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ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK

NUNS' SCRIPTORIA IN ENGLAND AND FRANCIA
IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY

Shortly before 713 Abbess Aelfled of Whitby addressed a letter to abbess Adela of Pfalzel near Trier, commending to her care an English abbess on pilgrimage, with the implication that Pfalzel was a common resting place for English pilgrims to Rome¹. It is also one example among many of contact maintained between England and the Continent in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. In this case, the fact that it is between two female monasteries suggests a continuation of the kind of contacts referred to by Bede, when royal princesses made their way to Francia for religious instruction. The monasteries most favoured by these Englishwomen were Brie, Chelles and Les Andelys-sur-Seine. Eorcongota, daughter of the king of Kent entered the monastery of Brie. So did Saethryth and Aethelburh, daughter and stepdaughter of Anna, king of the East Angles. Before she became abbess of Whitby Hild too had wished to join her sister Hereswith at Chelles². Frankish women, moreover, went to England, the *Vita Bertilae* records that Bertila, abbess of Jouarre and later of Chelles, sent relics and books as well as teachers to England to help establish monasteries there³. Patrick Sims-Williams has argued the case for Bath monastery having benefited from this expedition, with a Frankish abbess Berta and at least one other Frankish woman, Folcberg, in the community⁴. Insular connections are also clearly evident in the manuscripts attributable to the nunnery of Jouarre, for the heavy uncial and half-uncial scripts reveal marked insular traits and insular habits can be observed in the preparation of the membrane⁵.

- 1 Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae, ed. E. DÜMMLER, Ep. 8, MGH Epp. aevi merovingici et karolini III, Berlin 1892, p. 248–249 in Codex 3 (= Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 751, fol. 32: see the facsimile edition Sancti Bonifatii Epistolae, ed. F. UNTERKIRCHER, Codices Selecti phototypice impressi XXIV, Graz 1971. Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus, ed. M. TANGL, MGH Epp. selectae 3, Berlin 1912, p. 3–4). Unfortunately the revised edition of Tangl by R. RAU, Briefe des Bonifatius. Willibalds Leben des Bonifatius, Darmstadt 1968 (Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe IVb), omitted this letter and a number of others.
- 2 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* [hereafter HE], III, 8; IV, 23: Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. B. COLGRAVE and R.A.B. MYNORS, Oxford 1969, p. 238 and 406.
- 3 *Vita Bertilae abbatissae Calensis*, ed. W. LEVISON, MGH SRM VI, Berlin 1913, p. 101–109. An exchange of books could also be effected from England to Francia, or so, at least, the *Vita Geretrudis A*, cap. 2, implies when it refers to teachers and *sancta volumina* from Rome and *transmarinis regionibus* arriving at the convent of Nivelles: MGH SRM II, p. 457.
- 4 Patrick SIMS-WILLIAMS, Continental influence at Bath monastery in the seventh-century, in: Anglo-Saxon England [hereafter ASE] 4 (1975) 1–10.
- 5 R. MCKITTERICK, The diffusion of insular culture in Neustria between 650 and 850: the implications of the manuscript evidence, in: *La Neustrie. Les Pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, ed. H. AT SMA, Sigmaringen 1989 (Beihefte der Francia, 16/II), p. 395–432 at p. 406–412.

the scriptorium's activity, at least in writing this particular form of early caroline minuscule, between ca 785 and 810, and located it to the nunnery of Chelles, presided over by Charlemagne's sister Gisela.

The earliest group is formed by Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*⁷ a copy of Jerome's letters (Quedlinburg, Gymnasialbibliothek 74), Gregory the Great (Gent, Universiteit 251) and a fragment of the Catholic Epistles (Châlons-sur-Marne Archives 3 J 1 (L. 1)). Their codicology moreover observes an early Frankish practice of arranging the leaves in the gathering so that hair faces flesh within the quire, rather than the normal Carolingian practice in which flesh side faces flesh side and hair side faces hair side within the quire.

The middle group of the Chelles corpus identified by Bischoff is that formed of the Cologne manuscripts in which the names of the scribes are provided, Dombibliothek 63 + 65 + 67, and by related manuscripts such as other copies of Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* by the scribe Adruhic (Cologne, Historisches Archiv GB fragm. Kasten B Nr. 155 [CLA VIII, 1170], and Berlin Phillipps 1657, a fragment of Gregory's *Homilia in evangelium*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 29050, a collection of the canons of the *Concilia Galliae* written by Altildis and some other unnamed scribes (BN lat. 1654) Cassiodorus' *Commentarium in Psalmos* LI–CL (Paris, BN lat. 12240 + 12241; the commentary on Psalms I–L is presumably lost). Only Vera, one of the scribes of Cologne 67, still uses the old method of leaf arrangement, which might indicate that the some of the other, unidentifiable, women are new additions to the compliment of scribes.

The youngest members of the group are the Evangelistary (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 176) Smaragdus' *Expositio Comitibus* (St Gall Stiftsbibliothek 435) a fragment of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Freiburg im Breisgau Stadtarchiv fragm. [4 bifolia] and Universitätsbibliothek 483,7 [one bifolium], a copy of the *Dialogues* of Gregory and various texts by Isidore of Seville including his *De natura rerum* (St Gall 240). In this last codex the only portions in the distinctive minuscule described by Bischoff are from fol. 264 lines 9–280; 299 line 18 – end and fol. 305 lines 11–14. Bischoff notes that its position in the company of other more developed Frankish hands suggests that it is the youngest of the group. This presumably means that while the activity of the scriptorium itself did not cease, the nuns no longer were trained to write this particular type of caroline minuscule. There are decorative styles in common within the Chelles group of manuscripts, notably plain colour-filled capital letters used as the display script, which link them with the *nordostfränkische Schule* defined by Zimmermann⁸. Some use a distinctive uncial, known as 'N-uncial' as a display script, a script type which enables one to link the manuscripts with others, as will be seen below.

Two further points need to be made about these codices. Firstly, the quality of the texts copied is high; these scribes are competent, and understand what they are copying. Secondly, the implications of the high quality of the texts, all mainline patristic writings or authoritative texts of the Christian church, are that we are

⁷ BISCHOFF, *Kölner Nonnenhandschriften* (n. 6) p. 21, points out that the Eusebius in BN lat. 18282 is not related textually to the same text written in N-uncial, namely, BN lat. 10399, fols 4, 5 and BN lat. 10400 fol. 27. I return to the significance of this below.

⁸ E. HEINRICH ZIMMERMANN, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Berlin 1916, p. 78–84, plates 127–143.

dealing with well-educated scribes, who are as well-equipped intellectually as any other copyists we can identify from the eighth and ninth centuries. Although the script is not that generally associated with Cologne, the Augustine volumes at least appear to have been a consequence of the initiative of Archbishop Hildebald (785–819) in acquiring books useful for the cathedral library, by commissioning them from reputable writing centres. It is a further testimony in favour of the quality of the nuns' work.

It is not necessarily the case of course that all these codices were written exclusively by women; Chelles, if it was at Chelles that the books were written, was originally a double monastery. Too little is known however of the subsequent organization of Chelles itself, other than the supposition that it followed elements of both the Benedictine and Columbanian Rule, to ascertain how the copying of books might have been organized. Further, any references to Chelles in our extant sources from the mid-eighth century refer only to the nuns there and not to the monks. By Charlemagne's reign there is no clear information to establish that Chelles was still a double monastery. The only references we ever have to it imply only that it is inhabited by nuns⁹. It would be necessary to entertain the possibility, nevertheless, of the collaboration of religious men and women in the production of books¹⁰. The phenomenon of women scribes could, moreover, have been a short-lived one. It seems probable that it was Chelles' close connections with the court of Charlemagne that may have encouraged book production there. Bischoff's discussion of the candidacy of Chelles as the home of these female scribes, for example, highlights the relationship its abbess, Gisela, sister of Charlemagne, enjoyed with the Anglo-Saxon scholar Alcuin, and how the letters exchanged between these two indicates that Gisela was a woman of learning and sensitivity, anxious to learn and understand more about the Bible and the commentaries on it by patristic writers as well as by Alcuin himself¹¹. Some of the books mentioned in their correspondence are in fact among those copied in the nuns' minuscule, and there are many requests for Alcuin to Gisela to copy out certain works. He quite clearly assumes, therefore, the existence of a scriptorium at Chelles. It is Gisela's kinship to Charlemagne, and her connections with the court circle itself which may have made Chelles a peculiar exception as far as the participation of women in the copying and reading of books was concerned, and thus, a very particular consequence of the Carolingian Renaissance. In other words, it may not be possible to generalize much from the example of Chelles.

That Chelles was not wholly exceptional, however, becomes clear if we examine some palaeographically and art-historically related manuscripts, written at an earlier date than the nuns' minuscule codices. These can be divided into a number of groups, and, as I have argued in an earlier paper, can be attributed to the constellation of

⁹ For comments on the early history of Chelles see Janet L. NELSON, *Queens as Jezebels: the careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian history*, in: *Mediaeval Women*, ed. Derek BAKER, Oxford 1978 (*Studies in Church History Subsidia* 1), p. 31–77 esp. 31–39 and 46–52.

¹⁰ For a discussion of double monasteries see below, p. 29–30.

¹¹ *Epistolae Alcuini*, ed. E. DÜMMLER, Nos. 15, 195, 196, 214, 216, 279, MGH Epp. IV, Berlin 1895, p. 40–42, 322–325, 357–360, 435–436, and compare my remarks in: *Frauen und Schriftlichkeit* (n. 6) p. 71.

women's convents in the Paris basin, namely Jouarre, Rebais, Faremoutiers (Brie), Andelys-sur-Seine and Chelles, all founded in the seventh century and all with family connections which included bishops of nearby sees¹².

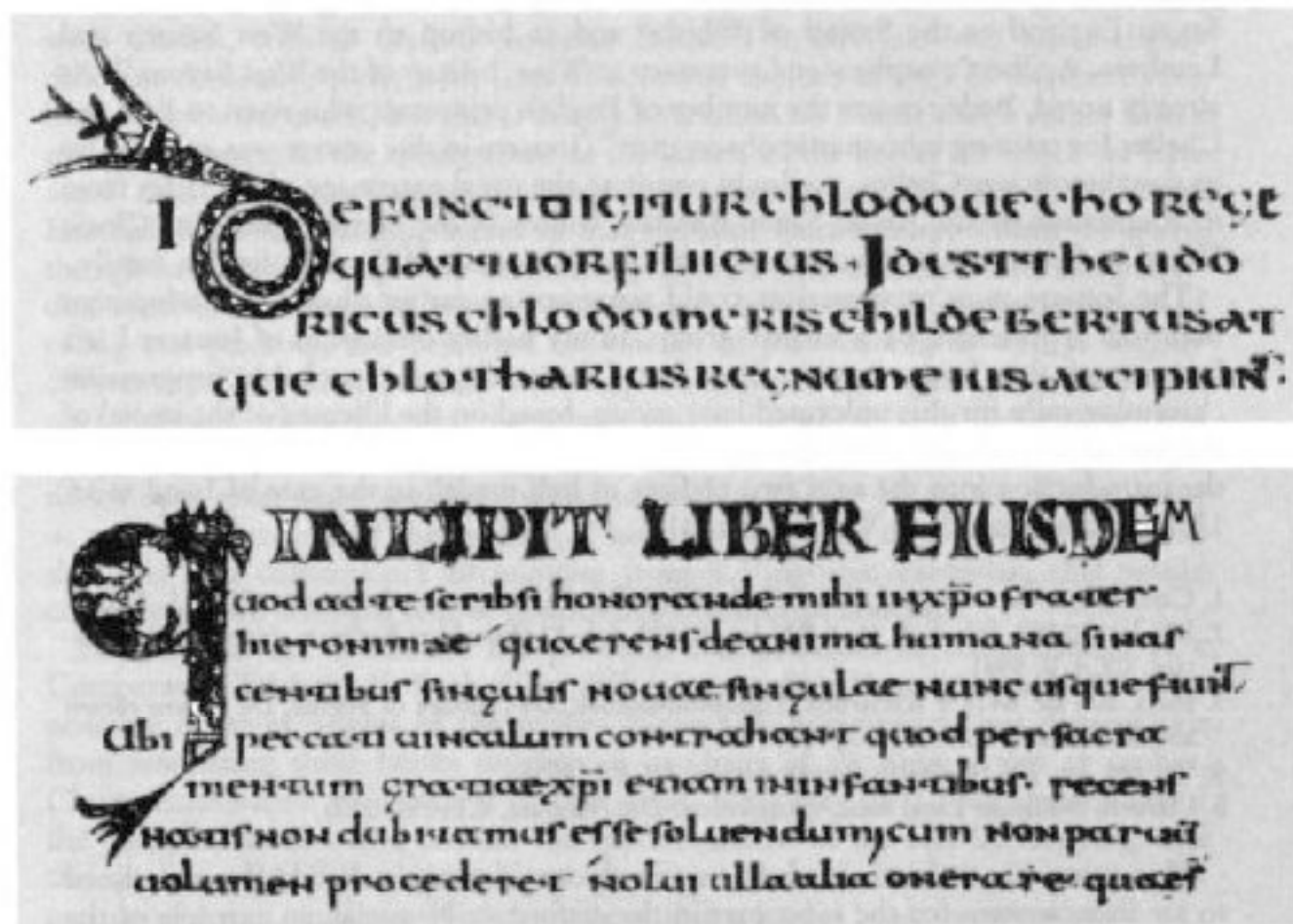


Fig. 2 Jouarre group: (a) Paris, BN lat. 17654, fol. 5r.
(b) Paris, BN lat. 2110, fol. 15r. Reduced: 70 per cent

The earliest group, that I have attributed to Jouarre, is as follows: (see Fig. 2)

1. Paris, BN lat. 17654 Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* (CLA V, 670)
2. Gotha, Landesbibliothek Mbr. I.75, fols. 70–122, Victorius, *Canon Paschalis* and *Canones apostolorum*, CLA VII, 1208
3. Paris, BN lat. 2706, Augustine, *De genesi ad litteram* (CLA V, 547)
4. Paris, BN lat. 2110, Eugippius, *Excerpta ex operibus Augustini* (CLA V, 541)
5. Paris, BN lat. 152, fols 1–8, fragment of *Ezekiel*, CLA V, 522
6. Paris, BN lat. 12207, fols a, b, 145, 146 + 12238, fol. 128 + 12243, fols A, B, Gregory *Homilia in Ezekielem*, CLA V, 634.

All these codices were written in a strong heavy uncial or firm half uncial, with clear reminiscences of insular script and insular habits in the preparation of the membrane. The attribution to Jouarre, the mother house of Chelles, rested in the first place on the character of the scripts in the books, which appeared to be earlier stages of the type represented in the Chelles minuscule codices as well as betraying insular

¹² McKITTERICK, *Diffusion* (n. 5) p. 405–412.

contacts of some kind. Jouarre provided Bertila as the first abbess of Chelles and some of the first group of nuns also came from Jouarre¹³. Brie, Rebais and Jouarre were all foundations of members of the same family which included Ado, founder of Jouarre, Theudechildis its first abbess, and her brother Agilbert, active in Anglo-Saxon England at the Synod of Whitby and as bishop to the West Saxons and Leuthere, Agilbert's nephew and successor to Wine, bishop of the West Saxons¹⁴. As already noted, Bede reports the number of English princesses who went to Brie and Chelles for training in monastic observance¹⁵. Jouarre in due course was eclipsed by its daughter house Chelles, no doubt owing to the royal patronage of the latter from its foundation by the Anglo-Saxon Balthild, widow of the Merovingian king Clovis II and its becoming in effect an appanage for princesses of the Carolingian family.

The Jouarre nuns' manuscripts could represent an earlier phase of development than that represented by a further group. In my earlier discussion of Jouarre I left location of this further group open but I here suggest a probable progression chronologically for this unlocated later group, based on the likeness of the uncial of the first three codices, with tapering descenders, the N, and the high waisted X and the introduction into the next two codices of half uncial, in the case of Laud misc. 126, and b-minuscule in Vat. reg. lat. 316:

1. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 820(K), (Sacramentary fragment, *CLA* II, 130)
2. BN lat. 10399, fols 4–5, 46 + BN lat. 10400, fol. 27 (Eusebius-Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, *CLA* V, 594)
3. Paris, BN lat. 6413 + Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek 339 (Isidore of Seville, *De natura rerum* and *Sententiae*, *CLA* V, 567)
4. Vat reg. lat. 316 (Gelasian Sacramentary, *CLA* I, 105)
5. Oxford, Bodleian Laud misc. (Augustine, *De Trinitate*, *CLA* II, 252).

This group has so far resisted attempts to locate it securely. Bischoff was inclined to see in it, written for the most part in the distinctive N-uncial, an example of the early output from Chelles, but he reserved judgement¹⁶. As I have suggested elsewhere, it could equally be ascribed to Jouarre or to one of the other convents on this constellation of nunneries¹⁷. Little light is thrown by investigations of provenance. The Gelasian Sacramentary, for example, was in Petau's library before it went to Queen Christina's library in Sweden, but nothing is known of it earlier than that. Although largely in N-uncial, b-minuscule is used twice as an interlinear script for the bilingual Paternoster and in the Creed for the Latin translation of the Greek text. Ziegler draws attention in particular, however, to the habits of decoration in the book, with alternating lines of different coloured uncial letters, the ›rhythmic‹ use of

13 Vita Bertilae abbatissae Calensis, MGH SRM VI, p. 95–109 and see Jean GUÉROUT, *Les origines et le premier siècle de l'abbaye in: L'abbaye royale Notre-Dame de Jouarre*, ed. Y. CHAUSSY, Paris 1961, p. 1–67.

14 Bede, HE, III, 7, 25, 26, 28; IV, 1; V, 19, ed. COLGRAVE and MYNORS, p. 234–236, 298–300, 308, 314, 330, 552.

15 Above, note 2.

16 BISCHOFF, *Kölner Nonnenhandschriften* (n. 6) p. 31–32. Alain STOCLET, Gisèle, Kisyla, Chelles, Benediktbeuren et Kocheil. Scriptoria, bibliothèques et politique à l'époque carolingienne. Une mise au point, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 96 (1986) 250–270, has mistakenly read Bischoff's caution as certainty.

17 MCKITTERICK, *Diffusion* (n. 5) p. 411–412.

colour, and a hierarchy of ornament systematically worked out throughout the book, in which the discipline is clear and orderly¹⁸. It is, in short, a far from haphazard scheme of decoration. Ziegler compared the initial ornament of other manuscripts in this group and included in her discussion some positively associated with Chelles, such as Oxford Bodleian Douce 176. BN lat. 6413 has a slightly different decorative style, with lines of coloured capitals as well as the alternating lines of coloured uncial, but this is simply a variation on a basic theme rather than a major difference. In the arrangement of the leaves, all the books for which we have more than surviving fragments observe the characteristically late Merovingian Frankish habit of arranging leaves so that fleshside faces hairside within the quire, though not always completely consistently. There is, nevertheless, a certain individuality of each manuscript in small matters such as forms of abbreviation, habits of ruling and pricking, and preferred indications of punctuation, as well as slightly different spelling conventions, which suggest a group of individual scribes who still used technical tricks they may have been taught elsewhere, even though they had achieved an impressive measure of conformity in script. In the case of BN lat. 6413, which has a great many spelling confusions, such as >ci< for >ti<, >b< for >v< and >e< for >i< as well as a misuse of the aspirate, it has been suggested in the CLA description that this is a consequence of copying from a Visigothic exemplar; this would certainly accord with the text of Isidore this manuscript contains.

For convenience I tabulate the principal characteristics of these codices in a Comparative Table (p. 8). Such slight differences, rich in their implications for the possibly different origins of the scribes concerned, however, do not prevent one from associating these books together as products of the same group of scribes. Closer examination of members of this group reinforces the strong impression of the discipline of this scriptorium, the apportionment of the text for copying, and the quality of both script and text produced. Laud misc. 126 illustrates this particularly well, and it is worth looking at this splendid book in more detail.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 126, a codex containing Augustine's *De Trinitate* and occupying 259 folios, has achieved fame as the codex in which the earliest library catalogue of Würzburg and a copy of Charlemagne's *De litteris colendis*, the letter to Baugulf of Fulda, was entered in a Continental insular minuscule, though the means by which it came to be at Würzburg are unknown¹⁹. The script throughout the main text is by several hands in a beautifully regular disciplined uncial, apart from ff. 25^r–32^v, which are written in half uncial of similar strength and discipline. L and H are both tall, and F is written with its lower bar on the line and a long descender²⁰. The lay out of the text is clear and generous, with much white space, in that the 29 lines on each page are approximately 8mm

18 Ulla ZIEGLER, *Das Sakramentar Gelasianum, Bibl. Vat. reg. lat. 316 und die Schule von Chelles*, in: *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 16 (1976) col. 1–142.

19 E. A. LOWE, *An eighth-century list of books in a Bodleian manuscript from Würzburg and its probable relation to the Laudian Acts*, in: *Speculum* 3 (1928) p. 3–15, reprinted in *Paleographical Papers 1907–1965*, ed. Ludwig BIELER, Oxford 1972, p. 239–250 and compare MCKITTERICK, *Diffusion* (n. 5) p. 415.

20 R. MCKITTERICK, *Frankish uncial: a new context for the Echternach scriptorium*, in: *Willibrord, zijn wereld en zijn werk*, ed. P. BANGE and A. WEILER, Nijmegen 1990, p. 374–388.

Comparative Table: Jouarre (?) Group 2

MS	LEAVES	SCRIPT	ABBREV.	RULING	PUNCT.	DEC.	QU.
Caius 820 K	thick ruled several at a time	N-uncial tapering descenders	B	slits outside bounding line	few medial points	filled in initials	—
BN lat. 10399	ruled 2 or more	N-uncial high-waisted x	B: Q: confusion of o and u	flesh side?	point on line	—	
BN lat. 6413	F faces H	N-uncial high-waisted x	B; NRM ci for ti b for v e for i misuse of aspirate Visigothic exemplar	hair side 2 at a time prickings on bounding line	comma & low point	alternating lines of green & red	
Vat. reg. lat. 316	F faces H	N-uncial high-waisted x b-minuscule	— for M ci for ti AT autem NM nostrum	slits in text flesh side	point on line & comma	motley caps	Rom num.
Laud misc. 126	F faces H ff. 10–72 insular prep.	N-uncial half-uncial	B; etc.	prickings outer marg. rulings HS	medial point	bird & fish fancy caps alt. lines red & green	q or Q + Rom num
Autun 20	F faces H	N-uncial headings b-minuscule	b; e for i o for u	prickings on bounding line	low and medial comma	particoloured initials dec.hierarchy of caps & uncials	uncial letter
BN lat. 4808		b-minuscule close to a–b N-uncial headings	ci for ti	prickings on bounding line ruled H5	medial point or comma	col. & red uncial	—
Douce f. 1	—	b-minuscule close to a–b N-uncial	—	prickings in margin ruled HS	—	col. caps alt. red & green	q̄. x
Montpellier 3	F faces H	b-minuscule N-uncial	ci for ti	prickings outer margin	comma & point	hollow particul. caps.	q̄. + Rom. num.

apart and the main body of each letter occupies only 2mm. The scribal portions are as follows:

- Scribe 1: fols 2–9 (Quire 1) the most accomplished scribe
- Scribe 2: fols 10–24^v (Quires 2 and 3) rather less assured and elegant than quire 1, and some of the careful balance between white space and writing has been lost (body of letters 3 mm high); laterally it takes up more space for there are fewer words to the line than for Scribe 1 (7 or 8 as opposed to 9 or 10. Membrane in quire 2 is prepared in the insular manner. The last verso of quire 3, fol. 24^v, is blank, and Book I ends on fol. 24^r.
- Scribe 3: fols 25^r–32^v (Quire 4) half uncial. In view of the beginning of the following quire in uncial by Scribe 2, whose top line on fol. 33^r only is in half-uncial, this quire may also be the work of scribe 2. On the other hand Scribe 3 may have stopped in order to allow Scribe 2 to resume after writing the first line. Scribe 2: fols 33^r–39^v (Quire 5) fol. 39^v. The scribe had to cope with a large hole in the parchment and an insufficient amount of text to complete her portion, so that the last few lines of text are very spaced out indeed.
- Scribe 4: fols 40–48^v (Quire 6) half-uncial verging on uncial but rather different from the half-uncial of Quire 4 with the uncial letter forms having very sloping elongated descenders. The end of quire 6 coincides with the end of Book 2. The tall >L< forms are not written as a double Letter as in other examples of Frankish uncial. The end of Book II coincides with the end of Quire 5.
- Scribe 5: fols 49^r–56^v (Quire 7); fols 57^r–64^v (Quire 8); fols 65^r–72^v (Quire 9); fols 73^r–80^v (Quire 10) uncial letter forms in these four quaternions are wider than the others, with very marked and rather mannered use of hairlines, particularly in adding descenders. It is very close to scribe 2 but not to be identified with it. The uncial stops however on fol. 80^r and half uncial takes over on fol. 80^v for the last leaf of the quire for a new section of the text.
- Scribe 6: fols 81^r–88^v (Quire 11) and fols 89^r–96^v (Quire 12) a somewhat compressed half uncial, with the same degree of control and elegance as Scribe 1 and a consistent use of uncial G with the tail appearing to start from the middle of the bottom curve, and whose uncial headings, indeed, suggest we may be dealing with the same scribe. She is responsible too for the very fine coloured capitals in this portion. – Book V ends on fol. 96^r and the copyist just fits in the *capitula* for the following book on the verso of this leaf before the text of Book VI begins on fol. 97^r with the beginning of a new quire. On fol. 97^v with the *Capitula* and the end of Quire 12 we have the last big page of decoration. There is nothing in the way of ornament between here and fol. 143^r. Before fol. 97^v, large decorative capitals are used for the beginning of chapters, and chapters in each book are also marked out with clear uncial headings. The presentation of the book up to this point is in fact generally much more relaxed as far as the layout is concerned than the rest of the codex.
- Scribe 7: fols 97^r–104^v (Quire 13); fols 105^r–112^v (Quire 14); fols 113^r–120^v (Quire 15); fols 121^r–128^v (Quire 16); fols 129^r–136^v (Quire 17); 137^r–142^v (Quire 18): writes a blobby uncial, rather heavy but well spaced and confident with somewhat splayed legs on the N and a downwards oblique serif on the arm of the L. It completes book VI. Corrections in this section are done by a different scribe, in uncial, arranged in a tapering triangle in the margin, or as a neat partly interlinear insertion.
- Scribe 8: fols 143^r–150^v (Quire 19); fols 151^r–158^v (Quire 20); fols 159^r–161^v (Quire 21 half way through). An uncial script with a curly tail on the G, and broader, squarer and rougher in appearance, with straight ascenders rather than being gently curved at the bottom. (But this may be due to the very rough surface of the parchment on fols 143^v). It is worth noting too that the fish initial on fol. 143^r is the last real decorative initial in the book. Thereafter the scribes limit themselves to plain in-filled capitals in alternating colours to provide ornamentation.
- Scribe 9: fols 162^r–166^r (Quire 21 continued); fols 166^r–174^v (Quire 22); fols 175^r–180^v

(Quire 23 of 3 bifolia only and it brings Book XII to an end). This scribe uses a straight tail on the uncial G and is one of the few who separates the words rather than writing *scriptura continua* as the others have done.

– Scribe 10: fols 181^r–186^v, and Scribe 11 fols 187^r–188^v (Quire 24); fols 189^r–196^v (Quire 25); fols 197^r–201^v (Quire 26).

– Scribe 8: fols 202^r–204^v (Quire 26 continued) which includes fol. 203^r Capitula for Book XIV, fols 205^r–212^v (Quire 27) but the curly-tailed uncial Scribe 8 gives way to a straight tailed uncial G Scribe 9 seven lines up from the bottom on the last leaf of the quire after the word *cognitionem*.

– Scribe 9: This scribe then continues, fol. 212^v and fols 213^r–220^v (Quire 28).

– Scribe 12: fols 221^r–223^v (Quire 29) which also completes Book XIV.

– Scribe 8 (?): fols 224^{r-v} (Quire 30). This hand has a very pronounced curly G tail and may be a different hand from Scribe 8, but she hands over to another person on the *verso* after writing one leaf only containing the *capitula* for the next book and three lines of the text; the next scribe thus begins a new leaf.

– Scribe 14: fols 225^r–31^v (Quire 30 continued); fols 232^r–238^v (last leaf of quire has been cut out) (Quire 31); fols 239^r–245^v (Quire 32).

– Scribe 8 again: fols 246^r–253^v (Quire 33); fols 254^r–59^v, end of Book XV who writes an increasingly cursive sentence after the Explicit: *Ecce concupivi iam video quod spera in iam teneo illi sunt*.

We have in this manuscript probably as many as fourteen different scribes, who have been assigned the work for the most part in quire divisions. The quire divisions with scribe changeovers, moreover, correspond to divisions in the text. Quite apart from the suggestion that we are dealing with quire by quire copying from an exemplar, indicated in particular by the occasional miscalculation of text length in the earlier quires of the codex, there is a corrector who goes right through the manuscript after it has been completed and notes the occasional words omitted, particularly in the latter portion. The scribes vary considerably in competence, but all write a very similar basic script type. Individuality is displayed in the treatment of the decorated capitals as well as in the distinctive traits of particular scribes which have been highlighted in the foregoing notes on each scribe. An annotator has also noted citations and references to authors, patristic as well as classical, in the margin from time to time. The organization and presentation of the text as a whole, and indeed that of the other manuscripts in the group, witness to the competence and discipline of the scribes, their intelligence and knowledge in the correct copying of a text, and the size of a community which could provide such an impressive complement of trained scribes. On the basis of this analysis of the uncial and half uncial script of Laud misc. 126 in particular, furthermore, it has to be stressed that the character of the uncial in these books, while capable of revealing personal traits, is fully consonant with the distinctive development of Frankish uncial in the seventh and eighth centuries²¹. In other words, these women are not writing outside a script tradition but are working fully within it. The scribal discipline and methods they display is strictly comparable with that produced by other centres at this time.

Can any more be said about where all these codices in the Vat. reg. lat. 316 group might have been written? The use of b-minuscule in the group seems to be the crucial

21 Compare MCKITTERICK, Frankish uncial (n. 20).

link between these unlocated manuscripts and another group formed by their common use of b-minuscule and N-uncial headings, and associated together by Zimmermann long since (and following him by Ziegler) on account of their decoration. When one compares the manuscripts in this second group side by side with those in the Vat. reg. lat. 316 group, the similarities of the script, the decorated capitals and use of alternating colours, the form of the quire marks, the codicology, with hair side facing flesh within the quire, and the gradual ironing out of differences in pricking, ruling, punctuation, spelling and abbreviation practices are so striking that the most logical position for these manuscripts to be in is in a continuous progression with the Vat. reg. lat. 316 group, as illustrated in Fig. 3. Accordingly I list them here in a continuing sequence with the codices in the Vat. reg. lat. 316 group: (see Fig. 3)

6. Autun, Bibliothèque municipale 20, Gregory, *Dialogues* and Augustine *Enchiridion*, CLA VI 719
7. Paris, BN lat. 4808, fol. 121, Symphosius, *Aenigmata*, CLA V, 558
8. Oxford, Bodleian Douce f. 1, Gelasian Sacramentary, CLA II, 239
9. Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Ville 3, Gospels, CLA VI, 791.

Ziegler wished to add to these books, on art historical grounds, the nuns' minuscule or Chelles manuscripts BN lat 12240 + 12241, Cologne 67 and Oxford Bodleian Douce 176²². Although one can see the similarities in the type of ornament and display capitals in these books, they are not so great as to convince me that these later manuscripts were produced in the same centre as the nine others in the group listed above, though of course the practices of an atelier can develop and change and this may well be what happened. A second, perhaps minor, point against Chelles being the origin is the fact that BN lat. 10399 fols 4, 5, 46 + BN lat. 10400, fol. 27, the fragment of Eusebius-Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* in this group belongs to a different text tradition from that of the Eusebius copied by the Chelles nuns in BN lat. 18282. A third point against attribution to the Chelles group is the historical position of Chelles itself, whose flourishing seems closely associated with the career of Charlemagne and his family rather than with the earlier generation under Pippin III²³. In other words Chelles may not have become a notable centre of book production until well into the second half of the eighth century. On the other hand, the Chelles relic labels include about thirty written in b-minuscule and these could be accounted for by those trained at Jouarre joining the community, by counting the relic labels in b-minuscule as attached to relics originally given by Jouarre to augment the collection of the newer foundation, or by attributing the manuscripts containing b-minuscule at least, that is, my numbers 4, 6–9, to Chelles²⁴. This last may be the simplest solution, but it would still have to be reconciled with the clear palaeographical assonance detectable in the nine members of this group as a whole.

22 ZIEGLER, *Sakramentar Gelasianum* (n. 18).

23 BISCHOFF, *Kölner Nonnenhandschriften* (n. 6) p. 28–30.

24 Hartmut AT SMA and Jean VEZIN, *Authentiques et reliques provenant de l'ancien monastère Notre-Dame de Chelles (VII^e–VIII^e siècle)*, Lausanne 1985 (*Chartae Latinae Antiquiores XVIII*), No. 669, p. 84–108. For the Jouarre relic list see André WILMART, *Liste des reliques réunies à Jouarre au IX^e siècle*, Rome 1933 (*Analecta Reginensia, Studi e Testi 59*), p. 4–17.

SEU UT ANOS PPA TIBI PRAM NOC
 TETIPEB BETA C MARIAC SAEAE
 MIRCINIS DSR IUDINO DEINA

SCAPS DONUM QUICTO YSTERIACTSECRETADINO
 MIPOTUM CUM CAPEDIT PROFERUNT HAECAPIE
 MESTERUM CUSITUS TENDERE. UEDIUCASSCI

ALIQUANDO DICITUR PROSTULTICIA ET NON EST
 APUD MUCRO SUI M M SIMPLICITAS EST IUXTA
 HANC RECU LAM CETERA ET M AND ASUNT

^{euum} ^{de bly} ^{stuum} ^{euum} ^{fiore} ^{ut lum}
 NOMASU ELTATO IBASILI ASU GENITI TO TEB
^{esse} ^{fiore} ^{melob} ^{8c} ^{in effie} ^{pacno}
 ASSU OSSE URANU KAE PITISGIS TONARTON
^{notatum} ^{supp} ^{subp} ^{ta galy} ^{daena} ^{hir} ^{hobte} ^{8c}
 YTON OMOY SION DOSYMIN SYMERO KAE

NON SIMUL AMBOSUNT DSENIQ DE DO BONUS DE BONO VIRTUS
 DE VIRTUTE QUOD SIMUL SUNT RECTE DICITUR PATER AUTEM DE PA
 TRE AUT FILIUS DE FILIO QUOD NON AMBOSIMUL SUNT NON POTEST DICITUR

The manuscripts are of sufficient affinity nevertheless to suggest production in a centre not far removed from Chelles in terms of geography or kinship. If one compares the uncial of the codices I have attributed to Jouarre, reflects on the significance of the direct English connections so clearly established for Jouarre, and such features as the use in *Laud. misc. 126* of leaves prepared in the insular manner, quite apart from the plausibility of our observing in the *Vat. reg. lat. 316* group a continued development of a particular kind of north Frankish uncial script, I should like to suggest for the moment that in the *Vat. reg. lat. 316* group we have the next stage in the output of Jouarre before it finally lost out to its daughter house Chelles. Chelles, in light of political developments, proved by the end of the eighth century to be much better connected and more richly endowed. The close links between the two convents in the eighth century would more than account for the similarities one can observe between the latest of the Jouarre productions and the earliest of the Chelles. Nuns from Jouarre, after all, were sent initially to form the earliest community at Chelles and may have brought a distinctive scribal tradition with them. The *Vat. reg. lat. 316* group would also provide a satisfactory transition stage before the emergence of the Chelles nuns' minuscule.

It is important to remember, moreover, the status of b-minuscule within the evolution of a calligraphic script based on Merovingian cursive. If it is one possible stage for Merovingian book script to go through before developing, with varying amounts of assistance from half uncial or uncial, into caroline minuscule, rather than a specific and idiosyncratic stage in the shaping of a particular house style in one centre, then it is not unreasonable to suppose that similar developments might have taken place in two closely connected ateliers²⁵.

If one were to ask where the scribes responsible for these books might have learnt how to copy books like this, one possibility is suggested on the model of Herrad Spilling's hypothesis in relation to the development of script at Fulda, that is, that the exemplars themselves were the most active teachers of a script²⁶. Thus the women, in copying from uncial and half uncial exemplars of their texts, adapted the uncial scripts they found there to produce their own distinctive type. If these were Frankish exemplars it would account for the consistency of the general scribal tradition mirrored in these codices. Yet one would still have to account for the b-minuscule and the occasional examples of an even more cursive script. These would suggest that the women in this community were in more direct contact with possible living teachers of script than just old books from which they could copy. While women who joined the community as adults may well have learnt to write at home, those who came as young girls would presumably have been taught what they needed in the way of skills within the cloister. Methods of teaching and learning script are

25 On the development of caroline minuscule see B. BISCHOFF, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Berlin 1982, Eng. trans. D. GANZ and D. O. CRÓINÍN, *Latin Palaeography. Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1990. See also the observations of David GANZ, *The preconditions for caroline minuscule*, in: *Viator* 18 (1987) 23–44.

26 Herrad SPILLING, *Angelsächsische Schrift in Fulda*, in: *Von der Klosterbibliothek zur Landesbibliothek*, ed. A. BRALL, Fulda 1978, p. 47–98.

generally little known but these women's houses may be able to throw some light on the subject²⁷.

Another possibility, therefore, is that in setting up a convent and requiring it to be as self-sufficient as possible, guidance, and no doubt exemplars, were provided by those most interested in the initial foundation as to how one set about organizing a group of scribes to copy texts and training them to write a sufficiently similar hand to create a pleasingly consistent style in the books produced. As is well-known from the *Vitae* of the founders of the monasteries concerned, the original benefactors and first abbots and abbesses of the Seine basin constellation of monasteries were directly inspired by the example of Columbanus and maintained links with Luxeuil. Faremoutiers (Brie), Jouarre, Chelles, Remiremont, and the convent of St Mary and St John in Laon, to name only the most obvious, were all founded with the assistance of monks from Luxeuil²⁸. All were founded as female monasteries but became double monasteries at an early stage²⁹. Men and women together were ruled by an abbess (though Remiremont appears to have had a separate abbot for the men for at least the first four abbacies) and they appear to have lived in separate buildings. At Remiremont, founded by Romarich with the help of abbot Eustasius of Luxeuil, Amatus was sent by Eustasius from Luxeuil to instruct the nuns in the Rule of Columbanus and instal the first abbess, Mactefledis³⁰. Amatus instructed both the nuns and the monks in holy scripture and both groups visited him when he was ill. Tetta with her nuns and Abbot Gauchramnus and his monks formed the procession at the burial of Abbot Adelphius. At Faremoutiers, founded by Burgundofara, two monks, Waldebert, later abbot of Luxeuil, and Chagnoald, brother of Burgundofara, were sent from Luxeuil to teach the sisters the Rule³¹, and we also learn from the *Vita Columbani* that Jonas of Bobbio, Columbanus' biographer, lived at Faremoutiers for a time³². When Sadalberga, founder of the convent of St Mary and St John the Baptist, set up her monastery, first near Langres and then at Laon on the Remiremont model, she did so with the support of Waldebert of Luxeuil³³. When Balthild founded Corbie, she had monks and an abbot imported from Luxeuil and for Chelles she brought in nuns and an abbess, Bertila, from Jouarre whose original founder Ado

27 For discussion of some of the problems see Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Elementarunterricht und Probationes Pennae in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart 1966 (Mittelalterliche Studien 1), p. 74–87 and Armando PETRUCCI, *Alfabetismo ed educazione degli scribi altomedievale* (see VII–IX), in: *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, ed. Peter GANZ, *Bibliologia. Elementa ad librorum studia pertinentia* 3, Turnhout 1986, p. 109–132.

28 Friedrich PRINZ, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich*, 2nd ed., Darmstadt 1988, p. 140–142, 166, 173–174, 144–145.

29 *Ibid.* p. 658–663 and Stephanus HILPISCH, *Die Doppelklöster. Entstehung und Organisation*, Freiburg i. Br. 1928 (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens 15).

30 *Vita Amati, Romarici et Adelphii abbatum Habendensium*, c. 8, ed. B. KRUSCH, MGH SRM IV, Berlin 1902, p. 211–221 at p. 218, and Eduard HLAWITSCHKA, *Studien zur Äbtissinnenreihe von Remiremont (7.–13. Jh.)*, Saarbrücken 1963 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Landeskunde des Saarlandes 9).

31 *Vita Columbani II* c. 7, ed. B. KRUSCH, MGH SRM IV, p. 121.

32 *Ibid.* II, c. 12–13, p. 131–134.

33 *Vita Sadalbergae abbatissae Laudunensis viduae* c. 9, ed. B. KRUSCH, MGH SRM V, p. 40–66 at p. 54.

had had connections with Columbanus and his Burgundian foundations³⁴. In the houses discussed so far, therefore, there is manifestly a Luxeuil connection, at least in the initial stages.

The layout of texts, the alternation of uncial script and capitals, the use of half uncial as a text hand when headings are provided in uncial, and some of the letter forms themselves, particularly in the case of b-minuscle, used in the books from both the Seine basin convents and those elsewhere (to be discussed below) may originally, therefore, have owed something to Luxeuil, a house which also appears to have been one to evolve the notion of a house style of script, that is, a distinctive hand associated with the work of a particular scriptorium³⁵. In the absence of any historical narrative texts which can inform us specifically about the maintenance of connections between different houses and the sources of the practical arrangements made when a new religious community was being established, it may be the appearance of the books alone which can give us some inkling of what happened. Monks from Luxeuil therefore may have given assistance in the early days of the convents and helped them to establish their own scribal traditions as well as their monastic observance and administrative organization. They may also have provided exemplars of Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, and Augustine's *Epistulae*, if for no other works, for the two Luxeuil manuscripts, Verona, Biblioteca Capitulare XL (CLA IV, 497) and London, British Library Add. 11 878 + Add. 41 567J + Phillipps 36 184 + BN na. lat. 2388, CLA II 163, V **163, are both copies of parts of the *Moralia in Job*.

On the basis of the palaeographical evidence, indeed, an obvious case of close links with Luxeuil appears to be the nunnery responsible for books written in a-z script, whose letter forms show a clear dependance on the Luxeuil script, though they are far more angular, and the ornamentation, with its alternating lines of coloured capitals and zoomorphic initials, has a much closer resemblance to the decorative styles found in the Seine region books than to Luxeuil. The ornamentation can be seen in its full exuberance in the Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* BN lat. 12168, and is often reproduced in books on early mediaeval art³⁶. The group of nine codices and fragments, which include Augustine's *De civitate Dei* and *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* and Ambrose's *De fide*, is usually assigned to Laon on the basis of provenance, for two of the manuscripts, Laon BM 137 and 423, have been in the Laon region for as far back as can be traced. The attribution to a woman depends on a subscription in Isidore's *De natura rerum*, Laon BM 423, f. 79^v, in a cursive charter hand and in a different ink from the rest of the text, stating, in something very like a notary's formula, that Dulcia was the

34 Vita Bertilae abbatissae Calensis, c. 5–7, ed. W. LEVISON, MGH SRM VI, p. 101–109 at p. 105–107 and Vita sanctae Balthildis, c. 8 and 10, ed. B. KRUSCH, MGH SRM II, Berlin 1888, p. 477–508 at p. 492–495.

35 E. A. LOWE, The Script of Luxeuil. A Title Vindicated, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 63 (1953) p. 132–142, reprinted in: *Paleographical Papers*, ed. BIELER, II (n. 19) p. 389–398 and compare R. MCKITTERICK, The scriptoria of Merovingian Gaul: a survey of the evidence, in: *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, ed. H. B. CLARKE and Mary BRENNAN, Oxford 1981 (British Archaeological Reports, International Series 113), p. 173–207 at p. 184–192.

36 For a list of manuscripts written in a-z script see E. A. LOWE, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, I–XI + Supplement, Oxford 1935–1971 [hereafter CLA] VI, p. xviii.

scribe: *Ego dulcia scripsi et susscripsi istum librum rotarum*³⁷. We should note however, that in the Cambridge copy of Origen's Homilies on Luke, Corpus Christi College 334, fol. 97^v, a very crude hand scribbles that he wrote the book: *Fortunatus scripsit istum librum orate pro illum*. The enormous contrast in style, letter forms and competence between this marginal scribble and the control evident in the text itself, however, make me very dubious of Fortunatus' veracity.

A scriptorium that could manage to produce the *Moralia in Job* has considerable resources³⁸. These are not minor or short works that the nuns are tackling, but major patristic treatises. The discipline of the many scribes at work is clearly apparent from their books and compares very favourably with the quality of the books from the Seine constellation. The layout is also very similar; the uncial script is clearly of the north Frankish type familiar from the Seine convents' books, particularly to be noted in the form of the letter 'I', and there is again some evidence of insular influence, as in the wedged ascenders on the sections in half uncial of London British Library Add. 31031. We can note too the careful apportionment of work. The London *Moralia in Job*, for example, was the work of five scribes. The first copied the first seven quires to fol. 50^v. Scribe 2 took over for Quire 8 (fols 51–58) and a third hand carried on until fol. 97^v, giving way to a slightly ragged hand, a little resembling the one in British Library Harley 5041 part II, also possibly from the Picardy region³⁹. A new laterally cramped hand completes the book from fol. 104^r until the text breaks off, unfinished, on fol. 145^v. The copying of this codex at least would appear to have been page for page rather than quire for quire, judging from the occasional miscalculations of text per page, and the squeezing in of words at the bottom of the page. The Corpus Christi College Origen was copied by perhaps as many as ten different scribes, usually by the quire, with one quire allotted to each scribe, some of whom can be observed in other manuscripts in a-z script. The scribe of fols 105 ff, for example, closely resembles the first scribe in London British Library 31031, though the latter is more expert, especially in writing uncial. The hand of the Basle and Freiburg fragments of the *De civitate dei* is the same as that of Corpus 334, fol. 46 line 7 – fol. 55^v. The scribe responsible for BN lat. 12168, fol. 133 can be compared to the scribe responsible for Corpus 334 fol. 62^r–71^v. Laon 423 looks very like the last hand in Corpus 334. None of the scribes of Corpus 334 however appears to be in Laon 137. Thus the scriptorium at Laon is, like those of Chelles and Jouarre, a disciplined one of expert and literate scribes.

If these books are to be credited to a nunnery at Laon, the most likely one is the convent or possibly double monastery of St Mary and St John, founded in the third

37 BISCHOFF, *Kölner Nonnenhandschriften* (n. 6) p. 32–33.

38 To state only the obvious the new printed edition of Books I–XXXV alone runs to 1811 pages of text: S. Gregorii Magni *Moralia in Job*, Libri I–XXXV, ed. M. ANDRIAEN, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* CXLIII, CXLIIIA, CXLIIIB, Turnhout 1979–1985. Apart from the slightly older (s. VII/VIII) Paris BN n.a. lat. 2061 (CLA V, 692), probably from Corbie, the Laon a-z *Moralia* in London, BL Add. 31031 is the oldest witness to the text, followed closely by the copy written by the Anglo-Saxon Peregrinus in 783, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6297 (CLA IX, 1263) and Vat. pal. lat. 245 from the Lake Constance region, s. VII/IX (CLA I, 89).

39 CLA II, 174 (London, British Library Add. 31031, containing Books I–V, 46 only; II, 202b (*Vita sancti Fursei*)).

quarter of the seventh century by Salaberga, referred to earlier⁴⁰. Unfortunately, very little more of its history is known, unless the manuscripts themselves can testify to the quality of the intellectual life and of the activity of the scriptorium established there. It both monks and nuns worked in the scriptorium, moreover, the books cannot necessarily be regarded as the exclusive work of nuns.

There is a further group of manuscripts in a distinctive script produced by nuns, hitherto also placed in Picardy, the bulk of which can be dated to the last years of the eighth century and the first three decades of the ninth. This is the identity of the scriptorium which produced a–b minuscule, a script which shows clear links with the Seine basin group, as do the possible locations for its production which have been suggested. Ever since the publication of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, there has been some support for the view that the scribes of a–b were nuns⁴¹. Tassin and Toustain, and, following them, Masai and his co-authors in studying the *Regula Magistri*, and noting the a–b annotations in BN lat. 12205 on fol. 2 and 158^v, *dñe ihū xp̄e inlumina cor ancille tue*, conjectured that the manuscript might have belonged to a convent of nuns before coming into Corbie's possession, and that the most likely nunnery was one in close proximity to the monastery⁴². Certainly Alan Bishop's work has established beyond a doubt that the >collaborative< work between a–b and Corbie minuscule scribes which has been observed in some of the manuscripts within the group was not simultaneous but sequential, making the likelihood of the a–b minuscule being produced elsewhere than at Corbie a stronger one⁴³. Bishop, indeed, has located this alternative scriptorium of nuns to Notre Dame at Soissons, on the grounds of the kinship between Adalhard of Corbie and his sister, Theodrada, abbess at Soissons⁴⁴.

Further light may be thrown by considering contemporary scripts. Lowe, for example, was of the opinion that the b-minuscule used in the books I discussed earlier and located to Jouarre must be seen as a precursor of a–b. He proposed that in the last two samples of the b-minuscule group, Montpellier 3 and Douce fol. 1, and in BN lat. 4808 with its >a< form very close to the a–b form of >a< we have a script well on the way to a–b⁴⁵. Bafflingly, Lowe was equally categorical in his discussion of a–b in the Introduction to *CLA VI*, and stated that rather than being the culmination of a process of evolution of a script from merovingian cursive and influenced by half uncial, a–b was to be regarded as a deliberate and anachronistic creation modelled on documentary charter hand but outside the development of scripts such as b-minuscule! Lowe posited Adalhard emulating the house style encountered at Monte

40 See above p. 15.

41 R. P. TASSIN and C. F. TOUSTAIN, *Nouveau traité de diplomatique où l'on examine les fondements de cet art*, 6 vols, Paris 1750–1765, III, p. 244 and 280.

42 *La règle du Maître. Edition diplomatique des manuscrits latins 12205 et 12634 de Paris*, ed. Hubert VANDERHOVEN and François MASAI with P. B. CORBETT, Brussels 1953 (*Les Publications de Scriptorium* 3), p. 37.

43 T. A. M. BISHOP, *Lyell Lectures*, Oxford 1974 (unpublished) and *id.*, *The prototype of Liber glossarum*, in: *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries. Essays presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. PARKES and Andrew G. WATSON, London 1978, p. 69–86.

44 T. A. M. BISHOP, *The scribes of the Corbie a-b*, in: *Charlemagne's Heir. New perspectives on the reign of Louis the Pious*, ed. Roger COLLINS and Peter GODMAN, Oxford 1990, p. 523–536.

45 *CLA VI*, 791; II, 239; V, 558.

Cassino (that is proto-Beneventan) and endeavouring to create a house style, that is, a–b, once he had returned to Francia⁴⁶. Bishop has set out the reasons for which this is unlikely⁴⁷. I should like to suggest, indeed, that a–b is a particular phase in the evolution of a distinctively Frankish script and that, given Jouarre's distinctive b-minuscule which is arguably a precursor of a–b, a–b might well be better regarded as the culmination of Jouarre's script history. That is, a–b minuscule is not artificial at all, but to be seen as the culmination of an idiosyncratic course of development in a particular house for which antecedents can be recognized.

One would, of course, still have to account for the undoubted connections with Corbie, evident in such manuscripts as the *Liber glossarum* manuscript now BN lat. 11529 + 11530 and Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 55 + Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 693 + Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, fragm. Aug. 140 (CLA VI, 743 and IX, 1130), discussed by Alan Bishop, in which a–b scribes are clearly collaborating with Corbie scribes writing caroline minuscule⁴⁸. Bishops' analysis of the entire corpus of a–b manuscripts is pertinent here as well for the sense it provides of the type of book copied and the levels of competence of the scribes are in complete accord with what we have already observed of the practices of the nuns of Jouarre.

Not only is there a connection to be discerned between the convent of Notre Dame at Soissons and Corbie, as Bishop suggested; there are also a great many connections between Chelles, Corbie and Jouarre. The family connections between Abbot Adalhard and Theodrada, can also be discerned in Gisela, abbess of Chelles and later of Notre Dame at Soissons, where Charlemagne's daughter Rotrud also took the veil⁴⁹. Bishop, in suggesting Soissons, may have assumed geographical proximity was a necessity for such collaboration with Corbie as the manuscripts indicate. What we know of communications between different centres in the Carolingian world, however, suggests that while proximity certainly facilitated close links, as with St Gallen and Reichenau, Ferrières, Fleury and Auxerre, or St Amand, Mainz and Salzburg, associations could also arise between centres further apart⁵⁰. Bishop's suggestions of nuns responsible for a–b linked with these early to mid-eighth century examples of b-minuscule, could be a reason for relocating the a–b codices to the Seine river basin and the constellation of convents, including Jouarre, with Chelles as their star, benefitting from Carolingian patronage and the installation of members of the Carolingian royal house. Even members of the Bavarian ducal house joined the community for Tassilo's daughter Cotani was, apparently, sent to Chelles⁵¹. Gisela, as abbess of both Soissons and Chelles, would have been a crucial link between the Paris basin and Picardy and was presiding as abbess at precisely the

46 CLA VI, p. xxv.

47 BISHOP, Prototype (n. 43).

48 L. WEINRICH, Wala. Graf, Mönch und Rebell. Die Biographie eines Karolingers, Hamburg 1963 (Historische Studien 386), p. 11–14 and Exkurs 1, p. 90–91 and Brigitte KASTEN, Adalhard von Corbie, Düsseldorf 1986 (Studia humaniora. Düsseldorfer Studien zu Mittelalter und Renaissance 3), p. 13–15.

49 For an example of the network to which St. Denis belonged in the ninth century, see Jean VEZIN, Les relations entre Saint-Denis et d'autres scriptoria, in: *The Role of the Book in Mediaeval Culture* (n. 27) p. 17–40.

50 See R. MCKITTERICK, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, Cambridge 1989, p. 252–255.

51 BISCHOFF, *Kölner Nonnenhandschriften* (n. 6) p. 33.

time when a–b was being written. The production of books written in a–b minuscule, therefore, may be regarded as the continuation of Jouarre's book production into the ninth century, whereas Chelles itself followed the route of caroline minuscule.

So far, I have considered the palaeographical evidence both for the copying activities of the nuns in female or double monasteries and the scribal traditions in which they appear to have worked. Bischoff's conclusions concerning the service performed by the nuns of Chelles of the archbishop of Cologne raise a further issue, however, namely, that of the degree to which these nuns served interests other than their own in copying books. Can we get any further in characterizing their activity? Did these women copy books only for use by their own communities or does the nature of the texts they produced, and their distribution, suggest a wider function?

At this point it is appropriate to bring into the discussion two further groups of manuscripts related to the ones surveyed so far in terms of decoration and script, but not so closely that there is any certainty of their being produced in the same centres. The affinities between all these books, however, suggest that they too are a product of other members of this Seine constellation of convents, such as Faremoutiers or Rebais. The books concerned are:

The *Missale Francorum* group:

- Vat. reg. lat. 11 *Psalterium Duplum*, *CLA* I, 101
- Vat. reg. lat. 317, *Missale Francorum*, *CLA* I, 103
- London, BL Harley 5041, fols 79–100, *Vita sancti Fursei*, *CLA* 202b

and the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* group:

- Vat. pal. lat. 493, fols 19–99, *Missale gallicanum Vetus*, *CLA* I, 93
- BN n.a. lat. 2334, fols 3, 4, 8, 37–38, 60–64, 122, 129, eighth century restoration leaves in the seventh century Ashburnham Pentateuch (*CLA* V, 693b) a manuscript later associated with Tours.

The various attributions made by E. A. Lowe in *CLA*, both of these and of other manuscripts of north Frankish type, also point to a number of related centres in proximity rather than to one highly productive centre. One can add, for example, a disparate pair of manuscripts, linked with those listed above but not themselves necessarily produced in the same atelier:

- Rome, Vallicelliana, B. 62, containing Justus of Urgel's *Commentary on the Song of Songs* and on fols. 214^v–215^v an acrostic poem mentioning the name of Basinus, possibly Basinus of Trier (671–695), *CLA* IV, 433.
- Cologne, Historisches Archiv Kasten B Nos. 24 + 123 + 124 (*CLA* VIII, 1165) *Gelasian Sacramentary* and the pair of manuscripts associated with Meaux, possibly produced at Rebais, though Bischoff conjectured Jouarre or Faremoutiers:
- BN lat. 12048, Sacramentary of Gellone (*CLA* V, 618) modified for local use, possibly Rebais, but written by the scribe David and Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 300, August-

ine, *De Trinitate*, CLA VI, 739, written or commissioned by a lady Madalberta and corrected by the scribe David. I return to the position of the scribe David and a possible explanation of the relationship with the lady Madalberta below⁵².

. All these groups are linked by decorative motifs, insular traits either in the letter forms or in the preparation of the membrane for writing, organization of the quires, with the usual arrangement being the alternations of hair and flesh sides throughout the quire (flesh facing hair), and the style of script itself, with the characteristic N-uncial and sometimes the b-minuscule recurring. It is possible that they represent different stages and experimentations within one scriptorium (similar to the plurality of scripts one finds in the eighth-century Corbie scriptorium)⁵³. But, as I have argued, it looks as if a more satisfactory explanation, given the close historical links between them, would be to attribute the books to the Jouarre, Rebais, Faremoutiers and Chelles constellation of convents in the Paris basin⁵⁴. The provenance, satisfactorily enough, for what it is worth, often points to this same Seine region or to houses linked with this constellation of monasteries. Thus BN lat. 12240 + 12241, for example, was at Corbie by the twelfth century, Montpellier 3, is recorded at Gellone in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and Douce 176 belonged to the nunnery of St Faro of Meaux. Autun 20, however, was until 1789 at the cathedral of Autun.

Without further internal evidence, it may not be possible to get any closer to a precise location of these groups of manuscripts. Given the links with the Chelles nuns' minuscule group, however, and the historical probabilities that the Vat. reg. lat. 316 group is indeed, as I have suggested, to be attributed to the nunnery of Jouarre, we seem to have in this large corpus of manuscripts a substantial testimony to the activity of female scribes in religious communities of women in the Paris basin and in Picardy in the late Merovingian and early Carolingian period. It can be noted from the types of texts copied, particularly from the last few little unlocated groups I have just mentioned, that the texts that predominate are the Gospels, Mass books and mainline patristic works, primarily those of Augustine and Gregory, such as Augustine's *De Trinitate* and *Enchiridion*, Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, Isidore of Seville, Gregory's *Dialogues* and Symphosius' *Aenigmata*. Apart from the Sacramentaries there is nothing to distinguish the texts chosen for copying from the body of texts assignable to other centres or regions such as Luxeuil, the early library of Corbie, or the Lyons region. Many of the texts are ones suitable for reading in the refectory; others would be appropriate for private study.

The Sacramentaries, however, raise a tantalizing possibility. Although it is arguable that the nuns produced the Sacramentaries for use in their own churches by the priest who served their community, it is salutary to reflect on their different provenances and how they might have reached their ultimate destinations. If we

52 BELOW, p. 33.

53 See the study by David GANZ, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Sigmaringen 1990 (Beihefte der Francia 20).

54 MCKITTERICK, *Diffusion* (n. 5) p. 412. On a possible connection, moreover, between these centres and the court of Pippin III, indicated by the *Psalterium duplum*, Vat. reg. lat. 11, see R. MCKITTERICK, *Royal patronage of culture in the Frankish kingdoms under the Carolingians: motives and consequences*, in: *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale*, Spoleto 1992 (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 39), 93–129 at p. 99–103.

recall the special relationship enjoyed by the nuns of Chelles in copying books on commission for Archbishop Hildebold of Cologne⁵⁵, and if, as Bischoff conjectured, episcopal sees in their turn provided necessary texts for the smaller churches, it is possible that we have in some of the scribal activity of the nuns the provision of liturgical books and other texts for the churches in their immediate diocese. While a monastery might become a major centre of learning and own a substantial library largely for its own internal use, the nuns in a convent may have had a special service to perform in supporting the secular church with the texts it needed. It should be stressed, nevertheless, that there are a number of houses of monks whom one can document performing this service as well and producing books for export, though many tend to be for the grander end of the market⁵⁶.

There is, therefore, an apparent concentration of activity in copying liturgical books in the dioceses of Paris and Meaux in the eighth century, culminating in the sacramentary of Gellone adapted for use in the diocese of Meaux. This suggests that the nuns of Rebais, Faremoutiers, Jouarre and Chelles produced books not only for their own edification and Lenten reading but also for the practical use of the dioceses to which they belonged. I wish now to reinforce this suggestion by adding to it the evidence of the scribal activity of a number of other groups of nuns who appear to have worked in conjunction with a bishopric or an active missionary centre in the regions east of the Rhine.

Among the manuscripts in the Würzburg cathedral library are several groups of codices written, as the names recorded in them suggest, by women (Fig. 4). The scripts are predominantly of the Continental insular type. In the Guntza group we find copies of Defensor's *Liber Scintillarum*, Passions of Saints, Augustine's *Ennarationes in Psalmos* and Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma* (M.p.th.f.13, M.p.th.f.78, M.p.th.f.17, M.p.th.q.28a (CLA IX, 1404, 1425, 1405, 1435) on which many scribes worked, though there is one scribe in common, a woman called Guntza, whose name is recorded on f. 57^v of M.p.th.f.13. Similarities between one of the hands on M.p.th.f.13 and M.p.th.f.78, a fluent and slim insular minuscule, enable one to connect this group with another pair of manuscripts, Kassel, Landesbibliothek theol. fol. 24 (CLA VIII, 1136) whose third hand on fol. 55 resembles that in the two Würzburg manuscripts, while another of the scribes in Kassel, theol. fol. 24 can also be seen in Kassel, Landesbibliothek MS Anhang 18 (CLA VIII, 1143)⁵⁷.

Further there is the Abirhilt group, with copies of the Pauline Epistles, Gregory's *Homiliae in evangelium*, Homilies and Passions of Cecilia and Juliana and theological excerpts (Würzburg, M.p.th.f.69, M.p.th.f.45 and M.p.th.q.28b, CLA IX, 1412, 1424, 1436), written in a script characterized by long ascenders and descenders, especially on long ›s‹ and ›r‹. Abirhilt's name is entered on fol. 71^v of M.p.th.f.45

55 BISCHOFF, *Kölner Nonnenhandschriften* (n. 6) p. 17–18.

56 On books for export and export script see R. MCKITTERICK, *Carolingian book production: some problems*, in: *The Library*, Sixth Series 12 (1990) p. 1–33.

57 For details of all these manuscripts see B. BISCHOFF and Josef HOFMANN, *Libri Sancti Kyliani. Die Würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert*, Würzburg 1952 (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg* 6), esp. p. 7–8.



quintus est unum: scilicet que iustitiam societatem percipit. Inconspicuum: non uero
 iniquitas de sonore de societate in omni discendit monent. Corpus sic enim de descendit
 motu danda; Lactus illa: pinto quoniam in euangelio dicitur ut uobis quid dicitis quo plures
 se legedens; ceteris plures suis de uolens. Indemq; ostendit dicit a neq; dicitur
 plures sup. dicitur. Quoniam noluerunt comari: habere noluerunt in peccatis

Conuersorum p[ro]p[ri]um scriptum / Non enim quis in uita potest
 bonus qui non p[ro]p[ri]us fuit malus? Hinc psalmus p[ro]p[ri]um
 dicitur se p[ro]p[ri]um omnes peccatores uolens; p[ro]p[ri]um dicitur de uolens
) p[ro]p[ri]um super eam uolens uolens p[ro]p[ri]um p[ro]p[ri]um
) uolens uolens super eam uolens uolens p[ro]p[ri]um uolens

Fig. 4 (a) Abirhilt group: Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.f.69 fol. 7.

(b) Guntza group: Kassel, Landesbibliothek theol. fol. 24, fols 54 and 55. Reduced: 65 per cent

(CLA IX, 1412). The writing of one of the scribes, moreover, reveals contact with Frankish script types, particularly in the initial in M.p.th.f.45⁵⁸.

Another clutch of books associated with nuns is that written for the *congregatio ad lapidum fluminis*, perhaps to be identified with the convent of Karlburg on the Main. It includes texts of Caesarius of Arles' Homilies and Penitentials and one of the scribes was the deacon Reginmar which again raises the issue of possible collaboration between the nuns in a convent scriptorium and the clergy serving them in liturgical and spiritual matters⁵⁹.

58 Ibid. p. 8–9 and 102.

59 Ibid. p. 50–53 and see R. McKITTERICK, The Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany: reflections on the manuscript evidence, in: *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 9 (1989) p. 291–329 at 300–301.

If the names of the women such as Abirhilt and Guntza in these books are of scribes rather than owners, then we have evidence of groups of women copying books in the Main-Hesse region, serving the practical needs of the diocese to which they belonged as well as copying the books they needed for their own devotions. They write, moreover, in a manner which reflects current writing practice in the region, notably the development of a distinctive Continental insular minuscule type⁶⁰. Such a phenomenon should cause no surprise in view of the many literate and even learned female friends, such as Eadburg, in England with whom Boniface corresponded and from whom he requested books⁶¹. Some of these women, such as Lioba and Walburg, sister of Willibald and Wynnibald, came to assist the missionary enterprise in Germany. Likely centres for the production of these manuscripts might therefore be Tauberbischofsheim, presided over by the English nun and friend of Boniface, Lioba, and Kitzingen, also under the supervision, initially at least, of Boniface⁶². Again, therefore, we encounter English connections with nuns' scriptoria on the Continent, though it is manifest in both the palaeographical and in the literary evidence from the Anglo-Saxon missionary areas.

Further to the west there is more, in the shape of the possible survivor, the Maeseik Gospels (Church of St Catherine Trésor, s.n. ff. 6–132, *CLA X*) of the work of a house which, in a ninth-century source, is described as the producers of fine books in the time of its first abbesses Harlindis and Reglindis, contemporaries of Willibrord⁶³. One might conjecture that these women too were helpers of Willibrord like the women who assisted Boniface, and that again one material form of assistance was the production of the liturgical books needed for equipping the churches established as a result of Willibrord's labours. Indeed, there is a strong likelihood that another function of these women was the creation of liturgical vestments, for some Anglo-Saxon embroideries have also been associated with Maeseik⁶⁴.

Work on the corpus of manuscripts associated with Echternach, and, in particular, those written in uncial script, has indicated the possibility of the existence of a separate scriptorium at Trier, connected with Echternach, and sharing with Echternach the task of producing the books needed for monastic and pastoral work⁶⁵. A Frank and an insular scribe called Thomas collaborated in the production of Trier 61. The Psalter in Stuttgart (Württembergische Landesbibliothek Bibl. fol. 12a–c) and the Gospel fragment in Freiburg im Breisgau (Universitätsbibliothek Cod. 702) are both in an uncial that is recognizably north Frankish in character, closer to the uncial produced by the Jouarre-Chelles constellation than any other. On fol. 38^r of Willibrord's calendar (BN lat. 10837), furthermore, an uncial entry for August 11th notes

60 See B. BISCHOFF, *Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Großen*, in: *Id.*, *Mittelalterliche Studien III*, Stuttgart 1981, p. 5–38 at p. 27–28 and MCKITTERICK, *Anglo-Saxon missionaries* (n. 59).

61 *Bonifatii Epistolae*, Nos. 13, 30, 35 and 65, ed. RAU, p. 30, 104, 114 and 202.

62 See MCKITTERICK, *Anglo-Saxon missionaries* (n. 59) p. 300.

63 *Vita Harlindis et Reglindis*, AASS Mart. II, 22nd March, p. 348.

64 Mildred BUDNY and Dominic TWEDDLE, 'The Maeseik embroideries', in: *ASE* 13 (1984) p. 65–96 and Mildred BUDNEY, 'The Anglo-Saxon embroideries at Maeseik: their historical and art-historical context', in: *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en schone Kunsten van België* 45 (1984) p. 57–133.

65 MCKITTERICK, *Frankish uncial* (n. 20). I draw on this article for what follows.

the *depositio sancti Gaurici episcopi et sanctae Haelenae*. The script suggests that it was made by a Frank from northern Neustria and that he had Trier connections is suggested by the entry itself, for Gaugrichus (d. 624–7) was bishop of Cambrai and possibly earlier in his career a deacon of Trier. On fol. 40^r another Frank has noted the birthday of Saint Eucharius, said to be the first bishop of Trier, and this Frank is undoubtedly to be identified, on palaeographical grounds, with the collaborator helping Thomas the insular scribe in Trier, Stadtbibliothek 61⁶⁶. There seems little doubt that this Frank was a member of the community at Echternach and presumably had some Trier loyalties, but had received his training in one of the centres producing Frankish uncial of the north Neustrian type. Yet the group of religious houses producing the clearest examples of north Frankish uncial, as we have seen, are convents of nuns. Could this north Frankish uncial style have been adopted at Trier? Given the family links between the abbesses of Chelles, Pfalzel and Oeren⁶⁷, and the possibility of moving from one family monastery to another, this is certainly not impossible. In other words, North Frankish uncial may also have been used at Pfalzel and Oeren.

Consideration of the role of the women who came to the Continent from Anglo-Saxon England naturally raises the question of the possible contribution and reinforcement these women may have made to the notion of a scriptorium within a religious community of women in Francia and the type of services they could thereby perform. It is important to remember that with all the houses I have discussed so far there is some kind of insular connection, be it ever so tenuous, and that in the cases of the most productive centres, such as Jouarre or the Würzburg region, the lines of communication are indisputable. If we turn briefly to Anglo-Saxon England, therefore, we find that there is a considerable amount of discussion of the possibility of women producing books in some important nunneries, but that for the earlier period at least, the supporting evidence is even more disappointingly ambiguous (if not non-existent) than it is for the Frankish kingdoms. We are obliged to fall back on conjecture and inherent likelihood on the basis of the implications of our evidence rather than being able to produce a clutch of manuscripts which were definitely written in a female monastery. Conjecture, for example, has produced for the tenth century a scriptorium at St Mary's abbey, Winchester (Nunnaminster)⁶⁸. The Tollemache Orosius, Junius Psalter, Trinity Isidore and sections of the Parker manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle have been attributed to it. For the eighth century, even conjecture cannot conjure up a female scriptorium in terms of extant manuscripts though the discovery of styli in the context of feminine debris such as

66 Compare The Calendar of St. Willibrord from MS. Paris. Lat. 10837. A Facsimile with transcription, introduction and notes, ed. H. A. WILSON, London 1918 (Henry Bradshaw Society 55). On Trier 61 see the forthcoming monograph by Nancy NETZER, *The Trier Gospels from Echternach and the making of an early mediaeval scriptorium*, Cambridge 1993 (Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 3).

67 Nancy GAUTHIER, *L'évangélisation des pays de la Moselle*, Paris 1980, p. 259–270, 291–295 and fig. 13 p. 266.

68 M. B. PARKES, *The Palaeography of the Parker manuscript of the Chronicle, Laws and Sedulius, and Historiography at Winchester in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, in: ASE 5 (1976) p. 149–171 and *Id.*, *A fragment of an early-tenth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript and its significance*, in: ASE 12 (1983) p. 129–140.

spindle whorls and loom weights in the excavations at Whitby, as well as two book clasps found somewhere at Whitby that cannot now be ascertained, point to writing activity there, though not necessarily of course, to an organized scriptorium⁶⁹. Against this dearth of attributable codices it is clear from Boniface's request to Eadburg at Thanet to produce a copy of St Peter's Epistles in gold from materials he sent her by his messenger, the priest Eoban, and his thanks to her on another occasion for sending books, that in Eadburg's convent at least, the writing of books was a feasible, and perhaps even customary, activity there and possibly also the nuns' way of serving the clergy⁷⁰. A possible candidate for the role as representative of the scriptorium at Thanet, is Oxford Bodleian Library Selden Supra 30 [3418] (*CLA* II, 257), containing the Acts of the Apostles written in a Kentish uncial of the first half of the eighth century⁷¹. Bischoff, in his review of E. A. Lowe's *English Uncial* noted that the letters EADB and +E+ »cut with a stylus« on page 47, suggested that this could be a reference to Abbess Eadburga and that the book might well have belonged to her. Thus it is not impossible that the origin of the manuscript itself might also be Thanet⁷². Two scribes were responsible for this codex. Lowe thought that in the script of the first, the pointed bow of the hairline recalled the uncial of the Vespasian Psalter (London, British Library Vespasian A. 1, *CLA* II, 193) usually supposed to have been written at St Augustine's Canterbury⁷³. If such a feature is to be located to a particular scriptorium rather than regarded as a regional, that is, Kentish trait⁷⁴, one might have to adjust one's ideas about the origins of some of the eighth century uncial codices from Kent and the means by which they were supplied to the churches. It would certainly accord with the analogous provision of essential liturgical books by convents for episcopal churches and monasteries in the Paris region if the nuns of Thanet supplied books for the churches of Canterbury as well as for their own use. It may be, moreover, that work in progress on Mercian scriptoria by Michelle Brown may be able to posit links between particular centres and the see of Worcester among the Mercian manuscripts extant. Certainly, the fifth century Italian uncial copy of Jerome's Commentary on Ecclesiastes (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.q.2 (*CLA* IX, 1430a) which records on fol. 1 that it was the book of abbess Cuthswitha, may give us precious clues concerning the process of learning to write uncial script in the seventh century. In this case, the book itself acted as the teacher, for some missing leaves (fols 10, 13, 63, 68, 81, 82, *CLA* IX, 1430b) were restored by an Anglo-Saxon scribe doing his or her best to follow the Italian model. Cuthswitha has been identified with an abbess of Inkberrow near Worcester of ca 700. If the book were not only owned by her but actually written

69 Rosemary J. CRAMP, Appendix B. Analysis of the finds register and location plan of Whitby Abbey, in: *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. David M. WILSON, Cambridge 1976, p. 453–457.

70 Bonifatii Epistolae, Nos. 30 and 35, ed. RAU, p. 104, 114.

71 See also E. A. LOWE, *English Uncial*, Oxford 1960, Plate XXV.

72 B. BISCHOFF, in: *Gnomon* 34 (1962) 609, and ID., Über Einritzungen in Handschriften des frühen Mittelalters, in: ID., *Mittelalterliche Studien I*, Stuttgart 1966, p. 88–92 at 92.

73 E. A. LOWE incorporated Bischoff's view in the second edition of *CLA* II (1972). Compare also *The Vespasian Psalter*, ed. D. H. WRIGHT, Copenhagen 1967 (*Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile* 14), p. 57 and Plate VI.

74 On the potential difference between house and regional styles of script see MCKITTERICK, *Carolingian book production* (n. 56).

at Inkberrow, then it would represent a remnant of the work of the Inkberrow nuns⁷⁵.

Letters sent to and received from Abbess Hildelida, Ealdbeoreth, Abbess Eangyth and her daughter Heaburg (Bucga), Wiethburga, Lioba and Abbess Cuneburg indicate the ability and the means to write letters in the houses to which they belonged; letter writing may also have been accompanied by the copying of books. Among the remnants of seventh- and eighth-century manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon England, therefore, we may be able to reckon on a proportion of them having been copied by English religious women. One example may be the late eighth or early ninth-century fragment, London, British Library Harley 7653 (*CLA* II, 204) that appears to have been written for (if not by) a woman, in that the prayers it contains use feminine forms⁷⁶. Book production was a contribution that clearly could be made by women to the intellectual and liturgical life of the church. Such an hypothesis is strengthened if we bear in mind the nature of the evidence for women's scribal activity in both Neustria and Austrasia adduced above.

It is from the letter forms in these nuns' manuscripts, with unmistakable insular traits, that we can deduce the presence of Englishwomen in Neustria, Austrasia and the Bonifacian missionary region trained to write insular script in accordance with insular script traditions and to copy books in a professional way. Thus the very nature of the organization necessary for book production may provide us with the evidence of influences at work in methods and scribal habits in England as well as in Francia. The instances of the collaboration of scribes in the copying of one book, such as Oxford, Bodleian Laud misc. 126, furthermore, establish the existence of ateliers where scribal discipline was practised, as distinct from some members of the community merely being able to write. As I have argued in an earlier paper, in the East Frankish or German lands at least, one explanation for the character of the so-called Continental insular minuscule script forms in the second half of the eighth century and into the ninth century was the continued influx of scribes, both male and female, from England, who hailed from ateliers in which scribal traditions were established. These places may well have included the convents at Thanet, Whitby, Wimborne, Barking, Inkberrow and others, some of whose nuns joined the Bonifacian enterprise on the Continent⁷⁷. We may have to envisage therefore, some instruction reaching England from Francia as far as setting up a scriptorium and establishing scribal discipline in female religious houses were concerned, just as monastic and ecclesiastical example was derived from a number of different sources. Their lesson quickly learnt, English women were then in a position to make their own modest contribution to the transmission and preservation of texts, both at home and in the mission field. Our extant examples of the work of nun's scriptoria in England, therefore, may be among the Continental insular manuscripts now in the libraries of Würzburg, Kassel, Fulda, Hersfeld and Marburg.

75 Patrick SIMS-WILLIAMS, Cuthwith, seventh-century abbess of Inkberrow, near Worcester, and the Würzburg manuscript of Jerome on Ecclesiastes, in: *ASE* 5 (1976) p. 1–23. See also P. SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*, Cambridge 1990 (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 3), especially p. 237–242.

76 For details see MCKITTERICK, *Frauen und Schriftlichkeit* (n. 6) p. 107–108.

77 See R. MCKITTERICK, *The Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany; personal connections and local influences*, Leicester 1991 (Brixworth Lecture 8, 1990).

As well as English women journeying to the Continent to join Frankish convents, and to contribute to the work of evangelisation, some may have returned home to instruct their countrywomen in the monastic way of life. One possible example is Tetta of Wimborne, who, according to Rudolf of Fulda's *Vita Liobae*, was placed in authority at Wimborne⁷⁸. Lioba, who died in 779 when quite old, was at Wimborne as a young novice and was then under Tetta's authority. Wimborne was founded in the early eighth century⁷⁹. If Tetta is to be identified with the Tetta at Remiremont who formed part of the procession at the funeral of Abbot Adelphius, then we might recognize in her one further means by which the model of the double monastery was transmitted to England in addition to the links already mentioned between such double houses as Brie, Faremoutiers and Chelles. Such identification presupposes a degree of longevity among the principals concerned, for Adelphius died after 670, Tetta's association with Remiremont appears to have been at the end of the seventh century⁸⁰, and Lioba was

78 *Vita sanctae Liobae*, c. 1, ed. G. WAITZ, MGH SS XV, Hanover 1887, p. 127–131 at 128.

79 For the early information about Wimborne see S. R. I. FOOT, *Anglo-Saxon Minsters A. D. 597–975: An Annotated Catalogue*, Woodbridge forthcoming. I am grateful to Dr Foot for allowing me to consult her Register in advance of publication.

80 HLAWITSCHKA, *Studien zur Äbtissinnenreihe*, p. 16, 30–31 and 127 and compare *Liber Memorialis von Remiremont*, ed. E. HLAWITSCHKA, Karl SCHMID and Gerd TELLENBACH, MGH Libri memoriales I, Munich 1981, p. 78–79 and fol. 35^r, which lists only Gebetrudis, among the abbesses. The name Tetta among the nuns in the community before the acceptance of the Rule of Benedict in 817 does not appear at all. The form >Tetta< is only to be found in the *Vita Amati, Romarici et Adelphii, Vita Adelphii* c. 6, ed. B. KRUSCH, MGH SRM IV, p. 227, where she is called abbess and saint, and also given another name, that of Cebetrudis (= Gebetrudis), that is, the same name listed fourth in the succession of abbesses in the *Liber Memorialis*. There appears to be a considerable muddle over the appearance of the name Tetta and who she could be, based on an eleventh-century tradition recorded by Oda and noted by KRUSCH, *ibid.* p. 214, that Tetta/Gebetrudis was the sister of Abbot Adelphius, who died after 670. This identification may, of course, be authentic, but it might be a belated attempt to give the Tetta/Gebetrudis known in the ninth century, when the *Vita Amati, Romarici et Adelphii* was written (see MCKITTERICK, *Frauen und Schriftlichkeit* [n. 6], p. 101) a stronger association with the abbey. It seems odd that the ninth-century authoresses did not mention the fact that Tetta was Adelphius' sister, if they knew it, for it would have considerably enhanced her status and the strength of their account. A further problem is that the redaction of the *Vita Amati, Romarici et Adelphii* is contemporaneous with that of the *Liber Memorialis*. If the nuns had a list of abbesses which was copied into the *Liber* on fol. 35^r but also had an account of the death of Adelphius which preserved the memory of a Tetta abbatisa, it may have been an attempt on the part of the author of the *Vita* to make *Vita* and *Liber* list agree by inserting *quae et Cebetrudis* after the name Tetta. Tetta and Gebetrudis may in fact be two different women, and the accretion of relatives with which Gebetrudis is endowed in the eleventh century may well be substantially correct. See also the discussion by GAUTHIER, *L'évangélisation* (n. 67) p. 274–291, esp. p. 288–289. An alternative identification, therefore, though admittedly one that cannot be supported with any evidence other than the name of the abbess herself, introduced as head of the community at Wimborne (in other words there is no hint that Tetta had been raised from the ranks in England, still less Wimborne itself) and the particular character of the community at Wimborne which has so many parallels with Remiremont, is to posit identification with the nun Tetta, reputedly a king's daughter (according to Rudolf of Fulda's *Vita Liobae*, c. 1, MGH SS XV, p. 121). This is on the grounds firstly, of connections established between England and Francia in the seventh century, secondly the Frankish nuns who came to help set up foundations in England, such as those from Jouarre to Bath, and thirdly the number of English princesses who did journey to Francia to receive instruction in the monastic life. Taken together these do not make such an identification wholly unlikely, particularly if we entertain the notion that Tetta was not English but a Frank. That Tetta probably was English, however, is indicated by the letter from the priest Wiehtberht, newly arrived in Hesse, writing to the monks of Glastonbury in a letter dated 732–754

entrusted to Tetta as a child (though there is some doubt as to whether Lioba was in fact at Wimborne first rather than at Thanet under Eadburg⁸¹. Even so, it is not impossible that Tetta returned from Remiremont to her native country in order to join the newly founded royal nunnery at Wimborne, and thus was able to impart what she had learnt about the organization of a double monastery during her time in Francia.

The double monastery, to which I have alluded earlier in this paper, is in fact a peculiarly Frankish and Anglo-Saxon phenomenon⁸². While this is not the place to elaborate on the social and political explanations for the adoption of this particular structure of monastic life, the role of queens, princesses and leading aristocratic women, as Dagmar Schneider has demonstrated, is of fundamental importance in their establishment and success and her explanation of the double monastery in Gaul and England is far more convincing than that of Hilpisch⁸³. The indications at present are that the English adopted this form of the religious life from the Franks, and we can document with some precision the particular foundations that provided a model for the English. Apart from the possibility, referred to earlier, that abbess Tetta returned to England from Remiremont to establish the double monastery at Wimbourne⁸⁴, the *Vita Bertilae*, as already noted, records the contingent of nuns and books sent from Jouarre to the nuns at Bath, a double monastery, and Bede himself gives us some significant details about the double monastery at Brie which are worth quoting in full:

»At that time, because there were not yet many monasteries founded in England, numbers of people from Britain used to enter the monasteries of the Franks or Gauls (*monasteria Francorum vel Galliarum*) to practise the monastic life; they also sent their daughters to be taught in them and to be wedded to the heavenly bridegroom. They mostly went to the monasteries of Brie, Chelles and Andelys-sur-Seine.«

Bede then goes on to recount the events surrounding the death at Brie of Eocongota, daughter of Eorcenberht, king of Kent.

»Many wonders and miraculous signs associated with this dedicated virgin are related even to this day by the people who live in that place. It will be enough for us to speak, and that briefly, of her departure from this world to the heavenly kingdom. When the day of her

and asking them to tell *mater mea* Tetta and her community of his safe arrival: Epistolae Bonifacii, No. 101, ed. RAU, p. 322–324 (English translation in Dorothy WHITELOCK, *English Historical Documents I*, 2nd edition London 1979, No. 182, p. 826–827. T. SCHIEFFER, *Winfried-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1954, p. 162, moreover, conjectures that Tetta was a sister of King Ine of Wessex.

81 Leoba, Epistolae Bonifacii, No. 29, ed. RAU, p. 102–104, tells Boniface she had been taught to write Latin verse by Eadburga, who is usually identified with the Eadburga who was abbess of Thanet, and died ca. 751. Rudolf, *Vita sanctae Liobae* c. 3, however, records that Leoba was at Wimborne and taught by Abbess Tetta, MGH SS XV, p. 123. The solution is probably to suppose either that Eadburga taught for a while at Wimborne before she went to Thanet (and this would certainly make her acquaintance with Boniface more explicable) or that Lioba herself studied at Thanet after her early years at Wimborne.

82 I follow HILPISCH, *Doppelklöster* (n. 29), in this.

83 SCHNEIDER, *Anglo-Saxon women in the Religious Life. A study of the status and position of women in an early medieval society*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Cambridge 1985, p. 14–37.

84 Above, p. 28, n. 80.

summons was immanent, she went round the monastery visiting the cells of Christ's infirm hand-maidens and especially those who were of great age or distinguished for their virtuous lives. She humbly commended herself to their prayers, not concealing from them that it had been revealed to her that her own death was near ... At the very end of the same night just as the dawn was breaking, she passed from the darkness of the present world to the light of heaven. Many of the brothers of the monastery who were in other buildings related that they clearly heard choirs of angels singing ... The holy body of the bride of Christ was buried in the church of the blessed protomartyr Stephen; it was decided, three days after, to take up the stone which covered her sepulchre and raise it higher in the same place; while they were doing this so sweet a fragrance arose from the depths of the sepulchre that it seemed to all the brothers and sisters who were standing by as if stores of balsam had been unsealed⁸⁵.

Brie then was a double monastery, under one abbess, whose monks and nuns occupied separate buildings but who could come together for liturgical observance, especially the death of a member of their community. Its example, given the links between the Seine basin convents and England, may well have been emulated by Anglo-Saxon founders of monasteries.

Nevertheless, we need to consider how the copying of books might have become an element in the life and daily work of either a double monastery or a community of nuns. One searches in vain among the Rules for the monastic life, whether intended for male or female communities, for explicit provisions for the copying of books. The decrees of the synod of Aachen in 816 intended for *sanctimoniales* make no explicit provision for copying of books by nuns or canonesses, but this cannot be hailed as proof positive that women did not act as scribes in the Carolingian period⁸⁶. The 816 regulations for men also make no mention of copying books as part of the monastic day, yet no one has yet proposed that men did not act as scribes in the ninth century because no monastic Rule actually said they could⁸⁷! Given the innate conservatism of Frankish monastic practices, and the extreme slowness with which the Aachen decrees of 816/817 and their promotion of the Rule of Benedict were adopted⁸⁸, one should in any case, look in the earlier history of monastic observance for any precedents for the copying of books by nuns, whether within enclosed convents or in the context of a double monastery.

The Rule of Caesarius of Arles, written when he helped his sister Caesaria establish a new convent on the edge of the city, makes no provision for copying books but does refer to someone being in charge of the books⁸⁹. Caesarius envisaged

85 Bede, HE III, 8, ed. COLGRAVE and MYNORS, p. 238–240.

86 The fact of omission was simply stated by BISCHOFF, *Kölner Nonnenhandschriften* (n. 6) p. 32.

87 MGH Conc. II, 1, p. 307–464.

88 See the discussions by Josef SEMMLER, *Zur Überlieferung der monastischen Gesetzgebung Ludwigs des Frommen*, in: *Deutsches Archiv* 16 (1960) 309–388; ID., *Studien zum Supplex Libellus und zur anianischen Reform in Fulda*, in: *Zs. für Kirchengeschichte* 69 (1958) 268–298; ID., *Corvey und Herford in der benediktinischen Reformbewegung des 9. Jhts.*, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 4 (1970) 289–319.

89 S. Caesarii Arelatensis episcopi, *Regula sanctorum virginum aliaque opuscula ad sanctimoniales directa*, c. 32, ed. Germain MORIN, *Florilegium patristicum tam veteris quam medii aevi auctores complectens* 34, Bonn 1933, p. 12: *Quae cellario sive canavae sive vestibus vel codicibus aut posticio vel lanipendio praeponuntur, de super evangelium claves accipiant, et sine murmuratione serviant reliquis* (Those who are put in charge of the wine cellar or of clothing or books, or of the gate or the wool work shall receive the keys upon a copy of the Gospels and they shall serve the others without complaining.)

a completely closed community for his sister and her colleagues, and devised a Rule for them which was specifically accommodated to what he referred to as the special needs of their sex⁹⁰. This appears to have been largely a reference to their need to be cut off from worldly temptations and molestations, and their need for special protection by means of their conduct, from the wickedness of the daily world. The suggestions for the administration of an institution may also have been something hitherto outside Caesaria's experience and thus are also to be counted as the 'special needs of her sex'. Caesarius calculated on their leading a life of strict poverty, simplicity and self sufficiency, in which they would make for themselves, insofar as it was possible, everything they needed. All chores were to be done by the women. They were to have no servants but to take it in turns to do the work required, without regard for their former station in life. The spinning, weaving of wool, and the making of clothes was one part of this, quite apart from the expected chores of cleaning and cooking. In the Rule of Nuns we have references to the women in charge of the woolwork, the infirmary, the choir, the novices, the storerooms, the cellars, the gate, and the books, but no clues as to whether they were required to make their own shoes, or the degree to which they could buy in the heavy things, such as cleaning, cooking and eating utensils and buckets, that they would have needed⁹¹. The convent had been well endowed by Caesarius from diocesan land to make the community viable. In that the nuns were not to produce surplus for profit but only in order to acquire what they needed to remain self-sufficient, however, we may have the essential clue to the convent's internal economy and how it might come about that certain items might be produced by the nuns in order to pay for the things they could not make themselves. This might include copying books for themselves as well as for the use of the diocese.

While Caesarius's rule made no explicit requirement for the copying of books, he did enjoin the nuns to read, and to teach the illiterate who joined the community to read; he forbade their receiving or sending private letters; he impressed on them the necessity for the hearing of sacred reading while they ate or worked, as well as for their conduct of the Daily Office in their church. That the community possessed books is implied by these provisions and confirmed by the reference to the nun in charge of the books. But it is only from the *Vita Caesarii* that we have a reference to the quantities of fine codices produced by the nuns for Caesarius's use: »The mother Caesaria, whose work with her community so flourished, that amidst psalmody and fastings, vigils and readings, the virgins of Christ lettered most beautifully the divine books, having the mother herself as teacher«⁹².

As well as serving themselves, therefore, the nuns would appear to have provided an expert service for the diocese to which they belonged. Whatever the rule may have stipulated concerning the production of surplus for profit, therefore, rigid adherence

90 Ibid. c. 2, p. 5.

91 Ibid. cc. 27–30, p. 9–10.

92 *Vita sancti Caesarii*, I, c. 58, ed. B. KRUSCH, MGH SRM III, Hanover 1896, p. 433–501 at p. 481 (or Vita I, c. 58, p. 320).

to it is not indicated by what can be postulated concerning the nuns' activities from other sources⁹³.

Although no rule, not even the Rule of Benedict, makes special provision for the copying of books, in the recommendations for useful manual labour in relation to the needs of the monastery, in the requirement for Lenten reading and daily readings, and in the teaching of novices, the Rule of Benedict does give the necessary latitude for the production of books within a monastic community⁹⁴. The potential is the same as for the Rule of Nuns by Caesarius, and no doubt for the other mixed rules (combinations of Columbanus and Benedict for men and of Columbanus, Caesarius and Benedict for women and the many other Rules known in Merovingian and Carolingian Gaul which make provision for reading or liturgical observance⁹⁵. The 816 decrees indeed also make provision for the education of girls within the religious community⁹⁶. The institutions were to be read to each prospective member of the community who was to be told that from that point on her life would be governed by the rules of the Fathers. The decrees demand celebration of the monastic offices without telling the women what to sing or pray (unlike the specific direction for Divine Office provided by Caesarius)⁹⁷. Manual labour is mentioned only once in recommending manual labour as an antidote for *otium*. It is unnecessary to assume that the only kind of manual labour that could possibly have been performed by the *sanctimoniales* was the making of their own clothes, for which they received wool and linen⁹⁸. It is perfectly possible, on the contrary, that manual labour could also have included the copying of books⁹⁹.

The necessary books for the essential activities of liturgical observance and reading had to come from somewhere, and if one did not acquire them from somewhere else then one made them oneself. There is ample religious justification for scribal activity, both in classifying it as labour, and in defining its holy purpose. Among the colophons from the early middle ages, for example, Gundheri, one of the scribes of Würzburg M.p.th.f.64 writes on fol. 94^v: *Qui nescit scribere nullum laborem esse putat tum tres digiti scribunt et totum corpus laborat quicumque legerit hunc librum ego iuro per deum verum ut oret pro eum qui hunc librum scripsit Gundheri*, and in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 192 fol. 97 there is the note: *iussit Amadeus*

93 See the discussion by Cordula NOLTE, *Klosterleben von Frauen in der frühen Merowingerzeit. Überlegungen zur Regula ad Virgines des Caesarius von Arles*, in: *Frauen in der Geschichte VII, Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Geschichte der Frauen im Frühmittelalter. Methode-Probleme-Ergebnisse*, ed. Werner AFFELDT and Annette KUHN, Düsseldorf 1986 (Studien Materialien 39 Geschichtsdidaktik), p. 257–271.

94 *Regula sancti Benedicti*, ed. J. McCANN, London 1954.

95 On the variety of monastic observance see the summary in PRINZ, *Frühes Mönchtum* (n.28) p. 263–292.

96 MGH Conc. II.1, c. 7, p. 442.

97 *Ibid.*, c. 15, p. 448 and compare Caesarius, *Regula*, c. 19–21, ed. MORIN (n. 89), p. 8–9.

98 This is the view of Dagmar SCHNEIDER, *Anglo-Saxon Women in the Religious Life* (n. 83) p. 72–74.

99 Michael CLANCHY, *From Memory to Written Record*, London 1989, p. 88–89, indeed, stresses the technical skill in the copying of books, presumably on a par with embroidery, spinning and weaving, for which literacy is not essential. To copy a book properly, however, was an intellectual occupation. Most of our extant books from the early middle ages were copied by literate scribes who understood what they were writing.

diaconus atque habitu monachus hunc libellum scribere pro sua anima ad utilitatem fratrum...

There are comments, too, on the value of copying books by such poets as Alcuin and Hraban Maur: *Est opus egregium sacros iam scribere libros / Nec mercede sua scriptor et ipse caret / Fodere quam vites melius est scribere libros: / Ille suo ventri serviet, iste animae.* [It is an excellent task to copy holy books and scribes do enjoy their own rewards. It is better to write books than to dig vines: one serves the belly but the other serves the soul.]¹⁰⁰

The production of books, therefore, could readily become an essential part of the monastic and devotional life and there seems little doubt that both kinds of religious community, male and female, took advantage of it. Further, it may be possible to extrapolate from the potential for the coming together of the whole community indicated at Brie and echoed in the sources about the other principal double monasteries of both Merovingian Gaul and Anglo-Saxon England, to suggest collaboration in the copying of essential texts in one scriptorium or perhaps two separate scriptoria. Certainly there are a number of possible instances, cited above, which suggest collaboration of some kind, whether it manifests itself in the form of working together on the same book or as two separate writing centres producing a corpus of books that could then either be shared between two neighbouring and legally connected institutions, or the one institution would provide books for the other, such as the collaboration of the ›a-b‹ scribes with monks writing Corbie caroline minuscule discussed above and the provision of books for Essen from Werden¹⁰¹. There is also an occasional appearance of the name of a male scribe in books associated generally with nuns or a convent, such as the scribe David linked with Rebais and Madalberta, Reginmaar mentioned in connection with Karlburg and Thomas, collaborator in Trier 61, associated palaeographically with Trier and the north Frankish nuns' scriptoria, quite apart from the scribes Dagulf and Gottschalk in association with the so-called ›Ada-group‹ of codices from the court of Charlemagne¹⁰². A further example might be Kochel and Benediktbeuern in Bavaria. Books identified as belonging to Kochel from an eleventh century list extant in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4542, include some which appear to have come from Benediktbeuern (much as some of Essen's books came from Werden)¹⁰³. Others appear to have been written at Kochel itself¹⁰⁴. The setting up of a scriptorium at Kochel, founded like Benediktbeuern in ca 750, may well have benefitted

100 Alcuin, MGH Poet. lat. I, p. 320, trans. Peter GODMAN, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, London 1987, No. 11, lines 13–14, p. 139; compare Hraban Maur, MGH Poet. lat. II, p. 186, trans. GODMAN, *Poetry*, No. 36, p. 249 and the discussion in MCKITTERICK, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, p. 150–151.

101 Above p. 18 and on Essen see MCKITTERICK, *Frauen und Schriftlichkeit* (n. 6), p. 87–90.

102 Above p. 23 and 24. On Dagulf and Gottschalk and the Ada school manuscripts see BISCHOFF, *Panorama*, p. 6–7 and Wilhelm KOEHLER, *Die Karolingische Miniaturen* 3, Berlin 1960.

103 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4554, 4577, 4719, 29156: B. BISCHOFF, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit, Teil I: Die Bayrischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 22–23, note 2.

104 The Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4549 group (Clm 4549, 4564, 4614, 27286, 29157b and Munich, Erzbischöfliches Ordinariatsarchiv, Fragmentmappe), BISCHOFF, *Südostdeutsche Schreibschulen*, p. 22–23, 40–43.

from advice and instruction from Benediktbeuern, but other influences are also apparent. Although in the eight identifiable scribes in the Kochel codices, three have sufficiently subordinated their individuality to make them recognizable as a related group, the other five retain marked individual traits, including reminiscences of Alemannian minuscule and may well have brought these with them when they joined the community at the end of the eighth century. The available evidence at the very least suggests that some forms of collaboration in the production of books were not only possible but practised. As a corollary it must be stressed that there is much concerning the organization of monasteries in the Merovingian and Carolingian period about which we are still ignorant but about which we should endeavour to be openminded.

The precise Rule followed by any one convent, furthermore, may well be irrelevant as far as determining the potential for book production is concerned, even supposing it were possible to establish this. Other examples of houses inspired in part by the model of Caesaria can usually only be traced through use of the Rule for Nuns, and this was very limited. There is some grounds, for example, for supposing it was adopted at Royat and at Salaberga's foundation of St Mary and St John at Laon (the dedication to St Mary and St John itself may well be a clue worth pursuing on the part of convents if it reflects a conscious wish to emulate Caesaria's convent) and that Salaberga may have encountered it at Remiremont, and Donatus of Besançon made use of the Rule for nuns in compiling his rule for the nuns of Jussanum¹⁰⁵. Ferreolus and Aurelian both clearly drew on it¹⁰⁶, Bishop Syagrius of Autun recommended it for the convent of St Mary's at Autun¹⁰⁷, and the house of Chamalières in the Auvergne was apparently influenced by the Rule prepared by Donatus of Besançon¹⁰⁸. It was Caesaria's convent of St Mary and St John and the Rule for Nuns which was much admired by Radegund, both for the express adaptation of the monastic life for women and for its transmission of the monastic teaching of the fathers, when setting up her establishment at Poitiers¹⁰⁹. Krusch believed that Faremoutiers-en-Brie followed the Rule of Donatus though Prinz thinks it was not this Rule but the *Regula cuiusdam patris et virginis*, perhaps by Waldebert, third abbot of Luxeuil¹¹⁰. What may be more important than the precise Rule adopted is the nature of the traditions and examples followed, the dependence of omen on the advice and spiritual offices of a bishop or a nearby abbot and/or priest and these clerics' use of the services, both practical and spiritual, their female helpers could perform for the Christian faith. Caesarius certainly provides us with one model relationship in his encouragement of his sister and her successor as abbess¹¹¹. Theirs

105 PRINZ, *Frühes Mönchtum*, p. 80–82. *Vita Sadalbergae* c. 17, ed. B. KRUSCH, MGH SRM V, p. 59; *Passio Praejecti* c. 16, ed. B. KRUSCH, *ibid.*, p. 235; Donatus, *Regula ad Virgines*, *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. MIGNÉ, [hereafter PL] 87, col. 273–298 and Eng. trans. Jo Ann McNAMARA, *The Ordeal of Community. The Rule of Donatus of Besançon*, Toronto 1989 (Peregrina Translation Series 5).

106 PL 66, col. 960–975 and PL 68, col. 399–406.

107 A. MALNORY, *S. Césaire, évêque d'Arles (503–543)*, Paris 1894 (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, sciences philologiques et historiques 103), p. 280.

108 *Passio Praejecti*, c. 15, ed. KRUSCH, MGH SRM V, p. 235 and PRINZ, *Frühes Mönchtum*, p. 81.

109 *Ibid.* p. 78 and Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, IX, 39, ed. B. KRUSCH, MGH SRM I, p. 460–464.

110 Noted in his edition of the *Vita Columbani II*, 19, MGH SRM IV, p. 139 and PRINZ, *Frühes Mönchtum* (n. 28) p. 81.

111 PRINZ, *Frühes Mönchtum*, p. 77.

was no amateur establishment. Caesaria had been sent to train at Cassian's monastery at Marseilles before setting up on her own under her brother's aegis¹¹². Her successor, Caesaria the Younger, was trained in the convent of St Mary and St John the Baptist itself, and it was she who commissioned the Life of Bishop Caesarius and who may have been responsible for the statute protecting the exclusive rights of the nuns to burial in St Mary's basilica¹¹³. Liliola and Rusticula, abbesses from 559–574 and 574–632 respectively, were also brought up within the abbey¹¹⁴. The close association between the Paris basin and the Picard monasteries with Luxeuil monks on the one hand and the bishops of Paris and Cologne on the other, has already been indicated¹¹⁵. Boniface and Lull of Mainz and Burchard of Würzburg and their female helpers provide another example of the relationship that could exist between a bishop and female religious¹¹⁶. The women's help was valuable; their wish to serve could be exploited by the bishops and abbots of supporting houses and their need for guidance meant that the practices of the men's monasteries – ascetic, liturgical, practical, administrative and intellectual – could provide potential models.

If Caesaria's Rule and the example of the activities of the nuns at Arles did find an echo at Brie and elsewhere, then English contacts with Brie, Jouarre and Chelles and other Frankish religious houses may have been one route by which the acceptance of the rule's recommendations for reading, as well as the practical consequences manifest in the copying of books, were transmitted to the new English female monastic houses. We may be observing in the evidence for nuns' scriptoria in the context of double monasteries and nuns' convents in Francia, therefore, combined with the hints remaining in our Anglo-Saxon sources of similar activity in English religious communities, one crucial consequence of the links between England and the Continent in the eighth century¹¹⁷.

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112 Vita Caesarii, c. 35, ed. B. KRUSCH, MGH SRM III, p. 470.

113 Mother Maria Caritas MCCARTHY, *The Rule for Nuns of St Caesarius of Arles: a translation with critical introduction*, Washington, D.C. 1960 (The Catholic University of America. Studies on Mediaeval History N.S. XVI), p. 20.

114 Vita sanctae Rusticulae, ed. Jean MABILLON, AA SS OSB II, p. 139–147 and Pierre RICHÉ, Note d'hagiographie mérovingienne. La Vita S. Rusticulae, in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 72 (1954) 369–377.

115 Above, p. 15 and 22.

116 MCKITTERICK, *Anglo-Saxon missionaries* (n. 59) p. 300–301.

117 This paper was sent to press shortly after I heard the news of the death of Bernhard Bischoff on 17th September, 1991. My own debt to him is very considerable, not only for his teaching while in Munich in 1974/1975, but for the advice and friendship he has offered me ever since. I dedicate this paper, therefore, with devotion and gratitude, to the memory of Bernhard Bischoff.