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The Glosses of the Murbach Hymns
A Study on Syntax and Language Use in Old High German

Short Abstract

The aim of this study is to systematically determine the linguistic and visual structures that constitute how Old High German glosses transmit information about linguistic features of the vernacular. Vernacular glosses are a unique linguistic phenomenon as they link between the main written language of the Middle Ages, Latin, and the mostly spoken Old High German. Since I argue that the pragmatic nature of glosses requires also an analysis of their material context, I developed a model that combines historical linguistics and manuscript studies, i.e. a functional net consisting of three interacting levels. Firstly, glosses are vertically related to their Latin lemma which they translate. Secondly, they are horizontally linked to each other in syntactic structures. Thirdly, they were written in a way that visually expresses linguistic features. I analysed the Murbach Hymns (MS. Junius 25, Oxford, Bodleian Library), a ninth-century interlinear version, in order to illustrate the characteristics of the functional net. Their glosses have been the subject of numerous studies regarding their cultural background and vocabulary but their significance for further areas of linguistic research has been doubted since they closely follow the Latin text. My analysis shows that the glosses were consistently based on the vernacular within the limitations of the main text. They provide valuable insights into Old High German linguistics. The three levels interact with each other, demonstrating incipient writing conventions and an intuitive implementation of linguistic knowledge. Taking into account the codicological context and history of the Murbach Hymns, my study determined that their glosses were an elaborate teaching aid designed to illustrate how the linguistic systems of Latin and Old High German function.



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The Glosses of the Murbach Hymns

A Study on Syntax and Language Use in Old High German

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Abstract

Old High German glosses are a unique phenomenon as they provide linguistic information about the vernacular in close relation to a source text. To comprehensively assess them, I have determined the net of structures in which they are embedded and which forms the foundation of their function as study aids. Glosses relate vertically to their lemma as a translation, but they also form horizontal syntactic relationships and have linguistically meaningful visual characteristics. They can only be understood fully when they are regarded within this functional net, i.e. in relation to their main text, to each other, and to the material aspects of their medium. In the present study, I used this novel approach which combines linguistic and manuscript studies to analyse the interlinear version of the Murbach Hymns (MS. Junius 25, Oxford, Bodleian Library). The glosses are one of the oldest sources of Old High German dating back to the beginning of the ninth century. Although they have been extensively studied, their significance for linguistic research has been questioned. In my thesis, I demonstrate that the continuous glossing of the interlinear version facilitated the expression of vernacular linguistic features, resulting in glosses of greater value than has historically been thought. Their function determined how the different structural levels of syntactic, translational, and visual features interact.

My study is based on the pragmatic nature of glosses. For centuries, scholars have discussed vernacular glosses as isolated lexical sources. Only recently have they begun to acknowledge the significance of their textual and historical context. This methodological shift incorporates the idea that glosses are bound to their function. I characterise them as paratext which, even though the concept was developed for modern literature, is helpful in approximating their particular features. Paratext does not function independently but rather in relation to its primary text. This dependence is particularly evident in the context of glosses which were only intended to be viewed alongside their corresponding lemmas. Therefore, I propose that glosses should not be considered separate from their pragmatic context. While paratext refers to the pragmatic foundation of glosses that determined their creation and use, methodologically, glosses can be classified as hypertext because they were derived directly from the Latin text as translations. To counter the claim that translating glosses are linguistically deficient in some way, as often voiced in gloss research, I define ‘translation’ neutrally as a transfer from one language into another. This theoretical classification describes the first structural relation of glosses, their vertical relationship to their source text.

Although glosses are rooted in the main text, they could depart from it. Because vernacular glosses were created using the vernacular language system, they rendered lemmas into adequate vernacular forms based on the gloss function. They are evidence of natural language use, which I define

as automatic use of linguistic features based on language knowledge. However, I argue that this principle applies not only to individual translations but also to larger syntactic structures that emerge. In theory, all types of glosses, interlinear versions, text glosses, or glossaries, could have originated from virtual syntax as the glossators conceptualised them according to the vernacular linguistic system. Interlinear versions such as the Murbach Hymns offer even more opportunities to establish syntactic relationships. Because glosses are paratext, their visual appearance on the page establishes their relation to the Latin, but as I determined, also their link to each other. Continuous glossing of interlinear versions has a specifically high visual potential which is even reflected in modern editions that consider glosses as independent text. This is the second structural relation of the functional net. As glosses strongly rely on their appearance on the page, continuous glosses facilitated the creation of vernacular syntactic structures.

Glosses are not only a pragmatic phenomenon but also a practical one. I chose the term 'practical' to define the tangible circumstances of writing glosses as opposed to 'pragmatic' as a linguistic category. How they were written on the page was determined by the scribe's intentions, but also by practical matters such as the position of the main text and the quality of the parchment. The appearance of glosses was therefore influenced by a glossator who used their visuality to convey information but also by the characteristics of their medium. In order to include the practical context of glossing in my approach, I have set the visual realisation of glosses as the third level of their functional net. It incorporates manuscript studies into the linguistic analysis. In this way, glosses are recognised as a result of their historical circumstances and the material aspects of the manuscript are considered. Since medieval manuscripts were not created as finished objects but were edited, corrected, and rebound over centuries, it is necessary to take into account the history of their making to analyse them comprehensively. As for glosses, they were not limited to the boundaries of their main text. Gloss strata could overlap, gloss more than one text, or refer to only one section of a text. I define a gloss stratum as being written by one scribe with one writing instrument at a single point in time. Each of these practical aspects could have affected the process of glossing and the pragmatic features of the glosses. Because the scribe has the greatest influence on the characteristics of glosses, I included several work steps in one stratum if I could identify them as having been written by the same scribe. Therefore, I can assume that the determined gloss strata represent basic functional units.

To apply the theoretical considerations in the analysis of my case study, I developed clear methodological approaches. The basic units by which glosses should be considered are gloss strata because they take into account possible practical factors. Gloss strata can be determined by palaeographic analysis, however, since glosses did not follow a defined script but were subject to influences on the page, the methods need to be adapted. I followed the guidelines that in glosses, the ductus of the letters, i.e. how they were composed, and the writing instrument and ink are more

important in identifying hands than the general aspect. I further concluded that in interlinear versions, the continuously written glosses could gradually change their shape as the scribes progressed with the glossing. This method allowed me to establish the foundation for the linguistic analysis.

Each of the interacting levels that make up the functional net is linked to the pragmatic nature of glosses. Therefore, this aspect is crucial in approaching them methodologically. In particular, the vertical relationship between gloss and lemma needed to be examined more closely in the context of vernacular gloss research, as 'translation' has so far been seen either as a possible function of a gloss or as a judgment about its quality, neither of which fully captures the characteristics of glosses. I chose to use a functional approach to translation, the Skopos theory, which puts the intended purpose, aim, and function of a translation, i.e. 'skopos', in the focus. It concurs with my definition of glosses in that it sees translation, like the concept of hypertext, neutrally as a transfer between sign systems determined by the skopos. The skopos decides which aspects of the translation are equivalent to the source text. Therefore, in order to identify the function or skopos of a gloss, it is necessary to determine the features that are equivalent to the lemma. This process is methodologically similar to previous gloss research, which observes the similarities and differences with the main text, but by using the Skopos theory I was able to analyse the glosses precisely without evaluating their quality.

The syntactic structures of glosses need to be analysed on a similar basis. Since text glosses have mostly been regarded by scholars as detached from a syntactic context, they have not been considered to contain information about vernacular syntax. Interlinear versions, on the other hand, visually express horizontal structures, which, because of their proximity to the Latin, were also seen as insufficient for research on the vernacular. I proposed that glosses, and interlinear versions in particular, are a unique medium which is based on vernacular syntax, but because they work differently from text, their syntactic analysis needs to be adapted accordingly. In the basics of my analysis, I follow the methods applied in research, which is comparing glosses with their lemmas, since departures from the main text signal a shift towards vernacular linguistics. However, I also took into account glosses that appeared to copy the primary text as potentially containing vernacular syntax, in order to determine whether the glosses were embedded in larger structures. This approach resulted in a comprehensive view of the syntactic structures on which the glosses were built.

The third level of the functional net, the visual characteristics of glosses, could only be analysed by looking at the original manuscript. Due to the limitations of print editions, glosses could and can often only be published separately from their material context. However, since glosses and their functionality are closely tied to their visual appearance, it is necessary to regard them as they appear in the manuscript. To take their visuality into account, I analysed the main visual characteristics of the gloss strata separately which allowed me to identify graphic patterns. Furthermore, each analysis of

the vertical and horizontal structures was combined with an analysis of their graphic realisation. In this way, I was able to show possible links between the visual and linguistic features, which was necessary as the practical limitations of the medium could have influenced the linguistic outcome.

I applied these methodological approaches in the analysis of my case study. First, I identified seven gloss strata. The Murbach Hymns are commonly divided into two parts, Ha and Hb, which were written at different times and in different places. My findings specify this distinction and show that the first part stems from at least six hands, while the second part goes beyond the Hymns and includes other texts in the manuscript. On this basis, I analysed the glosses of the Murbach Hymns at the levels of visual characteristics, translation methods, and syntactic patterns, and determined how they interact to express linguistic information. The results show that in each stratum of the Murbach Hymns, the three levels of the functional net influence each other to emphasise the information conveyed by the gloss. The different hands have individual characteristics but also show universal patterns. I established that the vertical level is the foundation of the gloss stratum. It forms the framework of the glosses, dependent on the Latin text, from which the glosses would depart to incorporate additional information. By finding equivalences and differences between the glosses and their lemmas, I determined their individual skopoi and found that they operate on several levels: lexis, morphology, grammar, semantics, visuality, and syntax. Glosses could be adjusted at these levels to emphasise either source or target language features. Each gloss stratum has a main skopos, which is linked to linguistics but also to the practical circumstances of glossing, for example the creation of a model page. The skopoi of individual glosses, however, could vary greatly within a stratum.

With regard to horizontal structures, I found that the extent to which larger syntactic associations were built depended on the main skopos of the strata, but that vernacular syntax could be implemented even within small phrases. This outcome shows that most glosses were conceptualised as embedded in syntactic structures. The formation of horizontal structures weakened the vertical relationships between lemma and gloss, but supported specific skopoi, for example to emphasise Old High German linguistics or to convey the meaning of the gloss and its lemma. Vernacular syntax could therefore facilitate the production of a functional translation. I could further demonstrate that even when the glosses appeared to copy the Latin, they could still contain vernacular syntactic characteristics. Within the limits of the translational relationship between the glosses and the main text, the glossators used the visual potential of the interlinear version to create Old High German syntactic structures that served the function of the glosses.

While vertical and horizontal structures are closely intertwined and in some cases difficult to consider separately, I found that the visual features of the glosses were a more independent part of the functional net. They often clarified the relationship between glosses and their lemmas or the

syntactic structures, but they could also add information about vernacular phonology without being influenced by any of the other functional levels. Instead, their implementation was more motivated by the natural use of Old High German. By including the material properties in the linguistic analysis, I demonstrated that the process of glossing had a significant impact on the functional net. Gloss strata that were less carefully written palaeographically had less complex glossing methods than other strata and could be assigned the main skopos of elucidating the source text and language. This function may be due to faster writing as it was probably less time-consuming to follow the main text closely than to create independent glosses. However, other visual characteristics were more likely to be expressed when the scribes glossed efficiently. During glossing, how glosses were pronounced was intuitively implemented in graphical features which shows that it was closely linked to the natural use of Old High German.

The levels of the functional net interact and influence each other. It was therefore difficult to consider them separately in individual chapters. However, it was only by analysing them individually that I was able to assess where exactly they overlap and how they work together. Furthermore, I identified consistent patterns of use on all three levels, which are evidence of evolving writing conventions. The glosses of the Murbach Hymns were a first step in the process of exploring Old High German and developing a natural knowledge of the language into systematic structures on the model of Latin. As their codicological context suggests, the Hymns were a study aid for Latin and theology at the higher levels of education. The close analysis of the glosses, however, demonstrates that they were also written to educate in the linguistic structures of the vernacular. The glossators used their linguistic knowledge of both Latin and Old High German to produce a translation that bridges between the two and illuminates how their respective linguistic systems function. By thoroughly analysing the structures in which glosses are embedded, I was able to illustrate the complex working mechanisms of the functional net and prove that glosses are a rich source for all levels of Old High German linguistics.

Table of Contents

1. Introducing Glosses: Old Ways and New Approaches 1

1.1. Glossing in the Vernacular: A New Way to Understand Latin 1

1.1.1. A Definition of Glosses 2

1.1.2. Functional Distinction between Vernacular and Latin Glosses 6

1.1.3. Case Study: The Murbach Hymnal and its Manuscript 9

1.2. Syntax and Pragmatics in Vernacular Glosses 11

1.3. Intention and Use of Textual Structures in Vernacular Glosses 14

1.3.1. Writing and Reading Glosses: Intratextual Structures between Glosses and their Primary Text 14

1.3.1.1. Vertical Level: Paratext and Hypertext 14

1.3.1.2. Horizontal Level: Syntactic Structures 18

1.3.2. Creating Manuscripts: Intertextual Structures 20

1.3.3. Interlinear Versions: A Unique Type of Glossing 23

1.4. The Correlation of Linguistics and Function in Vernacular Glosses 26

1.4.1. The Manuscript as Cultural Object 26

1.4.2. Glosses as Agents of Linguistic Knowledge 28

1.5. Conclusion: The Functional Net of Vernacular Glosses 31

2. The Murbach Hymns: Material Aspects and Transmission 32

2.1. The History of the Murbach Hymns 32

2.1.1. The History of Editions 32

2.1.2. The Hymns in the Making: Sources and Transmission 34

2.1.3. The 'Sitz im Leben': Glosses in Medieval Education 35

2.2. Codicological and Palaeographic Analysis of the Murbach Codex 38

2.2.1. Date and Origin of the Murbach Hymns: Palaeographic and Linguistic Analyses in Contrast 38

2.2.2. The Relationship of the Murbach Hymns to Other Texts in the Manuscript 41

2.2.3. Purpose of the Murbach Codex 46

2.2.4. The Hands of the Hymns: Identifying the Strata 50

2.2.4.1. Writing the Main Text: Palaeographic Analysis of the Latin Strata 50

2.2.4.2. The Process of Glossing: Palaeographic Analysis of the Gloss Strata 52

2.3. Conclusion: The Composition of the Murbach Codex 60

3. Creation and Reception of the Murbach Hymns: Linguistic and Visual Analysis 61

3.1. Main Characteristics of the Murbach Hymns 61

3.2. The Template of the Murbach Hymns: Analysis of Stratum A 64

3.2.1. Introduction to Stratum A 64

3.2.2. Visual Characteristics 67

3.2.3. Methods of Translation 71

3.2.4. Syntactic Patterns 78

3.2.5. The Functional Net of Stratum A 84

3.3. Filling in the Pages: Analysis of Stratum B 86

3.3.1. Introduction to Stratum B 86

3.3.2. Visual Characteristics 88

3.3.3. Methods of Translation 93

3.3.4. Syntactic Patterns 102

3.3.5. The Functional Net of Stratum B 109

3.4. Practising Glossing and Finishing Ha: Analysis of Strata C, D, E, and F 112

3.4.1. Introduction to Strata C, D, E, and F 112

3.4.2. Visual Characteristics 114

3.4.3. Methods of Translation 117

3.4.4. Syntactic Patterns 127

3.4.5. The Functional Net of Strata C, D, E, and F 133

3.5. Hb and the Glossaries: Analysis of Stratum G 135

3.5.1. Introduction to Stratum G 135

3.5.2. Visual Characteristics 137

3.5.3. Methods of Translation 140

3.5.4. Syntactic Patterns 148

3.5.5. The Functional Net of Stratum G 155

3.6. Conclusion: The Strata of the Murbach Hymns 157

4. Syntax and Function of Old High German Glosses 162

5. Appendix 166

5.1. Collation Diagram 166

5.2. Latin Strata 168

5.3. Gloss Strata 174

5.4. Gloss References to Sievers' Edition 179

6. Bibliography 186

6.1. Manuscript Sources 186

6.2. Secondary Sources 187

1. Introducing Glosses: Old Ways and New Approaches

Glosses are our main source for Old High German. Due to the large size of their corpus, they provide the foundation for dictionaries and lexical research, but their qualitative value has been underestimated for almost a century. It is only in the last few decades that glosses have been brought into the focus of other areas of linguistic research and treated as the complex phenomenon that they are. In my thesis 'The Glosses of the Murbach Hymns. A Study on Syntax and Language Use in Old High German', I will focus on the characteristics of glosses that have long been overlooked by demonstrating their value for syntactic and pragmatic research on Old High German. Before going into the details of my case study, the Murbach Hymns, this first chapter will serve to analyse the nature of glosses, especially vernacular glosses to a Latin main text. I will define glosses, determine what influenced their writing and how they were perceived, and conclude how I will approach them in my study. The aim is to create a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon 'gloss' that is not limited to its linguistic features. Images from the Murbach Hymns and their manuscript will be used to illustrate the theoretical approaches.[1]

1.1. Glossing in the Vernacular: A New Way to Understand Latin

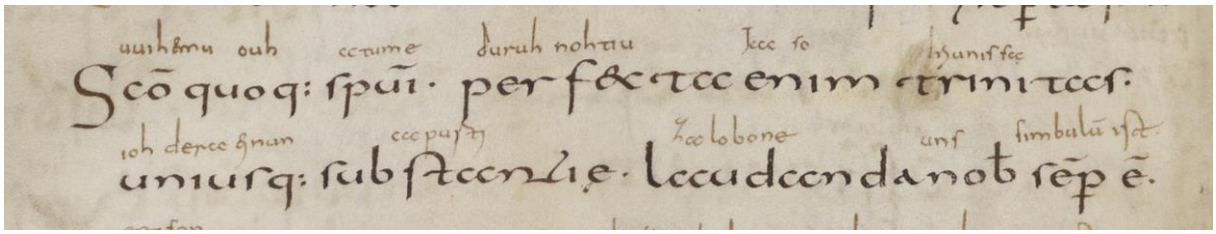


Fig. 1: Lines three and four of folio 122v of the Murbach Hymns. The glosses are vertically aligned with the lemmas except for the gloss 'ioh dera einun' (l. 4) which represents Old High German word order.

At first glance, the Old High German glosses of the Murbach Hymns (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 25) seem to copy the Latin text word-for-word (see fig. 1). If one looks more closely, though, complex linguistic structures become visible, such as in the gloss 'ioh dera einun' for Latin *uniusque* (fol. 122v, l. 4)[2]. The glossator chose to follow the Old High German word order by moving 'ioh' to the beginning of the phrase and inserted 'dera'. The determiner simultaneously amplifies the meaning of following 'capurti' as the unity of the holy trinity and clarifies the ambiguity of 'einun', which in this

[1] Images of the manuscript MS. Junius 25 (Oxford, Bodleian Library) have been retrieved from https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/4df4cdd2-14d8-4256-ae07-a09917b3408e/, accessed 10 December 2023, unless otherwise indicated.

[2] Text and glosses are cited after the manuscript, including abbreviations, punctuation, and spaces.

case is not an indefinite pronoun but a numeral. Additionally, the phrase copies the Latin case, highlighting the use of the descriptive genitive.

This is just one example of the correlation of Latin and Old High German linguistics represented in vernacular glosses. Although glosses make up the majority of lexical material in Old High German, the syntactic research on glosses is still at an early stage. Because glosses are based on a Latin original and partly copy Latin linguistic features, their value for vernacular linguistics at first glance seems limited. In this thesis, I will argue that, despite their appearance, every gloss is a valuable source for various linguistic disciplines and evidence for a sophisticated method of preserving and transmitting linguistic and cultural knowledge. My thesis is based on two hypotheses: firstly, that glosses not only primarily relate to their Latin lemmas but that they were also conceptualised and used in a broader structural context in which they can express autonomous vernacular syntax; and secondly, that every Old High German gloss is an intentional translation which is based on the Old High German language system and expresses specific linguistic information about the Latin text. To prove this, I will treat glosses not as isolated linguistic phenomena but analyse them in the material context of their manuscript. The focus of my thesis is linguistics, however, I will refer to the theological background that the glosses elucidate if it is linked to their linguistic features. In the following chapters, I will elaborate on the constitutive characteristics of glosses and develop a conception that demonstrates the complex interplay between linguistics and function expressed in glosses. I will focus on *text glosses*, a category which formally classifies glosses that are additions to a continuous text, i.e. the type of glosses studied in this work. *Glossaries* which present glosses and lemmas in lists separate from their sources form a functional net that differs from text glosses. They require to be defined individually (for detailed characterisations, see Blom 2017, pp. 14–5; Glaser 2013; Stricker 2009b) which is why I will refrain from including them in the following chapters.

1.1.1. A Definition of Glosses

This study aims to explore the syntax and use of Old High German glosses using both material culture and linguistic approaches, and to do so, the relevant characteristics of glosses in both disciplines need to be specified. In this chapter, I survey the different attempts to define glosses from the Middle Ages. The first definition in German philology was made by Jacob Grimm (1826), and it set the basic categories used to describe glosses until today. Grimm (1826, p. 1585) defined glosses as ‘deutsche Übersetzungen einzelner Wörter oder Sätze, welche den Handschriften interlinearisch oder am Rande beygefügt oder auch in besondere Verzeichnisse geordnet sind’ and states that readers used glosses ‘zur Erklärung lateinischer oder anderer fremden Ausdrücke’ (Grimm 1826, p. 1586). The definition is based on three categories: the transfer of language from Latin to German, the formal layout, and the

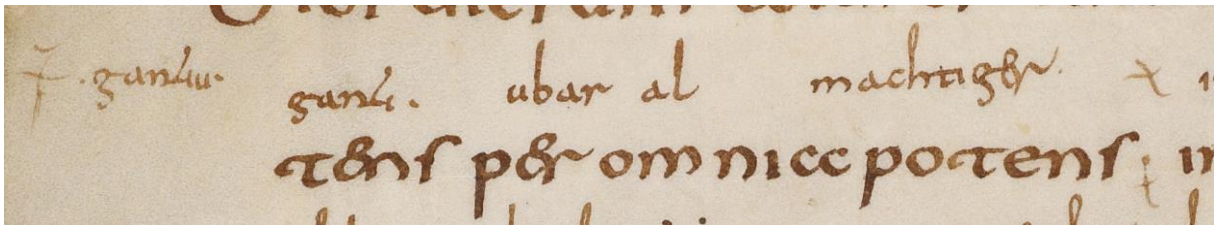


Fig. 2: A marginal gloss (left, with reference marker on the right) and interlinear glosses above their lemmas (fol. 123v, l. 5).

function. In the following, I will analyse the interplay between these categories and how scholars used them to define glosses in historical linguistics.

From a formal perspective, glosses are defined as *interlinear*, *marginal*, or *context glosses* depending on their positioning in relation to the main text (Baesecke 1926, pp. 448–9; Sonderegger 1974, p. 58). Interlinear glosses are written between the lines of the primary text, and marginal glosses are noted in the margins of the text, often with a cue that links the gloss to its lemma (see fig. 2; Stricker 2009a, p. 24). The positioning on the page distinguishes a gloss from the text. A third formal category, context glosses, is defined as a gloss written in line with the primary text and marked with a cue that signals the transfer of languages (Baesecke 1926, p. 449; Sonderegger 1974, p. 58). The category context gloss is therefore only valid for vernacular glosses. Stefanie Stricker (2009a, p. 25) argues that because the gloss is marked by expressions such as *id est* or *dicitur uulgo*, it belongs to the main text. Individual text-linguistic studies are needed to determine whether a formal context gloss is part of the primary text or not (Glaser 2013, pp. 280–1).

I will consider context glosses as a formal type of gloss. The formal typology has been developed in greater detail depending on the exact position of glosses (e.g. Bergmann 2000; Holtz 1995). However, formal characteristics are usually more in focus in art historical research. For linguistic studies, the layout of the glosses is not a definite criterion to draw conclusions about its content or function. As Elvira Glaser (1994, pp. 183–4) points out, the position of glosses can be related to the time of entry, which specifies if they were planned together with the main text or added later. Even glosses in the margins are usually linked to their lemma by graphic markers or by being written near it, expressing a visual relation between them (Bergmann 2009b, p. 200). This relationship is not perceived to be as close as the relationship between interlinear glosses and lemmas because of the greater visual distance. Interlinear and marginal glosses could be added later to the primary text, regardless of whether they were intended from the beginning. Therefore, it is not the positioning of the gloss but what information it gives about the writing process which is of interest to historical linguistics.

While the formal characteristics are valid for both vernacular and Latin glosses, except for context glosses, functional definitions of glosses in German philology focus on the language transfer between main text and gloss. In early gloss research, this led to presenting glosses as Latin-German word pairs, such as in the groundbreaking edition by Elias von Steinmeyer and Eduard Sievers (1879–

1922). It shows the glosses and their lemmas extracted from the manuscript which gives the impression that they can be analysed separately from their primary text and Latin glosses. Only the functional definition of German glosses by Heinrich Götz (1977, p. 62) sets glosses in the textual context by differentiating between *Vokabelglosse* ('vocabulary gloss') which glosses a lemma that is separated from its context, and *Kontextglosse* ('context gloss') which glosses a lemma that is part of a text. Götz' context glosses are furthermore divided into *Vokabelübersetzung* and *Kontextübersetzung* ('vocabulary translation' and 'context translation'; Götz 1977, p. 64), the former being a gloss which translates a word without context, and the latter describing glosses which are translated in regard to the context. Götz defined a gloss as 'Glossierung eines lateinischen Wortes durch ein althochdeutsches Wort' and also called it 'Übersetzung' (Götz 1977, p. 62). The differentiation between vocabulary and context translation was still a formal one, determining which part of the Latin text the gloss refers to rather than why the relation is expressed. The classification has been actualised and revised by Glaser (2013, p. 294ff.), who analyses glosses by means of formal and semantic-functional agreement ('formale Kongruenz' and 'inhaltlich-funktionale Adäquatheit') with their lemmas and therefore adds the functional dimension. The language transfer and the semantic relation between gloss and lemma remain the defining characteristics in functional approaches to vernacular glosses, which is a sufficient system to describe glossing in vernacular but ignores the influence of Latin glosses.

In contrast, studies on Latin and vernacular glosses could not make use of the language transfer and had to turn to other features. A text-linguistic approach was carried out by Alexander Schwarz (1977, p. 34), who defines glosses as texts from a pragmatic perspective as their use, not their existence on the page, provokes communication between teacher and student.[3] In this regard, Schwarz (1977, p. 27) attributed the same primary function to all glosses. His perspective has been criticised because the functional categories are specifically tailored to one manuscript (Schiegg 2015, p. 92), and Schwarz's definition of text types is instead a definition of communicative domains (Braun 2017, pp. 122–3). Still, Schwarz has shown that to define vernacular glosses from a functional perspective, one needs to widen the view and regard glosses not only in the context of the main text but also of other glosses. His functional categorisation cannot be applied to vernacular glosses in general, but he demonstrated that the gloss is a dynamic and interactive unit embedded in its textual and functional context.

Although glosses are part of a communicative act, they cannot be considered as text. In contrast to Schwarz (1977), Markus Schiegg (2015) argues that glosses are not autonomous text because their communicative function depends on their primary text; while the primary text is an independent textual unit, glosses only function in combination with it (Schiegg 2015, p. 50). Schiegg

[3] See also Schwarz (2000) in comparison to other texts of Old High German.

uses the broad definition by Gernot R. Wieland (1983, p. 7): glosses are 'anything on a page which is not text proper, but which is intended to comment on the text'. This definition includes non-textual elements such as drawings or symbols, which is why it is suitable for Schiegg (2015, p. 9). The focus on the commentary function of glosses is why Wieland's definition is used most frequently in functional-pragmatic studies on glosses. Wieland analyses Latin glosses, which are the most frequent; a broad gloss definition, therefore, makes sense to cover the remaining comments on the text. Wieland's definition is also used in combined studies on Latin and vernacular glosses, such as Alderik H. Blom (2017).

If one uses the broad definition to analyse vernacular glosses, the composition of the manuscript is essential, as the definition would include Latin glosses and, if vernacular glosses are the exception, not focus on the subject. Therefore, studies on vernacular glosses usually define glosses, as Grimm did, as translations: 'Aus der Sicht der volkssprachlichen Glossierung werden aber als Glossen im engeren Sinne in der Regel nur Übersetzungen lexikalischer Einheiten betrachtet' (Glaser 1994, p. 184), which leaves out non-lexical comments on the text. In this sense, vernacular glosses are seen as one type of glosses in general, but a narrow definition is regarded as more beneficial to tackle the topic (Glaser 1994, p. 189). It combines formal and functional aspects (Glaser 1994, p. 189), specifically, the formal aspects of language transfer which were laid out in lexicography, and the functional aspects of glosses in general, which were included in functional-pragmatic definitions. The relationship between glosses and vernacular glosses as seen in German linguistics is clarified by Stricker (2009a) in the anthology 'Die althochdeutsche und altsächsische Glossographie' (Bergmann & Stricker 2009). Glosses in general are 'ein Wort oder Syntagma, das ein Bezugswort oder einen Bezugskontext in der Regel lexikalisch, zuweilen auch grammatisch oder syntaktisch übersetzt, erklärt oder kommentiert' (Stricker 2009a, p. 31), while Old High German glosses are 'interlinear oder marginal lateinischen Texten beigefügte beziehungsweise in lateinische Texte integrierte Einzelwörter oder Wortgruppen, die eine Übersetzung oder Erklärung lateinischer Wörter eines Textes oder Glossars in althochdeutscher Sprache leisten' (Stricker 2009a, p. 32). Both definitions define only lexical comments on the text as glosses and include specific functions as well as the position of glosses in relation to the Latin text. Old High German glosses are defined by their language transfer from Latin (Stricker 2009a, p. 31). This definition carefully bypasses the term *Übersetzung*, which is set as a possible function next to explanations or comments, but the distinction has not been adopted and Old High German glosses are still usually defined as translations (e.g. Glaser 2013, p. 284; Hellgardt 1996a, p. 80).

While the narrow definition used by German linguists allows focusing on the detailed characteristics of vernacular glosses, it can also result in the ignorance of non-lexical or Latin glosses in classifications. The commentary of a text is not only carried out by vernacular glosses but is also a complex net of other notations and glosses. Although vernacular lexical glosses are the focus of this

thesis, the influence of and correlation with other elements on the page that comment on the primary text will be discussed too, to analyse vernacular glosses in their context of creation and use. Therefore, the broader definition by Wieland (1983) is the foundation of the following analysis. Glosses are not defined as 'text proper' but as additional textual material which functions only with the primary text. The specific topic of this thesis is Old High German glosses, so the language transfer between lemma and gloss, which is regarded as translation, narrows down Wieland's definition. The functions of vernacular glosses, on the other hand, will not be predefined, as the specific relation between language transfer and functionality is the focus of this analysis, which rules out the definition of translation as a function and relates to it as a formal aspect of vernacular glosses. The position on the page is not seen as a defining factor for glosses, as it is related to the writing process, but it is part of the analysis to determine its effect on the use of glosses.

1.1.2. Functional Distinction between Vernacular and Latin Glosses

Vernacular glosses evolved from a long tradition of Latin glosses and glossaries (Blom 2017, p. 16; Holtz 1995, p. 60). Their emergence is linked to a changing perspective on how to comprehend knowledge. Texts were produced long before the vernacular was the primary language for writing in German-speaking areas. Latin was the main language for documents, and Latin glosses clarified how texts were interpreted and secured their understanding (Teeuwen 2011, p. 24). While Old High German was the everyday language, Latin was used in an official and religious context. Only the sermon was preached in both languages (Murdoch 2012, p. 286).[4] People of religious or political professions were required to be bilingual (McKitterick 1989, pp. 21–2). The discrepancy between a German-speaking audience and a Latin-speaking clergy was not officially addressed before Charlemagne. He adopted regulations that determined the use of the vernacular in a monastic context to ensure the understanding of religious contents by laypeople, essential for the salvation of all (Haubrichs 1995, p. 53). Although not the primary language of writing, the vernacular was now introduced as a tool to make Latin texts accessible. In his letter *epistola de litteris colendis*, sent in AD 780 and 789, Charlemagne announced to the high-ranking clergy: *et bene novimus omnes*, *quia*, *quamvis periculosi sint errores verborum*, *multo periculosiores sunt errores sensuum*'[5] (Boretius & Krause 1883, p. 79). This statement emphasises that comprehending the sacred texts was a critical factor in religious education. In addition to Latin glosses, vernacular glosses were now introduced to secure the understanding of Latin texts (Griese & Henkel 2015, pp. 724–5).

[4] Vernacular sermons are attested from the seventh century onwards (Hellgardt 1996b, p. 15ff.) but were not mandatory at that time.

[5] My translation: 'And we all know well that while linguistic misconceptions are dangerous, misconceptions of interpretation are even more dangerous.'

Glossators in the eighth and ninth centuries were therefore faced with the challenge of writing a language that had barely been put in writing before.[6] Writing tradition in the German-speaking areas was so far focused on Latin (Murdoch 2012, p. 284) and to write German, scribes adopted the Latin alphabet and orthography to formulate words in their mother tongue (Sonderegger 2000, p. 1231). Even when whole texts were already written in the vernacular, authors still felt they had to defend their language choices, such as Otfrid of Weißenburg in the ninth century and Notker Labeo in the tenth and eleventh century.[7] From the start, vernacular glosses oscillated between the two languages: they were based on spoken Old High German but realised by means of the Latin writing system. To create them, it was necessary to become aware of the similarities and differences of both languages which was the first step towards a German writing tradition (S. Müller 2021). Thus, the first vernacular glosses can be perceived as experiments to explore the German language (S. Müller 2021). It was only by the end of the Old High German period that through the works of Notker, learning German systematically was encouraged beyond Latin studies (McKitterick 1989, p. 20).[8] Early vernacular glossing was still a performative act: its function could also be rooted in the process of writing as in the identical double glosses of the 'St. Pauler Lukasglossen' (St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1/8; S. Müller 2021). The writing of glosses, the act of glossing itself, could carry meaning.

Because vernacular glosses build upon Latin, the relationship between the two types of glosses and the perception of their languages must be considered to understand why they coexisted (Bergmann 2013, p. 248). Most glosses in early medieval manuscripts were Latin (Henkel 2010, p. 240), and the vernacular was an exception from an otherwise strictly Latin glossing culture (Bergmann 2013, p. 252). Therefore, the vernacular could not only have served to indicate the meaning of unknown words as the many Latin glosses required readers who understood Latin well (Bergmann 2013, p. 253; Schiegg 2016, p. 59). Instead, glossing in the vernacular had various unique functions. Studies show that Latin and vernacular glosses used the same functional patterns (e.g. Hellgardt 1998, p. 64; Schwarz 1977, p. 27), but that a variety of functions are based on the language choice (Bergmann 2013, p. 255; Schiegg 2015, pp. 102–3). To explain why the vernacular could occur in such a wide range of uses, Rolf Bergmann (2013, p. 255) proposes that in general, glossing in Old High German was not intended but came naturally and intuitively to the scribe when required. *Naturality*, in this regard, means that the use of the language did not require planning but that scribes would automatically produce the

[6] A few objects from the German-speaking area were inscribed with the runic alphabet, see Elmar Seebold (2001, p. 9ff.) for a detailed discussion of the evidence.

[7] Otfrid starts his gospel harmony with a chapter titled: *cur scriptor hunc librum theotisce dictauerit* (Piper 1882b, p. 19; my translation: 'why the author created this book in the vernacular'), and Notker writes in a letter to a bishop: *ad quos dum accessum habere nostros uellem scolasticos* (Piper 1882a, p. 860; my translation: 'I wanted that our pupils can access them [the theological sources]').

[8] Notker developed his own orthography (Braune 2023, §103).

appropriate words because they knew the language very well (Bergmann 2013, p. 255).[9] *Intentionality* refers only to the choice of language as the writing of glosses was indeed intentional.

This idea of 'natural' language refers foremost to the scribe's linguistic competence. In linguistics, the term 'naturality' often appears as opposite to 'markedness' and equivalent to 'unmarkedness' (e.g. Wurzel 2001, p. 21). The terms refer mainly to morphology and describe which structures are more preferred in speech and easier to pronounce and understand for humans (cf. Haspelmath 2006, pp. 31–2, for a summary of the theory). The theory puts 'natural' language in direct relation to regularly used language, which would be spoken language in the case of Old High German. However, vernacular glosses cannot be regarded only in relation to speech as they are also based on Latin writing tradition. What would be marked in spoken Old High German could be fully acceptable in glosses. If, in contrast, the markedness of vernacular glosses was considered in relation to Latin, the results would view glosses solely as cross-lingual copies of the main text without acknowledging their basis in Old High German. As two linguistic systems merged in glosses, they were a unique medium for which conventions still had to be developed. The terms of their markedness would have to be redefined on the basis of their linguistic characteristics.[10] Therefore, I will refrain from using the concept of markedness in my analysis. 'Natural' will only be used according to Bergmann (2013, p. 255) in the sense of intuitive linguistic competency.

The glossators drew from the vernacular language system and structure to create glosses (O. Ernst 2007, p. 587). To fully grasp the meaning of a vernacular gloss, its own and its lemma's linguistic characteristics had to be understood but also the cultural background of source text and gloss (Teeuwen 2011, pp. 23–4), which required profound bilingualism of scribe and reader (McKitterick 1989, pp. 21–2). Glosses which explain the morphology of their lemma are a striking example of the interplay of two language systems. They express the linguistic structure of the lemma with vernacular morphemes (Schiegg 2015, pp. 102–3). Therefore, they represent Latin morphology as they do not form an existing vernacular word but express Latin grammatical functions and relations (O. Ernst 2007, p. 559). By implicitly referring to the vernacular language system, Latin linguistics could be elucidated. In opposition to Latin glosses, vernacular glosses opened new ways of conveying information about the Latin language by drawing from the vernacular language system. This process happens within the borders of the natural language use of two languages. Glosses represent Latin linguistic characteristics

[9] The term 'natural' in relation to language use is here distinct from 'naturalness' in generative grammar which describes language-intrinsic features (cf. Chomsky & Halle 1991).

[10] Following the critique by Martin Haspelmath (2006, pp. 58–60), 'naturality' or unmarkedness are unnecessary concepts as they can be mostly explained by frequency: highly 'natural' structures are usually frequently used. Thus, to approach a 'naturality' theory of glosses, a type of language material that has died out, a useful first step would be determining the frequency of linguistic constructions (as was already done for specific Old High German sources, e.g. by Jones 2009; or Raposo 1982).

and simultaneously need to comply with the vernacular language system to be understood by native speakers of the vernacular.

1.1.3. Case Study: The Murbach Hymnal and its Manuscript

My case study in this thesis will be the Murbach Hymns, a Latin hymnal with Old High German interlinear glosses from the early ninth century, and the manuscript in which it is bound (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Junius 25). How the text was written and edited, its cultural background, and its various relations to other texts in the manuscript make the hymnal a promising subject to study the linguistics of vernacular glosses in their pragmatic context. The text represents an accurate interlinear version – which means almost every Latin word has an Old High German equivalent. Interlinear glosses have provoked the question of the linguistic autonomy of glosses particularly often: the layout of the glosses and the density of glossing both contributed to the image that the glosses form a continuous text independent of the Latin (see fig. 3). This view is reflected in early editions of interlinear versions (see chapter 2.1.1). By using the neutral term *interlinear version*, the discussion of whether the vernacular words written in between the Latin lines are independent *text* or dependent *glosses* (Voetz 2009, p. 888) can be bypassed.

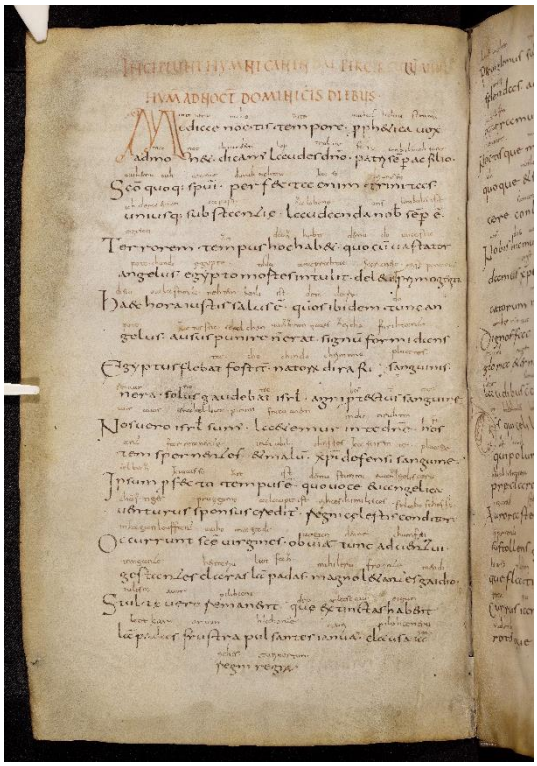


Fig. 3: The first page of the Murbach Hymns (fol. 122v) with smaller interlinear glosses between the lines of the Latin text. The glosses seem to form a text.

In terms of linguistic analysis, these assumptions would entail either assigning the vernacular material complete autonomy and therefore high value for linguistic research or regarding it as single glosses strictly copying the Latin text. In the case of the Murbach Hymns, an intense debate arose about this topic. The main participants were Stefan Sonderegger (1965) and Nikolaus Henkel (1988, 1996). Sonderegger (1965, p. 106ff.) analysed the syntactic relations of the vernacular part of the Murbach Hymns and presented evidence for the poetic characteristics of the glosses. Henkel (1988, p. 69ff.) argued for the contrary and interpreted Sonderegger's examples as by-products of a close translation. Much more likely is an intermediary perspective as was presented by Stephan Müller (2003, p. 319), who shows that interlinear versions foremost depended on the Latin, but that glossators

used opportunities to create autonomous vernacular material. Interlinear versions contain vernacular linguistic information, which a differentiated perspective on the glosses can determine.

Regardless of their autonomy, the glosses of the Murbach Hymns are a rich source for early medieval German culture and for understanding the use of glosses in an educational context (Siewerts 2010, p. 422ff.). The latest and most comprehensive studies on the text focus on the lexical choices of glosses regarding religious interpretation (Siewerts 2010) and the source text of the glosses (Gerhards 2018). Both studies touch on syntactic relations, but neither presents a complete analysis of the textual material, its textual relations, and its pragmatic context. The process of writing the Murbach Hymns, which were written in two separate quires, at different times, and possibly at distinct locations (see chapter 2.2.1), calls for a more differentiated analysis of the text related to palaeographical and codicological features. So far, the Hymns have been analysed as a unit or separated into two parts, without considering that various scribes were involved in their creation. Additionally, the textual context of the Hymns has not yet been included in linguistic analyses, although the scribes further glossed texts throughout the manuscript (Haubrichs 1995, p. 203; Krotz 2013a, p. 216) which could provide new evidence.

The Murbach Hymns have been proven to be a text with a rich cultural background and thoughtful glossing. However, a deep linguistic and material analysis is yet to come and will not only give new insights into one of the earliest Old High German sources but also allow to illustrate the correlation of linguistic and pragmatic characteristics in vernacular glosses.

1.2. Syntax and Pragmatics in Vernacular Glosses

The study of syntax concerns itself with the structure of language. How an analysis of this structure is carried out depends on the underlying grammatical theory, and in the following chapter, I will elaborate on why glosses require a pragmatic analysis of syntax. In research on historical German, the two leading theories dominating syntactic research are generative and functional-pragmatic approaches (e.g. as carried out by Axel 2007; Jäger 2008; Schlachter 2012). While the former analyses grammar apart from its concrete, pragmatic context as an idealised system (Chomsky 2015, pp. 1–2), the latter sees grammar as subordinate to the use of language (e.g. Dik 1997, p. 3; Givón 2001, p. 13; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014, p. 49). Following the latter, syntactic structures would be used to encode a particular meaning in a specific, pragmatic context. While both approaches provide essential insights into historical linguistics, a functional perspective is more suitable for studying syntax in glosses. First and foremost, this is based on the constitution of glosses as a tool to make the Latin text accessible.

Although from a functional perspective, every linguistic utterance is dependent on its pragmatic context (Givón 2001, p. 13; Habermann & Ziegler 2012, p. 12) and should therefore be analysed linked to its extra-linguistic reality, this has higher significance for glosses. Instead of functioning as autonomous text, vernacular glosses communicate linguistic information about their lemmas mainly in a form in which their own linguistic features encode the relevant information (see chapter 1.1.2). Unlike everyday utterances, glosses follow the language system of the vernacular, but to what extent they express vernacular linguistics is determined by their function. Analysing glosses without their functional aspects would neglect parts of their meaning.

Depending on the aim of the research, only analysing phonology, morphology, and lexis does not have to be a disadvantage, but such an approach was common in early gloss research while modern studies explore more varied topics. Glosses are a rich source of phonological, morphological, and lexical information as they account for 27,000 lexemes of the known 30,000 lexemes of Old High German (Moulin 2009a, p. 60) but can contribute to other disciplines of linguistic research.[11] In the last decades, historical linguistics moved towards analysing historical texts increasingly as manifestations of their intended function and use (Habermann & Ziegler 2012, p. 2), and the methodological approach in gloss research changed as well. Glosses were not analysed as separate words or texts anymore, but their meaning and functions were related to the textual tradition and the context of the Latin primary text (Moulin 2009b, p. 1659).[12] This relation is reflected in studies on glosses as well as in editions,

[11] Due to the many newly discovered glosses (cf. Bergmann & Stricker 2020), the numbers have increased since 2009 but no exact figures were published yet.

[12] Claudine Moulin (2009b, p. 1659) sees a *Paradigmenwechsel* (‘paradigm shift’) happening. Schiegg (2014, p. 329) proposes the more neutral term of differing *Forschungsprogramme* (‘research programs’).

which now mostly include pragmatic analyses in addition to the interpretation of single glosses (e.g. Blom 2017; O. Ernst, Nievergelt & Schiegg 2019; Ertmer 1994; B. Meineke 1997, and many more). By this novel approach, the highly pragmatic essence of glosses is acknowledged.

Glosses contain pragmatic information encoded in their form. They comprise details about their creator and the specific context in which they were written and used (Schiegg 2014, p. 323). Interpreting the use and function of glosses sets them in a socio-cultural context and allows to determine communication, text production, and reading processes in medieval monasteries (Moulin 2009b, p. 1660; Teeuwen 2011, pp. 23–4). Since the linguistic features of glosses depend on the function and the enclosed information about medieval writing culture, the syntax of glosses should not be analysed separately from their pragmatic context.

Because the material in historical linguistics can differ significantly from the material which is analysed by modern linguistics, research methods in historical pragmatics need to comply with its characteristics. The difficulties faced by research in historical pragmatics can be summarised in the following five points (Schrott & Völker 2005, pp. 5–6):

- *Mediality*: Only written sources exist which do not directly represent spoken language.
- *Materiality*: The transmission of sources is fragmentary.
- *Editing*: Some original documents are lost and only available in modernised and edited form.
- *Context data*: Data about extra-linguistic context are barely transmitted.
- *Language skills*: Inferring the ability of the communicators to articulate or understand the language is not possible.

As these categories are valid for historical sources in general, I will elaborate further if they are decisive for this study. Since this work does not aim to reflect all varieties of Old High German, the second point, *materiality*, can be neglected. Points three to five apply to this study with a slight alteration of *editing*: the Murbach Hymnal and other texts in the manuscripts could be copies from earlier manuscripts, although no original of the Hymns is preserved (Gerhards 2018, p. 45). Since the manuscript originated during the Old High German period, it is authentic evidence of the historical variety. Still, it has been modernised and edited after the Old High German period, which needs to be examined and reflected by means of palaeographical and codicological analysis (see fig. 4). Most editing processes pertain to the compilation of the manuscripts and less to the text itself and therefore allow to draw conclusions about the history of the text.

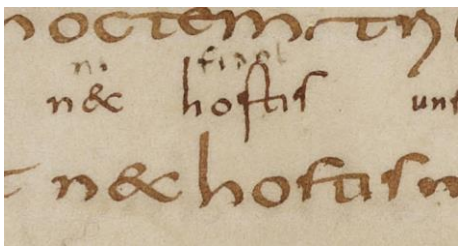


Fig. 4: Non-contemporary additions in the Murbach Hymns above the medieval glosses (fol. 127v, l. 19).

The point that needs to be discussed more intensively is the one of *mediality*. For general historical pragmatics, Irma Taavitsainen and Andreas H. Jucker (2010,

p. 7) condense the possibilities of dealing with written historical sources into two approaches: ‘first, the search for material that is as authentic as possible; and second, the contention that even written language has a communicative purpose’. Authentic sources are defined as ‘naturally occurring spoken data’ (Taavitsainen & Jucker 2010, p. 7). Therefore, historical pragmatics is looking for written sources that reflect spoken language. Some historical sources mirror actual utterances, e.g. court records, and other documents come close to representing orality because they reproduce spoken language in a fictional context (Taavitsainen & Jucker 2010, p. 8). However, the search for authentic language has been proven to be fruitful even in texts that are noticeably distant from spoken language. Peter Koch and Wulf Oesterreicher (1985) developed a model that systematically describes the communicative distance of texts based on their representation of written or spoken language. This model can be applied to historical sources (Taavitsainen & Jucker 2010, p. 9ff.). The larger the communicative distance is, the more the methods to identify authentic language need to be adapted to the text’s specifics. In historical linguistic studies that research early vernacular texts from Central Europe, the scarcity of sources requires analysing every language material preserved, regardless of its closeness to orality, so that the historical variety can be explored sufficiently. Applying methods of modern pragmatics to historical media has therefore become a necessity and has been proven to lead to useful results (e.g. P. Ernst & Werner 2016; Jucker & Taavitsainen 2010; Schiegg 2016).

1.3. Intention and Use of Textual Structures in Vernacular Glosses

This chapter considers the textual relations in which glosses are embedded. They relate to their primary text, other glosses, and the whole manuscript, and all of those structures influence the function and use of glosses. I will elucidate how syntax and textual structures are expressed in glosses with regard to the specific characteristics of glosses, how they were written, and how they were perceived.

1.3.1. Writing and Reading Glosses: Intratextual Structures between Glosses and their Primary Text

Constituted by their context of creation, glosses are embedded in a net of structures within their main text and manuscript. Identifying this net is crucial for analysing glosses comprehensively as they determine how a gloss would be written. In the following chapters, I will elaborate on the structures and their characteristics in detail to define how they apply to the interlinear version of the Murbach Hymns.

1.3.1.1. Vertical Level: Paratext and Hypertext

While texts usually only have horizontal, i.e. syntactic, relations, the peculiar relations glosses have with their primary text require an analysis of the relation between gloss and lemma, which is the vertical level. The intratextual structure of glosses, the structural relations glosses have inside the borders of their primary text, must be examined on both the horizontal and vertical levels. Both levels foremost concern the act of reading the glosses, and therefore, the use of the manuscript (S. Müller 2003, p. 318). The graphic proximity of the gloss to the primary text allows the almost parallel reading of text and glosses (Pabst 2006, p. 119). An immediate visual relation between gloss and lemma is given in interlinear glosses (see fig. 5; Henkel 1996, p. 72; S. Müller 2003, p. 318) but not necessarily in other formal gloss types. If glosses are written in the margins and linked to their lemma with a symbol as a reference marker, the relation is clear but not literally a vertical one. The same applies to context glosses, which stand after their lemmas in running text.

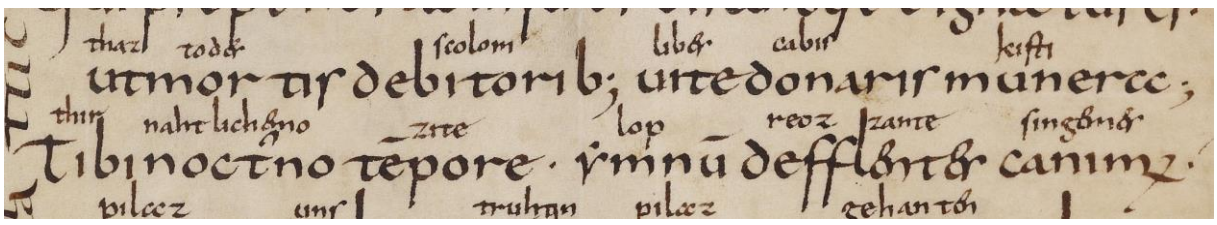


Fig. 5: Interlinear glosses which are vertically aligned with their lemmas (fol. 116v, ll. 22–3).

The general function of glosses, which is to interpret the primary text and comment on it, is determined by the vertical reading process, i.e. comparing lemma and gloss. The vertical relation is the central relation by which glosses are defined and partly is seen as the only structural relation glosses have (Henkel 1996, p. 72). Readers would read the Latin text and switch, when necessary, between the lines of primary text and glosses to receive the additional information encoded in the glosses (Stolz 2017, p. 203). In this process, they examine grammatical and semantic features (Schiegg 2015, p. 88ff.), and for the readers, any deviations between gloss and lemma are meaningful. From a modern perspective, departures from the primary text can indicate the function of glosses (Glaser 2013, p. 295). Determining deviations gets methodologically difficult when the exact text to which the glosses relate is not known. Since layers of glosses are often copied from other manuscripts, they could initially relate to a different version of the primary text than the one in the final manuscript. In their use, this must not have been a disadvantage: since the scholars who worked with the text should have known it by heart (Semmler 1963, pp. 22–3; Siewerts 2010, pp. 26–7), they could have compensated differences between glosses and primary text with their knowledge of the textual variants. A close reading of text and glosses combined with the linguistic and cultural knowledge of the reader uncovered the meaning of the glosses.

The vertical relation between glosses and their primary text is constituted by the dependency of glosses on the primary text. In contrast to text, which can stand on its own, glosses can only be understood fully in relation to their main text (Cram & Blom 2023, p. 159).[13] Thus, glosses lack their own textuality (Schiegg 2015, p. 48). They are textual material that gives additional information about the primary text and relates to it (Moulin 2009b, p. 1662) and differ from marginal entries which do not refer to the main text (Cram & Blom 2023, p. 160). Because of this specific correlation, glosses have also been characterised as *paratext* after the model by Gérard Genette (1997b, p. 1) who defines it as elements which 'surround it [the text] and extend it, precisely in order to present it'.[14] Although *paratext* was initially designed as a contemporary textual category in the twentieth century, the concept can be applied to medieval material too and is useful in clearly defining the features of glosses (Moulin 2009b; Schiegg 2015; Cram & Blom 2023). However, the modern category *paratext* contains many different types of additions, such as headings, prologues, or footnotes, which mostly evolved

[13] In the continuing editing and transmission processes, the roles of main text and glosses could switch so that the paratext becomes the textual material containing the main information and the main text is so elliptic that it cannot be understood without its paratext (an example are medieval 'Lehrgedichte', see Pabst 2006; also Cram & Blom 2023, p. 160).

[14] Genette (1997a, p. 4) also introduces the concept of *metatext*, a text that can be described as a *commentary* on another text (cf. also Pabst 2006, p. 120). This term also appears in the most prevalent functional definition of glosses, 'anything […] which is intended to comment on the text' (Wieland 1983, p. 7). Glosses comment on a text but in the sense that they relate to a specific lemma that they explain, interpret, or complement. Entries in medieval manuscripts which speak about the primary text but do not directly relate to it would not be seen as glosses per se (Schiegg 2016, pp. 55–6) but will be considered *metatextual comments*.

later than the early Middle Ages. Therefore, glosses can be described as the first 'paratextual tool' in medieval Western Europe (Cram & Blom 2023, p. 164). Regardless of glosses not being text, they could be essential for comprehending a text and were partly seen as necessity as they could give important guidance on the interpretation of the main text (Cram & Blom 2023, pp. 160–1). Thus, the following dynamic can summarise the relation between glosses and their primary text: Vernacular glosses need the primary text to function but using them can change the text's interpretation.

While this characterisation of glosses regards the vertical reading level, writing glosses is a vertical process as well. Glosses not only add information to their primary text but also linguistically and semantically derive from it as their lemmas are the basis on which they were developed. In Genette's classification, this relation would be described as *hypertextuality* with glosses being the *hypertext* (Genette 1997a, p. 5). There is a twofold correlation between text and glosses: glosses originate from the primary text and simultaneously add information to the primary text. While the second relation can be seen as a functional one, the first can be seen as methodological: it describes the act of transferring information from the primary text into another linguistic form. In vernacular glosses, this transfer is a transfer between languages and thus of a translational nature. The semantic transfer is harder to grasp as a lemma never has one definite meaning but its interpretation depends on the perception of the main text. To still be able to approach the semantic relation between glosses and lemmas, when referring to the meaning of a lemma in this study the term will denote the contextual meaning based on conventional interpretations of the main text.

Classifying vernacular glosses as translations is often seen critically. In early research on vernacular glosses, they were often described as translations. This perspective has then led to evaluating whether the translation was successful, mainly depending on whether they are congruent with the primary text and if they seem linguistically authentic (e.g. Blum 1986; Daab 1929; Glaser 1994; Siewerts 2010). Studies on the function of Old High German glosses often depart from the classification by Götz (1977; 'Kontextübersetzung' and 'Vokabelübersetzung') for glosses embedded in a broader textual context and emphasise that glosses are not only translations (e.g. Hellgardt 1996a, p. 80), classifying being a translation as a linguistic deficiency. Similarly, when glosses generally are accepted as translations, this is seen as weakening their communicative potential (Glaser 2013, p. 295). The urge to distance vernacular glosses from translations comes from a narrow definition of translating. Although the concept of translation is hardly defined, the context in which the term is used usually shows that a gloss that 'only translates' means a faithful transfer of the Latin word into the vernacular, largely without adding or losing information. Being a translation is understood as one possible function of glosses (Bergmann 2020, p. 100; Hellgardt 1998, p. 64; März 1996, p. 81; Seebold 2001, p. 28). Reversing this argumentation, if glosses fulfil other purposes, e.g. semantic interpretation or conveying grammatical information, they would not be seen as translations (Henkel 1996, p. 55). Medieval texts

would be classified as translations when they could be read independently of their source text (Kraß 1996, p. 89; Schiegg 2015, p. 10), which corresponds with the perspective on translations as a function of glosses.

To revaluate this sense of glosses as translations, I will approach the concept *translation* pragmatically. The simplest but also most comprehensive sense of *translation* describes it as a transfer between any sign systems (Reiß & Vermeer 1984, p. 88). It does not give indications about the types of sign systems, the intended function of the translation, or how it relates to its source. Katharina Reiß and Hans J. Vermeer (1984) establish a definition of translation that is centred around information and culture. The target text offers information about the source text, i.e. about its information (Reiß & Vermeer 1984, p. 67), and translation is always also a cultural transfer (Reiß & Vermeer 1984, p. 26). Both aspects correspond with vernacular glosses. They are specifically designed to give the reader information about the glossed text which is always cultural as the glossator interprets the principal text while glossing. Additionally, vernacular glosses convey linguistic information by using a different language, regardless of whether they were intended to teach the language because translating inevitably emphasises linguistic similarities and differences. Reiß and Vermeer (1984, p. 81) call this process 'Umfunktionierung' ('repurposing') of the translation. The transfer from a main text to glosses of a different language therefore always implicitly delivers linguistic information about the target language and could be understood in this function. This process ties Old High German glosses on a Latin text inextricably to linguistic education. The basis lies within the transfer of sign systems. Glosses have a unique way of conveying information which in the present work is described as their 'functional net'. Glossing renders the information of the primary text into the structures of glosses which includes using non-lexical signs such as spaces. The focus of this thesis will be the more conventional understanding of translation, the transposition of one human spoken language into another (cf. Bassnett 2014, p. 25) as it analyses the transfer of Latin into Old High German. However, the linguistic potential of the process of writing will also be considered to describe glosses comprehensively and accurately.

Concerning Latin glosses commenting on Latin primary texts, there is no conventional translational relation. Nevertheless, Latin glosses also transfer specific information from their primary text into another linguistic form and therefore derive from the primary text in a hypertextual manner. Which function they fulfil is irrelevant to define the fundamental nature of this relation. In the case of vernacular glosses, the same applies, with the only difference being that in vernacular glosses, a transfer between languages happens. Instead of defining only autonomous vernacular texts as translations and therefore excluding specific kinds of glosses, as has been the case so far, the process of creating a vernacular gloss should be seen as a translational action. The outcome is a translation, in the sense that this term does not describe the function of the glosses but their relation to their primary

text, including the process of creation as well as the result. The function of glosses, however, as well as their cultural background, determine the shape of the translation. In vernacular glosses, translation was used as a method to fulfil the function of the glosses.

1.3.1.2. Horizontal Level: Syntactic Structures

In addition to the vertical level of writing and reading glosses, a horizontal level exists as well, which in its creation and perception closely depends on the layout of the glosses. The horizontal relations between glosses, which are equivalent to syntactic relations, have been mostly disregarded in studies on Old High German syntax. The first studies of syntax in glosses were carried out in the first half of the nineteenth century (e.g. Biener 1940) and have continued sporadically (Glaser 2000; B. Meineke 1997; Schmid 2009). Syntactic studies are now partly included in gloss editions, but there is still much material to be uncovered (Heidermanns & Morawetz 2020). Even though the close relation of glosses to their lemmas is listed as an argument against the usability of vernacular glosses as a source of syntactic information (Fleischer 2006, p. 27), syntactic studies show that glosses still can contribute to syntax research and that they were mistakenly left out. In particular, studies aimed at determining universal characteristics of Old High German syntax should include glosses to achieve a comprehensive insight into the language. The first reference work realising this approach extensively is the most recently published syntax by Hans Ulrich Schmid (2023) which frequently references glosses.

Syntax studies on glosses so far have shown that they partially express syntactic features equivalent to the features of continuous text, particularly regarding the word order (e.g. Glaser 2000; B. Meineke 1997; Schmid 2009). The focus lies mainly on glosses consisting of more than one word, whereby a syntactic relation is inherent. In theory, glosses, as long as they are written closely together, could be read horizontally, as if they constitute a text on their own (S. Müller 2003, pp. 318–9). The subjects of this discussion were, in particular, interlinear versions because they seem to build a continuous text (see fig. 6). To assume a horizontal or syntactic relation between glosses seemingly means that the glossator intended to create an autonomous vernacular text, which does not comply with the understanding of glosses as paratext.

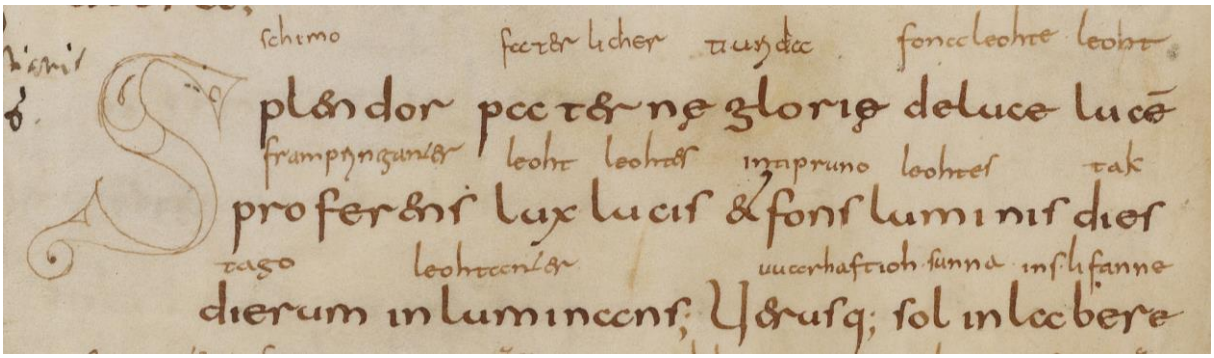


Fig. 6: A densely glossed part of the Murbach Hymns which could be read as continuous text (fol. 123v, ll. 17–8).

In difference to the vertical relations, which are essential for every formal gloss type, horizontal relations are only assumed in glosses which have a visual, horizontal relation – although in theory, glossators could have created marginal and context glosses with a syntactic relation in mind too. Text glosses that consist of several words are readily accepted as containing syntactic relations, possibly because they are clearly arranged in separate clusters (e.g. B. Meineke 1997). On the other hand, interlinear versions are either seen as expressing autonomous syntax entirely or not at all (Sonderegger 1965, p. 102), despite the fact that the continuous glossing of interlinear versions might have been carried out in clusters too.[15] The glossing process did not need to involve word-for-word glossing but could have been made phrase-for-phrase, which is obscured by the graphic presentation. The study of horizontal relations depends strongly on the perception of modern scholars and if they see a visual relation between the glosses, which would then be related to the content of the glosses.

Less obvious is syntactic information encoded in the grammatical features of single glosses. This type of syntactic relations in glosses has been proposed by Birgit Meineke (1997) and is partly reflected as syntactic or grammatical glosses in functional classifications (Schiegg 2015, pp. 101–2; Wieland 1983, p. 98). B. Meineke (1997, p. 56) argues that every gloss, even single-word glosses, is part of a vernacular syntactic structure. A glossator had to translate larger sections of the primary text to create comprehensible glosses in the vernacular; only by integrating the glosses into a larger syntactic context could they express the correct syntactic markers (Glaser 2013, p. 288; B. Meineke 1997, p. 81). Most of this vernacular context existed only virtually in the mind of the glossator (O. Ernst 2007, p. 567; B. Meineke 1997, p. 56). Not always did such a virtual syntax work as a template for glosses. B. Meineke (1997, p. 81) emphasises that the type of glossing varies in manuscripts and that an individual examination is necessary to determine on which foundation the text was glossed. She states that even when virtual vernacular syntax existed, the gloss was still a tool to make the Latin more accessible (B. Meineke 1997, p. 76). If this aim could be reached by creating a gloss that could be embedded in vernacular syntactic structures, the glossators did so. Of course, a distinction must be made between glosses that take up Latin syntactic markers and glosses which express vernacular ones. Meineke's model of a virtual vernacular syntax makes the syntactic relations expressed in grammatical features tangible. As soon as a gloss is inflected or contains words that state relations between different linguistic elements, the root of a possible syntactic structure is created, although the elements to which the gloss relates are not written down.

[15] The Old High German interlinear version of the *Regula Benedicti* (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 916), for example, is glossed very densely in the beginning, but later in the text, the glossing gets rarer and only clusters of glosses appear, supposedly because students needed less and less help while their reading progressed (Masser 2002, p. 45ff.).

1.3.2. Creating Manuscripts: Intertextual Structures

Individual glosses are analysed by the relation to their lemma and the primary text. Still, glosses were not created independently from each other but in larger functional units. A functional unit comprises all textual material that was created with the same intention. Therefore, analysing the layers of writing allows to determine which glosses were intended to have the same basic function, assuming that individual scribes carried out a more or less consistent glossing process. Because those relations are not bound to the textual borders of the primary text, I will call them intertextual relations.

Medieval manuscripts were not designed as finished and unchangeable documents, and examining the processes of editing is essential to understanding how their use changed over time. Glosses and additional texts were added in any space left in the manuscript (Holtz 1995, p. 63). Space was also left intentionally in manuscripts to allow further editing (Bergmann 2009a, p. 317; Krotz 2009, pp. 816–7). Additions of glosses and texts in already existing manuscripts were probably not random, but scribes intended to collate texts with related content or function. Certain text compilations occur in various manuscripts, which is evidence that their contents complement one another (e.g. as Henkel 1988 shows for school texts). Those compilations of texts and glosses were intentional but not necessarily written at the same time.

The temporal layers of writing in manuscripts constitute the functional units, which are indicated by palaeographical evidence of different scribes. The temporal layers of glosses are called *strata* (Blom 2017, p. 13; see O. Ernst & Glaser 2009, p. 999f., about the significance of gloss strata) and are determined by the continuous processes of editing through which most medieval texts were going (see fig. 7). Identifying the layers of writing is particularly important for gloss research because strata can be located inside or outside of the borders of the primary text and lead to another unit of analysis than the primary text. Therefore, possibly only parts of a primary text or several primary texts could be part of the analysis of one stratum. The recurring work with the primary text by glossators was made visible when they edited the primary text while they glossed (Moulin & Klaes 2007, p. 72). Several strata could complement a primary text and how and when they were written is evidence for the use of the manuscript. Although formally, glosses may seem like spontaneous entries, most of them probably were copied

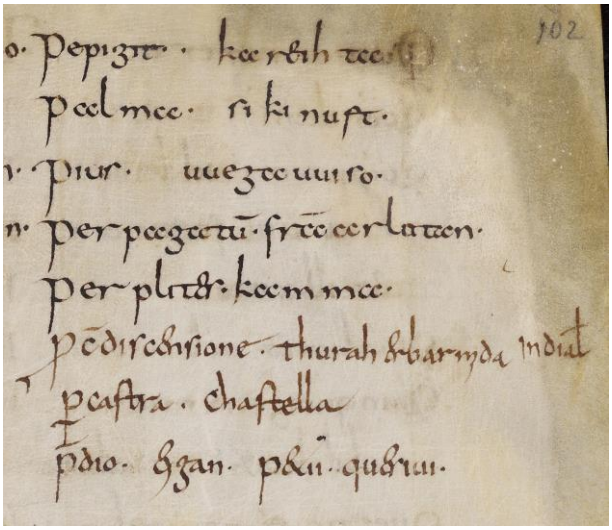


Fig. 7: A column of the glossary Jc (fol. 102r), in which the main hand (ll. 1–5) was supplemented by another hand (ll. 6–8) in space left intentionally for additions.

from other manuscripts, which becomes evident by comparing different glossaries or glossed texts (Blom 2017, p. 14; Moulin 2009b, p. 1661).[16] In this case, there could be several scenarios of copying: strata could be copied on their own, from one or several different sources, glosses and primary text could have been copied together, or glosses could be transformed into glossaries during the writing process. Different strata build onto each other, which is a process that could include editing and corrections. The evolving complex net of glosses represents the scholars' knowledge who worked with the text over centuries ('Wissensräume'; Moulin 2009a, p. 70). To untangle the different strata retrospectively, identify the sources, and make the editing processes visible is the task of modern scholars.

Strata do not comply with the borders of the primary text but represent individual writing processes. Therefore, I follow the definition of a stratum of glosses or hand as the result of one writing session, which one scribe conducted with one instrument of writing (Nievergelt 2007, p. 41). Defining the strata on those three levels is necessary not only to describe a stratum as a palaeographical phenomenon of the manuscript but also to express the intentional thought process that lies behind the glossing (Nievergelt 2007, p. 41). Out of the three aspects of determining a gloss hand, the person writing had the most influence on the character of the glossing (O. Ernst, Nievergelt & Schiegg 2019, pp. 456–7). Different hands belonging to the same scribe should therefore be combined in a stratum if the aim is to illustrate the individual use of linguistic features and the purpose of the glossing (O. Ernst, Nievergelt & Schiegg 2019, p. 457). Separating the strata of glosses in this way enables the modern scholar to interpret the intentions of the medieval scribe more accurately than analysing glosses only according to the borders of their primary text. In some cases, the intention of glossing could override the intention of the manuscript (Baldzuhn 2001, p. 486), and therefore, the different strata show the change of use of the manuscript. The same methods as identifying hands in texts can be used to identify different strata, but one needs to take into account how scribes adjusted the script of glosses to the existing layout of the page, which could lead to deviations between different glosses of one stratum (Nievergelt 2009, p. 280).[17]

The script of glosses shows a few characteristics which clearly distinguish it from the primary text. A systematic approach to classifying the palaeographical specifics of glossators was carried out by Andreas Nievergelt (2009) and can be complemented by one of his earlier publications concerning writing instruments (Nievergelt 2003; also Nievergelt 2007). Differences in the script (either within the glosses or between glosses and primary text) do not necessarily evidence different hands (Nievergelt

[16] A famous example is the *Summarium Heinrici*, which is preserved in forty-six manuscripts, all of which can be traced back to each other although the text was edited and revised in many of these copies (Stricker 2013).
[17] This assumption excludes encrypted glosses which represent a script that is characteristic of glosses (Nievergelt 2009, p. 270).

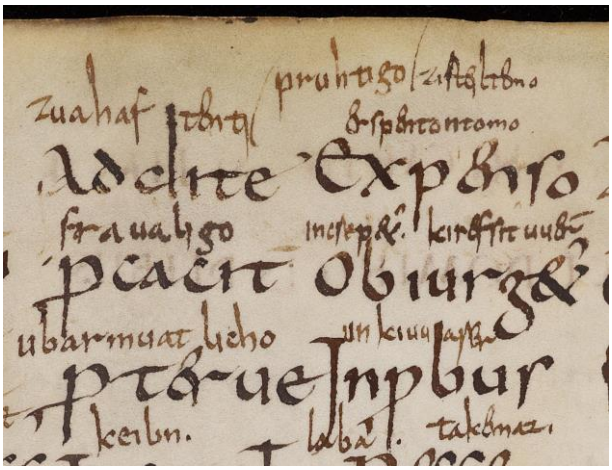


Fig. 8: The size and shape of the letters of these glosses was adjusted to the space between the lemmas but was also designed to differentiate between glosses and lemmas (fol. 122r[bc], ll. 1–3).

2003, p. 360). There are external influences that often lead to such differences and which operate on glosses. Nievergelt (2009) sees two main influences on the script of glosses and determines that they correlate closely with the function of the glosses. Glosses were written additionally to the primary text and therefore in between a finished text even when they were planned from the beginning on, which required an adaption of the script to the available space on the page, i.e. *economy of space* (Nievergelt 2009, pp. 270–1). Limited space could lead to a smaller script and abbreviations (Nievergelt 2009, pp. 271, 3) or deformations of single letters in comparison to the standard script, which mainly result in a more compact script, omission of baselines or correct segmentation, use of different letters and vertical stretching of the script (Nievergelt 2003, pp. 272–3). The second main influence on glosses is that they should visibly be different from the primary text, i.e. *marking features* (Nievergelt 2009, p. 274). Glosses should be identified distinctly as an addition to the primary text (see fig. 8). Some characteristics overlap with the features of the economy of space: vertical stretching, as well as a smaller script, could both be used to put glosses in contrast with the primary text (Nievergelt 2009, pp. 274–5). The script of glosses is strongly influenced by the layout of the primary text and their use as paratext.

More formal changes influence the script of glosses, which do not necessarily signal a change of scribe but rather a new writing process. Glosses could be underlined or highlighted with colour, or written with different writing instruments (Nievergelt 2009, pp. 274–5) which is a reliable method of differentiating the strata of glossing.[18] Relating to the severe adaption of the script in glosses, Nievergelt (2009, p. 280) concludes that the differences between the script of primary text and glosses or between the script of glosses by different instruments of writing do not necessarily evidence different scribes. Even if one scribe wrote primary text and glosses, for example, simply the graphic context of glosses could require a complete change of script. Thus, analysing the strata of glosses is more feasible than detecting different scribes (Nievergelt 2009, p. 280). As features that are helpful in identifying individual scribes, Nievergelt (2009, p. 280) lists ligatures, abbreviations, and features of letters that are unaffected by the adaptations. Therefore, glosses have distinct characteristics that are valid for all glosses and make it possible to differentiate them from the primary text, but

[18] Scratch glosses also have been overlooked for a long time because in general, they are hard to see and suffer more damage from the use and aging of manuscripts (Nievergelt 2003, p. 359).

simultaneously, the strata have their individual visual characteristics that depend on the scribes. While the differences between glosses and primary text were made intentionally to achieve a visual distinction, the individual scripts of the strata are an expression of the writing habits of the scribes.

1.3.3. Interlinear Versions: A Unique Type of Glossing

The complex structures in which glosses are embedded prove that they differ from other media that were created in the early Middle Ages. Glosses and especially interlinear versions, a specific type of glossing, work on several different levels. In the following chapter, I will discuss the concept of 'Zwischen-Schrift' ('writing in between') which was introduced by S. Müller (2003) to grasp the unique linguistic nature of glosses, and will develop it further with focus on the gloss type 'interlinear version'.

S. Müller (2003, p. 322) characterises 'Zwischen-Schrift' as:[19]

1. derived from writing and not from speech
2. detached from a concrete speech situation but is not abstracted from it
3. not designed to be either recited or read independently
4. shaped by simultaneous visual cues rather than by linear sequences
5. influenced by the pragmatics of its medium
6. serving a hermeneutics of visibility.

These characteristics illustrate glosses as a versatile phenomenon that was permanently fixed on the page. Müller emphasises that the concept is yet a draft and might be incomplete (S. Müller 2003, p. 322), but it manages to approximate the complexity of glosses on many levels. It is therefore a valuable foundation for the development of an approach that considers glosses comprehensively, as I am endeavouring to do in this work. One of Müller's main arguments is that glosses are bound to their presence on the page, in both creation (1, 2, and 5, S. Müller 2003, pp. 322, 5) and perception (3, 4, and 6, S. Müller 2003, pp. 324–5). Therefore, glosses are an inherently pragmatic medium in two senses. First of all, they are linguistically highly pragmatic because they cannot be separated from their functional context. Secondly, they are also pragmatic in a more colloquial meaning as practical issues (e.g. the form of the main text, the speed of writing) affected how they were written which Müller expresses mainly in point 5. To clearly differentiate between the two in the present work, I will use

[19] The English translation was done by me. Original citation: 'Die 'Zwischen-Schrift' ist: 1. abgeleitet von Schrift und nicht von Rede, 2. situationsabstrakt, aber nicht situationsabstrahierend, 3. vortragsfern und lektüreunfreundlich, 4. stärker geprägt von der Simultaneität visueller Kopräsenz als von linearer Textualität, 5. gekennzeichnet von einer Pragmatik der Schaufläche und 6. Medium einer Hermeneutik der Sichtbarkeit' (S. Müller 2003, p. 322).

'pragmatic' only in the linguistic sense, and instead use 'practical' to relate to material features concerned with the process of writing. S. Müller (2003) acknowledges that glosses were deeply influenced by their cultural, pragmatic, and practical context which ultimately shows that they can only be fully understood when interpreted within their material and linguistic surroundings. Furthermore, he states that glosses are different to text and need to be regarded as such. Following his model, we need to develop an entirely new approach to analysing glosses.

The concept of the functional net proposed in the present study concurs with Müller's theory. Glosses as paratext and hypertext are characterised by points 1 and 3. The speech situation defined in point 2 is contained in the function of the glosses and their strata that I intend to determine by analysing the translation skopoi. The visuality of glosses that influenced their creation but also their perception, reflected in 4 and 5, shall be regarded by examining the glosses in their original material context. In item 6, S. Müller (2003, p. 325) states that glosses form a visual unit with their main text and with each other that, whether it was planned or coincidental, affected and affects the reader. Therefore, to approach the original context in which glosses were created and used, it is necessary to untangle the different editing steps of glosses, main text, and manuscript which is implemented in using gloss strata as basic units of analysis.

Within this framework, interlinear versions must be given special consideration. Because glosses are highly influenced by their visual appearance on the page, interlinear versions which appear almost as continuous text deviate from other forms of glossing. This characteristic is reflected in items 4 and 6 of S. Müller's concept. In 4, he addresses the 'visuelle Kopräsenz' ('visual copresence', S. Müller 2003, p. 324) of glosses and main text, meaning that they are received simultaneously. However, glosses which are close to each other would also be read together. They do not have to relate to each other (S. Müller 2003, p. 324), but the design of interlinear versions supports seeing linear sequences in the glosses. In point 6, S. Müller (2003, p. 325) refers back to the idea of 'visual copresence' on the page and states that it would also raise the expectation that glosses have the same hermeneutic potential as their source text. This idea includes the expectation that continuous glosses would form syntactic structures. Interlinear versions therefore provide the prerequisite for the reader to perceive the glosses as syntactic, which transfers to the glossator who could be motivated to form syntactic structures. The concern was not anymore what should be glossed, but only how it should be glossed, linguistically and graphically. In addition to the vertical gloss-lemma relation, interlinear versions therefore have horizontal relations between the glosses that are stronger than in single text glosses or glossaries. They do not fundamentally differ from other types of glosses and are based on the same functional net, but they have a strong syntactic potential that lies within the visual copresence of the glosses.

The nature of interlinear versions is hard to grasp. They are glosses but because of the dense, text-like writing, they were often not categorised as such.[20] Steinmeyer (1916) has initially separated interlinear versions from glosses by including them in his collection of Old High German texts, 'Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler'. In recent years, scholarship has tended to classify interlinear versions as a genre separate from glosses and text (Voetz 2009, pp. 924–5). This classification usually goes hand in hand with mentioning their assumed use as teaching aids which emphasises that their particular characteristics are based on their function (Blom 2017, p. 139; Stanton 2002, p. 45). However, Blom (2017) proves that interlinear versions have served a wider range of purposes than traditionally assumed. For example, the *Lublin*/*Wittenberg* fragments were not used didactically but had a ceremonial function (2° H. Th. 677, Wittenberg, Bibliothek des evangelischen Predigerseminars; Cod. 8098 IV, Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa; Blom 2017, pp. 187–8). The interlinear versions could still have been created as didactic material and later transferred into the representative manuscripts, because interlinear versions were copied between manuscripts just as other gloss types (Blom 2017, p. 242). Only a close analysis of the glossing methods could reveal their original function. The most important characteristic that links different interlinear versions together is their layout (Blom 2017, p. 242; Voetz 2009, p. 925) which is a clear basis for identifying them. Nevertheless, the history of the creation of individual manuscripts must be taken into account since interlinear versions could have arisen from a few single glosses which were supplemented with each copying process until the whole text was glossed (Blom 2017, p. 242). Therefore, some interlinear versions could contain glosses which are oriented purely vertically towards their lemmas as often assumed (Voetz 2009, p. 921),[21] but not all of them are. The visual potential for syntactic structures exists, and in combination with the versatility of glosses as expressed in Müller's concept 'Zwischenschrift', it becomes evident that individual analyses are needed to understand interlinear versions fully. To grasp the nature of interlinear versions, I propose the following definition which will be the basis of my analysis: Interlinear versions are a gloss type that is primarily determined by the vertical gloss-lemma relationship, but they have a unique visual potential due to their dense glossing, which supports the formation of horizontal syntactic links similar to text. Within both structures lies their functionality, supported by the visual features of the glosses.

[20] Resulting in dilemmas such as that some Old High German interlinear versions are missing in dictionaries of glosses because the authors considered them as texts (Voetz 2009, p. 888).

[21] This statement is even extended in Blom (2017, pp. 136–7), where he writes: 'the target language of an interlinear version is first and foremost the Latin of the principal text'. 'Target language' is here defined functionally and means that glosses only serve the language of their lemmas, Latin is therefore the target of a gloss, regardless of its own language. This definition concurs with the understanding of translation as independent text (Voetz 2009, p. 921). In this work, translation is defined much broader as transfer between sign systems. It has no functional basis (see chapter 1.3.1.1), which also applies to the concept of 'target language'. The target language would always be the sign system of the translation, which in the case of vernacular glosses is the vernacular.

1.4. The Correlation of Linguistics and Function in Vernacular Glosses

Glosses are part of complex textual structures and processes of transmission. Therefore, a comprehensive analysis of their linguistics and functional characteristics requires two approaches. The first one sets glosses and their primary text in a historical context. They are part of a manuscript, which is a cultural object. Thus, a material analysis of the codex provides information about its unique history and helps us understand how the pragmatic context influenced the use of the texts. On the other hand, a focus on the linguistics of the glosses is essential to determine how the function of each gloss is expressed in its grammatical features. This approach consists of a close reading combined with an analysis of the textual structures and language transfer. Combining the two perspectives, for one, the general function of the glosses, and for another, the individual glossing choices, leads to a comprehensive picture of the glossator's intention and the function of the glosses, painting a picture of how glossed manuscripts were produced and used. In the following, I will elaborate on the foundation of both approaches in relation to pragmatics.

1.4.1. The Manuscript as Cultural Object

Identifying the use of a manuscript does not only include identifying its functional category, for example, classbook, representative book, book for private studies or liturgical use, which often overlap (Baldzuhn 2009, p. 44; Wieland 1985, pp. 172–3), but also how the individual object was used. Not only could a manuscript be used in various contexts, but the function which was initially intended could change over time (Wieland 1985, pp. 172–3). Unexpected traces of use in manuscripts, such as late glosses in highly prestigious manuscripts as the Lindisfarne Gospels (Cotton MS Nero D IV, London, British Library), can testify to evolving working methods within the same context of use (Stanton 2002, p. 53).[22] Identifying the use of a manuscript within its cultural setting is necessary to situate the linguistic features in their pragmatic context (Habermann & Ziegler 2012, p. 7; Schiegg 2015, p. 54). In this regard, everything on the page can contribute to the information that is encoded linguistically (Carroll et al. 2013, p. 56). Thus, not only glosses but also secondary notations and metatextual comments should be part of the analysis, because all of them could be evidence of the context of their creation and, therefore, the editing processes and use of the manuscript (Schiegg 2014, p. 323). When one analyses the pragmatics of manuscripts, they should be regarded as 'communicative objects' which communicate via their visual presentation (Carroll et al. 2013, p. 56; cf. Jucker & Pahta 2011).

[22] In this case, the Latin main text was glossed in Old English which proves the changing attitude towards the vernacular in Anglo-Saxon culture (Stanton 2002, p. 53).

To analyse the correlation between the visual aspects of a manuscript and its pragmatics, Ruth Carroll et al. (2013, p. 56) propose a four-stage model which is based on the comparison of different versions of the text (defined as utterances of the text) whose graphic differences are then related to pragmatic and linguistic features. Carroll et al. (2013) show that by this method, the visual presentation of one manuscript can be related to its specific communicative function in opposition to other manuscripts containing the same text. Analysing different versions of one text, i.e. utterances, is essential for carrying out this analysis, and therefore the use of the term utterance with respect to historical texts requires further consideration. While in current pragmatic research, utterances foremost are seen as spoken words, historical pragmatics rely on written sources solely. Although certain types of written text can be equated with spoken text and therefore the same distinction of utterances can be used, in historical pragmatics, textual material with less connection to spoken language is interpreted with regard to its communicative purposes too (Taavitsainen & Jucker 2010, p. 9). Furthermore, Carroll et al. (2003, pp. 3–4) emphasise the variability of early medieval texts: because texts were copied and commented on by hand by different scribes, every copying process creates an individual text which differs from its predecessors (cf. also Kraß 1996, pp. 99–100). Each manuscript, therefore, has its individual pragmatic characteristics, expressed in its unique materiality, and can be interpreted as one utterance of the text (Carroll et al. 2003, p. 4). Hence, Carroll et al. (2013) compare different copies of the same text in regard to their pragmatics.

Not only the whole manuscript but also the individual strata of glossing communicate information via their layout. Schiegg (2015, p. 69ff.) discusses the relationship between the meaning and visual presentation of glosses as a precondition for analysing the graphic expression of glosses. He explores the relationship between form and function of vernacular glosses using the following categories: position on the page, writing instrument, use of cypher, number of textual units in a gloss, number of strata glossing one lemma, markers as gloss, language (Schiegg 2015, p. 71). He also emphasises that the layout of glosses does not convey its content but allows distinguishing glosses from the primary text and identifying strata (Schiegg 2015, pp. 70–1). Therefore, the visuality of glosses is linked mainly to their functionality.

Strata are not only textual functional units, as shown earlier in this study (see chapter 1.3.2), but also visual functional units. Every editing process could mark a change of use, for example, the addition of glosses (as shown by e.g. Hellgardt 1998, pp. 34–5). Every newly written copy of a manuscript is an individual communicative object, and its communicative function changes with every additional editing process recorded on the page. In relation to the model by Carroll et al. (2013), each temporal layer of editing would therefore be a separate utterance that one needs to analyse regarding its visual characteristics. Although the several strata of glosses would have the same basic paratextual function, commenting on the primary text, they can convey a change of use of the manuscript. Based

on the function as paratext, the visuality of the different layers of glosses and editing can be compared in the same way as the different utterances of the primary text to explore the functional history of the manuscript (Jucker & Pahta 2011, p. 4).

The model by Carroll et al. (2013) solely focuses on the visual characteristics of text, but the materiality of the manuscript and how users changed it over time gives additional evidence about the use of the manuscript. A thorough codicological analysis of the particular manuscript can link the material aspects to the object's functionality (as carried out by e.g. Rudy 2016; Thomson 2018). Codicological characteristics, such as how the pages were prepared or the quality of parchment, allow drawing conclusions about the intention behind creating a manuscript even before text was added (Thomson 2018, p. 270ff.). However, the later work with the text could affect the material aspects of the object. Users would add or remove folios, cut out pieces, or rearrange existing textual material, and these processes signal how a particular manuscript was used (Rudy 2016, pp. 3–4). A perspective on manuscripts as cultural objects requires complementing their linguistic analysis with visual and codicological characteristics to determine how their functionality developed over time.

1.4.2. Glosses as Agents of Linguistic Knowledge

The relation between the gloss and its lemma constitutes the individual function of glosses, i.e. the information they convey. This link is also reflected in the methodological approaches which have been used in historical linguistics so far, however, they include evaluating the quality of glosses. In the following, I will first reflect on these approaches by explaining how Glaser (2013) actualised and refined them. Then, I will propose a different approach that centres the realisation of language transfer as a method to express the function and allows an unbiased analysis of glosses by using a functional theory of translation by Reiß and Vermeer (1984).

The approach by Glaser (2013), the most recent development of the classification by Götz (1977; cf. chapter 1.1.1), compares gloss and lemma by their grammatical and functional features to analyse how glosses transmit information. Glaser (2013, p. 291) focuses specifically on lexical glosses, roughly defined as 'a lexical unit (usually a word, sometimes more) which explains another lexical unit in such a way that both lemma and gloss have approximately equivalent meaning' (Wieland 1983, pp. 26–7). Glaser (2013, p. 290) acknowledges that other gloss types exist in Old High German but sees lexical glosses as the most common type of Old High German glosses. This approach assigns a specific set of functions to the glosses. In detail, the relationship between gloss and primary text is based on two categories: formal congruency and context-related and functional adequacy (Glaser 2013, p. 296). Using those two categories should describe the relation between gloss and lemma sufficiently enough

to determine the function of the gloss (Glaser 2013, p. 295-6).[23] A departure from the Latin original is considered to be meaningful and hints towards the function of the gloss. If a gloss is congruent in its grammatical features to its lemma, it is formally congruent. The category of context-related and functional adequacy describes glosses that do not show formal congruency but still represent the corresponding Latin sufficiently. They often are based on differences between the two linguistic systems. While context-related adequacy prevails when the gloss is sensitive to the specific meaning of its lemma in its context, for example, by expressing an unusual but in this context fitting meaning, functional adequacy refers to the linguistic function of the source text. When no functional adequacy is given, the gloss might be incorrect (Glaser 2013, p. 296) – which presupposes that glosses primarily aim to express the same linguistic function as their lemma to convey an equivalent meaning, as stated in the definition by Wieland (1983, pp. 26–7). This is not necessarily the case. The example for functional inadequacy given by Glaser (2013, p. 296) is the glossing of inflected nouns with an uninflected form (*Grundformglossierung*). In this case, the meaning of gloss and lemma can still be equivalent but the gloss is not subsumed under the categories of congruency and adequacy. One would need to consider the other glosses of the document or even other glossed sources to identify if the gloss follows a common glossing principle (Glaser 2013, p. 296).

What is not reflected by the lexical glosses of Glaser (2013) is that the functionality of glosses does not require a close transfer of the lemma into the vernacular. Vernacular glosses translate their primary text and also comment on the text, therefore, instead of mirroring the source text in all its characteristics, glosses needed to be understood by the recipients. Therefore, the aim of glossators was not to duplicate the original text but to convey specific information from it in a way that could be understood by a possible non-expert (in Latin, religious studies, or the relevant field in which the text was used). In terms of translation, by glossing, the textual material from the primary text had to be adapted to the vernacular's linguistic norms and cultural aspects. Although the source of information is the primary text, the entity to which the gloss is aligned is the language of the gloss. This translational relation can be captured by the Skopos theory by Reiß and Vermeer (1984), a functional approach to translation.[24] Its basic principle is that each translation is carried out by following the translation's skopos, which combines purpose, aim, and function (and as a subcategory of function, intention) of a translation in one concept (Reiß & Vermeer 1984, pp. 96, 8). As long as the outcome, the target text, fulfils the skopos, it is an appropriate translation, even if that means a substantial deviation from the source text (Bassnett 2014, p. 84). The skopos defines which information from the source text is taken

[23] Glaser (2013, p. 296) also mentions that the glossing process in general should be analysed but focuses on the gloss-lemma relation.

[24] Klaus Ridder and Jürgen Wolf (2000) firstly proposed to apply the Skopos theory to Old High German material, but their understanding of translation follows the conventional approach of it being one possible function of glosses (cf. chapter 1.3.1.1).

and encoded in the target text, thus creating a new 'offer of information' (Nord 1997, p. 32). The information offered in the target text relies on the offer of information from the source text, but they cannot be identical because of linguistic and cultural discrepancies (Nord 1997, p. 35).

Applying Reiß' and Vermeer's concepts of adequacy and equivalence, as used in Skopos theory, allows to describe the relationship between gloss and lemma in detail without making exceptions. Assuming that glossators were experienced in their work, adequacy can be expected for most glosses, which means that they are an adequate translation in relation to their specific skopos instead of mandatorily reproducing the function of their source text (Reiß 2015, p. 163). I will therefore interpret glosses as faithful translations according to their individual skopoi, unless it is evident that they are based on a misreading of the lemma in which case a mistake by the glossator is assumed. The flexible parameters are the possibly different skopoi of the individual glosses and the linguistic levels on which the glosses are equivalent to their lemma. This study aims to identify the skopos of glosses and to achieve that, the levels of equivalence need to be identified. This approach is partly contrary to the focus of Skopos theory, in which adequacy is the central concept defining translations (Reiß & Vermeer 1984, p. 139). However, Skopos theory describes translation from the translator's perspective, who needs to establish an adequate translation to its skopos and for which the specific levels of equivalence are secondary.[25] In contrast, for texts for which the translational act is already completed, such as glosses, equivalence can be used to identify the skopos. The example of *Grundformglossierung* could then easily be classified as equivalent on the semantic level, while there is no equivalence of its grammatical form. The basic principle of determining the equivalence between gloss and lemma is the same as that used in gloss research, comparing lemma and gloss and finding deviations and concordances, but equivalence does not predefine the features in which gloss and lemma have to match. Reiß (2015, p. 162) defines the equivalence of interlinear versions or word-for-word translations, which are functionally defined as the same category as glosses, on the word level. This perspective is narrow, though, as equivalence can exist on various levels, such as morphology, semantics, or phonology. Predefined categories as used by Glaser (2013) result in clear classifications and emphasise the main functions of glosses. However, analysing the equivalence of each linguistic level specifies the function of an individual gloss much more precisely and incorporates the individual writing process. Furthermore, it does not evaluate the quality of glosses. Instead, the gloss-lemma relation is analysed in detail, and the linguistic features of the gloss are linked to its function.

[25] In regard to historical glosses, the terms 'translator' and 'glossator' need to be defined properly. 'translator' usually means the person who initially created the glosses, while a 'glossator' is anyone who glossed, regardless of whether the glosses were copies or original translations. Since we do not know the origin of the glosses of the Murbach Hymns, I will refrain from using the term 'translator'.

1.5. Conclusion: The Functional Net of Vernacular Glosses

In the present chapter, I have identified the factors that influenced the way glosses were written in the Middle Ages. Glosses were embedded in a complex functional net. It is based first and foremost on the vertical textual relationships that glosses have as paratext to a primary text. Vernacular glosses in particular are further constituted by their hypertextual relation to the source text, as they are translations. The vertical structure, however, did not prevent glossators from expressing horizontal syntactic relations between glosses. Although theoretically each gloss can be conceptualised as part of a virtual syntax, it is in continuous glossing, such as interlinear versions, that the visual presentation of the glosses facilitates syntactic structures. This characteristic leads to the third part of the functional net, the visual features. The linguistic features of a gloss may influence how it is presented on the page, but positioning and writing style may also guide how glosses are perceived. As I have shown, both textual and visual features are constitutive of interlinear glosses and are closely related. It is therefore important to regard them not separately but to consider their mutual interactions.

Glosses are constituted not only by their formal textual and visual structures but also by their pragmatic nature. As has been demonstrated, glosses are a highly pragmatic phenomenon. On the one hand, they were written to convey information about another text and can therefore only be fully understood by considering their function. But they are also pragmatic in their creation, which I will call 'practical' in the following work. Glossing was influenced by the context of writing, i.e. the real-life circumstances in which a scribe would work and the visual context on the page. It was therefore a process that had to be adapted spontaneously. To achieve a meaningful translation, the glossators used their natural understanding of Old High German, meaning that they knew the language well and used it intuitively. Traces of the practical context can still be found in the glosses, but also in the codicological features of the manuscript. Since the manuscript as a cultural object was subject to many revisions and was not produced in a single operation, each work step may have been influenced by different practical and pragmatic circumstances. It is therefore necessary to specify the gloss strata when studying glosses. This applies not only to linguistic analyses, as in this work, but should also be the foundation of literary and cultural studies.

In the following study, I will determine the textual, visual and pragmatic circumstances of the glosses of the Murbach Hymns in order to find out which function the individual glosses and gloss strata had. Only by positioning the glosses within the functional net can their hermeneutic relationship with the Latin main text be thoroughly defined. Ultimately, analysing glosses in this way will lead to a conclusion as to which features of the glosses were derived from the vernacular linguistic system and will allow to paint a comprehensive picture of the function of the complex phenomenon 'gloss'.

2. The Murbach Hymns: Material Aspects and Transmission

The material aspects of the manuscript MS. Junius 25 (Oxford, Bodleian Library), the Murbach Codex, attest to the complex processes of transmission and editing that the Murbach Hymns have undergone. In order to clarify the connection between the material evidence and the functional and linguistic context, I will first take a closer look at the history of the Murbach Hymns and then analyse the manuscript codicologically and palaeographically, focusing on the Hymns.

2.1. The History of the Murbach Hymns

To present the history of the Murbach Hymns comprehensively, I will highlight various aspects of the text in the following chapter. These include the reception in research, which will show how much the modern perspective on a medieval text can influence its interpretation, the history of its creation, which will outline the cultural context, and finally the use of the text in the Middle Ages. All of this will frame the following analyses, material and linguistic, and illustrate how to work with a medieval text.

2.1.1. The History of Editions

The Murbach Hymns have been studied for almost two hundred years before the manuscript was digitised in 2021. Most research therefore depended on the printed editions. While the editing principles have strongly influenced the reception of the Murbach Hymns, the controversy over the text led to ever new editions, each taking a different approach. The first editions, by Jacob Grimm (1830), Eduard Sievers (1874), Cyrille Vogel (1958) and Ursula Daab (1963), show the Latin text and Old High German glosses in separate columns. Grimm's edition, based on Franciscus Junius' handwritten copy, explains that the juxtaposition facilitates the study of the text (Grimm 1830, p. 5), Sievers (1874, p. IV) adopted Grimm's layout, and Daab (1963, p. 29), in turn, adopted Sievers'. Grimm's choice influenced research for over a century, and although Vogel (1958) does not justify the layout, the publication probably followed the tradition – especially because it focuses on the Latin text (Vogel 1958, p. 1). Grimm and Sievers, on the other hand, wanted to present the glosses as continuous poetic text. Although Grimm did not believe that the vernacular was used in church services, both saw them as autonomous translations. The layout reflects their ambition (see fig. 9), which was also responsible in subsequent research

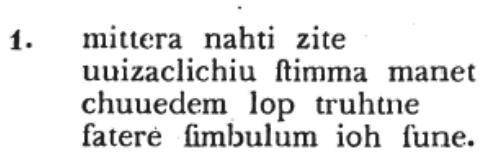
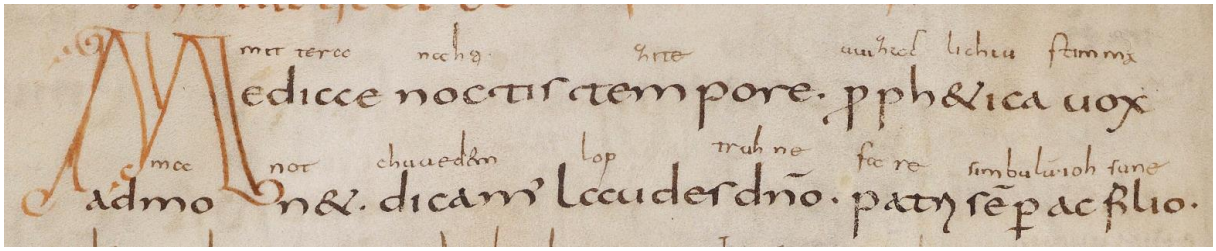

1. mittera nahti zite
uuizaclichiu ſtimma manet
chuuedem lop truhtne
fatere ſimbulum ioh ſune.

Fig. 9: The glosses of the Murbach Hymns presented as continuous poetic text in the first edition by Grimm (1830, p. 17).

for the interpretation of the Old High German interlinear glosses as independent text (Voetz 2013, p. 278f.).[26]

Sievers' edition was and is the authoritative edition of the Murbach Hymns (cf. Voetz 2013, p. 278). The early edition by Paul Piper (1898), which presents the hymnal as an interlinear version, had little influence. Piper gives no reason for the choice of layout, but it was apparently part of his agenda to edit texts close to the manuscript (cf. the edition of Notker's texts, Piper 1882–1883; or of the gospel harmony by Otfrid of Weißenburg, Piper 1882–1884). Only after a general shift in the approach to medieval manuscripts in the late twentieth century did the Murbach Hymns editions break away from their traditional presentation. In the course of 'New Philology' (cf. Nichols 1990), the material, textual, and visual context of medieval works was taken into account, which resulted in an interlinear layout for interlinear versions such as the 'St. Pauler Lukasglossen' by Lothar Voetz (1985) or the Rule of St Benedict by Achim Masser (1997), and also the Murbach Hymns. In the publications by Chiara Simbolotti (2009), Ute Siewerts (2010), and Stefanie Gerhards (2018), the print reproduces the manuscript in great detail (see fig. 10). All authors, quite in contrast to the earliest editions, had a clear goal. They aim to visualise the text as medieval scribes and readers would have seen it, to illustrate the correlation between Latin and Old High German during the process of writing and using the text (Gerhards 2018, pp. 7, 50; Siewerts 2010, pp. 15, 33; Simbolotti 2009, p. LII). In Gerhard's edition, achieving this goal also meant departing from the constructed order of the Hymns Ha-Hb and following the manuscript's order Hb-Ha (Gerhards 2018, p. 7). On the basis of these editions and the digitised version, the Murbach Hymns can be analysed more independently of the editor's interpretations. The



1 (122)
mit tera nahti zite uuizac lichiu stimma

Mediae noctis tempore· p[ro]phetica vox
ma not chuuedem lop truh(ti) ne fa(te) re simbulu[m] ioh sune
admonet· dicam[us] laudes d[omi]no· pater se[m]p[er] ac filio·

Fig. 10: The first two lines of the Murbach Hymns (fol. 122v) in the manuscript (top) and in the close representation in the edition by Siewerts (2010, p. 35; bottom). *patri* in the second line was was wrongly transcribed as *pater*.

[26] Similarly, the authoritative edition of Old High German glosses by Steinmeyer and Sievers (1879–1922) was criticised for presenting the vernacular glosses separate from their textual context which led to the impression that they were an isolated phenomenon (B. Meineke 1997, p. 56).

complex editing history of the Murbach Hymns documents not only the shift in the analysis of medieval texts, but also the uncertainty in dealing with textual material that does not fit into the conventional categories of 'text' and 'gloss'. The editions therefore represent different approaches to interlinear versions, all of which have their justification and make important insights possible, but culminate in the need for modern research to orient itself towards medieval reality, which is only possible by analysing the text in its original setting.

2.1.2. The Hymns in the Making: Sources and Transmission

The collection of hymns in the Murbach Codex represents a unique set of hymns whose direct sources are unknown. The driving force behind their compilation is not yet clear. Scholars generally refer to the studies of Helmut Gneuss (1968, 2000), who classified the Murbach Hymns in relation to other early hymn collections. According to Gneuss (2000, p. 233), the Murbach Hymnal belongs to the type 'Fränkisches Hymnar' ('Franconian hymnal'), which is a new category in contrast to the older classification by Clemens Blume (1908). This type of hymnal occurred for only one century, between the eighth and ninth centuries, in northeastern France and in the southwest of the German-speaking area (Gneuss 2000, pp. 233–4; specifically the writing centres Corbie and Reichenau, Jullien 1990, p. 91). Gneuss (2000, p. 234) sees it as a reformed and expanded version of earlier hymnals because it substantially changed the liturgical procedure. Marie-Hélène Jullien (1990, pp. 91–2) interprets it as a failed attempt at hymnal reform because of its short period of use. According to Gneuss (2000, p. 234), hymnals in five other manuscripts belong to the Franconian type: Rh 34 (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek), Reg. lat. 11 (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), Lat. 528, Lat. 13159, and Lat. 14088 (all Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France). The hymnals of Rh 34, Reg. lat. 11, Lat. 14088, and Junius 25 were written in the tradition of the same ancient authors (Caesarius and Aurelianus; Jullien 1990, pp. 86, 9, 90; Vogel 1958, p. 15) and could therefore have the same source (Vogel 1958, p. 15). The hymnal of Rh 34 is interpreted as the closest relative of the Murbach Hymns since they have a similar arrangement and inventory (Blume 1908, p. 59; Vogel 1958, p. 12). However, the manuscript is fragmentary and only eight hymns survived, half of which are incomplete (cf. Gneuss 2000, p. 244). The hymnal in Lat. 528, which has survived in its entirety, is seen as the second closest to the Murbach Hymns (Jullien 1990, p. 88). The Murbach Hymnal cannot be clearly placed in a line of tradition, but similarities with other Latin hymnals prove that it is a specific type of hymnal that was known in liturgical use.

The vernacular translation of the hymnal is even more obscure in its transmission since the Murbach Hymns contain the only vernacular interlinear glossing of hymns from this period. They are therefore a particularly valuable source. Sievers (1874, p. 4) and others (cf. Ehrismann 1918, p. 258;

Firchow 1972, p. [ix] fn. 11; Krotz 2002, p. 222) were of the opinion that the Murbach Hymns could be linked to a ninth-century catalogue entry from Reichenau that mentions *carmina theodisca*, but Bernhard Bischoff (1981) argued against this. *hymni*, not *carmina*, would be the appropriate designation for the Hymns which are titled as such in the manuscript (Bischoff 1981, p. 81). Furthermore, he stated that the Hymns were glossed only to teach Latin so that another catalogue description *carmina diversa ad docendam Theodiscam linguam* could not refer to them (Bischoff 1981, p. 81), a belief I will challenge in the present work. Whether the glosses of the Murbach Hymns are the original or have been copied from a model, as was common in medieval writing practice, is unknown. This uncertainty becomes particularly important in light of a thesis by Gerhards (2018, p. 48), who argues that the glosses originally translated a different version of Latin hymns. As evidence, she cites scribal errors in the Latin that were not transferred into the glosses, as well as glosses that correspond with other versions of the Latin hymns (Gerhards 2018, pp. 47–8). Although the theory would be a logical explanation for discrepancies between Latin and German in certain cases, it is not tenable with regard to medieval writing and study practices. The glossator worked with the Latin on the page, regardless of another original, and probably knew a version of the hymns by heart as required in monastery schools (cf. chapter 2.1.3). The evidence presented in this study will furthermore show that the deviations presented by Gerhards differ depending on the strata which indicates that they were based on the scribes' individual knowledge of the text rather than an alternative source. I will therefore assume a conscious and attentive glossator. Since it is not possible to relate the vernacular glosses of the Murbach Hymns directly to any other hymnal, they stand alone in this respect, but their theological background can be linked to the tradition of Latin hymns, and the characteristics of the glosses can be contrasted with other texts in their context of use.

2.1.3. The 'Sitz im Leben': Glosses in Medieval Education

Vernacular glossing, especially interlinear glossing, is associated with education in classrooms and self-study, which can also be assumed for the Murbach Hymns. Since texts documenting lessons are only available for the later Middle Ages (cf. J. Müller 1885), glosses, Latin and vernacular, provide first-hand information on how teachers and pupils worked with the texts. A few glosses from the early Middle Ages directly comment on teaching (Schiegg 2016, p. 69),[27] but most glosses give indirect indications. To deduce how glosses supported education, it is important to distinguish between the contexts in which they were written and the contexts in which glosses were used, as Schiegg (2015, p. 156) points out. Michael Baldzuhn (2009, p. 44) sees glosses generally as polyfunctional and suggests that, even in

[27] Schiegg (2016, p. 69) gives two examples from Clm 6263 (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; edited by O. Ernst 2007, p. 165): *gihuclih* 'by heart', which was 'a hint to recite the passage by heart', and *gimahidilih* 'jointly', which 'indicated a collective reading' (Schiegg 2016, p. 69).

textbooks, they were not only tailored to educational purposes. As manuscripts were reused in various contexts glosses were probably comprehensible to readers in general, regardless of their initial context (Baldzuhn 2009, p. 44; Blom 2017, p. 285ff.). Furthermore, the function of glosses within a manuscript may vary, so conceptualising manuscripts as having a clear purpose may lead to false conclusions (Schiegg 2015, p. 153). Nevertheless, a primary function as a teaching and learning tool can be assumed for some glosses (Schiegg 2015, pp. 149–50) and some characteristics apply to the majority of glossed textbooks (Henkel 1988, pp. 155–6). In contrast to representative manuscripts, the content of schoolbooks was most important, therefore they often have a simple style and the writing may show signs of inconsistency and carelessness. Usually, the main text had space between the lines, so that glosses or secondary notations could be written in between (Moulin 2009a, p. 66). Interlinear versions are a significant example of these manuscripts which were designed to be worked with.

Glosses written during private studies may differ in appearance from glosses written during or for school lessons. Monks usually studied on their own after reaching the highest level of education to deepen their theological knowledge (Schiegg 2015, p. 173). Existing glosses were utilised, but students also created their own. The common writing instrument for spontaneous glosses during textual studies was a stylus to write scratch glosses (Schiegg 2015, p. 176).[28] This instrument allowed the regulation of the intensity of the indentation and therefore to decide whether the gloss was well visible to other readers (Nievergelt 2007, p. 68). Formal features such as abbreviations that concealed the content from others were also applied often in private studies (Schiegg 2015, p. 178). Decoding these glosses is said to rely on the reader's memory (Holtz 1995, pp. 72–3). How easily a gloss could be deciphered can be an indication of the pragmatic context for which it was written.

Although school as an institution was not yet established, there was a consensus in the High German-speaking areas about essential educational texts.[29] School reading aimed to explore the content and language of these texts which was facilitated by using the vernacular (Henkel 1988, p. 98ff.), although it was otherwise forbidden to speak Old High German in order to encourage practising Latin (Henkel 1988, p. 95).[30] This function of the vernacular is particularly reflected in glosses (Henkel 1988, pp. 99–100). Since manuscripts were rare, they were only used by teachers (Baldzuhn 2002, p. 164) who made their own 'working copies' in which they could take notes and compile texts (Baldzuhn 2006, pp. 261–2). During lessons, teachers first dictated the text, which the pupils wrote down and

[28] The converse does not apply: Oliver Ernst, Andreas Nievergelt, and Markus Schiegg (2019) show that scratch glosses can have many different functional contexts.

[29] A list of the literary canon of classical Latin texts used in classrooms is presented in Henkel (1988, p. 215ff.). It contains fifty-seven texts. On the importance of literary canons in the early middle ages, see Moulin (2009a, pp. 60–1).

[30] Sources which state the use of vernacular in school lessons in monasteries are known mostly from the late Middle Ages but the regulations were presumably similar since the ninth century (Henkel 1988, p. 99).

memorised, and secondly explained the Latin grammar and the content (Baldzuhn 2021, pp. 84–5; Schiegg 2015, p. 138; Wieland 1985, p. 172). Students did not have permanent copies, but were entirely dependent on the short-term notes on their wax tablets and on their memory (Baldzuhn 2006, pp. 260, 5). Student's comments could be included in the manuscript, the majority of glosses, however, may have been written in private studies (cf. Baldzuhn 2021, p. 84; Blom 2017, p. 285). Nevertheless, glosses were indispensable in the classroom and represent the universal memory of all teachers and students who used the text.

Only from the twelfth century onwards did commentary practice change to a more systematic form (Baldzuhn 2006, p. 279), but in the early Middle Ages, glosses did not follow a fixed structure. Teachers could afford sparse or incomplete glosses because they already had the necessary knowledge; the same manuscripts, however, were not suitable for students to begin their private studies (Baldzuhn 2006, p. 268). Only extensive commentaries such as by Notker can be imagined to be used by beginners privately (Schiegg 2015, p. 141). Education differed according to monastery and teacher (Schiegg 2015, p. 132), but despite the differences, there was a curriculum containing three stages. First students learned to read and write Latin, in the second grade they systematically studied Latin, and the third stage involved extensive theological studies, which the students often did on their own (Schiegg 2015, pp. 134–8). Vernacular glosses were probably used primarily at the intermediate level, in which the *septem artes liberales* were studied, with an emphasis on grammar (Schiegg 2015, p. 135). Students entering this stage knew the basics but needed a deeper understanding of Latin, which meant learning 'its structure and peculiarities' (McKitterick 1989, pp. 13–4). Vernacular glosses translating Latin and thus bridging Latin and Old High German linguistics were suitable teaching tools to achieve this goal.

2.2. Codicological and Palaeographic Analysis of the Murbach Codex

In the following chapter, I will analyse the codicological and palaeographic aspects of the Murbach Codex, starting with the Murbach Hymns. This examination will consolidate the cultural context presented in the last chapter, underline the methodological approach of analysing in strata, and set the frame for the linguistic and functional analysis.

2.2.1. Date and Origin of the Murbach Hymns: Palaeographic and Linguistic Analyses in Contrast

The Murbach Hymns consist of two parts, commonly referred to as Ha (fols. 122v–129v) and Hb (fols. 116r–117v). The glosses of both parts differ linguistically and palaeographically, which is why different times and places of origin have been suggested for Ha and Hb. Depending on the discipline on which the studies are based, however, they have come to different conclusions. Although they deal with the same textual material, linguistics and palaeography draw on different evidence and are independent of each other from a methodological point of view. As will become clear in this chapter, the separation of the two approaches does not make sense and the aim should be to combine the results effectively.

As for the place of origin of Ha and Hb, linguistic evidence has been obtained by analysing the phonetic features of the glosses, but the studies produced different results. Early research analysed the phonetic system of Ha and Hb as a single unit, which led to inaccurate and ambiguous conclusions. The first linguistic analysis was carried out by Adolf Socin (1882), inspired by the edition by Sievers (1874).[31] This work examined the sound phenomena[32] of a wide range of Alsatian charters, with the Hymns appearing only in the appendix. Socin (1882, p. 273) found that the Murbach Hymns are High Alemannic and must therefore have originated much further south than Murbach. Rudolf Koegel (1884, p. 325), using a different corpus and including inflection, determined that the Hymns are close to the Rhine Franconian Isidor and cannot be assigned to either Murbach or Reichenau. In a later paper, Koegel refined these results and formulated the theory that the glosses were originally High Alemannic, possibly from the Reichenau, in agreement with Socin (1882). Scribes in Murbach copied them and adapted them to their dialect, which was influenced by Franconian (Koegel 1897, p. 469).

[31] Sievers' edition was also the first one using the original manuscript, since it was believed to be lost until Sievers found it 1870/1 in Oxford (cf. Germann 1957). The earlier edition by Grimm (1830) was published after handwritten copies from Junius, which were faulty and edited silently (Germann 1957, pp. 328–9) and therefore not suitable for a meaningful linguistic analysis.

[32] Which are: 'der Umlaut, Diphthongisierung des ô, Monophthongisierung des au, ferner die Verhältnisse des ai und iu, sowie die hochdeutsche Verschiebung der Mutae' (Socin 1882, p. 103).

On the basis of these works, Ha and Hb were examined separately in later studies, with much more precise results. Koegel's theory on copying processes was corrected by Bernhard Schindling (1908), who concluded that both Ha and Hb were descended from a Rhine Franconian original, but that Ha was copied in Reichenau and then brought unchanged to Murbach, while Hb is the result of a Murbach copy (Schindling 1908, p. 160). In this comprehensive study, the entire phonetic and inflectional system of the glossary Jc is presented and compared with Ha and Hb as well as other texts. Jc represents a dialect specific to Murbach, a combination of High Alemannic (as written in St Gall) and South Rhine Franconian (Schindling 1908, p. 147).[33] The close relationship of Hb to Jc with simultaneous features of Rhine Franconian as well as the completely different sound system of Ha, which is much closer to High Alemannic, led to Schindling's conclusions (Schindling 1908, pp. 160, 2). Finally, Gustav Nutzhorn (1912) published the last comprehensive study of the phonetic system of the Murbach manuscripts, including the Hymns. The study is based on the assumption that Ha had an Alemannic original which was brought to Murbach and copied there, and that Hb was written shortly afterwards in Murbach, although the origin is unknown (Nutzhorn 1912, pp. 305, 8). Linguistic differences between the Hymns and the Reichenau dialect have been interpreted as the Murbach dialect by default (Nutzhorn 1912, p. 307). According to Nutzhorn (1912, p. 309), matching phonetic and orthographic features can be found in the Hymns and other texts, although they were written by different scribes at different times, which can only mean that they all originated in one writing tradition – that of Murbach monastery. In all studies, the same textual material was examined with approximately the same parameters and methods of text comparison, but set in relation to different corpora and based on different premises. The hymns clearly show Alemannic and Franconian features, with Ha being more Alemannic than Hb, but how this relationship came about – which features came from the original and which from the scribe – was interpreted differently.

When linguistic analysis is inconclusive, it is useful to resort to another method to determine where a historical text was written: palaeographic analysis. Palaeographic studies have been very straightforward compared to linguistic analyses. Hanns Fischer (1966, p. 10*) examined folio 122v, the first page of Ha, and characterised the writing as Caroline minuscule with Alemannic influence, recognisable by the frequent *nt*-ligature (see fig. 11). He also stressed stylistic features of Ha, abbreviations of middle parts or beginnings of glosses, and saw close relations to another

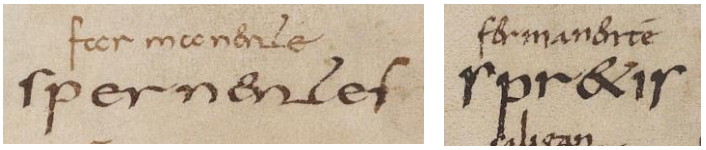


Fig. 11: The Caroline minuscule of Ha (fol. 122v, top) and Hb (fol. 116r, bottom) in contrast.

[33] The mix of dialects was a result of Franconian colonisation of the Murbach region (Baesecke 1966, p. 126). Schindling calls the Franconian dialect, originally from Weissenburg, which influenced the Murbach region 'South Franconian' (Schindling 1908, p. 143). This is another name for 'South Rhine Franconian' and determines the Southern Rhine Franconian dialect which is in close contact to Alemannic (Braune 2023, §6.2 and A.6).

Alemannic manuscript in all features (Fischer 1966, p. 10*). It follows that Ha must have been written on the Reichenau and Hb was added later in Murbach (Fischer 1966, p. 9*). The same results were reached by Bischoff (1981), who partly relied on Fischer's analysis, but also conducted his own investigation. Hb is from a Murbach hand, while Ha is a very characteristic Alemannic script used in Reichenau for about a quarter of a century (Bischoff 1981, pp. 80–1). Bischoff has compared and analysed the scripts of almost all known texts from the Carolingian period in order to give a comprehensive account of the writing traditions in this period (Bischoff 1981, p. 74). Even if palaeographic analysis cannot determine the origin of the text, it can shed light on the question of where the Hymns were written and which scribes might have influenced the linguistics with their dialect. Depending on whether one preferred the palaeographic or the linguistic results, research so far located the origin of Ha in Reichenau (Krotz 2002, p. 212; Voetz 2013, p. 273) or Murbach (Ehrismann 1918, p. 258; Firchow 1972, p. [xiii]). However, the clear findings of Bischoff (1981) and Fischer (1966) support some of the linguistic findings. Schindling (1908) and Nutzhorn (1912) see the same linguistic features but interpret them differently, although, with the additional evidence from palaeographic studies, Schindling's interpretation that Ha was written in Reichenau and brought to Murbach is more likely.

On the date of the writing of the Hymns, there is a similar wealth of study and evidence, both linguistic and palaeographic. Approximately, the pages can be dated to the beginning of the ninth century, but the exact date is uncertain. Linguistic studies have suggested the beginning of the ninth century for Ha and Hb (Nutzhorn 1912, p. 308) or, more precisely, the second decade of the ninth century (Socin 1882, p. 274). On the basis of palaeographic, linguistic and historical evidence, both parts were dated before 817, the year of the 'Murbacher Statuten' (Baesecke 1930, p. 20). Palaeographically, Ha was placed in the first quarter of the ninth century on the one hand (Fischer 1966, p. 9*). On the other hand, Bischoff dates the writing of Ha to the period from about 815 to 840 (Bischoff 1981, p. 81) or to the second quarter of the ninth century (Bischoff 2004, p. 366) and Hb to the end of the first quarter of the ninth century (Bischoff 1981, p. 80). Elke Krotz (2002, pp. 217–9) has convincingly shown through palaeographic and codicological analyses that Hb must have been written later than Ha, which has also been established linguistically (Schindling 1908, p. 160). Krotz (2002, p. 219) concluded that Ha must have been written in the first quarter of the ninth century, contrary to Bischoff (1981, 2004). Scholars agree that the two parts were written very closely together in time. Combining all the analyses, the proposed dates overlap roughly in the period of the end of the first quarter of the ninth century, between 815 and 825, which therefore seems the most plausible date for both Ha and Hb, with only a few years between the two parts. In conclusion, I assume that Ha was written around 815 in Reichenau, while Hb was written a few years later in Murbach after Ha had been brought to the monastery.

2.2.2. The Relationship of the Murbach Hymns to Other Texts in the Manuscript

The codicological and palaeographical peculiarities of the Murbach Hymns require special attention since the hymnal was written in separate parts Ha and Hb. The origin of the Hymns also correlates with other texts in the manuscript, which has been edited several times and therefore consists of a complex network of strata. How the hymnal is embedded in this net and to what extent other texts might have influenced the Hymns will be the subject of this chapter.

The manuscript MS. Junius 25 consists of ten parts.[34] In the following, I will use the same division as the online catalogue of the Bodleian Libraries (Ainonen & Holford 2022), and first give an overview of the different parts, their codicological characteristics, and the origin and dating of the main texts. A detailed description of the content has been given by Krotz (2002, pp. 165–258), which is why I will only point out corrections and additions.

Part	Collation formula[35]	Origin and date[36]
Endleaves (fols. 1 and 194)	2 singletons	11th/12th century
A (fols. 2r–59v)	1^7 (fol. 8 is a singleton, originally a bifolium, but the first half was replaced by flyleaf), 2–6^8, 7^7 (fol. 55 is a singleton), 8–9^2	Southwest Germany, possibly Murbach; 8th/9th century
B (fols. 60r–86v)	10^{12}, 11^6 (fols. 74 and 75 are singletons; stub after fol. 71 is part of the ms. used for repairs; text is missing between fols. 71v and 72r, leaf excised?) + one (fols. rearranged during the rebinding in the 15th century), 12^8	Southwest Germany; 1st quarter of 9th century
C (fols. 87r–107v)	13^7 (fol. 90 is a singleton), 14^8, 15^2 (two singletons sewn together), 16^4	Area of Lake Constance; 8th/9th century[37]
D (fols. 108r–115v)	17^8	Murbach; beginning of 9th century

[34] Depending on whether the two quires containing the Murbach Hymns are counted as one or two parts, the manuscript was also described as having eleven parts (e.g. Sievers 1874, pp. 2–3).
[35] The collation will be published in the online catalogue of the Bodleian Libraries (Ainonen & Holford 2022). For a collation diagram, see appendix 5.1.
[36] Cf. Krotz (2002, pp. 165–258) and Bischoff (2004, pp. 364–6); if other sources were used, they are indicated in the footnotes.
[37] Cf. Bischoff (1981, p. 80), who determines that the glossary Jb was written in Murbach in the early ninth century, while Bergmann and Stricker (2005, p. 1382) allocate the glosses also to Lake Constance, at the turn of the eighth and ninth century.

E (fols. 116r–121v)	18^{6}	Murbach; late in 1st quarter of 9th century
F (fols. 122r–129v)	19^{8}	Reichenau; late in 1st quarter of 9th century[38]
G (fols. 130r–133v)	$20–1^{2}$	Reichenau; 1st quarter of 9th century
H (fols. 134r–151v)	22^{8}, 23^{9-2} (fol. 145 is a singleton, two leaves after fol. 148 were excised), 24^{3} (fol. 149 is a singleton)	Possibly Murbach; 9th century[39]
I (fols. 152r–157v)	25^{6} (fols. 153 and 156 are singletons)	Southwest Germany; 8th/9th century
J (fols. 158r–193v)	26^{8}, 27^{2}, $28–9^{4}$, 30^{6}, 31^{8}, 32^{4}	Area of Lake Constance; beginning of 9th century

The Murbach Codex assembles texts from the eighth and ninth centuries. In its present composition, it was compiled in 1461, as notes in the manuscript show, in an effort to restructure the library of the Murbach monastery (Krotz 2002, p. 160). During the rebinding, parts from this and other manuscripts, including the Hymns, were removed and rearranged. In order to determine which texts were in the immediate vicinity of the Murbach Hymns when they were written, a codicological analysis is necessary. The eleventh- or twelfth-century endleaves are part of this rebinding and were used for repairs throughout the manuscript (see fig. 12). Another codex from Murbach, MS. Memb. I 20 (Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek), was repaired with pages from the same manuscript as MS. Junius 25 (Hoffmann 2004, p. 206) and contains similar notes about repairs in 1463 (Traube & Ehwald 1904, p. 356). The endleaves and repairs in the Murbach Codex can therefore be attributed to the restoration in the fifteenth century. The original relationship of the various parts must be traced back from this manuscript state.



Fig. 12: Folio 1r, the first flyleaf, and a repair on folio 85r using parts of the same manuscript.

Although Ha and Hb were written in different places and at different times, palaeographic and codicological analyses show that they are closely connected, with Hb being a later addition to the already completed Ha. Part E of the manuscript (fols. 116–121) contains the second part of the Murbach Hymns, Hb (fols. 116r–117v), the glossary Jc (fols. 118r–121v) and part of the

[38] Cf. chapter 2.2.1, in which the debate about date and origin of part F is illustrated.
[39] Bergmann and Stricker (2005, p. 1388).

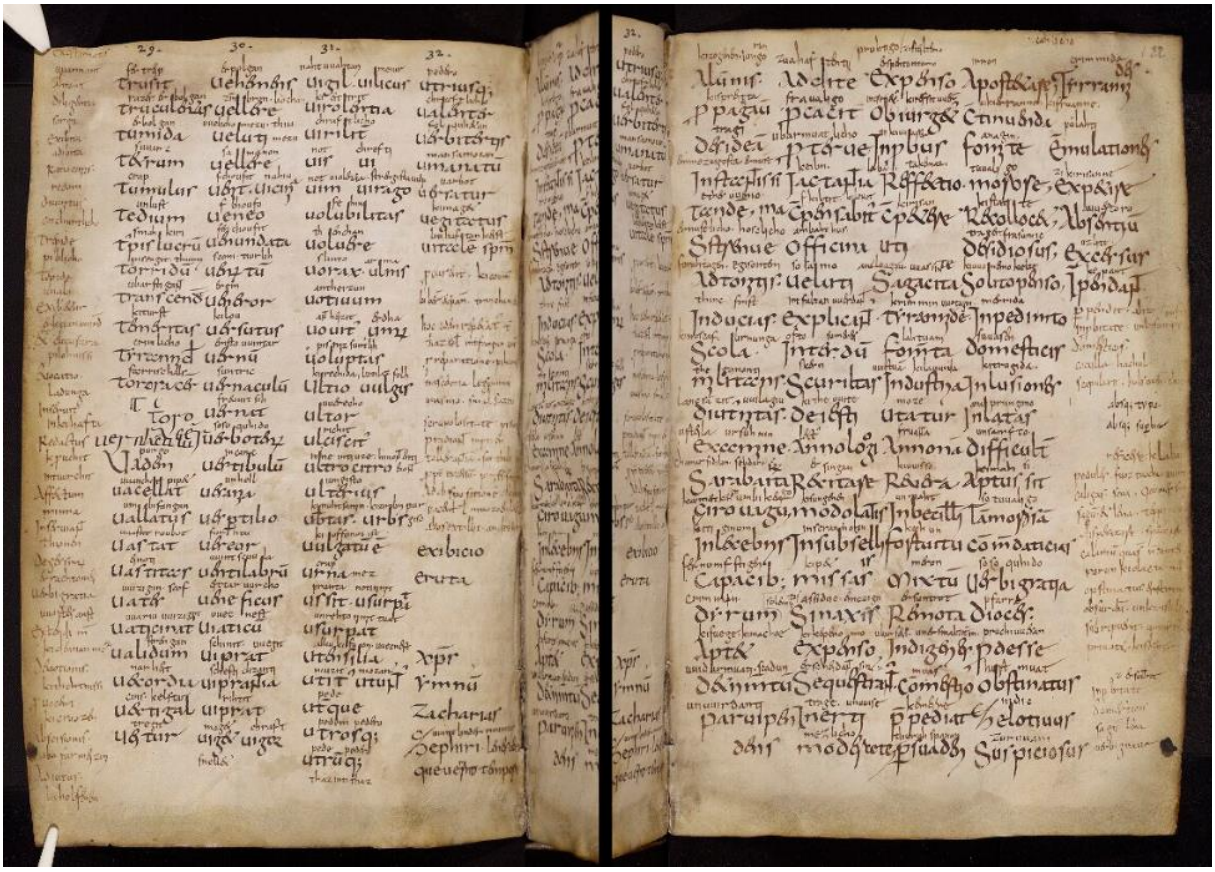


Fig. 13: Folio 121v, containing the end of the Jc glossary, and folio 122r, containing the *Alumnis* glossary, both written by the same hand. The *Exestimatis* glossary was written in the last columns of both glossaries and on the left margin of folio 121v.

Exestimatis glossary[40] (fol. 121v). The first part of the Hymns, Ha, makes up almost all of part F (fols. 122v–129v) which further includes the *Alumnis* glossary[41] (fol. 122r), the first part of the *Exestimatis* glossary (fol. 122r; see fig. 13), and a marginal grammatical exercise (fol. 129v). Each of the parts consists of a quaternion, but the middle leaf of part E with sections from the alphabetical glossary Jc is missing (Sievers 1874, p. 2). The two parts were connected with each other early on. In contrast to the analysis of Bischoff (2004, p. 365), I have found that the *Capitalis rustica* of Ha on folio 122v was not written by the same hand as the Murbach part of the Hymns. The letters of the header bear no obvious resemblance to the writing of Hb and are from the same ink and writing instrument as the M-initial. The other initials of Ha were first scratched and then traced by the gloss hand (see fig. 14). Both the main text and the glosses of the *Alumnis* glossary, however, were written by the same hand as Hb and Jc (see chapter 2.2.4.2). The two quires therefore must have been joined when part E was

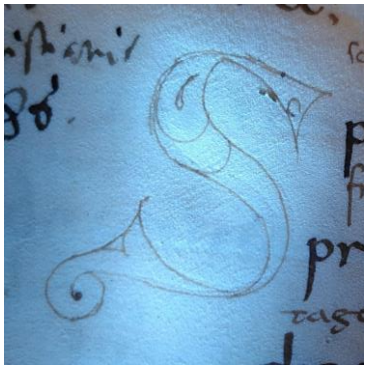


Fig. 14: Initial on folio 123v which was first scratched and then traced with ink (photo by the author).

[40] Terminology by Krotz (2002, p. 217).
[41] Terminology by Krotz (2002, p. 217).

written so that *Alumnis* could be added on the first page of part F. The origin of E depends on F.



Fig. 15: Insect holes in folio 129v which indicate that the quire was bound between wooden boards.

F, in contrast, was used alone for a time and was maybe not intended to be expanded. Folio 122r, the first page of F, was originally blank and is darker than the other pages, suggesting that it functioned as a protective sheet for the quaternion (Sievers 1874, p. 2). The last page, folio 129v, is heavily stained and was therefore exposed to the environment for some time (Fischer 1966, p. 9*; Sievers 1874, p. 2). The holes in the last folios, however, tell a different story. They stem from insects damaging the parchment while piercing a wooden cover (see fig. 15). Ha must have gone through at least two stages of binding before it was included in the Murbach Codex. At first, it was used alone, and later it was the last quire of a manuscript bound between wooden boards. At what point E was added is unclear. F was ruled differently on each bifolium, with the same number of lines but different instruments and intensity, and with clearly visible pricking. The layout of Hb mirrors Ha. Both were planned as interlinear versions and have the same structure, including the initials (Voetz 2013, p. 275) but they were executed differently. The initials of Hb were, in contrast to Ha, written by the hand of the main text. Unlike in F, the ruling in E is identical on all pages, without pricking, and has more lines, resulting in a smaller script. Each page has vertical centre lines to divide the columns of glossaries (see fig. 16), showing that the collection of texts in E was planned from the beginning. While part F was written and used as individual document, part E was created in direct correlation to F, i.e. the various texts of E were designed to complement Ha. The relationship between Ha and Hb means that Ha is considered a stand-alone text in this work, while Hb is analysed in relation to Ha.

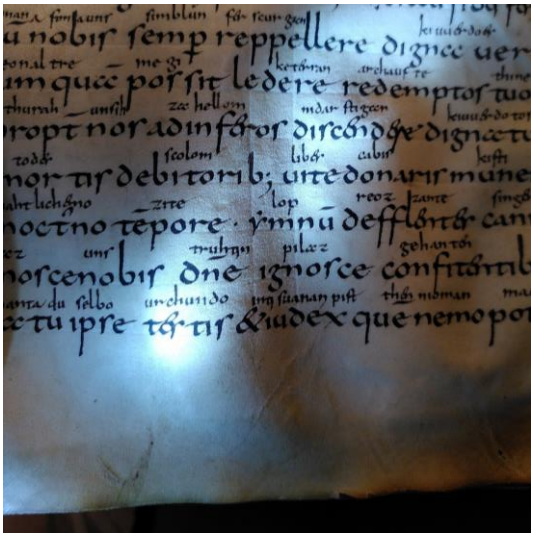


Fig. 16: The ruling on folio 116v with vertical centre lines, suggesting that the addition of the Jc glossary was planned from the beginning on (photo by the author).

Parts E and F went through several further editing phases.[42] The most important entries by later hands are the *Exestimatis* glossary and the grammatical exercise. There are further smaller additions, such as the Latin-Latin gloss in the middle of the last column of folio 122r, and the scribbles in

[42] Corrections in the Murbach Hymns by later editors will be discussed individually in the linguistic analysis as they could not have influenced the majority of text and glosses.

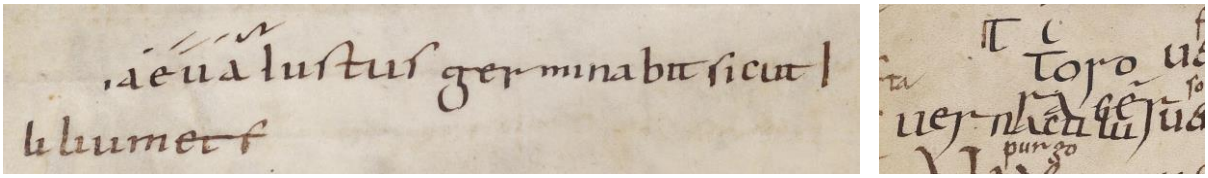


Fig. 17: Scribbles by the same hand on folio 94v (left) and folio 121v (right) which demonstrate that several parts of the Murbach Codex were edited at once.

the first column of folio 121v in the space between the *T* and *U* entries. The hand of the latter example wrote similar entries throughout the manuscript, for example on folio 94v (see fig. 17). In addition, there are some obvious late entries on folio 129v, written in the margins and in the empty spaces between the lines (Krotz 2002, p. 223), as well as throughout Hb, and finally the early modern comments in Ha. These additional entries prove that the manuscript was used and edited, and tell us more about the history of the manuscript.

In addition to the hands that worked on several parts of the manuscript at the same time, signs of wear and damage in the Murbach Codex provide further evidence of early binding phases. Other parts of the manuscript must have been bound together with the Hymns before the rebinding in the fifteenth century. On some pages, dampness led to offsets on facing pages. The offsets between folios 115v and 116r (parts D and E) and folios 121v and 122r (parts E and F) are identical to the facing pages in the manuscript's present condition (Krotz 2002, p. 204). The offset on folio 122r stems from a gloss of Jc on folio 121v which proves that parts E and F were stored together early on. The offset on folio 115v, however, is not from Hb, but from a later entry. D was thus not necessarily combined with E when Hb was written but was still part of an early binding and the subject of collective editing processes during which two lines of the Hymns were copied on folio 115v (Krotz 2002, p. 211). On folio 108r (first page of D), folio 129v (last page of F), and folio 133v (last page of G), the offsets do not correspond to the facing pages (Krotz 2002, p. 204). They also do not match any other texts in the Murbach Codex. Parts D, F (and thus also E), and G must have been part of other text collections before they were added to the present manuscript. In addition to the two phases of binding of F deduced earlier, a third phase can be assumed in which another layer was bound after F, leading to the offset on folio 129v. Further evidence suggests that part C was also part of an earlier binding process. The hand that wrote Hb, Jc, and *Alumnis* apparently also added Gregory glosses in empty spaces of the glossary Jb in part C (Bischoff 1981, p. 80 fn. 28; cf. chapter 2.2.4.1). Therefore, parts C and E were edited together early on. Jb, the main text of C, was written around 800 AD (Bischoff 2004, p. 365), i.e. earlier than the Hymns, and possibly used alone at first, since the first page of the manuscript part was originally blank. According to the palaeographic and codicological findings, it must be assumed that C and D, after the union of E and F, were parts of an early manuscript into which the Hymns were incorporated together with other parts that were later removed. The texts in C and D probably had no

direct influence on the writing of Hb, although the correspondence of the additional Jb glosses with Hb and Jc must not be disregarded.

The remaining parts of the manuscript are less strongly connected to the inner core C, D, E, and F and were probably added later to the text collection. Water damage has occurred in most parts of the Murbach collection, and parts B and G in particular show similar damage to the inner core (see fig. 18). The patterns could indicate that they were bound together when the water damage occurred, probably earlier than the rest of the manuscript. Additionally, the parts have the same size, with small deviations in F and G (Ainonen & Holford 2022). The parts all come from southwest Germany (Bischoff 2004, pp. 365–6), and like part F, the texts that were not written in Murbach may have been brought there early in the ninth century as individual documents. All parts except J have matching cut marks from an earlier binding, suggesting that they had all been bound together before and were only rearranged in the fifteenth century. In summary, F came to Murbach as a single quire and was only later supplemented by E. C could also have belonged to this early phase because of the presumably identical gloss hand in both parts. The water damage suggests that B, C, D, E, F, and G were kept together afterwards, but they were bound together with A, H, and I only later, maybe with E and F as the last quires between wooden boards. In 1461, the manuscript was rebound, and parts were repaired, removed and reordered. Part J may have been added at this time, but Krotz (2002, p. 160) noted that the last entry of the table of contents on folio 1v, the endleaf added in the fifteenth century, does not correspond to the contents of part J. Since J also does not have the same cut marks as the other parts, it may have been added later to replace the original last section of the Murbach Codex. The history of the manuscript is complex and cannot be fully reconstructed, but codicological and palaeographic analyses demonstrate that C and D were edited and used together with the Murbach Hymns. How the texts were studied and written was certainly intertwined.

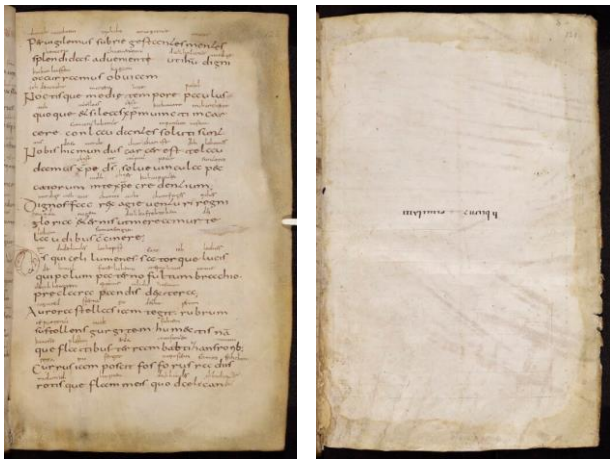


Fig. 18: Examples of similar water damage in parts F (fol. 123r, left) and G (fol. 130r, right).

2.2.3. Purpose of the Murbach Codex

The Murbach Codex is a compilation of ten different manuscript parts. To deduce their intended use and therefore the functional context of the Murbach Hymns, I will elaborate on the purpose of the different texts in the Middle Ages starting with the parts which were related to the Hymns from early

on, the 'inner core' (cf. chapter 2.2.2). This examination allows conclusions about their early use. Then, the parts that presumably were added next to the collation will be analysed, and so on, to illustrate the use throughout the history of the manuscript. In this way, it is possible to establish whether the use of the Murbach Hymns has changed.

The inner core consists of parts C, D, E, and F of MS. Junius 25.[43] Additionally to the Murbach Hymns, parts E and F contain three glossaries (Jc, *Alumnis*, *Exestimatis*) and a grammatical exercise. Glossaries can have very different functions, depending on the type of glossary (e.g. text glossary or topical glossary) but also on formal aspects (Stricker 2009b, p. 598). Jc is a compilation of different other glossaries with Latin and Old High German translations, the *Affatim* glossary, *Samanunga* glossary, and glosses on texts by Gregory the Great and the bible (Krotz 2002, pp. 652–4; 2013b, p. 218). It was the result of several reworked glossaries (E. Meineke 1994, p. 365) and is alphabetical up to the first letters (Krotz 2013b, p. 217). Both aspects point towards its use as a dictionary that was focused on the Latin lemma (Krotz 2002, pp. 654–5). In contrast, the *Alumnis* and *Exestimatis* glossaries elucidate the meaning of the Rule of St Benedict (Masser 2008, p. 27; 2013, pp. 46–7). They are both Latin and Old High German glossaries (Krotz 2002, p. 218) and copy and adapt glosses from the interlinear version of Codex 916 (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek), a manuscript that was intensively used in the monastery classroom (Masser 2008, p. 23; 2013, p. 48). Despite the slightly different functions, all three glossaries are related to teaching in monasteries. The same applies to the excerpt from *Ars grammatica* by Peter of Pisa (fol. 129v; Krotz 2002, p. 219). Grammar was a major focus of the monastic curriculum (Glauche 1970, p. 17ff.; Luhtala & Reinikka 2019, p. XXIXff.; Schiegg 2015, p. 135).[44] The folios are covered with corrections and comments, which further highlights that parts E and F were used for studying.

Part C which is codicologically and palaeographically related to E and F contains the glossary Jb. Similar to Jc, Jb also compiles glosses from different texts and glossaries (Krotz 2013a, p. 216). It was worked with as shown by the additional glosses from later hands (Sievers 1874, p. 2) and the space on the pages indicates that it was designed for this purpose. Otherwise, it does not show signs of heavy use. The glosses were sorted alphabetically which suggests that it has been used to study Latin in general. In the tenth century, two poems by Alcuin were added to folio 87r (Sievers 1874, p. 2) which was initially left empty as a cover page. Alcuin was an important figure in the educational reforms of Charlemagne and wrote several scholarly treatises (Glauche 1970, pp. 21–2; Luhtala & Reinikka 2019, p. X). In the tenth century, the educational function of Jb was still recognised as the poems

[43] The exact folio numbers can be found in chapter 2.2.2.

[44] This particular grammar exercise was even seen as evidence by Krotz (2002, p. 222) to assign the Murbach Hymns an educational function.

demonstrate. Part C is therefore also tied to studying, probably to gain a deeper understanding of Latin, which further supports the palaeographical finding that parts E and C are closely related.

Less obvious is the function of part D. It contains several passages of interpretations of religious texts (cf. Krotz 2002, p. 257) which links it to religious education. However, the manuscript barely shows signs of use as corrections or scribbles from contemporary hands indicating studying readers. The ones on the last page (fol. 115v) relate to the Murbach Hymns on the opposite page (fol. 116r) and are therefore a sign of someone analysing the Hymns after D and E were combined. One hand wrote the first text and another one the remaining three (note the *e*- and *r*-ligatures, and the *g*). The first page (fol. 108r) is darker, suggesting that the part was kept on its one for some time. Part D was suited for religious education but if it was used, it was only read and not edited. The content points towards the highest level of education, theological studies. That monks barely reached this level (Schiegg 2015, p. 137) could explain why the texts show so little signs of use.

Part B, which can only loosely be related to the Murbach Hymns, contains mainly excerpts of two works by Alcuin which belong to his pedagogic corpus, *De rhetorica*[45] (fols. 60v–72r) and *De dialectica* (fols. 77r–85v; Bullough 2004, p. 271), and figures to the texts (fols. 72v–75v; Krotz 2002, p. 181). Both works were used as textbooks in the ninth century (Kempshall 2008, pp. 7–8) and take the typical form of dialogues in which teacher and student discuss the topic (Rädler-Bohn 2016, pp. 73–4). The rest of part B is filled with smaller texts and glosses added between the main texts by several hands. Isidore's letter to Masso (fols. 76r–v) was possibly written by the scribe of Alcuin's texts, the glosses on folio 60r stem from a later hand, and Jerome's letter to Dardanus (fols. 86r–86v) is only mentioned as having a different hand (Sievers 1874, p. 1). Krotz (2002, pp. 182, 6) added that the hand of the excerpt from penitentials (fol. 72r) probably also wrote the grammar exercise (fol. 60r) and the ecclesiastical resolutions (fol. 76v). I would also attribute Isidore's letter to this hand which challenges Sievers' statements. Despite their different origin, the additional excerpts all have educational character as they are glosses and theological or grammatical excerpts.

Part G, which is as close to the Murbach Hymns as part B, contains excerpts from Diomedes' grammar and is therefore also related to education. It seems almost untouched as its empty spaces were not filled with notes, except for one line on folio 130r. In contrast, the additions, erasures, and comments in part B show that people actively worked with the manuscript over the centuries and carried on its function. Nevertheless, both parts B and G can be assigned to intermediate studies with a focus on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics (see chapter 2.1.3)

[45] This text even refers to a *schola palatii*, 'palace school' (Rädler-Bohn 2016, p. 75), but it is unclear how 'palace schools' worked. They were probably a place for scholarly discussions but not a real institution (Luhtala & Reinikka 2019, p. XI).

Parts A, H, and I were probably added even later to the Murbach Codex. Still, parts H and I match the function of the other parts. Part H contains the first book and parts of the second book of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Krotz 2002, p. 230) which cover grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic (Barney et al. 2006, pp. 20, 34). The work is designed as an encyclopaedia and strongly influenced the knowledge and culture of Western Europe in the Middle Ages (Barney et al. 2006, p. 24ff.). It was widely received in the German-speaking area as proven by the abundance of Old High German glosses on Isidore (cf. Nievergelt 2013), but part H has just a few vernacular and Latin glosses (Bergmann & Stricker 2005, p. 1388). They stem from at least two hands which indicates that several people worked actively with the text. The following manuscript part I contains *Ars grammatica* by Peter of Pisa and an edited excerpt from Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Krotz 2002, p. 231ff.), both containing a few glosses and corrections. *Ars grammatica*, just like Alcuin's treatises, is attributed to the group of scholars at Charlemagne's court (Luhtala & Reinikka 2019, p. X) but it was probably only used for a short period (Luhtala & Reinikka 2019, p. LXIII). The main hand also added poems by Claudius Claudianus and a line from Martial's *Epigrammata* (fol. 157v; Krotz 2002, p. 242). The texts of parts H and I are related to higher education and were also actively edited. Since the grammar treatise was only relevant for a period of time, it is possible that later readers found it historically interesting.

The third manuscript part that belongs to this group is part A. However, its content, the cosmography by Aethicus (Krotz 2002, p. 167), does not match parts H and I. Although the text has some scientific appeal, it mainly is a travel and adventure book (Herren 2011, p. xi; Prinz 1993, p. 52). Its audience and purpose cannot be determined (Herren 2011, p. xvi) but while it was very popular for entertainment, it barely was mentioned in scholarly literature (Prinz 1993, p. 53). The version in the Murbach Codex was written by two hands, one of which also corrected the text (Herren 2011, p. ci; Prinz 1993, p. 56), but there are no further signs of editing. It stands out from the rest of the presented texts because it is not directly linked to education except for its references to Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Herren 2011, p. xxxvi). This outcome concurs with the codicological findings that it was one of the last parts included in the manuscript.

Part J was probably the last part that was added to the compilation. The discoloured first and last page show that it was kept on its own for a while (Krotz 2009, p. 782). Because it probably was not part of the manuscript before 1461 (Krotz 2002, p. 160), it only tells about the late reception of the codex. Its main content is the glossary Ja, a mixture of Latin and Old High German glosses from several sources[46] which probably was used for religious studies (Krotz 2009, p. 781). It therefore fits well with the other glossaries. The remaining texts are excerpts from Isidore's *Etymologiae* (books VII and VIII which cover theological topics; Barney et al. 2006, p. 34), interpretations of the *paternoster*, *Expositio*

[46] See Krotz (2002, p. 247) for details.

de fide catholica by Hilary of Arles, and an unidentified blessing (Krotz 2002, pp. 251, 2, 5, 6). The text collection was planned as all of them were written by the same hand as Ja (Sievers 1874, p. 3). There are only a few non-lexical entries by later hands. Their religious content and educational function link the texts and glossary together. It seems that a scribe compiled sources that can be used in religious studies, but they were not actively edited by readers.

The Murbach Codex does not resemble the typical classbook of Carolingian times, but it also is not correlated to late medieval schoolbooks (cf. Glauche 1970; Henkel 1988). The inner core and most of the other parts can be related to education, specifically the intermediate level. Texts by Alcuin and Peter of Pisa furthermore link the codex to the Carolingian court. As some texts were not in use anymore in the fifteenth century, it seems to be intended to collect knowledge that was relevant in the early Middle Ages, maybe for historical purposes. This function would explain why part A was included. Most manuscript parts were barely edited, neither shortly after they were written nor as part of the Murbach Codex. The Murbach Hymns, which were adapted and used by contemporary readers, therefore stand out from the remaining texts, although they fulfil the same basic function. They were taken out of their original context of use and put into a more static state when the Murbach Codex was bound together to be part of a collection that represents linguistic and theological knowledge of the early Middle Ages.

2.2.4. The Hands of the Hymns: Identifying the Strata

To follow the approach of analysing the individual strata according to their linguistic and graphematic characteristics, in the following chapter, the strata of the Murbach Hymns will be determined. I identify them on the basis of hands which are defined as one process of work, however, if the identity of the scribe is certain, I will include several hands in one stratum. First, I will briefly identify the Latin strata to ascertain on which basis the glosses were written. Then, I will focus on the gloss strata in greater detail, which requires adapting the palaeographic analysis to the characteristics of glosses. The analyses will show that the glossing of the Murbach Hymns was much more complex than scholars have portrayed so far.

2.2.4.1. Writing the Main Text: Palaeographic Analysis of the Latin Strata

The glosses of the Murbach Hymns depend linguistically and graphically on their Latin lemmas. To put the gloss strata into context, the strata of the main text need to be identified, too. Editions and catalogues (e.g. Bischoff 2004, pp. 365–6; Sievers 1874, p. 2) note that the main text was written by different hands but do not give specific information on their size, except for specifying that Ha (fols. 122v–129v) was written separately from Hb (fols. 116r–117v). The Latin hands of Ha and Hb, though

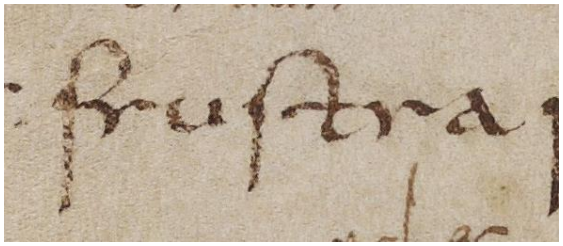


Fig. 19: Examples of *fr*- and *st*-ligatures in Ha (fol. 122v, l. 18).

both Caroline minuscule, can be assigned to different places of origin: Ha shows characteristics of an Alemannic writing style as used in Reichenau, while Hb is written in the tradition of the Murbach writing centre (Bischoff 1981, pp. 80–1; Fischer 1966, pp. 9*–10*). The principal text of Ha is characterised by the manifold and tapered ligatures (see fig. 19; Bischoff 1981, p. 81 fn. 32; Fischer 1966, p. 10*). Although the exact dates are debated, Ha is usually analysed as written earlier than Hb (Fischer 1966, p. 9*; Krotz 2002, p. 219), which becomes evident when looking at the distribution of glossaries and marginal entries across the two quires. The specifics of the temporal delay will be discussed later, for now, I will assume that Ha was written before Hb. Although Bischoff (2004, p. 365) sees several Latin hands, he only identifies folio 122v as an individual stratum.

The general ductus of all folios of Ha is the same, but quill, ink, and aspect of the text change on several pages (e.g. on fol. 124v in comparison to fol. 124r).[47] One of the main features which help to identify the different hands of the Latin text is the ratio of cc-*a* to one-compartment *a*, and the form of one-compartment *a* and *g*. Combined with quill, ink and aspect, the analysis results in ten Latin strata by seven scribes. Typically, the scribes of Ha switched after writing a double page. Only on folio 128v, scribe f took over after the first fourteen lines and finished the page, but scribe e continued on the next page with a different quill. There is one main scribe, scribe d, who wrote almost half of the Latin hymns. The descending or long *r* which was used in *re*-ligatures is characteristic of an older script (Bischoff 1990, pp. 65, 115). Apparently, the scribes of Ha were all trained on the verge of a new writing tradition as they used features of older and contemporary script. Scribes c and d, and possibly e, were probably older scribes trained to write in pre-Caroline script as they used the cc-*a* more often (Bischoff 1990, p. 112). Caroline minuscule was not fully adopted yet.

The main text of Hb was, in contrast, written by one hand. On all four pages, the letters were composed in the same way and the same ligatures and abbreviations were used. A *g* with a small open body and a long, curvy descender and the prevailing round *d* written with one stroke are characteristic of the hand. The ratio of cc-shaped *a* to one-compartment *a* differs from page to page. The same hand has written the following glossary Jc (fol. 118r–121v) and the *Alumnis* glossary (fol. 122r). *Alumnis* has letters of larger size than Jc because the scribe used the ruling of Ha. A few of the lemmas of Jc were added while glossing, such as *cēsultat* (fol. 118v[a], l. 26) and *cenobitarum* (fol. 118v[c], l. 26). They stem from the same hand but were written with a thinner quill and the same ink as the glosses, which may

[47] For images of the examples and details about the palaeographic analysis, see appendix 5.2.

support the finding that the lemmas and glosses of Jc were written by the same scribe (cf. chapter 2.2.4.2).

The hand of Hb is said to have added glosses on texts by Gregory the Great to the glossary Jb in part C of the Murbach Codex (Bischoff 1981, p. 80 fn. 28).[48] The writing of both is indeed very similar and the Gregory glosses show the features of style which are characteristic of the Hb handwriting. The ink indicates that they were written with temporal delay. Additionally, two lemmas from Gregory's *Homiliae* at the end of Jc, *exibicio* and *eruta* on folio 121v[d] (Krotz 2002, p. 649), written by the same hand create a semantic link between the sections. Therefore, the Gregory glosses will be considered to be part of this stratum. They were apparently created with the thinner quill and the ink used for the glosses, just as the additional glosses of Jc. Only after finishing Hb, Jc, and *Alumnis*, another hand added *Exestimatis* (starting on fol. 122r and ending on fol. 121v) and the marginal grammar exercise on folio 129v (cf. Krotz 2002, p. 219).

The hand of the *Exestimatis* glossary has been interpreted as identical to the hand of Hb (Masser 2008, p. 152; Steinmeyer & Sievers 1898, p. 589) but Krotz (2002) questions this finding. She believes that the hand that wrote the *Exestimatis* glossary also wrote the grammatical exercise, but not necessarily the *Alumnis* glossary (Krotz 2002, p. 219). Masser (2008, pp. 150–1) demonstrates the temporal delay between the two glossaries by means of glosses by a third hand on folio 122r around which *Exestimatis* had to be written (see fig. 20). The hands of *Exestimatis* and the one of Jc and *Alumnis* are certainly similar, however, the differences in the aspect do not allow assign them to one stratum. The main text of the second part of the Murbach Hymns, Hb, therefore consists of one stratum which extends to Jc, the *Alumnis* glossary, and the Gregory glosses in Jb.

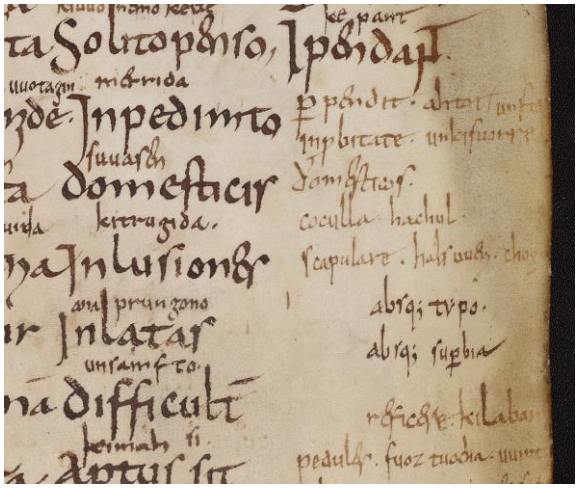


Fig. 20: The *Exestimatis* glossary on the right (small letters, light ink; fol. 122r[e]) was written next to the *Alumnis* glossary (larger lemmas, dark ink; fol. 122r[de]). A third hand added two lines of glosses in dark ink (fol. 122r[e]; right) around which *Exestimatis* had to be written which indicates a temporal delay between the two glossaries.

2.2.4.2. The Process of Glossing: Palaeographic Analysis of the Gloss Strata

The glosses of the Murbach Hymns were often analysed as coherent textual units, although they stem from several hands. To take the differences that could result from the individual scribes and their

[48] The additions are on the following pages: fol. 89r[a], ll. 1–6; fol. 91r[a], ll. 1–8; fol. 92r[b], ll. 1–4; fol. 93r, two lines in the upper margin; fol. 94r[a], l. 25; fol. 94v[a], l. 1; fol. 102r[b], ll. 6–8. A comprehensive edition is still missing. The most recent edition by Wolfgang Schulte (1993, pp. 466–81) only analyses the Old High German glosses.

circumstances of glossing into account in the linguistic analysis, the different strata need to be determined palaeographically. A hand is defined in this study as one scribe using one instrument of writing at a specific time (according to Nievergelt 2007, p. 41). This definition characterises hands as processes of work. However, because the person writing has more influence on the characteristics of the glosses than the time of glossing or the used instrument (O. Ernst, Nievergelt & Schiegg 2019, pp. 456–7), several work steps will be included in a stratum when the hands belong to one scribe.

In contrast to the strata of the main text, gloss hands can be harder to identify because glosses were often adjusted to the space they were written in and did not follow a set layout. Therefore, letter forms could differ greatly even if written by the same hand (Nievergelt 2003, p. 360). To compensate for this in a palaeographic analysis, features which are not necessarily subject to this adjustment need to be analysed. For single glosses scattered throughout a main text, these include ligatures and abbreviation methods (Nievergelt 2009, p. 280). Even though there is usually enough space between the Latin lines so that the glosses could have been written evenly overall, the script still underwent the adjustments that are common in glosses (cf. Nievergelt 2009). They mainly affected the baseline and the density of the script. However, in the Murbach Hymns and in interlinear versions in general, glosses were written continuously and closely together. Therefore, it was more likely that one aspect would be maintained over a stratum as it was done in Old High German texts (for example the Old High German Tatian or Otfrid's gospel harmony, Bischoff 1981, pp. 76–9). Just as the linguistic features, the palaeographic features of interlinear versions oscillate between glosses and text. In concrete terms, this approach means for the analysis that both the text-like features and the gloss-like features need to be accounted for.

The general consistency of the glosses of an interlinear version allows the use of the aspect of the script and the ductus of certain letters to identify a new stratum, although these are features which are less reliable in gloss hands. On the other hand, the glosses have more variation than would be expected for a main text and this can affect both aspect and ductus. Therefore, the aim is to find an overall tendency of palaeographic features which are distinctive for a stratum. In terms of individual letters, the analysis will focus on reappearing characteristics which represent a significant change to the previous or following gloss stratum and thus mark an individual hand. It can be assumed that the aspect can gradually change in a stratum and that only abrupt changes could mark a new hand. The palaeographic characteristics of the main text are included in the analysis if they could have influenced the script of the glosses. According to the definition of hands, the use of another writing instrument and different ink can also indicate a new stratum. However, since the linguistic features of the glosses were certainly much more influenced by the scribes than by ink or pen, the script will be the main feature by which the strata are determined. By following these guidelines, it is possible to identify the gloss strata of an interlinear version.

The strata of the Murbach Hymns appear to have many similarities but differ significantly in details (see also appendix 5.3). Overall, the script of the glosses matches the Latin script, which means that the glosses were written shortly after the main text (Nievergelt 2009, p. 270). The hands of Ha and Hb, the first and second part of the Hymns, can be associated with different writing traditions (Bischoff 1981, pp. 80–1; Fischer 1966, p. 9*). Although the glossators of Ha were probably all trained in a similar fashion as can be seen in the almost identical inventory of letter types, ligatures and abbreviations, they have individual characteristics. The first page of the Murbach Hymns, folio 122v, can easily be identified as one stratum which I will call stratum A. The first gloss stratum is therefore identical with the first Latin stratum. It is possible that the first page was completed before the remaining text and gloss strata were written and served as a model for both the main text and glosses (Voetz 2013, p. 274).[49] This theory is further supported by the delicate and accurate script of stratum A that considerably changes on folio 123r, marking the beginning of stratum B. Since the following gloss strata do not match the Latin strata, it is likely that the main text was finished completely before it was glossed. The main characteristics of the strata will be discussed in the following section.

Stratum A (fol. 122v) can be characterised by the ductus of certain letters which differ greatly from the rest of Ha (see fig. 21). 'ri'-ligatures and ligatures of 'e' and another letter (e.g. 'm', 'n', 'i', and so on) were used throughout the gloss stratum. The 'ri'-ligature was written with a little loop on top, created by a slight deviation to the left of the downward 'i'-stroke. The 'e' was usually linked to its second letter with a horizontal or even declining stroke which can be seen well in the 'em'-ligatures. The most common type of 'a' in stratum A is the cc-'a'. Only a few one-compartment 'a' appear. The descender of the 'g' was usually formed by a long curved stroke that extends to the right further than the letter's body. The lines of the 'd' are often interrupted by auxiliary elements which mark where the scribe took the pen off the page or put it back on. Characteristic of the 'k' is the horizontal top stroke.

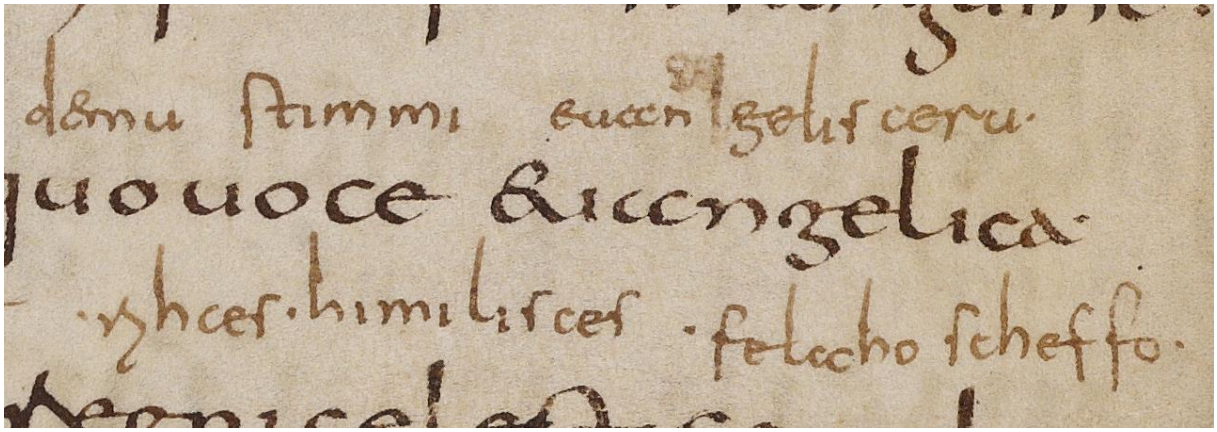


Fig. 21: Examples of glosses of stratum A which show the characteristic 'e'- and 'ri'-ligatures, auxiliary elements, the 'g', and cc-'a' (fol. 122v, ll. 13–4).

[49] Bischoff (2004, p. 365) suspects that folio 122v was written by Reginbert, the abbot of Reichenau in the early ninth century, because of the *fr*- and *fu*-ligatures.

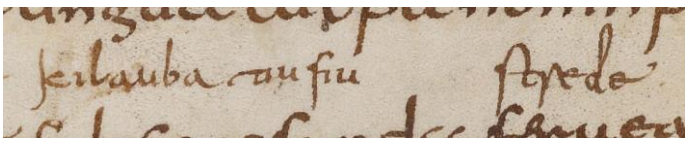


Fig. 22: The last glosses of line 15 (fol. 124v) of stratum B as example of glosses which become longer and more cursive at the end of lines.

The aspect of the gloss script changes clearly in stratum B (fols. 123r–126v) but also the ductus of some of the described letters differs which signals that another scribe took over. The ligatures were composed in the same way as on folio 122v but in stratum B, 'e'-ligatures appear less frequently. They were written with an upward stroke linking the letters together which makes the ligature appear dense. The 'ri'-ligature does not have a loop. The preferred 'a'-type of stratum B is the one-compartment 'a'. The 'g' is small and compressed. The curve of its descender is directly attached to the body and sits right underneath it. The two strokes of the ascender of the 'd' but also of other letters often create a closed or open loop. This writing is a marker for cursive script and indicates that stratum B was written more rapidly than stratum A. At the end of lines, the script is sometimes elongated and bigger and has a slightly different angle than before (see fig. 22). Its shape could be the result of quick writing but could also be related to the position of the words. To write in the margins of pages, scribes would hold their writing instrument at a different angle. In glosses, slips like this were more readily accepted than in the main text. To match the width of their lemmas, the glosses of stratum B were partly condensed, for example the first glosses in line five, folio 125v.

Stratum B was interrupted by a small insertion on folio 123v. With the beginning of a new hymn in line seventeen, another hand wrote three glosses. The ink and quill differ from the glosses before and after, the letters are tilted to the left and auxiliary elements were left where the pen was put on or taken off the page. The ink of the glosses following the insertion is lighter than that of the glosses before (see fig. 23). The aspect and ductus of the letters, however, are identical which is why both parts are considered to belong to stratum B. Similarly, the script on folio 126v appears more cursive and smaller but agrees generally with the rest of stratum B. The smaller writing is due to less space above the lemmas, and the cursive script could be the result of a scribe who wanted to finish the gloss stratum rather quickly. Three glosses in line fifteen on folio 126v, 'demo uuihemu atume', also seem to have been added by another hand because they were written with a different pen and ink. Apparently, the stratum was not glossed coherently but maybe interrupted briefly on folio 123v and 126v, or glossed only scarcely before the main text was translated completely.

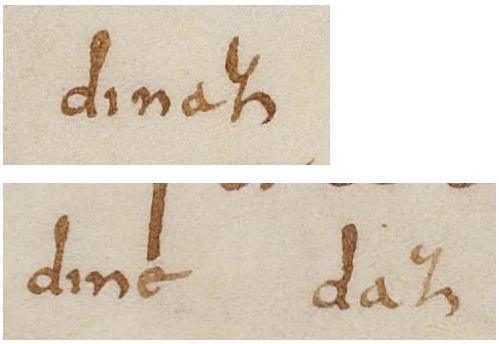


Fig. 23: Glosses from two sections of stratum B. They stem from the same scribe but were written with different ink. The glosses on the top (fol. 123v, l. 9) represent the darker ink of folios 123r and 123v, and the glosses on the bottom (fol. 124r, l. 18) stem from the section beginning at folio 123v, line 17.

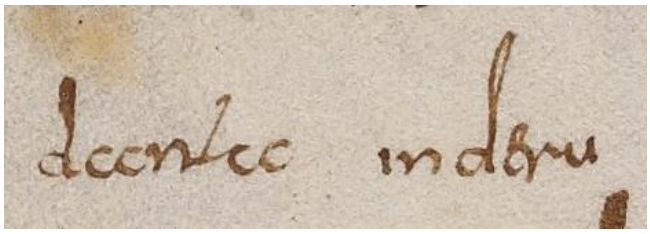


Fig. 24: The glosses of stratum C (e.g. fol. 127r, l. 3) were written with even strokes with little variation in thickness.

The next gloss stratum, stratum C, consists of the first hymn on folio 127r (fol. 127r, ll. 1–6). Another writing instrument was used here which can be seen in the fine lines with mostly even thickness (see fig. 24). The ratio of different types of 'a' changes, with the cc-'a' being the prevailing one. The letters are prolonged and at the end of the lines, the words were extended, a pattern that also appeared in stratum B. In this paragraph, however, the letters are much more distorted. It almost looks as if two different scribes wrote the beginning and end of the lines, but it is noticeable that the change happened gradually. The first parts of the 'e'-ligatures in this stratum are small and compact, the ascenders have a visible loop which could be the result of the thin lines. The word-internal 'i'-ligatures have descending 'i', something which in the previous strata could only be seen in 'gi'-, 'li'- and 'ri'-ligatures. The use of cc-'a' signals a scribe trained in pre-Caroline script and the lines were written with an unsteady hand, shown by the shaky lines which could indicate an older scribe. It could be that because of the untidy script, the scribe was replaced after the first hymn.

The general writing style changes in the second hymn of folio 127r (fol. 127r, ll. 7–12, D). Technically, the paragraph is not one stratum as it was written by several alternating hands (see fig. 25). However, since they cannot clearly be identified because there are only a few letters to compare, they are summarised in one stratum, stratum D. The different hands will be taken into account in the linguistic analysis. They can be roughly analysed by their ink and writing instrument. In the first hand, writing 'duruh noht' to 'lob' (ll. 7–8), thinner and thicker lines vary within the letters. The second hand, 'singante' to 'prusti' (ll. 8–9), has darker ink and a thinner quill. It changes again with 'peatres' to 'uuir' (ll. 9–11) which are characterised by lighter ink and a similar pen to the first one of this stratum. Another hand starts at 'singem' and probably ends with 'lamo' (ll. 11–2), but it could also include the last gloss of the paragraph, 'rihtem' (l. 12). It has thin lines and a compact 'e'-ligature with a slightly raised 'e' which almost looks as if it hovers over the top left corner of the second part of the complex. The glosses 'christes chrefti' (l. 12) are much darker than the rest of the stratum and the letters are elongated, especially the 'es'-ligature. The order in which the hands glossed cannot be determined.

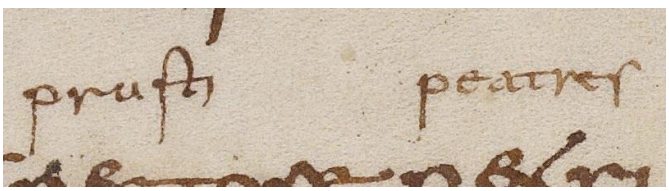


Fig. 25: Two glosses of stratum D (fol. 127r, l. 9) which stem from different hands. Note the differences in the strokes and ink.

The alternating hands suggest that in this section, scribes trained writing or that the Hymns were not planned to be glossed completely so that first, a few phrases were translated and the rest was filled in later.

Stratum E (fol. 127r, l. 13 – fol. 129r, l. 14) begins with the third hymn on folio 127r. It is characterised by compact but upright ‘e’-ligatures, pronounced descending ‘re’-ligatures, and a tendency of the script to become elongated and clumsier at the end of the lines. These features are similar to stratum C, just as both were written with a thin quill (see fig. 26). The scribe of stratum C could have continued glossing, possibly after getting instructions. The ‘i’-ligatures do not descend when they appear word-internally except for ‘ri’- and ‘li’-ligatures. In the rest of the stratum, the characteristics stay more or less the same, but a few continuous changes can be seen. The ascender of the ‘d’, for example, has a clear loop which changes between folios 127v and 128r where the two strokes more often cross each other, forming an untidy line. The end of stratum E cannot be determined clearly. In the last paragraph on folio 129r, lines ten to nineteen, hands were again alternating. A different pen was used for the glosses ‘uueraltí’ to ‘inleohtanter’ (fol. 129r, ll. 11–2), ‘forhtun di ubes’ (fol. 129r, l. 13) and starting with ‘heilant’ (fol. 129r, l. 14) until the end of folio 129v. The lines are thinner and the ink is darker in these glosses. It seems that the hand of stratum E started glossing this paragraph with a few glosses before the next hand took over.

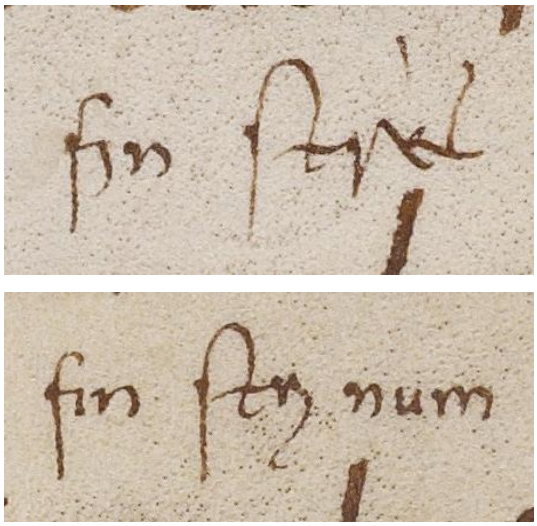


Fig. 26: The glosses of stratum C (top; fol. 127r, l. 5) and the glosses of stratum E (bottom; fol. 127r, l. 16) were written with a similar ductus and quill.

In stratum F (approximately fol. 129r, l. 14 – fol. 129v), the script at the end of the lines becomes partly thinner and more stretched which can be related to the position of the pen. The writing became quicker and was exercised less carefully throughout the stratum (see fig. 27). Therefore, the letters of stratum F changed continuously. The ‘g’ was written more and more stretched and open, and the letters ‘s’ and ‘f’ on folio 129v were more elongated by the end of folio 129v. Overall, many characteristics of the script resemble stratum C and E. It is possible that one scribe finished Ha after stratum B but that the glossing was carried out in sections. The elongated letters, for example, also appeared on folio 127v, line one, where it was motivated by the space on the page. In stratum E, it



Fig. 27: Glosses of stratum F (fol. 129v, l. 18) which were stretched (note the ‘g’ and ‘f’) and less even than earlier strata.

seems to be related to finishing the stratum. The alternating hands in stratum D and between strata E and F are evidence of how the Hymns were glossed: not linearly from beginning to end but in individual phrases without clear order.

The gloss stratum of the second part of the Murbach Hymns, Hb, is much easier to determine than in Ha, simply because all glosses were written by the same hand, stratum G (fols. 116r–122r, plus scattered glosses on fols. 87v–107v). The dense Latin text required to adjust the glosses to the space, but the script is overall even. The glosses of Hb are characterised by their round 'd' written with one stroke and a long 'g' with an open descending loop slightly bigger than the letter's mostly open body. Stratum G also contains the glossaries Jc (fols. 118r–121v) and *Alumnis* (fol. 122r) as well as additional Gregory glosses in Jb (fols. 87v–107v). The folios of stratum G also contain scribbles, for example in the margins of folio 116v or in the middle of the first column of folio 121v, due to younger scribes. In relation to the main text, the order in which the glossaries were written can be deduced and gives insights into the gloss hands. The glosses of Hb and Jc were definitely written after the main text was finished because the glosses had to be adjusted to the text (cf. fol. 118v[b], l. 18). For the *Alumnis* glossary, Masser (2008, p. 147) notes that the glosses were added after each column of lemmas was written because here, the lemmas partly had to be adjusted to the glosses (see fig. 28). The process of writing the main text and glossing was therefore different for *Alumnis* which indicates that it was not written continuously after Hb and Jc. Either Hb and Jc were finished including the glosses and only then the same scribe decided to add the *Alumnis* glossary, or after writing the lemmas of Hb and Jc, the scribe directly wrote *Alumnis* and its glosses and then glossed the remaining text. At which point the Gregory glosses were added cannot be determined. A few of the lemmas of Jc were written while it was glossed (cf. chapter 2.2.4.1) and their lemmas and glosses have the same characteristics as the rest of the main text. The same hand wrote the glosses and the main text of stratum G, i.e. the Latin stratum is identical to the gloss stratum.

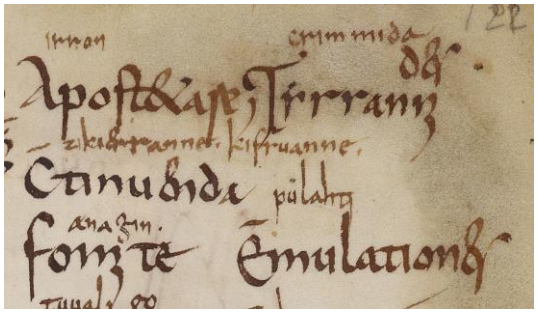


Fig. 28: Glosses of the third column of the *Alumnis* glossary (left; fol. 122r[d], ll. 1–3) were written so far to the right that no lemma could be written in the second line of the last column (right; fol. 122r[e], ll. 1–2).

The Murbach Hymns consist of seven strata, six of which glossed Ha. Stratum B consists of two sections which were written by the same scribe but with temporal delay. Strata C, E, and F have similar palaeographic features which indicate that the strata could stem from the same scribe who possibly also glossed parts of stratum D. A few characteristics in the writing appear throughout the strata, for example the elongated and more cursive letters at the end of lines and strata. The sections in which alternating hands have glossed and the additional glosses in stratum B are evidence that the gloss strata were not written linearly from beginning to end but in individual phrases. It is also possible that

Ha was not planned to be finished. Hb, in contrast, was glossed by one hand that probably also wrote the main text, the glossaries Jc and *Alumnis*, and the additional Gregory glosses in Jb. It was conceptualised and realised as a whole. The palaeographic examination results in the four functional units stratum A, stratum B, strata C, D, E, and F, and stratum G which will be the basis of the linguistic and visual analysis.

2.3. Conclusion: The Composition of the Murbach Codex

The Murbach Hymns and their glosses have had a complex history. In this chapter, I have shown that the Hymns can be linked to the tradition of Latin hymns and to the monastic classroom, but little is known about the origin of the glosses. How the glosses are perceived in modern scholarship, on the other hand, is strongly influenced by the format of the editions, since they were for a long time the main source of access to the text. These aspects provide important basic information on how to approach the glosses of the Murbach Hymns. Firstly, they place them in a general context of use, which is the basis for analysing the individual function of the glosses. Secondly, since it is unclear whether the glosses were copied or newly created, both possibilities must be considered in the analysis. Finally, because scholarship has focused on the editions, there is a need for a study that regards the Murbach Hymns comprehensively in their material context.

Through close analysis of the Hymns and the manuscript, I was able to distinguish the various elements that comprise them. At the level of the object, it became clear that the individual parts were not originally intended to be bound together. Furthermore, many traces in the manuscript prove that there were several binding stages before the one we know today. The codicological analysis helped to identify a possible order in which the parts were combined. Some texts were associated with the Hymns at an early stage, the 'inner core'. These findings are consistent with the functional analysis of the texts of the Murbach Codex. Although most of them are not typical school texts, the 'inner core' can be linked to an educational function. It is therefore probable that the Hymns were used in the classroom early on. By the time they were bound into the Murbach Codex at the latest, they had acquired a more illustrative purpose. It is their early use that is most important in determining their function.

At the level of the Hymns, I have identified several gloss strata. Except for strata A and G, they differ from the Latin strata, which means that the glosses were probably added after the main text was written. The individual strata form the basis for the linguistic and visual analysis of the glosses. Only the glosses of Hb could be linked to other glossed texts in the manuscript, and they will all be examined together as one stratum. In the palaeographic and codicological analysis, I have demonstrated that writing and glossing the Hymns was a long process, probably involving several different scribes. It is therefore very likely that the gloss strata were created with different focuses and aims, which calls for a differentiated analysis. The alternating gloss hands in strata D, E, and F suggest that the gloss strata were written in phrases scattered throughout the strata, which may have influenced the linguistic characteristics and must be considered in the following analysis. Only by determining the material context of the Hymns can the linguistic and visual analysis be built on a solid foundation.

3. Creation and Reception of the Murbach Hymns: Linguistic and Visual Analysis

The glosses of the Murbach Hymns were written to be read – the scribe deliberately glossed in order to encode information that could later be deciphered by readers. The following analysis will identify the methods used to achieve this goal by examining the linguistic and graphic features of the glosses as outlined in the theory. The glosses will be analysed according to their strata, i.e. according to the different hands that wrote them. Although this may lead to the repetition of certain discussions, I decided to maintain this order because it better illustrates the characteristics of each stratum. I will concentrate on the features typical of each stratum and of the Murbach Hymns. Even though this study will focus on linguistic characteristics, the determined strata, their differences and similarities provide a basis that could also serve literary and cultural analyses of the Hymns.

Visuality, matters of translation, and syntax of the glosses will be the subject of separate chapters. As pointed out in the introduction, these features are certainly intertwined. I therefore have to illustrate a net of interacting phenomena in a linear fashion which in itself seems contradictory. Thus, the headings of the chapters can be seen as focal points, but elements of the other sections will be part of the discussion.

3.1. Main Characteristics of the Murbach Hymns

Certain features of interlinear glosses have been identified in the Murbach Hymns, but as I will demonstrate in this study, these features are only the foundation of a sophisticated glossing system. In order to understand the basic nature of the glosses, these traits, namely double glosses and abbreviations, will first be elaborated according to secondary literature, before a close analysis of the vernacular hymns will capture their particular glossing style in detail.

Double glosses, which are conspicuous in the Murbach Hymns, testify to a sophisticated glossing process. Before this realisation, several different interpretations were developed in research. This type of gloss, i.e. a Latin lemma translated with two Old High German words, is characteristic of interlinear versions and can be assigned to the glossing tradition of the Reichenau (Daab 1929, p. 45). Thus, they occur much more frequently in Ha written at Reichenau than in Hb (Firchow 1972, p. [xvi]). First mentioned in Grimm's edition of the Hymns and marked with square brackets around the second gloss (Grimm 1830, pp. 5, 17ff.), the double glosses were initially seen as an attempt by the scribe to clarify an uncertain translation. In later editions, they were no longer highlighted, suggesting that the glosses were interpreted less hierarchically and that the second gloss had the same meaning and

importance as the first. A year after Sievers' influential edition, Ernst H. Wilken presented the double glosses for the first time from a differentiated functional perspective, demonstrating that they convey multi-layered meanings (Wilken 1875, p. 84). The short article also mentioned the different number of double glosses in Ha and Hb (Wilken 1875, p. 83), thus already anticipating the separation of the Hymns in later linguistic analyses. Daab (1929) distanced herself from Wilken's analysis by hypothesizing that most of the double glosses were synonyms from common glossaries, deliberately selected but independent of each other (Daab 1929, p. 46). The most complex and detailed overview of their functionality, motivated by the use of the Hymns in in-depth linguistic and theological studies, was given by Siewerts (2010, p. 409ff.), who identified a wide variety of meaningful relationships within each pair of glosses. Some of the double glosses can be traced back to the *Abrogans* which demonstrates that certain word pairs were common translations (Bolognesi 1969, pp. 150–1). The history of research on the double glosses reflects changes in the modern reception of the vernacular hymns. If they were initially interpreted as the product of an uncertain scribe, they were gradually shown to be the work of an educated and reasonable scribe who used a sophisticated system of information transmission.

The function and use of abbreviated glosses, which are also characteristic of the Hymns and are often associated with interlinear versions in general, have not yet been exhaustively analysed. The Murbach Hymns have often been presented as a prototype for this type of gloss and are possibly the first German text in which the phenomenon was recognised (cf. O. Ernst 2009, p. 288 fn. 22; Grimm 1852, p. 96). Most of their glosses have already been complemented by Grimm (1830), but the interpretation of Sievers (1874) has prevailed in research and has since been widely accepted. The focus on the Hymns in this context is surprising, as abbreviating is a common glossing practice (O. Ernst 2009, p. 282) and can even be found outside the German glossing tradition (cf. Blom 2017). In densely glossed interlinear versions, however, abbreviated glosses can be placed directly after each other and would then be more conspicuous. Early on, references were made to other interlinear versions, such as the Rule of St Benedict or the 'St. Pauler Lukasglossen' (Koegel 1897, p. 470). Like the double glosses, this glossing practice could be determined as a specific glossing tradition of the Reichenau (Daab 1929, p. 54). The emphasis on interlinear versions led to a neglect of other texts with abbreviated glosses and ultimately to a misinterpretation of their main function. In interlinear glosses, the beginnings are usually abbreviated, leaving only the endings (O. Ernst 2009, pp. 285–6). From a functional perspective, the realised parts of glosses are sense-bearing. Thus, Henkel (2001, p. 449) concluded that abbreviated glosses are a means of elucidating syntactic relations of Latin since the ending contains mainly grammatical information. This interpretation is still generally accepted. The abbreviations in the glosses, however, are much more varied. Various types of abbreviated glosses occur clustered together in the Hymns. This evidence calls for a closer examination of the function of the glosses and their

relationship to Latin. Looking at how much debates about the Hymns and their characteristics have changed in the last century, it is clear that innovative approaches that challenge traditional views should always be encouraged and pursued, as they could significantly change the perspective on vernacular glossing.

A further characteristic of the Murbach Hymns which will not be the focus of this study is its vocabulary. First Sonderegger (1965, pp. 108–9) and Wolfgang Haubrichs (1995, pp. 203–4), and later more detailed Siewerts (2010, pp. 415–7), showed that the vocabulary of the glosses is related to Germanic ('archaic') poetic vocabulary. Furthermore, Sonderegger argued that the vernacular translation of the Hymns contained poetic features (Sonderegger 1965, pp. 109–10). This idea has been strongly challenged by Henkel (1996) and Andreas Kraß (1996) but has nevertheless been taken up repeatedly in research (Gerhards 2018; Siewerts 2010; Stolz 2017). As the aim of this study is to determine the aim of the translations in the manuscript, the origin of the glosses does not have to be analysed in detail. It will, however, be noted when it influences their function. Identifying the poetics of the vernacular hymns would require a comprehensive analysis which cannot be provided here. Therefore, I refrain from including it in my work.

3.2. The Template of the Murbach Hymns: Analysis of Stratum A

Stratum A, the first stratum of the Murbach Hymns, consists only of folio 122v. It corresponds to the Latin stratum. The main text and glosses were thus probably completed before the rest of the Hymns was written. Stratum A has a special place within the Hymns: it served as a template for the other pages, and, as the analysis will show, the glossator used it to implement elaborate glossing methods. Stratum A was written with great care and is evidence of sensible strategies for adapting the glosses to the vernacular. Its complexity was not matched in any other part of the Hymns.

3.2.1. Introduction to Stratum A

Stratum A is remarkable in its interplay of visual and linguistic, formal and functional features. Like the glosses, the associated Latin text on folio 122v forms a stratum of its own. The red ink of the first initial and the Latin heading already reveal that the page was created separately from the other pages of Ha since none of the other initials was written in red. Its possible use as a model is underlined by the special care with which the page was written compared to the following pages. The Latin text has been corrected by the glossator, as shown by the thickness of the lines and the colour of the ink of the corrections. The hand of stratum A also corrected the glosses while writing which shows that the scribe wanted to create a flawless gloss stratum. Examples are 'scalchan'[50] (l. 8) which was written on the erased beginning of another gloss, and 'euan gelis ceru' (l. 13). Here, the gloss was initially written starting with 'euanl'. It was then corrected by adding the syllable 'ge' above '-n-' when the glossator decided to correct it again, erased both 'ge' and '-l' and completed the gloss. Finally, a linear and accurate gloss was written.

The layout is almost free of errors and was maintained even when it affected the formatting of the text, as in the case of the last word of the fourth verse, *sanguinis* (l. 9). It did not fit in the line and had to be written at the end of the next line, but this was done in such a way that the uniformity of the justification was not disturbed. The words of the next line flow perfectly around the extra word and only the small decoration in front of it marks the line break (see fig. 29). In the last line, the even appearance of the page was maintained in a different way. The line consists of only two words, and since there is no following verse, the resulting free space could not be filled.

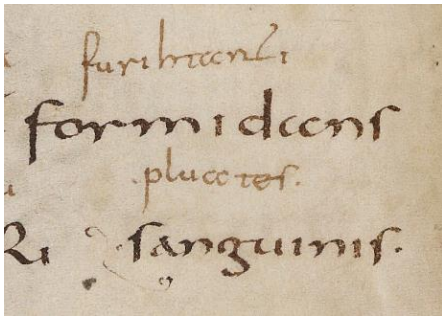


Fig. 29: The last word of line eight, *sanguinis*, was moved to the next line, line nine.

[50] Read 'sclahan' according to Sievers (1874, p. 29).

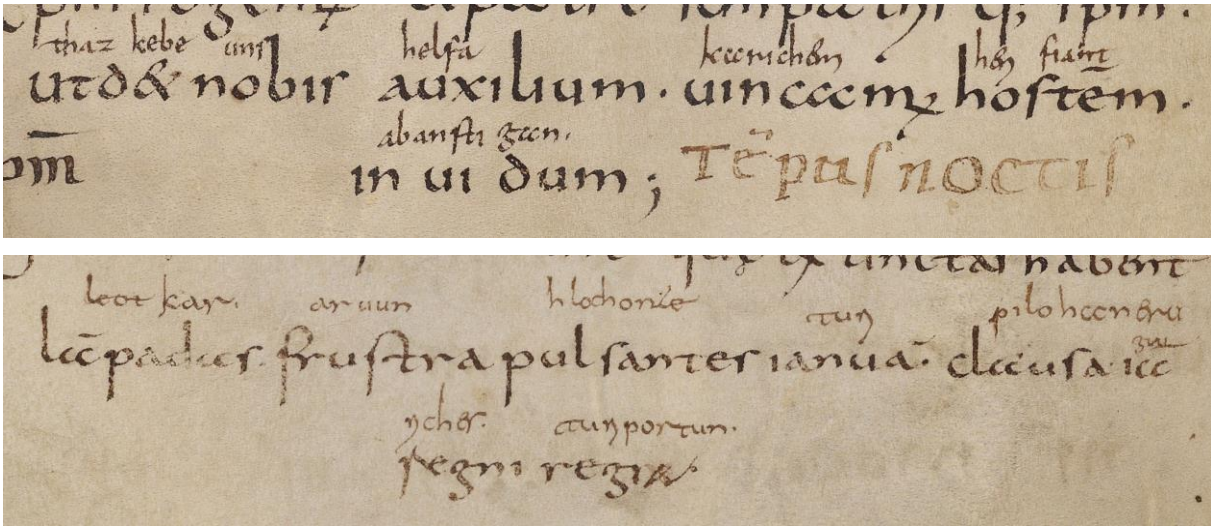


Fig. 30: The last two lines of folio 116r (top) and 122v (bottom) were moved to the center of the page to create an even layout.

The words were therefore moved to the middle of the line to obtain a symmetrical block of text, a method used only on this page and on the first page of Hb (fol. 116r; see fig. 30). The scribe was not only concerned with the appearance of the page, but also with legibility. Each Latin verse begins with a large initial in a new line, which simplifies the melodic rendering of the text (Parkes 2016, p. 98). The verses themselves are divided into four half-lines separated by half-raised points. These features clearly structure the poetic text. The symmetrical arrangement of the main text on the first page of the Murbach Hymns is intended to appeal to the reader (form), but also to create a readable text (function). Thus folio 122v sets the standard for the following pages of the Hymns.

The glosses were written less evenly compared to the Latin text. The Latin is written in straight lines on the ruling, while the glosses have been set in relation to the Latin text and do not form a linear sequence. However, their appearance does not detract from the model character of folio 122v but is due to the nature of the gloss writing, which was adapted to the main text and page (Nievergelt 2009, pp. 272–3). The function of glosses was more important than their form (Nievergelt 2009, p. 276). Even glosses in one stratum can therefore differ greatly depending on the primary text (Nievergelt 2009, p. 280). The preference for function over form becomes visible at the end of line eighteen. Here the gloss ‘pilohaneru’, glossing the Latin *clausa*, extends into the space above the following Latin word *iā* (read *iam*). The gloss of *iā*, ‘giu’, is also above its lemma. Instead of one line of Latin text and one line of glosses, this results in two lines of glosses (see fig. 31). The lack of space leads to an overlap of the gloss ‘giu’ and the tilde of *iā*. The readability of the two words is affected, but the clear visual relationship between gloss and lemma is preserved. The glosses of stratum A show typical

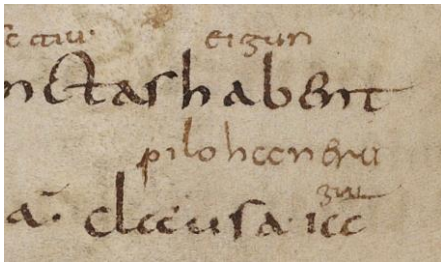


Fig. 31: The ends of lines seventeen and eighteen on folio 122v, aligned on the right side, because of the doubling of glosses ‘pilohaneru gui’ (l. 18).

characteristics of gloss script and, in contrast to the main text, were written in a function-oriented manner. The uniform layout of the Latin text is not reproduced in the glosses.

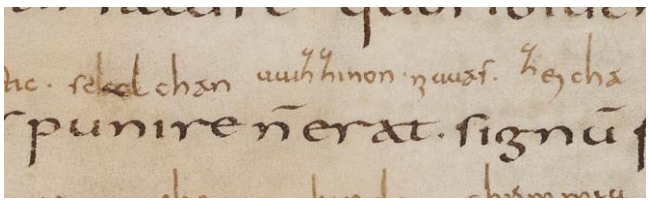


Fig. 32: A shift of glosses to the right in line eight of folio 122v, which disrupts the vertical gloss-lemma relation.

The function does not determine the writing of the glosses alone. In line eight, the double gloss 'scalchan[51] uuizzinon ·' caused a line shift to the right, which is handled differently than in line eighteen. The gloss begins above its lemma *punire* but continues above the following Latin words *ñ erat* (read *non erat*). This shift disrupts the clear vertical relation between glosses and lemmas: 'niuuas .', which follows 'scalchan uuizzinon ·', begins above the *-t* of its lemma *ñ erat* and extends beyond the following Latin word (see fig. 32). The relationship between 'uuas' and *erat* is still discernible and additionally supported by the dots that stand behind gloss and lemma, marking them as related, but 'ni' has no visible connection to *non*. This is the only case in this stratum where the glosses are so strongly displaced that the vertical gloss-lemma relationship is broken. It is present in every other line, sometimes to such an extent that Latin word division is applied to glosses, such as *hos*/*tem* at the break of lines eleven and twelve and its gloss 'fi/ant.'. Within the gloss stratum, different ways were taken by the glossator to deal with the lack of spacing between lines. The example in line eight proves that establishing a visual relationship between gloss and lemma was not always the glossator's goal.

These examples demonstrate two ways in which the balance between form and function can be struck in glosses, with function being the guiding factor. In both lines, the glossator had to adapt the glosses to reduced space above their lemma, and their position on the page determined the different writing styles of the glosses. In line eight, the glosses are in the middle of the line, while the gloss in line nineteen is at the end of the line. Moving 'giu' to the right, as was done with 'niuuas', would not only have disturbed the vertical relationship between gloss and lemma but would also have left the gloss in a blank space without a Latin word below it. The individual gloss would have lost its visual reference to the main text, as it would have been outside the frame formed by the Latin text. Displacing the gloss seems more drastic than overwriting part of the lemma and not sticking to the main layout. In line eight, there is no such danger. Since the glosses are in the middle of the line, they cannot lose their reference to the Latin text. The Old High German negation 'ni-' is an enclitic particle that was taken as part of the finite verb (Jäger 2013, pp. 152–3), a shift of 'niuuas' to the right might not have been recognised as a break in the relation to its lemma, although in Latin *non* and *erat* are separate words. The reader must have been able to make the connection between 'ni-' and *non*

[51] Read 'sclahan' according to Sievers (1874, p. 29).

immediately, regardless of their different syntactic status, or read the glosses as a larger syntactic unit in which the individual relationships between glosses and lemmas are subordinate. In both cases, the glossator had to work with limited space, which compromised the function of the glosses but found ways to maintain readability. The position of the glosses on the page was crucial for the layout of the glosses, as the boundaries of the main text determined the boundaries for the gloss stratum.

These deviations from the standard gloss style in this stratum prove that the formal design of the glosses on folio 122v is not uniform, but always depends on their function. Similar features such as font size and line thickness could have served as models for the following pages. However, the model character of the page could also go beyond the general layout of the glosses by showing how the writing style can be adapted to the space on the page without seriously affecting the function of the glosses. Whether these patterns were adopted on the following pages or whether the glossators adapted the writing style from case to case will be shown by the analysis of further gloss strata of the Murbach Hymns.

3.2.2. Visual Characteristics

The glossator of stratum A used visual strategies to support the gloss-lemma relationship, but also to convey linguistic information about the glosses. Although these strategies were not consistently applied, they are meaningful when they were implemented. They are therefore evidence that the meaning of the glosses was spontaneously expressed in their visual features. The main strategies were the separation of word parts, continuous writing of words, and punctuation, and their use and function will be discussed in the following chapter.

The visual representation of the glosses contains linguistic information in the gloss-lemma alignment but also in leaving gaps to segment words and using punctuation. The latter occurs only sporadically in glosses. In the Latin text, half-raised points mark the half-lines of the verses throughout. In the glosses, however, the individual words are separated by punctuation marks. The glosses are sometimes written so close together that dots are necessary to mark the word boundaries (e.g. ‘simbulū·ioh’, l. 2), or points have been placed although the distance between words is very large (e.g. after ‘magadi·’, l. 15). On folio 122v, it does not seem to be so important to mark the word endings precisely, since the vernacular was not mixed with Latin. Punctuation was sometimes added later in glosses (Voetz 1985, p. 134), possibly to facilitate reading, and this function can also be assumed for the Murbach Hymns although the half-raised points stem from the same hand as the glosses (cf. Parkes 2016, p. 106).

In the glosses, word parts are separated by visual gaps, and this principle of glossing works within the Old High German language structure. The graphic appearance of the glosses served to

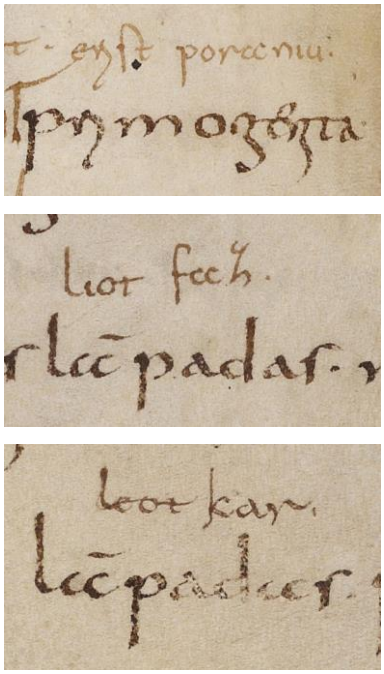


Fig. 33: Compound nouns were written in stratum A with visual gaps between their word parts, e.g. ‘erist poraniu·’ (l. 6, top), ‘liot faz·’ (l. 16, middle), and ‘leot kar·’ (l. 18, bottom).

emphasise the characteristics of the glosses and their relationship to the Latin lemmas. Compound nouns were consistently written with spaces between their parts, as seen in ‘erist poraniu’ *primogenita* (l. 6), and ‘liot faz·’ (l. 16) and ‘leot kar·’ (l. 18) for *lāpadas* (see fig. 33). The multiple glosses for *lāpadas* testify to a differentiated glossing process in which the glossator did not choose a single translation for recurring Latin words, but adapted them to the context. Both words are semantically equivalent (cf. AWB 5,1154–5)[52] and denote the same object in the hymn, namely the lamps carried by the virgins on their way to heaven, but occur in separate verses. The only contextual difference is that ‘liot faz·’ are burning lamps that show the way and ‘leot kar·’ are extinguished lamps. Siewerts (2010, p. 231) sees a different sound pattern in both verses, related to the sounds of the compound words. ‘liot faz’ is surrounded by labiodental fricatives, while the verse with ‘leot kar’ has more velar sounds. Thus, the word choice matches the soundscape in the verses, but Michael Stolz (2017) suggests that the alternatives have even more meaning. The sounds of labiodentals and velars respectively stand for the state of the lamps, whether they are burning or not, and for the actions of the virgins, who either successfully pass through the gates of heaven or hopelessly knock on them (Stolz 2017, p. 204).

In Old High German prefix verbs, there is often a visual segmentation of prefix and root, reflecting word-formation. With the exception of ‘pilibant’ *remanent* (l. 17) without an intervening space, every Old High German verb with a prefix on folio 122v has a smaller or wider gap, for example ‘ana prahta’ *intulit* (l. 6) or ‘far manente’ *spernentes*[53] (l. 12; see fig. 34). In ‘ana prahta’, the prefix and root of the gloss are vertically aligned with the Latin word parts, a method the glossator has also used in some other words, e.g. the past participle ‘arlasc tiu·’ *extinctas* (l. 17). In this gloss, there is no visible gap between the prefix and the root, as the ‘-r-’ is connected to the following ‘-l-’ by a thin line. The prefix is written lower than the rest of the word, suggesting that it was added later, similar to ‘pilohaneru’ *clausa* (l. 18), where the prefix ‘pi-’ is scrawly and

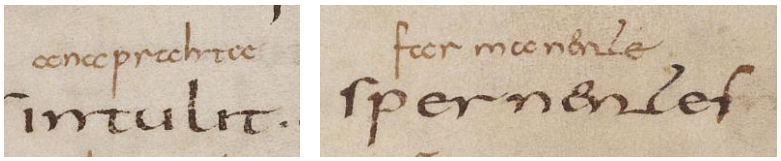


Fig. 34: The prefixes of prefix verbs were usually marked with visual gaps on folio 122v, e.g. ‘ana prahta’ (l. 6, left) and ‘far manente’ (l. 12, right).

[52] The ‘Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch’ (AWB) by Elisabeth Karg-Gasterstädt et al. (1952–[2024]) is the authoritative dictionary for Old High German and will be used as far as it is published. Words which are not yet covered by the AWB will be referenced in the ‘Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch’ by Rudolf Schützeichel (2012).
[53] *spernentes* was corrected from *spernentem*.

darker and obviously from a later hand.[54] In both glosses, the prefix was added directly before the word stem. The gap in 'arlasc tiu' separates the ending from the root, accentuated by the prominent '-t-', which has a distinct curve in the beginning, a variant of the character otherwise used mainly for word beginnings (e.g. 'truhtin' in l. 11). The gap visually reflects the greater spacing in the Latin lemma, and the prominent 't' almost seems to mirror the Latin *ct* with which it vertically aligns.

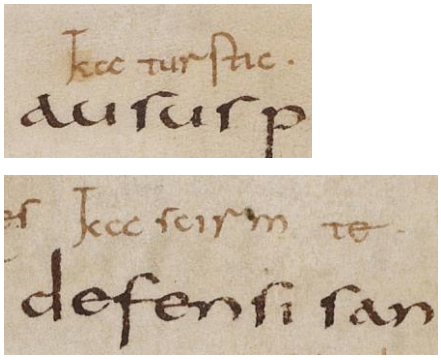


Fig. 35: Only prefixes ('ka turstic', l. 8; top), or prefixes and suffixes ('ka scirm te', l. 12; bottom) were separated by gaps in past participles on folio 122v.

When writing past participles, the glossator did not follow a systematic pattern but adapted the spelling to the space on the page and the relationship between Latin and Old High German. Therefore, visual gaps were used differently. The combination of the two principles is shown in 'ka scirm te' *defensi* (l. 12). In this gloss, the gaps mark the morpheme structure: prefix and suffix are visibly separated from the root of the word (see fig. 35). But other principles are also at work here. The gloss begins above the second letter of the Latin lemma, probably because the previous gloss ends almost above the *d-* of *defensi* and the glossator did not want to cross the ascender of the letter. The first gap between the prefix and the root of the word thus has no relation to the lemma. However, since the Old High German word stem ends in a line with the Latin lemma, the following gap between the Latin words was used as a reference point for the second gap of the gloss. The suffix '-te' is aligned vertically with the beginning of the next Latin word, creating a visual relationship between the glosses and the primary text, even if this was not linguistically motivated. Similarly, 'ka turstic' *ausus* (l. 8) has the prefix separated and the rest of the word begins directly above *-sus*. The position of the gap reflects the greater spacing within the Latin lemma between the letters *-u-* and *-s-*, but also the vernacular morphology.

In 'duruh nohtiu' *perfecta* (l. 3), Old High German morphology also provokes word division. The gap marks the morphological boundary between the prefix and the adjective stem. In addition, there is a vertical semantic relation to the main text, because the prefixes of the gloss and the lemma have the same meaning: 'duruh-' and *per-*. The gloss prefix is placed above the Latin *per-*, and the spacing not only marks the vernacular word structure but connects the Old High German prefix with the Latin one, although the other parts of the word are different. Finally, in the gloss 'uuizac lichiu' *ꝑphetica* (l. 1, read *prophetica*), the word is divided into word stem and suffix.[55] The position of the suffix seems

[54] Assuming the prefix was added later, the first letter of the gloss is shifted surprisingly far to the right. It might be aligned with the line above rather than with the lemma.

[55] The striking form of the 'c' with an ascender only occurs once more on this page, in the 'o' of 'toda' *mortes* (l. 6).

to be aligned with the Latin word, it begins directly above the *et*-sign, but neither the root nor the suffix have a semantic relationship (see fig. 36). In this case, as in the others discussed, the principles of visual orientation and conveying linguistic information are interwoven. Gaps were initially left in glosses to emphasise the vernacular word structure, but can relate to Latin through visual links with the Latin script and morphemes.

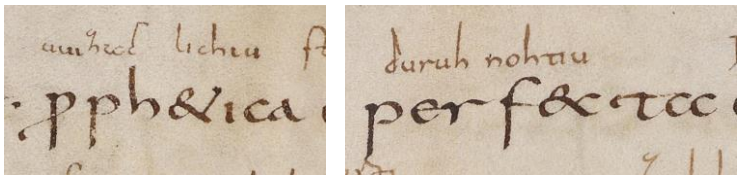


Fig. 36: Glosses were separated into their morphological parts by spaces, as in ‘uuizac lichiu’ (l. 1, top) and ‘duruh nohtiu’ (l. 3, bottom) on folio 122v.

The examples discussed so far relate to word-formation and inflection, but visual gaps also occur between purely phonological syllables. The gloss ‘chūf tiger’ *uenturus* (l. 14) consists of the nominal word stem ‘chumft-’ and the adjectival suffix ‘-îg’ with an inflectional ending. Regardless of its morphology, it is split between the last two consonants of the root, which proves that not word-formation but phonological word segmentation was decisive for the glossator. The letters *-t-* of the two words are aligned, visually connecting lemma and gloss. Other examples of purely phonological segmentation following the Latin script are ‘mit tera’ *mediae* (l. 1) and ‘frau uoem’ *laetemur* (l. 11). In ‘mit tera’, the gap is triggered by the ascender of the Latin *-d-*, although the gloss could easily have been written continuously above the letter. The second syllable of ‘frau uoem’ is vertically aligned with the second *-e-* of *laetemur*. The semivowel ‘uu’, separated by a space in this case, normally marks a short /w/ that would be initial in a syllable (Braune 2023, §111). However, /w/ can also be long or geminated (/ww/), and although the spelling ‹uuu› would then be the common spelling for it, the writings overlap (Braune 2023, §111). Visual segmentation of the semivowel could show that it is geminated (see fig. 37) since one of the features of geminated consonants is that the syllable boundary lies within them (Braune 2023, §91). A final example is the gloss ‘fi/ant’, which is separated at the line break of lines eleven and twelve after its lemma *hos*/*tem*. Both words were broken down into their phonological syllables. Whether this was the preferred method, or when a gloss is in one line while the lemma was separated, as in line eight ‘poto ·’ for *an*/*gelus*, cannot be determined. Even if the word segmentation partly corresponds to inflectional parts or the word-formation, it was based on phonological syllables. This system corresponds to the pattern of word division in prominent Old High German texts (Frey 1988, p. 229) which are linked to the pronunciation of the vernacular (Masser 1997, p. 13).

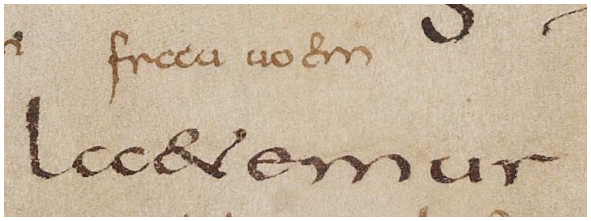


Fig. 37: The gap separates the phonological syllables of ‘frau uoem’ (fol. 122v, l. 11) which shows that ‘u u’ marks a geminated sound (/ww/).

The gaps within the glosses follow the linguistic glossing principle of establishing vertical and horizontal relationships. The vertical relationship is not only graphically realised by positioning each gloss above the corresponding lemma, as shown earlier, but also expressed by aligning letters or parts of words with the Latin. At the horizontal level, graphic measures were taken to mark syllable boundaries and to highlight features of phonology, inflection, and word-formation. Various principles of spacing and punctuation were applied and combined, but none was consistently enforced. The glosses were not written with a general stylistic aim. Rather, the graphic features studied represent a range of stylistic strategies that can be used to convey information about Old High German and Latin, and their relationship to each other. Glossing was thus a highly visually motivated writing process, related to linguistic features, but also to graphic links between glosses and lemmas that cannot be justified linguistically.

3.2.3. Methods of Translation

Stratum A was glossed with several different skopoi. In the following close analysis of the translations, it will be shown that even though the primary text influenced the glosses, in many cases they depart from their lemmas to form complex functional strata. Clarifying the meaning of the source is one of the most important skopoi, which could determine whether other functions were implemented, as this chapter will demonstrate.

In most glosses, the vertical gloss-lemma relationship is not only visually marked, but is also explicitly expressed in the word pairs themselves, as they take on the meaning, word order, and grammatical features of their lemmas. Complex structures such as ‘ka turstic · scalchan[56] uuizzinon · niuuas.’ for *ausus punire n̄ erat* (l. 8) were translated exactly (in this case including the double gloss ‘scalchan uuizzinon’ for *punire*) and clarify the grammatical features of the Latin phrase. The past participle *ausus* which functions here as a predicative, was glossed with an Old High German denominal adjective ‘giturstîg’. The grammatical forms of both words are the same, participles and adjectives are declined identically in both languages. Therefore, the focus is not on the word and its origin, but the skopos is to emphasise its grammatical function in the sentence and the meaning it expresses. This gloss is related to the *Abrogans* (Baesecke 1930, p. 62) and could represent a common translation. A contrary translation is found in line four, where the phrase ‘ioh dera einun capurti’ deviates from its counterpart *uniusq: substantię* (read *uniusque*). The deviations take place within the sentence and do not affect its syntactic function, since the Latin genitive, which establishes the structural relations of the sentence, has been adopted in the glosses. The deviating word order and the addition of an Old High German determiner clarify the theological background (see chapter 3.2.4). The meanings of

[56] Read ‘sclahan’ according to Sievers (1874, p. 29).

lemma and gloss are equivalent despite the syntactic and lexical differences. In order to achieve a clear semantic interpretation, it was necessary to move away from a word-for-word translation. The glossator translated in gloss clusters, concentrating on reflecting the Latin. If the skopos to express the meaning was compromised, glosses within a syntactic unit could deviate significantly from Latin.

The double glosses of the Murbach Hymns are a specific type of word-for-word glossing, in which a second translation could fulfil a different function than the first. Siewerts (2010, pp. 409–14) analysed several functional types of double glosses in the Hymns, which she related to the textual and theological background of the text. They can be roughly divided into two groups: double glosses, in which the glosses are related to each other, and double glosses, in which each gloss is a separate translation of the lemma. Three lemmas on folio 122v have been translated with pairs of glosses providing alternative translations derived from the target language that are either completely synonymous or motivated by additional textual context. 'uuila˙' is a valid but conservative translation of *hora*, and the additional 'stunta·' provides a contemporary alternative (l. 7; Siewerts 2010, pp. 56, 412). 'uuizzinon ·' adds the semantic level of 'punishment' contained in the Latin *punire* but not in 'scalchan' (read 'sclahan', l. 8; Siewerts 2010, pp. 56–7), and in 'felaho scheffo·' the first gloss conveys the meaning 'to preserve' that *conditor* has, while the second gloss provides a contextually more accurate translation that describes god as creator (l. 14; Siewerts 2010, pp. 180, 410).[57] The grammatical information provided by the glosses is identical in both pairs and reproduces the Latin, in the case of the nouns even down to the grammatical gender. One gloss would have been sufficient to convey the meaning of the Latin, but the glossator wanted to emphasise another aspect of the lemma with a second gloss. The main skopos here is therefore to provide alternative translations with a slightly different semantic focus.

Similarly, when the possibilities of the target language do not suffice to render the source text adequately, such as in 'turiportun·' *regia* (l. 19), a fitting alternative was chosen. Here, the lemma is ablative singular and forms together with *clausa* (l. 18) an ablative absolute. It was rendered into an equivalent structure with dative nouns as was common in Old High German (cf. Gelderen 1991). A double gloss was chosen to highlight the differences between Latin *ianuam* (l. 20, also glossed with 'turi') and *regia*. Both were used here to describe heaven's door but *regia* was more often used for big portals (Siewerts 2010, p. 78). The gloss 'turi' shows that both lemmas mean the same object but by adding 'portun', it is emphasised that *regia* is actually a larger gate (AWB 7,282; Siewerts 2010, p. 80; cf. Simbolotti 2009, p. L). Furthermore, it gives a lexical alternative to 'turi'. The skopoi lie here on

[57] This interpretation, however, is based on the reading 'sclahan' by Sievers (1874, p. 29). Since Sievers' edition is the authoritative one in scholarship, most analyses of the Murbach Hymns assume this reading. In the manuscript, it says 'scalchan' with '-al-' on an erasure. The erased lettes cannot be fully identified because there is a short line drawn with dark ink in the middle but it is possible that the original gloss started with 'sclac-' or 'slac-' if the first '-c-' was added while correcting.

explaining the lemma's meaning and on providing lexical variety at the same time, but they can only be expressed by adjusting the vernacular glosses to the source language.

In these examples, the glosses can be interpreted individually, while in other double glosses in stratum A, the two glosses must be read as a pair in order to understand them fully. The function of the second gloss is to clarify the meaning. In the glosses 'israhel liut ·' *isrł* (l. 11; see fig. 38), the Hebrew name 'israhel' could mean either the territory or the people of Israel while the additional 'liut' clarifies the ambiguous meaning (Firchow 1972, p. [xvi]). The meaning of the two glosses is so strongly interwoven that they could even be interpreted as a word compound. In the two remaining pairs of glosses on this page, 'poto · chundo' for *angelus* (l. 6) and 'turiportun·' for *regia* (l. 19), the individual glosses complement each other. Both lemmas call for an extensive theological explanation, which evidently cannot be given satisfactorily with only one Old High German word (for more details on the theological context, cf. Siewerts 2010, pp. 72–80). To render the source text adequately into the target language, more than one translation is needed. Each gloss adds another layer, and all are necessary to fully understand the meaning; moreover, by choosing this combination of words, the glossator sets the background for the theological interpretation of the following verses (Stolz 2017, p. 204). Grammatically, glosses and lemmas have the same properties. All double glosses on folio 122v were used to modify or clarify the underlying semantics at different scales. They are equivalent on the grammatical level, and the aim of the double gloss is therefore to convey a specific meaning.

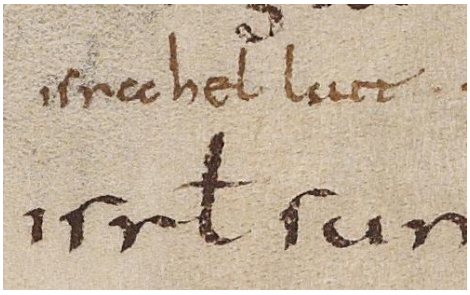


Fig. 38: The double gloss 'israhel liut ·' for *isrł* (l. 11, fol. 122v). The second gloss clarifies that the first one denotes the people of Israel.

The glosses of the Murbach Hymns contain several contextual choices in the translation of one and the same Latin word, which calls into question a simple word-for-word translation. The Latin verb *habere* appears twice and is translated once as 'hebit' (l. 5) and once as 'eigun' (l. 17). The different Old High German words are based on the variety of meanings of the lemma. The verb 'eigan' in connection with an accusative object has only the connotation of possessing something (AWB 3,100–3), while 'habên' covers several semantic fields (AWB 4,532–70). The more abstract meaning of 'egison zit daz hebit' requires a broadly interpretable verb, in contrast to 'deo arlasc tiu· eigun / leot kar·' which describes a material possession. Not so obvious to modern readers is the difference between 'do' (l. 7) and 'denne' (l. 15) which both translate *tunc*. The Latin word denotes a specific point in time, as do the two Old High German adverbs. The difference between the translations is that 'denne', when combined with the present tense, denotes a date in the future (EWA II,528), a connotation that 'do' does not have. The future meaning is already introduced in lines thirteen and fourteen, where the phrase 'chūf tiger prutigomo' and even more clearly its Latin lemmas *uenturus sponsus* indicate that

the verse describes forthcoming events. In the translation, the glossator exhausted the lexical possibilities of Old High German and drew on a wide range of vocabulary. The equivalence here lies in the contextual semantics, not on the lexical level. Instead of replacing Latin words with familiar Old High German translations, they were carefully selected with regard to their meaning in the vernacular and contextual influence. This is evidence of a glossator who knew both Latin and Old High German very well.

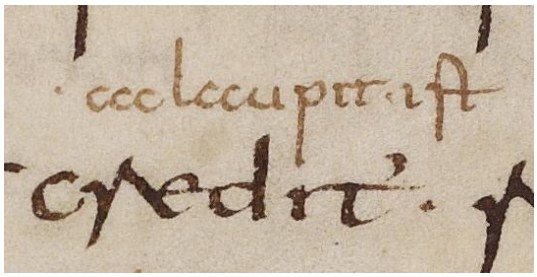


Fig. 39: The synthetic Latin passive *crediť* was translated with a vernacular analytic form '· calaupit · ist' (l. 14, fol. 122v).

Although the glossator usually adopted the grammatical properties and sentence structure of the main text, in a few cases this was not possible without either impairing the comprehensibility of the glosses or deviating from the source text. Basic linguistic differences in conjugation and declension of Latin and Old High German are the main reasons for the deviations. Latin is a synthetic language, containing all the grammatical information of the verbs in the suffixes, whereas Old High German used auxiliary verbs[58]. On folio 122v, one Latin passive verb is glossed: '· calaupit · ist' *crediť* (read *creditur*, l. 14; see fig. 39). In Old High German, the passive could only be expressed with an auxiliary, with two possible constructions: the 'uuesan'- and 'uuerdan'-passive (Braune 2023, §301.1 A.1). The verbs of the gloss, forms of 'uuesan' and 'gi-louben', are both non-transitional and result in combination in a passive construction with stative meaning (Jones 2009, p. 55), expressing that the state of faith is permanent during the time span of the narrative. The glossator chose the auxiliary that renders the meaning accurately. In contrast, the Latin deponent verb *laetemur* was not translated as passive, but as equivalent active 'frau uoem' (l. 11). The glossator has understood the meaning of the Latin verb very well, even though the grammatical form does not exist in Old High German.[59] Also more focused on meaning than on linguistics is the translation of the Latin participle *uenturus*, glossed with 'chūf tiger', relating as an attribute to *sponsus* 'prutigomo' (l. 14). The Old High German translation of the Latin participle is an adjective in the nominative singular masculine[60]. Genus, number, and case are identical in gloss and lemma, but the participle, unlike adjectives, can also take a tense and voice. In this case, *uenturus* is a future active participle. Formed from the verb *venire* 'to come', it expresses that the

[58] I use the term 'auxiliary' in the present work to described the syntactic relation between inflected (i.e. the auxiliary) and uninflected verbs within complex predicates. This term, however, is not supposed to comment on the state of grammaticalisation of the inflected verb forms. An overview over the discussion whether grammaticalisation of the possible auxiliaries 'uuerdan' and 'uuesan/sîn' was already underway in Old High German can be found in Howard Jones (2009, p. 64ff.).

[59] In the glosses of the Rule of St Benedict (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 916), deponent verbs were usually translated as passive, which could have been used to elucidate the grammatical properties of the Latin (Masser 2002, p. 65).

[60] 'kumftîg, kunftîg' (AWB 5,462).

sponsus will appear. The future tense was hardly used in Old High German, only a few analytical future constructions appear and an individual synthetic future form was not known (Braune 2023, §301.2 A.2). In the absence of a form that could express the future meaning and be easily understood and used, the glossator chose a semantic equivalent. The adjective 'chumftig' derives from the noun 'kumft'[61] which in turn comes from 'queman' (EWA 5,866–7), meaning 'to come'. The frequent occurrence of the adjective and its common translation with *futur-* (AWB 5,462–7) indicate that it was well known in this sense. Its meaning could therefore easily replace the tense expressed in the Latin participle. In both examples, equivalence lies on the semantic level and the skopos is therefore to convey the meaning of the lemmas.

The Latin linguistic system differs in other constructions that required creativity and linguistic knowledge on the part of the glossators in order to be translated with functionally equivalent Old High German. The Latin gerundive *laudanda* in line four is translated with an inflected infinitive in the dative, 'lobone', in combination with a preposition, 'za', which is a common expression for the gerundive in Old High German (Braune 2023, §315 A.2). The vernacular translation transfers the Latin syntactic and semantic relation by using the preposition 'zi, za, ze', which carries the same meaning of necessity as the Latin gerundive (Abraham 2016, pp. 437, 45) and is then combined with an appropriately inflected infinitive. The Latin ablative was often handled in a structurally similar way. The case missing in the Old High German inflectional system can be replaced by nouns in the genitive, dative or accusative, or by prepositional constructions (cf. Raposo 1982). In stratum A, the Latin ablative was translated in only one way, namely with dative nouns without prepositions. This rendering is quite common in Old High German translations such as the Old High German Tatian and Isidor (Raposo 1982, pp. 54, 115)[62] since the dative case combines several Proto-Indo-European cases in itself (Fulk 2018, p. 143). Most instances on folio 122v are instrumental ablatives[63], as for example '[lam]bes […] [plua]te' *agni* […] *sanguine* (l. 10), and one is temporal, 'zite' *tempore* (l. 1). Two relative pronouns in the temporal ablative, *quo* 'demu' (l. 5 and 13), have been translated with an Old High German dative. Both uses are attested for Old High German dative phrases without prepositions and can be linked to the development of the Germanic case system (cf. Kotin 2021). The translations reflect the source language as far as possible by dispensing with a preposition, but they also draw on the Old High German linguistic system. There is a certain ambiguity, since the dative is used in various functions, which also reflects the multiple meanings of the Latin ablative. When the different language systems do not allow for linguistic equivalence, the glossator has chosen translations that are functionally and

[61] About denominal formation of adjectives, see Wilhelm Braune (2023, §249.2a).
[62] In Notker's translation, the genitive is the most common translation for the Latin ablative (Raposo 1982, p. 220), which represents a late Old High German state of development in expressing Latin ablative meanings (Raposo 1982, p. 233).
[63] Following the classification by Berta Raposo (1982, pp. 13–5).

semantically appropriate. The aim of the translation was therefore to convey the correct meaning, but also to preserve the Latin syntactic structure within the framework of Old High German.

One translation technique that has been associated primarily with grammatical functions is the abbreviation of glosses, but the patterns of abbreviated glosses on folio 122v show that it was in fact motivated by several other factors. In general, there are three types of abbreviated glosses in Old High German (O. Ernst 2009, pp. 282–3), two of which are represented on this page: first, the abbreviation of the beginning, second, the abbreviation of the middle part of glosses. They appear in the form of clusters in separate sections of the page (see fig. 40). The three glosses that lack the middle part ('Kontraktion'; O. Ernst 2009, p. 302) are in lines two and three: 'truh[ti]ne' *dn̄o* (l. 2), 'fa[te]re' *patri* (l. 2), and 'ka[uuis]so' *enim* (l. 3).[64] A gap marks the missing part of the word, the middle syllable, and parts of the word stems and endings were preserved. Abbreviated glosses could be understood on the basis of the Latin lemma and context (Voetz 1985, p. 114), but the question arises as to why only a few glosses were abbreviated if the readers did not need complete glosses at all. In this case, it has to do with the process of glossing. The first abbreviation, 'truh ne', corresponds to the Latin abbreviation of *domino* (*dn̄o*), with slightly more than one syllable shortened in the lemma. The technique creates here morphological equivalence. The first abbreviated gloss could then have motivated the one immediately following, possibly also triggered by the identical meaning. While glossing 'ka so', the glossator could have reacted to the surrounding lexical material by adopting the translation method of the glosses in the line immediately above, 'truh ne' and 'fa re'. Translation by abbreviation in glosses can mirror Latin abbreviations, but it can also reflect the practical context of the gloss.

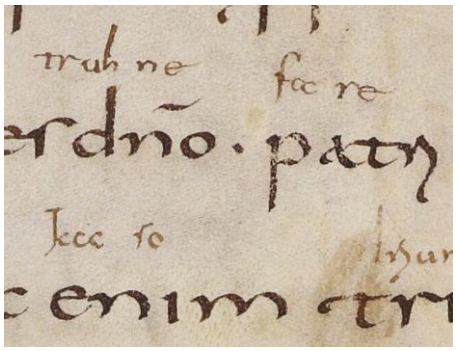


Fig. 40: Three abbreviated glosses in lines two and three (fol. 122v) appear as cluster. One abbreviation could have visually motivated the other two.

The remaining abbreviated glosses are evidence of further functions of this gloss type. They all appear in one verse in three different half-lines (ll. 9–10) and are each shortened at the beginning. The word endings are partly marked with half-raised points. Only *ęgyptus* and *isrł* (read *israel*) are not glossed at all. Omitting proper names is a common practice in glosses, especially in interlinear versions (Voetz 2009, pp. 922–3), as is the abbreviation of glosses. Although lines nine and ten do not demonstrate any exceptional glossing methods, they stand out from the rest of the stratum and could contribute to the overall skopos of folio 122, to illustrate glossing techniques as a model page. The

[64] Here and in following citations, shortened word parts will be put in square brackets. They are completed according to Sievers (1874, pp. 29–30).

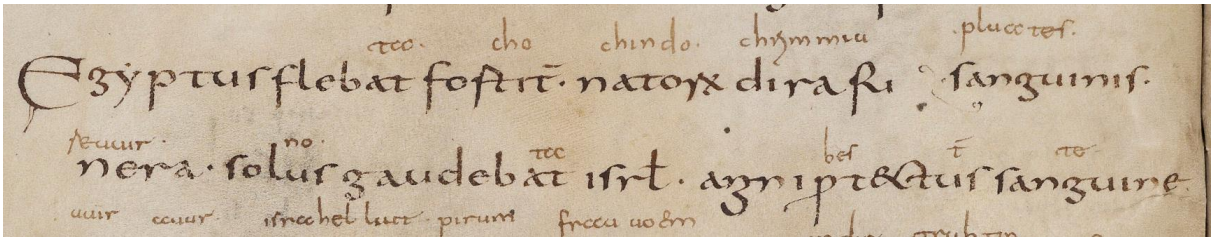


Fig. 41: The fifth verse (ll. 9–10, fol. 122v) has abbreviated glosses within three half-lines; in the second half-line, the glosses are written out.

verbs in this verse are both translated with 'ta', the inflectional ending. Both are weak verbs and reflect the Latin third-person singular preterite. The gloss endings are exactly above the Latin *-at* and in Latin and Old High German, the letters are connected. In positioning the glosses, priority was given to marking the ending, since 'ta' would correlate grammatically with Latin *-bat* (see fig. 41). The abbreviations represent the last phonological syllable of the vernacular words: '[starchli]cho' *fortīt* (l. 9), '[ei]no·' *solus* (l. 10), '[lam]bes' *agni* (l. 10), '[kascirm]t̄' (read 'ter') *protectus* (l. 10), and '[plua]te' *sanguine* (l. 10). The function of this kind of abbreviation has been interpreted as purely syntactic (Henkel 2001, p. 449). However, the last syllable can contain more information than just syntactic relations, such as parts of the root ('cho', 'no', 'bes', 'te') or further inflectional markers ('ta', 'ter'). The additional sounds indicate the word the glossator had in mind when glossing, but the decisive factor for glossing was the phonological structure of the words.

Old High German is characterised as a 'Silbensprache' ('syllabic language'), which means that the relevant phonological category of the language is the syllable and not the whole word (Szczepaniak 2007, p. 28). The syllable thus determines the phonology of the language. For a language oriented towards syllables, it not only seems natural to use this small unit as an abbreviation, but it also connects the abbreviated glosses with language usage. Old High German is adapted to facilitate the pronunciation of the syllable (Szczepaniak 2007, p. 147). When the glossators wrote down whole syllables, they must have had the sound of the words in mind. In the later historical varieties of German, the morphemes became phonologically less distinguishable, which is why the abbreviation of glosses was used less and less (Henkel 1996, p. 64). This development relates to German now being a 'Wortsprache' (Szczepaniak 2007, p. 269). The focus is undoubtedly on the grammatical information provided by the word endings and thus on Latin grammatical features, but the main skopos of the glosses is to reflect the use of the vernacular, i.e. to pragmatics. Exploring the language while glossing was in itself an important goal.

While in some examples the translation of the source text was done very freely, in other cases it seems that the glosses reproduce their lemmas to such an extent that it is questionable whether they existed in the Old High German vocabulary independently of the Latin. This is the case when the glosses copy the morpheme structure of their Latin lemmas. A striking example is the gloss

'duruh nohtiu' translating *perfecta* (l. 3). As Siewerts (2010, pp. 47–8) has demonstrated, the gloss may have originated as a loan rendition from Latin as it exhibits all characteristics of compound words which were probably not native to Old High German (Henkel 1996, pp. 57–8). The structure of the Old High German word is equivalent to the structure of the Latin and at least the first part of the word, 'duruh-', translates the Latin first part *per-* directly. It was initially formed in exact imitation of Latin and then became independent in its use in the course of the Old High German period (Siewerts 2010, p. 48). The same applies to 'driunissa' *trinitas* in line three (Siewerts 2010, pp. 48–9) or 'uuastio' *uastator* in line five (Siewerts 2010, p. 53). There are some other glosses that agree with the morphology of their lemmas, but they were frequently used in Old High German, and it is therefore unclear whether they were originally translated from Latin words, as 'erist poraniu·' *primogenita* (l. 6) or 'inkagan louffant ·' *occurunt* (l. 15). Some glosses were chosen to reflect the Latin morpheme structure (cf. Henkel 1996, p. 59) – whether to communicate the literal meaning of the Latin or to clarify Latin word-formation.

It becomes evident that stratum A was created with several different skopoi. Most glosses follow their lemmas on all levels – grammatical, semantic, morphological and syntactic – which sets the focus on the main text. Still, there are many occasions in which the glosses deviate from the source. In a few cases, the different linguistic systems required the glossator to choose translations that depart from the lemma. Because it was not possible to achieve grammatical or morphological equivalence, the glosses were instead created with the skopos to convey the structural and semantic value of the Latin. But even when the target language could copy the source text on all levels, the glossator rendered the lemmas partly differently because they had a specific skopos. It could lie on clarifying Old High German morphology or syntax, but in most cases, glosses were adapted to convey or clarify a certain meaning. When, for example, the word order was adjusted, syntactic equivalence with the Latin was disregarded to achieve semantic equivalence. The underlying skopos of stratum A is therefore to emphasise the semantic interpretation of the source text. However, abbreviated glosses show that it still was not always implemented. The abbreviations follow the pronunciation of Old High German and because the words are incomplete, there can barely be equivalence to the source text. What the glosses emphasise, and therefore their skopos, is performatively exploring the use of Old High German which can even overrule the focus on the meaning. Each gloss can be tied to its specific pragmatic context.

3.2.4. Syntactic Patterns

Within stratum A, horizontal syntactic structures were formed. They demonstrate that the glosses were produced on the basis of valid vernacular syntagms. Furthermore, the glossator found ways to incorporate both Latin and Old High German syntax into the translation. Nevertheless, the primary text

dictated the syntactic relations of certain structures in the glosses. How exactly the scribe of stratum A balanced the influence of the Latin with vernacular linguistics will be examined in this chapter.

Probably the most obvious component of syntax, word order, is severely affected in the glosses of the Murbach Hymns.[65] In most cases, the glosses follow the order of the main Latin text and should therefore only cautiously be interpreted as Old High German word order. In this respect, the phrase 'ioh dera einun capurti' for *uniusq: substantię* (l. 4, read *uniusque*) stands out from the other glosses of this stratum as it is not a word-for-word translation of the Latin text. The gloss 'dera' was added by the glossator without translating a specific Latin lemma. Since it has no Latin equivalent, its position in relation to the other glosses could be freely chosen and follows Old High German syntax. This analysis also applies to the gloss 'ioh' translating the enclitic conjunction *-que*. In Old High German, there is no equivalent enclitic conjunction that could have been used. Both glosses that deviate from the main Latin text, 'ioh' and 'dera', are syntactically correctly embedded in the phrase. The determiner is immediately before the attributed noun 'einun capurti' and agrees grammatically with it (both are genitive singular feminine), and the conjunction is before the noun phrase and between the phrases it connects. A translation of *-que* without adjusting the position of the gloss would result in glosses that are readable in direct relation to their Latin lemma, but the syntactic relations of both Latin and Old High German would be obscured. The syntactic position of both 'dera' and 'ioh' was chosen in accordance with vernacular linguistics and testifies to a conscious glossator who adapted the word order to ensure a legible Old High German translation.

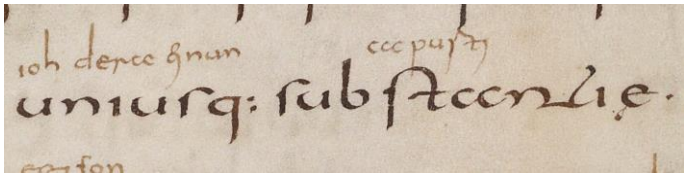


Fig. 42: The glosses 'ioh dera einun capurti' (l. 4, fol. 122v) depart from the Latin word order. The first three words were written as a unit and are syntactically independent of the main text.

Adapting the glosses to Old High German disrupted the individual vertical relationships between glosses and lemmas, but the relationship between the whole phrase and its Latin equivalent is visible since the group of glosses stands directly above the Latin word complex. Like the Latin linguistic unit *uniusque*, its Old High German translation was written as a coherent entity. A clear vertical relation between the individual words was not possible in this case because 'dera' has been added (see fig. 42). In Old High German, 'ther, thaz, thiu' is used both as a demonstrative and as a definite article. Here, 'dera' is presumably a demonstrative pronoun, because it has a deictic function, one of the main features of demonstratives (Kraiss 2014, p. 128). The reason a determiner was added is because of the ambiguous semantics of the noun phrase. The gloss 'einun' has two possible meanings. It could either be a numeral meaning

[65] This characteristic lies within the nature of interlinear glosses, cf. 'St. Pauler Lukasglossen' (St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1/8), in which the word order of the Latin is usually maintained; the few departures are justified differently than the ones on folio 122v of the Murbach Hymns (Voetz 1985, pp. 157–62).

'one' or an indefinite pronoun meaning 'any' (Braune 2023, §270.1). While the numeral can be strongly or weakly inflected and thus overlaps with the usually strongly inflected indefinite pronoun, the combination of determiner and 'ein' is characteristic only for the numeral (Braune 2023, §270.1a). In glosses, the use of determiners often marks that they have been written with their syntactic and semantic context in mind (Glaser 2000, p. 206).[66] This feature applies here, as the determiner clarifies an ambiguous word. Instead of translating *unius*[…] *substantię* as 'of any being', it is described as 'of this one being', which emphasises the unity of the holy trinity (Siewerts 2010, p. 69) and linguistically refers back to the preceding phrase *perfecta* […] *trinitas* 'duruh nohtiu […] driunissa'. Deviating from the literal gloss is necessary in order not to falsify the underlying theological statement. Moreover, the complexity of the glosses proves that the glossing process was carried out in larger units using the visual potential of the interlinear version and with an awareness of the meaning of the Latin text. Within the limits of the syntactic unit in which the Latin text was glossed, the glosses could deviate considerably from the Latin if vernacular linguistics or semantics required it, without affecting the overall structure of the sentence.

The specific grammatical character of Old High German conjunctions, and especially of 'ioh', was decisive for this translation. In Old High German, 'ioh' was interchangeable with 'inti' until Notker used 'inti' as a primary connector while 'ioh' gradually disappeared from the German language (Carr 1933, pp. 496–7; Markey 1987, p. 388). In this case, however, the meaning of 'ioh' is considered to be 'and also, as well as' and thus it is a connector marking complements and not opposites (Sehrt 1916, p. 12).[67] Latin *-que* introduces a complement to the preceding noun phrase *perfecta enim trinitas*. The following descriptive genitive *uniusque substantię* defines *trinitas* in more detail, and the gloss conveys the same kind of complementary relationship. In this stratum, 'ioh' expresses a complement in one other case ('truh[ti]ne fa [te]re simbulū · ioh sune' *dn̄o · patri sēp ac filio*, l. 2), while 'inti' coordinates two semantically equal phrases ('fi/ant. […] inti ubil.' *hos*/*tem* […] *et malū*, ll. 11–2). The position of the two conjunctions agrees with both Latin and Old High German word order, so the glossator only needed to copy the Latin to form syntactically correct sentences. The coordinated constituents in line two are not formally equivalent. The phrase *unius*[…] *substantię* is a modifier to *trinitas* and therefore corresponds in its function to *perfecta* although one is a noun phrase in the genitive case, the other an adjective. Their same syntactic function allows coordination with a conjunction, as is possible in Old High German (e.g. Montoto-Ballesteros 2007, p. 56). The Latin *-que* and the Old High German 'ioh' take over this task. By moving the conjunction to the beginning of the phrase, a clear vernacular phrase structure emerged despite the formal differences between the phrases.

[66] Glaser does not differentiate between demonstrative pronouns and definite articles but analyses all instances of 'ther, thiu, thaz' in attributive position to a noun (Glaser 2000, p. 190).
[67] Also note 'ioh' in its use as adverb meaning 'also' (Carr 1933, p. 492; Montoto-Ballesteros 2007, pp. 57–8).

In contrast, the vernacular translation of ‘niuuas’ *n̄ erat* (l. 8) follows the Latin word order but deviates formally from its lemma. The negation *non* was translated with the clitic negation ‘ni-’. The position of the Latin negation corresponds to the usual position of the Old High German clitic ‘ni, ne’ which was always attached to verbs as a proclitic (Jäger 2013, p. 154; Schmid 2023, §231). Formally and syntactically, the negations differ in both languages, since the Latin negation is not attached to the verb. However, the Latin word order enabled the glossator to use the common Old High German negation correctly. Two points delimit ‘niuuas’ and mark it as a unit. Apparently, the glossator was aware of the clitic character of ‘ni’ and implemented it graphically (cf. Jäger 2013, pp. 152–3; Schmid 2023, §231 A.2). In the cases discussed, Old High German syntax was preferred to Latin syntax. When both agree, it is usually unclear which language was decisive, but the use of a clitic negation shows that the Old High German syntax was expressed even while retaining the Latin word order. The aim of the translation was obviously to create meaningful syntactic relations in the glosses, which in turn also facilitated the understanding of the Latin.

The glosses establish intelligible syntactic relations, which were ensured by maintaining grammatical agreement between phrases, even if this meant deviating from Latin. The syntactic patterns correspond with the skopos to clearly convey the meaning. A recurring example is the glossator’s treatment of different grammatical genders. Gender has little meaning in Old High German, but primarily marks membership of a particular inflectional class (Thöny 2013, p. 107). Often it has no influence on the structural relationships, for example when nouns stand without associated attributes or predicates, while in some cases the gender of a noun determines the grammatical properties of parts of a sentence. In modifier and noun ‘heitariu liot faz·’ (l. 16), both glosses have the same grammatical gender (neuter), as is to be expected for Old High German (Schmid 2023, §108). The same applies to their lemmas *claras lāpadas*, both words are feminine. Although the relationship between modifier and noun is expressed grammatically in both languages, the properties of gloss and lemma differ. The same applies to ‘arlasc tiu· […] / leot kar·’ *extinctas* […] / *lāpadas* (ll. 17–8). The gloss ‘heitariu’ could copy the Latin *claras* completely by adopting its gender, but instead, it adopts the gender of the associated noun, while the case and number of gloss and lemma are identical. Since the modifier precedes the noun, the glosses cannot have been translated word-for-word but must have been translated in larger syntactic units. Instead of copying the Latin words exactly, the glossator adapted the grammatical features of the glosses to preserve the syntactic and semantic relationships between them. This process required translating several words at once.

While the modifiers in the glosses on folio 122v consistently agree with their nouns, some glosses show no agreement with associated Old High German phrases in the sentences where this would be syntactically expected. This is the case with the words ‘tragante’ and ‘froonte’ in line sixteen, and ‘hlochonte’ in line eighteen. The three glosses are present participles relating to ‘magadi’ in line

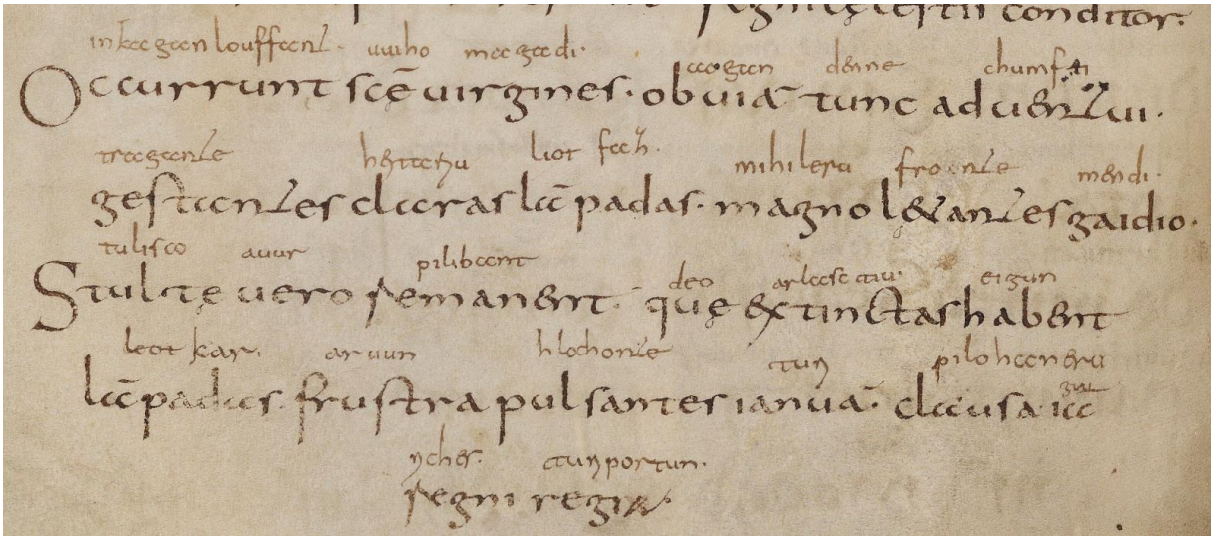


Fig. 43: Lines fifteen to nineteen containing the participles ‘tragante’ and ‘froonte’ (l. 16) and ‘hlochonte’ (l. 18), all of which refer to ‘magadi·’ (l. 15).

fifteen (see fig. 43). Similar to the constructions of modifiers and nouns discussed earlier, the participles should agree in their grammatical properties with the noun to which they refer. In this case, all three participles in the nominative plural are masculine, instead of adopting the grammatical gender of ‘magadi·’ which is feminine. The regular ending for present participles in the nominative plural feminine would be -o, while the masculine plural is -e. The endings of both genders merged over time into -e, which Notker used consistently, and the aligned forms also appear in earlier Central and Upper German sources (Braune 2023, §248 A.9d). In stratum A, two more forms occur in the nominative plural feminine, ‘deo’ *quę* and ‘tulisco’ *stultę* in line seventeen. Both have the regular feminine ending -o, although the masculine and feminine endings of pronouns also merged to -e (Braune 2023, §287 A.1i; the inflection of adjectives is the same as for participles). In the glossaries Ja, Jb, and Jc in the Murbach Codex, this ending is also always ‘-o’ (Schindling 1908, p. 101). A form that is both masculine and feminine for the participles, ‘-e’, reflects Latin linguistics. The Latin participles correctly agree with the noun *uirgines*, which is also feminine, but the ending *-antes* could be both feminine or masculine. The use of an ambiguous form in the glosses could be a way to accurately reflect the Latin inflection of the participles. In contrast, *quę* and *stultę* are unambiguous forms in Latin. Assuming that the glossing was done in smaller sections, possibly words or phrases, the glossator may have aimed to render the grammatical properties of the participles rather than realising the larger syntactic relations. Since the glosses copy the Latin properties, the vertical relationship between gloss and lemma is stronger than the horizontal syntactic relationship between the different glosses. The syntactic relations between the glosses were established in word groups, which means that the glossing process was carried out in larger units (‘punktuelle Erlebnisse des Verstehens’; S. Müller 2003, p. 324). Beyond the boundaries of these units, the vernacular syntax was not clearly realised, and the translation approximated the Latin text. The visual syntactic potential was only utilised in smaller sections.

A similar balance between vernacular syntax (agreement) and close translation (ambiguity) is seen in the relative pronouns ‘demu’ *quo* referring to ‘zit’ *tempus* (ll. 5 and 13). The Latin ablative of *quo* was transferred into the Old High German dative ‘demu’, both refer correctly to the neuter nouns. ‘zit’, however, could also be a feminine noun (Schützeichel 2012, p. 408). A pronoun was chosen that works in Old High German and Latin and therefore illustrates the syntactic relations of both languages. Other relative pronouns in the glosses reflect Latin and retain grammatical agreement, such as ‘dea’ *quos* referring to ‘rehtem·’ *iustis* (l. 7) and ‘deo’ *quę* referring to ‘tulisco’ *stultę* (l. 17). The agreement between different phrases is always expressed in Old High German. In this respect, the glosses follow the vernacular syntax, but it is also undeniable that they translate the Latin accurately. The glosses deviate from the primary text only when it is necessary to maintain the correct syntactic relationships, which proves that the glossator strove to create intelligible and thus immanently vernacular syntactic structures.

A phenomenon often associated with Latin influence is the absence of subject pronouns in Old High German, although a closer look shows that this is actually due to the vernacular system in the first stratum of the Murbach Hymns. On folio 122v, the subject pronouns are missing in three cases:[68]

(1) ‘chuuedem lop truh[ti]ne fa[te]re simbulū·ioh sune’ *dicaṁ laudes dn̄o · patri sēp ac filio* (l. 2)

(2) ‘egison zit daz hebit demu do uuastio / poto·chundo ęgypte· toda· anaprahta farcneit · erist poraniu’ *terrorem tempus hoc habet · quo cū uastator / angelus· egypto mortes intulit · deleuit primogenita* (ll. 5–6)

(3) ‘uuir auur· israhel liut · pirum frau uoem indir truhtin fi/ant. far manente inti ubil. christes ka scirm te · pluate’ *nos uero isrł suṁ · laetemur in te dn̄e · hos/tem spernentes et malū · χpī defensi sanguine* (ll. 11–2)

Theoretically, these sentences could have a null subject. Even if it seems unintuitive to a speaker of modern German, null subjects were common in Old High German and were part of the natural language of the scribes (Axel 2008, p. 37; Schmid 2023, §23). Their use depended on certain syntactic and morphological factors (Axel 2007, p. 293). These include that omitted subjects occur mainly in main clauses (Axel 2008, p. 32) in which the predicate is in the third-person singular or plural, but they can in principle be used in any person and number (Axel 2008, p. 35). All the examples on folio 122v are main clauses, but only one of them is in the third-person singular (‘farcneit’), the other two are in the first-person plural. The sentences therefore do not represent the usual environment for null subjects. In examples (2) and (3), it should also be considered that the missing subject could be the result of an ellipsis, since it is the same as the subject of the preceding clause (Axel 2007, p. 130 fn. 14). Regardless of the reason, structures without a subject were also used in Old High German, but

[68] The predicates of the corresponding sentences without subject are underlined.

they always correspond to the Latin text, even when a subject pronoun is expressed in Latin, such as *nos* glossed with 'uuir' (l. 11). It is possible that Latin triggered a more frequent use of omitted subjects (Axel 2008, p. 37), but the glossator of folio 122v took his cue from the Old High German pragmatics in presenting this syntactic structure.

As could be demonstrated, the glosses of stratum A often express vernacular features contrary to their source text. These deviations can be related to the skopos of clarifying the meaning, which requires a clear syntactic structure. In order to fulfil this skopos, the word order of whole phrases was adapted to the vernacular. Syntactic units were graphically linked and written as coherent gloss groups. Furthermore, agreement within phrases was maintained in the glosses and serves to structure the translation. The glossator conceptualised the gloss stratum partly in larger syntactic phrases, which was facilitated by the visual potential of the interlinear version. However, most Old High German syntactic structures were only created in smaller units and not across the whole page. Although the glossator aimed to write in comprehensible vernacular structures, the stratum was still mainly oriented towards the source text. Nevertheless, the characteristics of stratum A show a glossator who glossed with vernacular syntax in mind.

3.2.5. The Functional Net of Stratum A

As the results of the analyses demonstrate, the glosses on folio 122v represent different ways of glossing a Latin text, ranging from the adoption of Latin grammatical features to the creation of meaningful Old High German word groups. Various glossing techniques were used, operating on all three levels, horizontal, vertical, and visual, often interlocking and supporting each other. The glossing has its own characteristics and style: some of the techniques were used consistently, such as the use of syllables as the basic unit, while others occur sporadically, such as punctuation. Varying between methods is characteristic of glossing processes, and on folio 122v the variations can be related to the information that was to be conveyed as well as to the visual stimuli. Moreover, since the page served as a layout model for the other hymns, it may also have served as a model for glossing.

The graphic representation of the glosses facilitates reading. Punctuation and spacing follow the natural use of Old High German, marking whole words but also phonological syllables, both of which improve the horizontal reading level. In addition, glosses and parts of glosses are often aligned with their Latin lemmas, which helps to clarify the gloss-lemma relationship. Syllables are also the guiding principle by which the glosses have been abbreviated, a translation technique that conveys not only grammatical information but also information about language use. Most of the abbreviated glosses appear in half-lines. The same pattern can be observed in glosses that agree grammatically or have an independent word order. Both features were implemented in smaller phrases, often in half-

lines. Glossing was probably done in smaller syntactic units, and information about vernacular syntax could be inferred from the gloss groups.

At the vertical level, many different skopoi of the glosses could be detected. The choice of translation was usually influenced by the underlying semantics, but could also relate to the phonological environment, which in turn linked the glosses to the use of vernacular language and thus to the pragmatics of Old High German. The translations were generally close to the Latin and therefore primarily conveyed information about the main text, sometimes even down to the morphological level. In order to function, the glosses also had to make sense in Old High German. If Latin grammatical constructions were not present in Old High German, functionally equivalent glosses were chosen that convey the correct syntactic and semantic information about Latin, but also draw on the vernacular system. It was the same syntactically. Only when the comprehensibility of the text was at risk did the glossator deviate from the Latin word order. The underlying skopos of the glosses is to convey the meaning of the primary text, and this aim was achieved even if it meant disregarding other skopoi, such as clarifying Latin syntax. Wherever possible, glosses were chosen that reflect both Latin and Old High German linguistic features. Only the abbreviated glosses seem to differ from this pattern. As the words are incomplete, it is difficult to achieve equivalence on the lexical, morphological, or semantic level. They are based on the natural use of Old High German and on how the glossator conceptualised the glosses while writing them. This finding demonstrates that the process of glossing, i.e. writing in the vernacular, was performative and seen as an important skopos.

All three levels support each other's functions and are linked to the pragmatic nature of glosses. The visual presentation of the glosses marked whether words were syntactically related by placing them close together or enclosing them with punctuation. The appearance also guides how the translation would be read and is therefore linked to the skopos of the glosses. In any case, the vertical and horizontal levels of the glosses are strongly intertwined. The skopos of the translation would determine whether syntax was expressed in the glosses contrary to the Latin source text. But vernacular structures could also be implemented without departing from the Latin which requires a wider skopos of the gloss. On the other hand, when the glosses differ greatly from their lemmas and were written as natural Old High German structures, the deviations emphasise that the change is meaningful. The emphasis is therefore on conveying reasonable vernacular structures that clarify the meaning which is the main skopos of the glosses. The gloss stratum of folio 122v represents a sensible gloss style, which should first and foremost explain the content and clarify Latin linguistics. But the glosses were also supposed to be consistent with the Old High German linguistic system on which they are based and which was explored with the help of glossing. If either the content or a meaningful vernacular translation were compromised by the adoption of Latin features, the glosses would represent Old High German linguistics.

3.3. Filling in the Pages: Analysis of Stratum B

Stratum B extends from folio 123r to the end of folio 126v. There are two places where the glossator may have paused briefly or changed pen, in line seventeen of folio 123v and line five of folio 126v. The stratum was interrupted twice by glosses from other hands. The entire stratum is characterised by glosses based on the vernacular language system. Old High German syntactic structures have been used wherever possible without departing too much from the main text. Since the glosses mainly follow the source text, they elucidate Latin grammatical characteristics. Nevertheless, a skopos of translations is to explain vernacular features within the framework of the main text. There is also evidence that the scribe experimented with different translations and explored the Old High German language through glossing.

3.3.1. Introduction to Stratum B

The layout of the Latin main text of stratum B has many inattentive mistakes that interrupt the even look of the pages. It was aligned with the template folio 122v but the features of the first stratum were not consistently implemented. Looking at the Latin of stratum B, it is noticeable that the baseline is not completely straight. Furthermore, the verses do not always start with a new line. On folio 123v, for example, a new verse starts in the middle of line seven (see fig. 44). The first letter is still written as a bigger initial so the beginning of the new verse can be recognised. On the first page of the stratum, the verses take three lines each which led to a lack of space for the following verses. The scribe could have started some verses in the middle of a line to make up for the lost space (Gerhards 2018, p. 26). The initials of the individual verses are mostly shifted to the left which sets the beginnings of the verses off from the rest of the text but the scribe sometimes forgot to do this (cf. fol. 124v, l. 1) and started

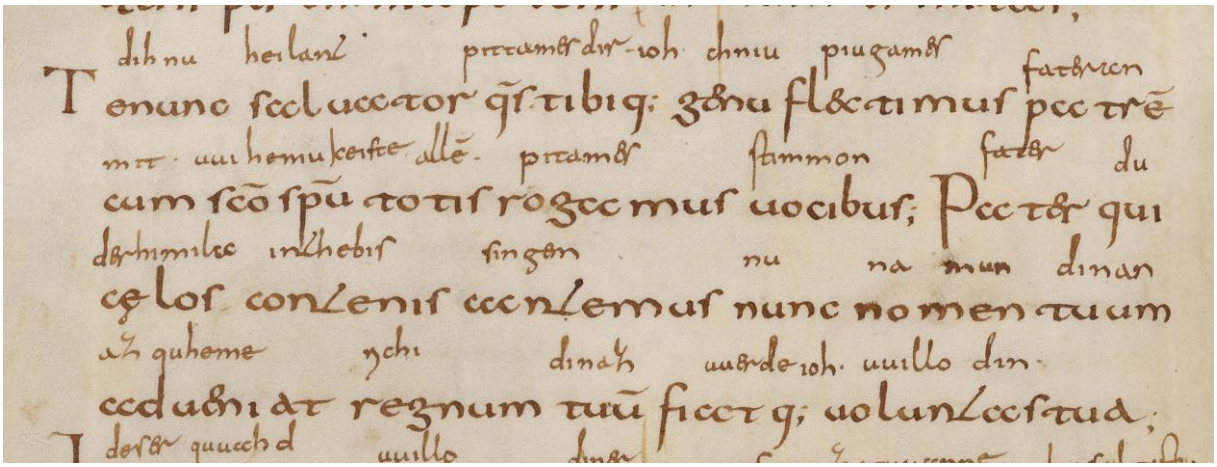


Fig. 44: Lines 6 to 9 of folio 123v, stratum B. A Latin scribe started a verse in the middle of line seven. Note the initial *P* marking the beginning of the verse.

the initials after the vertical ruling marking the left textual border. The layout was not justified as the lines have very different lengths and words were added outside the page frame if there was not enough space, such as at the end of folio 126r. In a few instances, words were even added between the specified lines (e.g. on fol. 125r at the end of l. 2), which resulted in shifting the glosses to the margins. The Latin text has punctuation but it was used inconsistently. Half-raised points mark the ends of some half-lines and more often, the *punctus versus* was used at the end of verses. *Punctus versus* was introduced in the early Middle Ages to mark the end of a *sententia*, a thought (Parkes 2016, p. 36), which matches how it was implemented in stratum B. The scribe of the primary text therefore knew how to write, or copied from a sensible original, but the text the glossator was left with is still full of careless mistakes.

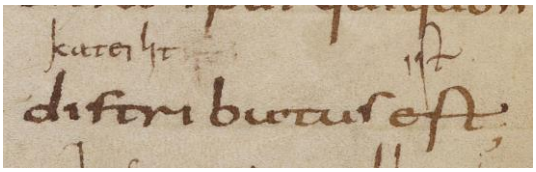


Fig. 45: The gloss 'ist' was erased after 'kateilit' and written above *est* to achieve vertical alignment of lemma and gloss (fol. 126v, l. 16).

Although not much emphasis was placed on the appearance of the pages by the Latin scribe, the glossator tried to realise a sensible gloss stratum and even to improve the source text. The focus of the gloss stratum was the function and not the form. The placing of the glosses assured the gloss-lemma relations and the glossator simultaneously corrected the main text while glossing. Some of the corrections in stratum B stem from different hands, the Hymns were therefore revised after the glossing was finished. The script of the glosses is mostly even but does not follow a coherent baseline, as typical of glosses. The frame of the Latin text restricted the position of the glosses, but they could also be written outside of it, as 'uz zan' (fol. 124v, l. 5), which starts above the small initial of *sed*. The whole phrase 'uz zanfestemu muate' shows furthermore that the vertical alignment of the glosses was not always kept. The glosses were written as a unit which resulted in 'muate' not being above its lemma. Glosses often appear in clusters which disrupts their vertical relationship to their lemmas and transfers the task to the reader to identify the individual gloss-lemma pairs. In contrast, in one instance a cluster was broken to achieve exact vertical alignment in 'kateilit ist' *distri butus est* (fol. 126v, l. 16; see fig. 45). 'ist' originally stood right after 'kateilit' but was erased and placed above *est* (cf. Gerhards 2018, p. 80). Nevertheless, glosses were more often written in groups which graphically sets the focus on syntactic units.

That the form of the glosses was not important to the glossator can be seen in how glosses and main text overlap. In many cases, the strokes of the glosses cross letters of the main text in the line above or underneath (e.g. 'az quheme', fol. 123v, l. 9; or 'kalaubigeru', fol. 125v, l. 19). The position of the individual letters was apparently not considered before glossing. Creating an aesthetic layout was not the main aim of the glossator nor the scribe of the primary text. Nevertheless, the glossing was carried out carefully with regard to the content. When mistakes were spotted, the glossator

corrected the glosses immediately as in ‘paul’ in which the ‘u’ was originally forgotten (*paulus*, fol. 123r, l. 4). The scribe of stratum B also aimed to make the messy main text more accessible. The lemma of ‘chlimbanter’, *scandens* (fol. 123r, l. 20), was separated at the page break but the ending was crossed out on folio 123v and added on folio 123r by the gloss scribe. Understanding the relation between glosses and the primary text was the main reason for the corrections. The layout of stratum B shows all signs of a text that was supposed to be used. It was written not with attention to the layout but with the aim of delivering the content.

3.3.2. Visual Characteristics

Different visual strategies were used in stratum B to support the function of the glosses. They can be linked to the use of the language as they express how the glosses were pronounced. Furthermore, stratum B contains many glosses in which the visual representation marks the syntactic relationship between them. How the glossator wrote on the page therefore relates to the individual characteristics of the glosses, but also expresses the horizontal structures in the gloss stratum. The way in which the main strategies of punctuation, word division, and continuous writing of words were implemented in stratum B will be the subject of the next chapter.

Punctuation serves the purpose of marking syntactic units, although it was not used consistently. The scribe of stratum B sporadically used half-raised points to mark the borders of glosses and phrases. Mainly the ends of glosses were denoted in such a way but there are also points at the beginnings of words. Word groups that were written closely together, such as ‘· ioh deranaht ·’ *noctisque* (fol. 123r, l. 4), were enclosed with half-raised points. Punctuation marks which glosses or gloss parts belong together, such as in ‘· pitta/mes ·’ *quę/sum̓* (fol. 124v, l. 3; see fig. 46) which was separated at the line break. But points can also divide words to mark their morphology which was mainly done for prefix verbs, for example ‘duruch · uuaccheem’ *peruigilemus* (fol. 123r, l. 1). The punctuation shows that the prefix was still understood as independent of the related verb, reflecting its origin as prepositions or particles (cf. Dal 2014 §44; Fulk 2018). Merging prepositions or particles with verbs started in Indo-European but this type of word-formation was still productive in the Old High German period (Fulk 2018, pp. 253–4). The punctuation demonstrates that prefixes were in an intermediary state. They were bound to the main verb

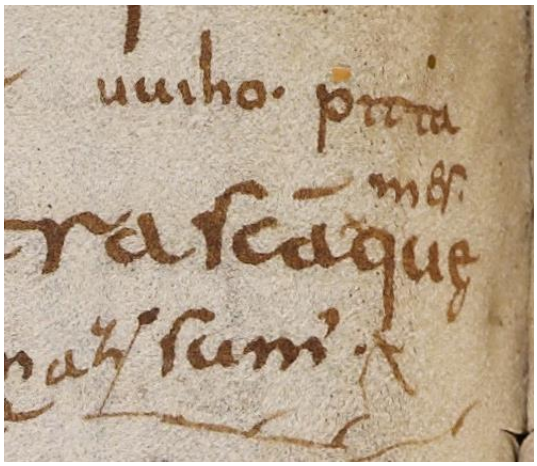


Fig. 46: Lemma *quę/sum̓* and gloss ‘· pitta/mes ·’ were both separated at the end of line 3 (fol. 124v) and the gloss parts are marked by punctuation as one word.

but simultaneously perceived as distinct units. Even though punctuation was scarcely used in this stratum, when it appears, it indicates syntactic and/or morphological segmentation of the glosses.

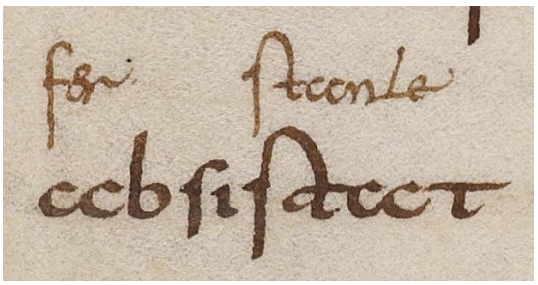


Fig. 47: The prefix of the gloss 'fer stante' (fol. 126r, l. 7) is separated from the word stem by a gap and the 'st'-ligature vertically aligns with the *st* of the lemma.

Similar to punctuation, spaces were used as visual markers for syntactic but also morphological purposes. Glosses could be separated by gaps into word parts or groups of glosses marked as connected when they were written continuously. No consistent use of word or word part separation can be detected but if it was implemented, it was meaningful. In general, the number of syllables that were separated varies, as can be seen in 'hohi num' *ex cel sis*[69] (fol. 125v, l. 8) and 'ma na gi' *multitudo* (fol. 125v, l. 11).[70] The scribe probably had patterns in mind which were used where considered helpful. One of these patterns is the separation of prefixes and word stems. While a number of prefix verbs were written as a unit, there is also a substantial amount of clearly separated prefixes, such as 'duruch · uuacheem' *peruigilemus* (fol. 123r, l. 1), 'uuidar pliuue' *retundet* (fol. 124r, l. 3) or 'upar cussoen ·' *affluant* (fol. 126r, l. 13). The gaps mark the word-formation boundaries. Only occasionally, the Old High German word parts are aligned vertically with the Latin characters. The only clear instance is the gloss 'fer stante' *absistat* (fol. 126r, l. 7; see fig. 47) in which the '-st-' of gloss and lemma stand above each other, although the used ligatures differ slightly as the Latin -*t*- has an additional loop on the left. The separation of glosses was done mostly independently of the main text.

The pattern of marking word-formation boundaries and syllables also applies to compound words. In the gloss 'not nunfti' *fraudis* (fol. 124r, l. 6), 'not' starts already before the Latin lemma which gives the impression that it was added later, but both word parts stem from the same scribe. The gap between the word parts is small but visible, as in the other compounds 'zil sanc' *chorus* (fol. 125r, l. 20) and 'kot cund' *diuinus* (fol. 125r, l. 8). In the latter, the following 'ist' is written without a space directly after 'kot cund'. The continuous writing marks their close syntactic relationship. The two glossing methods, gaps and no gaps, are in direct comparison to each other. Often, one of the glosses that were written without space is a highly grammaticalised word, such as prepositions ('infatere' *inpatre*, fol. 124r, l. 12), determiners ('· ioh deranaht ·' *noctisque*, fol. 123r, l. 4), conjunctions ('intisileas' *et sileas*, fol. 123r, l. 5), or auxiliaries ('leohtipist' *lumenes*, fol. 123r, l. 13). If words were written together, they were probably pronounced without a pause (as Masser 1997, p. 13, argues for the Rule of St Benedict,

[69] Note that the lemma is also separated according to its phonological syllables.

[70] The gloss 'folgeeen' *succedant* (fol. 125v, l. 18) could also be an example for phonological writing. It was possibly corrected from 'folgeten' (Gerhards 2018, p. 76). If this was the case, the glossator did not mind that the letter 'e' was repeated three times instead of two as it would be common for the subjunctive form. This writing could be due to the long pronunciation of the ending.

St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 916). In contrast, the spaces in words mark their phonological syllables. It is possible that 'kot cundist' *diuinus est* (fol. 125r, l. 8) was understood as a copula, and therefore, adjective and verb were written as a syntactic unit. If morpheme boundaries coincide with syllables, they could be marked by gaps which therefore additionally highlight word-formation or inflection. This is the case for adjectives derived from nouns. In 'morgan li chem' *ma tu tinis* (fol. 126r, l. 16), the first space is much larger than the second one which highlights that it has a double function, syllabic and morphological separation. Since its lemma *ma tu tinis* also has gaps, they could have triggered the glossing method, although the syllables of gloss and lemma do not align. The basis of both lemma and gloss are still phonological syllables. 'fater licher' *paternę* (fol. 123v, l. 17), which stems from a different hand, was separated after the same pattern. It is evident that glossators had the pronunciation and therefore the pragmatic use of language in mind when glossing.

Only some word separations can be related to the practical process of writing and cannot be explained by pronunciation. In the gloss 'selb o' *ipse* (fol. 123v, l. 4), the ending was set off graphically. Looking at the writing, it becomes obvious that the '-l-' was corrected. It was possibly first falsely written as '-b-' and then the glossator removed the loop of the letter to turn it into an 'l' before writing the ending. Similarly, in the gloss 'quuah d' *inquam*[71] (fol. 123v, l. 10), in which the '-d' of the word stem (base form 'quedan') was separated, the '-h-' seems to have been corrected (see fig. 48). There are wipe marks at the bottom of the letter and the bottom is tilted to the right, which suggests that initially another letter was written which was then changed into an 'h'.[72] In both examples, the letters were probably corrected while glossing. That interrupted the writing flow as the scribe had to take the pen off the page to correct the mistake and had to start over which resulted in a small gap. As careful as the glossator was in creating the glosses, writing by hand with pen and ink could always lead to an uneven script. The practical circumstances of glossing therefore have to be considered when analysing glosses.

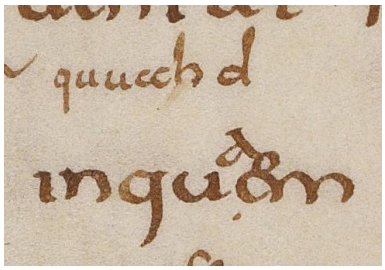


Fig. 48: The space betwen 'h' and 'd' in the gloss (fol. 123v, l. 10) probably resulted from taking the pen of the page to correct the 'h' (note the wipe marks).

The glossator connected glosses when it was meaningful regardless of how the main text was written. Latin was not yet written with consistent spaces which was only done four centuries later (cf. Parkes 2016, p. 41). Continuous writing appears therefore often in the Latin and does not mark by default syntactic or semantic closeness. Nevertheless, the glossator was able to identify the Latin

[71] Corrected from *inquem*.

[72] The correction must have been done right after writing because the line is not erased but wiped away, therefore, the ink must still have been wet. This quick fix could have led to the wrong position of the 'h' which actually is part of the initial sound /kw/ (Braune 2023, §146a).

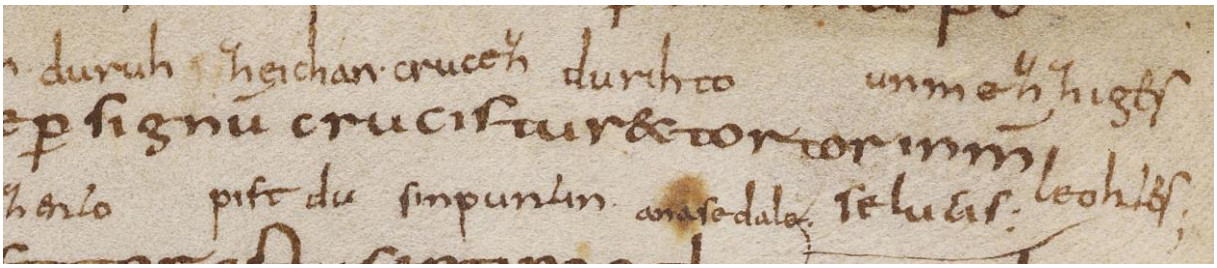


Fig. 49: The Latin line was written almost without spaces while the glosses are separated, except for 'durihto' (fol. 125r, l. 2).

words and chose to combine glosses when it was meaningful. This is the case when a continuous line of Latin text was translated, such as *crucisturectortorinm̄*[73]. Only the underlined part was glossed seamlessly with the gloss 'durihto' (fol. 125r, l. 2), a pronoun of address and a denotation. The continuous writing marks the glosses as closely connected and by vertically aligning the endings 'to' and *tor*, the syntactic parallels between lemma and gloss – both start with the pronoun 'du' respectively *tu* – are emphasised (see fig. 49). The remaining glosses were clearly separated. The tactic was even implemented when the lemmas were divided. The gloss 'innamin' glosses *in* / *nomine* which spans over lines seven and eight of folio 125v. Even though the line break divides preposition and noun in the primary text, in the glosses, they were written without space above the noun. The clear vertical gloss-lemma relationship was abandoned to highlight that the glosses syntactically belong together. Similarly, in 'nilazzes' *ne*/*sineris* (fol. 123v, l. 15), the clitic negation was written with the verb on one line regardless of the separated lemma. The continuous writing could have served to clarify the Latin syntax just as it was done for conjunctions. Latin enclitic *-que* was usually translated with the conjunction 'ioh'. In the glosses, nouns and conjunctions could be written without a space, for example in 'radumioh' *rotisque* (fol. 123r, l. 20) and 'uuarhaftioh·' *uerusq;* (fol. 123v, l. 19). Since the position of the conjunction is not typical of the vernacular, it seems to demonstrate the Latin morphology.

Writing phrases continuously was facilitated by the close proximity of the glosses on the page. Examples would be 'derauerti' *profectus* (fol. 123v, l. 1) and 'deranaht' *noctis* (fol. 123v, l. 2), 'infatere' *inpatre* and 'inuuorte' *inuerbo* (both fol. 124r, l. 12), 'durihto' *turector* (fol. 125r, l. 2) and 'duuueralti' *tumundi* (fol. 125r, l. 3), or 'fonafatere' *apatre* (fol. 125v, l. 7) and 'innamin' *in* / *nomine* (fol. 125v, l. 8). As there are many other glosses written without gaps between them scattered across the stratum, clusters are likely to appear. However, in one instance, it becomes clear that the position of the glosses influenced each other's writing. The glosses 'dihmanagi' *temultitudo* (fol. 125v, l. 1) and 'dircerubyn' *tibicerubin* (fol. 125v, l. 3) are the last ones of a few verses which all start with *te* or *tibi*. Most of them stand on folio 125r, where they have gaps between the pronoun and the following word. Only in the two instances on folio 125v, the words were written seamlessly. The first gloss seems to have influenced the writing of the second one visually. Similarly, on folio 126r in lines sixteen and seventeen,

[73] The ending *-tor* was accidentally written twice.

the glosses suddenly were written with large gaps between the syllables. They also appear to be the result of visual clusters, in which the scribe started with one large gap and then aligned the following gaps. Although the gaps are still meaningful and represent the pragmatics of the language, they could be triggered by visual factors.

In some glosses, gaps can only be explained by the process of writing and should be considered a practical phenomenon. This motivation becomes evident when looking at double characters. Old High German geminates have a syllabic border within them (Braune 2023, §91) which is reflected by their separation at line breaks. Examples are ‘kaanaz/ze’ *incitet* (fol. 124v, l. 3), ‘scaf/fota’ *con/didit* (fol. 125v, ll. 17–8) or ‘amaz/zigo’ *iugi/ter* (fol. 126r, ll. 14–5). But some geminates were also separated by gaps within lines. Except for ‘pisuuic chi lineru’ *subdola* (fol. 123v, l. 14) and ‘unga uuem mit’ *in ma cula tus* (fol. 125v, ll. 9–10), only ‘zz’ was divided. ‘zz’ marks either the fricative /ʒʒ/ or the affricate /z/. While the syllable border usually lies within the affricate (Braune 2023, §159) as for example done in ‘hiz zom’ *estibus* (fol. 124v, l. 2), the fricative would increasingly only be separated after short vowels (Braune 2023, §160). In stratum B, however, there are instances in which gaps divide the sound even after a long vowel as in ‘farlaz zan ist’ *linquitur* (123v, l. 2). The example could be evidence of an early display of the sound or an exception to the rule as was common in Upper German (Braune 2023, §92). But the graphic characteristics of ‘z’ could also have had an influence on this specific writing with spaces, especially since it is the only geminate that was consistently separated. How the sprawling letter ‘z’ with its hooks and ascending lines was written varies greatly within the stratum, as can be seen in glosses in which it appears several times, for example in ‘zaez zanne’ *eden dū* (fol. 123v, l. 12). The gloss has only a small space between the two letters but it is clearly larger than the other spaces in the word (see fig. 50). The scribe seems to have struggled to write this specific letter uniformly and to position it evenly to the other letters. The spaces between two letters ‘z’ could therefore additionally have resulted from unsteady writing.

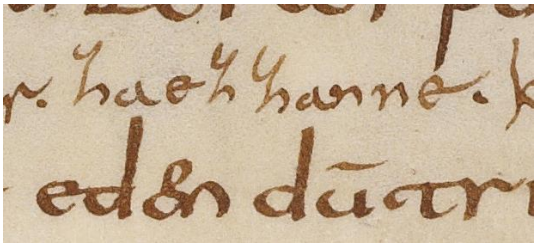


Fig. 50: The gloss ‘zaez zanne’ (fol. 123v, l. 12), in which each ‘z’ is shaped differently which could have led to the space between the double ‘z’.

The glossator of stratum B used the visual characteristics of the glosses to express information about Old High German. This strategy can be seen in the use of punctuation and spaces to separate or group words. The focus here is on syntactic relationships, which demonstrates that the scribe glossed on the basis of the vernacular sentence structure. The same techniques were applied within words. In particular, spaces would often separate glosses according to their phonological syllables. This glossing method was closely linked to the pronunciation of Old High German, and therefore to the pragmatics of the language. The continuous writing of glosses without spaces could also have been motivated by language use. Functional words were often written together with a syntactically close word, and they

were probably pronounced together as well. Although the syllables of some lemmas were separated in the same way, the visual characteristics of the glosses are independent of the source text. However, the practical context of writing was influential, and interruptions in the writing process could result in gaps that do not represent syllable borders. The methods were not applied systematically, but when they were used they were meaningful. They demonstrate that the glosses were based on natural language.

3.3.3. Methods of Translation

The glossator of stratum B glossed with various skopoi in order to illustrate the differences between the Latin and Old High German linguistic systems. The gloss stratum is evidence of a scribe who knew both languages well and could adapt them, and who was familiar with the source text, as some glosses have the skopos of presenting different textual variants. Furthermore, the translations show signs of beginning writing conventions. In order to fulfil the skopoi, a variety of translation methods were used. Their nature will be examined in this chapter.

The scribe of stratum B engaged intensively with the lemmas when glossing. Mistakes in the source text were corrected by the gloss scribe which demonstrates that the glossator knew the Latin hymns or worked closely with a template of the text. Not only did the comprehensibility of the main text benefit from the corrections, but the glosses are also only understandable when they are paired with correct lemmas. In three instances, Latin words were added by the gloss scribe to the primary text (see fig. 51): ‘uuirdige unsih · tua chuninc uuiho’ *dignos* [*nos*] *face rex agie* (fol. 123r, l. 10), ‘niuuer ioh giu muates uuahsamo’ *nouus*[*q;*] *iā mītis uigor* (fol. 124v, l. 10), and ‘dir / bop est[74] · uuntarlih ·’ *ti*/*bi laus* [*ē*] *mirabilis* (fol. 125r, ll. 5–6).[75] The colour of the ink and thickness of the lines of the added words suggest that they stem from the glossator. Simultaneously glossing and correcting probably led to repeating the Latin ‘est’ instead of writing Old High German ‘ist’ in the last example. The glosses were placed directly above, showing that the glossator aimed to create a vertical gloss-lemma relationship. However, not all corrections of the main text can be linked to the gloss

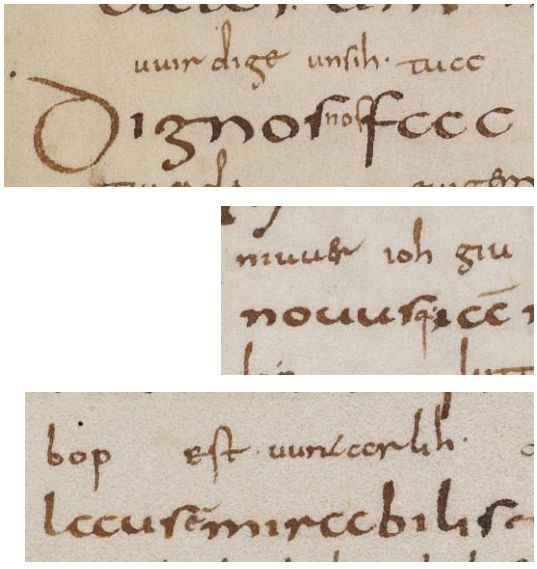


Fig. 51: Latin words added by the glossator of stratum B. *nos* (top; fol. 123r, l. 10), *q;* (middle; dol. 124v, l. 10), *ē* (fol. 125r, l. 6).

[74] Probably a scribal error for ‘lop ist’ (Sievers 1874, p. 36, apparatus).
[75] Words added by the glossing hand in the main text are in square brackets.

scribe. There are a few erasures, for example, which could have been done at any point (e.g. *trinum*, fol. 125r, l. 1, which was corrected from *turinum*). However, since the corresponding glosses translate the corrected words, it is likely that they also stem from the glossator. The corrections change the Hymns into the text of the authoritative version (cf. Walpole 1922, pp. 211, 29, 32, 33). Assuming that hymns were memorised by monastical students (cf. Wieland 1985, p. 172), the scribe could easily have corrected the main text from memory. The need to adjust the source text to the glosses demonstrates how crucial both lemma and gloss are for the function of interlinear versions.

Correcting the source text was needed to fulfil the intended skopos of the glosses. Only by adjusting the lemmas, the different levels of equivalency between gloss and lemma can be determined adequately which is necessary to interpret the information encoded in the translation. Latin scribal errors were corrected in *turbis* changed into *turpis* ('unchusger', fol. 124v, l. 4) or *candens* into *scandens* ('chlimbanter', fol. 123r, l. 20; see fig. 52). Other corrections, like adding the *h-* of *hostiā* ('zebare', fol. 126v, l. 7) or the *-p-* of *redemptione* ('urchauffe', fol. 126v, l. 9) change the spelling of the Latin words into the more common variant (DMLBS 2,2421, 3,3049; Georges 1998, 2,1419) which shows the glossator's knowledge of Latin vocabulary and assures the clarity of the text. A third category of corrections contains those that affect the grammatical characteristics of the Latin lemmas and change them into forms that match the glosses. *regi*, present passive infinitive of *regere*, was changed into *regis*, second-person singular indicative present active ('rihtis', fol. 124v, l. 20), and *laudemus*, subjunctive present, was corrected to *laudamus*, indicative present ('lobomes', fol. 125v, l. 14). Both match the authoritative versions of the hymns (Walpole 1922, pp. 232, 7). The glossator consciously read and interpreted the Latin text while glossing and changed the Latin into an adequate version. To aim for glosses and a main text that correspond to a well-known hymn text proves that the Murbach Hymns were intended to be used.

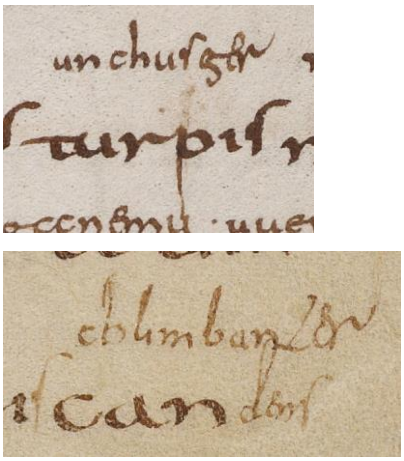


Fig. 52: Two examples where the scribe of stratum B corrected the Latin text by changing *b* into *p* (top; fol. 124v, l. 4) and adding the initial *s* (bottom; fol. 123r, l. 20).

But as much as the glossator tried to perfect the Hymns and their glosses, this did not prevent careless mistakes. In *subrię ebriętatem*, glossed with 'urtruhlicho trunchali ·' (fol. 124r, l. 8), the last *-m* was crossed out by three dots around the letter. The correction changes the accusative case of the noun into an ablative or dative, assuming that *e* and *i* were interchangeable in medieval Latin (cf. Gerhards 2018, p. 46). The glosses match the characteristics of the lemmas, 'urtruhlicho' is an adverb like *subrię*, and 'trunchali' could be any singular case including dative (cf. Braune 2023, §228). Although glosses and lemmas are grammatically equivalent, the source text departs from the authoritative version (Walpole 1922, p. 38). If the glossator worked with another manuscript containing the hymns,

it is possible that the mistake was copied from there, but this rather seems to point towards a scribe who corrected from memory.

When the glosses follow the authoritative version of the hymns but not the Latin text, it could serve the function of elucidating different text versions. ‘zan uuidar pliuue[76] · apan/stigamu ·’ *dentem retundet inui/di* (fol. 124r, ll. 3–4) translates the future predicate *retundet* as subjunctive ‘uuidar pliuue’. Using a subjunctive to render a future form was adequate in Old High German (Lawson 1958, p. 70). The authoritative version, however, has a subjunctive predicate (Gerhards 2018, p. 150). The gloss reflects both the Latin on the page and the well-known version of the hymns. Equivalence exists on a semantic but also a virtual level with the Latin hymns in the mind of the glossator. One skopos of these glosses would therefore be to remind of a different source text. The vernacular linguistic system allows an ambiguous translation that serves both texts, the one on the page and the virtual version. To interpret the glosses fully, the reader must have known the authoritative version of the hymns. The glosses demonstrate that the glossator was well-educated in the text of the hymns and used the glosses to convey this knowledge.

The corrections by the glossator and some departures from the Latin on the page could be evidence of a different source. Gerhards (2018) proposed the theory that the glosses originally translated a different source text containing the authoritative version of the hymns and were then copied into this manuscript. The evidence demonstrates that the glossators partly had a different main text in mind, whether they knew it by heart or worked with another manuscript. Stratum B, which is the stratum with most corrections and departures according to the authoritative version of the hymns, stands in contrast to the remaining strata in which the glosses mainly interpret the text on the page (cf. chapters 3.4.3, 3.5.3). This difference strongly indicates that the deviations depended on the knowledge of individual scribes and do not relate to another source text. Additionally, the glosses were not simply copied into the manuscript but linguistically and visually adapted in relation to the text on the page as shown in this study. While glossing, the scribe aimed at creating sensible and comprehensible gloss-lemma relations. Which version of the text was followed was decided spontaneously just as when choosing an appropriate glossing method. Therefore, the glosses of the Murbach Hymns are evidence of meaningful glossing, regardless of the existence of another source.

Sensible gloss-lemma relations did not always aim at adopting all linguistic and semantic characteristics but could emphasise one linguistic feature. Skopoi can differ from gloss to gloss without

[76] ‘uuidar pliuue’ was corrected, possibly from ‘uuidar pluuue’ (Gerhards 2018, p. 70) which would be subjunctive preterite although the final vowel ‘-e’ is unusual for this time period (Braune 2023, §59). Preterite only determined the past (Braune 2023, §301.2; cf. also Lawson 1958, p. 66) – if the gloss originally was a preterite form, the correcting hand would have chosen to turn it into a form that is semantically closer to the main text. However, there is also a little hook under the ‘-i-’ of ‘-pliuue’ which suggests that there was a descender which was then erased which would suggest a scribal error instead of a preterite form.

affecting the comprehensibility of the translation. These glosses, however, could also be based on a misinterpretation of the Latin lemma by the glossator. This is the case for the translations that are mainly equivalent on the grammatical level and seem to render a lemma separated from the context. In 'inslifanne' *inlabere* (fol. 123v, l. 19), the Latin imperative was interpreted as infinitive and therefore translated as gerundive in dative (Gerhards 2018, p. 149); in 'nidares' for *humilis* (fol. 125r, l. 4), the lemma in vocative was translated as genitive (Gerhards 2018, p. 156); and in 'hupilo spano simbulum · hungar' for *malesuada semp famis* (fol. 126r, l. 12), the adjective *malesuada* was interpreted as a vocative attribute–noun phrase and transferred in the nominative (Siewerts 2010, p. 208). The grammatical forms of the Latin lemmas are ambiguous and the glosses translate them into a form which is valid but does not incorporate the context. In the third example, this method even results in a shift between parts of speech. The glossator worked consciously with the source text, as could be shown in many different cases, which leads to the assumption that the skopos of the glosses is to elucidate the lemmas by achieving grammatical equivalence and not to produce a coherent text. The reader would be expected to recognise that these glosses translate their lemmas out of context in contrast to other glosses. Nevertheless, it is more likely that heavy deviations like 'inslifanne' resulted from wrongly interpreting the grammatical characteristics of the lemma. Even though the glossator proved to be knowledgeable, mistranslations could appear within the stratum.

When the Latin lemmas were reinterpreted to create an Old High German syntagm different from the Latin one, grammatical ambiguity was emphasised. A significant example is 'giu intlazit pleichenti / nahemu tage naht chumfti' *iam cedet pallens* / *proximo diei nox aduentui* (fol. 124r, ll. 15–6). Here, the noun *diei* was translated as dative and related to *proximo* while it actually is genitive and *proximo* the attribute to *aduentui* (Gerhards 2018, p. 152). The vernacular translation is based on a different interpretation of the Latin lemma *diei* than the source text has intended.[77] The focus is put on the ambiguous form of the Latin and the glosses reinterpret the verse with a valid vernacular syntagma. The translation skilfully renders ambiguous Latin forms into valid vernacular syntactic structures. The skopos of the glosses is to highlight the characteristics of the Latin language and to offer alternative interpretations.

To adequately deliver the meaning of the lemmas, the glossator departed freely from the source text. This method was often related to differences between the two linguistic systems. Latin deponent verbs, which are grammatically passive forms, were translated into semantically equivalent Old High German active forms such as 'pittames' translating *deprecamur* (fol. 125v, l. 13).[78] When the target language offered more semantic layers than the source language, the main text was interpreted

[77] I base the interpretations of the Latin hymns on Siewerts (2010) and Gerhards (2018).
[78] Note how the 'p-' of the gloss was aligned with the *-p-* of the lemma.

with a translation that would specify the meaning. The Latin passive form *soluti sunt* could describe a state ('they are released') but also a process ('they are being released'; Jones 2009, p. 36). This ambiguity is based on the semantics of the verb *solvere* (cf. Jones 2009, p. 35). It was translated with an Old High German 'uuerdan'-passive, 'inpuntan uurtun ·' (fol. 123r, l. 6), in which the participle has the same ambiguous meaning. The auxiliary clarifies the translation because transitional 'uuerdan' determines the meaning of the phrase (cf. Jones 2009, p. 56). By choosing 'uuerdan', the glossator narrowed the interpretation of the Latin phrase and marked it as eventive, although the translation is overall semantically equivalent.

If it was necessary for syntactic and semantic clarity, even stronger departures from the source text were accepted. Whole words were added in the glosses that are not part of the Latin. They were often determiners as in 'derauerti' *profectus* (fol. 123v, l. 1), 'dera calauba' *fidei* (fol. 125r, l. 7), or 'derati[uri]da'[79] *glorię* (fol. 126v, l. 4). Since Latin does not usually use determiners, supplementing them marks a striking difference between source and target language and demonstrates that the glossator found them necessary to create an equivalent translation. The phrases are mostly in the genitive which is related to the syntactic significance of the determiner (cf. chapter 3.3.4), specifically since the related nouns designate very different entities. The translation was chosen with the skopos to clarify the syntactic structures. Simultaneously, the determiners convey information about the vernacular language. In contrast, when pronouns of address were added, the glossator used the style of the primary text as a template to include features that were unusual in Latin but common in Old High German. The position of the pronouns follows vernacular syntax, but they fulfil mainly a semantic function, namely to emphasise the Latin vocative (cf. chapter 3.3.4), such as in 'cot duderhimiles leohtipist' *dō qui cęli lumenes* (fol. 123r, l. 13; see fig. 53). There is no distinct vocative in Old High German (Braune 2023, §192e) and the case was translated in stratum B by nouns and personal pronouns in nominative of address. Adding the pronoun secures the correct understanding of the sentence which would otherwise be unclear.

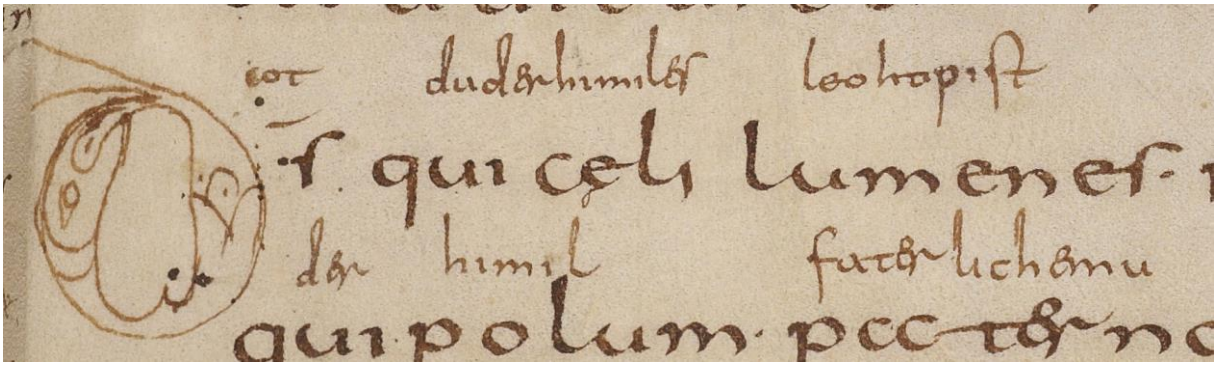


Fig. 53: The Old High German pronoun 'du' was added to translate Latin *qui* (fol. 123r, l. 13).

[79] It seems as if the determiner of 'derati[uri]da' was almost forgotten. The first letter 'd-' was corrected from a 't'.

This specific construction in Latin, a vocative phrase followed by a relative clause, was always translated by using the personal pronoun 'tu'. It therefore seems almost like a formulaic phrase, emphasising that the hymn is addressing god. In the main text, the second-person singular personal pronoun *tu* was used at the beginning of several verses to address god, Christ, or god's power, as on folio 125r. These pronouns could have served as a model for the Old High German translations of the vocative, meaning that additionally the style of the source text was transferred into the glosses. The skopoi of the glosses are, as in the previous example, to clarify the syntax by rendering it into adequate structures of the target language, and to reflect the high semantic and stylistic value of the Latin passages. To achieve this aim, the glossator accepted heavy changes on the lexical level.

To focus on the use of Old High German, the translation method of abbreviating glosses was implemented. In general, the abbreviations in stratum B mark phonological syllables and are therefore tied to pragmatics but the circumstances decide how and where these abbreviations appear. Syllables were abridged in the glosses '· [ma]gantiu ·' *potens* (fol. 123v, l. 5, marginal), 'ka[lau]bige ·' *fideles* (fol. 123v, l. 11), and 'derati[uri]da' *glorię* (fol. 126v, l. 4).[80] 'ka[lau]bige' is the second part of a double gloss. There was not enough space above its lemma, so the abbreviation secures the vertical gloss-lemma relation. The same applies to 'ti[uri]da', in which the article limits the space above the lemma. The abbreviation separates the diphthong /iu/ which does not represent the phonological syllables but writing the 'i' secures the understanding of the word within the limited space. The abbreviations follow vernacular linguistic but can be linked to the practical circumstances of the glosses.

In the case of '[ma]gantiu', there are three practical conditions that could have led to the abbreviation. It is a marginal gloss so there was no need to abbreviate it because of a lack of space (see fig. 54). The glossator wrote the gloss marker very close to the edge of the Latin text. Only by shortening the gloss, writing underneath the initial and disrupting the textual frame could be avoided. Furthermore, the word is part of a double gloss and both have the same initial syllable, 'ma-', which facilitates identifying the abbreviated part. Finally, '-ganti', the second part of the gloss 'ma/ganti ·' (fol. 123v, ll. 4–5), stands right next to the marginal gloss and could have motivated the glossator to

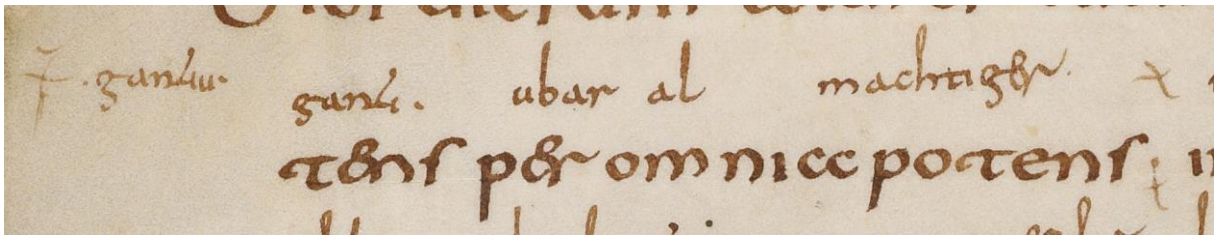


Fig. 54: The marginal gloss '· gantiu ·' (fol. 123v, l. 5), belonging to 'machtiger' on the right, was abbreviated. Note that the gloss stands outside of the Latin text frame and the almost identical gloss part 'ganti' in the line next to it.

[80] 'frido' *pacis* (fol. 126r, l. 10) was probably originally also abbreviated. The syllables of the word, 'fri-' and '-do', seem to have been written by different hands, meaning a correcting hand could have added either the first or the last syllable later. It is also possible that it was the same scribe who paused briefly after the first syllable.

write the marginal gloss in the same way. The gloss possibly stems from a later scribe because its ink is much lighter which contrasts it with the other two marginal glosses of this stratum, 'uuidarfuarinti'[81] *uicerit* (fol. 124r, l. 19) and 'kataroe' *inuideamus* (fol. 126r, l. 4). The abbreviations suggest that the skopos is to demonstrate the pronunciation of Old High German, but they were partly motivated by visual cues. The practical aspect adds another level to their function: to adjust the glosses to the available space in order to create a legible gloss stratum.

Frequent use of words and proximity to other abbreviated glosses or lemmas were important triggers for abbreviations. The gloss 'ka[lau]pa' *fidem* (fol. 126r, l. 3) cannot be explained by its position but it is possible that it was abbreviated because of the word itself. Words belonging to the family of 'gi-louba' (AWB 5,1309) meaning 'faith' appear very frequently in this stratum which could have led to an abbreviation as it would be easier to identify the gloss. The frequency could also be an additional motivation for the shortening of the previously discussed glosses 'ka[lau]bige ·' *fideles* (fol. 123v, l. 11), which is part of the same lexical family, and 'derati[uri]da' *glorię* (fol. 126v, l. 4), which was used frequently, too. Both are central in the semantic field around god and Christian belief. It is even more striking that designations of god were almost always shortened. 'truhtin' was abbreviated six times in stratum B, always glossing short forms of Latin *dominus*: four times in the form 't[ruh]tin' (*dn̄e*, fol. 125r, l. 11; fol. 125v, ll. 8, 13; *dn̄s*, fol. 125v, l. 5), and two times in the form 'tr[uhti]ne' (*dn̄o*, fol. 126v, ll. 1, 4). The words could easily be identified by readers and did not need to be written out. The Latin abbreviations could have triggered the writing method in the glosses. Additionally, some of the glosses stand in close proximity to each other in the text and could have visually motivated the use of abbreviations (see fig. 55).

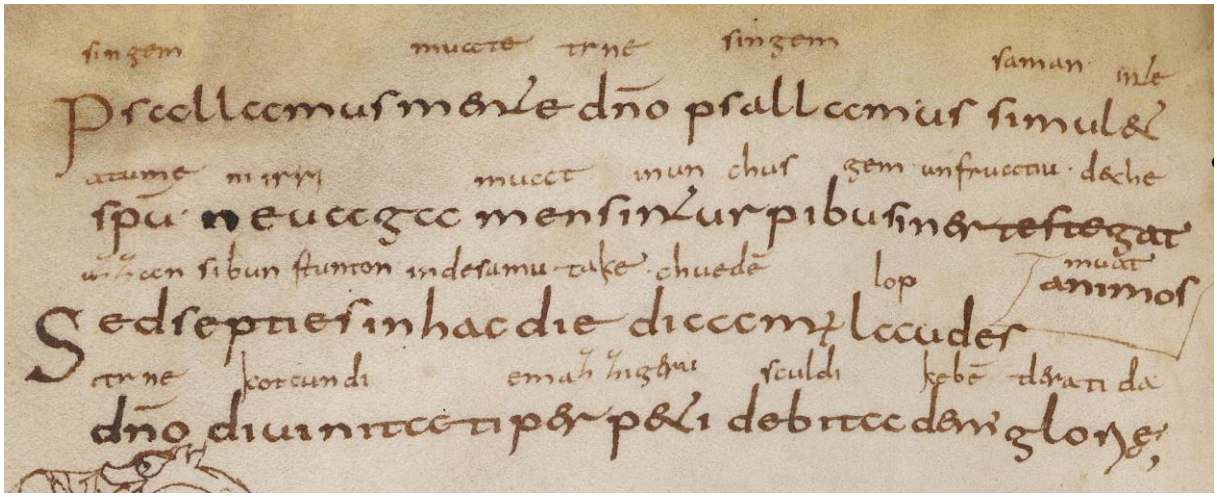


Fig. 55: On folio 126v, the lemmas *dn̄o* and their glosses 'tr[uhti]ne' stand are in visual proximity to each other so that the first gloss (l. 1; in the middle) could have triggered the second one (l. 4; bottom left corner).

[81] A 'uu' stood above the marker referencing the double gloss in the text and between the gloss line and the Latin line. It was wiped away as if the scribe started writing the gloss between the lines and then decided, maybe because of the lack of space, to add it in the margins.

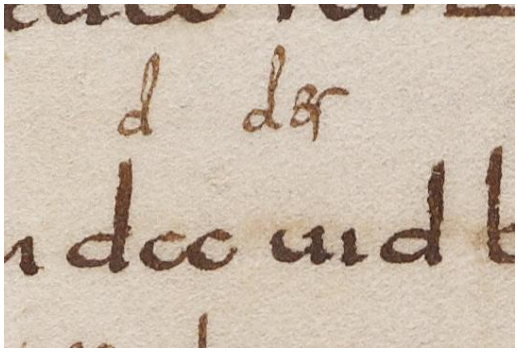


Fig. 56: The gloss ‘d[avi]des’ (fol. 125v, l. 7) is almost identical with its lemma *da uid* which could have led to abbreviating a word part. The parts of gloss and lemma are vertically aligned.

The glossing method was implemented systematically in the Old High German translations. The glossator always wrote the last syllable of the word and chose accordingly which letters of the beginning were used. When the last syllable consisted solely of sounds of the word stem, only the first letter was depicted. When the last syllable was only one letter of the word stem plus an inflectional ending, two letters of the beginning were included, probably to secure the understanding of the word. Abbreviating ‘truhtin’ was common in Old High German interlinear versions, but the system of abbreviating is characteristic of the Murbach Hymns (Voetz 1987, pp. 176–8). The same method was implemented two more times in this stratum, both times in proper names (as known from interlinear versions, Voetz 2009, pp. 922–3): ‘cr[is]te’ *χp̄o* (fol. 125r, l. 9) and ‘d[avi]des’ *da uid* (fol. 125v, l. 7). In both glosses, the last syllable consists of only one letter of the word stem and an inflectional ending. ‘cr[is]te’ follows the system that was described for ‘tr[uhti]ne’ but in ‘d[avi]des’, only the first letter was used instead of the first two – this could have been done because the second letter is a vowel, or because the almost identical lemma facilitates identifying the gloss. The relation to the Latin lemma was additionally expressed by graphically aligning the word parts (see fig. 56). The basic motivation behind abbreviating glosses seems to be related to their meaning and frequency of use. Although not all abbreviations express the pronunciation of Old High German, they still follow specific principles that were related to writing conventions. The presented method of glossing is rooted in the practicality of glossing and the skopos could be to simplify the reading and writing process. The possibility of visual triggers supports this theory.

Abbreviations superficially obscure word parts but as they are closely linked to the pronunciation of the glosses, they still support phonological word choices. ‘cr[is]te’ in line nine is the first of many abbreviated glosses on folio 125r. It is followed by others in lines nine, ten, fifteen, eighteen, and twenty. Because they stand so close to each other on the page, the abbreviations seem to have visually triggered each other:

(4) ‘cr[is]te euuigemu ioh [co]te [fate]re mit [uuihe]mu atumes libes keltem / kebo f[ona] [uueral]tim [in] [uue]ralti ·’ *χp̄o aeterno que dō patri cū scō spū uitesolua/musmunera aseculis insęcula;* (fol. 125r, ll. 9–10)

(5) ‘christ hi[mi]les t[ruh]tin uueralti heilant meisto’ *χp̄e cęli dn̄e mundisaluator maxime* (fol. 125r, l. 11)

(6) ‘ko[po]ron ·’ *editus* (fol. 125r, l. 15)[82]

(7) ‘ka[po]te fa[te]res’ *iussopatris* (fol. 125r, l. 18)

(8) ‘ar[changi]lo’ *archangelorū* (fol. 125r, l. 20)

As can be seen, the Latin of lines nine and ten also has many abbreviations, which left little space above the line. By shortening the glosses, the gloss-lemma relationship could be maintained. In most of the translations, whole syllables were abbreviated, either the first and/or the middle syllables. An exception is ‘f[ona]’ in which only the first letter was written. Using the first letter was a common method for abbreviating prepositions and especially ‘fona’ in Old High German interlinear versions (Voetz 1987, p. 174). Additionally, ‘f[ona]’ glosses a single letter – the Latin *a* – and the abbreviation creates formal equivalence. The preposition *in* is even completely left out in the glosses, probably because it is identical to its lemma.[83] Similarly, ‘ar[changi]lo’, which also was not abbreviated by syllables, is orthographically almost identical to its lemma *archangelorū* as it was derived from the Latin (EWA I,319). Because it is a Hapax legomenon, its missing sounds can only be assumed. A root with umlauted /a/, ‘archengil’, would also be possible (EWA I,318). Nevertheless, as gloss and lemma are so similar, the Latin indicates the intended translation. Whole syllables were therefore not necessary. The close relation between translation and source was even graphically implemented as the glossed parts of the word were written right above their Latin counterparts. These abbreviations are closely linked to their lemmas and seem to be based on practical reasons, which means one skopos of this translation method was to simplify the glossing process. Abbreviating the glosses was only possible because they were read simultaneously with the main text.

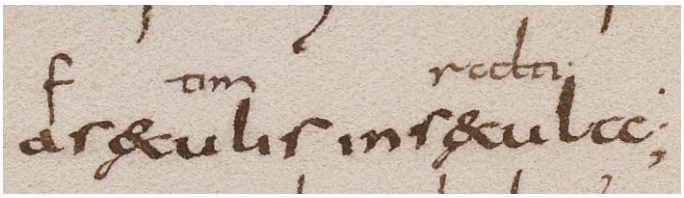


Fig. 57: The initial sounds of the glosses are omitted although they could alliterate (fol. 125r, l. 10).

Nevertheless, the basis of glossing was the use of language which is suggested by possible alliterative rhyme[84] in abbreviated translations. In the half line ‘f[ona] [uueral]tim [in] [uue]ralti’ *aseculis insecula* (fol. 125r, l. 10), the initial sounds /w/ that constitute the alliteration were not written out (see fig. 57). However, because the glosses were abbreviated according to syllables, they are linked to spoken language and the glossator must have had their pronunciation in mind when glossing. Instead of obscuring the rhyme (as for example proposed by Gerhards 2018, p. 42), the abbreviations simply rely on readers who know

[82] Sievers (1874, p. 37) gives ‘ka[po]ran’ as correct reading of the gloss which means ‘born’ (AWB 1,883). Gerhards (2018, cf. pp. 74–5) suggests that the word was not abbreviated and should be read as ‘koron’. However, this reading does not fit semantically (cf. AWB 5,319).

[83] See also ‘euuon’ *in perpetuum* (fol. 126v, l. 12).

[84] Because the words showing alliteration translate the same lemmas, it is possible that the glossator did not intend to include rhyme but translated the Latin with adequate glosses. Nevertheless, phonological abbreviations would not hinder expressing rhyme in the glosses.

Old High German. Abbreviated glosses draw from natural vernacular language and represent its morphology, but were also practical as they facilitated reading and writing glosses. They were based on Old High German as a conventionalised language. As the motivation behind the abbreviations oscillates between being read together with the Latin, appearing in clusters, representing repeated words, and emphasising the pronunciation, they demonstrate that the glossator was comfortable enough in writing the language to not have to spell out every letter. Furthermore, the intended reader needed to be able to identify the abbreviated glosses by building upon the natural knowledge of Old High German. Additionally to utilising the closely related source text to simplify glossing, an important skopos of abbreviations was to practically explore Old High German as a written language.

The translations of stratum B are close to their source text but also represent the Old High German language. The glossator's corrections to the main text and the visual alignment of the glosses with their lemmas show intensive work with the Latin. The variety of skopoi behind the glosses demonstrates that the scribe had a good knowledge and systematic understanding of Old High German and Latin, which made it possible to depart sensibly from the source. Most of the translation choices were linguistically motivated, such as glosses that translate their lemmas out of context with the aim of highlighting ambiguous Latin forms. Often the emphasis was on elucidating the syntactic structures of the glosses, either by creating valid vernacular syntagms independent of the source text, or by adding words in the translation. Illustrating the syntax of the glosses is linked to the skopos of clarifying the meaning, which can be found frequently in stratum B. Additionally, a skopos is to convey different versions of the Latin hymns. Both functions show that the hymns were used for theological studies. The many abbreviations that were implemented in the glosses further support the finding that the glossator was well-educated in linguistics. They were partly based on the pronunciation of Old High German and thus related to the pragmatics of the language, but they are also evidence of linguistic conventions. In the process of glossing, the glossator explored the language by rendering natural linguistic knowledge into systematic abbreviations.

3.3.4. Syntactic Patterns

Many of the glosses of stratum B were embedded in vernacular syntactic structures. The glossator aimed to produce meaningfully related glosses, often departing from the primary text. In some cases, the gloss stratum was even used to experiment with the syntactic possibilities of Old High German, which is evidence of a glossator who was well-educated in the vernacular and explored it as a language of writing. Furthermore, the syntactic patterns were used to illustrate the theological background of the hymns. The details of the syntactic information contained in stratum B will be examined in the following chapter.

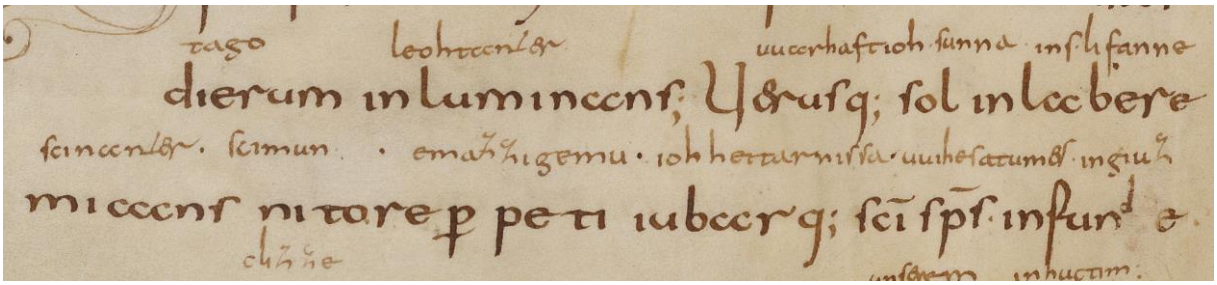


Fig. 58: In two lines of folio 123v, the Latin clitic *-que* was twice translated with Old High German 'ioh'. Once the gloss appears in the same position as the lemma in line 19 ('uuarhaftioh'), and once the word order was adapted to vernacular linguistics and 'ioh' placed at the beginning of the phrase in line 20 ('ioh heitarnissa').

Only in two instances, the word order of the glosses was altered, but in both, Old High German word order was restored: '· ioh deranaht ·' glossing *noctisque* (fol. 123r, l. 4) and '· ioh heitarnissa ·' glossing *iubarq;* (fol. 123v, l. 20). The determiner that was added in the first example could have facilitated the adjustment. Including a new word already meant departing from the Latin significantly, therefore, additional changes needed less motivation. In both phrases, the glossator moved the conjunction 'ioh' to the position where it would appear in Old High German, the beginning of the connected phrase, and half-raised points were used to determine the beginning and end of the whole phrase. By that, the conjunction was marked as syntactically belonging to the noun. There are several instances in the rest of the stratum in which enclitic Latin *-que* was translated by 'ioh' in the same position, one of them in same sentence as 'ioh heitarnissa' ('uuarhaftioh · sunna ·' *uerusq; sol*, fol. 123v, l. 19; see fig. 58). By partly separating the conjunctions with half-raised points from the preceding word (e.g. 'leohtes · ioh ·' *lucisq;*, fol. 123v, l. 4), it was emphasised that the Old High German conjunction is not enclitic. Latin *-que* was always translated with 'ioh' while 'inti' was used to render *et*, regardless of the meaning of the connected phrases. The semantic difference between the vernacular conjunctions (cf. Montoto-Ballesteros 2007, p. 59) was therefore not incorporated in the gloss syntax. The translation choice marks the Latin syntax but the glossator still used methods to highlight the differences between Old High German and Latin syntax.

Old High German word order can also be assumed in glosses that translate one Latin word with several vernacular words. The gloss 'er selbo' (fol. 124r, l. 13) emphasises the meaning of its Latin lemma *ipse*. It could be translated by only using 'selbo', but the glossator chose to add the personal pronoun. The pronoun highlights on the one hand the syntactic connection to 'sceffento' ('creator', i.e. 'god') in the previous half-line because it grammatically agrees with the noun, and creates on the other hand a more complex syntagm. The whole half-line 'leoht · er selbo aller / inti tak' could be understood as a clause with an omitted predicate, meaning 'he himself [is] light and entirely day'. 'selbo' would in this case function as a particle and would be attached to the subject 'er' which expresses the relation to 'sceffento'. The use of the pronoun was theologically motivated as the vernacular syntax emphasises that the subject of the half-line is god. Vernacular word order was also

assumed in the glosses ‘eoso’ *ut* (fol. 124r, l. 9, and other instances), ‘mittitak’ *meridies* (fol. 124r, l. 10) and ‘fona luz zi lemu kascri be’ *achirographo* (fol. 126v, l. 10). They are set phrases (cf. AWB 4,1666, 5,1466, 6,776) which means that the glosses were probably not spontaneously arranged but automatically written. Old High German was still the basis of the glosses.

Translations that implement syntactic vernacular structures support the clarity of the Old High German phrases. The Latin *atque* was translated with two Old High German words, ‘inti ioh’ (fol. 125v, l. 5). In Latin, the conjunction is built by combining the enclitic *-que* with the preposition *ad-* (Georges 1998, 1,675). This structure was copied in the translation with two separate words. The use of ‘ioh’ for *-que* is typical of this stratum and could therefore have been a word-for-word translation. The gloss ‘inti’, which usually translates *et* in stratum B (Sievers 1874, p. 73), suggests otherwise because it does not semantically correspond to the Latin *ad-* which denotes an addition (DMLBS 1,32). Instead, ‘ioh’ had the connotation of ‘also’ (Montoto-Ballesteros 2007, p. 59; Sehrt 1916, p. 12) and can be understood as a particle which would leave ‘inti’ as a conjunction. The glosses represent Old High German word order with the conjunction at the beginning, marking the hinge between the two words that are combined (‘himil’ and ‘herda’[85]), and a following modifying particle. The glosses ‘sibun stunton’ *septies* (fol. 126v, l. 3), containing an attributive numeral before a noun, and the complex adverb ‘fruainmorgan’[86] *diluculo* (fol. 124r, l. 9), composed of an adverb ‘frua’ and a modifying prepositional phrase ‘in morgan’, also maintain vernacular word order. The vernacular phrase is formulaic and known from the *Abrogans* (Baesecke 1930, p. 62). To achieve semantic equivalence, the translation departed from the source text and the glossator implemented vernacular syntax.

The use of Old High German complex verb forms is evidence of how the glossator had to adapt the glosses syntactically to achieve forms that are sensible in the vernacular language. In four instances, Latin synthetic passive forms were translated into Old High German analytical verbs:

(9) ‘farlaz zan ist’ *linquitur* (fol. 123v, l. 2)

(10) ‘kasaltist ·’ *tradi/tur* (fol. 123v, l. 10)

(11) ‘fartripanistuuirdit ·’ *depellitur* (fol. 124v, l. 9)

(12) ‘it poran uuirdit’ *renascitur* (fol. 124v, l. 9)

All instances are predicates of principal clauses but stand in the final position according to the Latin verb. The glosses always have the same syntactic pattern, the infinite participle stands before the finite auxiliary. This order follows the grammatical structure of the Latin verbs in which the inflected part comes at the end. The consistent pattern suggests that at this stage, it already represented a default order of finite and infinite predicate parts in Old High German which could have been inspired by the

[85] The initial ‘h-’ of ‘herda’ was added by a different hand.

[86] ‘frua’ was corrected from ‘fruo’. The general Old High German form was changed into a specific Alemannic and Rhine Franconian one (Braune 2023, §39.1, 3).



Fig. 59: The participle ‘kasalt’ and the auxiliary ‘ist’ (fol. 123v, l. 10) were written as one word.

Latin language. The notation shows that the complex verb forms were understood as one unit: they were written with little or no space and in ‘kasaltist ·’, ‘-t’ and ‘i-’ are even graphically linked (see fig. 59). The variety of auxiliary verbs is semantically motivated. All four lemmas are eventive verb forms and therefore, their semantic value could be translated by either ‘uuesan’ or ‘uuerdan’ passive constructions (Jones 2009, p. 56). In example (11), both variants of passive auxiliaries were used. Old High German glossators were still in the process of finding vernacular forms that adequately render Latin passive (Jones 2009, p. 240). Including both auxiliaries in the translation could be a method to emphasise the different syntactic possibilities or evidence of a scribe who experimented with syntactic variants. Besides illustrating the default word order within vernacular verbal phrases, the translations are evidence that glossing was a method to explore Old High German syntax in relation to the main writing language Latin.

Demonstrative determiners in the Old High German glosses acted as markers for specific syntactic relations and as proof for the vernacular syntax the glossator had conceptualised. They were added frequently contrary to the Latin text and always stand before the noun (the preferred position, cf. Schmid 2023, §66.2), as in ‘deranaht’ *noctis* (fol. 123v, l. 2). The determiners in stratum B are all deictic, which makes them more likely demonstratives than definite articles in the modern sense (Kraiss 2014, p. 128). All related Old High German nouns are feminine, the Latin nouns have various genders. Most of them are genitive attributes, with the exception of ‘deru driunissu’ *trinitati* (fol. 126r, l. 16) in the dative. However, as most of the genitive phrases in stratum B are genitive attributes, it is unclear whether the case or the status as an attribute facilitated the determiner. According to Werner Hodler (1954, p. 12), such determiners, distinctive for interlinear versions, were only added to mark the case and are not functioning syntactic words. Glaser (2000, p. 210) argues that using determiners as genitive case markers would be redundant as the Old High German nouns in genitive often already have a distinctive inflectional ending. This is not the case in the instances of stratum B, which all have ambiguous endings. However, determiners emphasise that glosses are part of a syntactic construction (‘gedankliche[r] Einbindung in ein Syntagma’, Glaser 2000, p. 194). This characteristic applies to genitive attributes as part of a noun phrase but also to the dative phrase because it stands in a small relative clause. The close syntactic relations are also graphically implemented as the determiners are always written without or with only a small space between them and the related noun. Determiners were not used systematically but they are evidence of a spontaneous shift between Old High German and Latin linguistic features while glossing.

The glosses show a particular pattern in syntactically placing personal pronouns that do not have Latin counterparts. Latin subject pronouns were always translated in the glosses,[87] but independent personal pronouns appear in the following six examples:

(13) 'cot duderhimiles leohtipist' *dꝰ qui cęli lumenes* (fol. 123r, l. 13)

(14) 'fater du / derhimila inthebis' *pater qui / cęlos contenis* (fol. 123v, ll. 7–8)

(15) 'scinantes ortfrumo himiles dudermanun leoht nahtim' *fulgentis auctor aetheris quilunā lumen noc/tibus* (fol. 124v, ll. 7–8)

(16) 'cot […] / […] dudermuates · tauganiu · kasihis' *dꝰ* […] / […] *q̇ mītis occulta uides* (fol. 124v, ll. 17–8)

(17) 'sun d[aui]des […] du der / innamin kotes chuami foha[88] hohi num' *fili da uid* […] *qui in / nomine dī uenisti de ex cel sis* (fol. 125v, ll. 7–8)

(18) 'du lamp unga uuem mit […] / duderuuihero kauuati dinemu · uuasgi pluate' *tu agnus in ma cula tus* […] / *qui scō rum uestimenta tuo lauisti sanguine* (fol. 125v, ll. 9–10)

The Latin relative pronoun *qui* was glossed with the phrase 'du der'. 'der' can be interpreted as the relative particle 'thăr' (cf. AWB 2,250) relating to a subject pronoun 'du'. The particle is usually positioned after a personal pronoun, just as in the examples, and adds relative meaning (cf. Braune 2023, §287 A.3b; Schmid 2023, §181.2). Further instances of *qui* within this stratum suggest a different interpretation:

(19) 'cot […] / der himil […] / […] spreitis inluchis' *dꝰ* […] / *quipolum* […] / […] *pandis* (fol. 123r, ll. 13–5)[89]

(20) 'christ […] / der unsih crucez[90] cifti todes inpunti euuom' *χp̄e* […] / *quinos crucis munere mortis soluisti legib;* (fol. 125r, ll. 11–2)

In these cases, 'der' renders *qui* which indicates that it was used as a relative pronoun as the particle does not appear as an individual translation of *qui* (Schmid 2023, §175.2, cf. §181.1 for the relative pronoun). Formally, these clauses do not differ from the previous examples. In (13) and (19), both variants – 'du der' and 'der' – were used in the same sentence which suggests that both instances of 'der' are relative pronouns.[91] The hymns in which these glosses appear appeal to someone who is then characterised further by a relative clause. 'du' could function here as a nominative of address which would emphasise and repeat the appeal. As the pronoun 'du' always stands after the initial addressing

[87] Also note the gloss 'er selbo' *ipse* (fol. 124r, l. 13) which was discussed earlier, as well as 'uuirdige unsih · tua' *dignos* [*nos*] *fac* (fol. 123r, l. 10), where the Latin pronoun was added by the gloss hand.
[88] Read 'fona' (Sievers 1874, p. 38).
[89] Note that this clause follows after example (13).
[90] 'crucez' was almost misspelled as 'crucz' but the scribe realised it soon enough so that only the first stroke of the '-z' was written before the correct ending '-ez' was added.
[91] In case of example (18), analysing 'der' as relative pronoun would assume that it either relates back to 'sun' (cf. (17)) or that it translates the Latin pronoun without adjusting it to the vernacular gender, as 'der' is masculine and 'lamp' is neuter.

and right before the relative pronoun, it would summarise the partly very long designation of the addressed entity. ‘du’ clarifies that by reciting the Hymns, the reader directly speaks to someone. The syntactic position would support its status as nominative of address. The line break in example (14) expresses this relation graphically. ‘du’ was written in the same line as the addressed entity but ‘der’ stands on the next line, introducing the relative clause. The translation ‘du der’ is a semantic choice as it clarifies the meaning of the sentences. It was supported by implementing Old High German syntax and adapting the visual characteristics.

In the case of vernacular negations, the notation of the glosses reflects their ambiguous syntactic status. The enclitic Old High German negation ‘ni-’ was used to gloss Latin enclitic *ne-* as well as the independent word *non*. The word order corresponds in Latin and Old High German, the negation always stands right before the negated verb (Jäger 2013, p. 153; Schmid 2023, §231).[92] Mostly, the enclitic syntactic relation was visually expressed in the glosses by writing negation and verb without a space (e.g. ‘niuuiz zanter’ *nesciens*, fol. 123v, l. 1) to the extent that they were not even separated at a line break in contrast to their lemma (‘nilazzes’ *ne*/*sineris*, fol. 123v, l. 15). But there are cases in which ‘ni-’ was separated by a line break (‘ni/kel tem’ *n̄* / *reddamus*, fol. 126r, ll. 4–5) or even by a half-raised point (‘ni · si’ *nonsit*, fol. 126r, l. 12). The use of both writing methods marks the syntactic ambivalence of the Old High German negation that was added to the verbs but merges with them as clitic particle – similar to the visual separation of verbal prefixes. The glossator did not systematically differentiate between *non* and *ne-*. Although Old High German syntax was the basis for translating negations, their ambiguity was also used to emphasise the Latin syntactic structure.

Old High German syntax was expressed in the gloss stratum by creating grammatical agreement between the glosses. The line *post ma tu tinis laudibus quas trinitati psal*/*lim* was glossed as ‘aft morgan lichem lopum diu deru driunissu · singa/mes’ (fol. 126r, l. 16). In Latin, the relative pronoun *quas* relates to *laudibus* which is a feminine noun. In Old High German, the pronoun ‘diu’ reflects correctly the gender of its related noun, ‘lopum’, which is neuter. But even though most of the glosses are syntactically connected, in some cases the glossator has translated word-for-word without regard for syntactic structures. This was even done in smaller phrases such as the noun phrase ‘unsaremu · inhucti’ glossing *nostro sensui* (fol. 126r, l. 9). The Old High German possessive pronoun is masculine or neuter, which matches the masculine noun *sensui* but not the feminine ‘inhucti’. Emphasising the Latin syntax was favoured over creating a sensible Old High German structure.[93] In contrast, corrections in the glosses prove that the glossator aimed for agreement in certain glosses. The glosses ‘deseru stuntu’ *hachora* (fol. 126v, l. 16) are dative and therefore translate the Latin

[92] Except for ‘ni unsera’ *ne nostram* (fol. 126r, l. 3) where the negation stands before the modifier.
[93] However, the writing of the preceding ‘uzzan’ suggests syntactic glossing, see 3.3.3.

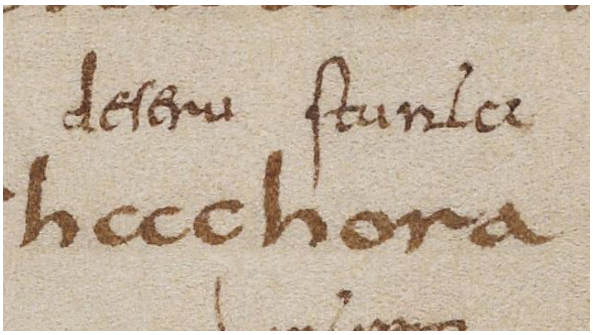


Fig. 60: The gloss ‘stuntu’ (fol. 126v, l. 16) was initially written with final ‘-a’ but adapted to be grammatically equivalent to its lemma.

ablative appropriately. The left stroke of the last ‘-u’ of ‘stuntu’ almost closes the letter on top. Apparently, the scribe started writing an ‘a’ (Gerhards 2018, p. 80) and spontaneously switched to ‘u’ (see fig. 60). ‘stunta’ would have been an appropriate word-for-word translation of *hora* in nominative singular. Nevertheless, the glossator chose a gloss that is embedded in vernacular syntax. The coexistence of vernacular syntactic agreement and glosses that correspond to the Latin demonstrates that the glossator was able to create sensible Old High German structures but could choose to disregard them in favour of explaining the source text.

The scribe would even express vernacular syntax different to the Latin source text which seems to be linked to varying semantic interpretations. In the half-line ‘zan uuidar pliuue · apan/stigamu ·’ *dentem retundet inui/di* (fol. 124r, ll. 3–4), the Latin adjective *inuidi* is genitive singular attribute to *dentem*. Its translation ‘apanstigamu’ stands in dative singular and functions as a dative object governed by the verb. Both phrases express similar semantic relations, meaning that something might or will happen to the tooth of an envious person, but different syntactic structures were used. In both languages, a correct syntactic agreement exists and transmits the same meaning overall, but the Old High German syntax is independent of the Latin. It gives the impression as if the glossator wanted to emphasise that there are other syntactic variants that would be semantically appropriate.

The hand that glossed the first half-line of line seventeen on folio 123v, which differs from the scribe of stratum B, also created a syntactic variant. In the Latin *splendor paternę glorię* (fol. 123v, l. 17), *paternę* relates to *glorię* and both are genitive singular feminine. However, in the Old High German glosses ‘schimo fater licher tiurida’, the syntactic relations differ. ‘fater licher’ is nominative singular masculine and therefore relates to ‘schimo’ and not to ‘tiurida’. Simbolotti (2009, p. 58 fn. 13) suggests that the glossator misinterpreted the ending of *paternę* as *-e* which would agree with the vocative *splendor*. Although this is possible and could be explained by a careless scribe, the vernacular syntax could also demonstrate a syntactic option. Since two different scribes used this method, it could have been an established way to present vernacular syntax.

When the vernacular syntax represents the authoritative version of the hymns, it is independent of the text on the page but probably still influenced by a Latin source. The gloss ‘dinē duruhctaniu creftim ·’ (fol. 125r, l. 18) follows the common textual variant *tuis perfecta uiribus* (Walpole 1922, p. 235) instead of *tuisperfectisuiribus* from the manuscript. Choosing this translation

results in large syntactic structures as 'duruhctaniu' relates to 'cascaft'[94] *creatura* in line seventeen and matches 'incunnaniu' *inchoata* in the first half-line of line eighteen. The gloss stratum therefore expresses more syntactic coherence than the main text. But assuming that the authoritative version of the hymns motivated the glosses, it would be a close translation of a source rather than a freely composed vernacular structure.

The glosses of stratum B were based on Old High German syntactic structures. Their word order was barely altered against the source text, however, departures express vernacular syntax. This system is evident in the repositioning of conjunctions to the beginning of phrases, which further clarifies the syntactic relationships of the clauses. The glossator used visual strategies such as punctuation and word separation to emphasise the links between the glosses. Opportunities for creating syntactic structures were provided by word groups translating single lemmas. In these cases, for example the use of particles, complex verb forms, and demonstrative determiners, the glosses could be arranged freely. Detailed analysis showed that they were written independently of the source text and embedded in vernacular syntax. In particular, the translation of synthetic verb forms with analytic ones demonstrates that the scribe had structural patterns in mind when glossing. Creating Old High German syntax could generally be related to clarifying the meaning of the source text, but also to offering alternative interpretations. Some glosses express valid syntactic relations that differ from the Latin but point out that there are other versions of the Latin hymns; others realise independent new syntactic relations through which the glossator explored the pragmatic possibilities of the vernacular language. Without disregarding the source text, the glossator of stratum B creatively and intelligently produced a gloss stratum that renders Old High German syntax.

3.3.5. The Functional Net of Stratum B

The glosses of stratum B are evidence of an educated glossator who aimed to create a comprehensible gloss stratum that accurately reflects the source text. The gloss scribe frequently corrected the Latin main text to produce clear vertical gloss-lemma relationships, facilitating the interpretation of the glosses. This pattern was only interrupted to group syntactically related glosses together. Syntactic phrases were further highlighted by visual cues, demonstrating their significance in this stratum. They were partly delimited by punctuation and often written without spaces between the glosses. These graphic methods were closely linked to vernacular linguistics, as they not only represent clear syntax but also ambiguous structures by oscillating between one method or the other. Using visual

[94] Right before the gloss are two erased letters, 'sc'. The glossator possibly started glossing 'scaft', a less common variant of 'giscaft' (AWB 8.1,814ff.) and switched to the other word while glossing.

characteristics, phrases are graphically presented to the reader as syntactic units, focusing on and facilitating the comprehension of vernacular syntactic relationships.

These strategies were intentionally applied to convey information about vernacular linguistics. However, they could also be influenced by the mechanics of writing or the visual context on the page, showing that glossing is a practical phenomenon. Specific glossing methods, which are linked to the visual appearance of the glosses, often occur in proximity to each other, i.e. in visual clusters. This pattern suggests that the glossator was prompted to implement a visual cue by seeing it in other glosses nearby, much as graphic features of the Latin were sometimes adopted in the stratum. Other graphic features simply resulted from the act of writing and are not linguistically meaningful. It is therefore necessary to analyse the glosses in their material and practical context in order to interpret them comprehensively.

Syntactic patterns that were highlighted visually were also implemented linguistically. The syntactic analysis showed that the glossator could depart from the main text to express vernacular syntax. Although the Latin was the primary reference for all syntactic features in the glosses, they were often written in such a way as to express Old High German linguistic characteristics. To do so was necessary for translations that naturally deviate from Latin because of the differences in the linguistic systems of the two languages. However, glosses could also illustrate ambiguities of the primary text. The motivation for creating vernacular syntactic structures appears to be to achieve a legible gloss stratum, at least in smaller phrases. The example of pronouns of address demonstrates that even linguistic style was taken into account, linking the stratum to language use, i.e. saying the glosses out loud. Syntax is supported by visuality and translation. Both show patterns that are closely related to the pronunciation of the glosses, and thus to the pragmatics of the language. Gaps in words as well as abbreviations are mostly based on phonological syllables, while continuous writing connects not only syntactic units but also speech units. Furthermore, abbreviations emphasise that the glossator followed writing conventions and systematically explored the language, as was done in syntactic translations.

While the syntactic structures in the glosses generally follow the Latin syntax with the necessary adjustments to achieve sensible Old High German syntax, there are a few translations that create syntax independent of the source text. These are either linked to different versions of the hymns and thus to the skopos of presenting variants of the main text, or they explore syntactic possibilities and highlight ambiguities of the Latin language. Although it is possible that another manuscript was used as a model, the evidence suggests that the glossator knew the alternative version of the main text by heart and implemented it spontaneously when glossing. The gloss stratum was balanced

between having a sensible relationship to the text on the page, but also following a virtual source text. That the reader was able to decipher the structural relations of the glosses seems self-evident.

The scribe of the glosses managed to strike a balance between staying close to the original and choosing translations that were appropriate in the target language. There are many different skopoi that guided the translations and they often change from gloss to gloss. The glosses are partly aimed at the Latin with a skopos to emphasise the grammatical features of the primary text, but they also demonstrate the difference between the languages and express features of Old High German. The visual characteristics of the glosses, especially the way they were written in relation to their lemmas, support their function. When glosses were graphically set off, their skopos is usually to explain the vernacular. The same applies to the syntactic patterns in the glosses. By creating independent syntax in the gloss stratum, the glosses automatically became more independent of the source text, which shows that their skopos is focused on Old High German. The glossator dynamically and spontaneously connected the different levels to create comprehensible and functional structures. In this process, the underlying goal was often to communicate the meaning of the Hymns. Although the glosses aim to provide linguistic information about the vernacular, this was never done at the expense of clear semantic interpretations.

The glosses of stratum B show a clear focus on vernacular linguistics. They are therefore closely related to natural Old High German. The glossator used the glosses to explore language patterns and to develop writing conventions. In a complex and meaningful glossing process, the three levels, syntax, translation, and visuality, were combined to convey information about the main text and the vernacular. Due to the performative nature of glossing, methods were not applied systematically throughout the stratum, but when they would support the skopoi. The different structural relationships of the glosses were meaningfully balanced, demonstrating that the scribe had a broad knowledge of both languages and was able to utilise it skilfully.

3.4. Practising Glossing and Finishing Ha: Analysis of Strata C, D, E, and F

Strata C (fol. 127r, ll. 1-6), D (fol. 127r, ll. 7–12), E (fol. 127r, l. 13, to approximately fol. 129r, l. 14), and F (approximately fol. 129r, l. 14, to fol. 129v) are palaeographically associated. Strata C, E, and F possibly stem from the same scribe. Parts of stratum D, which is characterised by several hands that cannot be clearly distinguished, may also have been written by the same glossator. For this reason, the strata will be analysed in the same chapter to take into account that they may form a functional unit. However, references will be made to the individual strata where examples are given. The hands of strata E and F alternate in lines eleven to fourteen on folio 129r which indicates that the glossing was carried out in separate phrases and not according to the word order of the main text. The palaeographical features suggest that the scribes of strata C, D, E, and F were not as well-trained or as careful as the scribes of strata A and B, which is also reflected in the glossing. The strata do not show many different glossing methods and the glosses have less evidence of a complex interplay between Latin and Old High German. The main skopos is to elucidate the main text, which was realised through close adherence to the source text.

3.4.1. Introduction to Strata C, D, E, and F

The layout that was specified in stratum A was mostly respected in the main text of the four strata. Verses were written in two lines, except for a few cases in stratum E and F in which they comprise three lines (e.g. fol. 127v. ll. 12–4, E). At the end of folio 129v, the Latin scribe departed from the layout because the hymn needed to be finished by the end of the page. Embellishments were used on the last page to signal that words from the line before were moved to the following line which happened strikingly often in stratum F (e.g. ll. 2, 9, and 17 on folio 129v, F; see fig. 61). The last hymn starts with small caps which is unusual and otherwise only appears in the hymn starting on folio 128v (stratum E). It therefore is possible that the scribe used folio 128v as a template which makes sense as it was the last page that was easily accessible considering that turning the page around to folio 129r while writing would be impractical.[95] The Latin scribes were not concerned about the form of the primary text as word parts were written between the lines, for example *-uocat* (fol. 127r, between ll. 2 and 3, C). To clarify



Fig. 61: The word *nouuā* and its gloss ‘niuuan’ were written at the end of line 3 but belong to *uitā* ‘lip’ (l. 2). The shift was marked on the left with a small embellishment (fol. 129v, F).

[95] Between folios 128v and 129v, the Latin hands alternate, see appendix 5.2.

that it belongs to line two, a line was drawn around it that separates it from line three. The line is not decorative in any way but purely practical and demonstrates that the main text was supposed to be functional. It is thin and similar in ink and thickness to the one that forms the bottom loop of the *-ę* of *glorię* (fol. 127r, l. 3, C) and therefore probably belongs to the hand of the main text. The line overlaps with part of the glosses, which could mean that the glosses were written over the line. The glosses of all four strata start mainly above the beginning of their lemma, partly so far to the left that they begin earlier than the lemma (cf. 'asterpe lip' *moreatur uita*, fol. 129v, l. 4, F). In this way, the vertical relationship between lemma and gloss was maintained but the glosses do not appear as even as in stratum A. The gloss-lemma relationship could be interrupted, as for example in line eight on folio 128r, stratum E, where the glosses were evenly distributed above the line. There would have been enough space to achieve vertical alignment of translation and source text. However, the glossator glossed the line as one unit, to achieve a consistent appearance of the line or because they are linguistically related.

How closely the glossator worked with the Latin text becomes evident in the glossing of *nec hostis* (fol. 127v, l. 19, E). Accidentally, the Latin lemmas were not translated but copied into the glosses. Only a much later hand rectified the mistake (Sievers 1874, p. 44, apparatus, believes the glosses were corrected by Junius). Not even the contemporary scribes who corrected the main text and glosses in several instances realised that the glosses were not Old High German. Apparently, both languages were natural to the glossators. But it also leads to the suspicion that this text section was not one that people worked with a lot. Similarly, the word *caro* (fol. 128r, l. 1, E) was missing from the main text and was added by a later hand. The word was not glossed which shows that the glossator did not spot the mistake. In contrast, the main text was complemented by the gloss hand with the lemma *cum*, glossed with 'denne' (fol. 127v, l. 12, E; see fig. 62). The glossator knew the Latin text probably well but partly neglected the context and focused on glossing individual lemmas which could result in such mistakes.

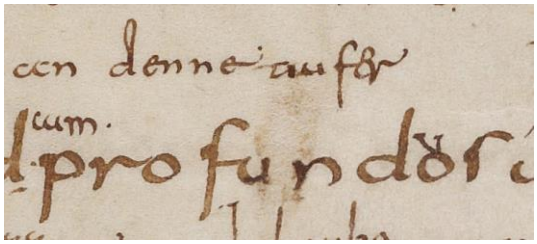


Fig. 62: The word *cum* in the main text was added by the gloss hand and translated with 'denne' (fol. 127v, l. 12, E).

While in stratum D, the glosses did not have to be corrected, in strata C, E, and F, the scribes often had to rectify what they had written indicating that they glossed hastily or carelessly. If letters had to be erased, it is unclear whether these corrections were done by the scribes themselves or by later hands. The gloss 'dina', glossing *tuam* (fol. 127r, l. 13, E), for example, was originally written with two 'n' and the first one was erased later on which could have been done by any scribe. Another type of correction that also cannot clearly be assigned to the glossators is when missing letters were added, as in 'uuarf', translating *redit* (fol. 129v, l. 18, F). The 'r' was added above the 'a'. The ink and thickness

of the lines of 'r' seem to correspond with the rest of the gloss, it is therefore likely that the glossator wrote the gloss, instantly spotted the mistake, and corrected it. However, only when corrections are part of the writing flow, it is certain that the same person glossed and corrected. This category of corrections is the most frequent one in strata C, E, and F. It contains cases like 'leohtes' *lucis* (fol. 128v, l. 4, E) where the scribe started to write 'leh' but interrupted the 'h' halfway and added the 'o'. The ascender of the wrong 'h' was never erased, proving that it was the glossator who corrected the gloss. Furthermore, by the end of Ha, the glosses often overlap with the primary text such as the gloss 'allemu' (fol. 129v, l. 20, F) which crosses the descender of *paradysū* in the line above. In combination with the long, stretched letters (e.g. 's' in 'stobaroen', fol. 129r, l. 16, F, or 'f' and 'g' in 'fleisges ·', fol. 129r, l. 19, F), this points to a scribe who glossed accurately but rapidly and did not pay much attention to details. As the stratum stands at the end of Ha, the writing style could mean that the Hymns should be finished quickly. The glossators of all four strata seem to have glossed with a focus on the main text, i.e. the strata were rather functional and were prone to errors.

3.4.2. Visual Characteristics

The glosses of strata C, D, E, and F were written in a meaningful way on the page. The scribes used little punctuation, but syllables were often separated and words were written continuously. The writing methods provide additional information about Old High German. As will be shown in the following chapter, the visual features appear to have been applied automatically by the glossators of the strata, which demonstrates that they are a basic glossing method.

In all four strata, gaps were used within words to signal phonological syllables. In stratum C, the writing is generally rather messy, therefore, not all gaps are certainly intentional. However, the hand shows an overall tendency to leave gaps, even very small ones, between syllables. It seems that separating syllables was done automatically when glossing quickly, for example in 'ka lubigen' *fidelibus* (fol. 127r, l. 3, C) or 'lam bes' *agni* (fol. 127r, l. 4, C). Clearly intended gaps are found in 'za peton ne' *adorandū* (fol. 127r, l. 2, C), 'chref ti' *uirtutis* (fol. 127r, l. 4, C), or 'neoz zem' *sumamus* (fol. 127r, l. 6, C; see fig. 63). The second syllable of 'chref ti' was vertically aligned with the last syllable of its lemma, *-tis*, setting the two 't's above each other. 'za peton ne' and 'neoz zem' are evidence of the move of the syllable border between double consonants (Braune 2023, §91). Geminates were also separated at the line break, 'cruaz/zit' *pro/uocat* (fol. 127r, l. 2, C). The gloss copies the writing of its lemma. It was divided between the double consonant 'zz' and gloss and lemma were vertically connected. The

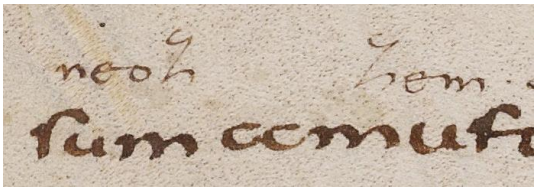


Fig. 63: A large gap divides the gloss 'neoz zem' *sumamus* (fol. 127r, l. 6, C) into syllables.

preposition ‘za’ in ‘za peton ne’ was separated from the following verb, although no gap is in the main text. The writing of the glosses marks them as individual units. In contrast, some glosses were written seamlessly next to each other despite them being separate words. In ‘deraheili’ *salutis* (fol. 127r, l. 3, C) and ‘somichiles’ *tanti* (fol. 127r, l. 6, C), the determiner ‘dera’ and the exemplifying particle ‘so’ were added contrary to the main text and written without a space. Their visual relation marks the syntactic relation of the glosses and that they were pronounced together (cf. Masser 1997, p. 13), just as preposition and determiner in ‘inderu’ *inhac* (fol. 127r, l. 3, C). Stratum C only consists of six lines, but the scribe used gaps and continuous writing extensively. The gloss stratum is based on the pragmatics of Old High German.

In stratum D, regardless of the gloss hand, gaps also separate syllables. A striking example is ‘sin gem’ *psallamus* (fol. 127r, l. 11, D), in which the syllables were stretched over the whole length of the Latin lemma. The syllables align with the Latin, but not as clearly as in other strata. In ‘sin gante’ *canentes* (fol. 127r, l. 8, D), the second part of the gloss stands roughly above the second syllable of the lemma, but ‘duruh noht’ and *perfectū* (fol. 127r, l. 7, D) do not show vertical alignment. Spaces were used frequently in glosses (Busch & Fleischer 2015, p. 587), also demonstrated by the different hands of stratum D. How they were implemented could relate D to C. ‘deraheili’ *salutis* (fol. 127r, l. 10, D) was written without a gap between the two words and matches the identical words in stratum C (see fig. 64).

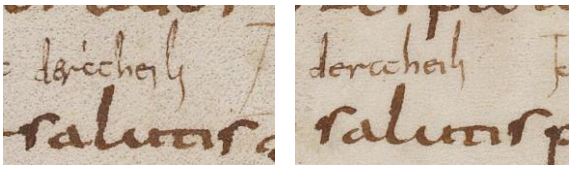


Fig. 64: The glosses ‘deraheili’ (fol. 127r, l. 3, C, left; and fol. 127r, l. 10, D, right) were written without a gap which marks the syntactic relation of determiner and noun.

In strata E and F, word separation appears to be more profound than in C and D, which, however, could be related to the length of the strata. On several occasions, words were separated over line breaks which keeps the glosses in the frame of the main text. In Latin and Old High German, the separations were made according to phonological syllables, for example ‘pit/tames’ *ro*/*gamus* (fol. 127r, ll. 13–4, E). In stratum E, Latin line breaks did not always trigger them in the glosses as can be seen in ‘chuuedan’ *dice*/*re* (fol. 128v, l. 17, E), while in stratum F, this method was applied systematically. Only when glosses consist of only one syllable, as ‘ast’ *gra*/*tiā* (fol. 129v, l. 1, F), they were not separated which shows that following the vernacular pronunciation was more important than copying the Latin writing. Several glosses were separated into three word parts. These could match all syllables of the gloss, as in ‘fin stri num’ *tenebris* (fol. 127r, l. 16, E), or separate morphological parts and syllables, as in ‘ka of farot[96] ist ·’ *oblataest* (fol. 129v, l. 15, F). The gap in ‘fin stri num’, just

[96] Between ‘f’ and ‘a’ are traces of an erased letter, probably ‘s’. The original gloss could have been ‘ka of starot’ (cf. Sievers 1874, p. 50, apparatus), a spelling mistake (AWB 7,98), but the gap would still mark the syllables.

as in ‘fin stret’ *tenebri* (fol. 127r, l. 5, C), proves that ‘str’ was pronounced as a consonant cluster and regarded as the onset. Similar to strata C and D, some glosses of E and F were divided by accentuated gaps. This is the case for ‘scir manto’ *defensor* (fol. 128r, l. 4, E) or ‘sali gan zo gon’ *beatam carpere* (fol. 129r, l. 17, F). Gaps were also used to mark the pronunciation of individual sounds. ‘uu uastantemu’, the gloss for *deuastante* (fol. 129v, l. 12, F), has a space after ‘uu’ (here pronounced /w/). It is a single consonant and therefore not a syllable. However, the following sound /ua/, the Alemannic variant of /uo/ (Braune 2023, §39.1), starts with ‘u’, the same letter used to spell /w/. Three letters ‘u’ after each other could also be read as /uw/, the gap therefore clarifies the reading as it marks which letters should be pronounced together. Strata E and F show scribes who glossed according to phonological principles of Old High German which links the glosses to their pronunciation.

Closely related words were treated in strata E and F as a unit. Determiners were usually written without a gap right before their related noun, such as in ‘deranaht’ *noctis* (fol. 127v, l. 6, E) or ‘derakalauba’ *fidei* (fol. 127v, l. 7, E). Additionally to their syntactic link, their writing clarifies that they complement the noun as they do not stand in the primary text. Continuous writing of more grammaticalised words and their related glosses is a pattern (cf. Busch & Fleischer 2015, p. 574) that was applied in strata E and F. It was implemented in prepositional phrases, for example ‘indir’ *inte* (fol. 127v, l. 18, E), or verbal clusters, such as ‘arprochansint ·’ *fractasunt* (fol. 129v, l. 16, F). Specifically the preposition ‘in’ shows a striking consistency as in all its instances in stratum E, it was attached to its related noun. The main text generally does not have many spaces, copying the lemmas can therefore be ruled out. Rather peculiar is the combination of separating and combining words in ‘uz/zandineru’ *sed* / *tua* (fol. 127v, ll. 2–3, E). The conjunction ‘uzzan’ was separated at the line break, although its Latin lemma *sed* was not. Therefore, little space was left above *tua*, and the gloss ‘dineru’ had to be written very narrowly. The glosses are not syntactically close, one being the conjunction and the other one a possessive pronoun relating to ‘ensti’ *gratia* (fol. 127v, l. 3, E). The word separation and missing gap do not signal the relation between the two words but between the conjunction and the following clause (see fig. 65). To clarify that the last word of line two, *sed*, introduces the following line, ‘uzzan’ was extended into line three and attached to ‘dineru’. The glossators of strata E and F used word separation confidently to signal syntactic relations and phonological pronunciation.

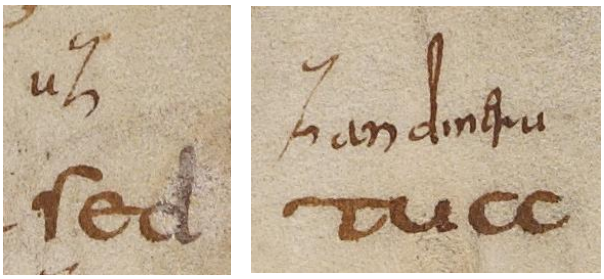


Fig. 65: ‘uz/zan’ was separated at the line break, contrary to its lemma *sed*, which marks that it introduces the following clause starting with ‘dineru’ *tua* (fol. 1237v, ll. 2–3, E).

While gaps and continuous writing were used consistently by all hands, punctuation was scarcely implemented in the strata. Only on some occasions, half-raised points separate words. In C

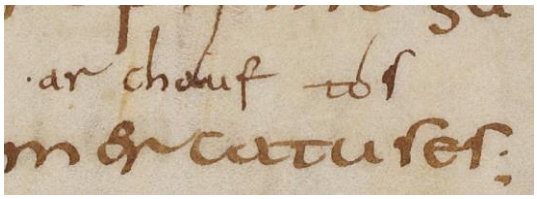


Fig. 66: The half-raised point before 'ar chauf tos', glossing *ercatuses*, signals that the separated syllables belong to one word (fol. 128r, l. 5, E).

and D, punctuation appears between glosses that stand closely together to signal the word boundaries, for example 'sehstuntom · unsih' *sexiesnos* (fol. 127r, l. 2, C) or 'niunta uuila · chuedente' *nonādicentes* (fol. 127r, l. 8, D). In 'neoz zem ·' *sumamus* (fol. 127r, l. 6, C), the half-raised point clarifies that the second part of the gloss, which is separated from the first part by a large space, does not belong to the following gloss. This strategy can also be seen in stratum E, but additionally, points mark the beginning of a gloss as in '· uuihaz' *sacer* (fol. 129r, l. 11, E). It bears even more meaning in '· ar chauf tos' *ercatuses* (fol. 128r, l. 5, E) where the punctuation signals that the separated syllables should be read as one word (see fig. 66). In 'sinem · ioh' *suisque* (fol. 129v, l. 3, F) the half-raised point emphasises that in the vernacular, the conjunction 'ioh' is an individual word in contrast to its lemma, the clitic conjunction *-que*. Although it barely appears, if punctuation was implemented in the strata, it is meaningful.

The scribes of strata C, D, E, and F used the same visual strategies. In particular, the scarcity of punctuation indicates that the same scribes glossed the strata or that they were similarly motivated. All scribes separated glosses with gaps according to the syllables and partly morphological word parts. It is noticeable that in stratum C, which consists of only six lines, spaces were frequently used within glosses. They may be related to the apparently hasty writing of this stratum. Since the pronunciation and thus the pragmatics of Old High German were the basis of glossing, it is possible that syllables were automatically separated and that this happened especially when they were written quickly. The same could apply to continuously written gloss groups. If they were intended as a phonological unit, it would make sense that they were written together, even when the scribe glossed speedily. Punctuation, in contrast, might require more planning. The patterns of visual characteristics emphasise that the hands of the four strata were concerned with completing the glossing within a certain period of time. Their glossing methods were based on the natural use of language.

3.4.3. Methods of Translation

The glossators of strata C, D, E, and F translated the source text closely. They followed common glossing methods but did not aim to create complex translations. The main skopos of all four strata is to elucidate the meaning and linguistics of the main text which resulted in glosses that mainly represent Latin features. Nevertheless, within the limits of the lemmas, the translations still represent vernacular linguistic characteristics. As the following analysis will demonstrate, they are linked to conventional and natural use of Old High German.

Strata D and F do not have any abbreviated glosses,[97] while in strata C and E, five glosses were abbreviated according to syllables and elucidate the phonological characteristics of Old High German. Only three of these glosses were with certainty written by the hand of stratum E, 'egis' *orride* (fol. 127v, l. 6, E) which was supplemented with 'lihera'[98] by a later hand (as will be shown later in this chapter), '[chris]tan' *χp̄m* (fol. 129r, l. 3, E), and 'sine[mu] ioh' *eiusque* (fol. 129r, l. 8, E). 'unc[hus]ko' *ꝑbrosa* (read *probrosa*; fol. 129r, l. 11, E) and 'den[ne]' *dum* (fol. 127v, l. 7, E) were both written above the related gloss which indicates a later scribe. The abbreviations were visually concealed in 'tan' which starts right above the beginning of its lemma, and 'sine' which ends with an elongated 'e' as it is characteristic of the end of glosses. All of them follow the syllable structure, but only 'egis' represents word morphology because its ending was abbreviated. 'uncko' is an exception. It is supposed to mean 'unc[hus]ko' (Piper 1898, p. 178; Sievers 1874, p. 48) but it does not have a gap instead of the abbreviated part and does not seem to be abbreviated by syllables. Since the dialect of Ha is Alemannic (cf. chapter 2.2.1), it is possible that 'ch' which stands for the affricate [kχ] was geminated (Braune 2023, §144). This interpretation is supported by the abbreviation (see fig. 67). In the case of gemination, the syllable border would lie within the sound and the spelling would be 'cch' (Braune 2023, §144 A.3a). In this case, the word should be completed to 'unc[chus]ko', even though geminated consonants were not regularly marked by spelling in the Hymns (cf. Sievers 1874, p. 16). The abbreviated glosses are only on folios 127v and 129r and could have visually triggered each other. How the glosses were written shows that the glossator was confident that readers would supplement the abbreviations easily which indicates that the scribe followed writing conventions. Equivalence on the lexical level is omitted. The skopos of the translation is to elucidate the phonology of the vernacular.

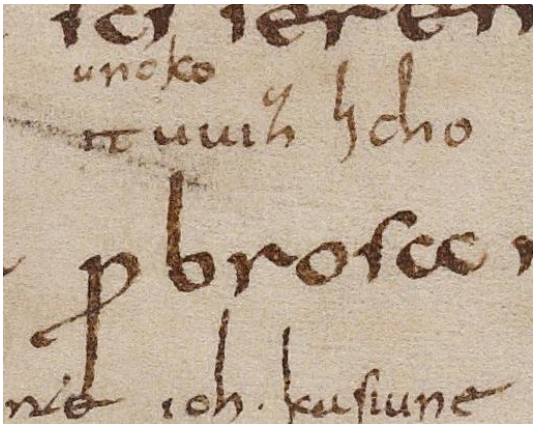


Fig. 67: The double gloss 'uncko' was added by a later hand above 'it uuiz licho *ꝑbrosa* (fol. 129r, l. 11, E). How it was abbreviated suggests that its affricate was geminated and that the intended word would be spelled 'unc[chus]ko'.

The majority of abbreviations, however, can be retraced to other causes. One gloss, 't[iu]rida' *glorię* (fol. 127r, l. 3, C), was abbreviated because the ascender of the *-l-* and the line markers took up most of the space above the lemma. The abbreviation mainly follows practical requirements rather than a specific skopos. The abbreviation of 'truhtin', however, is not practical but signals that the glossator applied conventional writing methods. Abbreviations for 'truhtin' occur thirteen times in

[97] The last page of the Hymns, folio 129v, is heavily stained. There is one gloss that could have been abbreviated, 'cliz' *candidi* (fol. 129v, l. 8, F), which is usually completed to form the word 'cliz[zante]' (Sievers 1874, p. 49). It appears as if there are traces of letters under the stain but they cannot be identified safely.

[98] There is a small line after 'egis' which suggests that initially, the scribe started writing the 'l' of the ending.

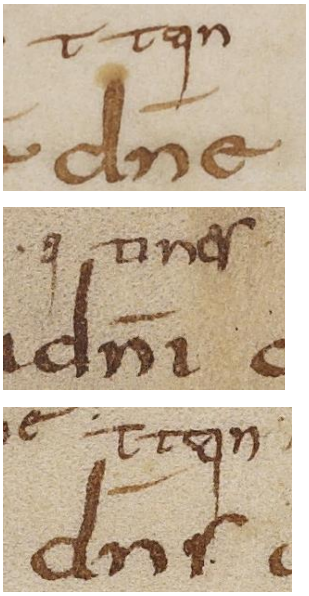


Fig. 68: The scribe of stratum E misunderstood the 'ti'-ligature, which resulted in the spellings: 't[ruh]ttin' (fol. 127v, l. 17, E, top), 'ti[ruh]tines' (fol. 128v, l. 13, E, middle), 't[ruh]ttin' (fol. 128v, l. 16, E, bottom).

strata C and E.[99] The word is by far the most abbreviated one in stratum E. Its Latin lemma is always shortened too, consisting of *dn̄*- and a letter marking the appropriate ending. The glosses were abridged systematically according to the characteristic pattern of Ha (Voetz 1987, pp. 176–8). The first 't-' was always written, in one instance with an abbreviation sign (fol. 128v, l. 13, E). It was supplemented by one or two syllables of the ending (e.g. '-tin', fol. 128r, l. 11, E; '-tines', fol. 129r, l. 1, E). The abbreviation could be marked by a gap, and the first 't-' often has an elongated horizontal bar. The writing of the lemmas could have motivated the abbreviations in the glosses as the use of the Latin ligature for *ti* suggests. The sign, which stands unmistakably for *ti* in the main text (e.g. *rutilat*, fol. 128v, l. 4, E) and was correctly implemented in stratum A (e.g. 'prutigomo', fol. 122v, l. 14, A), was applied inconsistently in stratum E. The glossator only substituted 't' or 'i' with it as can be seen in the glosses 't[ruh]tin' (instead of 't[ruh]ttin', fol. 127v, l. 17, E), 't[ruh]tines' (instead of 'ti[ruh]tines', fol. 128v, l. 13, E), and 't[ruh]tin' (instead of 't[ruh]ttin', fol. 128v, l. 16, E; see fig. 68). The scribe attempted to orientate the glosses stylistically on the Latin writing but must have misunderstood the ligature.

Other instances in which Latin words for 'god' were abbreviated did not trigger shortened glosses which suggests that the main text was not the only motivation. The gloss 'kot' *dō̄* (read *deus*, fol. 127r, l. 13, E), for example, was written out. Apparently, the Old High German translation decides whether the abbreviation was copied. The main differences between 'truhtin' and 'kot' are the length and the frequency of use. As 'kot' consists of only one syllable, abbreviating it according to phonological principles is not possible. Furthermore, the gloss 'kot' appears just once in stratum E, shortening it would therefore not have much influence on the glossing process.[100] As 'truhtin' appears frequently and can be trusted to be understood because of its semantic significance, abbreviating it could be related to the practicalities of glossing. Shortening the word facilitates writing and reading the stratum, which could be a skopos of the glosses, but it also represents writing conventions. As the vernacular was not yet a common writing language, the glossator applied natural knowledge of Old High German. Therefore, glosses were abbreviated according to syllables and initial letters were supplemented to secure correct understanding. The intuitive implementation of linguistic features

[99] One in stratum C and twelve in stratum E. It was not used in strata D and F.

[100] The lemma *dō̄* (fol. 127v, l. 4, E) was not glossed. The large initial *d*- takes up lots of space on the page, but this did not hinder the glossator in the case of 'kot' *dō̄* (read *deus*, fol. 127r, l. 13, E). Other lemmas were also left out, for example the pronoun *te* in 'uuacharer / inhuct insueppe' *uigilte* / *sensus somniet* (fol. 127v, ll. 13–4, E).

indicates that glossing was performative and that a skopos was to explore how the vernacular could be used in writing.

The scribes of strata C and E were aware of the differences between the linguistic systems and rendered the source text grammatically adequately into the target language. Latin synthetic verb forms were regularly translated with their analytic Old High German equivalent. There are no instances in strata D and F, but both strata C and E contain Latin passive forms translated with an auxiliary and participle in Old High German. The Old High German passive was always formed with 'uuesan', as in 'harcheban ist ·' *redditur* (fol. 127r, l. 4, C) or 'kalapit[101] pist' *crederis* (fol. 127v, l. 16, E). Therefore, 'uuesan' was used despite the semantic value of its lemma which demonstrates that the auxiliary was not yet grammaticalised (Jones 2009, p. 236). That the glossator translated the Latin passive only with 'uuesan' and not with 'uuerdan' could be a sign that elucidating the variations of the vernacular passive was not the aim of the glosses.

How accurately the grammatical characteristics of the source text were transferred into Old High German becomes clear in 'uuillit sih' *uoluitur* (fol. 127r, l. 14, E). The grammatical passive form of the Latin verb *volvere* can have a mediopassive meaning (DMLBS 3,4065; Georges 1998, 2,3550), and is in this specific instance reflexive. Adding the reflexive pronoun 'sih' in the gloss achieves a semantically adequate meaning, that the day literally 'turns around itself', i.e. the day draws to a close (Siewerts 2010, p. 402). Even more complex is the Latin verbal phrase '· ar chauf tos' *mercatuses* (fol. 128r, l. 5, E). *mercatus* is the past participle of the deponent verb *mercari* (DMLBS 2,2127; Georges 1998, 2,887). The Latin form is semantically active, but grammatically perfect passive which was formed with a past participle and a form of *esse*. Although Old High German has an analytic perfect which could grammatically mirror the Latin form, the gloss was translated in the synthetic past tense. The reason lies within the differing semantic values of tenses in Latin and Old High German. While in Latin, perfect was used in narratives, the past was the most common form for narration in the vernacular (Braune 2023, §301.2 A.3). In this case, the narrative is Christ's sacrifice. The examples illustrate how the skopos of the glosses is to convey the meaning much more than to elucidate the grammatical characteristics of the source text. When it was not possible to achieve both, semantic equivalence was chosen over grammatical equivalence between gloss and lemma.

Semantic differences between the languages could lead to departures from the morphological structure of the source text. If there was no semantically equivalent word to render a lemma, it was paraphrased with several vernacular glosses. The lemma *meridię* was glossed with the set phrase 'mitti tag' ('mittestakes', fol. 128r, l. 8, E; cf. AWB 6,776)[102] which is equivalent in meaning and syntactic

[101] Probably a scribal error for 'kalaupit' (Sievers 1874, p. 44).
[102] Another instance on folio 127r (l. 5, C) could also be interpreted as compound noun (AWB 6,785).

function. The translation of *tanti*, 'somichiles' (fol. 127r, l. 6, C), takes up the Latin word-formation structurally (Siewerts 2010, p. 317). The adjective *tantus* is derived from the adverb *tam* (cf. Georges 1998, 2,3014, 2,3021). *tantus* has a stronger meaning than 'mihhil' (DMLBS 3,3721; Georges 1998, 2,3021), and since Old High German did not have the same way to form adjectives, adding 'so' intensifies the meaning adequately. To achieve semantic equivalence, equivalence on the morphological level was abandoned. This translation was conventionally used (cf. examples in AWB 6,563). The same method was used when translating *quantotius* as 'sohorsco' (fol. 128v, l. 16, E), just that *quantus* which stems from the adverb *quam* was further semantically defined by adding the comparative *ocius* of *ociter* 'swift, quick' (Georges 1998, 2,1306, 2,2135, 2,2136). In both examples, the vernacular adverb bears the basic meaning but 'so' creates semantic equivalence. The skopos of these glosses is to deliver the intended meaning.

The focus of the glosses was the meaning even when the Old High German linguistic system would allow morphological equivalence. To denote a certain hour of the day, numerals were nominalised in Latin. The same word-formation would have been possible in Old High German but the glossators chose a noun and attribute phrase to clarify the meaning. The noun 'uuila' of the gloss 'niunta uuila' *nonā* (fol. 127r, l. 8, D) denotes a point in time while 'stuntom' in 'sehstuntom ·'[103] *sexies* (fol. 127r, l. 2, C) indicates the number of times the hour passes by (see fig. 69). By choosing a translation that departs from the morphological structure, the glossators rendered the lemmas into semantically equivalent phrases. The skopos is to transmit the meaning of the Latin adequately by creating glosses that were comprehensible in Old High German, including syntactic embedding. Translations like this appear in strata C, D, and E which indicates that the glosses represent conventional phrases rather than spontaneous renderings.

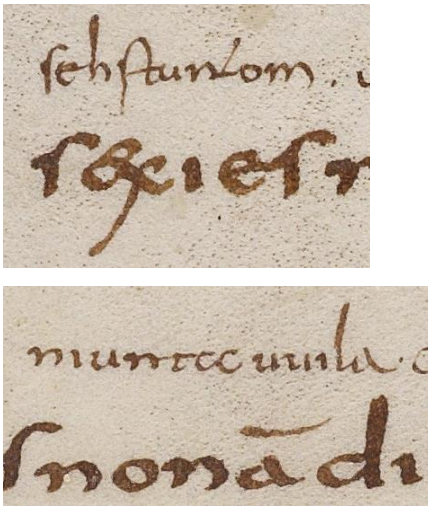


Fig. 69: The nominalised Latin numerals *sexies* and *nonā* were translated into the Old High German phrases 'sehstuntom' (fol. 127r, l. 2, C) and 'niunta uuila' (fol. 127r, l. 8, D) which are semantically equivalent.

In stratum F, other examples demonstrate that the skopos is mainly to convey the meaning of the lemma. The glossator of 'qhuam' for *p̄ uenit* (fol. 129r, l. 15, F), instead of using a translation that represents Latin morphology,[104] chose a semantically broader but common Old High German word (AWB 7,495). The translation disregards the Latin morphology. In the phrase 'despalouuesuuarc' translating the single noun *tyrannū* (fol. 129v, l. 19, F) a whole genitive attribute including a

[103] Attribute and noun are merged, read 'sehs stuntôm' (AWB 8.1,353; Braune 2023, §281 A.1).
[104] 'fora-queman' glossing *praevenire* is only evidenced once, in the Tatian (AWB 7,576).

demonstrative determiner was added. Although the Latin lemma can have the neutral meaning of ‘ruler, sovereign’ (DMLBS 3,3886; Georges 1998, 2,3277), its gloss ‘uuarg’ has a clear negative connotation (see Schützeichel 2012, p. 372). The gloss is further explained by the additional genitive attribute ‘palouues’ meaning ‘evil’, this instance specifically can be interpreted as ‘insidious battle’ (AWB 1,797). The determiner ‘des’ clarifies the syntactic relationship and demonstrates that they were conceptualised as syntagm. The genitive attribute adds to the negative meaning of ‘uuarg’ and signals that the phrase describes the most evil of all, the devil (Siewerts 2010, pp. 383–4). The glossator decided to depart from the Latin in this phrase and follow the skopos to clarify the meaning.

Because the Murbach Codex was an object of use, some translations were obscured in the course of its history. Especially folio 129v (stratum F) is heavily stained because as the last page, it was exposed while the quire was used on its own. Within the quire are fewer signs of wear, but their influence could be just as significant. *nescius* was glossed with ‘uizzanter’ (fol. 127v, l. 13, E). The gloss is not semantically equivalent, but a big scratch at the beginning of the line indicates that parts of the gloss were erased (see fig. 70). It is usually completed to ‘[ni u]uizzanter’ (Sievers 1874, p. 44), in accordance with the lemma, only Gerhards (2018, p. 84) sees a ‘z’. The scratch was probably unintentional, just as the one further right over ‘tiufer’ *profundŏs* (fol. 127v, l. 12, E)[105] where the erased parts were supplemented. ‘uizzanter’ grammatically agrees with *nescius*, even though the gloss is a present participle and the lemma an adjective. However, without the negation, the gloss means ‘consciously’ instead of ‘subconsciously’. Only if parts of the gloss were accidentally erased, the translation would be semantically adequate.

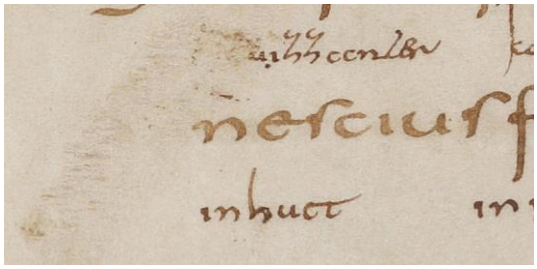


Fig. 70: The scratch marks on the left indicate that the first part of the gloss ‘uizzanter’ was accidentally erased because it is not semantically equivalent with its lemma *nescius* (fol. 127v, l. 13, E).

The tense system of Latin was more complex than that of Old High German, but the scribe of stratum E found natural translations that adequately render Latin forms. As Old High German did not have future tense, *uinxerit*, third-person singular indicative future perfect, was translated as ‘kapinte’, third-person singular subjunctive present (fol. 127v, l. 12, E). The Latin form is identical with the subjunctive perfect which could have led to the vernacular subjunctive. However, the subjunctive was used to render Latin future if both have similar semantics (Lawson 1958, p. 70), in this case expressing a result. Choosing the subjunctive to translate the lemma here was thus not arbitrary but the translation reflects the underlying sense of the predicate. Grammatical equivalence was not possible

[105] This type of erasure can be seen throughout Ha, see for example ‘kot cund’ *diuinus* (fol. 125r, l. 8, B). It shows a pronounced vertical pattern, probably the result of a quill knife drawn over the parchment with uneven pressure. Erasures were not the determined function of the knife, therefore it was moderately successful. The traces could also stem from preparing the parchment leaving a rough surface on which it was harder to write.

but the glossator understood what the grammatical Latin form means and found an adequate semantic substitution. The skopos of the gloss is to transmit the meaning of the lemma as closely as possible.

The addition of demonstrative determiners in the Old High German glosses constitutes the greatest departure from the source text in strata C, D, E, and F. Determiners mostly stand in front of a noun that describes a definite entity, such as 'deraheili' *salutis* (fol. 127r, l. 10, D). 'heili' refers to a specific event, Peter's healing of a lame man (Siewerts 2010, p. 321). Just a few instances, for example 'deranaht' *noctis* (fol. 127v, l. 15, E), do not have clear references, which supports that demonstrative determiners would only appear more frequently in combination with definite entities (Glaser 2000, p. 209). All determiners in the four strata stand in genitive attributes and are evidence of the virtual syntagm after which glosses were created (Glaser 2000, p. 194). They elucidate the characteristics of the glosses. Because the determiner in the word group 'dera lutri derpaz' *senceritatisa zima* (fol. 129v, l. 15, F) indicates syntactic embedding, it is likely that the gloss 'derpaz'[106] is a nominalised adjective just as its lemma *a zima* (meaning 'leavened bread'; DMLBS 1,227; Georges 1998, 1,769), even though this use was not common in Old High German (AWB 2,412). Determiners were not used consistently. Genitive attributes appear throughout the text, but the majority of determiners are on folio 127v (in ll. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 15). Because these instances stand closely together, adding the determiners was further triggered by visual proximity (see fig. 71). Only two genitive attributes on this page stand without a determiner, 'leohtes · ioh · leoht' *lucisq; lum̄* (fol. 127v, l. 16, E) and 'harbeiti […] tages' *labores* […] *diei* (fol. 127v, l. 1, E)[107]. The influence of the practical context suggests that using determiners was a common translation method that was partly automatically implemented, despite their function to highlight the vernacular syntagm. Their implementation also indicates an incipient

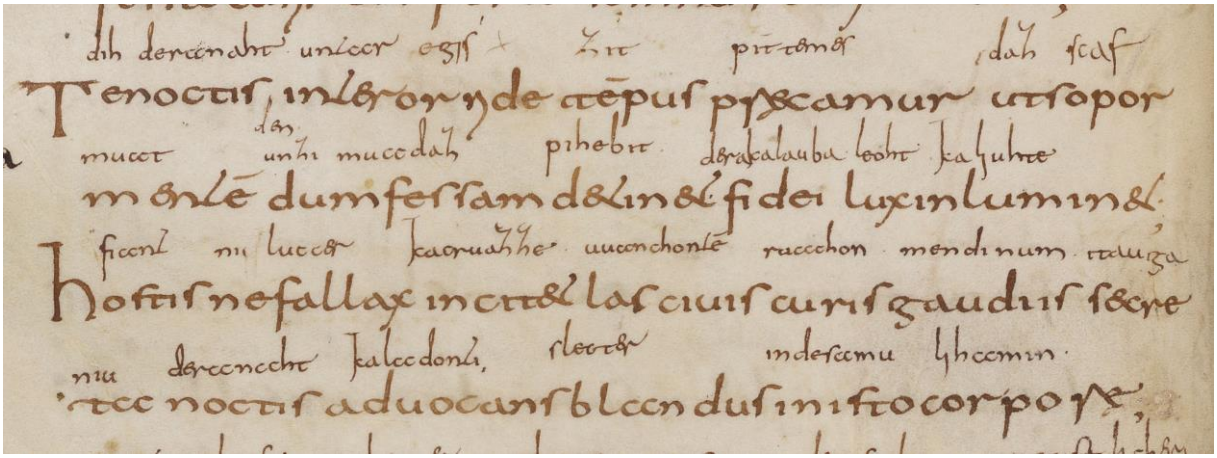


Fig. 71: In lines 6 to 9 of folio 127v, stratum E, three genitive attributes stand in close visual proximity which could have motivated adding a determiner ('deranaht', l. 6; 'derakalauba', l. 7; 'deranaht', l. 9).

[106] Old High German 'derpaz' was possibly written with a space, 'der paz', but a stain covers the word. If there is a space, it aligns with the space in its lemma, *a zima*, and both would mark phonological syllables.
[107] The Latin phrase is syntactically not embedded, however, the glosses have forms that could follow the authoritative version of the hymns (Gerhards 2018, p. 165; Walpole 1922, p. 255).

writing convention. The skopos, even if only implicitly, is to transmit syntactic and semantic structures of the vernacular.

Only in stratum E appears the translation method of double glossing. It was used scarcely and three of the four double glosses could have been added by a later hand.[108] The only double gloss that was safely written by the hand of stratum E is 'ingalilea inkauimizze' *ingalilea* (fol. 128v, l. 16, E). Both glosses are prepositional phrases with 'in'. The second gloss means 'in the territory' and determines that the proper name of the first one, 'galilea', denotes a place. The skopos of double glossing is therefore to specify and explain the initial gloss (Siewerts 2010, pp. 273–4; Simbolotti 2009, p. LI) which also secures the understanding of the main text. To mark that the glosses and lemma belong together, they are grammatically equivalent. The same gloss appears a few lines later, 'ingeuimezze' *ingalilea* (fol. 128v, l. 19, E).[109] Since both lines are part of the same hymn, the double gloss may fulfil its function for both lemmas. Because the only double gloss written by the hand of stratum E explains a proper name, the remaining glosses were probably seen as straightforward and clear.

The remaining double glosses all consist of one gloss by the gloss hand and another one that was written outside of the gloss lines and differs in ink and strokes. 'den[ne]' was written above 'unzi' *dum* (fol. 127v, l. 7, E), '[…]a gini' was added in the margins next to the line of 'kahaltini' *pudicitiae* (fol. 128r, l. 18, E), and 'unc[hus]ko' was written above 'it uuiz licho' *pbrosa* (fol. 129r, l. 11, E). '[…]a gini' was linked to its lemma by a reference marker, a thin cross. The same marker links the ending 'lihera' to the gloss 'egis' *orride* (fol. 127v, l. 6, E). Furthermore, 'lihera' and 'den' seem to stem from the same hand which could mean that 'egis' was originally abbreviated and 'den' and '[…]a gini' were written by the same scribe (see fig. 72). The first part of '[…]a gini' was cut when the codex was bound. Suggestions to supplement the missing letters are 'heilagini' (Wilken 1875, p. 82 fn. 4) or 'kadigani' (Siewerts 2010, pp. 357–8), whereby neither matches very well semantically and grammatically (cf. AWB 4,823; and discussion in Siewerts 2010, pp. 357–8). The skopos of the double gloss is therefore obscure. 'den[ne]' and 'unc[hus]ko', in contrast, give synonyms with

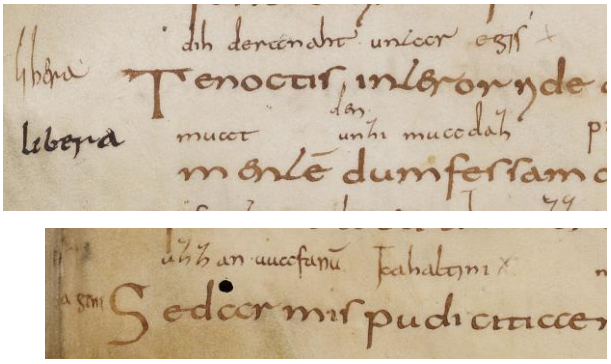


Fig. 72: The marginal gloss 'lihera' (fol. 127v, l. 6, E) seems to stem from the same hand as the double gloss 'den' in the line underneath, and has the same reference marker as '[…]a gini' (fol. 128r, l. 18, E), which could be evidence that all three glosses were written by the same hand.

[108] Simbolotti (2009, p. XLVII) states that in all double glosses, both glosses undoubtedly stem from the same scribe, but does not give evidence.

[109] Note the different spelling of the Old High German word. In the gloss in line nineteen, the vowels of the prefix are already fully weakened ('ge-'), while the gloss in line sixteen shows the early Old High German sound inventar ('ka-'). Furthermore, the prefixe 'ka-' has the Upper German /k/, while the other prefix has the general Old High German /g/ (Braune 2023, §71).

slightly different semantic focus. ‘unc[hus]ko’ has a broader meaning than ‘ituuizlicho’ which is linked closely to the context (Siewerts 2010, p. 414). The skopos of ‘unc[hus]ko’ is to give an alternative that would also work in other instances. ‘den[ne]’ could be interpreted as the adverb ‘thenni’, complementing the conjunction ‘unzi’ and changing its meaning from ‘until’ to ‘until then’ to denote a specific point in time (AWB 2,401). It is, however, homophone with the conjunction ‘thenni’ and could act as a double gloss (cf. Firchow 1972, p. [xvi]; Siewerts 2010, p. 414; Wilken 1875, p. 82). The Latin conjunction is ambiguous and means ‘while’ or ‘until’ (DMLBS 1,948; Georges 1998, 1,2310). Both Old High German translations could have either meaning (AWB 2,403) but as Siewerts (2010, p. 345) argues, ‘unzi’ was scarcely used in the Hymns (only once in stratum E) while ‘thenni’ appears in several semantic contexts. Supplementing the conjunction could serve the skopos of giving a more universal alternative. The hand that added these glosses felt the need to offer alternative translations that the scribe of stratum E did not see.

The scribe of stratum E is characterised by translations that follow the Latin on the page very closely. This pattern becomes evident in cases in which the Hymns in the Murbach Codex depart from the well-known versions of the hymns. In most of these phrases, the translation copies the grammatical characteristics of the source text, for example in ‘indesamu lihamin ·’ *inistocorporę* (fol. 127v, l. 9, E). Instead of the noun *aestus* and its genitive attribute *corporis* of the authoritative version (Walpole 1922, p. 252), the scribe of the main text wrote the similar sounding pronoun *isto* and created together with *corporę*[110] an ablative phrase (Gerhards 2018, p. 166). The glosses translate the phrase adequately as dative and the well-known version of the hymns was not incorporated. The skopos of this example and most of stratum E is to convey information about the Latin on the page. Only scarcely did the scribe relate to another Latin version (cf. Gerhards 2018, pp. 164–73). The same applies to strata C, D, and F (Gerhards 2018, pp. 163–4, 74–76) with one exception, *signo* (fol. 127r, l. 10, D). The lemma was corrected from *signum* by erasing the *-m* and closing the *-u-*[111] and follows the authoritative version (Walpole 1922, p. 245). The erasure also erases parts of the gloss in the line below which indicates that this stratum was not glossed from beginning to end. As the correction was written with the same pen as the related gloss ‘zeichane’, this is evidence for a glossator who was aware of the predominant version of the hymns.

Glosses that were translated out of context further indicate that individual lemmas were the focus of the translation. An example is ‘upar alle’ *perom̄* (fol. 129v, l. 5, F). It stands in the subordinated clause ‘denne tod upar alle duruch fare’ *cum mors perom̄ transeat*. The Latin is ambiguous as *transeat*

[110] The ending *-ę* was probably a spelling mistake because it is not a valid Latin ending for *corpus*. The hook of the *e caudata* was often added later which could have led to the scribal error.
[111] The resulting *o* is sometimes read as *a* because of the remaining downward stroke of the *u* (cf. Gerhards 2018, p. 118).

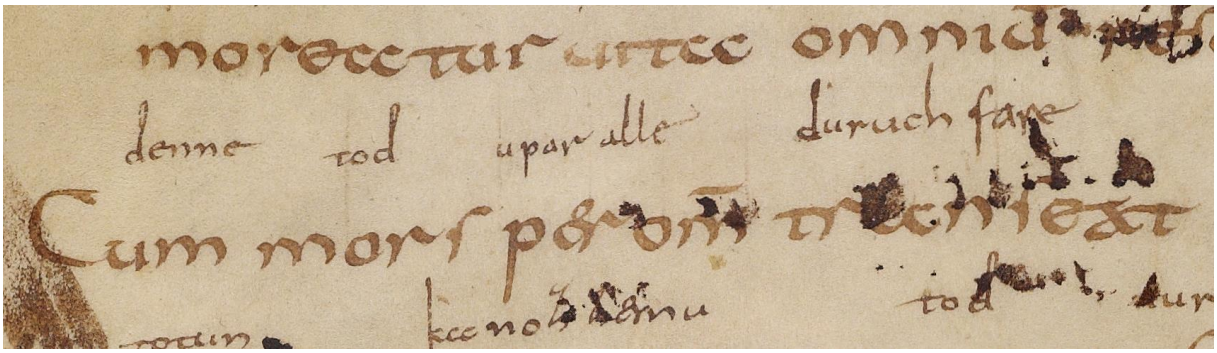


Fig. 73: The gloss ‘upar’ seems to be an individual translation because it does not fit the meaning of the predicate ‘duruch fare’ *transeat* but is a valid translation of its lemma *per* (fol. 129v, l. 5, F).

can mean ‘go across’ or ‘go through’ (Georges 1998, 2,3181). Likewise, the preposition *per* has the meanings ‘over’ and ‘through’ (DMLBS 2,2539; Georges 1998, 2,1559). ‘thuruh-faran’, in contrast, the verb from which ‘duruch fare’ stems, is known as meaning ‘to move through a space’ (AWB 3,593)[112] and clarifies how the glossator interpreted the sentence. The gloss ‘ubar’ does not fit this rendering as it is only known as meaning ‘over’ (Schützeichel 2012, p. 344) and not ‘through’.[113] It is likely that the glossator considered the Latin word individually and disregarded the lemma’s contextual meaning (see fig. 73). In this case, the translation skopos is to lexically render individual Latin words.

The strata C, D, E, and F have similar translation patterns. They all follow the source text closely. The scribes of strata E and F show the greatest variation in glossing methods, this, however, could be related to the larger size of the gloss strata compared to C and D. The glossing of stratum E can be related to the conventional use of Old High German, because of the systematic abbreviation of ‘truhtin’, and the use of common phrases when the glosses depart from the Latin. Latin phrases were functionally adequately translated into Old High German, so the glosses were based on vernacular linguistics. Deviations from the source text shift the emphasis to the vernacular, but since they were only introduced when the different linguistic systems demanded it, the translation as a whole still remains close to the Latin. Only the addition of determiners, which can be found in all four strata, is evidence of independent vernacular syntagms with the skopos of conveying semantic and syntactic information about Old High German. At least in stratum E, writing determiners can be linked to the practicalities of glossing, which means that the skopos was not necessarily the main motivation to add them. The similarities between strata C and E support the palaeographic analysis that the same scribe could have written the strata. Stratum F shows various glossing methods, but no abbreviations or double glosses. It is possible that it was written even closer to the main text as it was glossed quickly

[112] Only the gloss of the Murbach Hymns is rendered as ‘jemanden überkommen’, i.e. ‘to come over someone’ (AWB 3,594). This interpretation, however, relies on ‘upar’ used earlier in the sentence.

[113] In contrast, the double gloss ‘duruch · uber alliu’ *p omnia* (fol. 125r, l. 1, B) renders both possible meanings of Latin *per* which are both appropriate in the context (Siewerts 2010, p. 414). In the gloss ‘ubar al’ *per omnia* (fol. 123v, l. 5, B), the glossator chose the only sensible interpretation (cf. Siewerts 2010, p. 114).

to finish Ha. Stratum D is notable for its lack of complex translations. Assuming that several scribes glossed the stratum, they may have concentrated on translating individual lemmas out of context with the skopos of explaining the Latin forms. The evidence that they were not glossed linearly further supports this theory. The aim to elucidate the source text on the page was more important than other skopoi. Vernacular linguistic features were the basis of the glosses, but not the main focus.

3.4.4. Syntactic Patterns

The glosses of strata C, D, E, and F have the visual potential to develop vernacular syntactic relationships, but the scribes rarely used the opportunity to depart from the main text. As will be shown in this chapter, vernacular syntax was mainly expressed within the limits of the source or when the different linguistic systems demanded it. Nevertheless, the cases where the glosses are syntactically connected are important evidence for the use of Old High German syntax in glosses.

The word order of the glosses follows the primary text which led to unusual Old High German phrases, such as ‘leohte heitiristin’ *luce clarissima* (fol. 127r, l. 5, C), in which the adjective attribute follows the noun, or ‘heilac kotes karuni’ *sacrū dī misteriū* (fol. 127r, l. 9, D), where the genitive attribute stands within the phrase it relates to, between adjective attribute and noun. Both are valid but not common phrases (Schmid 2023, §94.1, §97.8). Old High German conjunctions were also not placed between the phrases they connect but follow the position of Latin enclitic conjunctions with one exception. In ‘ioh fora chtun’ *metumq;* (fol. 129v, l. 2, F), ‘ioh’ translates an enclitic *-que* but it was moved to the beginning of the phrase and therefore in the typical Old High German position for conjunctions. The adjustment clarifies that the subordinated clause it introduces is linked to the previous one. In the following clause, the ‘ioh’ was not moved, which could be motivated by the position of the page. The first ‘ioh’ stands at the beginning of the line and therefore visually introduces both subordinate clauses (see fig. 74). By putting its conjunction in the natural Old High German position, it could fulfil its syntactic function for both following sentences.

When a lemma was translated with two glosses or words were added in the translation, the glosses agree with vernacular word order because their position could be chosen freely. This pattern

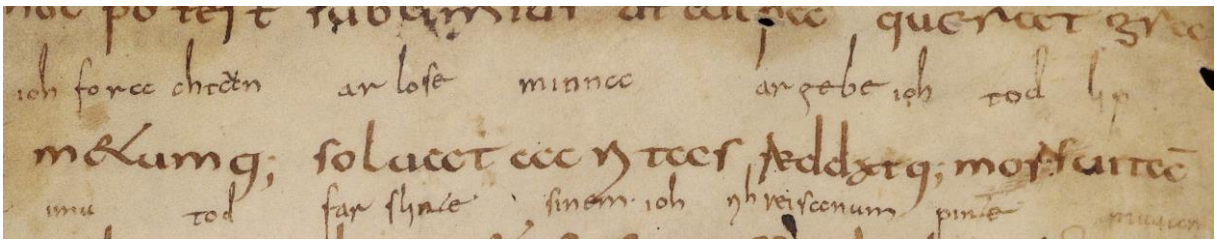


Fig. 74: Two subordinate clauses (fol. 129v, l. 2, F) have the conjunction ‘ioh’ translating Latin *-que*, but only the first one was moved to the beginning of the Latin sentence. In this way, it visually introduces both clauses.

applies to nouns with adjective attributes (e.g. 'mittestakes'[114] *meridię*, fol. 128r, l. 8, E), determiners (e.g. 'despalouuesuuarc' *tyrannū*, fol. 129v, l. 19, F), and intensifying particles ('somichiles' *tanti*, fol. 127r, l. 6, C). All three versions represent the common Old High German word order: adjective attributes and determiners stand before their noun (Schmid 2023, §66.2, §90) and particles before the related adjective (Schützeichel 2012, p. 302). The basis of the glosses is the Old High German language but its natural word order is often suppressed in strata C, D, and E because they aim to elucidate the source text.

Grammatical agreement was mostly kept in the Old High German phrases of the four strata but there is evidence of glosses copying the Latin without adjusting it to vernacular linguistics. In stratum C, agreement was maintained by adjusting the gender of the attribute to the related noun in the phrases 'leohte heitiristin' *luce clarissima* (fol. 127r, l. 5, C) and 'alleru prusti' *toto pectore* (fol. 127r, l. 6, C). The phrases were apparently translated fully before they were written down so that the attribute matches the noun regardless of its position. Modifying the glosses like this was only necessary when Latin and vernacular grammatical characteristics differed. Ambiguity in both languages could play in favour of the translation. The phrase 'saliges / lam bes' *beati* · / *agni* (fol. 127r, ll. 3–4, C) contains a Latin masculine noun and an Old High German neuter noun, but in both languages, genitive singular masculine and neuter endings are identical in adjectives. Therefore, by translating the Latin forms, the glosses would still agree with each other. The agreement in stratum C shows that the glossator had a general understanding of the syntactic structures in the primary text and that maintaining correct syntax was the basis of the translation.

In stratum D, grammatical agreement depended on the size of the phrases. The phrase 'duruh noht drisca ruaua' for *perfectū trinū numerū* (fol. 127r, l. 7, D) contains a noun with two attributes. Both Latin and vernacular nouns are accusative singular but the gloss is feminine in contrast to its masculine lemma. The Latin attributes match the characteristics of the noun while in the glosses, only the second attribute 'drisca' has an inflectional ending. 'duruhnoht' was apparently glossed in its base form (cf. AWB 2,788)[115] which is a common method of glossing individual words (Götz 1977, p. 87). Its focus lies on lexis rather than syntax. In this example, it disrupts the syntagma. It is possible that the glossator only interpreted the adjective right before the noun, in the common position (Schmid 2023, §90), as an attribute. This theory is supported by the example 'reinemu […] prusti' *puro* […] *pectore* (fol. 127r, l. 9, D) in which attribute and noun are separated by a participle. The form of the vernacular attribute is neuter, like the lemma, and not feminine, like the related Old High German

[114] Note that the gloss is a set phrase (AWB 6,776) and the word order was therefore not necessarily chosen spontaneously.
[115] Note the faint dots above and under the final '-t' which could be correction markers marking the missing '-a'. However, it is impossible to determine whether they were intentional.

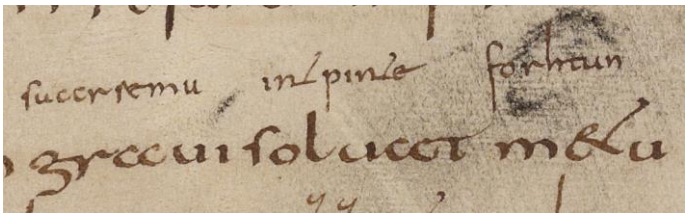


Fig. 75: The gloss ‘suarremu’ (E) is the attribute to ‘forhtun’ (fol. 129r, l. 13, F) but they do not agree grammatically. They stem from different hands which could have resulted in the incongruent glosses.

noun. It seems as if only syntactic relations between words in direct proximity to each other were implemented in stratum D. According to the palaeographic analysis, these glosses stem from the same hand. The same pattern can be seen in ‘indesamu hostar licheru mendi’ *inhocpaschale gaudio*[116] (fol. 129v, l. 20, F) where ‘desamu’ does not agree with the rest of the phrase. Differing hands, however, were probably responsible for missing agreement in the phrase ‘suarremu […] forhtun’ *graui* […] *metu* (fol. 129r, l. 13, E/F). Vernacular attribute and noun do not agree as the attribute has the gender of its lemma and not of its related noun. ‘suarremu’ was probably written by the hand of stratum E while ‘forhtun’ belongs to stratum F (see fig. 75). Since they were not glossed as a syntactic phrase, agreement was not needed. Palaeographic and linguistic analysis support each other in this example.

The alternating hands of stratum D and between strata E and F in relation to the linguistic evidence demonstrate how the Hymns were glossed. The glossator did not gloss word-for-word from the beginning on but chose individual phrases to gloss, probably within a few lines of the page as the five lines on folio 129r in which two hands glossed suggest. These phrases could be syntactic units, such as ‘christes chrefti’ (fol. 127r, l. 12, D), or independent words taken out of their syntactic phrase, such as ‘forhtun’ (fol. 129r, l. 13, F) which was glossed without its attribute. It is possible that the independent words were embedded in the sentence structure by glossing other lemmas in relation to them but they were not created as such. Glossing was therefore not a linear process but carried out in separate units, not following the order of the main text, that only complete the interlinear version step by step.

The scribe of stratum E aimed to create syntactic structures in the glosses within the Latin framework, similar to the patterns of stratum C. Grammatical agreement was maintained in smaller phrases such as ‘leoht pru chaz’ *lucē prosperam* (fol. 127v, l. 3, E), where the glosses depart from the gender of their lemma. But the glosses show agreement even in larger structures. The structure ‘sunna […] sedal ira’ *sol* […] *occasum suū* (fol. 127r, l. 15, E), for example, requires that the gender of the possessive pronoun ‘ira’ *suū*, determining the noun ‘sedal’ *occasum*, matches the one of ‘sunna’ *sol*. Despite the larger distance between the glosses, the vernacular possessive is feminine, although Latin *sol* and *suum* are masculine. The glossator understood the syntactic relationship between the Latin

[116] Gerhards (2018, p. 176) points out that *e* and *i* were interchangeable in medieval Latin and that *paschale* should be read as *paschali*.

words and transferred it into Old High German. Another form of agreement can be seen in the form *uinxerit*, glossed with 'kapinte' (fol. 127v, l. 12, E). The Latin verb stands in the synthetic future perfect tense which did not exist in Old High German (Braune 2023, §301.2 A.2). Instead, the glossator used a subjunctive form. The choice not only had translational reasons (cf. chapter 3.4.3) but also created structural parallels between this half-line and the following ones. The predicates in the next lines, 'slafe' *dormiat* (fol. 127v, l. 13, E) and 'insueppe' *somniet* (fol. 127v, l. 14, E), are both subjunctive. By adapting the translation of *uinxerit* to the following verb forms, the glossator achieved parallel syntactic constructions that link the half-lines together.

The variation of pronouns used to translate Latin *ille* and *iste* in stratum E is evidence for syntactic awareness of the glossator. Both Latin lemmas function as demonstrative determiners in the following examples: 'desamo lichamin' *isto corpore* (fol. 128r, l. 6, E), 'natra[117] der fizuser'[118] *ser*/*pens ille calli dus* (fol. 128r, l. 17, E), and 'chuninc · der' *rex ille* (fol. 128v, l. 7, E). The glossator translated them with two different words, the short and the long version of the Old High German demonstrative pronoun (cf. Braune 2023, §§287–8). Although the lemmas are semantically close, *ille* rather denotes something further away and *iste* something closer (DMLBS 2,1506, 2,1822; Georges 1998, 2,44, 2,463). Similarly, the complex pronoun 'deser' refers, when contrasted with the pronoun 'jenêr', to the last mentioned entity (AWB 4,1809; Schmid 2023, §§87–8). This meaning was reflected in the translation. The scribe was aware of the relations expressed by the Latin pronouns and chose the glosses adequately. *ille*, however, could be glossed with either a demonstrative or a personal pronoun (cf. 'er' *ille*, fol. 128r, l. 10, E, and 'deo' *ille*[119], fol. 128v, l. 17, E) when it appears independently and refers anaphorically to a preceding clause. The visual proximity of the glosses could have motivated the individual translations as the demonstrative translations are on folio 128v and the personal pronouns on folio 128r. In contrast to the systematic differentiation of *ille* and *iste* as determiners, the scribe of stratum E switched freely between possible translations for *ille* as an independent constituent.

The glossator rendered Latin negations always with the vernacular particle 'ni', regardless of whether the lemma was the enclitic *ne-* or separate *non*. The vernacular negations follow the Latin word order and could depart from Old High German syntax. In line two on folio 127v (stratum E), *non* was translated with 'ni' but they are not positioned before the finite verbs ('ka li de' *abscedat*, later in the same line) as would be common in Old High German (Jäger 2013, p. 154). The negation was rendered in a way that goes against the vernacular syntactic structure. Only in two sentences, it was used differently from Latin. 'nitriuge muat ni irraz lucci manalicho deskasiunes' *in*/*ludat mentem*

[117] There is a horizontal stroke above the initial 'n-'. The gloss is related to the *Abrogans* (Bolognesi 1969, p. 151).
[118] 'der' (masculine) is either the determiner of 'natra' (feminine), in which case they would not agree, or 'fizuser' is nominalised and 'der fizuser' a parenthesis explaining 'natra' further.
[119] The hook of the *e caudata* is missing, read *illę* (cf. Walpole 1922, p. 357).

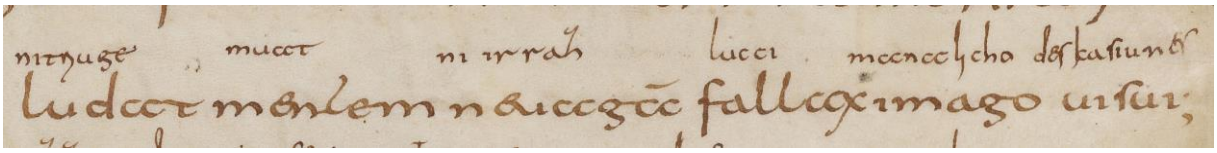


Fig. 76: The Latin clause (fol. 127v, l. 2, E) was translated with an additional negation added to the predicate 'nitriuge' *in*/*ludat*. The uncommon vernacular negation before the attribute was separated with a gap, 'ni irraz'.

neuagā fallax imago uisui (fol. 127v, l. 11, E) demonstrates how the glossator tried to implement Old High German linguistic features while still following the main text closely. In the glosses, negating particles were placed before the finite verb 'triuge' and above the Latin negation *ne* which only comes later, before the attribute *uagā*. By placing the negation before the predicate, a vernacular syntactic structure was created, but by also rendering the Latin negation, the source text was elucidated. The double negation could also express an inherently Old High German structure (Schmid 2023, §235). The difference between the two negations was graphically marked. The first 'ni' was graphically attached to the verb which shows that they syntactically belong together, while the second one was written with space to the following gloss (see fig. 76). However, spaces were not used systematically to link negations to predicates in this stratum. In the gloss 'nisuarrer' *negrauis* (fol. 127v, l. 19, E), 'ni' was written together with an attribute. The glossator of stratum E was able to implement vernacular negations but the Latin text dominated the syntax.

As much as the glossators followed the main text, in cases where this was impossible because of the differences between the linguistic systems, translations were chosen that adequately represent the Latin structures with natural Old High German. This method can be seen in 'tod […] farlo ranan sih einun / chuere' *mors* […] *perisse se solā* / *gemat* (fol. 129v, ll. 6–7, F) in which the main text contains an accusative plus infinitive. Accusative plus infinitive was naturally used in Old High German but mainly with verbs of perception or causation (Speyer 2018, p. 338). 'chuere' which is a form of 'queran' fits neither category as it means here 'to sigh, to lament' (AWB 7,605). Verbs of saying are only known to be combined with accusative plus infinitive when they were derived from Latin (Speyer 2018, p. 335). The infinitive *perisse* was accordingly not translated with an infinitive but transferred into a past participle 'farlo ranan' which indicates that the construction was rendered into an accusative plus participle. In this case, 'se' would be interpreted as an accusative object, 'farlo ranan' as a predicative over the object (AWB 5,1163), and 'einun' as an attribute to the predicative (AWB 3,147). Old High German is known to use participles to translate accusative plus infinitive (Speyer 2018, p. 337). Instead of copying the Latin structure which would not work in Old High German, a translation was chosen that gives a sensible Old High German variant.

The glosses of stratum E were adapted which demonstrates ambiguity of the grammatical characteristics. The phrase *nocte acdie* was originally translated with 'nahte ioh tage' (fol. 127v, l. 17, E). The translation transfers the Latin ablative singular sensibly into an Old High German dative singular

and the identical inflectional endings of the vernacular nouns create an even rhythm in the phrase. ‘nahte’ is declined in the i-declension for which only little evidence can be found in Old High German sources, two of them in the Murbach Hymns (Braune 2023, §241 A.1). Initially, ‘naht’ belonged to the consonantal declension which would have the dative ‘naht’. A thin vertical line drawn through the ‘-e’ of ‘nahte’ restores the consonantal form. The line seems to stem from a different pen than the one of the main glossator, but other adaptations can be assigned to the hand of stratum E. The final ‘e’s of the gloss ‘uuachee’ *uigilet* (fol. 128r, l. 2, E) both have a lengthened middle stroke, typical of final ‘e’s (cf. ‘pluate’, fol. 128r, l. 5, E) which indicates that the second ‘e’ was added later (see fig. 77). The two letters do not look identical but are close enough to stem from the same hand. ‘uuahhên’ is a weak class III verb which has both ‘-êe’ and ‘-e’ as third-person singular present subjunctive ending. The longer ending is the most common one in Alemannic (Braune 2023, §310.1), the main dialect of this part of the Murbach Hymns (cf. chapter 2.2.1). By adding an ‘-e’, the gloss was adjusted to a more common form (and the one otherwise used in the Murbach Hymns, cf. Sievers 1874, p. 26). ‘dea’ (fol. 128r, l. 12, E), in contrast, was changed to its modern variant. The middle ‘e’ also shows the same long stroke typical of final ‘e’s, suggesting that the ‘a’ was attached only later (see fig. 77). It is again not possible to say which hand adapted the gloss. Adding an ‘a’ changes the older form ‘de’ into the diphthongised more recent one (Braune 2023, §287 A.1g). If these adaptations were made by the glossator, it could have been a form of correction. However, assuming that other scribes adjusted the forms, it shows that they were sensitive to different grammatical conventions within their language and changed the glosses into the dialectal or contemporary form.

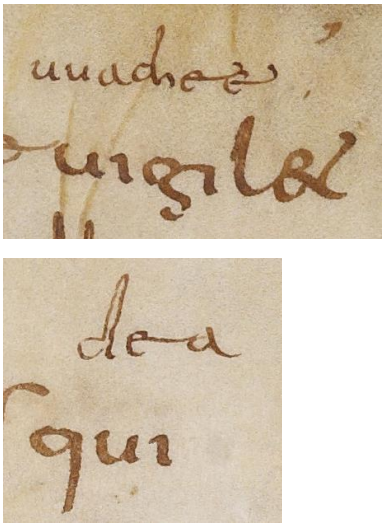


Fig. 77: In both glosses, the long horizontal stroke of the penultimate ‘e’ indicates that it was initially the end of the word and that the final letters were added later, changing the glosses into dialectal and contemporary forms (top: fol. 128r, l. 2, E; bottom: fol. 128r, l. 12, E).

The glosses of all four strata follow the syntax of the primary text very closely. There are hardly any departures. Stratum E shows the most evidence of independent vernacular syntax, but this may be due to its larger size. Grammatical agreement was usually maintained in strata C and E. In strata D and F, words that are further apart in the text were not syntactically linked. Some glosses were not written as linguistic units because they stem from different hands, which supports the palaeographic finding that the Hymns were not glossed linearly from beginning to end but in smaller units. The way in which pronouns and negations were rendered into Old High German in stratum E demonstrates the balance between the creation of sensible vernacular structures and adherence to the source text. The glossator followed the Latin but partly translated in a way that supported syntactic relations in the glosses. The writing style could support either method of glossing. When the differences in the

linguistic systems required a departure from the source, the hands of all four strata used the possibility of glossing according to vernacular syntax. The gloss strata were therefore based on Old High German, but their syntactic structures were compromised to varying degrees by the aim of elucidating the Latin language.

3.4.5. The Functional Net of Strata C, D, E, and F

Strata C, D, E, and F have individual characteristics, but for all four the representation of the Latin text could be identified as the main function. As already suggested by the palaeographic analysis, they seem to have been written by scribes who glossed quickly. Since the palaeographic and linguistic features of the strata are similar, it is possible that they were written by the same person. They still appear as individual functional units, although their properties differ only slightly. Additionally to the sometimes disorderly appearance, many glosses in strata C, E, and F had to be corrected by the gloss hand. In stratum E, obvious mistakes were left uncorrected. The characteristics point to skilled but hasty scribes. The same picture emerges from the visual strategies implemented in the glosses. Although gaps and punctuation were intentionally used within the strata to mark phonological syllables, word parts are more often separated when the writing appears hurried. But it is precisely the uneven script of stratum C that links these methods to the scribes' inherent linguistic competence. When glossing quickly, the glossator automatically left smaller spaces between syllables, demonstrating that glossing was based on natural language use.

The glosses of the four strata are very close to the main text and often seem to follow glossing conventions. Individual translation choices are rare. The word order does not depart from the Latin, and specific translation methods such as abbreviating syllables or double glossing were barely used. The linguistic analysis of the strata reflects what is indicated by the visual features. The scribes focused on the source text rather than on elaborating features of the target language. Transmitting the semantics of the main text as well as elucidating its syntactic and grammatical features are the main skopoi of the glosses. In all four strata, but particularly strata D and F, there is evidence of scribes who copied the lemmas without regard to vernacular linguistic features. This method could result in a lack of grammatical agreement even in small phrases. While in strata C, E, and F, the scribes still aimed to create a sensible gloss stratum, the glosses of stratum D are very different. They appear to have been translated individually, without regard to the context. This characteristic could be the result of multiple scribes being involved in glossing this stratum, just as in the transition from stratum E to F. The palaeographic analyses are consistent with these findings. The glosses do not appear to have been produced in a linear fashion but in phrases or single words that were completed to form functioning syntactic structures. When the glossing was finished by a different hand, whether or not it was the

same person, syntactic relationships were partly disregarded. The visual potential of the interlinear version is reflected in the glosses, but it was compromised when the glossing was interrupted.

Within the framework of Latin linguistics, and word order in particular, the glossators were still able to implement vernacular features. When the translation had to depart from the main text because of differences in the linguistic systems, for example when a lemma had to be rendered with two glosses in order to express the meaning adequately, the scribes adjusted the glosses according to Old High German. The glossators were well-trained in both languages and could adapt them sensibly. Furthermore, the lexical choices show a nuanced understanding of the theological background. Copying the Latin characteristics was therefore more likely a deliberate choice, either to follow the main skopos of elucidating the source text, or because practical circumstances, such as the time available to complete the manuscript, demanded it. This pattern indicates that the vernacular features that were introduced were already part of the Old High German linguistic conventions, developed by exploring the language in writing and in contrast to the well-studied Latin. Just as writing according to phonological syllables, applying determiners and creating grammatical agreement were apparently part of the natural use of the vernacular. Double glossing, on the other hand, was a translational method that required a conscious effort to communicate extra information.

The main skopos of conveying information about the primary text limited the syntactic and visual features of the glosses. Therefore, in strata C, D, E, and F, the three levels of glossing did not always support each other. The vertical level of translation was the most important, while visual features seemed to depend more on practical circumstances. Horizontal structures were mainly implemented when the translation allowed it. The linguistic and visual analyses of the strata give a clear picture of the glossing process. The glossing was primarily focused on the source text rather than on creating a multi-layered vernacular translation. The glosses were often uneven, suggesting quick glossing, which particularly applies to stratum C. The alternating hands suggest that stratum D was used for practice. Stratum E was then glossed in a similar way, perhaps even by the same person as C, but with more attention to detail. Stratum F was written quickly to finish Ha. Following the main text closely may have been the easiest way to translate and therefore more convenient for the scribes. However, this method is not detrimental to the information about Old High German contained in the glosses. On the contrary, because the strata are so close to the Latin, the vernacular expressed in the glosses can be understood as the beginning of Old High German linguistic conventions. They therefore provide evidence of which aspects of the language were used naturally and give an insight into the pragmatics of Old High German.

3.5. Hb and the Glossaries: Analysis of Stratum G

Stratum G differs from the other strata in two main ways. It was probably written some time after Ha, and it contains not only the glosses of the Hymns (fols. 116r–117v) but also the glossaries Jc and *Alumnis* (fols. 118r–122r) and the Gregory glosses of Jb (fols. 87r–107v). The main focus of the following chapter will be the glosses of the second part of the Hymns, Hb, but they will be set in relation to the other glosses of stratum G. Where examples are given, references will be made to the individual texts. The comparison between the different glossed sections demonstrates that the scribe adapted the glossing methods according to the nature of the main text. The visual potential of the interlinear version took effect, as vernacular syntax was implemented in the glosses of Hb, but the glosses nevertheless are close to the Latin. The translations of the second part of the Hymns were written with a focus on the semantics of the main text, clarifying how the reader should interpret the Latin.

3.5.1. Introduction to Stratum G

Stratum G, which is the stratum of the second part of the Hymns, Hb, exceeds the glosses of the Hymns. It is the only stratum of the Murbach Hymns in which intertextual relations take effect. Its hand also added the glossary Jc, the *Alumnis* glossary, and glosses to Gregory the Great in the glossary Jb, which will all be part of the linguistic and visual analysis as they can be assumed to belong to the same functional unit as Hb. Not only the palaeographic characteristics but also how the parchment was prepared links the glosses together. The quire of Hb (fols. 116r–121v) was ruled for a glossary as the ruling divides all pages into two columns.[120] Nevertheless, folios 116r to 117v were used for the Hymns. The Latin stratum is identical to the gloss stratum, which in combination with the consistent ruling could mean that one scribe was responsible for ruling, writing the primary text and glossing. The layout follows stratum A, except that Hb has twenty-five lines instead of twenty. For the first three pages, all hymn verses were written above two lines and start with a small initial. The Latin script is much denser than in Ha, where verses would be sometimes spread over three lines. The main text is more or less justified. On folio 116v, the last word of line three, *hominē*, was originally separated. To achieve a justified layout, the last part *-minē* was written on line four underneath the first syllable *ho-*.[121] Since the pages have twenty-five lines, writing the verses in two lines always leaves one line left. Therefore,

[120] The glossaries have four columns. Only folios 120r and 121r have additional vertical ruling to further divide the columns. On the remaining pages, the lemmas of the second and fourth column had to be placed by eye. The scribe did not always succeed in writing the lemmas in a straight line as for example the last lemmas of the *o*-section show (fol. 119v[b]).

[121] A different hand, probably only a bit later than the main hand because it uses different ink but writes Caroline minuscule very accurately, erased the syllables on line four of folio 116v and wrote them instead at the end of line three. This hand was more concerned with facilitating reading than with following a certain layout.

the last verses on folio 116v were divided at the page break. This method was not possible on folio 116r. The hymn ends at the end of the page, and as each hymn starts with a big initial going over three lines, the beginning of the next hymn would simply not have fit on the page. The Latin scribe knew that and spread out the words in lines twenty-three and twenty-four so that one word, *in ui dum*, remained for line twenty-five. It was written in the middle of the line, following the template of folio 122v. The scribe of the first page of Hb achieves the same even and symmetrical appearance as the scribe of stratum A.

The last page of Hb, folio 117v, appears differently. It contains one hymn that fills the whole page. The Latin script is as accurate as before. However, there are more smaller initials than on the previous pages and they are scattered across the lines. They partly had to be arranged differently because not all verses of this hymn consist of four half-lines; some have three, others two. But the layout already deviates in line six with a verse that has the usual length. The verse starting in line five is very short because of the many abbreviated words at the beginning. Therefore, the next one was started in the middle of line six. The scribe still decided to initiate line seven with an initial as if it were the beginning of the verse to compensate for this flaw in the layout. From this point on, all verses were shifted, and initials were used freely for any half-lines. Nevertheless, the scribe managed to end the hymn exactly after twenty-five lines and could write the glossary on the next page. An even layout within the last hymn was sacrificed to achieve an overall tidy appearance and to have a clear separation between the hymnal and the glossary.

However well the page layout follows stratum A, the punctuation does not. Half-raised points were partly used to divide the verses into half-lines, but this was not consistently done. In one instance, a half-raised point marks a Latin syllable border (*celes·tis*, fol. 116r, l. 4, Hb), but it is questionable whether this was intentional. The middle of a verse was usually marked by a *punctus elevatus*, and the verses were ended with one of three different types of *posituraе*, including a *punctus versus*. The combination of signs is evidenced in this function (cf. Parkes 2016, p. 36). They signal the length of pauses when reciting the text (Masser 1997, p. 13; Parkes 2016, p. 37). The variation of *posituraе* used to mark the end of a verse reflects their common usage in the early Middle Ages but is probably also related to abbreviation signs (see fig. 78). A sign looking like the *punctus versus* can stand as an abbreviated ending, for example *-us* in *dicentib;* (fol. 116r, l. 17, Hb) or *-ue* in *q;* (fol. 116r, l. 23, Hb). If it comes at the end

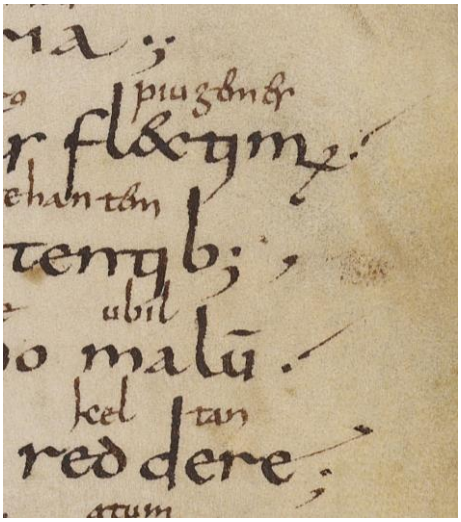


Fig. 78: The ends of lines 18 to 22 (fol. 116r, Hb) which were ended with three different types of *posituraе*. In line 20, the last word was abbreviated with a sign looking like a *punctus versus*, which is why another type of punctuation was used.

of a line, a different sign needed to be used for punctuation. The Latin of Hb was modelled after stratum A but how well the layout could be implemented was restricted by the space on the pages. The scribe found resourceful ways to adapt the writing without departing too much from the template.

Since the scribe of the main text also glossed it, the same creativity can be expected of the glosses. Their position supports the vertical gloss-lemma relationship as they usually stand above the beginning or the middle of their lemmas. The dense main text does not provide much space for glosses. Descenders and ascenders of the Latin words often extend far into the space between the lines. The lack of space often necessitated to split the vernacular words into two parts to avoid glossing over the strokes of the main text. This method could interrupt the reading process but demonstrates that the form was prioritised over the function. Glosses and Latin nevertheless overlap in a few cases (see fig. 79). The same principle was upheld in Jc and the *Alumnis* glossary, only that because of the larger letters of the words of *Alumnis*, glosses and lemmas more often overlap. Since the Gregory glosses were mostly added in empty columns, there was enough space to write lemma and gloss next to each other. The initials of Hb do sometimes not leave sufficient space for the glosses, for example seen with the gloss 'themu' *cui* (fol. 116v, l. 4, Hb). Within the existing conditions of Hb, the glosses were written in the best possible way to balance the function of the glosses with an evenly formed page.

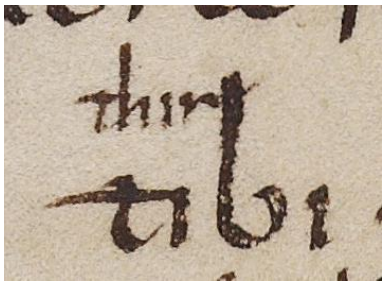


Fig. 79: One of the few cases of Hb in which the gloss overlaps with its lemma, 'thir' *tibi* (fol. 117r, l. 24).

3.5.2. Visual Characteristics

Visual cues were incorporated into the glosses to convey additional information about the vernacular. The glossator separated word parts, wrote words continuously, and also used punctuation to express linguistic features. The strategies were utilised to varying degrees depending on the section of stratum G. The following analysis will show that there is a clear difference between the way interlinear glosses and glossaries were written and elaborate on the characteristics that motivated the variations.

The glossator marked the phonological syllables of the glosses by separating them with visible gaps. The examples are abundant in stratum G, such as 'furis tun' *principes* (fol. 116r, l. 3, Hb), 'in no di' *uiscera* (fol. 116r, l. 9, Hb), and 'fer scurgan' *reppellere* (fol. 116v, l. 19, Hb), or 'intre git' *asportat* (fol. 118r^{c}, l. 23, Jc), and 'urteila ursuh nin' *examine* (fol. 122r^{a}, l. 12, *Alumnis*). However, because of the ascenders and descenders of the primary text, not all gaps within the glosses could be placed freely. When possible, the glossator tried to match the syllables to the space on the page. A striking example is 'chiri cho no' *ecclesiarū* (fol. 116r, l. 3, Hb) where the ascenders and descenders of the main text

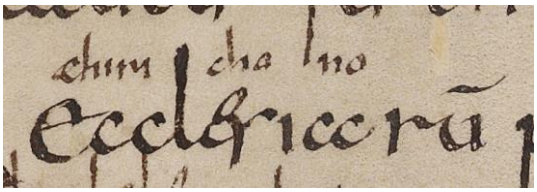


Fig. 80: The gloss 'chiri cho no' (fol. 116r, l. 3, Hb) which was separated according to syllables. They were arranged around the ascenders and descenders of the main text.

separate the syllables of the gloss (see fig. 80). Whenever the glossator was not attentive enough or did not attempt to separate syllables, the glosses were placed very close to the Latin letters, for example in 'fonanahti' *anocte* (fol. 117r, l. 11, Hb).[122] Then the strokes could overlap. How the lack of space was used in regard to the phonological syllables is evidence for the focused and linguistically oriented glossing process in Hb, Jc, and *Alumnis*. In contrast, the Gregory glosses were all written continuously. Lemmas and glosses were not differentiated by the size of the script or the ink. Although they are palaeographically similar to the rest of stratum G, this could be evidence of a different hand.

Glosses were separated at line breaks when necessary. In Hb, they were only divided when the Latin lemma was separated as well. Two instances can be found: 'fe/ginot' *exul*/*tat* (fol. 116r, ll. 13–4, Hb) and 'intiu/ridu' *inglo*/*riam* (fol. 117v, ll. 15–6, Hb). In both, the lemma and gloss were separated according to phonological syllables. There are more occurrences in the rest of stratum G, for example 'kima/chot' *cnectit* (fol. 118v[d], l. 10, Jc), 'kameitken/go' 'umbiken/go' *girouagū* (fol. 122r[a], l. 14, *Alumnis*), and the Latin gloss 'dita/tus' *fretus* (fol. 94r[a], l. 25, Gregory glosses). The lemmas of the glossaries naturally did not have to be written over line breaks. However, the width of the columns provided little space for the glosses. The word parts also represent phonological syllables. The line breaks therefore follow the same principle as the gaps within words. They reflect the writing of the Latin text in Hb but were needed in the glossaries to adjust the glosses to the lack of space.

As often as single glosses were broken up into syllables, glosses were merged by writing them without a visible gap in Hb. This method could be used to mark their close syntactic or semantic relation. Therefore, this principle often occurs in phrases with functional words (e.g. prepositions and determiners), such as 'ineuuigo' *insempitna* (fol. 116r, l. 16, Hb) or 'theranaht' *noctis* (fol. 116r, l. 17, Hb). In the main text, prepositional phrases were mainly written without a gap, too. Because determiners were usually added in contrast to the main text, this only strengthens that they closely belong to their related noun. However, there are still cases in which a gap was used, so in 'thera reuun' *penitentię* (fol. 116r, l. 22, Hb). The glossaries do not contain many lemmas glossed with two syntactically related words. If so, the glosses were written very closely together but still seem to have a small gap between them as in 'luzil kiloubun' *anime fidei* (fol. 118r[b], l. 17, Jc) or 'erratan uuesan' *coniceri* (fol. 91r[a], l. 8, Gregory glosses). Their syntactic link did not have to be expressed further because they were not embedded in larger structures on the page. In Hb, syntactic connections were

[122] Spaces like this are not marked in the citations.

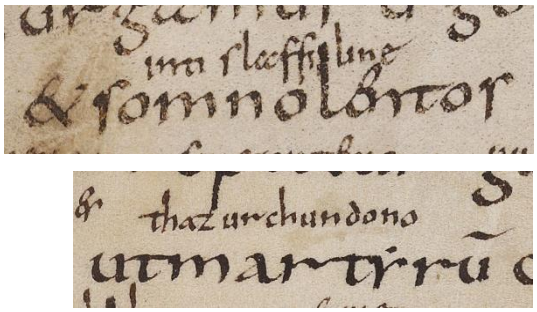


Fig. 81: In the glosses ‘inti slaffiline’ (fol. 117r, l. 17, Hb) and ‘thaz urchundono’ (fol. 116r, l. 15, Hb), the conjunctions were shifted close to their nouns which marks their syntactic relation.

additionally marked by adjusting the vertical gloss-lemma relationship. The glosses ‘inti slaffiline’ for *etsomnolentos* (fol. 117r, l. 17, Hb) and ‘thaz urchundono’ for *utmartyrū* (fol. 116r, l. 15, Hb) both have small gaps between the conjunction and the following noun. The gaps mark their syntactic status because the conjunctions relate to the following clause and not only to the noun. However, ‘inti’ and ‘thaz’ were both shifted to the right so that they do not stand above their lemma but closely before the nouns (see fig. 81). In this way, the glossator clarified the syntactic relations and simultaneously marked that the glosses belong to the sentences starting with the nouns.

In contrast to word separation and connection, punctuation was scarcely used in the glosses of Hb. It only appears to mark the endings of words such as in ‘keporan ·’ *editū* (fol. 116v, l. 9, Hb). It therefore has barely meaning for the glosses of the Hymns. In the glossaries, however, punctuation was much more important. In Jc and *Alumnis*, a half-raised point usually divides double glosses glossing one lemma, for example ‘heitar · thurri’ *sudū* (fol. 121r[a], l. 14, Jc). In the Gregory glosses, points stand between all lemmas and glosses which was necessary because they were not differentiated by script size or ink. They copy the layout of the rest of Jb. The type of main text influenced how punctuation was used.

The sections of stratum G were conceptualised differently. Hb, which translates a continuous text, shows various visual methods of encoding details of Old High German phonology and syntax. Syllables were frequently separated, partly copying the Latin layout, and words that syntactically belong together were graphically merged. The examples of the placement of conjunctions further demonstrate that the glossator adapted known visual glossing methods according to the information that was supposed to be conveyed. The glossaries differ from Hb. Syntactic connections were only subtly marked, if at all. Punctuation, on the other hand, appears much more often than in Hb and has the function of denoting individual glosses. The scribe of stratum G adapted the visual methods to support the gloss functions according to the type of source text. The separation of glosses was important in the glossaries and facilitated their use, whereas in Hb the identification of individual glosses was not as important as the correct relationship between them. The interlinear version, in contrast to the glossaries, has a notable focus on syntax. In all parts of stratum G, the glosses were only separated according to their phonological syllables, with the exception of the vernacular Gregory glosses which were not divided at all. This method, which can be related to the pragmatics of Old High German, was the main visual glossing strategy.

3.5.3. Methods of Translation

The translations of stratum G were produced efficiently and elaborately to fulfil various skopoi but were also dependent on the source text. The methods used to translate the lemmas are similar in the interlinear glosses and the glossaries, but the way they were implemented differs. The differences can be related to the skopos of the renderings. In the following chapter, it will be determined which translation methods were used to support the function of the glosses in the different sections of stratum G, i.e. Hb and the glossaries.

Some glosses of Hb were unintentionally affected by their lemma such as ‘dtruhtin’ (fol. 116v, l. 16, Hb). It glosses *dīne* and the ‘d’s of gloss and lemma were vertically aligned. ‘dt’ is not known as a variant of initial /t/ (cf. Braune 2023, §188), but it is possible that the glossator, working with the main text, accidentally copied the Latin first letter. It is curious why the letter was not erased as there are many other corrections (e.g. ‘mina’ corrected into ‘minna’, fol. 116r, l. 12, Hb). Gerhards (2018, p. 58) sees an erased ‘d’ right after the gloss preceding ‘dtruhtin’ which would mean that the initial ‘d’ was intentional. However, the erased letter could also be the first curve of a ‘t’, which indicates that the preoccupied scribe started the gloss too early. Then, the mistake was noticed right away and corrected, but the scribe was now focused on the Latin *d*. Regardless of which letter was erased, this correction shows convincingly how glossing an interlinear version worked. The glossator switched constantly between Latin and Old High German to achieve a clear vertical relationship between lemma and gloss. The lemma primarily influenced the translation, while the horizontal level motivated to write glosses in relation to each other. The scribe had to find a working balance between the two levels which meant in this example to follow the skopos of emphasising the lemma as the gloss aligns with it.

The translation was not only influenced by the Latin on the page as the following gloss demonstrates. Two glosses were erased from the word group ‘ziteo kepanti ziti’ *temporū dans tēpora* (fol. 117r, l. 9, Hb). One stood above the end of *temporū* and one above *dans* which was then covered by ‘kepanti’. The erased glosses probably read ‘kipis’ (cf. Gerhards 2018, p. 60) and ‘ziti’. Apparently, the glosses were accidentally shifted to the left which the glossator corrected (see fig. 82). They were initially written as one unit without vertical gloss-lemma alignment. While correcting the position of

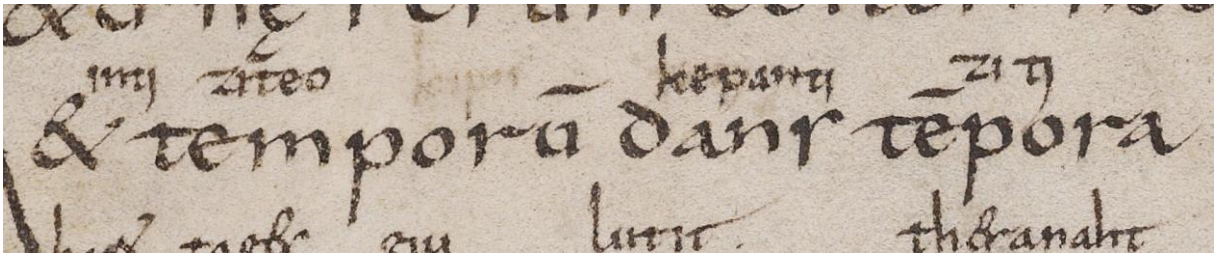


Fig. 82: The glosses (fol. 117r, l. 9, Hb) were accidentally started too far left and then corrected, which can be seen by the erasures above *-orū dans*. The correction ‘kepanti’ instead of the erased ‘kipis’ translates the lemma on the page.

the glosses, ‘kipis’ was replaced by ‘kepanti’. The authoritative version of the hymn has *das* instead of *dans* (Walpole 1922, p. 30). Gerhards (2018, pp. 133–4) speculates that the glossator initially had *das* in mind to which ‘kipis’ would be grammatically equivalent but decided to translate the lemma on the page. The correction could be evidence of a glossator who knew the well-known version of the hymns by heart and instinctively glossed it, but corrected the translation according to the Latin on the page. ‘kipis’ also makes more sense syntactically as the other predicates in this verse both are in the second-person singular, present tense too.[123] As equivalence with the lemma was restored, the skopos is to represent the available source text. In the example ‘fonauns’ *a nobis* (fol. 116v, l. 19, Hb), the preposition *a* was originally not part of the source text and was only added by a later hand, but the glossator still translated it. Similar to the previous example, the scribe probably glossed after the learned hymn but overlooked that the preposition was missing in the Latin. The glosses demonstrate that glossing was an intuitive and complex process in which the scribe not only worked with the text on the page but included knowledge about the source and therefore referred to a meta-level.

Demonstrative pronouns were frequently used as determiners in the glosses of Hb which demonstrates their syntactic embedding. The determiners usually refer to a specific instance: ‘in dera thriunissa’ *intrinitatis* (fol. 116r, l. 18, Hb) describes the one holy trinity, ‘therahalla’ *templi* (fol. 116v, l. 15, Hb) one specific temple. In other instances, definiteness did not seem to motivate the determiner. ‘thera reuun’ *penitentię* (fol. 116r, l. 22, Hb), for example, refers to repentance. But whether this is a specific type of repentance which could be related to the previous lines or not, is open to interpretation – although using the determiner could signal that it is a specific reference. All phrases are genitive singular feminine. Most of them are genitive attributes, the only exceptions are ‘in dera thriunissa’, which is a prepositional phrase, and ‘thera meginchrefti tiurida [thi]nera’ *magestate glorię tuę* (fol. 117v, l. 6, Hb), which is a genitive object determined by a genitive attribute with a possessive pronoun. Demonstrative pronouns as determiners in prepositional phrases are well evidenced in glosses, and the complex phrase with one genitive embedded in another certainly would require to conceptualise the translation syntactically (the main motivation for demonstrative determiners in Old High German glosses, cf. Glaser 2000, p. 209). The glosses seem to work on two levels. There is higher semantic equivalence by highlighting definite phrases which indicates that the skopos is to transmit the meaning of the source. Additionally, the determiner marks that the phrases are part of a larger syntagm which shifts the skopos to clarifying vernacular syntactic structures. The interplay becomes evident in the word ‘naht’ *nox*. It occurs six times in stratum G, and half of the phrases have a determiner: ‘cit[124]

[123] ‘rihtis’ (fol. 117r, l. 8, Hb) is indicative, ‘erpurres’ (fol. 117r, l. 9, Hb) is subjunctive.

[124] The gloss ‘cit’ was repeated by a different hand directly after the original gloss, probably the same hand that repeated the beginning of the gloss ‘hangent’ (fol. 116r, l. 9, Hb) and *tēmpus noctis* in the lower margin of folio 116r, as well as the two lines repeating the beginning of the hymn and the scribbles on folio 115v. The hand links

theranaht' *tempus noctis* (fol. 116r, l. 17, Hb), 'theranaht tiufin thurahuuachar' *noctis profunde ꝑuigil* (fol. 117r, l. 10, Hb), and 'theranaht ioh slaf' *noctisq; somnum* (fol. 117r, l. 22, Hb). All of them are genitive attributes in different syntactic positions and are definite as they refer to the night in which the hymn is sung. The three instances of the word without a determiner stand within three lines: 'naht' *noctē* (fol. 117r, l. 8, Hb) and 'fonanahti naht' *anocte noctē* (fol. 117r, l. 11, Hb). Not only is none of them a genitive, but they also do not describe a specific night. The first instance means all nights, and the second and third describe how the specific night of line ten is separated into smaller sections, an indefinite group of several 'little nights'. Even though 'fonanahti' is a prepositional phrase, no determiner was used, probably because it is not definite. Only one demonstrative determiner appears in the other sections of stratum G, in 'thero kilihnissi' *tandundē* (fol. 121r^{c}, l. 11, Jc). Here, it translates a Latin gloss from the *Affatim* glossary and therefore reflects the Latin phrase (Krotz 2002, p. 605). Setting a demonstrative pronoun as a determiner in Hb contrary to the source text signals that a phrase is part of a complex syntactic structure and that it probably is a definite phrase. The examples demonstrate that the glosses had the function of elucidating the Latin but also building larger connections in the gloss stratum.

The use of abbreviations in stratum G was limited to Hb, and there mostly to the last page, folio 117v. It can be related to the layout of the page. The examples prior to folio 117v are all based on phonological syllables: '[chris]tes' *χp̄i* (fol. 116r, l. 1, Hb), 'christe c[hris]te ioh truhtine' *χp̄o ihūq; dn̄o* (fol. 116r, l. 18, Hb), and 'thine[mu] pluate' *tuo sanguine* (fol. 116v, l. 20, Hb). Since the lemmas of '[chris]tes' and 'c[hris]te' are also abbreviated, they could have motivated the shortening of the glosses. Additionally, 'thine[mu]' and 'c[hris]te' can be related to a lack of space on the page (see fig. 83). By abbreviating the glosses, the scribe avoided writing over the Latin and assured vertical alignment of glosses and lemmas. The translations have the skopos of clarifying the gloss-lemma relationship and to highlight vernacular pragmatics by abbreviating according to phonology. The function of 'c[hris]te' has an extra layer. In this gloss, the first letter and the last syllable were written down, which also signals the word choice to render *ihesu*. Marking the word was important because the glossator decided to use a

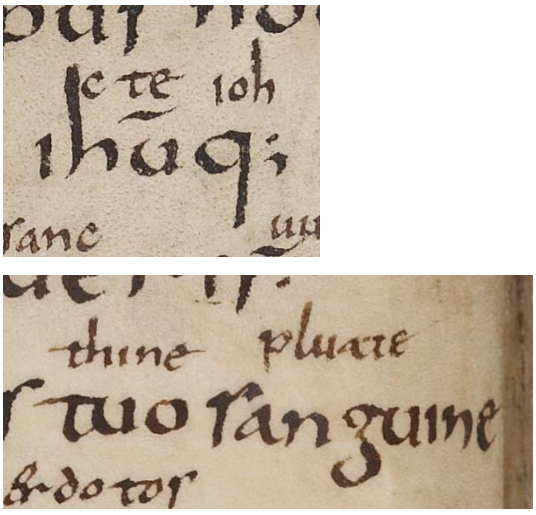


Fig. 83: The glosses 'c[hris]te' (fol. 116r, l. 18, Hb) and 'thine[mu]' (fol. 116v, l. 20, Hb) were abbreviated because of a lack of space.

folios 115v and 116r together, which belong to different quires. It seems untrained in Caroline minuscule. The entries probably stem from a much later scribe who wrote them when the two manuscript parts were already bound together.

different translation than in the remaining stratum G. 'christ' usually translates Latin *christus* (e.g. the gloss right before 'c[hris]te'), while *ihesu* appears once more in this stratum with the gloss 'heilant' (fol. 117r, l. 20, Hb). 'heilant' is semantically linked to Jesus as a human but in this instance, Jesus is named as part of the holy trinity (Kolb 1987, p. 1242; Siewerts 2010, p. 87). The first letter expresses the theological background of this passage.[125] The glosses of this phrase present a very accurate translation that was fixed on the page so that it could not be misunderstood. Another skopos of the translation therefore is to emphasise the theological interpretation.

An additional function of abbreviating glosses was to gloss more efficiently in Hb. In 'thir krisit lop [thir krisit]' *te decet laus te decet* (fol. 117r, l. 24, Hb), two whole words were abbreviated even though there was enough space for them. Because of the source text, the reader could deduce how to render the Latin words into Old High German. By not glossing the lemmas, the glossator avoided redundancy and glossed quickly and efficiently without compromising the comprehensibility of the glosses. On the last page of the Hymns, this method was applied to a much greater extent. Glosses were frequently abbreviated or left out completely on folio 117v. Similar types of abbreviations as on the previous pages were used, such as shortening denotations for Jesus or god (e.g. '[truh]tin' *dn̄s*, fol. 117v, l. 5, Hb). Usually, the first syllable was omitted which distinguishes them from strata C and E. In contrast, the glossaries of stratum G do not contain these lemmas. If the glosses had only one syllable in Hb, they were still abbreviated, such as '[co]t' *ds̄* (fol. 117v, l. 5, Hb) or '[chr]ist' *χp̄s* (fol. 117v, l. 11, Hb). In this case, shortening the translations was more important than reflecting phonological syllables. Skopoi could be to clarify the grammatical characteristics since the endings were given, or to represent the Latin writing method as the lemmas also were abbreviated (see fig. 84). But shortening names of god was common in interlinear versions (Voetz 1987, pp. 176–8), and therefore, it could be based on incipient writing conventions. Only how they were abbreviated was not yet specified as a general rule. It seems that the scribe of stratum G developed an individual method.

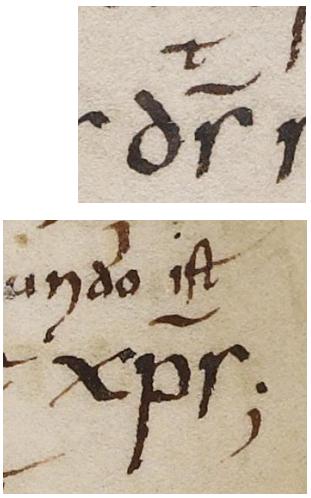


Fig. 84: The glosses '[co]t' (fol. 117v, l. 5, Hb) and '[chr]ist' (fol. 117v, l. 11, Hb) only have one syllable but were abbreviated. The abbreviations could reflect the abbreviated lemmas.

The frequency of abbreviations in source text and glosses indicates that on folio 117v, practical reasons motivated the method of writing. The glosses can be associated with a lack of space between

[125] Grimm (1830, p. 63) renders the abbreviated word as 'c[o]te'. Old High German 'got' was in a few cases used to translate *ihesus*, for example in the glosses to Notker's psalter, 'nieht fasonde uuaz sin si sunder uuaz gotis haltandis si' *non quęrens quę sua sunt . sed quę Iesu Christi* (AWB 4,343), or in a late Old High German sermon, 'nu gedingestu auar in got' *modo autem in domino Iesu Christo* (AWB 4,349; the Latin text is not part of the manuscript). Still, in this instance, 'christ' is the more likely translation as 'got' was never used in the Murbach Hymns to gloss Jesus.

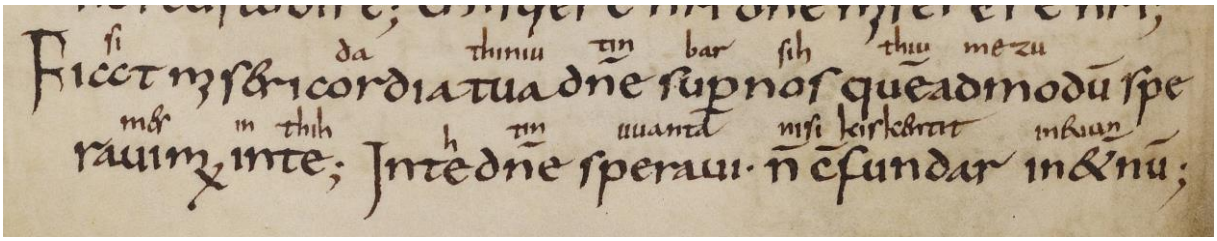


Fig. 85: Lines 24 and 25 of folio 117v (Hb), in which the Latin words were often abbreviated. The glosses were adjusted to the Latin writing and were written efficiently by shortening them.

the lines as in ‘f[ora]harent’ *ꝑclamant* (fol. 117v, l. 4, Hb) or ‘p[itte]mes’ *qs̄* (fol. 117v, l. 17, Hb). Latin ascenders and descenders disrupted and restricted the words. The glossator used the first letter and last syllables in the glosses which demonstrates that within the available space, the glosses were supposed to be as clear as possible. Writing the first letter facilitates identifying the word and creates lexical equivalence and writing the last syllables correlates with phonological abbreviation principles. The skopos is to represent the Latin but the translations were still based on Old High German. Glosses in which the first letter was not included in the abbreviation apparently were clear enough to be determined from the last syllable and the Latin lemma, such as ‘[himi]la [in]ti [er]da’ *cęli et terra*[126] (fol. 117v, l. 5, Hb). The last gloss of this word group and other translations, for example ‘sa[manun]ga’ *ęcclesia* (fol. 117v, l. 9, Hb), were shortened even though there was enough space above their lemmas which matches the overall pattern seen on folio 117v. There is a very high density of abbreviated glosses which facilitated implementing abbreviations. Just as the primary text becomes more dense to fit on the page, the glosses were written economically to save space (see fig. 85). A skopos of the abbreviations is to assure comprehensibility of the glosses by creating vertical alignment. There usually was enough space above the lemmas of the glossaries which could be the reason why their glosses were barely shortened without abbreviation markers.[127] Additionally, the lemmas and glosses were taken out of their semantic context which could make it harder to identify the abbreviated words. In Hb, however, the glossator did not only abbreviate glosses when the space demanded it but was probably further motivated by the many occurrences of abbreviations on the page. The translational methods were implemented spontaneously and influenced by the visual context of the glosses.

The need to be brief in the glosses was realised in an extreme way by completely omitting words in the gloss stratum. It makes sense that this was barely done in the glossaries. There are only some lemmas without glosses in Jc and *Alumnis*, for example *redundat* (fol. 120v^{b}, l. 8, Jc)[128] or *uti* (fol. 122r^{c}, l. 6, *Alumnis*). Later scribes erased a few glosses without replacing them but other lemmas were

[126] The lemma was corrected from *terre* by the gloss hand which wrote an *a* above the ending. The correction aligns with the authoritative version of the hymns (Gerhards 2018, p. 138).
[127] The gloss ‘pileip · f uuarth’ *occubuit* (fol. 119v^{a}, l. 18, Jc) seems to be an exception but the erased line after ‘f-’ (cf. Krotz 2002, p. 452) could have been an abbreviation marker.
[128] However, above the lemma seems to be a scratched gloss.

never glossed. The missing glosses disagree with the main function of glossaries which was to make the vocabulary, the source text, accessible (Stricker 2009b, p. 598). As Krotz (2002, p. 543) demonstrates, the sources of Jc provided translations for the unglossed lemmas which indicates that the glosses were forgotten or left out in the glossing process. Which glosses were omitted in Hb can be linked to their meaning and syntactic function. The translation method was limited to words that could easily be deciphered from the context including proper names, such as *cerubin etsyraphin*[129] (fol. 117v, l. 4, Hb), and function words, for example *þ* (fol. 117v, l. 8, Hb). These words were not systematically left out but they were more likely to be cut. Only in one instance, a predicate has been omitted, *redemisti* (fol. 117v, l. 16, Hb). It seems odd that a word that is so crucial in the syntactic structure and that cannot easily be deduced from its context would not be translated. The lemma did not fit on the line anymore and was written at the end of the previous one. It is therefore possible that the glossator overlooked it. Except for the scribal error, how well glosses could be determined from the context and their lemmas decided whether they would be omitted in the interlinear version. The skopos of this method, which is only sensible in a continuous text, seems to be to facilitate the glossing process. In contrast, the function that is assigned to glossaries by modern scholars suggests that when their glosses are missing, they were accidentally left out.

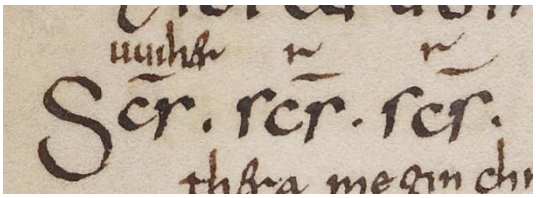


Fig. 86: The gloss ‘uuiher’ glossing *sc̄s* (fol. 117v, l. 5, Hb) was only written out once and then abbreviated.

All known methods of abbreviating Old High German glosses appear on folio 117v (cf. O. Ernst 2009, pp. 282–3). Repeated words were not written fully, as, for example, in ‘uuiher [uuihe]r [uuihe]r’ *sc̄s . sc̄s . sc̄s* (fol. 117v, l. 5, Hb; see fig. 86), and some glosses consist only of the last letter of the word, as in ‘[thi]r’ *tibi* (fol. 117v, l. 3, Hb) or ‘[thi]h’ *te* (fol. 117v, l. 9, Hb). They could reflect the grammatical ending. In other glosses, only the last letter was omitted, for example in ‘einagu[n] sun’ *unicum filium* (fol. 117v, l. 10, Hb) and ‘intat[i]’ *aperuisti* (fol. 117v, l. 14, Hb). This method is not linked to the space on the page nor to Old High German phonology but could facilitate the glossing process on the basis that the reader is able to supplement the ending. On folio 117v, the aim of the glossator was to gloss efficiently which meant to only write as much of the glosses as necessary to transmit the desired information. Abbreviating glosses was here the default which could have been motivated by the many abbreviations of the source text. Which type of abbreviation was applied depended on the practical context of glossing, the skopos, and the meaning of the gloss.

The scribe of stratum G used double glosses to clarify and illustrate the lemmas’ meanings, a phenomenon for which the Murbach Hymns are well known (Firchow 1972, p. [xvi]). Hb contains seven

[129] Corrected from *seraphin*.

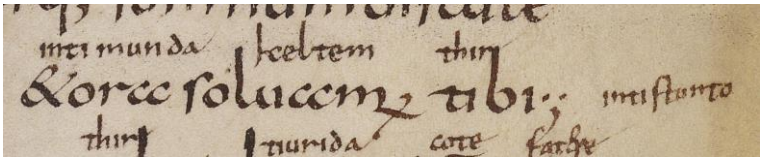


Fig. 87: The marginal gloss ‘intistunta’ does not have a reference marker, but its position on the page and the initial conjunction indicate that it belongs to ‘inti munda’ (fol. 117r, l. 23, Hb; on the left).

double glosses: ‘nidar spreitemes strechemes’ *prosternim̄* (fol. 116r, l. 20, Hb), ‘heri fiant’ *hostēm*[130] (fol. 116r, l. 24, Hb), ‘kilihnissa pilidi’ *formā* (fol. 116v, l. 6, Hb), ‘inti munda’ with marginal ‘intistunta’[131] *etora* (fol. 117r, l. 23, Hb), ‘uuirdit eret’ *ueneratur* (fol. 117v, l. 2, Hb)[132], ‘kerihtemo’ with marginal ‘ubaruunnomo’ *deuicto* (fol. 117v, l. 14, Hb), and ‘folh liut’ *populū* (fol. 117v, l. 19, Hb). ‘intistunta’ was partly not interpreted as a double gloss (Sievers 1874, p. 56; Wilken 1875), presumably because it does not seem to translate any Latin word. Assuming that the marginal gloss was written close to its lemma, and taking the introductory conjunction into account, it can be a complement to ‘inti munda’ (see fig. 87). ‘mund’ means here ‘mouth’ (AWB, 6,831–2) while ‘stunta’ translates as ‘hour’ or ‘time’ (Schützeichel 2012, p. 318). Despite the different meanings, there are two reasonable explanations for the discrepancy. Ernst A. Ebbinghaus (1965, p. 486) argues that *ora* was a variant for *hora*, which matches ‘stunta’, and that another scribe corrected the interlinear gloss with the marginal one. However, both glosses appear to stem from the same scribe. Siewerts (2010, p. 253) sees the same ambiguity in the Latin lemma but gives a different reason for the second gloss. If the text was used by teachers, they could have chosen to write the marginal gloss to illustrate the different translations that *ora* can have. In both cases, leaving the glosses next to each other on the page has the skopos to emphasise differences between the two languages and highlight a ‘false friend’ in the Latin language.

The skopoi of the remaining double glosses are manifold. The glosses provide synonyms, more modern translations or were inspired by a specific source (cf. Siewerts 2010, pp. 409–14). Translating with a double gloss was a method that could be adapted according to the intended function. The glossaries Jc and *Alumnis* and the Gregory glosses also contain double glosses which can have the same various functions. ‘scado unkifuori’ *dispendiū* · (fol. 92r^{b}, l. 4, Gregory glosses), for example, gives two adequate translations with slightly different meanings (Schulte 1993, p. 474). Both render the lemma independent of its context which is typical of glossaries (Stricker 2009b, p. 598). As Krotz (2002, p. 278ff.) shows, the double glosses in Jc predominantly stem from other sources. Some double glosses of the Hymns can be related to the *Abrogans* (Baesecke 1930, pp. 62–3; Bolognesi 1969, pp. 150–1) which is evidence of translational conventions but for most, no direct sources are known. From a translational perspective, ‘nidar spreitemes strechemes’ *prosternim̄* (fol. 116r, l. 20, Hb) is especially

[130] The word was originally written with a nasal marker but a final *-m* was incorrectly added later.
[131] The gloss is sometimes incorrectly read as ‘intistunto’ because some lines have been abraded. It looks like wear and not deliberate erasure.
[132] This gloss is related to the *Abrogans* (Bolognesi 1969, p. 150).

interesting. Parallel glosses by the glossator of Notker's commentary on the psalms show that it is very likely that the prefix belongs to both verbs (cf. Siewerts 2010, pp. 82–3). The translation was therefore elliptical. The glosses were written with just small spaces between them, signalling that they belong together. Nevertheless, the reader has to understand that the prefix is meant to be also read together with the second verb, as there are no markers linking them together. This is an efficient way to provide two translations but it presupposes that the reader has the same knowledge of Latin and Old High German as the scribe. The skopos of the double gloss is, just as the example given for the glossaries, to provide lexical variants with different semantic foci. Translating a lemma with two double glosses was a translation method that was effective in all sections of stratum G and therefore in both interlinear versions and glossaries.

Stratum G consists of several different sections, and the different translation methods demonstrate that the glossator adapted the glosses to the nature of the source text. In both the glossaries and the interlinear version, the glosses were focused on the Latin. This relationship is stronger in the glossaries because without the textual context, the glosses could only reflect the lemma on the page. Additionally, the glossaries can be traced back to other sources and are largely independent of their original source text. The glosses of Hb also relate to another textual version, as the glossator incorporated different variants of the hymns into the translation. The scribe probably knew the hymns by heart and had to decide which version to follow when the learned version differed from the one in the manuscript. The skopos could be to highlight another textual variant or to elucidate the lemmas. How intensively the glossator worked with the source text is shown by the use of double glosses in all sections of stratum G. They demonstrate that the glossator was aware of semantic nuances of the theological background, but also of the vocabulary of source and target language. Double glosses communicate additional information about the lemma, often with the skopos of providing translation alternatives with slightly different meanings. Regardless of the focus on the source text, the glosses were created embedded in vernacular syntagms, as evidenced by the many determiners that were added contrary to the Latin. In contrast, the only determiner of the glossaries was written for semantic reasons. The glossaries also do not have abbreviated glosses. This pattern indicates that semantic context was needed to understand the abbreviations. Furthermore, the way in which glosses were abbreviated in Hb shows that the method was often practically motivated, for example because of a lack of space or to facilitate glossing. Nevertheless, the method was adapted so that the glosses still convey pragmatic information. The skopoi of abbreviated glosses could be to signal an adequate lexical choice, to copy the style of the main text, to elucidate the grammatical features of the gloss, or to develop Old High German writing conventions. Often, several skopoi were combined in a gloss. The abbreviations were mainly based on phonological syllables, but if it was necessary to fulfil their function, they could depart from this principle, which indicates that conveying the

pronunciation of the words was not the most important skopos. The differences between the translations of Hb and the glossaries are evidence that glosses were adjusted not only to their individual function but also to the function of their source text. The glosses of the interlinear version rely much more on the textual and syntactic context, whereas the glosses of the glossaries depend only on their lemmas.

3.5.4. Syntactic Patterns

The glossator of stratum G glossed lemmas that are embedded in syntactic structures in Hb but also individual words in the glossaries. Therefore, the glosses were conceptualised differently. Hb has clear evidence of syntax in the glosses while the glossaries mostly comprise independent translations. However, if it was semantically necessary, syntagms could even be created in the glossaries which demonstrates that the glossator was following basic translational patterns but would depart from them if needed. The details of how the form of the source text influenced syntactic structures and the syntactic information of the glosses will be presented in the following chapter.

The Old High German conjunctions ‘ioh’ and ‘inti’ were used in Hb according to the syntactic position of their Latin lemmas. ‘inti’ always translates *et* and ‘ioh’ the enclitic *-que*. This pattern has nurtured the belief that the Murbach Hymns were slavishly rendered word-for-word (Carr 1933, p. 494, calls it ‘mechanical glossing’). The clear distribution of the glosses is characteristic of the Hymns, as the conjunctions could translate either Latin lemma in other Old High German glosses, for example in the Rule of St Benedict (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 916; Montoto-Ballesteros 2007, p. 53). ‘ioh’ and ‘inti’ connect in the Murbach Hymns various phrases, syntactically and semantically. Only in one instance, *et* was translated with ‘thaz’ instead of ‘inti’ (fol. 116v, l. 8, Hb) which is evidence that the translation could not have simply followed the Latin lemmas. ‘thaz’ was chosen here to mark that the final clause which already starts with ‘thaz’ continues (Siewerts 2010, p. 93), and therefore to clarify the syntactic structure (see fig. 88).

The choice to link ‘ioh’ and ‘inti’ to specific lemmas could have syntactic reasons. *-que* is a clitic conjunction and Old High German does not have a syntactically equivalent one. If it comes to deciding

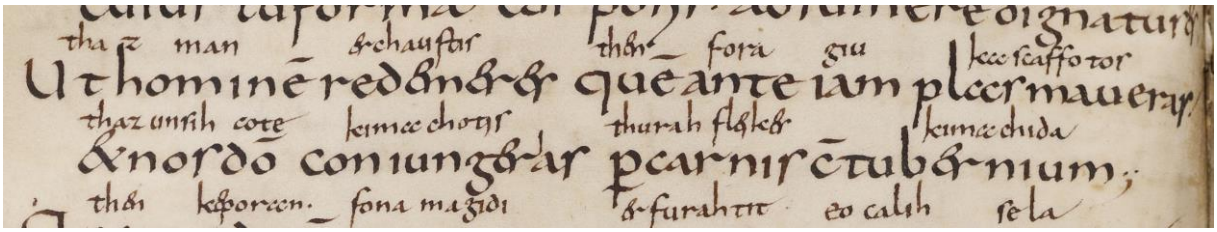


Fig. 88: In line 8 of folio 116v (Hb), Latin *et* was translated with ‘thaz’ (beginning of the bottom line) which differs from the usual translation of *et* but marks the syntactic relation to the clause in line 7, which also starts with ‘thaz’ (beginning of the top line).

between ‘ioh’ and ‘inti’ to translate it, without departing from the Latin word order, ‘ioh’ would be the more obvious choice. It also appears as an adverb and particle, and as such is much freer in its placement in the sentence (Montoto-Ballesteros 2007, pp. 57–8). Conjunctions have to stand between the two phrases they coordinate but ‘ioh’ can appear in other positions too. It is therefore sensible to choose it as a translation for a conjunction that has no syntactic equivalent in Old High German. Of the rest of stratum G, only Jc has instances of ‘inti’, for example in ‘ther fat̄ slahit / inti muat̄’ *patricida* (fol. 119v^{c}, l. 1, Jc) or ‘inti thoh zisperi’ *quā uis* (fol. 120r^{d}, l. 6, Jc). They are mostly part of complex semantic renderings such as in the first instance and always represent vernacular word order. The second example is a bit more complex. The conjunction does not link the two glosses but connects the glosses to the previous line, ‘thoh zisperi’ *quā quā* (fol. 120r^{d}, l. 5, Jc), which has the same translation (Krotz 2002, pp. 526–7). The gloss creates vernacular syntactic links outside of the source text. The glossator of stratum G had the structures of Old High German in mind, even when glossing the glossaries. Although the conjunctions of Hb follow the Latin word order, the choice of glosses respects the Old High German syntax within limitations. The instances in Jc are independent of their source and represent vernacular word order.

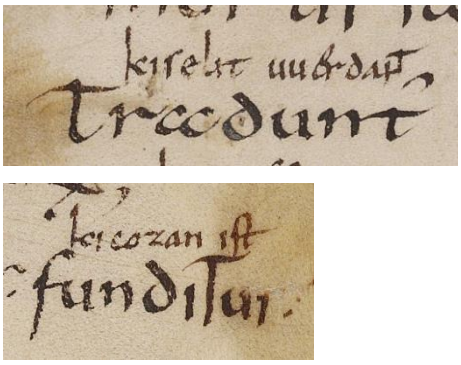


Fig. 89: Synthetic Latin verb forms were in stratum G (here: top, fol. 116r, l. 7; bottom, fol. 116r, l. 9; both Hb) translated with analytic forms in the order participle–auxiliary which indicates that this is the default word order for complex verb forms in glosses.

The Latin structures were adapted if it was necessary to create sensible Old High German phrases. In the gloss ‘thanta du selbo urchundo inti suanari pist’ *quia tu ipse testis et iudex* (fol. 116v, l. 25, Hb), the predicate was omitted in the Latin but as it was needed to realise vernacular syntax, it was still glossed. Some Latin synthetic verb forms needed to be translated with semantically equivalent Old High German analytic forms. They differ syntactically because the complex forms of the vernacular predicates can vary in their word order. Latin passive forms were translated with past participles and auxiliaries, usually in the order of first the participle and then the finite verb, as in ‘kiselit uuerdant’ *tradunt̂* (fol. 116r, l. 7, Hb) or ‘kicozan ist’ *funditur* (fol. 116r, l. 9, Hb; see fig. 89). This pattern matches the word order of passive forms in Jc, for example ‘erechisot uuarth’[133] *opstipuit* (fol. 119r^{d}, l. 20, Jc) and ‘eregisot uuarth’[134] *obriguit* (fol. 119r^{d}, l. 21, Jc). Both glosses render the meaning of the Latin verbs which are grammatically active by using a passive construction. Krotz (2002, p. 443) remarks that the source of

[133] Steinmeyer and Sievers (1898, p. 9) read ‘ereghisot’ because the ‘c’ has a decorative descender. However, it does not resemble a ‘g’.

[134] Next to the lemma are two further glosses: ‘erqhuoman·emarcuit’. The Latin gloss matches the grammatical form of the lemma, but the Old High German gloss ‘erqhuoman’ is a past participle. It is supposed to be read together with the auxiliary ‘uuarth’ of the vernacular gloss written above the lemma.

the glosses, the *Affatim* glossary, has *obstupefactum est* as gloss. The vernacular gloss could have been inspired by the Latin gloss, including its word order. Even when the order of the glosses was motivated by the Latin language, its use in all of stratum G indicates that it has reached the status of being the default word order for participles and auxiliaries and reflects syntactic conventions of Old High German.[135]

Passives in the main text of Hb were usually translated with a participle and the appropriate auxiliary 'uuerdan' or 'uuesan'. In contrast, there is one verse in Hb in which auxiliaries would be expected but were not expressed:[136] 'henin singantemo uuan erkepan suichē heili auur kicoz[…][137] / uuaffa thiupes intpuntan pisliften kilauba uuiruit' *gallo canente spes rediit egri salus refundiť ·'/ mucro latronis·soluiť · lapsis fides reuertiť* (fol. 117r, ll. 18–9, Hb). 'erkepan', an infinitive or uninflected past participle, translates the Latin indicative active perfect form *rediit*. If the gloss were an infinitive, it would translate the inflected form into a base form which was barely done in the Hymns. The gloss is usually interpreted as participle (AWB 4,168; Gerhards 2018, p. 134; Sievers 1874, p. 70) analogue to the following passive forms of the verse (Siewerts 2010, p. 252). This theory requires an omitted auxiliary which can be palaeographically supported. *egri* which follows *rediit* was corrected from *aegri* by erasing the initial *a*-. Since the words stand very close, an abbreviated passive ending -*tur* could have been erased accidentally in the process (see fig. 90). As can be seen at the ends of lines nineteen and twenty-one of folio 117r, the little hook marking -*tur* stands above the rightmost side of the *t* and even protrudes to the right. Assuming a similar abbreviation marker above *rediit*, erasing the *a*- could have obscured the ending. The Latin passive, however, would be *reditur*, which does not fit the lemma on the page, despite the ending. It seems as if the auxiliary was left out on purpose.

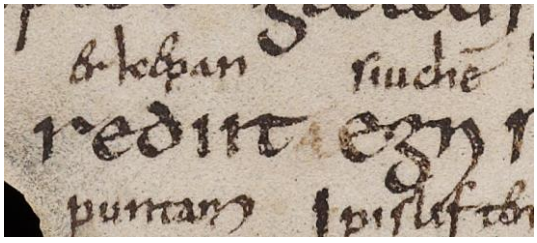


Fig. 90: When the initial *a* of *aegri* was erased, an abbreviation of -*tur* above the final -*t* of *rediit* could also have been removed which indicates a passive construction. In this case, the gloss 'erkepan' would be grammatically equivalent (fol. 117r, l. 18, Hb).

Three further Latin passive predicates follow in this verse, each half-line consists of one clause ending with the verb. The last predicate 'uuiruit' renders a Latin deponent as a vernacular active form and is the only form that syntactically fully makes sense. The predicate at the end of line eighteen, 'auur kicoz[…]' *refundiť*, was compromised by corrections. The lemma in the line above was removed and replaced by *arguit*. The rest of a Latin descender[138] can still be seen after 'auur kicoz' and the abbreviation sign of *refundiť* was almost completely abraded. The text was corrected after it was

[135] In contrast, see the word order of an imperative form that could represent a clause in Jc: 'nim couma' *anīaduerte* (fol. 118r[a], l. 7, Jc).
[136] The according verb forms are underlined.
[137] The part after 'kicoz' was accidentally erased and is illegible.
[138] It was incorrectly interpreted as 'i' by Gerhards (2018, p. 100).

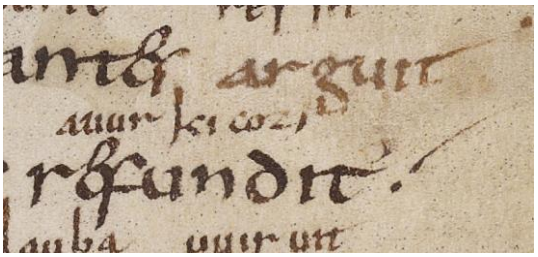


Fig. 91: The end of the gloss ‘kicoz[…]’ (fol. 117r, l. 18, Hb) was accidentally erased when the last Latin word of line 17 was erased. If an auxiliary was removed, it could also belong to the first half-line of line 18.

glossed because parts of the glosses around *arguit* and the ending of ‘auur kicoz’ were erased. Because the gloss translates a Latin passive, the vernacular word is usually complemented to ‘auur kicoz[zan ist]’ (Sievers 1874, p. 55), a construction with past participle and auxiliary which is parallel to ‘kicozan ist’ *funditur* on folio 116r, line nine. Theoretically, an auxiliary could have referred to both ‘erkepan’ and ‘auur kicoz[…]’ which would make the first half-line an elliptic construction (see fig. 91). However, since the next passive predicate was also translated with only a past participle, ‘intpuntan’ *soluiſ̂*, it seems as if the glossator created a construction with parallel but incomplete vernacular predicates. In the Rule of St Benedict (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 916), Latin passive could be translated by only a participle (e.g. Masser 2002, p. 177; Masser 1997, p. 213). The same construction can be found in single text glosses, for example in the manuscript München, BSB Clm 6293 (O. Ernst, Nievergelt & Schiegg 2019, pp. 32–3, 74, 116), where it has the same function as full predicates (O. Ernst, Nievergelt & Schiegg 2019, pp. 213–4). The construction also appears in Jc as can be seen in the example ‘kistatit’ *sistiſ̂* (fol. 120v^{d}, l. 23, Jc). Expressing only parts of the Old High German predicates adequately represents the Latin verb forms, and the glosses can be considered abbreviations.

Depending on the meaning of the predicate, the translation of the Latin passive could be adjusted to a grammatically different form. *cre deris*, indicative present passive, was translated with ‘kelaupanne pist’ (fol. 117v, l. 16, Hb), a construction with inflected infinitive in dative and the auxiliary ‘uuesan/sîn’. The dative of the inflected infinitive is in Old High German usually preceded by the preposition ‘zi’ (Braune 2023, §315 A.2) as can also be seen in ‘zi kirisanne’ *expetire* (fol. 122r^{e}, l. 3, *Alumnis*). Besides the instance in the Hymns, an inflected infinitive without a preposition is only evidenced once more in the larger Old High German texts, in the Tatian. Both instances are considered to be scribal errors or abbreviations and are completed with ‘zi’ (cf. Denecke 1880, p. 4 fn. **; Sievers 1874, p. 57; the instances are listed in Grimm 1831, p. 112). In independent text glosses, examples without prepositions can be found, too (O. Ernst, Nievergelt & Schiegg 2019, p. 49). In common grammatical constructions, it could be expected that the reader knows how to complete the translation, especially if the Latin form is fully expressed. In this example, there is no Latin gerundive and therefore no Latin preposition. The ‘zu’ of the infinitive is grammaticalised in New High German, but in Old High German, the preposition still has some of its lexical meaning (Haspelmath 1989, p. 289). The preposition was originally added to infinitives to ensure that they would be understood as purposive (Haspelmath 1989, p. 302). Translating *cre deris* with the gerundive contains the urgent meaning of the phrase, ‘you are to believe’ (Siewerts 2010, p. 138). Leaving out ‘zi’ could be evidence

that the inflected infinitive itself bore a purposive meaning in the Old High German period. Whether it could form a full sentence on its own or not, it could be comprehensible without the preposition. The auxiliary stands after the inflected infinitive which is the same position as in the analytic passive and supports that this is the default order of complex verb forms. The differing syntax of the glosses was based on Old High German linguistics and carries the meaning of the phrase.

In rare cases, Latin analytical verb forms would be translated with synthetic verb forms which are syntactically simpler. Hb has the case of the Latin phrase *dignatus esse* which was translated in three instances with 'kiuuerdotos' (fol. 116v, ll. 6, 13, and 21, Hb), the second-person singular indicative preterite active of the Old High German verb 'giuuerdôn' (Schützeichel 2012, p. 382). The Latin verb is a deponent which the glossator understood correctly and used a semantically appropriate active form. Instead of mirroring the Latin morphology, a synthetic past tense was chosen. It is the common form in narratives and semantically represents the Latin perfect (Braune 2023, §301.2 A.3). In the context of the discussed lemmas, the predicates were usually translated as a preterite, for example 'erchauftis' for imperfect subjunctive *redemeres* or 'kascaffotos' for plusquamperfect *plasmaueras* (both fol. 116v, l. 7, Hb). The tense marks the verses as narrative. Although analytic verb forms are more common in Old High German than Latin, this balance can be seemingly broken when the semantics demand a simple word form in the translation. In contrast, the perfect passive *scissū ē* was translated with a preterite passive 'kizerrit uuarth' (fol. 116v, l. 15, Hb). Their tenses differ but the forms are syntactically congruent because they both have an auxiliary. The Latin form is ambiguous. Grammatically, it could also be a resultative denoting a present form ('it is ripped' instead of 'it was ripped', Jones 2009, p. 36). Only within the narrative context, it can be identified as a perfect. The translation chosen by the glossator shows that, although both 'uuerdan' and 'uuesan/sîn' are possible auxiliaries to translate a perfect form, 'uuerdan' conveys the anterior sense more clearly (as evidenced in the Old High German Isidor, cf. Jones 2009, pp. 235–6). The grammatical characteristics of the predicates were not copied from the Latin but the translation was syntactically adjusted to the target language. Vernacular analytic verbs were always written in the default word order.

Most glosses of stratum G follow the Latin word order but there is one translation that departs from the Latin and shows Old High German syntax: 'uuir dar pihabet uuarun' *quitenebamur* (fol. 116v, l. 12, Hb). Not only was the Latin synthetic passive *tenebamur* translated with an analytic Old High German form, but the Latin relative pronoun *qui* was translated with the personal pronoun 'uuir' and the particle 'dar' (see fig. 92). This translation differs from the verses before in which Latin relative pronouns were rendered with Old

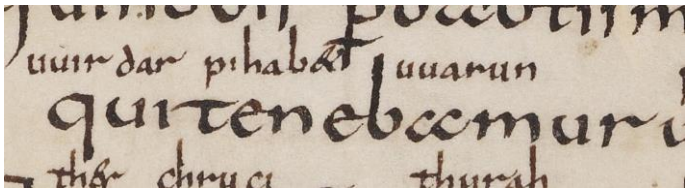


Fig. 92: The two Latin words *qui tenebamur* were rendered as complex Old High German syntagm (fol. 116v, l. 12, Hb).

High German relative pronouns (e.g. 'then' *quē*, fol. 116v, l. 5, or 'thes' *cuius*, fol. 116v, l. 6, both Hb). The particle takes over the relative function (AWB 2,243), and the personal pronoun, which functions as the subject pronoun, assures that the subject of the sentence is clear. It is perhaps because of the many occurrences of relative pronouns in this hymn that the personal pronoun phrase was chosen. It elucidates the syntactic relations. Because the subject pronoun is expressed in contrast to the Latin,[139] the syntax can follow Old High German. The postposition of the particle is well attested (AWB 2,250–1), and the order of past participle and auxiliary aligns with possible Old High German word order in subordinate clauses (Schmid 2023, §149). The glossaries of stratum G also present vernacular syntagms, such as 'ther fat̄ slahit / inti muat̄' *patricida* (fol. 119v^{c}, l. 1, Jc), however, the phrases can usually be related to other sources (cf. Krotz 2002, p. 463). In Hb, Old High German syntax was used to clarify ambiguous Latin forms and without departing much from the primary text, vernacular linguistic features could be expressed.

The glossator of stratum G demonstrated that Old High German offers various possibilities to render Latin future verbs. In Hb, they were chosen according to their semantic and syntactic equivalence in the textual context. One Latin future participle appears in stratum G, *daturus*, that was translated with a present participle, 'kepenter' (fol. 117r, l. 4, Hb). Present tense was used in Old High German to denote future events (cf. Lawson 1958, p. 66; Schmid 2023, §113.2), and by rendering the future participle into a present participle (both nominative masculine singular), a semantically logical form was chosen. The vernacular phrase usually requires an auxiliary (Braune 2023, §301.2 A.2) but the Latin structure was copied. Assuming that an auxiliary is omitted, it is unclear which grammatical characteristics the whole predicate would have had as there were several constructions in Old High German to convey the future tense (cf. Diewald & Habermann 2005; Lawson 1958). In this sense, by focusing on the Latin the complexity of Old High German syntax was not exhausted. Another possible occurrence of the future in stratum G is 'nisi kiskentit' *n̄ c̄fundar* (fol. 117v, l. 25, Hb). As in the first example, the Latin text was translated adequately. The Latin synthetic passive form was rendered into an equivalent analytic Old High German form with auxiliary and past participle. The clause is a simple declarative sentence with predicate and adverbial: 'nisi kiskentit ineuun' *n̄ c̄fundar ineт̄nū* (fol. 117v, l. 25, Hb). Having the finite verb form in second place aligns with Old High German word order (Schmid 2023, §138) and differs from the default word order seen in passive forms. The glossator chose the opportunity to form a valid clause within the frame of the main text. Vernacular 'si' is present subjunctive, a tense that can denote the future in Old High German (Lawson 1958, p. 68). *c̄fundar*, however, is ambiguous as it could be present subjunctive or future indicative, although future is more sensible in the context because the verse describes what will happen in eternity. The translation covers

[139] In stratum G, strikingly many subject pronouns were used in the Latin main text, especially at the end of this hymn where four lines start with *tu* ('thu', fol. 117r, ll. 2–5, Hb).

both options and therefore reflects the ambivalent lemma. While both examples follow the Latin very closely, the translations were chosen carefully. They render the meaning of the source but also represent Old High German syntactic features.

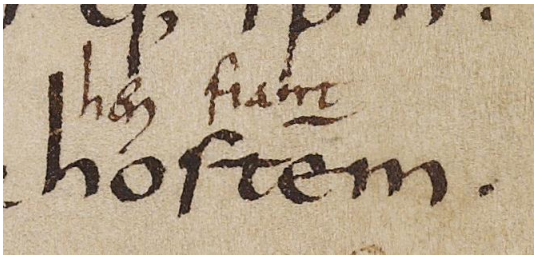


Fig. 93: Only the second gloss of the double gloss 'heri fiant' (fol. 116r, l. 24, Hb) is syntactically embedded in the context which marks it semantically as the main gloss.

In all of stratum G, grammatical agreement was maintained in the glosses even if it meant departing from the Latin. In larger phrases, the glosses copy the grammatical gender of their lemmas. It is therefore not possible to detect whether the glosses were meant to grammatically agree or if it was just a by-product of the translation. But there are smaller phrases in which the grammatical gender of lemma and gloss differs. In the attribute–noun phrases 'libes euuiges' *uite ꝑennis* (fol. 116r, l. 10, Hb), for example, the Latin phrase is feminine but both Old High German noun and attribute are masculine/neuter, in 'ethiuuelichomezu' *aliquomodo* (fol. 118r[b], l. 10, Jc), the Latin is masculine and the glosses neuter. Attribute and noun formed the minimal vernacular phrase in which agreement was expected. However, this rule could not be followed in all cases. *hostēm* / *in ui dum* was translated with a double gloss, 'heri fiant / abansti gan ·' (fol. 116r, ll. 24–5, Hb). The Latin noun and attribute are masculine[140] just as the vernacular attribute (AWB 1,10) and the noun 'fiant' (AWB 3,792). In contrast, the first gloss 'heri' is neuter (AWB 4,971). In the accusative case, the attribute could not agree with both genders. The glossator chose to dismiss the grammatical agreement in this case in favour of lexical diversity. At the same time, by creating agreement with only one noun, this noun is marked as the main translation because it is grammatically embedded in the syntax (see fig. 93). Semantically, 'fiant' does also fit the context better (Siewerts 2010, p. 88). Within one verse, the lemmas were also glossed syntactically. The phrase 'thuruh chruci todes' *ꝑcrucē mortis* (fol. 116v, l. 17, Hb) is followed by the demonstrative pronoun 'themo' *qua* (fol. 116v, l. 18, Hb) in the next line which refers to the noun. Latin *crux* is feminine and Old High German 'krûzi' is neuter (AWB 5,447) and the pronouns have the corresponding gender. Grammatical agreement exists in stratum G. Whether it was intentional or not can mostly not be proven, but at least within small phrases or even verses, the glossator chose to maintain syntactically sensible structures.

Most evidence of Old High German syntax can be found in Hb. In the glossaries of stratum G, the form of the main text which consists mainly of individual words does not have visual syntactic potential. It would still be possible to create syntactic structures based on virtual syntax and some lemmas of the glossaries were translated with complex syntagms, however, they are often close

[140] *hostis* as *generis communis* noun (Georges 1998, 1,3089) could also appear as feminine.

translations of another source. Jc has glosses that link the translations together outside of the primary text which demonstrates that despite the limits of the form, the glossator had vernacular syntax in mind while translating the glossaries. This pattern also agrees with the rendering of verb forms. Most findings of Hb on verbs could be confirmed by glosses in Jc, *Alumnis* or the Gregory glosses. Latin passive and future were transferred into syntactically and semantically sensible vernacular forms. Complex verbal structures were always written in the order of participle–auxiliary which indicates a writing convention. Peculiar syntactic structures in Hb, such as an inflected infinitive without preposition or participles without auxiliaries, are evidence of the intentional creation of meaningful vernacular structures. While the infinitive form was probably semantically motivated, the participle construction could be linked to the glossing method of abbreviating but also reflects patterns applied in text glosses. Phrases grammatically agree in stratum G, although in the glossaries, only the minimal phrase of attribute and noun could be analysed. Although the glosses often copy the Latin agreement, the cases in which they depart from it demonstrate that the scribe based the stratum on vernacular syntax. The form of the glossaries and their dependency on their sources restricted the formation of independent structures. In contrast, the glossator would express the underlying syntactic relations in the glosses of Hb where the interlinear version allowed large syntagms.

3.5.5. The Functional Net of Stratum G

The glosses of Hb are subordinate to the Latin main text not only linguistically but also to a large extent graphically. Because the Latin was so densely written, there was less space for the glosses and they had to be written around the Latin letters. Under these difficult conditions, the glossator still managed to implement several different glossing techniques and was even able to use the lack of space as an advantage. The glosses were intentionally separated by syllables, but the scribe integrated the breaks forced by the ascenders and descenders of the main text into this system. Similarly, glosses follow the line breaks of their lemmas, but only according to vernacular phonological principles. The translations also work with the text on the page, but were partly supplemented by another, more common version of the hymns. The glossator had to choose which version to translate on a case-by-case basis. The glosses have several skopoi, which resulted in different glossing methods. Double glosses and abbreviations were used frequently. Both do not always support syntactic structures, e.g. double glosses could restrict grammatical agreement in the glosses, but the translations were still based on vernacular syntagms. In particular, predicates were often translated with the skopos of clarifying their semantic and syntactic characteristics, resulting in syntactically sensible Old High German phrases. Furthermore, the vernacular verb forms show evidence of incipient syntactic conventions that can be related to the exploration of the language in writing.

The last page of Hb, folio 117v, stands out from the remaining pages. While the layout of the main text was meticulously maintained on folios 116r to 117r, it changes significantly on the last page to allow the Hymns to be completed on folio 117v. The lemmas were often abbreviated, but even more frequently the glosses. A lack of space sometimes necessitated abbreviations in the translation, but many can be attributed to other reasons, such as clarification of lexical choices. How the glosses were shortened depended on the skopoi. Creating functional translations was more important than following the phonological principles of Old High German. Although syllables were the basis of abbreviations, the glossator departed from this system to convey additional information about the intended word. This method is evidence of a process that was focused on a functioning gloss stratum and efficient glossing. Syntactic links were partly omitted because whole words were left out, and the scribe anticipated educated readers who would be able to deduce the missing glosses and word parts from the Latin context and their knowledge of Old High German. Some of the abbreviations can also be linked to writing conventions which, just as the verb phrases, demonstrate that glossing was a way of developing ways to write in the vernacular.

The glossator of stratum G glossed not only the Hymns but also glossaries, creating intertextual relationships. The varying methods used in the sections demonstrate that glossing was carried out differently according to the form and function of the primary text. Although the different sources were glossed by the same scribe, theoretically making them part of a functional unit, the comparison between them leads to a different conclusion. Punctuation was much more important in the glossaries, where it was necessary to separate lemmas and glosses or double glosses, whereas in Hb the continuous writing did not require visual separation. Furthermore, the textual context of glossaries is not expressed on the page and thus could not support the identification of abbreviated gloss parts, so this method was rarely used. However, phonological syllables were separated frequently in Jc and *Alumnis*, and complex vernacular verb forms were created in all glossaries. The translations of the glossaries could therefore not be based on the same visual syntactic potential as those of Hb, but they represent Old High German within the limits of the source text. One main skopos is to provide adequate lexical renderings, which can be seen in the frequent use of double glosses. The comparison of the different sections of stratum G showed that glossing did not follow a strict system, but could be adapted dynamically according to the main text and its focus. The linguistic and pragmatic prerequisites of an interlinear version and a glossary were too different to allow uniform glossing, but within the glossaries, largely the same methods were used. The scribe of stratum G therefore created two functional units, Hb and the glossaries.

3.6. Conclusion: The Strata of the Murbach Hymns

The Murbach Hymns consist of seven gloss strata. They have many similarities which show that some of them were written with the same main skopos. All of them are based on functional nets of vertical and horizontal structures, supported by visual cues implemented in the glosses. The vertical level, the relationship between gloss and lemma, was the foundation of this net. The glosses are primarily dependent on their lemmas, as all glosses were written to provide an adequate translation according to the individual skopoi. The interlinear version of the Murbach Hymns is therefore paratext. The sections where the glossing hands overlap suggest that the Hymns were not glossed linearly from beginning to end but in separate phrases. The translation was completed step by step, allowing the individual glosses to be embedded in larger syntactic structures. Within the confines of the main text, the glossators were able to depart from a word-for-word translation if deemed necessary. This pattern shows that the basis of all strata was the vernacular, and that it was only expressed to different degrees because the main skopoi differ. As for the individual glosses, they could all be linked to their pragmatic context. The use of vernacular features served to emphasise vernacular linguistics but also to clarify the meaning. The focus on Old High German was reinforced by embedding individual translations in vernacular syntactic structures. In all strata, translation and syntax were supported by visual glossing strategies. These were based on the Old High German linguistic system and were largely unaffected by the linguistic features of the primary text, except where they were used to contrast the two languages. The different levels emerged in relation to each other from the intuitive process of glossing, so that all glossators, regardless of the main function of their stratum, constructed the functional net on the same basis.

Each stratum of the Murbach Hymns is built upon this functional net but they differ in the extent of the features. The strata can therefore be seen as functional units in which a scribe glossed according to the intended function. The most complex stratum is stratum A, although it consists of only one page. In all its features it is multi-layered and structured, suggesting that it served as a template for the rest of the Hymns. It determined the following strata and is the only stratum that has the underlying skopos of demonstrating how the glossing should be carried out, linguistically and graphically. The translations of stratum A depart relatively often from the Latin, and vernacular linguistic characteristics were expressed at many different levels. In comparison to the other strata, the skopos is much more often to elucidate vernacular linguistics rather than the Latin. Nevertheless, there are many glosses that were syntactically, grammatically, and sometimes even morphologically equivalent to the Latin, suggesting that their skopos is to explain the source language. The balance of emphasis shows how well the glossator could handle both languages. Clarifying the meaning of the

main text, or conveying the glossator's interpretation of it, was often the underlying purpose of the translations. This function can be seen in all strata and is therefore a main skopos of the Hymns. In addition to teaching Latin and Old High German linguistics, they were written to impart theological knowledge. This skopos more often led to departures from the Latin and thus to the introduction of vernacular features, including the creation of vernacular syntax to illustrate the textual structures, the adaptation of forms according to the linguistic system of the target language, and, in the case of strata A, B, E, and G, lexical clarification through the use of double glosses. However, in glosses that copy Latin grammar, the lexical choice of the translation could still reflect the theological background. This framework, on which all strata were based, was established by stratum A.

The complexity of realising translation aims and vernacular syntax decreases in the later strata of Ha. The differences are not related to the quality of the strata, but they show that their skopoi varied. Although stratum B already differs from stratum A, strata C, D, E, and F show even less variation in glossing methods. The palaeographic evidence sheds further light on the results of the linguistic analysis. The complexity of a gloss stratum correlates with the attention the scribes paid to the script. Stratum A, which was carefully written and designed, was imitated graphically and linguistically in stratum B. The glosses were mostly written evenly and their syntactic focus shows a glossator who wanted to create a complex gloss stratum. The rapid change of hands on folio 127r and the variety of hands in stratum D suggest that the scribes of strata C and D were practising glossing. The script indicates quick writing and although it is more difficult to draw firm conclusions because the strata are so small, they seem to follow the main skopos of elucidating the main text. The hand of stratum E apparently glossed quickly. It also concentrated on producing glosses that were close to the primary text, as there are fewer deviations from the Latin. In the last stratum of Ha, stratum F, agreement was not consistently implemented even in small phrases, and no double glosses or abbreviations appear, which demonstrates that the glossator mostly wanted to copy the Latin. The elongated letters indicate quick writing. This pattern suggests that after stratum B the scribes were concerned with finishing the glossing quickly. Working with the source on the page seems to have been faster than implementing differing structures, which also indicates that the glosses were not copied from another source. As strata C, D, E, and F may have been created by the same scribe, they have the potential to form a functional unit. However, the practical circumstances of glossing influenced them to an extent that their functionality differs. Nevertheless, the main skopos of all four strata is to elucidate the Latin. That the glosses of the Hymns were created after a model page emphasises the performative nature of glossing. The quick change of strata in Ha and the scattered glossing seen in strata D, E, and F could not have been very economical if the aim was to finish the document. The pattern of writing indicates that a function of the remaining glosses of Ha also was simply to write vernacular glosses according to the template.

The glosses of Hb, which are part of stratum G, paint a different picture. They are also very close to the main text, but use more complex methods to express vernacular features than the last strata of Ha. Their characteristics demonstrate that a translation that follows the main text is not necessarily less elaborate than independent translations. The many abbreviations, especially on the last page of Hb, are evidence of efficient but functional glossing. This glossing style differs from that of Ha, which supports the hypothesis that the two parts have different origins. The use of abbreviations in particular could signal different glossing traditions. Nevertheless, Hb largely follows the model of stratum A. The concept of strata as functional units is challenged by the composition of stratum G. The glosses of the glossaries have similarities with Hb but are also influenced by the function of their source text. While the continuous glossing of Hb allowed for a variety of skopoi and complex syntactic glosses, the individual glosses of the glossaries were limited to their lemma and often to other sources. Stratum G is therefore not a functional unit, although it was written by one hand, but consists of at least two functional sections. The glossator drew from the same inventory of glossing methods for all the glosses but the type of source text determined the main skopos, which is in the glossaries to elucidate the Latin. The functional net of glosses that have intertextual structures must therefore be considered in relation to the individual primary texts.

In the context of other interlinear versions with Old High German glosses, the strategies used in the Murbach Hymns appear to be part of a wider glossing tradition. The main visual strategies, word segmentation according to phonological syllables and punctuation marking gloss boundaries, also appear in the 'St. Pauler Lukasglossen' (St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1/8) and in the Rule of St Benedict (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 916).[141] Furthermore, the translation techniques identified for the Hymns, for example abbreviating glosses, morphological translations, and syntactic features such as maintaining grammatical agreement in the glosses, can also be found in other interlinear versions and text glosses. In particular, double glosses and abbreviations are usually considered to be characteristic of the Murbach Hymns, which is related to their frequency of use. In comparison, double glosses are found in the 'St. Pauler Lukasglossen' but were used only rarely. The differentiation of the Hymns according to their strata demonstrates that these features are actually specific to individual gloss strata. Double glosses were most common in stratum A used much less in strata B, E, and G, relatively to the size of the strata. Abbreviations are scarce in strata C and E. Strata D and F do not contain either of the two glossing methods. The results concur with the finding that the glossing of the later strata of Ha is less complex. The scribes of the Hymns drew on Old High German glossing traditions, but just as each glossed text has its own pattern of how these techniques were implemented, so too do the different hands of the Murbach Hymns.

[141] Cf. Henkel (1996) and Voetz (1985).

The way in which abbreviations were introduced, especially abbreviations of ‘truhtin’, shows that the scribes developed writing conventions through glossing. In stratum B the word was systematically abbreviated. The glossator of stratum E, who similarly shortened the gloss, attempted the same pattern but misapplied the ligature ‘ti’, resulting in a misspelling of the word. In general, abbreviations were used in frequent words and, apart from ‘truhtin’ and a few exceptions, mark phonological syllables. Hb shows a completely different pattern. ‘truhtin’ was abbreviated by only expressing the last syllable. Many other glosses were written with the first letter and the last syllable, a method similar to the writing of ‘truhtin’ in strata B and E. This method facilitates understanding the shortened glosses as it references the word stem. There was no model of which specific words to abbreviate and how to do it, but the scribes applied the method in a way that made sense to them, i.e. they performatively developed writing conventions. A syntactic convention can be seen in the way analytic vernacular verb forms, translating synthetic Latin forms, were written. Although the scribes were free to arrange them as they wished, they followed the order of infinite verb form–auxiliary in all strata. Apparently, this order was natural to the scribes and therefore used without question. While the abbreviations indicate evolving conventions, the complex verb forms already followed a universal pattern.

The visual strategies that shape the form of the glosses were based on pronunciation and thus on the use of language. They appear in all strata of the Murbach Hymns, suggesting that they were either known glossing methods or automatically used by speakers of Old High German. While in most strata they seem to express the skopos of conveying information about the phonology of the vernacular, strata C and G contain evidence indicating that these strategies were in fact implemented intuitively. They were therefore not necessarily created with the intention of imparting phonological knowledge, but could be the result of scribes who had the spoken language in mind when glossing. Since Old High German was still mainly used in speech, how it was pronounced was integrated into the written form. Looking at the different strata, intuitive adaptation to the pragmatic context played an important role in glossing. Strategies were consciously used to convey specific information, especially at the vertical level, but they were hardly applied systematically. Rather, it seems that scribes had an inventory of possible strategies from which they chose spontaneously. Furthermore, when a method appears, it was more likely to be used in another gloss in visual proximity. In this way, clusters of glossing strategies emerged. Glossing was certainly planned to some extent, but it was spontaneous and dynamic, rooted in the natural use of Old High German.

The analysis of the strata of the Murbach Hymns paints a comprehensive picture of the glosses and their production. I was able to determine the characteristics of individual strata and support the palaeographic analysis with linguistic evidence. Furthermore, by comparing the strata, it was possible to draw conclusions on a larger scale. I could show that the gloss strata represent common glossing

traditions found in other glosses and have signs of individual writing conventions. They were influenced by the functional net, but how it was expressed depended on the practical context in which the glosses were written. Only by combining material and linguistic analysis was I able to contrast the contextual circumstances of glossing and the linguistic characteristics with one another to gain a deeper understanding of the pragmatics of glosses.

4. Syntax and Function of Old High German Glosses

The Old High German interlinear version of the Murbach Hymns is a complex translation embedded in a functional net of textual and visual structures which underpins its purpose as an elaborate study aid in linguistic and theological studies. The aim of this study was to comprehensively analyse the characteristics of this net. By combining material and linguistic analysis, I was able to demonstrate that the scribes intentionally used the various levels of the functional net to convey information about source and target language, as well as theological interpretations. The three deduced components of the net have proven to be essential in comprehending the paratextual gloss stratum. By considering the vertical gloss-lemma relationship as translational, I was able to define the skopoi of the individual glosses in detail. Through analysis of the syntactic structures between the glosses, I could show that the visual potential of the interlinear version was utilised by the scribes. Finally, by examining how the glosses were written on the page, and therefore by including material characteristics in the analysis, I demonstrated that glossing was an intuitive process of the glossators, who drew from their natural language use.

The complex history of the Murbach Hymns made it necessary to assess them in the context of their manuscript. I determined the relation of the different manuscript parts codicologically and palaeographically and could demonstrate that some of them were connected to the Hymns before the codex was bound in the fifteenth century. These parts, the 'inner core', are related to higher linguistic and theological education of the early Middle Ages which aligns with the assumed purpose of the interlinear version. In order to be able to identify the function of the Murbach Hymns in greater detail, I took into account the intertextual and intratextual structures which emerged from the practical process of glossing. Basing my analysis on textual structures was a fruitful approach, allowing me to be systematic and precise in my conclusions about the function of the glosses. I identified seven gloss strata which have proven to be linguistically and graphically distinct. By comparing them, I could detect which glossing features were conventional techniques and which ones were characteristics of individual scribes. Although the glossing of the Murbach Hymns is similar to that of other interlinear versions, and thus belongs to a common glossing tradition, the glossators would apply the acquired techniques according to their own standards. While certain methods, such as grammatical agreement between attributes and nouns, were prevalent in all strata, others, such as double glossing, were used by only a few scribes. Furthermore, as stratum G contains several different main texts, thus creating an intertextual net, I was able to deduce that the form and function of the source strongly influenced how a glossator translated the lemmas. My findings on the differences between the strata are not only useful for linguistic analyses, as done in this study, but could provide a basis for further literary and

cultural studies on the Hymns. Even though it was not the focus of this work, the evidence plays into the discussion about the aesthetic quality of the glosses. As the results show, only by analysing glosses according to their strata can their characteristics be interpreted appropriately as each gloss stratum paints a picture of its practical context of writing and sheds light on the creation of the glosses of the Murbach Hymns.

Analysing the Murbach Hymns according to their different strata gave further evidence about whether the glosses were copied from another manuscript. I discussed the glosses and glossators' corrections representing the authoritative version of the hymns rather than the text on the page which have been used as arguments for an alternative source of the glosses. As I could show, there is a clear contrast between the strata, with stratum B as the stratum containing most corrections following the authoritative Latin hymns and strata C, D, E, and F having fewest deviations from the Latin in the manuscript. These differences show that to which version of the Latin hymns the glosses refer relies on the scribes. The pattern matches the identified levels of complexity of glossing and links the use of the authoritative version to the circumstances of writing. This evidence argues against another textual version from which the glosses were copied. It rather indicates that the differences between the scribes were based on the effort that they invested in incorporating the authoritative version they probably knew by heart into the manuscript.

Within the framework of intertextual and intratextual structures, the functional net that emerged was based on universal principles that can be seen as the foundation of interlinear versions. They determine how the different levels interact with each other. The vertical translational relationship between lemma and gloss is the basis of the glosses. Depending on the skopos of the translation, the vertical link may be obvious, i.e. when the skopos is to elucidate the Latin and the gloss copies the lemma, or it may be obscured, i.e. when the skopos is to highlight vernacular features or the meaning of the lemma and the translation departs from the Latin. Horizontal syntactic structures between the glosses were mainly created in the second category as they lead to deviations from the main text. The practical circumstances of glossing could limit the expression of these relationships, however, the glossators of the Murbach Hymns were able to adapt the glosses in inventive ways so that they were still functional. The vertical and horizontal structures of the glosses are thus interdependent and rooted in the pragmatic nature of glosses.

The third level, the visuality of the glosses, is a more independent factor of the functional net. It could highlight both syntactic and translational features, but I found that the visual characteristics could be deployed without an intended function. They were much more influenced by the practical process of glossing than the other two levels, as they were partly implemented intuitively during glossing. According to my findings, the use of visual characteristics was also motivated by quick writing

and was therefore carried out automatically. I could demonstrate that glossing generally was a dynamic process in which glossators spontaneously selected from their inventory of glossing methods to produce a functionally adequate translation. The visual characteristics, however, are linked to the pronunciation of Old High German and thus to the natural use of the language. It seems that the scribes had the pronunciation of the words in mind when glossing which resulted in phonological renderings on the page. These patterns fulfil the function of conveying information about the use of the vernacular. Since glosses were not bound by a strict layout, the glossators were free to experiment with how to write on the page. By applying these principles, the scribes performatively explored the spoken vernacular as a written language.

I approached the glosses from an unbiased perspective by applying Skopos theory. This allowed me to ignore any concerns about their quality and to consider them solely as paratextual products of their functional net. I determined that the glosses convey as much information about Old High German as they do about Latin. Glosses that have the skopos of elucidating the Latin closely copy the source, while glosses with the skopos of explaining the vernacular depart greatly from it. The analysis revealed that the skopoi are versatile and could change from gloss to gloss. In order to create a functional and informative translation, the two linguistic systems were intricately interwoven so that the reader, perceiving the gloss stratum and main text simultaneously, could derive linguistic information from their relationship. Additionally, the glosses contain information about the theological background, the interpretation of the Latin hymns, and even textual variants. The glossators had to draw on a wide range of linguistic and theological knowledge to write the gloss strata which constitutes the educational function of the Murbach Hymns. Given their codicological context, the Hymns were probably used for higher education where language and theology were studied at a deeper level.

The interlinear version facilitated writing a complex gloss stratum. As I demonstrated, the process of glossing was influenced by visual cues on the page, and the same applies to the visual potential of continuous glossing. The glosses not only appear as syntactic structures but were also translated as such. Often, the framework of the Latin primary text limited the possibilities of vernacular syntax. Since the glossing was carried out in phrases and not linearly, vernacular syntactic relations were created step by step and the word order of the Latin was largely maintained. However, a close analysis of the glosses revealed that vernacular syntax could be implemented even in small phrases, showing that the scribes had Old High German constructions in mind when glossing. I determined that in theologically significant passages the vernacular syntax was used to clarify the meaning, but that highlighting vernacular syntactic structures could also be the skopos of a translation. There is even evidence of glosses in which the scribes experimented with Old High German syntax. These translations differ significantly from the Latin and are therefore particularly fruitful for syntactic research. Despite

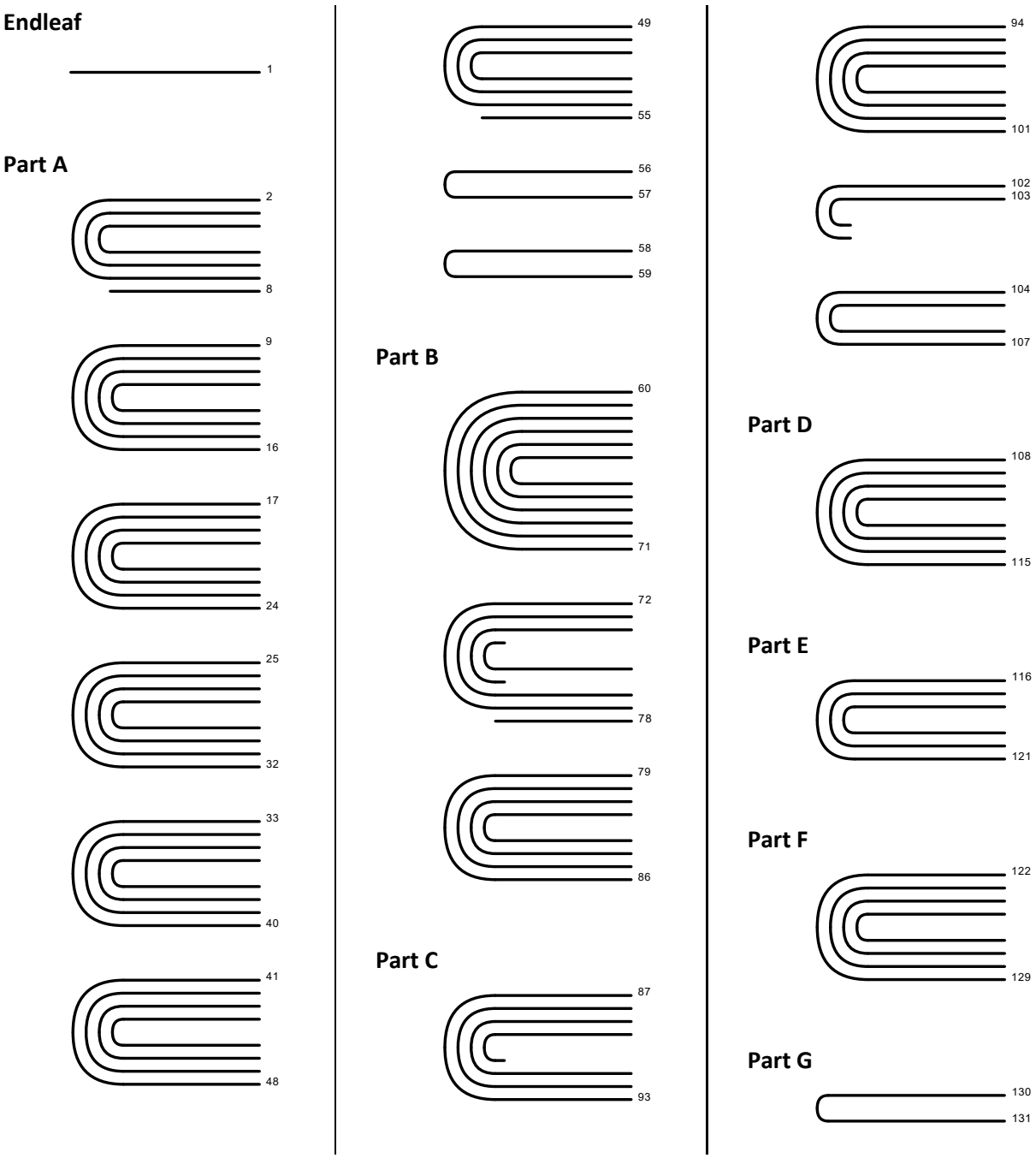
their close relationship to the main text, the glosses of the Murbach Hymns are syntactic in many instances.

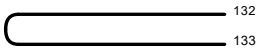
The structural and systematic approach to the interlinear version of the Murbach Hymns has proven to be very productive. It was not always possible to separate the different levels of analysis, as they often overlapped and interacted. Nevertheless, by identifying the structural net of the glosses I was able to consider each part comprehensively. Many of the factors I observed also apply to text glosses or glossaries, but it became evident that interlinear versions offered the glossators possibilities not otherwise available. Their appearance facilitated the expression of syntactic structures and thus brought the horizontal level much more into focus. Individual concepts of functional nets need to be developed for each gloss type, as I have done for interlinear versions. Depending on the complexity of their transmission, the net should also include their codicological and palaeographic history. Doing so would make it possible to fully assess the linguistic potential of vernacular glosses and to see them as a deeply pragmatic phenomenon. As I have been able to demonstrate in my case study of the Murbach Hymns, even glosses that have long been dismissed as slavish and automatic translations are a valuable source for all aspects of Old High German linguistics if they are analysed with an appropriate and comprehensive approach.

5. Appendix

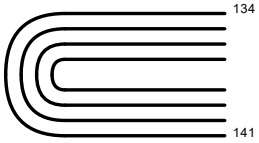
5.1. Collation Diagram

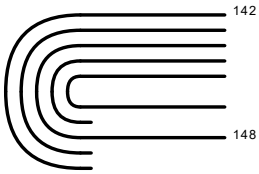
The diagram shows the composition of the different quires of the Murbach Codex (MS. Junius 25, Oxford, Bodleian Library) as I determined them from examining the original manuscript. The diagram is divided into the manuscript parts laid out in chapter 2.2.2. Next to the first and last leaf of each quire are the folio numbers.

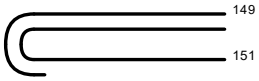




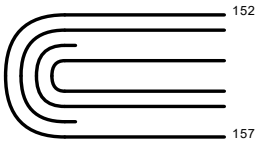
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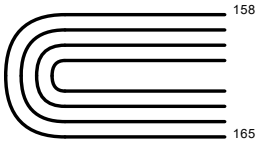


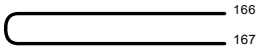


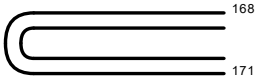
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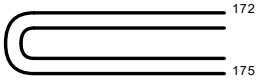


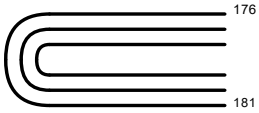
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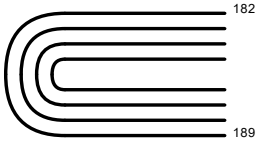


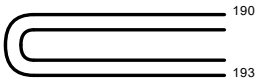








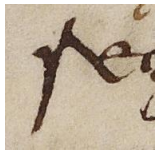
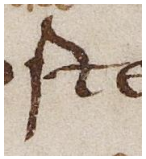
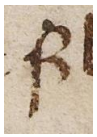
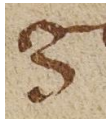


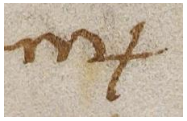
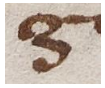
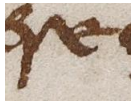
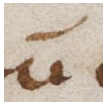


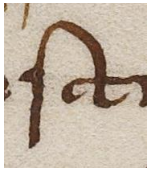
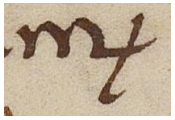
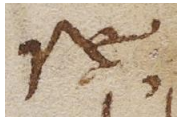
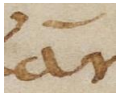
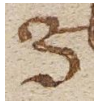
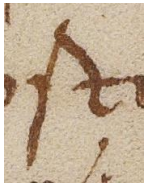
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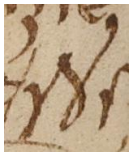
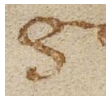
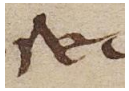
5.2. Latin Strata

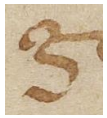
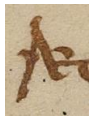
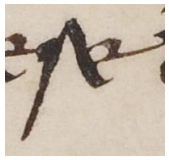
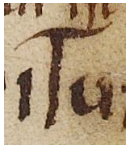
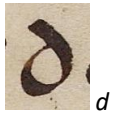
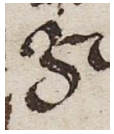
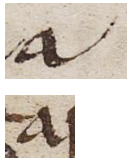
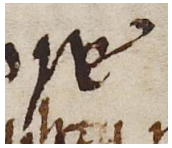
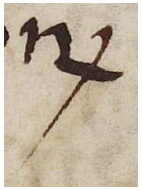
The following table presents the main characteristics of the Latin hands and supplements the explanations of chapter 2.2.4.1.

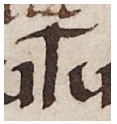
Stratum	**Scribe**	**Folios**	**Ratio of one-compartment *a* to cc-*a***	***g***	**one-compartment *a***	***re*-ligature**	**Additional characteristics**
LA	a	122v	47:17				 *rt*-ligature  abbreviation of *-bis*  *fi*-ligature
LB	b	123r	9:29			–	–

LC	c	123v	5:33			–	 *ti*-ligature  abbreviation of *-us*  *e*-ligature
		124r	3:40				
LD	d	124v	22:36				 nasal markers
		125r	22:36				
LE	e	125v	3:55			–	 *ti*-ligature  *ro*-ligature
		126r	3:47				

							 *st*-ligature  abbreviation of *-us*
LF	d	126v	15:35	 			 abbreviation of *-us*  abbreviation of *-us*  nasal markers
		127r	26:21				
		127v	24:17				
		128r	17:27				
LG	e	128v, ll. 1–14	4:33			–	 *c*  *rt*-ligature

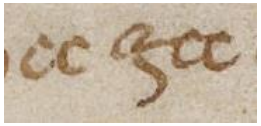
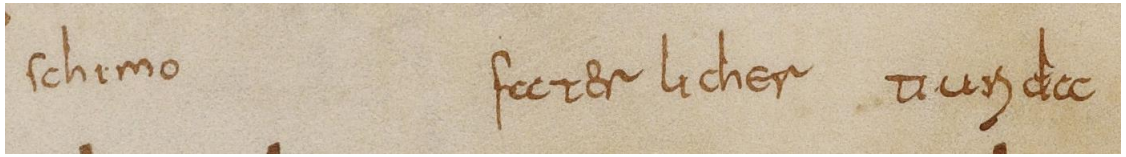
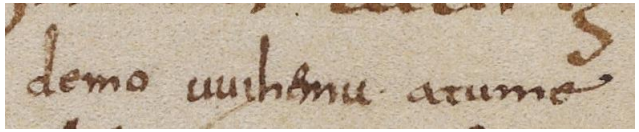
							 *ti*-ligature  *ro*-ligature
LH	f	128v, ll. 15–9	2:8				–
LI	e	129r	2:47				 *ro*-ligature  *rn*-ligature  *ti*-ligature

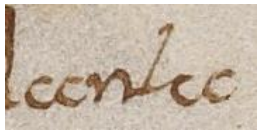
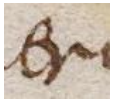
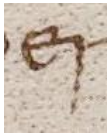
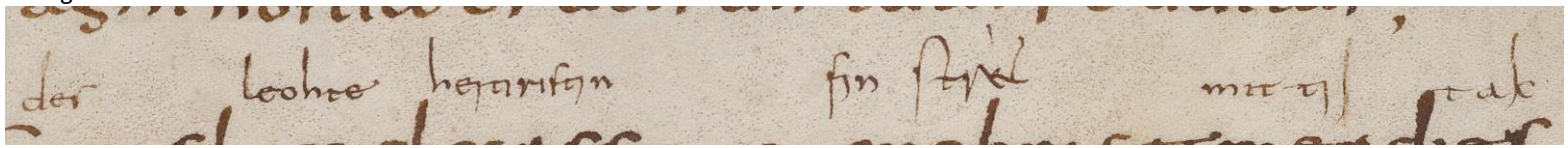
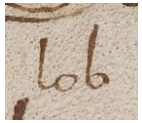
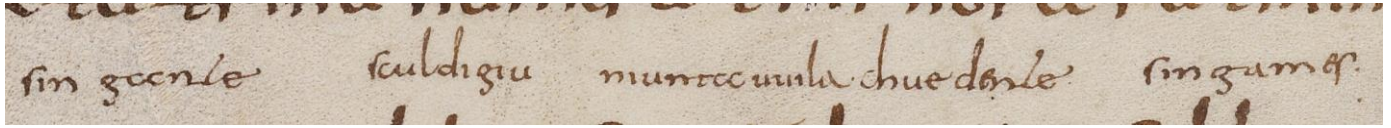
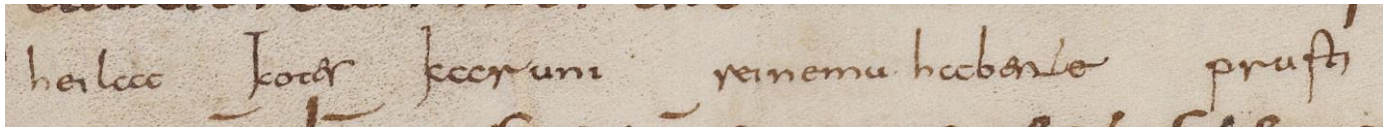
LJ	g	129v	14:50				 *ti*-ligature  abbreviation of *-us*  *ro*-ligature
LK	h	116r–117v	–				 abbreviation of *-us*  *t*  *d*
		118r–121v	–				 abbreviation of *-us*

					 *t*	 *d*
	122r	–				 *t*  *d*
	87r–107v	–				 abbreviation of *-us*  *d*

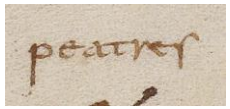
5.3. Gloss Strata

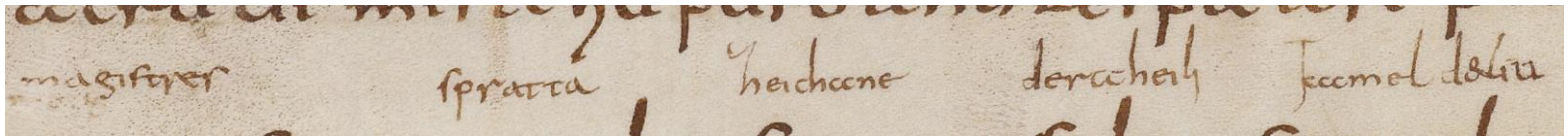
The following table lists the palaeographic examples of the gloss strata laid out in chapter 2.2.4.2.

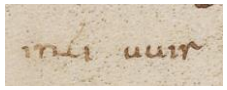
Stratum	Folios	Characteristics
A	122v	 ‘ri’-ligature  ‘em’-ligature  cc-‘a’  ‘g’  ‘d’  ‘k’
B	123r–126v	 ‘ri’-ligature  ‘em’-ligature  one-compartment-‘a’  ‘g’  ‘d’ Different hands:  (fol. 123v, l. 17)  (fol. 126v, l. 15)

C	127r, ll. 1–6	 cc-‘a’  ‘er’-ligature  ‘-i’-ligature Changes within a line: 
D	127r, ll. 7–12	Section 1:   Section 2:  

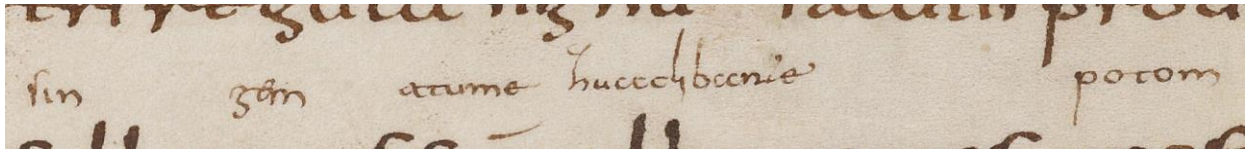
Section 3:

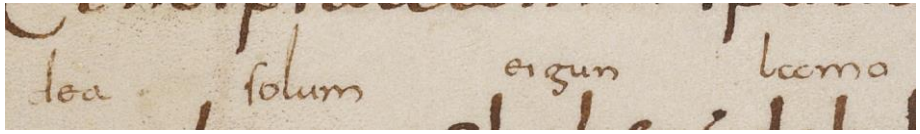


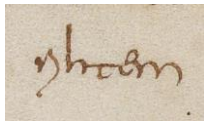




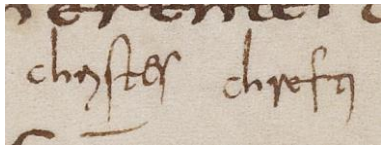
Section 4:

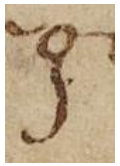
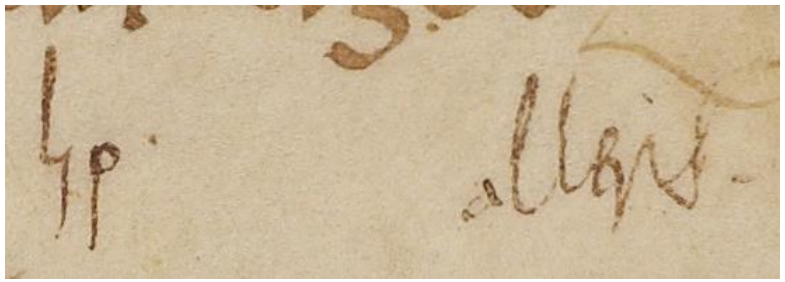






Section 5:



E	127r, l. 13 – 129r, l. 14	 ‘er’-ligature  ‘re’-ligature  ‘li’-ligature   ‘d’
F	129r, l. 14 – 129v	  ‘g’  ‘f’  ‘s’ End of a line: 

G	116r–117v	 ‘d’  ‘g’
	118r–121v	 ‘d’  ‘g’
	122r	 ‘d’  ‘g’
	87r–107v	 ‘d’  ‘g’

5.4. Gloss References to Sievers' Edition

The following list contains the references to the glosses as cited in this thesis (single words as well as phrases), i.e. according to folio and line numbers, and parallels them with the reference system of the edition by Sievers (1874).

Stratum A

Folio 122v	**Sievers**
l. 1: 'mit tera'	1,1,1
l. 1: 'zite'	1,1,1
l. 1: uuizac lichiu'	1,1,2
l. 2: 'truh[ti]ne'	1,1,3
l. 2: 'fa[te]re'	1,1,4
l. 2: 'simbulū·ioh'	1,1,4
l. 3: 'duruh nohtiu'	1,2,2
l. 3: 'ka[uuis]so'	1,2,2
l. 3: 'driunissa'	1,2,2
l. 4: 'ioh dera einun'	1,2,3
l. 4: 'ioh dera einun capurti'	1,2,3
l. 4: 'za'	1,2,4
l. 4: 'lobone'	1,2,4
l. 5: 'egison zit daz hebit'	1,3,1
l. 5: 'hebit'	1,3,1
l. 5: 'uuastio'	1,3,2
l. 6: 'poto · chundo'	1,3,2
l. 6: 'toda'	1,3,3
l. 6: 'ana prahta'	1,3,3
l. 6: 'erist poraniu'	1,3,4
l. 7: 'uuila·'	1,4,1
l. 7: 'stunta·'	1,4,1
l. 7: 'do'	1,4,2
l. 8: 'poto ·'	1,4,2
l. 8: 'ka turstic'	1,4,3
l. 8: 'ka turstic · scalchan uuizzinon · niuuas.'	1,4,3
l. 8: 'scalchan'	1,4,3
l. 8: 'scalchan uuizzinon ·'	1,4,3
l. 8: 'uuizzinon ·'	1,4,3
l. 8: 'niuuas .'	1,4,3
l. 9: '[starchli]cho'	1,5,1
l. 10: '[ei]no·'	1,5,3
l. 10: '[lam]bes'	1,5,4
l. 10: '[lam]bes […] [plua]te'	1,5,4
l. 10: '[kascirm]t̄'	1,5,4
l. 10: '[plua]te'	1,5,4
l. 11: 'israhel liut ·'	1,6,1
l. 11: 'frau uoem'	1,6,2
l. 11: 'truhtin'	1,6,2
ll. 11–2: 'fi/ant.'	1,6,3
l. 12: 'far manente'	1,6,3
l. 12: 'ka scirm te'	1,6,4
l. 13: 'euan gelis ceru'	1,7,2
l. 14: 'chūf tiger'	1,7,3
l. 14: 'chūf tiger prutigomo'	1,7,3
l. 14: 'prutigomo'	1,7,3
l. 14: '· calaupit · ist'	1,7,3
l. 14: 'felaho scheffo·'	1,7,4
l. 15: 'inkagan louffant ·'	1,8,1
l. 15: 'magadi·'	1,8,1
l. 15: 'denne'	1,8,2
l. 16: 'liot faz·'	1,8,3
l. 17: 'pilibant'	1,9,1
ll. 17–8: 'deo arlasc tiu· eigun / leot kar·'	1,9,2
l. 17: 'arlasc tiu·'	1,9,2

l. 17: ‘eigun’ 1,9,2
l. 18: ‘leot kar·’ 1,9,2
l. 18: ‘pilohaneru’ 1,9,4
l. 18: ‘pilohaneru gui’ 1,9,4
l. 18: ‘giu’ 1,9,4
l. 20: ‘turi’ 1,9,4
l. 19: ‘turiportun·’ 1,9,4

Stratum B

Folio 123r	**Sievers**
l. 1: ‘duruch · uuaccheem’	1,10,1
l. 4: ‘· ioh deranaht ·’	1,11,1
l. 4: ‘paul’	1,11,2
l. 5: ‘intisileas’	1,11,2
l. 6: ‘inpuntan uurtun ·’	1,11,4
l. 10: ‘uuirdige unsih · tua’	1,13,1
l. 10: ‘uuirdige unsih · tua chuninc uuiho’	1,13,1
l. 13: ‘cot duderhimiles leohtipist’	2,1,1
l. 13: ‘leohtipist’	2,1,1
ll. 13–5: ‘cot […] / der himil […] / […] spreitis inluchis’	2,1,1–4
l. 20: ‘radumioh’	2,3,2
l. 20: ‘chlimbanter’	2,3,3

Folio 123v	**Sievers**
l. 1: ‘derauerti’	2,3,4
l. 1: ‘niuuiz zanter’	2,3,4
l. 2: ‘deranaht’	2,4,1
l. 2: ‘farlaz zan ist’	2,4,1
l. 4: ‘leohtes · ioh ·’	2,5,2
l. 4: ‘selb o’	2,5,2
l. 5: ‘ubar al’	2,5,3
l. 5: ‘· [ma]gantiu ·’ (marginal)	2,5,4
ll. 7–8: ‘fater du / derhimila inthebis’	2,7,1
l. 9: ‘az quheme’	2,7,3
l. 10: ‘quuah d’	2,8,1
l. 10: ‘kasaltist ·’	2,8,2
l. 11: ‘ka[lau]bige ·’	2,8,3
l. 12: ‘zaez zanne’	2,9,2
l. 14: ‘pisuuic chi lineru’	2,10,1
l. 15: ‘nilazzes’	2,10,2
l. 17: ‘schimo fater licher tiurida’	3,1,1
l. 17: ‘fater licher’	3,1,1
l. 19: ‘uuarhaftioh·’	3,2,1
l. 19: ‘uuarhaftioh · sunna ·’	3,2,1
l. 19: ‘inslifanne’	3,2,1
l. 20: ‘· ioh heitarnissa ·’	3,2,3

Folio 124r	**Sievers**
l. 3: ‘uuidar pliuue’	3,4,2
ll. 3–4: ‘zan uuidar pliuue · apan/stigamu ·’	3,4,2
l. 6: ‘not nunfti’	3,5,4
l. 8: ‘urtruhlicho trunchali ·’	3,6,3–4
l. 9: ‘eoso’	3,7,2
l. 9: ‘fruainmorgan’	3,7,2
l. 10: ‘mittitak’	3,7,3
l. 12: ‘infatere’	3,8,3
l. 12: ‘inuuorte’	3,8,4
l. 13: ‘sceffento’	4,1,1
ll. 13–4: ‘leoht · er selbo aller / inti tak’	4,1,2
l. 13: ‘er selbo’	4,1,2
ll. 15–6: ‘giu intlazit pleichenti / nahemu tage naht chumfti’	4,2,1–2
l. 19: ‘uuidarfuarinti’	4,3,4

Folio 124v	**Sievers**
l. 2: ‘hiz zom’	4,4,2
l. 3: ‘· pitta/mes ·’	4,4,4
l. 3: ‘kaanaz/ze’	4,5,2
l. 4: ‘unchusger’	4,5,4
l. 5: ‘uz zan’	4,6,1
l. 5: ‘uz zanfestemu muate’	4,6,1
l. 5: ‘muate’	4,6,1
ll. 7–8: ‘scinantes ortfrumo himiles dudermanun leoht nahtim’	5,1,1–2

l. 9: ‘fartripanistuuirdit ·’ 5,2,1

l. 9: ‘it poran uuirdit’ 5,2,2

l. 10: ‘niuuer ioh giu muates uuahsamo’ 5,2,3

ll. 17–8: ‘cot […] / […] dudermuates · tauganiu · kasihis’ 6,1,1–4

l. 20: ‘rihtis’ 6,2,3

Folio 125r **Sievers**

l. 1: ‘duruch · uber alliu’ 6,3,2

l. 2: ‘durihto’ 6,3,4

l. 3: ‘duuueralti’ 6,4,1

l. 4: ‘nidares’ 6,4,3

ll. 5–6: ‘dir / bop est · uuntarlih ·’ 6,5,3

l. 7: ‘dera calauba’ 6,6,1

l. 8: ‘kot cund’ 6,6,4

l. 8: ‘kot cundist’ 6,6,4

l. 9: ‘cr[is]te’ 6,7,1

ll. 9–10: ‘cr[is]te euuigemu ioh [co]te [fate]re mit [uuihe]mu atumes libes keltem / kebo f[ona] [uueral]tim [in] [uue]ralti ·’ 6,7,1–4

l. 10: ‘f[ona] [uueral]tim [in] [uue]ralti’ 6,7,4

l. 11: ‘christ hi[mi]les t[ruh]tin uueralti heilant meisto’ 7,1,1–2

ll. 11–2: ‘christ […] / der unsih crucez cifti todes inpunti euuom’ 7,1,1–4

l. 11: ‘t[ruh]tin’ 7,1,1

l. 15: ‘ko[po]ron ·’ 7,3,2

l. 17: ‘cascaft’ 7,4,1

l. 18: ‘ka[po]te fa[te]res’ 7,4,3

l. 18: ‘incunnaniu’ 7,4,3

l. 18: ‘dinē duruhctaniu creftim ·’ 7,4,4

l. 20: ‘zil sanc’ 7,5,3

l. 20: ‘ar[changi]lo’ 7,5,3

Folio 125v **Sievers**

l. 1: ‘dihmanagi’ 7,6,1

l. 3: ‘dircerubyn’ 7,7,1

l. 5: ‘t[ruh]tin’ 7,8,2

l. 5: ‘himil’ 7,8,3

l. 5: ‘inti ioh’ 7,8,3

l. 5: ‘herda’ 7,8,3

ll. 7–8: ‘sun d[aui]des […] du der / innamin kotes chuami foha hohi num’ 7,9,1–4

l. 7: ‘d[avi]des’ 7,9,1

l. 7: ‘fonafatere’ 7,9,2

l. 8: ‘innamin’ 7,9,3

l. 8: ‘t[ruh]tin’ 7,9,4

ll. 9–10: ‘du lamp unga uuem mit […] / duderuuihero kauuati dinemu · uuasgi pluate’ 7,10,1–4

ll. 9–10: ‘unga uuem mit’ 7,10,1

l. 11: ‘ma na gi’ 7,11,1

l. 13: ‘pittames’ 7,12,2

l. 13: ‘t[ruh]tin’ 7,12,2

l. 14: ‘lobomes’ 7,12,4

ll. 17–8: ‘scaf/fota’ 8,2,2

l. 18: ‘folgeeen’ 8,2,4

l. 19: ‘kalaubigeru’ 8,3,1

Folio 126r **Sievers**

l. 3: ‘ni unsera’ 8,4,4

l. 3: ‘ka[lau]pa’ 8,4,4

l. 4: ‘kataroe’ 8,5,3

ll. 4–5: ‘ni/kel tem’ 8,5,3

l. 7: ‘fer stante’ 8,6,3

l. 9: ‘unsaremu · inhucti’ 8,7,3

l. 10: ‘frido’ 8,8,1

l. 12: ‘ni · si’ 8,9,1

l. 12: ‘hupilo spano simbulum · hungar’ 8,9,2

l. 13: ‘upar cussoen ·’ 8,9,3

ll. 14–5: ‘amaz/zigo’ 8,10,2

l. 16: ‘afṫ morgan lichem lopum diu deru driunissu · singa/mes’ 9,1,1–2

l. 16: ‘morgan li chem’ 9,1,1

l. 16: ‘deru driunissu’ 9,1,2

Folio 126v **Sievers**

l. 1: ‘tr[uhti]ne’ 9,3,1

l. 3: ‘sibun stunton’ 9,4,1

l. 4: ‘tr[uhti]ne’ 9,4,2
l. 4: ‘derati[uri]da’ 9,4,4
l. 7: ‘zebare’ 10,2,2
l. 9: ‘urchauffe’ 10,3,2
l. 10: ‘fona luz zi lemu kascri be’ 10,3,4
l. 12: ‘euuon’ 10,4,4
l. 16: ‘deseru stuntu’ 11,2,4
l. 16: ‘kateilit ist’ 11,2,4

Stratum C

Folio 127r, ll. 1–6	**Sievers**
l. 2: ‘sehstuntom ·’	12,1,3
l. 2: ‘sehstuntom · unsih’	12,1,3–4
l. 2: ‘za peton ne’	12,1,4
l. 2: ‘cruaz/zit’	12,1,4
l. 3: ‘inderu’	12,2,1
l. 3: ‘ka lubigen’	12,2,1
l. 3: ‘deraheili’	12,2,2
l. 3: ‘t[iu]rida’	12,2,2
ll. 3–4: ‘saliges / lam bes’	12,2,3
l. 4: ‘lam bes’	12,2,3
l. 4: ‘chref ti’	12,2,4
l. 4: ‘harcheban ist ·’	12,2,4
l. 5: ‘leohte heitiristin’	12,3,1
l. 5: ‘fin stret’	12,3,2
l. 6: ‘neoz zem’	12,3,3
l. 6: ‘alleru prusti’	12,3,3
l. 6: ‘somichiles’	12,3,4

Stratum D

Folio 127r, ll. 7–12	**Sievers**
l. 7: ‘duruh noht’	13,1,1
l. 7: ‘duruh noht drisca ruaua’	13,1,1
l. 8: ‘sin gante’	13,1,3
l. 8: ‘niunta uuila’	13,1,4
l. 8: ‘niunta uuila · chuedente’	13,1,4
l. 9: ‘heilac kotes karuni’	13,2,1
l. 9: ‘reinemu […] prusti’	13,2,2
l. 10: ‘deraheili’	13,2,4
l. 10: ‘zeichane’	13,2,4
l. 11: ‘sin gem’	13,3,1
l. 12: ‘christes chrefti’	13,3,4

Stratum E

Folio 127r, ll. 12–7	**Sievers**
l. 13: ‘kot’	14,1,1
l. 13: ‘dina’	14,1,3
ll. 13–4: ‘pit/tames’	14,1,3
l. 14: ‘uuillit sih’	14,1,4
l. 15: ‘sunna […] sedal ira’	14,2,1–2
l. 16: ‘fin stri num’	14,2,3
Folio 127v	**Sievers**
l. 1: ‘harbeiti […] tages’	14,3,3
l. 2: ‘ni’	14,4,1
l. 2: ‘ka li de’	14,4,2
ll. 2–3: ‘uz/zandineru’	14,4,3
l. 3: ‘ensti’	14,4,3
l. 3: ‘leoht pru chaz’	14,4,4
l. 6: ‘deranaht’	15,2,1
l. 6: ‘egis’	15,2,1
l. 6: ‘lihera’	15,2,1
l. 7: ‘den[ne]’	15,2,3
l. 7: ‘unzi’	15,2,3
l. 7: ‘derakalauba’	15,2,4
l. 9: ‘indesamu lihamin ·’	15,3,4
l. 11: ‘nitriuge muat ni irraz lucci manalicho deskasiunes’	15,4,3–4
l. 12: ‘denne’	15,5,1
l. 12: ‘tiufer’	15,5,1
l. 12: ‘kapinte’	15,5,1
l. 13: ‘uizzanter’	15,5,2
l. 13: ‘slafe’	15,5,3

ll. 13–4: ‘uuacharer / inhuct insueppe’ 15,5,4
l. 14: ‘insueppe’ 15,5,4
l. 15: ‘deranaht’ 16,1,2
l. 16: ‘leohtes · ioh · leoht’ 16,1,3
l. 16: ‘kalapit pist’ 16,1,3
l. 17: ‘t[ruh]tin’ (‘t[ruh]ttin’) 16,2,1
l. 17: ‘nahte ioh tage’ 16,2,2
l. 18: ‘indir’ 16,2,3
l. 19: ‘nisuarrer’ 16,3,1

Folio 128r **Sievers**

l. 2: ‘uuachee’ 16,4,2
l. 4: ‘scir manto’ 16,5,1
l. 5: ‘pluate’ 16,5,4
l. 5: ‘· ar chauf tos’ 16,5,4
l. 6: ‘desamo lichamin’ 16,6,2
l. 8: ‘mittestakes’ 17,1,1
l. 10: ‘er’ 17,2,1
l. 11: ‘t[ruh]tin’ 17,2,3
l. 12: ‘dea’ 17,3,3
l. 17: ‘natra der fizuser’ 18,2,3
l. 18: ‘kahaltini’ 18,3,1
l. 18: ‘[…]a gini’ (marginal) 18,3,1

Folio 128v **Sievers**

l. 4: ‘leohtes’ 19,1,1
l. 7: ‘chuninc · der’ 19,2,1
l. 13: ‘t[ruh]tines’ (‘ti[ruh]tines’) 19,5,2
l. 16: ‘ingalilea inkauimizze’ 19,6,3
l. 16: ‘t[ruh]tin’ (‘t[ruh]ttin’) 19,6,3
l. 16: ‘sohorsco’ 19,6,4
l. 17: ‘deo’ 19,7,1
l. 17: ‘chuuedan’ 19,7,2
l. 19: ‘ingeuimezze’ 19,8,2

Folio 129r, ll. 1–14 **Sievers**

l. 1: ‘t[ruh]tines’ 19,8,4
l. 3: ‘[chris]tan’ 19,9,3
l. 8: ‘sine[mu] ioh’ 19,12,2
l. 11: ‘· uuihaz’ 20,1,3
l. 11: ‘it uuiz licho’ 20,1,4
l. 11: ‘unc[hus]ko’ 20,1,4
l. 13: ‘suarremu […] forhtun’ 20,2,3

Stratum F

Folio 129r, ll. 14–9 **Sievers**

l. 13: ‘suarremu […] forhtun’ 20,2,3
l. 13: ‘forhtun’ 20,2,3
l. 15: ‘qhuam’ 20,3,4
l. 16: ‘stobaroen’ 20,4,1
l. 17: ‘sali gan zo gon’ 20,4,4
l. 19: ‘fleisges ·’ 20,5,4

Folio 129v **Sievers**

l. 1: ‘ast’ 20,6,2
l. 2: ‘ioh fora chtun’ 20,6,3
l. 3: ‘sinem · ioh’ 20,7,2
l. 4: ‘asterpe lip’ 20,7,3
l. 5: ‘upar alle’ 20,8,1
ll. 6–7: ‘tod […] farlo ranan sih einun / chuere’ 20,8,1–4
l. 8: ‘cliz[zante]’ 21,1,2
l. 12: ‘uu uastantemu’ 21,3,2
l. 15: ‘dera lutri derpaz’ 21,4,3
l. 15: ‘ka of farot ist ·’ 21,4,4
l. 16: ‘arprochansint ·’ 21,5,2
l. 18: ‘uuarf’ 21,6,2
l. 19: ‘despalouuesuuarc’ 21,6,3
l. 20: ‘indesamu hostar licheru mendi’ 21,7,2
l. 20: ‘allemu’ 21,7,3

Stratum G

Folio 116r **Sievers**

l. 1: ‘[chris]tes’ 22,1,1
l. 3: ‘chiri cho no’ 22,2,1
l. 3: ‘furis tun’ 22,2,1

l. 7: ‘kiselit uuerdant’ 22,4,1
l. 9: ‘hangent’ 22,5,1
l. 9: ‘in no di’ 22,5,1
l. 9: ‘kicozan ist’ 22,5,2
l. 10: ‘libes euuiges’ 22,5,4
l. 12: ‘minna’ 22,6,3
ll. 13–4: ‘fe/ginot’ 22,7,3
l. 15: ‘thaz urchundono’ 22,8,2
l. 16: ‘ineuuigo’ 22,8,4
l. 17: ‘cit theranaht’ 23,1,1
l. 17: ‘theranaht’ 23,1,1
l. 18: ‘christe c[hris]te ioh truhtine’ 23,1,3
l. 18: ‘in dera thriunissa’ 23,1,4
l. 20: ‘nidar spreitemes strechemes’ 23,2,3
l. 22: ‘thera reuun’ 23,3,3
l. 24: ‘heri fiant’ 23,4,4
ll. 24–5: ‘heri fiant / abansti gan ·’ 23,4,4

Folio 116v **Sievers**

l. 4: ‘themu’ 24,2,3
l. 5: ‘then’ 24,3,1
l. 6: ‘thes’ 24,3,3
l. 6: ‘kilihnissa pilidi’ 24,3,3
l. 6: ‘kiuuerdotos’ 24,3,4
l. 7: ‘erchauftis’ 24,4,1
l. 7: ‘kascaffotos’ 24,4,2
l. 8: ‘thaz’ 24,4,3
l. 9: ‘keporan ·’ 24,5,1
l. 12: ‘uuir dar pihabet uuarun’ 24,6,3
l. 13: ‘kiuuerdotos’ 24,7,2
l. 15: ‘therahalla’ 24,8,1
l. 15: ‘kizerrit uuarth’ 24,8,1
l. 16: ‘dtruhtin’ 24,8,4
l. 17: ‘thuruh chruci todes’ 24,9,2
l. 18: ‘themo’ 24,9,3
l. 19: ‘fonauns’ 24,10,1
l. 19: ‘fer scurgan’ 24,10,2
l. 20: ‘thine[mu] pluate’ 24,10,4
l. 21: ‘kiuuerdotos’ 24,11,2
l. 25: ‘thanta du selbo urchundo inti suanari pist’ 24,13,1

Folio 117r **Sievers**

l. 2: ‘thu’ 24,14,1
l. 3: ‘thu’ 24,14,3
l. 4: ‘thu’ 24,15,1
l. 4: ‘kepenter’ 24,15,2
l. 5: ‘thu’ 24,15,3
l. 8: ‘naht’ 25,1,2
l. 8: ‘rihtis’ 25,1,2
l. 9: ‘ziteo kepanti ziti’ 25,1,3
l. 9: ‘erpurres’ 25,1,4
l. 10: ‘theranaht tiufin thurahuuachar’ 25,2,2
l. 11: ‘fonanahti’ 25,2,4
l. 11: ‘fonanahti naht’ 25,2,4
l. 17: ‘inti slaffiline’ 25,5,3
ll. 18–9: ‘henin singantemo uuan erkepan suichē heili auur kicoz[…] / uuaffa thiupes intpuntan pisliften kilauba uuiruit’ 25,6,1–4
l. 20: ‘heilant’ 25,7,1
l. 22: ‘theranaht ioh slaf’ 25,8,2
l. 23: ‘inti munda’ 25,8,4
l. 23: ‘intistunta’ (marginal) 25,8,4
l. 24: ‘thir krisit lop [thir krisit]’ 25a,1,1

Folio 117v **Sievers**

l. 2: ‘uuirdit eret’ 26,1,4
l. 3: ‘[thi]r’ 26,2,1
l. 4: ‘f[ora]harent’ 26,2,4
l. 5: ‘uuiher [uuihe]r [uuihe]r’ 26,3,1
l. 5: ‘[truh]tin’ 26,3,2
l. 5: ‘[co]t’ 26,3,2
l. 5: ‘[himi]la [in]ti [er]da’ 26,3,3
l. 6: ‘thera meginchrefti tiurida [thi]nera’ 26,3,4
l. 9: ‘[thi]h’ 26,5,1

l. 9: ‘sa[manun]ga’	26,5,2
l. 10: ‘einagu[n] sun’	26,5,4
l. 11: ‘[chr]ist’	26,6,1
l. 14: ‘kerihtemo’	26,7,1
l. 14: ‘ubaruunnomo’ (marginal)	26,7,1
l. 14: ‘intat[i]’	26,7,3
ll. 15–6: ‘intiu/ridu’	26,8,2
l. 16: ‘kelaupanne pist’	26,8,3
l. 17: ‘p[itte]mes’	26,9,1
l. 19: ‘folh liut’	26,11,1
l. 25: ‘nisi kiskentit’	26,16,2
l. 25: ‘nisi kiskentit ineuun’	26,16,2

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