Till Hennings
Notker the Stammerer’s Compendium for his Pupils

Abstract: In the 860s two noble brothers, Salomon and Waldo, were studying under the scholar and poet Notker the Stammerer at the monastic school of St. Gallen. When the brothers left the monastery to follow distinguished careers in the service of church and king, Notker wrote a handbook for them, in which he assembled a variety of texts, that he thought would be of use to them in their daily reading and business. The handbook is the most advanced of a class of multi-text-manuscripts with a similar intent and assemblage of texts. Modern editions have usually dismembered it according to the topics of the constituent parts. However there are two manuscripts extant which contain almost the whole handbook, both of which are closely connected to Salomon and Waldo; they might even be their personal manuscripts themselves. On their basis we can reconstruct the original form of the handbook, as Notker wrote it in Sankt Gallen, its transmission to the brothers and how they incorporated it into manuscripts of their own.

While the masterpieces of medieval book art can often be connected to wealthy patrons with little difficulty, we seldom find a name attached to the much less splendid but more useful books that were produced for practical classroom needs. Often used by successive generations of pupils – and often abused as well, as the numerous scribbles and doodles in them show – they bear the marks of many hands, but rarely the name of a single person. It is therefore a rare opportunity to connect one book to one owner and analyse this connection as the intersection of institutional demands and individual interests.

It has recently been called into question1 whether the two manuscripts2 that are the topic of this article are, in fact, connected to the three characters generally

1 Rio 2009, 156–158.
2 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1609 and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19413.
accepted as being involved in their creation. Since the hypothesis about their relationship as a teacher and his pupils rests entirely on the information contained in the manuscripts themselves, a review of the internal evidence is in order to avoid circular reasoning. While examining this point, we will follow the texts on their way from their author and collector to their recipients and see what use they all made of them.

But first a word on the characters involved. Notker of St Gall (c. 840–912), or Notker Balbulus as he was also called (‘Notker the Stammerer’, due to his speech impediment), is mostly known for his poetry, in which he lifted the hymnography of the Early Middle Ages to new heights. In his rich intellectual career, he also touched on many other genres, though, including history, as his work *Gesta Karoli* shows. He was a monk who lived and worked at the monastery of St Gall in present-day Switzerland – he was taken there as a child, in fact – and came to fulfil a multitude of monastic functions as a scribe, teacher and librarian.

Among his purported pupils were two noble brothers who left the monastery later to pursue distinguished careers in the service of the Church and King. Salomon III of Constance (c. 860–919/920), who came from a family that could already boast of having two Salomons who had become bishops of Constance, was destined for an ecclesiastical career from an early age. After having completed his higher studies at St Gall, he went on to become a member of the Royal Chapel, which served as a seminary for the ecclesiastical elite of the empire. At the height of his career, he was abbot of St Gall, bishop of Constance and regent for the infant emperor Louis the Child.

His brother, Waldo of Freising (c. 852–906), followed a similar path. An alumnus of St Gall like Salomon, he formed part of the entourage of the emperor Charles the Fat, who installed him – against the wishes of the cathedral chapter – as bishop of the Bavarian diocese of Freising, a position of power he also kept in the subsequent turmoil of the East Frankish dynasty.
How are these three illustrious characters related to the manuscripts and texts we shall discuss here? First of all, we need to establish two propositions: that the collection was, in fact, made by Notker and that he collected the texts for the two brothers.

The *Collectio Sangallensis*, which is at the heart of the issue, consists of three distinctive parts.¹² First of all, the *Notatio de illustribus viris*, which is a short course in Christian literature up to Notker’s era and a brief overview of the sources for the passions of the saints. It serves as an introduction to higher studies of Christian literature and is explicitly named as a work by Notker in another strand of the tradition.¹³ The *Formulae Sangallenses* are a collection of formulae (see Fig. 2). The first half of it consists of templates for charters, while the second half is a collection of sample letters serving as models, with numerous connections to Notker and his pupils.¹⁴ A collection of epistolary poems and two short prose texts follow the sample letters, mostly complaining about the absence of a friend and his tardiness in replying. The poems share many themes with the sample letters. Their inclusion in a collection of model letters is evidence that they also were meant to be used as templates for epistolary communication.

Naturally, it is in the letters that we find evidence of the identities of the people involved: there are numerous references to two brothers.¹⁵ One of them is said to remind the writer of Bishop Salomon.¹⁶ A pun on their names calls Waldo and Salomon to mind.¹⁷ Finally, the writer calls himself ‘stammering’.¹⁸ Further

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¹² A complete edition is in Dümmler 1857. A partial one can be found in Rauner 1986; Zeumer 1882, 390–433. For an analysis, see Steinen 1945, and Rio 2009, 152–160.
¹³ Rauner 1986, 44.
¹⁵ Numbering according to Zeumer 1882. Letter no. 28 is addressed to *uterinis fratribus* (‘full brothers’). No. 41 is addressed to two brothers who are admonished to lead a virtuous life and pursue their studies. No. 43 is addressed to *dilectissimis fratribus ill. ill.* (‘to the most beloved brothers, ... [ill. ill. = formulary part: insert two names here]).
¹⁶ No. 44, addressed to *dilectissimo filio ill. ill.* (‘to the most beloved son, ... [ill. ill. = formulary part: insert the addressee and writer here]; in the end addressing one of them: *puerulus noster*, qui (...) *nomine Salomonem nobis refert episcopum* (...) (‘the boy reminds us of Bishop Salomon [I or II of Constance, the brothers’ great-uncle or uncle].
¹⁷ No. 46, *carissimis filiis iuxta nomen suum potestas et pax adimpleatur* (‘may my beloved sons fare as their names imply, in Power and Peace’ [a reference to the allegorical meaning of their names]). The same ‘etymology’ is referred to as in the poem *De nomine Sasomonis* (‘On the name Salomon’) in one of the manuscripts in the collection. The etymology of ‘Salomon’ is from Hieronymus, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, ed. Lagarde et al. 1959, 55: *salom retribuens siue pacificus*; the name ‘Waldo’ has a Germanic root meaning ‘rule’; cf. Förstemann 1856, cols. 1235 and 1238: *‘Vald’ from *valdan* > *regnare*.
¹⁸ No. 28: ‘*balbus* (stammering), *edentulus* (toothless) et (...) *blesus* (lisping)’. 
examples could be added to this list, including some letters in the collection penned by an author who calls himself ‘the Stammerer’ and refers to two brothers called Salomon and Waldo. What, however, if these letters were made part of a larger collection later, unrelated to their original context? There are more indications – albeit of a less onomastic and biographical nature – that Notker actually made the whole Collectio Sangallensis for the two brothers. First of all, the dating of the charters supports a terminus post quem of 879, exactly the time when the brothers left the St Gall school to join the entourage of Charles the Fat. Furthermore, other texts in the collection are also marked by a teacher–pupil relationship in particular and by a scholarly setting in general, even though they are not specifically identified by any names. Their themes interlock with the pieces that can be connected with Notker and his pupils. The poems following the letters furnish many examples: one prosimetrum (a blend of prose and poetry) repeats the themes of letters 41 and 43 with similar tones; letter 46 moreover commends the genre of prosimetrum as a form suitable for epistolography (see Fig. 3). Some short poems lament the absence of a friend and the hard lot a teacher has. One poem is a reproach for neglecting one’s friends for love of a woman, possibly connected to a teenage fling that Salomon once experienced himself. Mentions of places near St Gall (the Rhine, Lake Constance and the River Iller) give the poem a local colour. Some poems contain a stylised dialogue between a pupil and his teacher. A pair of prose letters to the teacher coupled with a poetic answer he provides revisit the prosimetrum genre in a dialogic form.  

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20 An incomplete selection of the texts is edited in Dümmler 1857, 79–82, commentary on pp. 160–163. The numbering is based on Paul von Winterfeld, MGH, Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, 4,1, Berlin, Weidmann, 1899, 343–347. For further editions and analyses, see Zeumer 1882, 430–433; Steinen 1945, 482–484; Steinen 1948, II, 188.
21 In the following notes the poems will be identified by their first words, the Incipit (‘inc.’). Antistes domini (SK 904). See the commentary in Dümmler 1857, 160.
22 Inc. Talia dictat amor (SK 15977) (III); inc. Sospitat incolum (SK 15554) (IV); inc. Peior amate (SK 11817) (V); inc. Avia perlustrans (SK 1559).
24 Inc. O species cari (SK 11054) (VIII); inc. Ex phisicis quidam (SK 4751). And some even mention writing utensils: te revocant pennae, cupiunt membrana videre (‘the pen calls you back, the parchment wants to see you’).
25 Epistola ad seniorem (‘Letter to a superior’). Formulae Sangallenses Add. 6, ed. Zeumer 1882, 436. Commentary: Steinen 1945, 470–471. The ‘senior’ mentioned here is clearly a teacher: p. 437, l. 5–6: eruditor insipientium, magister infantium (‘teacher of the illiterate, master of the
On the basis of all these names, dates, subjects and interrelations between the texts, we can confidently assert that the whole of the *Collectio Sangallensis*, namely the *Notatio* (a primer on Christian literature), *Formulae* (charters and letters) and poems, was, in fact, collected by Notker for his pupils Salomon and Waldo.

What, then, did the brothers do with this collection, which was handed to them somehow? To answer this question, we need to turn to the two manuscripts that have preserved the *Collectio Sangallensis* in its entirety.\(^{26}\) These are Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1609 and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 19413.

ÖNB 1609 was written around 900, most probably in Freising, where Waldo was bishop at the time.\(^{27}\) It is of medium size, readable yet portable (70 fols, 18.5 × 13 cm). While there are some slight variations in the script, all in all it has a uniform appearance,\(^{28}\) which suggests that it was copied as a whole – *nota bene* at the scriptorium of Waldo’s episcopal see. The bulk of the manuscript is taken up by the *Collectio Sangallensis* (fols 9r–54r). A note has been inserted at the bottom of the page on fol. 19v, line 15: Ego Waldo ad vicem g[rimaldi?] archicapellani recognoui (‘Certified by Waldo, by proxy for G., the archchaplain’). Before and after that, there are some additional texts, many of which indicate a St Gall origin:\(^{29}\) on fols 1v–2r there is a short excerpt by the grammarian Martianus Capella on the letters of the alphabet, specifically on their pronunciation.\(^{30}\) This and other alphabets can also be found on fols 125r–125v of Clm 19413. The ‘Names of the Muses’\(^{31}\) on ÖNB 1609, fol. 4r also occur in manuscript Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C 78,\(^{32}\) fol. 118r and St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Sang. 397,\(^{33}\) p. 147, both of

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\(^{26}\) Thereby ensuring an archetypal collection by default.


\(^{28}\) The collation formula is I\(^2\)+(1+II)\(^2\)+(1+IV)\(^6\)+IV\(^{28}\)+IV\(^{32}\)+IV\(^{40}\)+IV\(^{48}\)+(III+1)\(^{54}\)+(IV-1)\(^{64}\)+(II+1)\(^{66}\)+II\(^{70}\). The script variations at 1v-4r-9r-33r-55r-64r generally do not coincide with other codicological boundaries. For an analysis of the script, see Menhardt 1940, 76–78.

\(^{29}\) The following is only a partial list highlighting the pieces with a St Gall connection. No connections to other cultural centres are apparent from the non-sourceable texts.


\(^{31}\) Isidor, *Etymologiae*, III, 19.

\(^{32}\) Mohlberg 1951, 42–44, 358.

which come from St Gall. The tropes\textsuperscript{35} – new melodies on old chants – on fols 4\textsuperscript{r}–8\textsuperscript{v} are one of the earliest examples of this early musical notation (Fig. 4). A letter to Grimald, abbot of St Gall (841–872),\textsuperscript{35} on fol. 55\textsuperscript{v} deals with the value of the pagan authors in education. The letter has only been preserved completely in Sangall. 265, from St Gall.\textsuperscript{36} Musical themes return on fol. 64\textsuperscript{r} with Notker’s Proemium to his Liber Hymnorum.\textsuperscript{37} Together with the tropes on fols 4\textsuperscript{r}–8\textsuperscript{v}, this might be an early example of a collection of Notker’s musical work, which, as he remarks himself, was only transmitted in rather loose gatherings originally.\textsuperscript{38} The manuscript closes with Pseudo-Methodius’ Revelationes on fols 64\textsuperscript{r}–68\textsuperscript{v}.\textsuperscript{39} A complete version of this apocalyptic text is to be found in the much older St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Sang. 225, which was at St Gall at Waldo’s time.\textsuperscript{40}

ÖNB 1609 thus turns out to be a synthesis of two streams of texts: the Collectio Sangallensis as assembled by Notker, and a range of shorter texts mostly from St Gall. Only Waldo could have had access to both these types of texts, namely when he was at St Gall himself. He would then have taken the collection with him and had it copied as a single, definitive manuscript about 20 years later at his own scriptorium in Freising,\textsuperscript{41} even making a correction on fol. 19\textsuperscript{v} to insert his own name.

A similar genesis can be reconstructed for Clm 19413 (fols 56–128, tenth century).\textsuperscript{42} The pocket-sized book (approx. 12.7 × 9.8 cm) was written by a single scribe; he filled eight of the nine quires, but was apparently interrupted on the first folio of the seventh quire, after which he continued up to the end of quire 8. A new set of texts written by different scribes begins there on folio 120, so the first


\textsuperscript{36} Scherrer 1875, 99–100.

\textsuperscript{37} Edition: Steinen (1948), vol. 2, 8 and 160.

\textsuperscript{38} Steinen 1948, II, sections 9 and 10.


\textsuperscript{40} Lowe 1956, 27.

\textsuperscript{41} A reasonable time for a personal manuscript to have been worn down from use. It may also have been that ÖNB 1609 is the combination of previously independent codicological units, for example loose gatherings of St Gall material and the first copy of the Collectio Sangallensis.

part of the manuscript should be seen as a codicological unit. Its geographical origins are unknown, apart from the general area of south-east Francia. The larger part (fols 56r–116v) is taken up by the *Collectio Sangallensis*. Because of the loss of a quire in ÖNB 1609, the poems at the end of the collection run a little longer in Clm 19413. Hence it is not absolutely clear whether they formed part of Notker’s collection, seeing that the parallel tradition has been lost. In any case, some of the additions betray their origin quite clearly as coming from St Gall: three epigrams by Isidore of Seville provide poetic titles for the sections of a library with the books of Ambrosius, Augustine and Jerome (the Church Fathers). Exactly the same sequence, although with one additional poem on Hilarius before it, is present in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Sang. 397, p. 85, Vatican, BAV, Reg. lat. 421, fol. 31v, Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C 78, fol. 118v, all of St Gall origin. A glossary (fol. 118v–24v) can also be found in Sang. 397, p. 38, Sang. 196, paste-down, and Sang. 299, pp. 292–293. Many other texts show a strong link – even down to their arrangement – to ÖNB 1761, an eleventh-century manuscript from Lorsch Monastery, which seems to be a faithful copy of an earlier St Gall collection, however (see Fig. 5).

Clm 19413 shows striking similarities to the genesis of ÖNB 1609. The main Notker collection is augmented by small texts found at St Gall at the time. We can pinpoint the sources even more closely here: thanks to large-scale similarities in text ensembles, the antigraphs seem to be Sang. 397 and a precursor of ÖNB 1761.

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43 A1 fols 56r–103v; B fol. 104r–v; A2 fols 105r–119v, l. 4; C fol. 119r, l. 5 – last line; D fols 120v–127v, l. 11; E fol. 127v, l. 12 – 127v; [F fol. 127va from l. 4 (5) (= A?)]; G fols 127vb–128v; collation formula: 9 IV 56–128.
44 For more details, see Hoffmann 2004, 160.
46 Furthermore, this manuscript shares the poem *Fontibus in liquidis* (SK 5267) with Clm 19413 fol. 116v, with exactly the same (idosyncratic) ascription to TVLLII. A further shared text is on fols 121r–121v, *De sex generalibus synodis*, ed. Charles Jones, *Bedae Venerabilis opera* (CCSL), Turnhout: Brepols, 1975–1980, II, on the year 688; similar in MGH AA 13, *Bedae chronica maiora*, p. 315.
48 Kaczynski 1983, 1010.
49 Bergmann and Stricker 2005, no. 200.
50 Bruckner 1938, 94.
52 Barring the possibility of some ‘free-floating’ quires of the text ensembles in question, of course, which would have been independently incorporated in all of the manuscripts that contain them today.
It would be tempting to see Salomon’s exemplar or a copy of it in the manuscript. The palaeography does not point to St Gall itself, unfortunately, nor does the age (tenth century) match the 880–920 timespan particularly well. Since the work of the main scribe (fol. 56v–116r) seems to be a direct copy of an older manuscript, however, I maintain that this lost exemplar was, in fact, Salomon’s own copy of the Collectio Sangallensis, which he augmented at St Gall with a selection of his own.

The connections between the texts, persons and manuscripts can be depicted in a stemmatic representation:

![Stemmatic representation of the connections between persons and manuscripts (Fig. 1)](image)

Although I am only able to offer a glimpse of the contents of the manuscripts in this paper, it is nonetheless worthwhile to step back and make a synoptic survey. The Collectio Sangallensis is a collection that a teacher built up for his pupils. This does not mean these are school texts or manuscripts, however; they were only collected at the very end of the brothers’ stay at St Gall and are more likely to have been some kind of parting gift for them. The men took up high positions in the

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53 Or to Constance, where Salomon was bishop and could have used the scriptorium.
54 Between Salomon’s leave of St Gall and his death.
55 On the same grounds as with ÖNB 1609: who else could have had access to these particular texts at this time? The texts on the additional quire (fol. 120–128) also show a strong link to St Gall – this problem remains to be solved.
56 Based on the stemma for the Notatio; Rauner 1986, 42–43.
57 Σ = St Gall exemplar of the Collectio Sangallensis, GS = St Gall texts from Salomon’s collection, GW = St Gall texts from Waldo’s collection, S = Salomon’s collection, W = Waldo’s collection, Salomon’s manuscript = Clm 19413, Waldo’s manuscript = ÖNB 1609. Explanation: The extant manuscripts Clm 19413 and ÖNB 1609 are descendants of the personal copies of Salomon S and Waldo W, which both incorporate the identical Collectio Sangallensis Σ, which is augmented in both manuscripts by personal collections of St Gall material GS and GW.
imperial bureaucracy, the duties of which are anticipated by the choice of texts: formulae serving as models for the wording of charters and letter templates for official and semi-official communication. The epistolary poetry – an integral appendix to the letters – fits squarely into this communicative design: an expertly crafted poetic letter was a conventional way to address friends and patrons alike.\(^{58}\) The texts provide models for good writing, but are more like a manual of style than a schoolbook in this respect. The shorter texts which gravitate around the main collection show the idiosyncratic interests of two young scholars at one of the famous schools of the late Carolingian era. They collected texts concerning various educational interests, like lists of facts and glossaries, but also strayed into more literary and moral genres, which may reflect personal tastes.\(^{59}\) The manuscripts, while being reflective of a relationship formed in an educational context, cannot be reduced to this institutional setting, though. They reflect the level of knowledge and personal tastes and interests of two young members of the elite who were about to embark on their career for Church and King.

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**Abbreviations**

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>CCSL</td>
<td><em>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</em>.</td>
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<td>MGH</td>
<td><em>Monumenta Germaniae Historiae</em>.</td>
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\(^{58}\) See the countless poetic epistles which make up a good part of the five MGH-Poetae volumes, for example.

\(^{59}\) ÖNB 1609 contains an Old High German version of Psalm 138, for example. Waldo is also known to have had a copy of the Old High German Bible epic by Otfrid von Weißenburg.
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Fig. 2: Clm 19413, fol. 127\textsuperscript{vb}, formula in charter script (top right); courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.
Fig. 3: Clm 19413, fol. 109', blend of epistolary prose and poetry; courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.
Fig. 4: ÖNB 1609, fol. 4v, musical notation; © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.
Fig. 5: Clm 19413, fol. 116v, diagram showing the grade of relatedness; the exact same diagram can be found in ÖNB 1761; courtesy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.