

THE TRANSMISSION AND RECEPTION OF THE *DE INSTITUTIONE CLERICORUM*

TRANSMISSIÓ I RECEPCIÓ DE *DE INSTITUTIONE CLERICORUM*

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ABSTRACT

Rabanus Maurus, known as *primus praeceptor Germania*, composed his *De Institutione Clericorum* in AD 819. Although in modern literature is mentioned as a sort of Liberal Arts encyclopedia, the truth is that it is rather a handbook conceived for the education of young clerics preparing for the priesthood. Rabanus' influence was wide and deep in the Carolingian Empire, as at least some parts of the *Glossa ordinaria* seem to come from him directly or indirectly. In this article we study the dissemination of this text, giving special attention to the preserved manuscripts and trying to discover the routes and mechanisms by which the text spread across the Carolingian Empire.

Keywords: Rabanus Maurus, Carolingian Empire, Manuscripts, Textual transmission.

RESUMEN

Rabanus Maurus, conocido como el primer *praeceptor Germania* compuso su *De Institutione Clericorum* en el año 819. Aunque en la literatura moderna se menciona como una especie de Enciclopedia de Artes Liberales, la verdad es que es más un manual concebido para la educación de los jóvenes clérigos que se preparan para el priorato. La influencia de Rabanus fue profunda en el Imperio Carolingio al menos como muestran algunas partes de la *Glosa Ordinaria* que parecen proceder de él directa o indirectamente. En este artículo estudiamos la diseminación de este texto prestando especial atención a los manuscritos conservados y tratando de descubrir las rutas y mecanismos mediante los cuales el texto se expande a través del Imperio Carolingio

Palabras clave: Rabanus Maurus, Imperio Carolingio, manuscritos, transmisión textual.

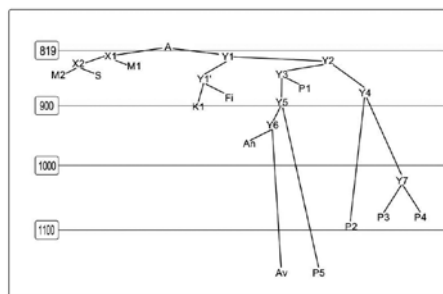
RESUM

Rabanus Maurus conegut com el primer *praeceptor Germania* composà el seu *De Institutione Clericorum* l'any 819. Tot i que en la literatura moderna es menciona com una mena d'Enciclopèdia d'Arts Liberals, la veritat és que es tracta més d'un manual concebut per a l'educació dels joves clergues que es preparen per al priorat. La influència de Rabanus fou gran a l'Imperi Carolingi almenys com mostren algunes parts de la *Glosa Ordinaria* que semblen procedir directa o indirectament d'ell. En aquest article estudiem la dispersió d'aquest text prestant especial atenció als manuscrits conservats i tractant de descobrir les rutes i mecanismes mitjançant els quals el text s'expandeix a través de l'Imperi Carolingi.

Paraules clau: Rabanus Maurus, Imperi Carolingi, manuscrits, transmissió textual.

The *De Institutione Clericorum* has come to us in different recensions, which at their time can be sub-divided into several families of manuscripts:¹

- 1 The original form, which derives more or less directly from Rabanus' archetype in Fulda or the copy that he sent to archbishop Haistulf, without further re-elaboration (the oldest editions, together with the original text, insert an "Addition de missa" between book I.33 and book II.2, that, however, is not to be found in any of the manuscripts with the original edition).
- 2 Excerpts or fragments where the original arrangement of material is not substantially altered.
- 3 An abbreviated version, called Rhenish recension.
- 4 Another epitomized version known as recension "F" (=Fuldensis).
- 5 A reworking of part of the material (taken mostly from book I) that Rabanus composed when he already was Archbishop of Mainz (from 847) for his Chorbishop Thiotmar, under the title of *De sacris ordinibus*.
- 6 A collection of excerpts taken from book II that was included, a little altered, in Archbishop Wulfstan's *Handbook*.



Stemma Codicum of the *De Institutione Clericorum*, according to Detlev Zimpel.

1 This article is a re-elaboration of the chapter dedicated to the same matter in my Ph. D. dissertation of 2014. It relies heavily on Detlev Zimpel's introduction to his edition to the *De institutione clericorum*, 1996, pp. 160-270. However, I have tried to approach Zimpel's information from a very different perspective, and to synthesize the overwhelming amount of details provided there in less than one fourth the pages it takes there.

RABANUS' ORIGINAL

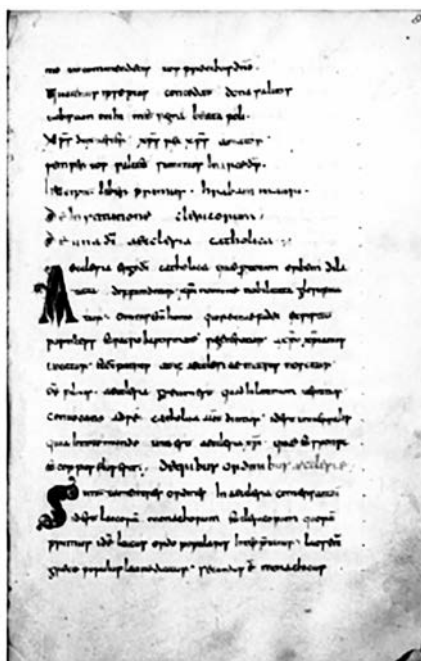
To the first group, i.e., the original and mostly unchanged text, belong the following manuscripts, grouped by branches (see fig. attached with the *stemma codicum* as reconstructed by Zimpel):

A first branch (Zimpel's X) is formed by:

1.1 M1 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 14210. Origin: first third of the 9th century, Fulda (identified as Ms. M in Alois Knoepfler's edition). Written in Carolingian and Insular hands. After 1028 was in St. Emmeram, Regensburg (ZIMPLE, 1996: 100; KOTTJE, 1975: 540, n. 44).

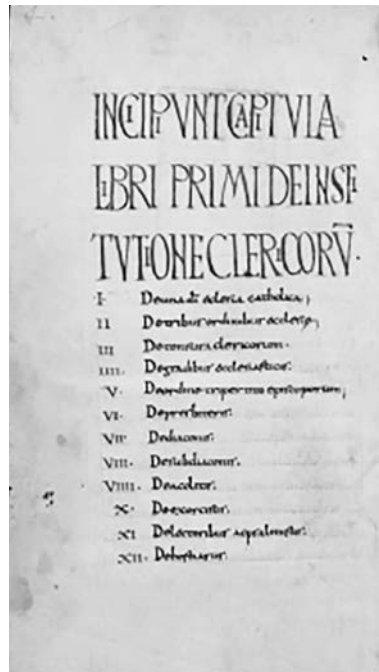
1.2 M2 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 14405. Origin: second quarter of the 9th c., Regensburg (identified as Ms. M1 by Knoepfler).

1.3 S St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 286. Origin: second quarter of the 9th c., Regensburg, written by the same hand than M2.



Manuscript M1, fol. 8r. from: http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00036060/image_17

M2 and S, although none of them can be considered a copy of the other, are so similar in their readings that can be considered sister manuscripts, being both copies from a common exemplar (called X2 by Zimpel), which at its time was very closely related to the exemplar of M1 (called X1 by Zimpel).



Left: Manuscript M2, fol. 4r. Retrieved from:
<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00046499/images/index.html?>

Right: manuscript S, fol. 4v. Retrieved from:
<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0286/4/medium>

In a second branch, quite more developed and where a majority of cases the *lectio difficilior* occurs in the variants, come the following manuscripts,² listed roughly in chronological order:

² For a codicological and palaeographical descriptions of all the codices here quoted see ZIMPEL, 1996: 160-230, where the codices are listed in alphabetical order of the library where they are preserved.

1.4 P1 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 1938 (fols 172v-178v) (l, 1-2) and Lat. 2440 (the rest) (Identified as Ms. P by Knoepfler). Origin: second half of the 9th century, Bourges.

1.5 Fi Florenz, Bibl. Med. Laur., Ashburnham, 8 (43-9), Origin: third quarter of the 9th century, West Germany. The writing has symptoms that allow us to think of an Insular exemplar. In the case of this manuscript, we are indeed in front of a quite extraordinary version because it follows the so-called Redaction "F" in book I, 11-20 and 22-24 and book II, 2-15, and the original version in the rest.

1.6 K1 Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 110. Origin: end of the 9th century or beginning of the 10th, Cologne.

1.7 An Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 301 [292]. Origin: 10th century, Angers (St. Aubin).

1.8 P2 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 2399 (fols. 112r-183r) (Identified as P1 by Knoepfler). Origin: last quarter of the 11th century, Moissac.

1.9 P3 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 2441 (fols. 1r-51ra). Origin: 11th century.

1.10 P4 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 2442 (fols. 1r-52r). Origin: 11th century.

1.11 P5 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 2861. Origin: 12th century, maybe North-West France.

1.12 Av Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, 114. Origin: 12th century, Mont-St.-Michel.

Also within this branch, several of the surviving manuscripts can be grouped in pairs of sister manuscripts, copied from a common exemplar, now lost. These are Fi-K1 (copies of Zimpel's Y1'), An-Av (of Y6) and P3-P4 (of Y7). Of the rest, P2 is a sister of Y6 (that is, An-Av parent), both being descendant of a hypothetical Y5, which at its time would have been a sister manuscript of P1; and finally, P2 is so to say a sister of Y7 (parent of P3-P4). For a visual representation of the relations between manuscripts, one should resort to Zimpel's *stemma codicum*, inserted here as well. The need of Y1' rests on very few variants common in Fi and K1 that are absent from the rest of the manuscripts of this branch, all of which derive ultimately from Y1; on the other side, Y1' could not have been a direct copy of the archetype (A), because in a few cases the readings offered by X1 seem to be better than those of Y1-Y1', and if these two got the errors independently of each other it is necessary to suppose that they were already present in A, in which case

there is no way to explain the fact that X1 has the correct reading. Finally, it must be added that the copyist of Y7 inserted so many changes in the text that with hardly any exceptions its two daughter manuscripts (P3-P4) are rendered useless for any critical edition.

EXCERPTS AND FRAGMENTS

The existing excerpts and fragments and the chapters there contained are listed here:

2.1 Budapest, Landesbibliothek im Nationalmuseum, Lat. Med. Aev. 316 (fol. 52v) (I, 14-16 beginning). Origin: first half of the 9th century, Salzburg.

2.2 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F III 15 e (fols. 165-25v) (I, 32, 33; II, 1-8, 35, 36; I, 6; II, 32, 33, 23, 24, 47, 11 (this last not entirely) (Knoepfler's Ms. B). Origin: middle 9th century, most probably Fulda (Bischoff). Its hand shows Insular symptoms, and the text seems to be near X1 in the *stemma*.

2.3 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat 14716 (fols. 105r-118v) (excerpt of I, 21, 14-23). Origin: second half of the 9th century, maybe in the Fulda area. The text could be placed in the *stemma* after Y1 but before Y2 (Zimpele, 1996, p. 97, 248).

2.4 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 294 (fols. 101r-118r) (I, 1-24; II, 1-9, I, 26-30; II, 14, 15, 29, 17-24), although clearly in the Y side of the *stemma*, cannot come from below Y2. Origin: 10th-11th century. Ownership mark that could be of Lorsch.

2.5 Vatican, Archivio di S. Pietro, H 58 (fol. 129v) (excerpt of I, 30). Origin: around the year 1000, surroundings of Rome.

2.6 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 6425 (fols. 203r-208r) (extract of I, 14-23). Origin: first fourth of the 11th century, Freising. The text is also X1 related. 1023-1039, Freising.

2.7 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 421 (fols. 17-19) (excerpt of I, 15-23). Origin: 11th century.

2.8 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 4112 (fols. 129v-130v) (extract of I, 14-23). Origin: middle of the 12th century. The text is also X1 related.

2.9 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 1149 (fols. 1r-15v) (III, 1-2, 18-20, 26-37) belongs also to the Y side but further is not possible to establish. Origin: end of the 12th century, Esrom (Denmark).

2.10 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1640 (fols. 135v-136v) (l, 15-23) falls again in the X side. Origin: 12th century.

As far as it is possible to say, all these excerpts seem to follow the original redaction; however, it is possible that in those cases where the excerpted material is common to both the *De Institutione Clericorum* and the *De Sacris Ordinibus* the original source is the latter instead of the former work.

THE RHENISH RECENSION

In this version, chapter beginnings remain for the most part unaltered, but the text has been shortened, many Bible quotations omitted, and book III is missing altogether. In Düsseldorf, Trier, London and Cologne Dombibliothek book I,33 is complemented with the "Additio de Misa" consisting on extracts of Amalar's *Liber officialis* 3,31.

The manuscripts that have transmitted this redaction are listed below:

- 3.1 Düsseldorf, B 113 (fols. 6v-44r). Origin: second or third third of the 9th c., Rhineland (?).
- 3.2 Erfurt, 2° 64 (fols. 102r-107r) (up to l, 32). Origin: end of the 9th century, North-East France; provenience: Cologne.
- 3.3 Trier, 592/1578 (fol. 2r-38v). Origin: end of the 9th century, maybe St. Maximin of Trier.
- 3.4 Wölfenbüttel, 32 Helmst (fols. 117v-122r). Origin: beginning of the 11th century, probably Hildesheim.
- 3.5 Cologne, Dombibliothek, 81 (fol. 63r-64v) (l, 15-24, 33) (Knoepfler's Ms. C). Origin: 11th century, Lower Rhine.
- 3.6 London, Harley 101 (fols. 94r-119v). Origin: end of the 12th century, may be Germany; provenance: St Mary in Reading.
- 3.7 Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, W* 101 (fols. 55r-70v). Origin: end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century, Cologne (Benedictine abbey of St. Pantaleon).

Of all seven only Düsseldorf, Trier and London contain the whole version; the rest have gaps.

As for the determining variant readings, all the manuscripts of this Rhenish redaction fall in the Y side of the *stemma*, nearer K1 than any other existing manuscript.

THE "F" RECENSION

This recension, baptised as "F" by Knoepfler after manuscript Fulda, Aa 2, is the most widespread version of the *De Institutione Clericorum*, and the best represented since it has been preserved (at least partially) in not less than 22 manuscripts:

4.1 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 14754 (fols. 96r-118v) (I-III, 4, being the most complete manuscript of this version). Origin: second half of the 9th century, maybe Reichenau. Ownership mark: *Istum librum tradidit Longapertus ad S. Hemmeramum pro Tutone episcopo et pro remedio animae suae.*

4.2 St Paul im Lavanttal, Archiv des Benediktinerstiftes, 5/1 (fols. 150v-168v) (books I and II). The writing shows insular influence. Origin: second fourth or second third of the 9th century, Upper Italy; provenience: Reichenau and St. Blasien afterward.

4.3 Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Aa 2 (fols. 140v-151r) (book I, extremely summarized and II, 52, 53, 14, 15, 17, 19, 26, 28, 29, 32, 37, 41-46, 48) (Knoepfler's Ms. F). Origin: year 865 (entry "finit DCCCLXV" in fol. 126v), around Bodensee.

4.4 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 446 (pp. 74-79) (I, 14-24, 31-33). Origin: third fourth of the 9th, St. Gallen.

4.5 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 131 (fol. 50v-54v) (book I, 14-24, 31-33). Origin: end of the 9th century, South Germany, according to B. Bischoff.

4.6 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 140 (p. 340-343) (excerpt of I, 14-23). Origin: end of the 9th century.

4.7 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 676.2 Novi (fols. 1r-17v) (I, 1-33, II, 1-6, 11-19, 24-29, 31, 34-36. Origin: 9th-10th century; provenience: Braunschweig, Kollegiat-Stift.

4.8 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton, 290 (fols. 97v-98r) (book I, 25-29). Origin: second half of the 10th century, Upper Italy.

4.9 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 75 Weißenburg (fols. 19r-21r) (I, 24-31). Origin: second half of the 10th century, Weißenburg.

4.10 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 110 (pp. 82-87) (I, 14-24, 31-33). Origin: 11th century.

4.11 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 14581 (fols. 95v-97r) (I, 14-24, 31). Origin: 11th century, St.Emmeram/Regensburg.

4.12 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 2856 (fols. 80r-82v) (I, 14-24, 31-33). Origin: 11th century.

- 4.13 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1146 (fols. 18va-19rb, 55vb-58rb) (excerpts from I, 14-24, 31-33). Origin: 11th century, Italy.
- 4.14 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1147 (fols. 20va-21rb, 62va-65ra) (excerpts from I, 14-24, 31-33). Origin: 11th century, Central Italy.
- 4.15 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham Misc. 17 (fols. 18va-19rb, 58ra-vb, 60rb-va) (I, 14-24, 31-33). This codex is parallel to the Vaticanani Latini 1146, 1147 and 1148. Origin: second half of the 11th century, Middle Italy.
- 4.16 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 914 (fols. 11v-12v, 64v-68v) (excerpts from I, 14-24, 31-33). Origin: second half of the 11th century, Upper Italy.
- 4.17 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1761 (214v-216v) (I, 14-23). Origin: 11th-12th century.
- 4.18 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1148 (fols. 19rb-20va, 60rb-63ra) (excerpts from I, 14-24, 31-33). Origin: 12th century.
- 4.19 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 140 (fol. 19r) (book I, 31). Origin: 12th century.
- 4.20 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 21568 (fols. 79vb-89va) (I, 24-27). Origin: 12th century; provenience: Weißenstephan (Freising).
- 4.21 Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Cod. 1405 (fols. 37vb-38rb, 38rb-40rb) (I, 14-24, 31). Origin: 12th century, Central Italy: Umbria or Rome.
- 4.22 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 14993 (fols. 100r-103r) (I, 25-28, partially). Origin: 12-13th century, probably France or Upper Italy, maybe Vercelli; ownership mark of St. Victor of Paris.

This recension, which finishes in book III, chapter 4, is still more reduced than the Rhenish one. Some quite long text sections have been totally swept away or summarized in just few words, and the Bible quotations reduced to the minimum necessary; relative clauses are substituted by participles... Some chapters, like the very long last one about the heresies at the end of book II, have totally vanished. In some other cases, the material has been rearranged in order to economize space. One characteristic of Rabanus' style is to offer in the beginning of a chapter the overall explanatory terms and to come back afterward to the same concepts augmented with specific details.

The anonymous editor keeps the initial concept, but finishes it immediately with the same material provided by Rabanus, and then passes to the second concept, and so on. Surprisingly enough the four remaining chapters from book III are virtually identical to Rabanus' original composition.

As *terminus ante quem*, this recension was composed in year 865, the date of Ms. Fuldensis Aa 2, but this presupposes an earlier exemplar.

RABANUS' DE SACRIS ORDINIBUS

This adaptation of parts of materials performed by the same Rabanus when he had already been ordered Archbishop of Mainz for his Chorbishop Thiotmar, contains basically book I of the *De Institutione Clericorum* in its original fashion, to which some new chapters are added.

The *De Sacris Ordinibus* has been preserved in the following manuscripts:

- 5.1 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1073 (Knoefler's Ms. V). Origin: middle of the 9th century.
- 5.2 Metz, Bibliothèque-Médiathèque, 351 (fols. 1v-42r). Origin: second half of the 9th century; provenience: St. Arnulf of Metz.
- 5.3 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 14728 (fols. 49r-126v). Origin: 10th century; provenience: St. Emmeram/Regensburg.
- 5.4 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1050 (fols. 1v-40r). Origin: first half of the 12th century; provenience: Salzburg.
- 5.5 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, A 132 (fols. 1v-40r) (Knoefler's Ms. D). Origin: 12th c., Münstereifel.
- 5.6 London, British Library, Arundel 360 (fols. 32r-41v). Origin, 12th century,

In those passages taken from *De Institutione Clericorum*, the textual variants look to be akin to Y1.

THE ENGLISH CONNEXION

There are some excerpts that clearly do not belong to the main or original recension, but that have been transmitted within Archbishop Wulfstan's *Handbook*, which for its variant readings is quite far from the original tradition of the *De Institutione Clericorum* (SAUER, 1980: 341-384).

The list of the manuscripts that contain these excerpts is the following:

- 6.1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 190 (pp. 205-211) (II, 1-10).

Origin: first half of the 11th century, Exeter (England).

6.2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37 (fols. 37r-39r) (II, 1-10). Origin: end of the 12th century or beginning of the 13th, England, maybe Worcester.

6.3 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 265 (pp. 194-197) (excerpt of II, 1-7). Origin: 11th century, Worcester.

6.4 Cambridge, Pembroke College, 25 (fol. 159r-165v) (II, 1-10). Origin: 11th century, England (provenance: Bury).

LOST MANUSCRIPTS

To start with, we have lost Rabanus' archetype (7.1) (A in the *stemma codicum*). One could argue that it could have gone to Archbishop Haistulf, but that is improbable, mainly because Rabanus specifies in his prologue that he undertook the task of composing it to the benefit of the brothers preparing for receiving the holy orders, and besides he seems to have considered the *De Institutione* as a working text for himself, as is proven by the fact that he reused it for his *De Sacris Ordinibus*. Another question is if Rabanus' original manuscript ended up in Mainz when he was consecrated archbishop there, which is a quite reasonable thought, but comes up against the fact that in its variants *De sacris ordinibus* agrees with the readings of Y1, and therefore one should conclude that Rabanus left the original in Fulda and took with him a copy of the "Y" branch (which we shall consider as 7.2).

Mainz must have had also at least the copy that Rabanus gave to Archbishop Haistulf (7.4), maybe on the occasion of the consecration of the new church in Fulda, on November the first 819. And we have already speculated with the idea that Rabanus could have taken another copy with him when he was ordained archbishop in that see.

From comparing the existing manuscripts, we already came to mention some others that have perished, but whose existence is needed to justify the differences in the readings of the surviving ones. Here are they listed, together with the few hints that can be added in relation to their date and place of origin.

7.4 X1. Must have been in Fulda, since there it served as the model for M1. In spite of being a very early copy, almost contemporary to Rabanus' original manuscript, it was a careless one.

7.5 X2. Copied from X1 also in a very early stage, since served as a model for M2 and S, that are dated in the second quarter of the 9th century; and because these two were written in Regensburg, we can

pose the hypothesis that either it was copied in Fulda and shortly after exported to Regensburg, or copied in Regensburg from an exemplar borrowed from Fulda.

7.6 Y1. Copied at a very early stage, and probably directly from A, was indubitably a very good copy, almost error-free (ZIMPEL, 1996: 99, can only find three readings that presumably were more accurate in X1 than in Y1), and its writing must have had Insular elements, for which cannot go further than the middle years of the 9th century, and for the same reason it must come from one of the Irish or Anglo-Saxon monastic foundations in the Continent, and Fulda still is the most reasonable place to consider.

7.7 Y1'. Must have shown still some Insular influence in its palaeography (ZIMPEL, 1996: 95, 175f, 179-181, 267), what is already a clue of its early origin, probably still in the first half of the 9th century, although if this comes from having being copied in a scriptorium with Insular influence or it is just consequence of a slavish copying process from its model we cannot say. Because it is the parent of Fi (West Germany, 9th c. 2/2) and K1 (Cologne, 9th c. ex. or 10th c. in.) we could venture that it was already native from the Rhenish area or at least that it had traveled there to serve as (partial) model for Fi still before the end of the 9th century. Zimpel (1996: 240-241) cautiously adds that it is possible that this manuscript could have been among the losses that the Cathedral library of Cologne suffered after Hittorp's edition, since he specifies that he had used two manuscripts from the Cathedral Library of Cologne and that none of them contained the "Additio de missa" (1996:148-149).

7.8 Y2. Probably not later than 850, since P1 is from the second half of the 9th century, and between Y2 and P1 is at least Y3. Regretfully, its birthplace must remain unknown.

7.9 Y3. In any case must have been copied before the P1, which dates from the second half of the 9th century. Because P1 comes from Bourges, its model must at least being there at a certain point of its existence, and because all its existing descendants (An, Av, P5) are of French origin Y3 must have remained on French floor, at least to be copied for Y5 as well.

7.10 Y4. Zimpel places it in the *stemma codicum* somewhat earlier than year 900, and because in the 11th century in Moissac it served as an exemplar for P2, must have made its way to it between ca. 900 and ca.1000; it is therefore not abusive to pose for it a French.

7.11 Y5: As exemplar for P5 and Y6, was surely older than An,

which is itself from the 10th century. Its only surviving descendant is P5, native maybe of the North-West area of France, although of the 12th century. If – as we have ventured – its model (Y3) was already French, so Y5 must have been as well.

7.12 Y6. As parent manuscript of An must have been in existence somewhat after year 900. Again it must have been French if again our supposition of a French origin for Y5 and Y3 is correct.

7.13 Y7. This was quite a defective copy, or its copyist took too many liberties in the process. Zimpel places it in time shortly after the year 1000, but nothing can be ascertained in relation to its birthplace.

7.14 And there must have been more copies in Fulda or in its surroundings, apart from the defective ones in the X side of the *stemma codicum*, since Munich, Lat. 14716 (that according to Bischoff could have been copied in the area of Fulda) has to be located somewhere between Y1 and Y2.

And finally it is still possible to recover a handful of dispersed pieces of information about some other copies that are now lost:

7.15 Humbert of Würzburg refers to the *De Institutione Clericorum* in a letter sent to Rabanus (MGH, Ep. 5, *Epistolae Karolini aevi III*, pp. 439-440). Obviously it was a complete version, and also obviously from the 9th century. Given the fact that Humbert shows a true enthusiasm, we may take for granted that he owned a copy, which might have been done in Würzburg or anywhere else. Because of the dates it is not impossible that Humbert's copy is indeed our M2 or S, but this doesn't seem very probable, and therefore we count it among the lost manuscripts.

7.16 Among the books listed in Sankt-Gallen in 841-872 is a *Rhabani de Ordinibus Ecclesiasticis*. (LEHMAN, 1918: 89), which must have been a copy of the *De Sacris Ordinibus*. Again, it is not impossible that this book is actually Viena, Österreichische National bibliothek, 1073, but it is not probable.

7.17 The library catalog of Lorsch, from the end of the 9th century, also mentions a manuscript of the *De Institutione Clericorum* (BECKER, 1885: 82; KOTTJE, 1975: 542).

7.18 Rebdorf (diocese Eichstätt) mentions a *De Institutione Clericorum*, together with some other works of Rabanus' in its catalog of around 1500 (RUF, 1933: 300).

7.19 Corvey owned a miscellaneous manuscript that among other

titles included the *De Institutione Clericorum*. In 1783 was still existing, as Joh. Bapt. Enheuber could see it (LEHMAN, 1962: 128).

7.20 A *Rabanus De Institutione Clericorum* is listed in the catalog of the *Bibliotheca monasterii cuiusdam Anglici*, of the 12th century. From the meager information offered by this list it is not possible to ascertain anything about the age or homeland of this manuscript, but it is still a good proof that the complete recension of the *De Institutione Clericorum* (and not just Wulfstan's recension) was known in England in the 12th century, if not earlier.

7.21 St. Maximin of Trier had around 1100 a *Rabanus de ecclesia catholica* (BECKER, 1885: 180), which probably was a copy of the *De Institutione Clericorum*, although it is not impossible that it was a *De Sacris Ordinibus* or even *De Ecclesiastica Disciplina*.

7.22 It is assumable that the *Rab' de sacramentis et sententiae quaedam* in 1^o vol. owned by Prüfening (Regensburg) in 1158 (BECKER, 1885: 213) was also a *De Institutione Clericorum*.

7.23 In the 12th century, Steinfeld owned what would seem a *Liber de Sacris Ordinibus* (BECKER, 1885: 218).

7.24 Constance in 1343 had a *liber parvus de litera antiqua de ordinacione clericorum et baptisteriorum* (LEHMAN, 1918:197). By no means is it sure that it was a *De Institutione*, but it is not impossible either.

RECEPTION OF THE *DE INSTITUTIONE CLERICORUM*

The mere existence of the Rhenish recension and the recension F of the *De Institutione Clericorum* points already in the direction that our treatise was considered as a study book widely accepted, at least in sacramental and ecclesiastical matters. It should be therefore surprising if our author did not exert some influence on later authors also concerned with educational issues within the ranks of the Catholic hierarchy.

Some of the authors that show this influence as listed in the following lines:³

8.1 Pseudo-Bede's *De septem ordinibus*, included in the second part his *Exerptiones partum, flores ex diversis quaestiones et parabola*, which is a varied assortment of queries,⁴ a short piece about the clerical

3 Unless something else is mentioned, these lines are taken from Zimpel (1996: 113-139), where some readings are also compared. However some short indications have been added here in order to place the authors in their geo-temporal context.

dress drawn apparently from recension "F" –although there is still a possibility that the "F" recension draws from Pseudo-Bede, and not the other way around (ZIMPEL, 1996: 113-116)–. Bayles and Lapidge (1998) have dated this part after 820, judging on the inclusion in it of some passages taken from Amalarius of Metz's *Liber officialis*, but the piece has been dated at different points between the 8th and the 12th century.

8.2 John the Deacon in his *Epistula ad Senarium*⁵ quotes *De Institutione* I, 29. Here however hides another problem, because we do not know if the "Johannes Diaconus" author of the *Epistula* is a Roman deacon borne around 824, maybe monk of Motecassino and friend of Anastasius the Librarian's, or rather Pope John I (523-526) (*Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Johannes diaconus), in which case the borrowing must have taken the opposite direction.

8.3 The French noblewoman Dhuoda could have borrowed the etymology of *scopeo* from *De Institutione* I,5 (NEEL, 1991: 126, n. 156 to p. 39).

8.4 Cod. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 2449 is a collection of canons copied in Lyon at the end of the 9th century or beginnings of the 10th, which contains as well a short explanation of the episcopate influenced by *De Institutione* (REYNOLDS, 1975: 321-332; ZIMPEL, 1996: 117).

8.5 Archbishop's Wulfstan's *Handbook*, composed for the use of parish priests in hearing confession and determining penances in the early 11th century (HEYWORTH: 2007; SAUER: 1980), contains among many other materials excerpts of book II of the *De Institutione* (see also above under the paragraph "The English connexion").

8.6 Gerbert of Aurillac, in his *Libellus de corpore et sanguine domini* draws brief paraphrases from I,31 (ZIMPEL, 1996: 119). They are so short that do not constitute a real proof of Gerbert's acquaintance with Rabanus, but on the other side can be taken as a hint of the wide acceptance of Rabanus' handbook in clerical circles.

8.7 The *Liber Quare* (ed. G.P. GÖTZ: 1983) that originated in the surroundings of the school of St. Anselm of Laon (ca. 1050-1117), con-

4 It was included by Johann Herwagen in his edition of Bede's *Opera* of Basel, 1563 (vol. 3, pp. 647-674), and later in Migne's PL 94, col. 539-562A. The most recent edition is due to Martha Bayless and Michael Lapidge (*Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 14, Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1998). It is certainly not Bede's, but further is not possible to precise, and actually it has been dated between the 8th and the 12th century.

5 Ed. Migne, PL 59, cols. 399-408, and more recently A. Wilmart, *Analecta Reginensia*, Studi e Testi 59, Vatican City, 1933, 19662, pp. 170-179.

tains in its original recension some quotations from the *De Institutione*, that have been augmented in the later recension "T", from around 1200. For example, *Additio* 29 follows closely *De Institutione* I, 14-23. Zimpel (1996: 124) points out to the possibility that this text could have been drawn not directly from the *De Institutione Clericorum*, but from Pseudo-Bede (ZIMPEL, 1996: 123-125).

8.8 In his *De Sancta Trinitate* Rupert of Deutz (Liège, ca. 1075-1129) quotes Rabanus' *De Institutione Clericorum* I,7 (ZIMPEL, 1996: 125).

8.9 Ivo of Chartres' (ca. 1040-1115) *Decretum* and *Panormia* quote again from *De Institutione* I, 25 and 27-30 (ZIMPEL, 1996: 126-127). Since Ivo is claimed to have studied at the Abbey of Bec, one tends to suspect that his acquaintance with Rabanus comes through Anselm of Laon.

8.10 Alger of Liège (1055-1131) (also known as Alger of Cluny and *Algerus Magister*) might have read *De Institutione* or parts of it for his *De Sacramentis*, although this is by no means sure.

8.11 Gratian's *Decretum*, written probably in Bologna in the 12th century, quotes Rabanus' work no less than seven times by name and title, especially from book I, caps. 25, 27, 29 and 30 (ZIMPEL, 1996: 126).

8.12 Peter Lombard's *Sententiarum libri IV* quotes certainly from *De Institutione* I, 25 and 30, and probably also from II, 6 and 8 (ZIMPEL, 1996: 127-128).

8.13 Alexander of Hales' *Summa (Alexandri de Hales Summa Theologica*, ed. PERANTONI, 1948:144) uses material from the *De Institutione*, and even uses Rabanus as an authority in the typical *quaestio* structure, even against St. Augustine (ZIMPEL, 1996: 128).

8.14 Albertus Magnus' *Commentary on the Sentences of the Lombard* quotes Rabanus in relation to baptism and exorcisms (ZIMPEL, 1996: 128-130).

8.15 Thomas of Aquinas' *Summa* mentions Rabanus by name almost 400 times, fewer times less for example than Isidore of Seville, and also in his *Catena aurea in Mattheum*. Surely got Aquinas acquainted with Rabanus during the time he studied under Albertus Magnus in Cologne (ZIMPEL, 1996: 130-133).

8.16 Guilelmus Durantis uses again Rabanus *De Institutione* in his *Rationale* (1286), in the part dedicated to baptism (ZIMPEL, 1996: 133-134).

8.17 Durandus de St. Porciano, at the beginning of the 14th century, uses also some paragraphs, but most probably he quotes indirectly, with Gratian's *Decretum* as his primary source (ZIMPEL, 1996: 134).

8.18 Gabriel Biel (Speyer ca. 1429- 1495) draws from the *De Institutione* in his works *Collectorium circa quattuor libros Sententiarum* and *Canonis misse expositio* (ZIMPEL, 1996: 134-136).

CONCLUSION: RECEPTION OF THE *DE INSTITUTIONE CLERICORUM*

Rabanus work must have had an almost immediate reception in many ecclesiastical institutions of the Carolingian empire. To start with, its success is made evident by the mere existence of different recensions, since, besides the original one we have encountered the so-called Rhenish and "F" recensions together with Archbishop Wulfstan's. And to those we must add the re-elaboration performed by Rabanus for his *De Sacris Ordinibus*, and in a lesser measure for his *De Ecclesiastica Disciplina*. In the same direction points the abundance of excerpts and fragments and reminiscences in later authors.

As a consequence of this success, the diffusion of the *De Institutione Clericorum* was fast and broad from the first years after its composition, as prove the more than one hundred witnesses mentioned in the previous pages.

Fulda and Mainz were the original nucleus from which the *De Institutione Clericorum* disseminated, and especially Fulda, because together with Rabanus' original (7.1) and the copy that he presented to archbishop Histulf (7.2), we still have manuscript M1 (1.1), which was copied in that scriptorium, which in spite of being a pretty careless copy, it was made in the first third of the 9th century, and also the excerpts 2.2 from the middle years of the same century and the slightly later 2.3; and from Fulda were also the now lost X1 (7.4), Y1 (7.6), and 7.14, all from the 9th century as well.

Then, from Fulda, Rabanus' work spread very quickly and with considerable success across the Carolingian empire. Traveling to the South-West, the *De Institutione Clericorum* arrived at Regensburg, where it was copied several times from the second quarter of the 9th century, and that is the origin of the tween manuscripts M2 (1.2) and S (1.3). St. Emmeram also had copies of the *De Sacris Ordinibus* (5.3) in the 10th century, and of the "F" recension in the 11th (4.11), and Prüfening was in possession of a complete *De Institutione* in the 12th (7.22).

On its way to Regensburg, or maybe from there, our book came to the hands of bishop Humbert of Würzburg (7.15), who, given the enthusiasm he shows for it, must have used it for the education of his clerics. And still in the same general direction and within the limits of the 9th century, the *De Institutione Clericorum* reached Salzburg because it was excerpted there (2.1) at some point before year 850.

To the North, the *De Institutione Clericorum* was adapted in the so-called Rhenish recension not later than 850 because 3.1 is from the second third

(or at most the third third) of the 9th century. And the same recension was copied in Trier (3.3) and Cologne (3.2), and both copies are from the 9th century too (apart from several others that come from the 13th century), but the original text was also known in this area, at least in Cologne, in the 10th century (1.6).

Also from Fulda, or maybe from Mainz, the text traveled to the South. It was in Lorsch before the end of the 9th century (7.16), and somewhere in that area it was reworked and abbreviated in the "F" recension, since its oldest witnesses come from Bodensee (4.3), Reichenau (4.1), Sankt-Gallen (4.4) and other centers of South Germany (4.5, 4.6), and finally it arrived in Upper Italy (4.2).⁶

To the West of Mainz the dissemination seems to have been somewhat slower, but in any case, Fi (1.5) was there as early as the third quarter of the 9th century, after suffering some reorganization of the materials. And still within the limits of the 9th century we find the *De institutione* in Trier, in the so-called Rhenish recension (3.3) and Metz (5.2) (actually these two cases are copies of the *De Sacris Ordinibus*).

Still further to the South-West, we find copies in Bourges (P1 O 1.4) and Lyon (8.4), and it is possible that it was in this area where the noble lady Dhuoda (8.4) had the chance to read it. But there are more pieces of evidence of the presence of the *De Institutione* on French floor already in the 9th century (Y3=7.9).

During the 10th, in spite of all its turbulence and convulsions, the *De Institutione Clericorum* kept on spreading although not so spectacularly.

To the North, it reached Braunsweig (4.7), and Rheims, in France, where Gerbert of Aurillac could see it (8.6),⁷ and also Angers (An=1.7) and Moissac (Y4=7.10).

Y6 (7.12) can also be considered of French origin and from the 10th century.

However, the most significant advance was to the South, since the book is found in North Italy (4.8), to reach Rome at some point near the year 1000 (2.5).

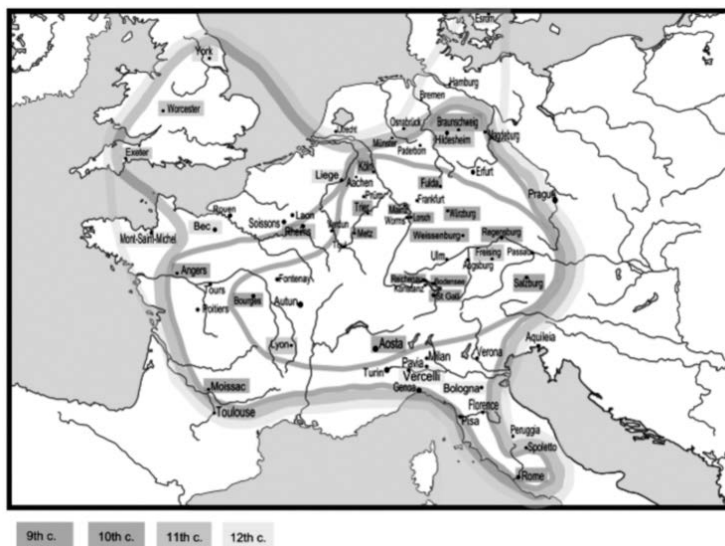
Then, in the 11th century, we find many instances of the *De Institutione Clericorum* in the already mentioned areas, but especially it advanced in direction North-West: Liege, where we find it in the hands of Rupert of Deutz

6 In the map this manuscript has been assigned to Aosta simply for convenience, but its place of origin can be any other center of this area.

7 To be honest, it is impossible to ascertain that Gerbert had known the *De Institutione* directly, and if so if he had seen it in Rheims, but this is the most plausible possibility, seems Catalonia seems too far away from the primordial diffusion area of the *De Institutione*.

(8.8), and Bec (8.7, 8.9),⁸ and, of course, in England, where it was used by Archbishop Wulfstan of York, and were another brand of the transmission is found (6.1-6.4).

Finally, in the 12th century, Rabanus' text had arrived in Esrom, in Denmark (2.9).



ADDENDA: EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE *DE INSTITUTIONE CLERICORUM*

Georgius Simler

The first printed edition of the *De Institutione Clericorum* came to light in as soon as 1504 in Pforzheim. The early date can be taken as a token of the esteem Rabanus Maurus held in. The complete title was: *Rabani Mauri Archiepiscopi Maguntini De Institutione Clericorum opusculum aureum*.

But for this edition Georg Simler used mainly Codex Düsseldorf, B 113, and

8 That St. Anselm had seen the *De institutione clericorum* in Bec is an assumption based on the fact that Ivo of Chartres studied there with St. Anselm. It seems therefore a more "economic" option than considering that St. Anselm and Ivo had 'known the *De institutione* independently from each other.

Trier, 592/1578, which does not transmit Rabanus' original recension, but the so-called Rhenish recension, but because the manuscripts on which he based his edition do not contain an otherwise characteristic alteration in chapter 1,32, it is also missing in it. And because his manuscript contained the "Additio de missa," it is also in Simler's edition.

But Georg Simler did not publish just one edition of the *De Institutione*, but two. Scarcely one year after the first one had left the presses, Simler came to another manuscript that transmitted Rabanus' original recension and published it in 1505 with the title of *Hrabani Mauri De Institutione Clericorum libri tres*, also in Pforzheim.

The manuscript that served Simler as a reference for this second edition is not known. It certainly had a peculiar arrangement of the preliminary pieces, and for its readings, it was very close to Y2 in the *stemma codicum* (ZIMPEL, 1996: 144-145). If it contained the "Additio de missa" is another question. It was certainly included in this 1505 edition, but Simler knew it from the previous one; therefore, if he found it in his exemplar or took it from the Rhenish recension will remain in the darkness.

Johannes Prael

A new edition of the *De Institutione* appeared Cologne in 1532, this time Johannes Prael and under the title of *Rabani Mauri Maguntinensis Archiepiscopi de clericorum institutione et sermone et ceremoniis Ecclesiae, ex Veteri et Novo Testamento, ad Heistulphum Archiepiscopum libri III*.

For his edition Prael used a now lost manuscript very near the archetype that in its variants was also very close to the present K1, although the preliminary pieces were in a different order: preface to the brethren of Fulda, dedication to archbishop Haistulf and list of chapters (ZIMPEL, 1996: 146-147). However, Prael used K1 as well, and therefore his edition doesn't make possible to reconstruct that lost manuscript.

Melchior Hittorp

The next edition is due to Melchior Hittorp who published in Cologne in 1568 his *De divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae officiis ac ministeriis, varii vetustorum aliquot ecclesiae Patrum ac Scriptorum libri* (309-382).

In the prologue to this edition, Hittorp specifies that in order to reconstruct Rabanus' text he used, together with the already existing editions, two manuscripts from the Cathedral library of Cologne, none of which had the "Additio de missa," which he must have therefore taken from Prael or Simler. Now, the only manuscript with this characteristic that survives in Cologne

is Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 110; therefore one must assume that the other one has perished, and that regretful event must have taken place already before 1752, since it is not mentioned in the 1752 catalog of the Cathedral Library of Cologne (HUIŠH, 1752). And as in the case of Prael's edition, it is not possible to reconstruct that lost manuscript from Hittorp's, because also used the pre-existing editions, and he doesn't specify how. The only thing that can be ascertained is that it must have had some readings similar to those of the origins of the X branch of the *stemma* (ZIMPEL, 1996: 148-149).

Hittorp's text was reprinted in 1591 in Rome by Ferrari and in 1610 and 1624 in Paris, in the latter occasion under the title *De divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae officii et mysteriis, varii vetustorum aliquot ecclesiae Patrum ac Scriptorum libri*, and then the same text was used again in the *Magna Bibliotheca veterum patrum* (Paris, 1644).

George Colvener

The next edition went in charge of George Colvener in 1626/27. Again he took as a departure point a manuscript of the Y side of the *stemma*, although it is difficult to ascertain which one, but he relied heavily on Prael's edition (ZIMPEL, 1996: 150-151).

Colvener's edition was reprinted with very scarce and small modifications in the *Patrologia Latina* of Migne (vol. 107, cols. 293-420A).

Alois Knoepfler

The first proper critical edition is that of Alois Knoepfler of Munich, 1900. Knoepfler not only used all the manuscripts known in his time (except Fi), but he also provides a critical apparatus and a study of the sources. It is good enough to have served as a standard reference for almost a hundred years.

Detlev Zimpel

The latest edition is due to Detlev Zimpel and saw the light in 1996. Zimpel's is a meticulous work that taking K1 as *Leithandschrift*, uses all the previous editions as well as all the manuscripts available, including those that in the time of Knoepfler were not known, and provides all the variant readings as well as a *stemma codicum* and a detailed analysis of the sources.

Unless we had the fortune of finding a new codex still unknown which turned to be really very close to the archetype, it is difficult to think off a more exact edition than this one.

Translations

To our knowledge, up to this moment, *De Institutione Clericorum* has been translated to three modern languages.

The first translation, to Italian, is due to Luigi Samarati (2002). It was made taking as departure point Detlev Zimpel's edition of 1996 and is preceded by a brief introduction (p. 5-19) with a summary of Rabanus' biography and a sketch of his work. This text adds as well a simplified *apparatus fontium* and some explanatory notes.

The second translation, to German, is due to Detlez Zimpe (2006). It is actually a bilingual edition in Latin and German on a double page setting, with the Latin text (which is identical to the edition of 1996) at the left and the German translation at the right. Although the *apparatus fontium* reproduces the one included in the edition of 1996, it also has some new additions, but the critical apparatus is missing. The introduction reproduces as well the introduction from the edition of 1996.

Finally, the third translation, into Spanish, is due to the same author of this article and was the Ph. D. dissertation defended in the Madrid, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED) in 2014. It comes also in a double page setting, with the Latin text on the left page and the Spanish translation on the right page. The critical apparatus included is for the most part taken from Zimpel (with his approval), but it has been simplified, although the variant readings from the most important editions have been added. The Spanish text is accompanied by explanatory notes that deal in depth with subjects that are not easily understandable by the modern reader, and everything is preceded by a lengthy introductory study. In brief, this work will be published by the Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, in Madrid.

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