Glossing cultural change:
Comparative perspectives on manuscript annotation, c. 600–1200 CE

Abstracts

Ciaran Arthur, Queen's University, Belfast (UK)
Glossaries and textual concealment in Anglo-Saxon ritual texts

Many surviving rituals from late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts contain obscure passages that are composed of several exotic languages. Elements of seemingly corrupted Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Irish, runic, and even Aramaic appear in these passages and they have often been dismissed as the result of erroneous scribal copying. Scholars frequently acknowledge that these texts draw upon ecclesiastical and classical sources, although these are rarely identified and the rituals are often side-lined as formless pieces with little to no literary merit. However, the manuscripts in which they are contained were written in high-status ecclesiastical centres at a time when studies of language and hermeneutics flourished. Notable churchmen like Oda of Canterbury, Frithegod, Dunstan, Æthelwold, Oswald, and Byrhtferth (among others) were strong promoters of hermeneutic styles, which were ostentatiously difficult for their deliberately obscure archaisms, grecisms, hebraisms, and neologisms. Etymologies, glossaries, and classical sources offered a wealth of arcane vocabulary for these compositions; some were already available in monastic libraries, dating back to earlier schools like that of Theodore and Hadrian, while others became available with the importation of manuscripts from the Continent.

This paper explores some of the sources that appear to have been used in the composition of 'gibberish' rituals. In addition to classical texts, particularly those concerning medicine and healing, glossaries had fundamental importance as repositories of obscure vocabulary. Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics plundered glossaries to deliberately obscure powerful rituals so that access to them could be restricted and controlled. The choice of languages used in these texts points towards wider efforts made by early medieval theologians to situate vernacular languages in the context of biblical history. These highly obscure rituals reflect more about early medieval attitudes to hermeneutics, etymologies, multilingualism, and the theological status of human languages than they do about poor scribal copying.

Bernhard Bauer, University of Maynooth (Ireland)
'Before every book its title': explanatory glosses in the St Gall Priscian

The glosses of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek ms 904 are one of three most important corpora for the Old Irish period. It dates to 850–1 and contains over 9400 interlinear and marginal glosses. Around 3500 of them are in Old Irish. A recent edition of all the glosses (i.e. both Latin and Old Irish) is available online at www.beta.stgallpriscian.ie (B. Bauer, R. Hofman, P. Moran, *St Gall Priscian Glosses, v2.0*,

2017). This database is based Rijcklof Hofman's work on the Priscian glosses, published and unpublished, together with Bernhard Bauer's "Dictionary of the Old Irish Priscian glosses".

Hofman established a categorisation of different gloss types and assigned each gloss into one or more of them. In this paper I will closely examine selected glosses from his "Group 5: explanatory glosses, elucidating the content of the text". These glosses consist in part of those which show the glossators' acquaintance with other authors/sources besides Priscian, as in Sg. 13 b 21p "bruthach vel verius ignis reliqua icidorus dicit" 'furious or more accurately fire etc. says Isidore'. They also include those which explain proper names used by Priscian as in Sg. 12 a 16u "proprium feda" 'the proper name of a tree' glossing Latin *platanus*. Besides providing valuable information about the scholarly environment, these glosses also provide a window into the day-to-day life of the medieval Irish scribes in a period of constant change.

Alderik Blom, Philipps-Universität Marburg (Germany)
>   The pragmatics of multilingual glossing in the early Middle Ages: glosses, punctuation, construe marks

This paper studies the pragmatics of glossing on Latin texts in a number of early medieval European languages. Whereas the study of such glosses and marginalia has tended until recently to be dominated by lexicographers and historical linguists, here a more holistic analysis of the entire manuscript context is proposed instead, which includes, besides such vernacular glosses, also Latin additions and non-verbal forms of annotation on the manuscript page, such as construe marks and punctuation.

The main question addressed in this paper, therefore, concerns the way in which such multilingual manuscripts were actually supposed to be read. Thus, an analysis of form (different scripts, form and location on the page) and function of vernacular annotations in three medieval manuscripts of the Latin Psalter, with glosses in Latin, Old English, Old Irish and Old High German, as well as several forms of punctuation, will illustrate theoretical considerations about the pragmatic status of such additions to Latin texts.

Franck Cinato, Histoire des théorie linguistiques (HTL; UMR 7597), CNRS & Université Paris Diderot (France)
>   Syntactical glosses and word order: issues and evidence

Syntactical glosses appear as a very intriguing feature of medieval glossing practices. Their interest for linguists lies mostly in the fact that they give access to the practical syntax of school masters. And because they are frequently found alongside vernacular glosses, they have been regarded a good observatory for Latin/vernacular relationships, especially regarding word order. This issue has had different responses depending the material used for analysis. Between the two main systems that were in use, one seems more oriented toward word-order concerns, while the other is more elusive, focusing on partial relationships instead of creating a complete new order (considering that rarely do all components of a sentence receive glosses). Would the former system be better for clarifying

construction and word order? Or does the latter system require more active effort from the reader? This communication aims to provide thoughts about how syntactical glossing could afford insights on the topic of word order.

Tatsushi Genka, University of Tokyo (Japan)
The early Transalpine Decretistic: its manuscript transmission and readers

Since Stephan Kuttner's *opus magnum* "Repertorium der Kanonistik" of 1937, it has been known to us that a school of canon law flourished in Northern France, probably in Paris, from the late 1160s to the 1180s. The works the school produced are small (even fragmentary) commentaries on the *Decretum Gratiani* and transmitted in miscellaneous manuscripts, in one case even in the margin of an old penitentiary. Taken as a whole, however, they are substantially widespread, enough to be labelled as influential, even in Bologna, the birthplace of medieval jurisprudence. In my paper I first describe some larger works of the school: their textual relation to one another, the way they interpret the *Decretum Gratiani*, and their use of sources like Roman law, pre-Gratian canonical collections or early decretist literature of the Bolognese school. Then, comparing variant readings among the manuscripts or analysing marginal glosses added to commentaries, I try to throw some light on the way canonistic commentaries were read by later generations.

Carolina Gual Silva, State University of Campinas (Unicamp) (Brazil)
Glossing tithes: the definition of jurisdictions through glosses in canon law

Glossing was essential in the development of medieval intellectual tradition, particularly in the field of Law. As proposed by William of Conches (ca. 1090–1154), glosses were full commentaries that served the purpose of explaining at the same time the author's doctrine, the context, and individual words. This form of producing knowledge was essential in the context of blossoming legal texts from the middle of the twelfth century onwards, since clarifications were necessary and the intertextual dialogue was the way in which juridical thought advanced. Glosses to the major works of Canon Law (such as Gratian's *Decretum* (ca. 1140) and the *Liber Extra* (1234)), were progressively incorporated into the manuscripts and editions and became the "officially accepted" commentaries. They were, therefore, considered authorities on doctrine. In particular, glossing contributed to the formulation of abstract juridical categories, such as the notion of *iurisdictio*, which is of great importance to our understanding of the definitions and limits of authority during the 12th and 13th centuries. This paper will, therefore, analyze the construction of the concept of *iurisdictio* in the glosses of Canon Law work, such as the *Glosa ordinaria* of the *Decretum*, by Bartholomew of Brescia, the *Glosa ordinaria* of the *Liber Extra* by Bernard of Parma and the glosses of the decretalists, such as Raimond de Peñafort in the *Summa de Paenitentia* and Hostiensis in his *Summa*. We will discuss the specific case of the glosses in the titles discussing tithes, as the discussion regarding the payment and nature of tithes played a crucial role in defining the jurisdictions and the spaces of authority of bishops and the papacy.

Michael Herren, York University, Toronto (Canada)
      Challenges in editing the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary

The first part of this paper will present the new project to prepare a complete edition of the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary. The project is based in the Dictionary of Old English Project housed at the University of Toronto. The editorial team comprises Michael Herren (Toronto), Hans Sauer (Munich), and David Porter (Baton Rouge, LA). The project was initially funded through an Alexander-von-Humboldt Stiftung research prize for M. Herren. It recently received Canadian government-sponsored funding for research assistance and travel spanning three years. The edition will be published in two phases: (1) as an online edition on the Dictionary of Old English website; (2) as a print edition with a full commentary published in fascicles. Phase 2 will follow the format of Herren and Sauer's sample edition published in vol. 26 of *The Journal of Medieval Latin*. Other Latin-Old English glossaries, beginning with Leiden, will be put online with their correspondences to Épinal-Erfurt (EE).

The second part of the paper will discuss an aspect of editorial method. Since the publication of W. M. Lindsay's groundbreaking 'The Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt, and Leyden Glossaries', it has been recognized that Corpus is closely related to Épinal and Erfurt, long known to descend from a single glossary written in England in the late seventh century. However, J. D. Pheifer added precision to this claim, demonstrating that the correspondences between Corpus and EE are so numerous and so close that it constitutes a third manuscript in the EE tradition, and thus can be used to construct its archetype. This paper takes the matter further. The Corpus scribe was an excellent textual critic. A number of entries in EE (common readings of Épinal and Erfurt) are so corrupt as to be undecipherable. Many of these textual problems were solved by the Corpus scribe—some times by correcting the entries into readable components, at other times by providing an additional gloss, more often in Old English than Latin, that brings clarity. On the other hand, the Corpus scribe tends to classicize Latin spellings and use newer forms of Old English words, which means that caution is needed in the use of Corpus to construct the archetype of a given entry.

Jesse Keskiaho, University of Helsinki (Finland)
      Annotating pre-Christian culture in Augustine's *The City of God* (fifth to ninth centuries)

Bishop Augustine of Hippo famously began *The City of God* (*De ciuitate Dei*) as a response to discussions that followed the sack of Rome in 410 by the Goths. A line of argument proposed that the old gods had abandoned Rome, recently Christianised, allowing the calamity to take place. Augustine produced an extensive review, in the first ten books of the work, of Roman history, religion, and philosophy. He argued that the old gods had never supported Rome and were not worthy worship. In the process he presented a wealth of often exotic detail about pre-Christian Antiquity.

Soon after Augustine, the political and economic upheavals connected to the disintegration of the Roman Empire in the West also profoundly impacted the conditions of written culture and learning.

Augustine's works were seen as authoritative and were widely read throughout this period. Early readers of *The City of God* annotated their copies of the work, and many of these annotations survive in the manuscripts of the work, as copies and as originals. Interestingly, they often paid especial attention to passages relating to pre-Christian Roman culture and religion.

As pre-Christian culture, already largely past when Augustine depicted it, further receded in time and memory, and as the learned culture in which Augustine wrote itself changed, readers may have required more explanation and context when confronted with *The City of God* and its argument with pre-Christian religion and culture.

In this paper I propose to review the evidence of these annotations. What do they indicate about readers' relationship to the pre-Christian past, and of the role of this work in providing information about it? In what ways do the annotations mediate between readers and the past discussed by Augustine?

Teiji Kosukegawa, University of Toyama (Japan)
> Glossing and reading the *Analects of Confucius* (論語) by vernacular languages in the Sinosphere

The *Analects* of Confucius 論語 was widely read from ancient times in the Sinosphere, and there are also many modern translations in Western languages. There are two types of texts, an old commentary and a new commentary. The old commentary has text based on the interpretation of Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 (127–200), of the later Hàn (漢) dynasty, and text based on the interpretation of Hé Yàn 何晏 (?–249), of Wèi (魏) dynasty. Zhèng Xuán's text did not spread much to posterity, as Chinese Dunhuang manuscripts (7th–9th century) and Japanese ancient manuscripts (13th–14th century) are mostly Hé Yàn's text. Then, from the Sòng (宋) Dynasty, a text based on the school of Zhū Xī 朱熹 (1130–1200) appears, and all the texts of the remaining in Vietnam and Korea are new commentary texts. Both have glosses in their own languages and one cannot compare the whole because the types and eras differ, but it is possible to compare glosses in the same phrase part. In this presentation, I will clarify the similarity and uniqueness of glosses in Japanese, Chinese and Vietnamese, and describe the presenter's idea about what the reading of a classic text was.

Elke Krotz, University of Vienna (Austria)
> One *Abavus maior*, many *Abavi maximi*: the history of a glossary and its vernacular strata

At the end of the eighth century, three big gloss collections interact in North-Eastern France: the *Abavus maior*, the *Liber glossarum* and the 'original English collection' of the Leiden group. The paper concentrates on a special combination of these glossaries, arranged perhaps in St Amand. One early copy of the lost original version can be found in Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 89 (and its apographs in Klosterneuburg, Ms. 848, Salzburg, St. Peter, Fragm. 7, and Vorau, Ms. 182), a revised version in Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 100 (known as *Pseudo-Ebarcius, Scripturarum claves iuxta traditionem seniorum*, cf. Manitius II,641–646) and its abridged version in Trier, Ms. 1923 4º. Similar attempts to

admix this material lead to the *Glossae Salomonis*, the Reichenauer Glossen and to other *Abavi maximi*. Obviously this was a useful (in respect to canon texts?) and successful combination. From the start the scribes added, misunderstood or eliminated vernacular layers, but some very early vernacular glosses survived as stowaways in MSS up to the 15th century. The paper will try to delineate a history of attitudes towards vernacular glosses on the basis of this corpus: which changes can be explained as a result of cultural change, which are due to language change or a means to adapt the glossary to new functions?

Elvira Martín-Contreras, Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científica (CSIC), Madrid (Spain)
Rethinking the function of the annotations placed in the margins of the oldest Hebrew biblical manuscripts

The marginal annotations that appear together with the Hebrew Bible text in the oldest Masoretic codices—also known as Masora—have been studied as part of the biblical text as a secondary element which has no entity on its own. In the absence of direct textual testimony, prior to the oldest Masoretic codices (9th–10th centuries C.E.), the theories that explain the transmission of the Hebrew biblical consonantal text have been used to explain the history of the transmission of the marginal annotations.

The numerous works done during the last decades in the field of Masoretic studies have notably enlarged our knowledge of the Masora and as a result some of the ideas about the Masora and its history have been questioned. Moreover, many and important differences have been verified not only in the way the Masora articulates information but also within the content of the marginal annotations of the studied manuscripts up until now. In this context, it seems the methodological approach followed until now is not the most suitable method to face the diversity and plurality of the Masora.

Considering the plural nature of the Masora, the textual independence of marginal annotations and the already attested differences, it seems necessary to explore other ways of approaching the Masora in order to reformulate the role played by the annotations in the set of each manuscript and to identify and evaluate the differences existing among the annotations of the oldest Masoretic codices.

My proposal is to study the Masora in the context of the manuscripts containing it, taking into consideration its medieval manuscript culture. Moreover, the notion of paratextuality (Genet 1997) can open up some new possibilities about our understanding of these marginal annotations.

Pádraic Moran, National University of Ireland, Galway (Ireland)
Challenges in editing glosses and prospects for future collaborations

This paper aims to close out the conference with some general observations about developing our research capacity in the field of glossing studies. It will discuss three related topics. The first addresses the fact that very much primary source material on glossing is still inaccessible. For many texts, even the number of manuscripts containing glosses is unclear, not to mention the extent and distribution

of glosses in an individual manuscript, or the general characteristics of any such gloss collection, or even the relationships between different collections. To solve his issue we would need catalogues and new editions. However, best practices for editing glosses are not clear, and individual editions manifest a variety of approaches. What are the needs of researchers using editions of glosses? These are obviously quite different to those using editions of literary texts. The second topic of the paper will be typologies of glosses. A good typology in any edition can offer readers quick insights into the function of individual glosses, as well as facilitating statistical analyses across the entire collection, and potential comparison with other collections. However, typologies can vary very considerably from edition to edition. The paper will discuss some general points of methodology. Finally, as a third topic, I will discuss how co-ordinating our approaches to editing glosses and applying typologies may allow for greater future collaboration between researchers and the prospect of pursuing broader research questions than have been possible heretofore.

Andreas Nievergelt, Univerity of Zürich (Switzerland)
Dry-point glossing in East and West

Latin and vernacular glosses in medieval manuscripts were written not only with ink, but also without any colouring matter. Entries written in this fashion originate in most cases from stylus. The phenomenon of glossing with stylus can also be observed in Korean and Japanese manuscripts at the same time. For historical linguistics of vernacular languages as Old Irish, Old English, Old Saxon, Old High German and Old Slavic and also for the historical Korean and Japanese these so-called dry-point glosses are of great importance. They represent the most ancient witnesses of the languages given above. The contribution outlines the medieval dry point traditions in Europe and Far East and discusses whether they correspond functionally to each other.

Irene O'Daly, Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands (Netherlands)
Defining *civilis scientia*: diagrammatic glossing to Cicero's *De inventione*

This paper looks at glosses made to eleventh- and twelfth-century copies of Cicero's *De inventione*, and focuses in detail on the opening section of Book I, which established grounds for viewing rhetoric as an ethical art. Arguing that eloquence could only be achieved by wise men, who would then use their gifts in the service of the *res publica*, Cicero set the scene for an ongoing discussion in the Middle Ages regarding the breadth and limits of politics, which he described as '*civilis scientia*'. Unsurprisingly, this was one of the most heavily glossed sections of *De inventione*, and received extensive commentary throughout the late antique and medieval periods.

In this paper I will illustrate how this section was frequently glossed with diagrammatic schemata, borrowing from the commentaries of writers such as Victorinus and Grillius, whose voices are also found in the purely textual glosses which occupied the manuscripts' interlinear and marginal spaces. Schemes of this type permitted the presentation of multiple views simultaneously and, while serving primarily as a summary and mnemonic device, may also have been prompts for discussion.

This paper critically explores the content of these schemes, examining how they were intended to be

read in tandem with Cicero's text and its system of textual glosses. It also aims to situate these schemes in the context of the climate of discourse on the nature of politics within which they were produced. As well providing leads on the relationships between manuscripts, examining this constellation of annotations demonstrates how the margin could function as an argumentative and critical space. The unusual form of the glosses, meanwhile, offers a clue to intellectual practices of the period, while their content demonstrates how medieval scholars sought to use rhetorical texts as a means for defining, however idealistically, their political world.

Sven Osterkamp & **André Podzierski**, Bochum University (Germany)
How, for whom, and to what end? Japanese metatexts on translating and glossing Chinese texts

Japan has a tradition spanning more than a millennium of glossing Chinese texts to record their translation into Japanese. Far from being a uniform tradition, we can observe both diachronic variation and synchronic divergences in the approaches to translation and glossing. This is especially pronounced in the early modern period with its fierce competition between often mutually incompatible schools. While the function of translation and glossing as a means of interpretation, establishing textual authority and transmitting knowledge might be rather self-evident, the exact reasons behind the various choices made in gloss texts—be they on the level of textual exegesis, the linguistic interpretation of the source language text, its rendering into the target language or the way the latter is recorded in glosses—are rarely made explicit.

This changes in the early modern period: Not only is this the age of printing, turning gloss texts into objects of mass production and consumption, it is also a period blessed by the existence of several substantial metatexts detailing both how Chinese should be translated into Japanese and how exactly glosses should be added to the source texts. While these metatexts date from ca. 1500–1850, the glossing traditions they reflect do not only in part retain features of their historical precursors of ca. 800–1200, the end of the period even saw attempts explicitly aiming at the restoration of such archaic forms of glossing.

Whereas it is frequently mentioned in the literature that e.g. glossing does not produce a physically separate text to replace the original, these metatexts now provide us with actual explanations for this. For some glossators, glossing even turns out to be nothing but a transient, mnemonic means to be abandoned eventually. Other aspects addressed include the notion of default vs. variant correspondences, resulting in different levels of explicitness of glosses, or issues of domestication vs. foreignization.

Sinéad O'Sullivan, Queen's University, Belfast (UK)
Scholia non serviana, Lactantius Placidus and the Vatican Mythographers: a case study of Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section médecine, H 253

Scholia non serviana, that is, non-Servian notes that surface in early medieval Vergil manuscripts, represent a sizeable body of commentary materials that accompanied the poet's works in the ninth

and tenth centuries. In this paper I draw on these *scholia non serviana* in a single ninth-century Vergil manuscript to argue for their importance and reach. To this end, I demonstrate that non-Servian comments were a constituent of early medieval glosses on Vergil by cataloguing the range of such notes in Ms. Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section médecine, H 253, a ninth-century glossed Vergil manuscript—not an isolated case but closely affiliated with other early medieval glossed Vergil manuscripts.[1] To illustrate the reach of the *scholia non serviana*, I show that they furnished mythological information in the Montpellier Vergil and that analogues occur in early medieval glossographic, encyclopaedic and mythographic collections. In the Montpellier manuscript, for example, the late-antique commentary on the *Thebaid* ascribed to Lactantius Placidus was a key source of pagan mythological lore. In addition, similar 'Lactantian' content is found in the Vatican Mythographers. Given the close ties between the shared elements in the Montpellier Vergil and the Mythographers, as well as the oft-recognised overlap between Vergil glosses and anthologies of all kinds (including the Latin glossary tradition), it seems likely that a common intermediary source or sources underpinned some of the non-Servian glosses in the Montpellier manuscript and the mythological material in the Vatican Mythographers. This paper, thus, contributes to broader scholarly discussion of a close kinship between early medieval glosses and encyclopaedic compendia of all sorts, including lexicographical and glossographical collections. As such, it situates glosses within mainstream intellectual culture.

Inmaculada Senra Silva, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED), Madrid (Spain)
Glossing with runes in tenth-century northern England: the case of the glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Durham Ritual

Glossing became a popular pedagogical tool in Northern England in the tenth century. Two clear examples of this practice are the glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Durham Ritual attributed to a priest named Aldred. The Lindisfarne Gospels contains a Latin text of the Gospels based on St. Jerome's Vulgate and a tenth-century interlinear gloss to nearly all the Latin text (including the prefaces) added around 950s–960s and written in Old Northumbrian. The Durham Ritual was originally produced in the south of England in the early tenth century, but it was in Chester-le-Street (Northumbria) ca. 970 where an interlinear gloss was added to large parts of the manuscript. The Anglo-Saxon material of the Durham Ritual consists almost entirely of Aldred's gloss to most of the original collectar (1r–53r and 54v–61r) as well as to much of the latter additions.

It is generally accepted that runes were invented to be used epigraphically. Nonetheless, they were also employed in manuscripts both in England and Scandinavia. In England some runic knowledge entered the scriptoria. It seems that there was a general acceptance of runes in the classroom and the scriptorium, perhaps owing to interaction between Latin and English in the first steps of 'Latinization' of the island. And so runes were used in manuscripts from the late eighth century to some time after the Norman Conquest.

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[1]   I coin the term « Montpellier Vergil » for Ms. Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section médecine, H 253 as the manuscript is the oldest surviving glossed Vergil manuscript in Montpellier.

In both the glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Durham Ritual the **d**- and **m**- runes were employed. The purpose of this contribution is to analyse the use of these runes in the glosses in the context of the studies of Anglo-Saxon *runica manuscripta*.

Giuseppe Speciale, Università degli Studi di Catania (Italy)
　　　Accursius' *Magna Glossa* as hypertext

The key to the success of the Accursian apparatus is the hypertextual structure of the work: the apparatus is characterized by its fragmentary and non-linear structure and by the inseparable connection, also in terms of physical proximity in manuscripts and prints, between *glossae* and a normative text.

In the apparatus it is difficult to distinguish the most important parts from the least important: all the elements tend to stand on the same hierarchical level; not so in the *Summae* or in the *Lecturae*, whose linear narrative structures inevitably end up emphasizing the most important and the least significant parts.

The Accursian apparatus recalls the description of the ideal text of Roland Barthes: "In this ideal text the nets are multiple and play among themselves without any covering the others, this text is a galaxy of signifiers, not a structure of meanings; it begins: it is reversible, it can be accessed by several entrances of which no one can be decreed with certainty the principal, the codes that mobilize as far as the eye can see, are undecidable."

The navigation of the user in the ocean of Justinian compilation is constantly oriented by the complex network of internal references and precise explanations that ennervate the Justinian text and allow a quick and immediate, but not less thorough, knowledge of the law.

The metatext is a set of linked documents, it does not have a fixed centre, it is not organized along an axis principal, but it can always be re-centred and reorganized according to the interests of the reader. Structurally, apparatus-hypertext is an 'open text'. An open text, in essence, postulates that interactive process of reading which in hypertext is an unavoidable physiological characteristic. The nodes or 'joints' would be the points of the text in which the cooperation of the model reader is expected and stimulated. More precisely, at some point in the text the author inserts an expression or a term that develops or opens new narrative perspectives and which stimulates the reader to integrate their minimum meaning with his encyclopedic competence and his intelligence. It follows that a text structured in knots lends itself to different levels of reading depending on the degree of cooperation that the reader can implement, depending, that is, on the ability that the reader has to respond to the creative stimulus that the text elicits when the reading has come to a node.

Generally we can say that the gloss analyzes point by point the normative text; whereas the *Summa* tries to give a systematized arrangement.

The apparatus-hypertext can be considered a collective work. Accursius marks the interpretative paths of support for the Justinian laws, also making use of glosses of others. The manuscript tradition

of the 'precritical' age makes the apparatus—as we have already said—a 'living' undefined text, by its very nature 'contaminated'. The structure of the apparatus produces two fundamental effects: one concerns the author (Accursius or other jurist) of the glosses that are inserted into the hypertextual apparatus, the other concerns the same text as the apparatus. The author (Accursius or other jurist) risks losing control of the edges and boundaries of his text and the text is atomized into *lexiae* or blocks of text that are self-sufficient reading units because they depend less and less on what comes before and after them according to the linear succession of their original version. The atomization of the text in its hypertextual version implies that each of its individual *lexiae* can be associated with a text created by other authors. The consequence of this possibility is that the idea of the intellectual separation of a text from others is dissolved and that the text is dispersed in other texts. In fact, when the *lexiae* of a hypertext, due to the link to another text's *lexiae*, loses its belonging to the original textual context, an intertextuality is created that overcomes the concept of the uniqueness of the text and its author which are the cornerstones of printed culture.

Catherine Swift, University of Limerick (Ireland)
Glosses in Tírechán's text and the shaping of the canon of Patrician tradition

A key element in the formation of the canon of early Patrician tradition is the single copy in the Book of Armagh manuscript of Tírechán's writings. As editor of Tírechán's work in 1979, Ludwig Bieler failed to identify a number of instances where glosses prefixed by the abbreviation *.i.* had been copied into the main body of the text by the scribe. This was in part due to conceptions about the subsidiary role of Tírechán's account within a greater life of Patrick and, in particular, its relationship to the texts known as the *Notulae* and the *Bethu Phátraic* as well as, in part, being due to the original language underlying Tírechán's usage of Latin. In this paper, the embedded glosses within Tírechán's are discussed and their implication for our understanding of the formation of the Patrician canon explored.

Mariken Teeuwen, Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands & University of Utrecht (Netherlands)
Creating new knowledge in the margin: Carolingian scholarly practices unveiled

In this paper, I would like to focus on what I see as the most exciting part of glossing practice: the transformation of knowledge traditions and the creation of new knowledge in the margin. In Latin manuscripts from ninth-century Europe (the Carolingian period, a period generally acknowledged as a period of great cultural bloom) books were annotated in order to guide the reader through the text, providing explanations concerning language, style and interpretation. But there are many examples of books in which the annotations do more than just that: they connect the text's content to other texts, organize its information and reflect on how the information of one text conflicts with the information of others. The marginal voices engage with the texts in such a way that the image of a scholarly discussion arises, with questions, arguments, comparison and analysis. It is this practice, I argue, which lies at the heart of Carolingian reading culture: authoritative texts were held in high esteem and subjected to scrutinous and detailed study, but, at the same time, precisely because of this

practice of close reading, contradictions and flaws were relentlessly brought to the surface, and formed the basis of discussion, further thinking and theorizing. They are the basis for new insights and ideas. In my paper I will use examples from annotated copies of Martianus Capella and Boethius to exemplify this dynamic of reading text and responding to it in the margin.

José Miguel Viejo Ximénez, Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Spain)
Glossing Gratian's *Decretum* in the first decades of the Bolognese school: textual authority and intellectual efforts

As an academic discipline, canon law began with Gratian's *Decretum*. The title reveals the intention of its author: *Concordia discordantium canonum*, to order the ecclesiastical discipline of the first Christian millennium. Gratian is the father of the science of canon law because he used some of rhetoric's tools to explain the *ius antiquum canonicum*: he designed 36 causes (*causae*) on the basis of which he set out various questions (*quaestiones*). In order to answer each question, the master made up a discourse that combines arguments of reason (*rationes*) and arguments of authority (*auctoritates*). The result is a canon law handbook, not a collection (warehouse) of canons.

Gratian's *Decretum* is not the fruit of a unique and fabled creative effort. Its initial writing and its subsequent evolution are linked to teaching. The whole process lasted several decades and ended c. 1150. From the extant testimonies it is possible to distinguish four stages: *Ur-Gratian*, *Concordia discordantium canonum*, *Decretum*, and *Decretum vulgatum*. Each of these versions circulated independently and was the subject of commentary. Gratian and his disciples used the spaces between lines and the margins of the copies to gloss the *auctoritates*. In the successive versions, some of these glosses passed into the text.

The *Decretum* became the authoritative text of the nascent canon law school. Before the first *apparatus glossarum* (*Ordinaturus magister*, c. 1180), the decretists wrote down their explanations in the copies of the work. The oldest glosses are *Allegationen, Nota, Rubrikenglossen, Continuationes, Worterklärungen*, and *Diskursive Erörterung*. The first *summae* of the Bologna school were arranged from this material. The *summae* follow the model of the commentaries to the Bible: after a prologue, written according to the rules of the *accessus ad auctores*, the author copies the passage of the *Decretum* (*lemmata*) that is the object of his commentary. Most of these comments are mosaics: compositions made from materials that circulated independently, often as glosses to the *Decretum*.

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Sources for Korean and Japanese vernacular glossing in medieval Chinese manuscript practice

It has recently been pointed out by Lee that many of the devices in early Korean *kugyŏl* glossed texts are derived from correction and punctuation marks used in medieval Chinese manuscripts.[2] More parallels can be found in Japanese *kunten* glossing; for example, the inversion mark known as the *re-*

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2   Lee, Kŏn-sik. 2013. 'Chungguk kodae p'yojŏm ŭi yuhyŏng gwa Hanguk kodae wa chungse uy p'yojŏm puho e taehayŏ' [On the typology of punctuation marks in earlier Chinese and punctuation symbols in Old and Middle Korean], *Kugyŏl yŏngu* 31, 31–70.

ten (レ点), used to reverse the order of adjacent characters to read them in Japanese or Korean head final order, is used in Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang to correct characters mistakenly inverted. This paper extends Lee's survey to Japanese materials. It focuses on the earliest symbol glossed texts preserved in Japan, the Daitōkyū Kinen Bunko *Zoku kegongyō ryakuso kanteiki*, glossed in the 780s, and the Satō-bon *Kegon mongi yōketsu*, glossed at the end of the eighth century. Both of these use inversion marks and punctuation resembling those found in Dunhuang manuscripts. Neither contains phonogram glosses. Both are Kegon (Huayan) texts and both have strong affinities with Korean *kugyŏl* glossing.

In contrast, the earliest Japanese and Korean examples of phonogram glossing date from slightly earlier in the eighth century; they include the "Silla" text of the Avataṃsaka sutra held by the Tōdaiji library and a number of Vinaya texts preserved in Japan. Glossing is done with unabbreviated phonograms belonging to the distinct Korean and Japanese phonogram traditions, unaccompanied by symbol glosses such as inversion marks or morphosyntactic glosses (*wokototen*).

This suggests that the complete package of glossing tools found in ninth century Japanese *kunten* glossed texts derives from two distinct traditions: an older tradition of interlinear phonogram glossing, and a tradition of symbol glossing heavily influenced by Chinese practices of correction and punctuation and closely associated with Huayan. These two traditions combine in a remarkably short period during which they are bolstered by the development of abbreviated phonogram glosses.

Paulina Zagórska, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań (Poland)
    Trial and error. What corrections to the gloss can tell us: the case of the Old English gloss to the Eadwine Psalter

The Eadwine Psalter was produced in Christ Church, Canterbury, in mid-twelfth century; 100 years after the Norman Conquest. This splendid, lavishly decorated manuscript is a result of the historical circumstances in which it was produced; it is a tripartite psalter, containing the three Latin versions of the psalter: *Gallicanum* (with an Anglo-Norman gloss), *Romanum* (with an Old English gloss) and *Hebraicum* (with a Latin gloss). Despite the fact that the Old English gloss is among the precious few complete Old English psalter glosses that have survived until today, it was beyond the scope of historical linguistics research for a long time. This was due to the fact that the gloss is (in)famous for containing numerous, heavy corrections in the first 77 psalms, most of which make it impossible to recover the original forms, thus deeming the Old English gloss useless from the perspective of historical linguistics.

The present paper discusses the results of the analysis of the numerous (almost 2000 in total) corrections found in the first 50 Psalms, in order to gain an insight into various ways in which corrections to the gloss can provide an insight into the state of the twelfth-century English language and the circumstances surrounding the production of the Eadwine Psalter manuscript. It is claimed that corrections to the gloss—far from making the gloss useless for historical linguistics—are in fact a valuable source of not only linguistic information, but that they can also shed some light on non-

linguistic controversies surrounding the Old English gloss to the Eadwine Psalter, such as the number of scribes who copied the it, the identity of the Psalter's patron, the cultural dynamics surrounding the Psalter's production, as well as other peculiarities of the gloss.

Matthew Zisk, Yagamata University (Japan)
  Glossing glosses: a look at contemporary glossing methods of *kundoku* texts and a proposal for a universal standard

Various methods for transcribing and glossing *kundoku* texts in Japanese have been practised since the inception of the field of *kuntengogaku* 'Japanese glossography' in the early to mid-20th century. Over the past century, these methods have been gradually refined, resulting in a standard system of transcribing *kundoku* texts, known as the *yakubun,* lit. 'translated text', which presents a full transcription of the transposed text, or vernacular reading, of the original glossed manuscript, while at the same time allowing reconstruction of the original glosses through a series of orthographical conventions and symbols. No such system, however, has been proposed for transcribing and adding morphological glosses to *kundoku* texts in languages other than Japanese, greatly inhibiting the introduction of these materials and their unique characteristics to scholars unfamiliar with the Japanese language.

This paper takes a look at the history of contemporary transcription methods for *kundoku* texts in Japan, starting with the founding fathers of Japanese glossography, Ōya Tōru (1851–1928), Yoshizawa Yoshinori (1876–1954) and Kasuga Masaji (1878–1962), and through to more modern scholars such as Tsukishima Hiroshi (1925–2011) and Kobayashi Yoshinori (1929–). At the same time, I will propose a universal method of transcription and glossing rules for citing examples from *kundoku* texts in English and other languages. This method consists of a seven-tier (two of which are optional) glossing system for accurately transcribing the original Classical Chinese text and transposed text, while clearly marking the various types of glosses: lexical glosses, *wokototen* (morphosyntactic dot glosses), inversion glosses, tone marks and other annotations (Fig. 1). It is my hope that in addition to introducing the *kundoku* tradition to an international audience, a discussion of contemporary transcription and glossing methods of *kundoku* texts will help to promote ideas for transcribing and adding morphological glosses to glossed texts from other languages as well.

①舍利弗　　　　汝等　　　　當<IT>　一　　　心<RE>　信解<2>　　　　　受持<3>　　　　　佛語<1>
②syaeXlijHpjut　nyoX-tongX　tang　'jit　sim　sinH +heaX　　　dzyuwX+dri　　　bjut+ngjoX
③Śāriputra　　　you-PL　　　NEC　unite　heart　believe+comprehend　receive+preserve　Buddha+words

④舍利弗　　　　汝 等　　　　當<IT.1>　　心(ヲ) <RE>　　一(ニ　　　シ)て
⑤(SYARIPOTU　NANDI)-RA　(MASANI　KOKORO=WO　PITOTSU=NI　S-I)te
⑥Śāriputra　　　you-PL　　　truly　　　heart=ACC　　one= LOC　　do-CVB

④佛語を <1>　　　　　信解し <2>　　　　　　受持(ス) <3>ヘシ <IT.2>と　　　　　(マウス)
⑤(PUTU-GO)=wo　　　(SIN-GE)+s-i　　　　　(ZYU-DI+S-U)BE-SI=to　　　　　(MAUS-U)
⑥Buddha+teaching=ACC　believe+comprehend+do-ADV　receive+preserve+do-NEC-CCL=COMP　speak-CCL

⑦'Śāriputra said, "You must truly put your hearts together as one to believe and comprehend, to receive and preserve, the teachings of the Buddha."'

Myōhō Rengekyō (*Lotus Sutra*) Yamada M.S. (mid 9C) (Kobayashi 2012: 182 ln.146)

Fig. 1: Seven-tier glossing system for kundoku texts

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