, Hapax Legomena and rare words

Numerous Old English glosses are loan-formations, which were instrumental in vocabulary learning<sup>23</sup>. Some loan-formations included in the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* are *hapax legomena* because they replicate technical terms of *TRSB*<sup>24</sup>, such as OE *forecnyll* which translates Lat. *primum signum* ‘the first sign, signal’ (ch. 48.12, f. 149r/21), with OE *fore* as the equivalent of Lat. *primum* and *cnyll* as the equivalent of Lat. *signum*; or OE *mysbregel*, which consists of *mys* ‘table, what is placed on a table’ and *hregel* ‘cloth’, which is the counterpart of Lat. *mappula* ‘table-napkin’ (ch. 55.19, f. 153r/15).

Loan-formations include glosses featuring Old English prefixes which replicate Latin prefixes, such as OE *foredeme* (from *foredeman*), which renders Lat. *preiudicet* (from *preiudicare* ‘to prejudge’; ch. 63.5, f. 157v/16), and is also a *hapax*.

Most *hapax legomena* are the result of the combination of two or more Old English words which replicate the relevant Latin lemma, while others are neologisms which differ from their (more widely documented) corresponding Old English forms, by the addition of

<sup>23</sup> It is true that loan-formations provide word-formational equivalents in addition to lexical information, as Kornexl remarks (KORNEXL 1995, 127), but the lexical function is undeniable. See also KORNEXL (2001, 109-136). On the connection between loan-translating and Anglo-Saxon methods of etymological analysis, see GNEUSS (1993, 107-148, at 147-148).

<sup>24</sup> MÜLLER (2013, 166-193) includes loan-formations in her list of *hapax legomena*.

a prefix or a suffix<sup>25</sup>.

For example, OE *cumliðiað* (the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural, present indicative, of *cumliðian* ‘to be a guest, to lodge’) as the vernacular equivalent of Lat. *hospitantur* (3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, present indicative of the deponent verb *hospitari* ‘to lodge’; ch. 1.10, f. 123r/4) is the result of the combination of the Old English adjective *cumlipe* ‘hospitable’, the Old English noun *cuma* ‘visitor, stranger, traveller received as a guest, host’ and the Old English verb *liðian* ‘to nourish’. OE *cumliðiað* is documented only in theses glosses and only once.

Among rare words, there is OE *geondsprengan* in OE *si* [...] / [...] *geond-/sprencend*, which is the vernacular counterpart of Lat. *conspargatur* (from *conspargere*; ch. 2.5, f. 122r/18-20)<sup>26</sup>.

## 2.6. Grammatical glosses

Interlinear glosses mainly meant to provide morphological and syntactical information about *TRSB* are very numerous and they are the distinctive features of these glosses as a whole.

Exclusively grammatical glosses are meant to explain the morphology and the syntax of *TRSB* by means of Latin or Old English words. Both morphological and syntactical glosses include the partial morphological or syntactical equivalent of Latin lemma, which I call morphological “merographies” and syntactical “merographies”, respectively<sup>27</sup>. In **T** there are also letters of the alphabet with a syntactical function.

Morphological glosses are meant to point out either the case of a noun or an adjective, or the tense and the mood of a verb. The majority are in the vernacular but some are in Latin.

In the Old English glosses *forasprec fæderes þæs haligan þæs eadigostan benedictes* (rubric, f. 118r/2), which render the rubric of the *RSB prologus patris eximii Beatissimi Ben(edicti)* (rubric, f. 118r/2), the presence of OE *þæs* both before OE *haligan* and before OE *eadigostan* makes clear that both adjectives, which are in the genitive singular, refer to the same word *benedictes* (masculine noun inflected in the genitive singular).

<sup>25</sup> A list and a thorough analysis of the *hapax legomena* in the interlinear Old English glosses to *TRSB* according to *DOEC* A-G are in MÜLLER (2013, 166-193). The survey in the Introduction to the new edition of the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* is complementary to Müller’s as it takes into consideration *DOEC* A-L. Corrupt forms which may be interpreted as *hapax legomena* are not included in the list.

<sup>26</sup> “Rare words” is used for Old English *interpretamenta* which are closely modelled on Latin lemmata that have otherwise fewer than 5 occurrences in Old English texts. A list and thorough analysis of rare words in the interlinear Old English glosses to *TRSB* according to *DOEC* A-G are in MÜLLER (2013, 193-203). The survey in the Introduction to the new edition of the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* is complementary to Müller’s as it takes into consideration *DOEC* A-L. Corrupt forms which may be interpreted as rare words are not included in the list.

<sup>27</sup> See note 19.

### 2.6.1. Morphological “merographies”

In a number of instances, a “merography” provides morphological information on a Latin lemma, which means that some Latin lemmata are only glossed by the last part of the would-be *interpretamentum*. The gloss *tigað* instead of the whole form *æmtigað* renders Lat. *vacat* (prol. 43, f. 119v/20); *dre* as the partial *ealdre* (dat. sg. di *ealdor*) in *fram dre mid ealre eadmodnesse* translates Lat. *priore* in *a priore cum omni humilitate* (ch. 6.7, f. 127v/8).

The Latin morphological glosses are used only to indicate the imperative function of the present infinitive of some Latin verbs in chapter 4. The Latin verb *occidēre* in *Deinde non occidere* bears two different glosses, with OE *ofsean* preceded by Lat. *debemus* (ch. 4.3, f. 125r/5).

### 2.6.2. Syntactical glosses

The syntactical interpretation of *TRSB* is offered by Old English glosses, Latin words and letters of the alphabet. Indeed, the variety of different tools used to clarify the syntactical structure of *TRSB* is a distinctive feature of this apparatus of glosses<sup>28</sup>.

Numerous syntactical glosses in Old English provide a logical prop to the Latin text, supplying a subject for the verb by means of a pronoun<sup>29</sup>, as happens with *ge* in OE *nelle ge abyrdon eowre beortan*, rendering Lat. *nolite obdurare corda vestra* (prol. 10, f. 118v/3), or with *þu* in OE *under þære þeowian / þu wilt*, translating *sub qua mili-/tare vis* (ch. 58.10, f. 154r/20-21), or else with *hi* in *ealle ætgedere / hi arisan*, which is the equivalent of Lat. *omnes pariter / surgent* (ch. 20.5, f. 138r/2-3).

The Old English rendering of Latin nouns implied in Latin substantivised adjectives are also the result of the glossators’ concern for syntax. For example, in OE *fram eallum gebroðrum*, rendering Lat. *ab omnibus* (ch. 27.4, f. 139v/22), *gebroðrum* supplies the vernacular equivalent of the Latin noun *fratribus* implied in *omnibus*.

Lat. *non conterendum* is glossed by OE *ne sy to bryd* (ch. 64.13, f. 159r/7), with OE *sy* rendering the implied Lat. *sit*.

<sup>28</sup> Glossed texts, either in the vernacular or in Latin, which mainly come from Canterbury, do not feature all the different kinds of syntactical glosses employed in the apparatus to the *TRSB*. Furthermore, the apparatuses that feature either syntactical glosses or syntactical marks are not comparable to the apparatus of the *TRSB*, either for their consistency or their density (MÜLLER 2013, 227-248).

<sup>29</sup> I refer to Wieland’s definition of syntactical glosses using words as the «glosses which supply a part of a sentence which was omitted through ellipsis by the speaker or writer»; see WIELAND (1984, 97).

### 2.6.2.1. “Clause markers”

A noticeable number of Old English glosses clarify the syntactical features of the Latin sentences of *TRSB* by providing the Old English equivalent of Latin conjunctions or prefixes as well as verb phrases, and writing them so as to mark the clause boundaries. I call them “clause markers”.

The Old English glosses *þeh þe sylf do he elles / þæt feor-sig sylf do* render Lat. *etiam si ipse aliter, / quod absit, agat* (ch. 4.61, f. 125v/19-20), with OE *sylf do* occurring twice: firstly, soon after the Old English conjunction *þeh þe*, which is the equivalent of Lat. *etiam si*, and secondly, immediately before OE *do*, which translates Lat. *agat*, that is the verb governed by Lat. *etiam si*. The double occurrence of OE *sylf do* highlights the syntactical relationship between Lat. *etiam si* and *agat*, and marks the beginning and ending of the Latin clause *etiam si ipse agat*. In particular, OE *sylf* translates Lat. *ipse* while OE *do* translates Lat. *agat*.

Something similar happens in OE *gif tungan to sprecanne gif forbidde se munuc*, which translates Lat. *si linguam ad loquendum prohibeat monachus* (ch. 7.56, f. 131r/10). In this case, OE *gif*, which is the equivalent of Lat. *si*, was written both above Lat. *si* and above Lat. *prohibeat*, which is the verb governed by *si*. The second occurrence of *gif* is written immediately before OE *forbidde*, which translates Lat. *prohibeat*.

The Old English glosses *se þe us iallinga bearna gemedemode on getele / getellan ut þæt he na sceole* feature Lat. **ut**, which is followed by its Old English equivalent *þæt*, immediately before *he na sceole*. These glosses translate Lat. *ut qui nos iam in filiorum dignatus est nume(ro) / computare; non debeat* (prol. 5, f. 118r/5-6), with *ut* governing *non debeat*. In this case, Lat. **ut** has been included in the Old English glosses and translated into Old English before the Old English verb which is the equivalent of Lat. *non debeat*, that is the verb (and adverb) governed by *ut*. The glossator has not included the equivalent of Lat. *ut* immediately above Lat. *ut*.

“Clause markers” include syntactical double glosses, which are made up of two alternative forms of the same vernacular gloss or of two alternative interpretations of the same Latin lemma. The first Old English *interpretamentum* occurs close to either an adverb or a conjunction marking the beginning of a new sentence, while the latter occurs immediately above the relevant Latin lemma.

For example, OE *sæigð* (prol. 33, f. 119r/21) and OE *sæde* (prol. 33, f. 119r/22) are the present indicative and the perfect indicative, 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular, respectively, of the Old English verb *secgan* ‘to say’, and they both translate Lat. *ait* (prol. 33, f. 119r/22), which may be actually interpreted as either present or perfect indicative of the Latin verb *aiō* ‘to say’. OE *sæigð* occurs immediately after the Old English adverb *þanon* ‘thence, whence’ (prol. 33, f. 119r/21), which translates the Latin adverb *Unde* ‘whence’ below and marks the beginning of the sentence, while OE *sæde* (prol. 33, f. 119r/22) is written immediately above Lat. *ait*.

Thus, OE *sæigð* and OE *sæde* are the result of a syntactical strategy as well as a double interpretation of Lat. *ait* from the morphological point of view.

#### 2.6.2.2. “Noun phrase markers”

“Noun phrase markers” are split-up nouns meant to mark noun phrase boundaries. Some Old English nouns are split up so as to mark noun phrase boundaries which would appear to conform to Old English word order. For instance, Lat. *oratio dominica* is glossed by OE *þæt drihtenlic gebed* (ch. 13.12, f. 134v/7-8), with OE *þæt drihtenlic* written above Lat. *dominica* and OE *gebed* split into *bed*, added above Lat. *oratio*, and *ge* inserted after OE *drihtenlic*<sup>30</sup>:

<i>þæt drihtenlic</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>eallum</i>	<i>gehyrendum</i>	/	<i>si gesungen</i>	<i>fram ealdre</i>
<b>h</b>	<b>bed</b>	<b>h</b>		/	<b>g</b>	<b>h</b>
oratio	dominica	omnibus audien-	/tibus dicatur a priore			

The glossator meant *þæt drihtenlic gebed* as the equivalent of Lat. *oratio dominica*, with OE *drihtenlic* as a “crude form”.

#### 2.6.3. Syntactical “merographies”

One of the two examples of possible syntactical “merographies” occurs at prol. 3: OE *swa* (f. 118r/8) can be a syntactical “merography” for *swa hwilc (swa)* as the vernacular equivalent of Lat. *quisquis*.

The syntactical structure of the Latin text is sometimes made clearer thanks to the addition of Latin nouns, Latin verbs, a Latin pronoun, Latin conjunctions or a Latin adverb. Only some of these Latin glosses have their Old English counterpart.

One of the additional Latin nouns is *puer* (ch. 7.4, f. 128r/2). By adding the Latin noun *puer*, together with its Old English equivalent *cild* (ch. 7.4, f. 128r/1-2), the glossator explicates that the Latin perfect participle *ablactatum* ‘weaned’ refers to a *puer* ‘a child’:

<sup>30</sup> The passages quoted in this paragraph provide a diplomatic edition of the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* and of *TRSB*.

*swa swa is þæt / openodum cild ofor his meder*

**puer** a

sicut ab- / lactatum est super matrem suam

T and other manuscripts read *ablactatum* (accusative singular of the masculine adjective *ablactatus*) but the most authoritative witnesses of the *RSB* read *ablactatus* (nominative singular of the masculine adjective *ablactatus*). Since Lat. *puer* (nominative singular of the masculine noun *puer*) agrees with *ablactatus*, the latter was probably the reading in the exemplar. The manuscript tradition of the *RSB* does not feature the variant reading *puer*. However, *infans* ‘new born’, which is a documented Latin gloss to *RSB*, could have triggered *puer* ‘(male) child’ in some way<sup>31</sup>.

#### 2.6.4. Letters of the alphabet

The letters of the alphabet accompanying *TRSB* either point out the word order of the Latin sentences or contribute to identify verbs or nouns within a clause. They also underscore the agreement between the noun and the adjective, or between the verb and the subject within single independent clauses, or within a clause which is part of a sentence<sup>32</sup>.

The short series **a b c d** is rather frequent (ch. 2.16, f. 123r/2-3; ch. 5.14, f. 126v/21-f. 127r/1; ch. 5.15, f. 127r/4-5; etc.).

In the first occurrence of **a b c d**, the letter **a** tags the beginning of a new sentence and links the adverb *Non* to the verb *discernatur*; the letter **b** marks *persona* as the subject of the verb; the letter **c** marks the indirect object *ab eo* and **d** labels the indirect object *in monasterio*:

<sup>31</sup> See de VOGÜÉ-NEUFVILLE (1971-1977, I, 472, and III, 191; HANSLIK (1977<sup>2</sup>, 43); RAUPACH – ZÖFGEN (2020, 279).

<sup>32</sup> The use of the letters of the alphabet as “sequence letters” in Latin manuscripts produced in pre-Conquest England meant to explain the word order of sentences in Latin texts was first explained by ROBINSON (1973). On construe marks, see DRAAK (1957), ROBINSON (1973), WIELAND (1984), KORHAMMER (1980). On the functions of the letters of the alphabet and on their distribution among the interlinear glosses to *TRSB*, see DE BONIS (2006). MÜLLER (2013, 227-248) has published the most recent report on the letters of the alphabet as syntactical tools employed in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in general, and in *TRSB* in particular.

f.123r/2-3

ch. 2.16

*na si fram him b had /**a c / on mynstre d a syndrod*<sup>16</sup> Non ab eo persona / in monasterio discernatur.

In conclusion, the glossators produced different kinds of linguistic interpretations of the *RSB*, which probably relied on Latin-Latin as well as Latin-Old English glosses to the *RSB* and on copies of the *RSB*, circulating in pre-Conquest England as a result of the driving force of the manuscript tradition of the *RSB* spreading from Continental Europe. Moreover, “crude forms” and the different kinds of “merographies”, which offer only a partial equivalent of the Latin lemmata, as well as the letters of the alphabet, which were used as a strategy to explain the syntactical structure of the Latin sentences, were likely addressed to readers who were able to understand the Latin text without reading the complete vernacular equivalent, and, who, therefore, were endowed with a good command of the Latin language.

### 3. THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE REGULA SANCTI BENEDICTI

The manuscript tradition of the *RSB* includes codices dating from the seventh century to the early modern period, coming from different European areas. Scholars have focused on the witnesses of the *RSB* dating from the eighth to the twelfth century and, by collating them, they have noticed that they are related to one another by a net of extremely intricate relationships. Therefore, it is only possible to reconstruct the textual relationship of small groups of witnesses<sup>33</sup>.

Most scholars rely on Traube’s convenient tripartition of manuscript tradition of the *RSB* into *textus purus*, *textus interpolatus* and *textus receptus*<sup>34</sup>.

The *textus purus* is represented by Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 914 (**A**): it was copied by two monks from Reichenau in 817 and it is thought to go back to St Benedict’s original<sup>35</sup>.

The *textus interpolatus* differs from the *textus purus* in its numerous corrections, which

<sup>33</sup> See TRAUBE (19102), HANSLIK (1960, xxv-lxx; 1977, xxii-lxiv), MEYVAERT (1963), DE VOGÜÉ-NEUFVILLE (1971-1977, I, 315-351).

<sup>34</sup> See TRAUBE (19102).

<sup>35</sup> It is now possible to view this manuscript online at: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0914>.

aimed to bring St Benedict's Latin into line with standard medieval Latin, but also features a number of alterations of different kinds. It probably originated in Rome around the year 600. The oldest surviving witness of this recension, as well as the oldest manuscript of the *RSB* in general, is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 48 (O), which was probably written in Southumbria in the first half of the eighth century. Between the lines or in the margins, numerous variant readings of contemporary date were entered, which proves that the text was corrected against a second exemplar which also belonged to the *interpolatus* recension. This second exemplar (now lost) had close textual affiliations with Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. q. 22, a manuscript copied from an Anglo-Saxon exemplar, probably at Fulda, c. 800<sup>36</sup>.

Finally, the *textus receptus* is the outcome of the contamination between the *textus purus* and the *textus interpolatus*, which had been in use up to the Carolingian age. The *textus receptus* can be dated to the period of ecclesiastic and monastic reforms of the Carolingian church fostered by Benedict of Aniane (c. 750-821), at the time of the emperor Louis the Pious (814-840), Charlemagne's successor. This version originated in a number of monasteries all over the Carolingian empire and beyond. It conflates the *purus* and the *interpolatus*, but it also features idiosyncratic readings, that is, it contains readings that cannot be assigned either to the *interpolatus* or to the *purus* text-forms<sup>37</sup>.

#### 4. THE CRITICAL EDITIONS OF THE *REGULA SANCTI BENEDICTI*

Several reliable critical editions of the *RSB* have been published so far and they all employ the *RSB* of A as their base text. In particular, Anselmo Lentini was the first editor in 1947 to introduce the verse division in the *RSB*, which has been adopted by all subsequent editors<sup>38</sup>.

The two best-reputed editions of the *RSB* so far are by Adalbert de Vogüé and Jean Neufville, and by Rudolf Hanslik. They were published during the last decades of the twentieth century. The edition by the French scholars has received a good reputation among scholars because it has definitively established the priority of the so-called *Regula Magistri* (henceforth *RM*) over the *RSB*, and because it is based on thirty manuscripts, which, however, do not include T. It was published in 1971-1977<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> See BISCHOFF – HOFMANN (1952, 54, 110), MEYVAERT (1963, 97-100).

<sup>37</sup> TRAUBE (1910<sup>2</sup>, 61-63). On the role played by Benedict of Aniane in the revival and diffusion of the *RSB*, see SCHMITZ (1957), GRÉGOIRE (1985). The recensions of *RSB* are detailed in DE VOGÜÉ-NEUFVILLE (1971-1977, I, pp. 315-351). On the description of the manuscripts of *RSB* and their textual relationships, see also HANSLIK (1977<sup>2</sup>, pp. xxii-lxiv).

<sup>38</sup> LENTINI (1980<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>39</sup> DE VOGÜÉ-NEUFVILLE (1971-1977).

There are two critical editions of the *RSB* by Rudolf Hanslik. They both reproduce the orthography of A as the base text, as happens in all the critical editions of the *RSB*. The first was published in 1960: it is based on the collation of 300 manuscripts and 63 of them, including T, have been selected for the critical apparatus. The edition started from Traube's three-fold textual recension of the *RSB* and proposed a jagged genealogical tree that developed from the lost Rule of Lérins, which was considered the common source for both the *RSB* and the *RM*. It still asserted the priority of the *RSB* over the *RM*. Hanslik published his second edition of his *RSB* in 1977. Hanslik admitted that the *RM* was the direct source of the *RSB* and gave up reconstructing the higher branches of the genealogical tree of the manuscript tradition of the *RSB*. Although the 1977 edition by Hanslik is not wholly devoid of all the shortcomings highlighted by both Meyvaert and Gretsches<sup>40</sup>, it still remains the critical edition of the *RSB* that allows the widest knowledge of the manuscript tradition of the *RSB*<sup>41</sup>.

##### 5. THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE REGULA SANCTI BENEDICTI IN PRE- AND POST-CONQUEST ENGLAND

The manuscript tradition of the *RSB* in pre-Conquest England includes:

- witnesses of the *RSB*<sup>42</sup>;
- codices with the *RSB* endowed with Latin glosses to the *RSB*<sup>43</sup>;
- one manuscript featuring Latin glosses to the *RSB* without the text of the *RSB*<sup>44</sup>;

<sup>40</sup> For example, apart from the 63 manuscripts collated in the critical apparatus, the remaining 237 manuscripts collated by Hanslik remain unknown. See MEYVAERT (1963) and GRETSCH (1973, 88-121).

<sup>41</sup> HANSLIK (1977<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>42</sup> See GRETSCH (1973, 18-19; 1974, 126-127). See also HANSLIK (1960, lxxiii-lxxiv, HANSLIK 1977<sup>2</sup>, lxvii-lxix). On the complex tradition of the text of the *RSB* in pre-Conquest England, see GRETSCH (1973; 1999, 241-251).

<sup>43</sup> For an update of the textual relationship among the manuscripts which transmit Latin-Latin glosses to *RSB*, see RAUPACH – ZÖFGEN (2020, 87-90). The latter is the first comprehensive edition to date of the Latin-Latin glosses as well as of Glossaries with vernacular elements (Old High German, Old Saxon, Old English) to the *RSB*. I am grateful to prof. Raupach, who shared the results of his investigation before the publication of the volume. For an exhaustive survey on Latin and vernacular glosses in manuscripts written in pre-Conquest England, with reference to the still unexplored features of Latin glosses and the relevant bibliography, see LENDINARA (2012, 945-987, esp. 948-950, 989-992). See also LENDINARA – LAZZARI – DI SCIACCA (2011).

<sup>44</sup> Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss, lat. Q. 69, 20r-36r, written c. 800 at Sankt Gallen, which contains a batch of 193 glosses from the *RSB* under the heading *Interpretatio sermonum de Regulis*. On the manuscript, see LOWE (1934-1971, no. 1585), BISCHOFF (1966-1981, II, 26, III, 289), LAPIDGE (2023,

- the only witness of the *RSB* provided with an almost continuous Old English and some Latin interlinear glosses as well as the letters of the alphabet (T);
- two manuscripts of the *RSB* with scattered Old English glosses;
- witnesses of Æthelwold's Old English version of the *RSB*<sup>45</sup>;
- one manuscript containing a Middle English translation of the *RSB*<sup>46</sup>.

Most of the manuscript tradition of the *RSB* in Anglo-Saxon England goes back to the tenth-century Benedictine Reform, but some manuscripts go back to a period as early as the seventh century<sup>47</sup>.

The whole manuscript tradition of *RSB* is strongly connected to the teaching and learning programs which stretched from early medieval to post-Conquest England, and which featured *RSB* not only as a monastic rule but also as a teaching and learning tool for Latin<sup>48</sup>.

Glossography played an important part in the activities related to the comprehension of both Latin texts and the Latin language itself in pre-Conquest England<sup>49</sup>. It started with the institution of the first learning centres and through the centuries never stopped being practised wherever Christian missionaries arrived with their Latin manuscripts, Canterbury and Winchester being among the most influential learning centres<sup>50</sup>.

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I, 45-50). The glosses are edited in HESSELS (1906, 3-7) and lately in LAPIDGE (2023, II, 267-312); see also LAPIDGE (1986-1996, 141-168). On the connection between early medieval England and the Mediterranean world, see LAPIDGE (2018, 469-488).

<sup>45</sup> See GNEUSS, (1964, 264-284); GRETSCH (1974; 2004, 241-251).

<sup>46</sup> London, British Library, Cotton Claudius D. iii, s. xiii' from Wintney, Hampshire. The critical edition of this version of the *Rule* is SCHRÖER (1888-1978). On the textual affiliations of the surviving manuscripts which transmit the *RSB* and were written in England before 1100, see GRETSCH (1974, 130-134; 1973, 61-176); MEYVAERT (1963, 100-103).

<sup>47</sup> A comprehensive report of the manuscript tradition of the *RSB* in Medieval England together with the relevant bibliographical references is in the Introduction to the forthcoming edition of the interlinear glosses to *TRSB*.

<sup>48</sup> On teaching and learning tools for Latin texts (1) in early medieval England, see ROBINSON (1973), KORHAMMER (1980), LAPIDGE (1982-1996), PAGE (1982), WIELAND (1983, 1984, 1985, 1998), LENDINARA (2002); (2) between the tenth and eleventh centuries in England, see LENDINARA (2007). Similar teaching and learning tools are documented also in the Old High German interlinear glosses to the *RSB*, in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 916 (s. viii/ix); see MASSER (1997, 34; 2002, 27-34, 352). Analogous teaching and learning tools have been detected also in other manuscripts transmitting other Latin texts provided with Old High German Glosses; see VOETZ (1987), DAAB (1990). I am grateful to Dr. Jlenia D'Andrea for having drawing my attention to teaching and learning tools in manuscripts transmitting Latin texts with Old High German glosses.

<sup>49</sup> On the relation between the teaching of Latin grammar and the glosses, see LAZZARI (2007, 309-347). On Old English glossography, see LENDINARA (1999).

<sup>50</sup> See LENDINARA – LAZZARI – D'ARONCO (2007); see also LENDINARA – LAZZARI – DI SCIACCA (2011). On

## 6. LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON TIBERIUS A. III

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii (**T**) is the only witness of the *RSB* (*TRSB*) provided with an almost continuous Old English and some Latin interlinear glosses as well as the letters of the alphabet<sup>51</sup>.

*TRSB* belongs to the *receptus* tradition of the *RSB* coming from Britain and it has several significant readings in common with London, British Library, Harley 5431 (**h**) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 57 (**g**)<sup>52</sup>.

**T** transmits numerous texts covering wide-ranging contents in Old English and in Latin, which relate to the early English Benedictine Reform, such as the *Admonitio* and the *Memoriale qualiter, De festivitibus anni* and the *Collectio capitularis* of 818/819, and to the Latin teaching program included in the early English Benedictine Reform, such as Ælfric's *Colloquy*. **T** also includes an excerpt of Æthelwold's Old English version of the *RSB*, together with the Latin text. Both Æthelwold's Old English version of the *RSB*, together with the Latin text, and most of the interlinear glosses to the *RSB* were copied by the same scribe. In addition, the manuscript is embellished with two illuminations (ff. 2v, 117v) that make it noteworthy among the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts<sup>53</sup>.

**T** was produced around the middle of the eleventh century and is linked to Winchester and Canterbury, both from an iconographic and a dialectal point of view, in such a way that the evidence in favour of a Winchester origin of **T**<sup>54</sup> balances the evidence in favour of a Christ

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the peculiarities of instructional manuscripts in pre-Conquest England, see LENDINARA (2007, 59-92), RUMBLE (2007, 115-130). For a survey of the works on the English Benedictine Reform published between the last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century, see ROBERTSON (2006).

<sup>51</sup> On the key features of **T**, see KER (1957, no. 186), GNEUSS (2001, no. 363) and GNEUSS – LAPIDGE (2014, no. 363). See also GNEUSS (1997, 13-48), MÜLLER (2013, 42-51) and COOPER (2015).

<sup>52</sup> Hanslik believed that **T**, **g** and **h** made a kind of homogeneous group within the manuscript tradition of the *textus receptus* originating from Britain. However, Meyvaert and Gretsich showed that the evidence is against Hanslik's opinion. See HANSLIK (1960, lxvii), MEYVAERT (1963, 100-102), GRETSCH (1973, 88-121; 1974, 130-131).

<sup>53</sup> On the first illumination (f. 2v), see TEMPLE (1976, 118, no. 100, Illustr. 313), OHLGREN (1986, 271, no. 205, Illustr. 1). On other pictures of St Benedict coming from pre-Conquest England, see DE BONIS (2014). Robert Deshman has pointed out that the picture on f. 133r of London, British Library, Arundel 155, written by a scribe named Eadui Basan at Christ Church, Canterbury, probably between 1012 and 1023, was the model for the picture on f. 117v of **T** (DESHMAN, 1988, 206, 211-219).

<sup>54</sup> Robert Deshman states that the archetype of the drawing at 2v comes from an illustration devised by Æthelwold and that the drawing at 117r, also devised by Æthelwold, was realized after the model of the illustration used for 2v, through some modifications (DESHMAN, 1988, 210-227). Furthermore, the interlinear

Church, Canterbury origin<sup>55</sup>. It seems plausible to state that **T** was actually compiled at Christ Church, Canterbury, from exemplars coming from Winchester<sup>56</sup>.

The *RSB*, the *Admonitio* and the *Memoriale qualiter* have their own history within the texts transmitted in **T**. Ker observed that the folia transmitting the *RSB*, the *Admonitio* concerning the observation of the *RSB*, the second part of the *Memoriale qualiter*, the Latin text *De festivitibus anni* and the *Collectio capitularis* of 818/819 show the same hand. Förster suggested that fols. 117-73 constituted *Manuskript III*, one of the six *Manuskripte* which form **T**. This means that the folia constitute a unit transcribed by the same scribe, perhaps from an exemplar containing all those texts. Moreover, the *RSB*, the *Admonitio* and the *Memoriale qualiter* in **T** share the same origin for different reasons: (1) codicological (the Latin text was copied by the same scribe, the interlinear glosses in Old English and Latin, together with the letters of the alphabet, were copied by another scribe, but this same scribe was responsible for all three texts – apart from a few lines in the interlinear glosses to the *RSB* by another scribe); (2) content (monastic rules closely related to the Continent as far as the Latin texts are concerned, the illustration of the Latin language through interlinear glosses), (3) aim (fostering the most important issues of the Benedictine reform in early medieval England:

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glosses to the *RSB* and the *Memoriale qualiter*, in particular, are based on the typical Winchester vocabulary although they may have some connections with Canterbury; see HOFSTETTER (1987, 117-126; 1988, 159-160).

<sup>55</sup> GNEUSS (1997, 24-27) pointed out that the two full-page illustrations would point to a Canterbury origin. In general, the texts in **T** exhibit Kenticisms, pointing to Christ Church, Canterbury, from occasional traces to frequent instances. Although it is not certain whether Kentish spellings in the texts and glosses are due to the copyists of **T**, or to their exemplars, these spellings are to be found in the work of all scribes who wrote Old English texts or glosses; see GNEUSS (1997, 37-42). Moreover, a large number of eleventh-century English manuscripts employing the sequential, alphabetic system of syntactical glossing originated from Canterbury. Within this group, Michael Korhammer found that manuscript **T** and two other manuscripts were linked by the specific method of using the same letter for indicating syntactically closed related words; see KORHAMMER (1980, 36).

<sup>56</sup> Winfried Rudolph suggests archbishop Stigand as the compiler of **T**, or at least the person behind the compilation of **T** as it appears today. It is true that Stigand was the archbishop of Canterbury from 1052 to 1070, but it is also true that archbishop Stigand held the sees of Winchester and Canterbury in common. See RUDOLF (2005). I am grateful to Prof. Winfried Rudolph for letting me know the results of his research. By contrast, Cooper has identified Æthelnoth, who was archbishop of Canterbury from 1020 to 1038, as the probable compiler of **T**. Cooper has also emphasised that **T** «needs to be understood as the product of the concerns, goals and interests of a third generation of the English reform movement and a monastic episcopate». Therefore, Cooper sets the compilation of **T** before the middle of the eleventh century, which has not found the favour with the scholarly community; see COOPER (2015, 97-106, 263-271). See P. Lendinara's review of Cooper's study (LENDINARA, 2018, 108-109); on some flaws in Cooper's publication despite the acknowledged effort to supply an updated and plausible context for the compilation of Tiberius A. iii, see J. Barrow's review (BARROW, 2016).

monastic rules and the study of the Latin language), (4) language (late West Saxon but also Kentish forms). In addition, the relationship between the main Latin text and the interlinear glosses is more or less the same in the *RSB*, the *Admonitio* and the *Memoriale qualiter*. Indeed, for all the three texts, interlinear glosses include grammatical glosses that illustrate the Latin text; some interlinear glosses are meant to correct corrupt Latin readings; some interlinear glosses do not match the erroneous underlying Latin readings of **T**, but the correct Latin readings documented by other manuscripts. It has become clear that the glosses in *TRSB*, to the *Admonitio* and to the *Memoriale qualiter* were copied from the same bilingual exemplar. This suggests that there was at least one Latin – Old English exemplar transmitting texts related to the Benedictine reform programme in Winchester and / or in Canterbury at the beginning of the eleventh century. The bilingual exemplar was very likely of the same type for all three texts, and the Latin scribe and the scribe who inserted the interlinear glosses were the same in all three texts. The Latin scribe had a corrupt Latin copy and was not particularly careful in his transcription; the scribes who copied the interlinear glosses had a bilingual exemplar whose Latin text was less corrupt than that in **T** and whose interlinear glosses ran almost continuously from the beginning to the end of each text including grammatical glosses. Finally, the scribes who inserted the interlinear glosses made mistakes of different kinds so that sometimes the meaning of the Latin text was compromised<sup>57</sup>.

#### 7. THE OUTCOME OF THE SCRIBES' AND GLOSSATORS' WORK

The interlinear glosses to *TRSB* as a whole are the result of a process which started soon after the arrival of *RSB* in the eighth century and lasted till the English Benedictine Reform, with long-standing connections between England and Continental Europe.

A teacher, who was probably a reformed monk or abbot, decided to provide the *Regula*, and other texts related to the Benedictine Reform, with interlinear glosses to support him during his lessons aimed at promoting a deeper comprehension of so vital a text, and focusing on the lexical and grammatical features of its language. To achieve his aim, that teacher chose **T** as the manuscript to host the interlinear glosses, an unknown bilingual exemplar from which the interlinear glosses were to be copied, and a couple of his students.

Those students were monks and scribes with more textual familiarity with the Latin language and the Anglo-Caroline script than with the Old English language and the Insular script<sup>58</sup>. They collated *TRSB* with the *RSB* in their bilingual exemplar and corrected some of

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<sup>57</sup> See § 2.2.

<sup>58</sup> See § 2.2.

*TRSB*'s corrupt readings. They copied Old English and Latin glosses together with the letters of the alphabet from the bilingual exemplar between the lines of *TRSB*. They produced erroneous readings and mechanically reproduced translation mistakes made by glossators, that is the former authors of the glosses, giving rise to several unsatisfactory readings from both the lexical and grammatical point of view. Those two scribes proved to be glossators, too, as they were able to give their own Old English rendering of some Latin lemmata, be they *TRSB*'s exclusive readings or erroneous readings.

The text of *TRSB* and its interlinear glosses had each had independent manuscript traditions before being copied into **T**.

The interlinear glosses were drawn from a bilingual exemplar featuring the contamination and overlapping of the three recensions of *RSB*, as well as the result of the long-standing study of the language and content of the *RSB* in early medieval England and Continental Europe. The interlinear glosses in the bilingual exemplar had probably grown through time, thanks to the work of professional glossators, relying on different witnesses of the *RSB* and on the version in the exemplar itself.

*TRSB* was copied from an unknown exemplar belonging to the *receptus* tradition with its own exclusive and corrupt readings, together with other texts connected to the Benedictine Reform, and it belongs to the manuscript tradition of *RSB* only.

In conclusion, the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* are the final result of work by different experts, who tried to explain the lexical and grammatical peculiarities of the language and content of the *RSB* to an Old English speaking audience endowed with a good command of the Latin language. The multifarious way of reproducing the vowels and consonants of Old English proves that different people were involved in this task, in different places and in different times.

Both the interlinear glosses to *TRSB*, and *TRSB* itself, testify to monasteries in Canterbury and Winchester as established learning centres where the *Regula* was not only transmitted and read in Latin, but also extensively studied in Old English alongside Latin at the beginning of the eleventh century. They mark the climax of a process which started in the previous centuries and confirm the long-standing connections between early medieval England and Continental Europe originating from the *RSB*.

## 8. DEALING WITH COMPLEX TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION IN A READER-FRIENDLY CRITICAL EDITION

Critical editions of texts are usually meant to show texts either as they were created by their authors, when authors are known, or as they were created through manuscript tradition,

when authors are unknown and texts are anonymous, which is rather common in the Middle Ages<sup>59</sup>.

Texts written in Old Germanic languages, in general, and in Old English, in particular, are mainly anonymous and quite often documented by one manuscript alone. The manuscript tradition of glosses and glossaries is even more complicated, because the textual tradition was not fixed in any way and each scribe may be considered the author of the redaction he was copying. Moreover, the didactic aim behind the glosses also presupposes the influence of an oral/aural transmission<sup>60</sup>.

With the increasing application of new technologies to textual criticism, it initially appeared that digital editions could solve any problem related to any kind of text, since they allow the handling of a huge amount of information that a ‘paper’ edition could hardly show without drawbacks. However, several scholars have pointed out that digital editions cannot offer real solutions to textual criticism, in general. Hypertext can certainly be useful in contextualising variant readings as well as in giving several kinds of data to the reader. However, the editor’s task is not only to provide information about the edited text, but also, and mainly, to produce a reliable text for a reading public made up of scholars and students. Therefore, be it a paper or a digital edition, the editor has to propose a reliable text that will be an intermediary between the manuscript tradition and modern readers<sup>61</sup>.

The heated debate about how to edit medieval texts, especially vernacular texts, seems to have found a peaceful and shared synthesis in recent years<sup>62</sup>. Scholars now tend to agree that medieval texts, and vernacular texts, in particular, should be edited so as to show their peculiarities and be intelligible to a modern audience at the same time.

The interlinear glosses to *TRSB* include the scribes’ interventions on *TRSB*, the scribes’ interpretation of the exclusive readings of *TRSB* and the scribes’ transcription of the Latin and Old English glosses to *TRSB* glossators’ work. Therefore, the scribes who copied the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* wrote Latin as well as Old English words. *TRSB* was copied by other

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<sup>59</sup> LAPIDGE (1991) encouraged critical editions, especially of Old English verse, to be text-oriented and to restore what the author wrote. On a harmonic combination of the different textual approaches which have flourished from Lachmann’s time till today, see TROVATO (2020, 109-138). On the peculiarities of the manuscript tradition of Old Germanic texts, see LUISELLI FADDA (1994). For a historical and critical survey of textual criticism related to Old English texts, see LAPIDGE (1994, 53-67). For an up-to-date debate on a variety of issues related to textual criticism, see FERRARI – BAMPI (2022). A thorough survey of critical editions of Old English texts focusing on the first two decades of the twenty-first century, but including editions published as early as the sixteenth century, is in LENDINARA (2022, 11-103).

<sup>60</sup> The phenomena related to Late Antique and Medieval Germanic glossography are dealt with in DI SCIACCA – GILIBERTO – RIZZO – TERESI (2018).

<sup>61</sup> MENGOZZI (2009, 69).

<sup>62</sup> LENDINARA (2022).

scribes, who edited *TRSB* in Latin.

Critical editions of bilingual texts usually employ different font styles according to the language used. Therefore, normal body is used for one language and italics for another language. However, the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* include two different languages, that is Latin and Old English, but also different kinds of interventions in Latin.

The critical edition of the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* should allow the readers to distinguish (1) the Latin interventions of the scribes who copied *TRSB* from those of the scribes who copied the interlinear glosses, (2) the Latin interventions of the scribes who copied the interlinear glosses on *TRSB* from the Latin glosses to *TRSB*, (3) the Latin from the Old English glosses, (4) the alphabetic letters employed as syntactical tools from corrections of corrupt readings, (5) the idiosyncratic Old English readings from the actual corrupt Old English readings. Readers should also be enabled to distinguish (1), (2), (3) and (4). Moreover, the critical edition of the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* should also allow the readers (6) to identify instances where Old English *interpretamentum* and Latin lemma do not match.

The critical edition of the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* should do all the above while granting a balance between exhaustibility and clarity, and making all this reader-friendly for a modern audience.

The previous critical editions of the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* have only partially met these aims.

#### 9. THE RULE OF S. BENET. LATIN AND ANGLO-SAXON INTERLINEAR VERSION BY HENRI LOGEMAN

The first critical edition of the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* was by Henri Logeman, published in 1888. The title of Logeman's edition, *The Rule of S. Benet. Latin and Anglo-Saxon Interlinear Version*, shows that the Latin text of the Benedictine rule and its vernacular glosses, understood as a translation of the Latin text, were the focus of the edition.

Logeman's edition is not always exhaustive because it does not allow the reader to distinguish (1) the Latin interventions of the scribes who copied *TRSB* from those of the scribes who copied the interlinear glosses, (2) the Latin interventions of the scribes who copied the interlinear glosses on *TRSB* from the Latin glosses to *TRSB*, (3) the Latin from the Old English glosses, (4) the alphabetic letters in an effective way, (5) the idiosyncratic Old English readings from the actual corrupt Old English readings. Finally, Logeman's edition does not always enable the reader (6) to identify mismatches between Old English *interpretamentum* and Latin lemma.

(1) Logeman reads Lat. *sicut* (ch. 3.6, f. 124v/9) and informs the reader that the actual

manuscript reading *siquit* was corrected to *sicut* in the section of the critical apparatus devoted to *TRSB*:

	gesælicor þe he demð ealle gehyrsumian [a.] ah [e.] swa swa
5	<i>judicaverit cuncti obedient. Sed sicut</i>
	leornicnihtum gedafenað [f.] þæt gehyrsumian [g.] lareowe
	<i>discipulis convenit obedire magistro.</i>

### 5. *siquit*, corrected into *sicut*.

#### II. LOGEMAN 1888, 18.5, and critical apparatus.

(2) Logeman reads Lat. *eorum* (ch. 2.9, f. 122v/6) and informs the reader that the actual manuscript reading *earum* was corrected to *eorum* in the section of the critical apparatus devoted to the interlinear glosses to *TRSB*:

	býð [a.] [b.] gýman gegearcod hýrde [e.] heora [e.] on dome [g.]
10	<i>fuert cura exhibita. pastor eorum in iudicio</i>

10. MS. *earum*, an *o* above the *a*, which does not seem to me to be one of the ‘paving’ letters, but a correction by glossator of *earum* into *eorum*.

#### III. LOGEMAN 1888, 12.10, and critical apparatus.

(3) Logeman distinguishes two groups of glossators’ interventions in Latin, “Latin glosses”, which I also call “Latin glosses”, and “Latin words”, which I label “Latin corrections/insertions”, with the first group identifying the Latin glosses which help understand the main Latin text and the second group pointing to the scribes of the interlinear glosses’ corrections of the main Latin text. However, Logeman’s edition does not allow the readers to distinguish between the two unless the readers read the critical apparatus devoted to the interlinear glosses, nor does Logeman’s edition graphically distinguish the Latin from the Old English glosses.

For example, Lat. *versus* (ch. 18.18, f. 137r/2), which is a Latin suppletive reading, and Lat. *scripsimus* (ch. 18.18, f. 137r/2), which is the Latin gloss to *TRSB taxavimus*, are printed in the same line hosting the interlinear glosses as if they both were “ordinary” interlinear glosses. Moreover, they are printed in normal body like the interlinear glosses in Old English:

\* *imnis* versus [i.] oððe canticas swa swa we bufan scripsimus  
*ymni*; vel cantica. sicut supra taxavi-  
 awriten beon gefýllede to nihtsange þa ylcan sealmas  
*mus impleantur*; Ad completorium vero. idem psalmi

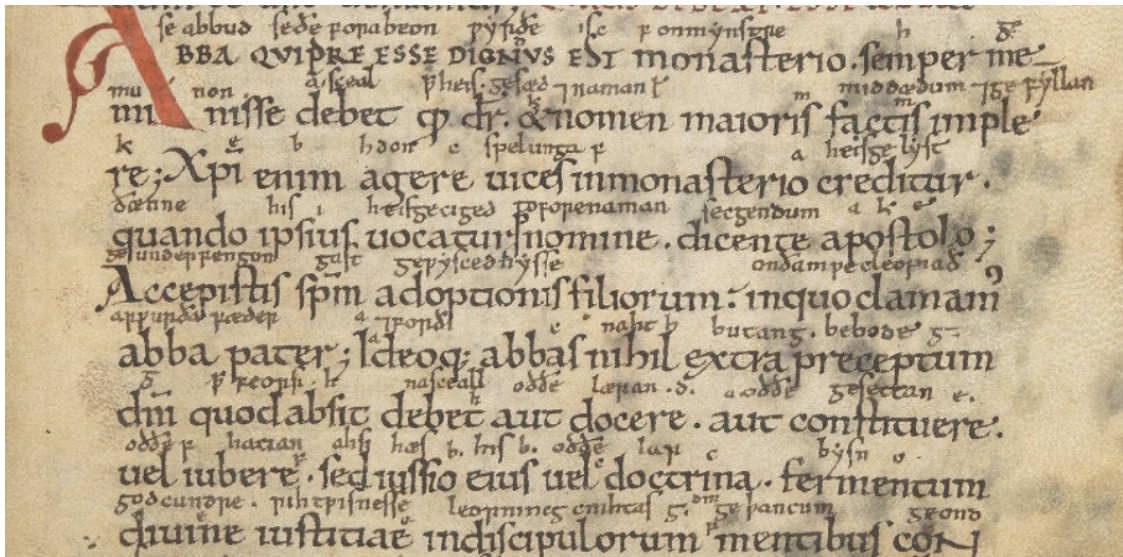
1. *imnis*. Is the *s* of this Latin word perhaps a remnant of the plural ending *-as* which may have originally stood over *ymni*? See 54. 2. *versus* supplied by glossator. *scripsimus* in glossator's hand, the gloss to which, as well as to *taxavimus*, is *awriten* in l. 2. 7. *godælede*, read *gedælede*

#### IV. LOGEMAN, 1888: 1.51, and critical apparatus.

(4) The alphabetic letters are included in square brackets, which make them easy to identify for the readers, but they are always printed in the same line hosting the interlinear glosses, which is not how they appear in **T**:

se abbud seðe forabeon [d.] wýrðe is [c.] [f.] on mýnstre [h.]  
 ABBA QVI PREESSE DIGNVS EST *monasterio. semper*  
 gemunon [a.] sceal þæt he is gesæd 7 naman oððe [m.]  
*meminisse debet quod dicitur et nomen maioris* 10  
 middædum [m.] 7 gefýllan [k.] [e.] [b.] [h.] don  
*factis implere; Christi enim agere*  
 [c.] spelunga [f.] [a.] he is \*gelýst ðænne his [i.]  
*vices in monasterio creditur. quando ipsius*  
 he is geciged to forenaman secgendum [a.] [k.] [e.] ge under-  
*vocatur pronomine. dicente apostolo; Acce-*  
 fengon gast gewýscednýsse on ðam we cleopiað  
*pistis spiritum adoptionis filiorum; in quo clamamus*  
 arwurða fæder [a.] [a.] 7 forð [c.] naht [h.] butan [g.] bebode [g.]  
*abba pater; Ideoque abbas nihil extra preceptum* 15  
 [g.] þæt feorsi [h.] na sceall [h.] oððe læran. [d.] [a.] oððe  
*domini quod absit debet aut docere. aut*  
 gesettan [e.] oððe [f.] hatian [f.] ahsi hæð [b.] his [b.] oððe [c.]  
*constituere vel jubere. sed jussio ejus. vel*  
 lar [c.] \* býsn [o.] godcundre [e.] rihtwisnesse [e.] leorningc  
*doctrina. fermentum divine justitiae in disci-*

#### V. LOGEMAN 1888, 11.9-17.



VI. Ch. 2.1-5 of the Regula Sancti Benedicti in manuscript London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, f. 122r/11-19.

(5) *TRSB*, **T** reads OE *gedihtenre*, instead of *gedihtere* (ch. 18.18, f. 137r/1), with the idiosyncratic addition of *-n*, as the vernacular *interpretamentum* to Lat. *Digesto*. Logeman's edition reads *gedihtenre* without any diacritical sign or additional information in the critical apparatus devoted to the interlinear glosses. Moreover, Logeman erroneously includes *gedihtenre* in the list of the standard Old English glosses, instead of considering it an example of the idiosyncratic addition of *-n*, in the Introduction to his edition<sup>63</sup>:

gedihtenre	endebyrdnysse
<i>Digesto</i>	<i>ergo ordine</i>

VII. LOGEMAN 1888, 50.17.

Some corrupt readings are identified by an asterisk but others are printed without any diacritical sign or additional information, as happens for *wryhtan* (prol. 14, f. 118v/8), instead of *wyrhtan*:

meniu	folce	þam he þas ðine clýpað his wryhtan
<i>dominus (in) multitudine populi</i>	<i>cui</i>	<i>haec clamat operarium</i>

VIII. LOGEMAN 1888, 2.17.

<sup>63</sup> LOGEMAN (1888, xlviij, § 40).



reading *siquit* was corrected to *sicut* by adding *c* above *siquit*, in the critical apparatus:

swa swa leornicnihtum gedafenað þæt gehyrsumian  
 si`c`ut discipulis conuenit obedire

si`c`ut] Korr. aus *siquit*; -c- über der Zeile hinzugefügt.

**X. MÜLLER 2013, 287.279, and critical apparatus.**

(1) Müller reads Lat. *e`o`rum* (ch. 2.9, f. 122v/6), with *o* between diacritical signs to highlight that *eorum* is the result of a correction, probably by the scribes who copied the interlinear glosses, and informs the reader that the actual manuscript reading *earum* was corrected to *eorum* by adding *o* above *earum* in the section of the critical apparatus devoted to *TRSB*:

hyrde heora on dome  
 pastor e`o`rum in iudicio

se fälschlicherweise wiederholt. 201 (f)rig] HS srig. 202 (ut)\*] Fehlt in HS. 204 e`o`rum]  
 Korr. aus *earum*; -o- über der Zeile hinzugefügt; möglicherweise durch Glossenschreiber.

**XI. MÜLLER 2013, 279.204, and critical apparatus.**

(2) Müller does not distinguish “Latin glosses” from “Latin corrections/insertions”, with the first ones identifying the Latin glosses which help understand the main Latin text and the second ones pointing to the scribes of the interlinear glosses’ corrections of the main Latin text, (3) nor does Müller’s edition graphically distinguish the Latin from the Old English glosses.

For example, Lat. *versus* (ch. 18.18, f. 137r/2), which is a Latin suppletive reading, and Lat. *scripsimus* (ch. 18.18, f. 137r/2), which is the Latin gloss to *TRSB taxavimus*, are printed in the same line hosting *TRSB* as if they both were part of *TRSB*. Moreover, they are printed in normal body like *TRSB* and the interlinear glosses in Old English, although they are highlighted by diacritical signs. Finally, in the critical apparatus, Müller only specifies that they

were added by the glossator:

þæt is rædinga reþsas imnis oððe canticas swa swa we bufan  
 id est lectiones, responsoria, ymni, 'uersus' uel cantica, sicut supra  
 awriten beon gefyllede to nihtsange þa ylcan  
 712 'scripsimus'/\* taxauimus, impleantur. 19 Ad completorium uero idem

711 'uersus'] Vom Glossenschreiber. 712 'scripsimus'/\*] Vom Glossenschreiber.

## XII. MÜLLER 2013, 329.711-712, and critical apparatus.

(4) The alphabetic letters are not printed at all in Müller's edition:

se abbud se ðe forabeon wyrðe is on mynstre gemunon  
 1 ABBA, QUI PREESE DIGNUS EST monasterio, semper meminisse  
 sceal þæt he is gesæd ȝ naman ȝ mid dædum ȝ gefyllan  
 debet, quod dicitur, et nomen maioris factis implere. 2 Christi  
 don spelunga he is gely(ƿ)t ðænne his he is geciged  
 enim agere uices in monasterio creditur, quando ipsius uocatur  
 to forenaman\* secgendum ge underfengon gast gewyscednysse\*  
 pronomine 3 dicente apostolo: Accepistis spiritum adoptionis  
 on ðam we cleopiað arwurða fæder ȝ forð naht butan  
 filiorum, in quo clamamus: abba pater. 4 Ideoque abbas, nihil extra  
 bebode þæt feor si na sceall oððe læran oððe gesettan oððe  
 preceptum domini quod absit, debet aut docere aut constituere uel  
 hat(i)an ah si hæþ his oððe lar bysn\* godcundre rihtwisnesse  
 iubere, 5 sed iussio eius uel doctrina fermentum diuine iustitiae

## XIII. MÜLLER 2013, 278.190-196.

However, Müller's edition allows the readers to identify the mismatch between Old English

*interpretamentum* and Latin lemma. OE *drohtnunge*, which can be understood as the accusative singular of *drohtnung* ‘conversation, condition, conduct’, actually renders *conversationem* (the accusative singular of *conversatio* ‘conduct, condition, conversation’), which was presumably in the exemplar, or *TRSB*’s *conservationem* (the accusative singular of *conservatio* ‘preservation, preservation’, prol. 47, f. 120r/6) misread as *conversationem*. The Latin text reads *conservationem* in Müller’s edition as happens in **T**:

bote oððe drohtnunge soðre lufe forðstypð  
emendationem uitiorum uel conseruationem caritatis processerit,

**XIV. MÜLLER 2013, 270.79.**

(5) *TRSB*, **T** reads OE *gedihtenre*, instead of *gedihtere*, with the idiosyncratic addition of *-n* (ch. 18.18, f. 137r/1), as the vernacular *interpretamentum* to Lat. *Digesto*. Müller’s edition reads *gedihtenre* without any diacritical sign or additional information about it in the critical apparatus:

gedihtenre endebyrdnyse sealmsanga æfensanga oðre  
Digesto ergo ordine psalmorum uespertinorum reliqua,

**XV. MÜLLER 2013: 328.710.**

Some corrupt readings are emended by means of diacritical signs but others are printed without any diacritical sign or additional information, as happens for *wryhtan* (prol. 14, f. 118v/8), instead of *wyrhtan*:

meniu folce þam he þas ðinc clypað his wryhtan  
dominus [in] multitudine populi, cui haec clamat, operarium suum

**XVI. MÜLLER 2013, 265.27.**

## 11. THE AIM OF THE NEW EDITION

The aim of the new edition is to present the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* so as to allow contemporary readers to grasp what the glossator-scribes wanted their addressees to understand of the content and language of *TRSB*. It is a glossator-scribes-oriented edition because it proposes what the glossator-scribes left in **T** and what they worked on. It focuses on the glossator-scribes' meticulous addition of Old English and Latin glosses as well as of letters of the alphabet, which are all meant to provide a careful illustration of the linguistic features of *TRSB* rather than a vernacular rendering of it.

I have chosen a conservative approach for both *TRSB* and the interlinear glosses. Therefore, *TRSB* is reproduced as it was when the glossator-scribes entered the interlinear glosses and as it stood after the glossator-scribes worked on it. Likewise, the interlinear glosses are printed as they were when the glossator-scribes had accomplished their task.

The *TRSB* is of interest for its relationship with the interlinear glosses, not in itself. So, all the transcription mistakes affecting *TRSB* have been left unemended, and the discrepancy between Old English *interpretamenta* and Latin lemmata has been maintained because the reader has to be made immediately and fully aware that the glossator-scribes did not always realise their aims. The sections of the critical apparatus devoted to the Latin text elucidate the exact nature of each Latin reading in relation to the manuscript tradition of the *RSB* and to the relevant Old English lemma.

The numerous and various transcription mistakes testify to the glossator-scribes' inability due to their limited understanding of the Old English glosses in the bilingual exemplar they used, or to the sometime oral/aural genesis of the glosses. Old English *interpretamenta* influenced by the Latin lemmata further portray the glossator-scribes' transcription as inaccurate. A few actual translation mistakes provide evidence of the occasional misunderstanding of the Latin. In addition, a remarkable number of anomalous forms might be reckoned as idiosyncrasies of the glossator-scribes. Finally, non-standard forms would anticipate the transitional phase between Late Old English and Middle English.

The faithful reproduction of the Old English glosses as attested by the manuscript is accompanied by diacritical signs alerting readers to the relevant section of the critical apparatus, which details the problems posed by each manuscript reading. Thus, contemporary readers will be able to observe the glossator-scribes' faulty interventions as preserved in **T** by looking at the edition, and at the same time they will be enabled to understand the problematic readings thanks to the relevant critical apparatus.

### 11.1. Editorial procedures

The text is presented according to its layout in the manuscript. The content of each manuscript page has been thoroughly transcribed and the different typologies of interlinear glosses are printed as they occur in **T**.

Since in **T** the letter size of the glosses is one third of the letter size of the Latin text, the present edition accordingly uses different font sizes for the Latin text and the interlinear glosses. The former has been printed in a larger size than the latter, taking care to accommodate each Latin lemma below its Old English *interpretamentum*.

Editorial interventions in both the Latin text and the Old English glosses are limited to the addition of letters which have been lost due to physical damage, in which case they have been enclosed in round brackets. As for the Old English glosses only, further editorial interventions concern the interpretation of ambiguous manuscript readings, in which case a small circle precedes the proposed interpretation. Unintelligible forms are marked with a *crux desperationis*. Other specific diacritical signs point to *lacunae*, manuscript readings which could be given at least two different interpretations, clear transcription mistakes and translation mistakes. *TRSB* is never provided with diacritical signs for blatant corrupt readings because the edition focuses on the interlinear glosses and their relationship with *RSB* as transmitted by **T**.

The critical apparatus conflates a diplomatic and a critical apparatus, as it provides information about both the material aspect of manuscript readings and the expected forms for corrupt readings. It also refers to the Notes following the edition for further discussion about particularly corrupt or ambiguous readings.

The Latin text is printed in normal body.

All interlinear glosses are located above and clearly separated from *TRSB*, which occupies its own proper line, as in the manuscript.

Old English interlinear glosses are printed in italics with the manuscript lettering faithfully reproduced except for the runic letter <ƿ>, which is replaced by <w>.

The Latin words (morphological glosses, syntactical suppletive glosses, suppletive Latin readings, correct Latin readings meant to replace wrong Latin readings) and the letters of the alphabet included in the interlinear glosses are in bold.

So, the reader is able to materially distinguish the interlinear glosses from *TRSB*, in general, and Old English glosses, Latin words and letters of the alphabet included in the interlinear glosses, in particular.



(f. 122v/7) MüKomm; see II. 6 *earum* T] *o* probably by the glossator-scribe to correct it to *eorum* LgApp MüApp; scil. *eorum* Lg Ne Hk; *e`o`rum* Mü.

**XVIII. Ch. 2.9, f. 122v/6, in the new edition.**

(5) As for transcription mistakes affecting the Old English interlinear glosses, T reads *wryhtan* instead of *wyrhtan*. The diacritical sign # immediately before *wryhtan* alerts the reader that the manuscript reading *wryhtan* is corrupt and section II of the critical apparatus explains that *wryhtan* is a miscopied *wyrhtan*:

‡ (on) *meniu folce þam he þas ðinc clypað his # wryhtan*  
(in) *multitudine populi cui haec clamat operarium suum,*

usual; see Notes. # *wryhtan*] *wryhtan* T Lg Mü; for *wyrhtan*. 9 (ef)t Mü] t T Lg;

**XIX. Prol. 14, f. 118v/8, in the new edition.**

(6) The mismatch between Old English *interpretamentum* and Latin lemma is reproduced as it is in T, and sections I-II of the critical apparatus explain it. For instance, Old English *drohtnunge*, which can be understood as the accusative singular of *drohtnung* ‘conversation, condition, conduct’, actually renders *conversationem* (the accusative singular of *conversatio* ‘conduct, condition, conversation’), which was presumably in the exemplar, or TRSB’s *conservationem* (the accusative singular of *conservatio* ‘preservation, preservation’) misread as *conversationem*:

*oððe drohtnunge soðre lufe forðstypð þærrihte*  
*vel conservationem caritatis processerit,* <sup>48</sup> *non ilico*

**120r/6** *conservationem* T Mü Ne Hk] *conversationem* Lg; *conversationem* Sa<sup>?</sup>.

*gescad*] «crude forms». 6 *drohtnunge*] rendering *conversationem* (see I) or *conservationem* misread as *conversationem*. *þærrihte*] *æ* looks like *a*, first *r* looks

**XX. Prol. 47, f. 120r/6, in the new edition.**

I conclude by providing a specimen of the new edition by taking as an example the passage of *TRSB* introduced at the beginning of the article.

f. 137r/1-6 ch. 18.18-20

*gedihtenre endebyrdnyse sealmſanga æfensanga oðre*

1 <sup>18</sup> Digesto ergo ordine psalmodum vespertinorum, reliqua,

*þæt is rædinga reþsas # imnis versus canticas*  
*oððe*

id est lectiones, responsoria, ymni vel cantica,

*swa swa we bufan awriten beon gefyllede to nihtsange*

**scripsimus**

sicut supra taxavimus impleantur. <sup>19</sup> Ad completo-

*þa ylcan sealmſ beon geedleehte þæt*

rium vero idem psalmi repetantur, cotidie, id

*is se feower and hundnigenteoða sealm*

5 est quartus, nonagesimus et centesimus trigesimus

*gedihtere endebyrdnesse ʒ sealmſangas*  
**e b # c # e**

mus tertius. <sup>20</sup> Disposito ergo ordine psalmodie

I <sup>2</sup> *ymni vel cantica* T only Lg] *ymni*, ‘*versus*’ vel *cantica* Mü, scil. *ymni*, *versus et cantica* G<sub>1.4</sub> et alii, *hymnum*, *uersum uel canticum* Ne Hk, see II. <sup>3</sup> *supra taxavimus* T Lg] *supra* ‘*scripsimus*’ *taxauimus* Mü, *supra taxauimus* Ne, *supra taxabimus* Hk, see II. <sup>5-6</sup> *centesimus trigesimus* T Mü P et alii] *centesimus et trigesimus* Lg (erroneously), *centesimum tricesimum* Ne Hk.

II <sup>1</sup> *gedihtenre*] correct LgIntro (erroneously); for *gedihtere*. <sup>2</sup> # *imnis*] *imnis* T Mü, \**imnis* Lg; -s as the remnant of the plural ending -as originally written above *ymni*? LgApp; the erroneous repetition of Lat. *ymni* with -s by analogy with *reþsas* and *canticas*. <sup>3</sup> # *scripsimus*] difficult to explain. **versus**] by the glossator-scribe LgApp MüApp; as an interlinear gloss in Lg; on the same line as the Lat. text in Mü; suppletive reading, see I. <sup>3</sup> **scripsimus**] by the glossator-scribe LgApp MüApp; as an interlinear gloss in Lg; on the same line as the Lat. text in Mü; Lat. gloss, see I. *awriten*] for *awriton*; as a gloss to both Lat. *taxavimus* and *scripsimus* LgApp (erroneously); as a gloss to Lat. *scripsimus* only. <sup>5</sup> *hundnigenteoða*] for *hundnigenteoða*. <sup>6</sup> *gedihtere*] for *gedihtere* LgIntro (erroneously). # **c**] c T, [c] Lg; for **e**. # **e**] e T, [e] Lg; for **d**. <sup>6-7</sup> ʒ *sealmſangas* / *godcundlice*] *sealmſangas godcundlice* T Lg Mü; translation mistake due to Lat. gen. sg. *psalmodie* / *divine* (only in T, see I) misunderstood as nom. pl.

**XXI. Ch. 18.18-20, f. 137r/1-6, in the new edition.**

**T** reads OE *gedihtenre*, instead of *gedihtere*, with the idiosyncratic addition of *-n* (ch. 18.18, f. 137r/1), as the vernacular *interpretamentum* to Lat. *Digesto*, and, in the II section of the critical apparatus, *gedihtenre* is explained as an Old English *interpretamentum* with the superfluous addition of *-n*.

Above Lat. *ymni*, **T** reads *imnis*, which is the erroneous repetition of the underlying Latin lemma by the glossator-scribe, with the superfluous addition of *-s* (by analogy with *reþsas* and *canticas* in the same line), instead of the expected OE *lofsangas* (ch. 18.18, f.

137r/2). The diacritical sign # points to *imnis* as a transcription mistake and, in the II section of the critical apparatus the reader finds the reasons why *imnis* is a corrupt reading.

The manuscript reading **versus** (ch. 18.18, f. 137r/2) is printed in the same line hosting the Old English interlinear glosses because it was written by the glossator-scribe, and it is in bold to highlight that it is a Latin word written by the glossator-scribe. In the II section of the critical apparatus, the reader finds that **versus** is a suppletive reading and is directed to section I of the critical apparatus to realize that. Lat. *scripsimus*, which is the Latin *interpretamentum* to the Latin lemma *taxavimus*, is printed in bold, in the same line hosting the interlinear glosses, above Lat. *taxavimus*, in order to point out that it is the Latin gloss to the Latin lemma written below. OE *awriten*, which stands for *awriton*, is written above Lat. *scripsimus*. In section II of the critical apparatus, the reader finds that *scripsimus* is a Latin gloss added by the glossator-scribe

The diacritical sign # before the letters **c** and **e**, which are printed in bold as all the alphabetic letters, points out that these two letters were miscopied. The II section of the critical apparatus explains that **c** stands for **e** and **e** for **d**.

## 12. CONCLUSION

The different approaches to *TRSB* adopted by the glossators and glossator-scribes responsible for the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* make the interlinear glosses under investigation a workshop on textual criticism, which the previous critical editions have not fully exploited.

The new edition of the interlinear glosses to *TRSB* will help the readers to dive into the complex relationship between interlinear glosses to *TRSB* and *TRSB*, enabling them to reach a comprehensive understanding of their distinctive features. Unlike the previous editions, the new one will particularly focus on the glossator-scribes' work by clearly distinguishing their different interventions on *TRSB*. The editing of *TRSB* by the glossator-scribes will be easily identifiable and differentiated from the glossator-scribes' linguistic interpretation of *TRSB*. Therefore, the readers will be able to see how the glossator-scribes modified *TRSB* as well as how they interpreted or misinterpreted *TRSB* in Old English.

500-511 AOFL XX (2025)

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