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Two Carolingian Redactions of Isidore's *Etymologiae* from St. Gallen*

ABSTRACT

The Abbey of St. Gallen was the foremost centre for the study of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville in the Carolingian period. Not only can more than twenty early medieval manuscripts transmitting material from the *Etymologiae* be associated with Carolingian St. Gallen, but its scriptorium also produced two scholarly redactions of Isidore's encyclopaedia in the second half of the ninth century. The prototype codices of these two redactions survive today in Swiss libraries, one as Zofingen, Stadtbibliothek, Pa 32, the other as St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 231–232. The first redaction represents an attempt to enrich the *Etymologiae* by incorporating Isidore's *De natura rerum* into the encyclopaedia. The second redaction is the result of a collation of four sets of manuscripts of the *Etymologiae*, some of which survive today and bear collation marks and variant readings inserted into the margins. While none of the many hands that were involved in the collation and copying of the two redac-

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tions can be attributed to any of the known scholars active at St. Gallen in the ninth century, the redactions seem to have been produced over the course of several decades under the auspices of the *praepositus* and later abbot Hartmut.

Keywords: Isidore of Seville, the *Etymologiae*, St. Gallen, Carolingian manuscripts, Hartmut of St. Gallen, medieval textual criticism, critical signs, Carolingian scholarship

The Abbey of St. Gallen in today's Switzerland provides us with one of the richest records of early medieval book history and intellectual culture.¹ Not only do we possess more than 350 Carolingian manuscripts produced in its scriptorium, but we are also uniquely informed about the intellectual life of the abbey through a fortunate combination of written sources.² First, we possess a unique record of the history of St. Gallen in the form of the *Casus Sancti Galli*, the chronicle of St. Gallen begun by the monk Ratpert (c. 840/50 – c. 900) and continued by Ekkehart IV (c. 980/990–1056).³

¹ Some of the most important scholarly studies of the early medieval book history and intellectual life at St. Gallen include Albert Bruckner, *Scriptoria medii aevi Helvetica*, 14 vols, vols. 2–3, Genève 1938; Walter Berschin, *Eremus und Insula. St. Gallen und die Reichenau im Mittelalter: Modell einer lateinischen Literaturlandschaft*, Wiesbaden 1987; Bernice M. Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian age: the St. Gall manuscripts*, Cambridge, MA 1988; Johannes Duft, *Die Abtei St. Gallen*, 3 vols, Sigmaringen 1994; Peter Ochsenbein, *Cultura Sangallensis. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, St. Gallen 2000; Rupert Schaab, *Mönch in Sankt Gallen: zur inneren Geschichte eines frühmittelalterlichen Klosters*, Ostfildern 2003; Anna Grotans, *Reading in medieval St. Gall*, Cambridge 2006; Anton von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols, St. Gallen 2008; and Sven Meeder, *The Irish Scholarly Presence at St. Gall: Networks of Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, London 2018.

² The twelve volumes of the *Codices latini antiquiores* and the fourth volume of Bischoff's *Katalog* list altogether 361 early medieval manuscripts (8 described in the CLA and 353 described in the *Katalog*) that were produced certainly or likely in St. Gallen; see Elias A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores: a palaeographical guide to Latin manuscripts prior to the ninth century*, 11 vols, Oxford 1934–1966; Elias A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores. Supplement*, Oxford 1971; and Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen) IV: Gesamtregister*, ed. B. Ebersperger, Wiesbaden 2017, 308–309. This number is comparable to the estimate of c. 300 early medieval manuscripts made in Bernice M. Kaczynski, *The authority of the fathers: Patristic texts in Early Medieval libraries and scriptoria*, in: *Journal of Medieval Latin* 16 (2006), 1–27 (here 8).

³ The standard edition of Ratpert's text and Ekkehart's extension remains MGH SS II, pp. 59–147. It has been most recently analyzed in Christina Pössel, *The Consolation of Community: Innovation and Ideas of History in Ratpert's Casus Sancti Galli*, in: *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 65 (2014), 1–24.