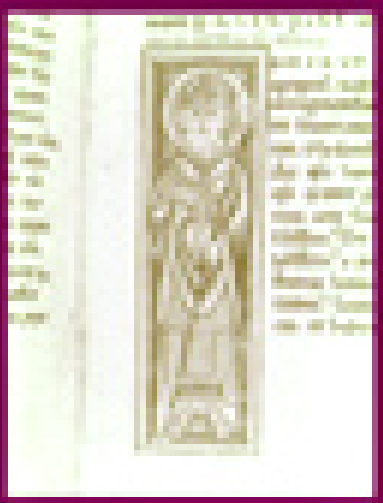
THE *Etymologies* OF Isidore of Seville



TRANSLATED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES, BY

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The *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville

This work is the first complete English translation of the Latin *Etymologies* of Isidore, bishop of Seville (c. 560–636). Isidore compiled the work between c. 615 and the early 630s and it takes the form of an encyclopedia, arranged by subject matter. It contains much lore of the late classical world beginning with the Seven Liberal Arts, including Rhetoric, and touches on hundreds of topics ranging from the names of God, the terminology of the law, the technologies of fabrics, ships, and agriculture, to the names of cities and rivers, the theatrical arts, and cooking utensils. Isidore provides etymologies for most of the terms he explains, finding in the causes of words the underlying key to their meaning. This book offers a highly readable translation of the twenty books of the *Etymologies*, one of the most widely known texts for a thousand years from Isidore's time.

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with the collaboration of
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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521837491

First published in print format 2006

ISBN-13 978-0-511-21759-3 eBook (Adobe Reader)
ISBN-10 0-511-21759-5 eBook (Adobe Reader)

ISBN-13 978-0-521-83749-1 hardback
ISBN-10 0-521-83749-9 hardback

We dedicate this translation to

BENNETT AND JEANETTE LEWIS

ANTONIO

ANNABELLE BEATRICE BERGHOF
and
HILDEGARD, GREGOR, ALICE, and INES BERGHOF

THOMAS and PETER BARNEY

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Acknowledgements

We are indebted to several friends for help with this translation. The Departments of English and of Classics at the University of California, Irvine, have given support of various kinds – special thanks to Professor Patrick Sinclair. The staff at the library, especially the Interlibrary Loan Office, at the University of California, Irvine have been unfailingly helpful. The anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press have provided a good number of emendations and wise counsel. For their advice on technical matters we thank Diane Lee Lewis (textiles), Hiroyuki Minamino (music), Fred Robinson (Old English poetry), Dana Sutton (Latin), Rod Wallbank (mathematics), and Sarah Wallbank (Greek). We are also grateful to Theodore Andersson, Cherry G. Barney, David M. Barney, Justin Hamlin, Michael Hanly, and Traugott Lawler for reviewing segments of our work in draft. We have gratefully relied on the learning and diligence of Muriel Hall, who in the process of copy-editing the volume became a collaborator in the project.

Note to the reader

This translation is based on the Latin text edited by W. M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX* (Oxford, 1911). Lindsay's text remains in print from Oxford University Press (Clarendon), and is otherwise available in a facing-page Spanish translation (see Bibliography, Oroz Reta and Marcos Casquero, editors), as well as on the web and on a CD-ROM (see Introduction p. 27). The correspondence between Isidore and Braulio presented as an Appendix is also edited by Lindsay, and is found in early manuscripts of the *Etymologies*.

Parentheses (round brackets) are used to set off the Latin word or English translation in question, and for brief explanatory notes or citations of texts. We set off parenthetical remarks by Isidore himself with commas or dashes. Hence, except for the Latin words, none of the material within parentheses is found in Isidore's text. We regularly signal our explanatory additions with "i.e." or "cf." when the words might otherwise appear to be Isidore's. We use square brackets only to enclose material likewise enclosed in square brackets in Lindsay's edition, that is, wording found in some but not all of the manuscripts on which he based his text.

Isidore left a number of items incomplete. These are signaled by three ellipsis points (. . .) in the translation. Ellipsis points are otherwise used only rarely at the beginning or end of Isidore's quotations from earlier authors.

We avoid using other than common abbreviations. Of cited works we abbreviate Vergil's *Aeneid, Georgics*, and *Eclogues*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *as Aen., Geo., Ecl.*, and *Met.* We abbreviate "literally" as "lit." On "gen." and "ppl." see below.

We include the Latin for key terms. We also provide the Latin in those instances, the great majority, where Isidore presents an etymology that depends on the sound or shape of the Latin itself.

Lindsay provided precise references to modern texts of the many authors whom Isidore quotes or cites. We have reviewed and updated these, referring in the first instance to the texts that appear in the Loeb Classical Library, and for other texts to the Oxford Classical Texts, the Teubner series, and other standard modern editions. A number of poets known only in fragments are cited from Edward Courtney, ed., *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford, 1993). Isidore will often but not always name the author, less often the title of the work, when he quotes; the missing information appears here within parentheses. Where Isidore's quotation differs from the modern received text the translation follows Isidore's words, and the reference is preceded by "cf."; for examples see p. 87.

Often an oblique form of a Latin noun or verb gives a better idea of how an etymological relationship is devised than the usual nominative or infinitive form that we provide. In these cases we also give the genitive form or the perfect participle, abbreviated as "gen." and "ppl." Unless it obscures Isidore's point, we give the usual spellings of Latin words in modern dictionaries, and supply clarifications when needed.

Familiar biblical figures and places appear in their common English forms. Otherwise we generally follow the Douai-Rheims translation of the Latin Vulgate for biblical quotations, adjusting the translation when Isidore's quotation differs from the Vulgate reading. We cite book, chapter, and verse from the Vulgate. I and II Kings correspond to I and II Samuel in the Authorized (King James; New Revised Standard) Version; III and IV Kings correspond to AV's I and II Kings; Psalms 10 to 145 correspond to AV's Psalms 11 to 146.

Isidore's many repetitions of material are generally not signaled; these may be located by way of the Index.

Two facts should be noted, as we have not repeated them in the many relevant places in the text. A good

number of Isidore's etymologies depend on the fact that the sound represented by *b* in Latin had by his time become indistinguishable for many speakers from the consonantal sound represented by *v*. Also, in Isidore's geography, as was standard in the classical world, the land masses of the world (the *orbis*, which we translate as "globe") were thought to be entirely encircled by the continuous body of water called *Oceanus*. We regularly translate this term as "Ocean," with a capital *O*, and we use "sea" for other large bodies of water.

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

We are pleased to present the first complete English translation from the Latin of Isidore's *Etymologies*. Isidore, Bishop of Seville, compiled the *Etymologies* (also known as the *Origins*) in the late teens and twenties of the seventh century, and left it nearly complete at his death in 636. In the form of an encyclopedia, it contains a compendium of much of the essential learning of the ancient Greco-Roman and early Christian worlds. In his important study of the Latin literary culture of medieval Europe, Ernst Robert Curtius spoke of the *Etymologies* as serving "the entire Middle Ages as a basic book."[1] It was arguably the most influential book, after the Bible, in the learned world of the Latin West for nearly a thousand years.

To get an idea of what a seventh-century Irish monk, or a lecturer at a cathedral school in the eleventh century, or an Italian poet of the fourteenth century, or a lexicographer of the sixteenth century could learn from the *Etymologies*, one might pick a bit of lore from each of the twenty books in which the work has come down to us. From Isidore, then, we learn that:

- Caesar Augustus used a code in which he replaced each letter with the following letter of the alphabet, *b* for *a*, etc. (I.xxv.2).
- Plato divided physics into four categories: arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy (II.xxiv.4).
- The term 'cymbal' derives from the Greek words for "with" and "dancing," σύν and βαλά (III.xxii.12).
- A physician needs to know the Seven Liberal Arts of Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy (IV.xiii.1–4.)
- In ancient times execution by sword was preferred as speedier (V.xxvii.35).
- Architects use green Carystean marble to panel libraries, because the green refreshes weary eyes (VI.xi.2).
- Esau had three names, meaning "red" (for the stew he made), "bloody" (for his complexion), and "hairy" (VII.vi.33–34).
- Aristotle says that Zoroaster, the first magician, composed two million verses (VIII.ix.1).
- A soldier (*miles*) is so called because once there were a thousand (*mille*) in one troop (IX.iii.32).
- The word for a garrulous person (*garrulus*) derives from the name of the constantly chattering bird, the jackdaw (*graculus*) (X.114).
- In the womb, the knees (*genua*) are pressed against the face, and help to form the eye-sockets (*genae*); hence their name (XI.i.108).
- The ibis purges itself by spewing water into its anus with its beak (XII.vii.33).
- Because of its brightness, lightning reaches the eyes before thunder reaches the ears (XIII.viii.2).
- Gaul is so named from the whiteness of its people, for "milk" in Greek is γάλα (XIV.iv.25).
- Minerva is 'Athena' in Greek; she is reputed to be inventor of many arts because various arts, and philosophy itself, consider the city of Athens their temple (XV.i.44).
- Amber is not the sap of the poplar, but of pine, because when burned it smells like pine pitch (XVI.viii.6).
- An altar was dedicated in Rome to Stercutus, who brought the technique of dunging (*stercorare*) fields to Italy (XVII.i.3).
- The battering ram takes its name 'ram' from its character, because it butts walls (XVIII.xi.1).
- The women of Arabia and Mesopotamia wear the veil called *theristrum* even today as a protection from heat (XIX.xxv.6).
- Wine (*vinum*) is so called because it replenishes the veins (*vena*) with blood (XX.ii.2).

1 "Grundbuch des ganzen Mittelalters," in *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, 1948), trans. by W. R. Trask, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York, 1953: 23).

In the following introduction we provide sketches of Isidore's historical setting, of his life and works, of the sources of the *Etymologies*, of the character of the work, and of its influence.[2]

Historical background

When Isidore was born around the middle of the sixth century, the Western Roman Empire no longer existed as a political entity. Gaul was now ruled by the Franks, and in Italy the Ostrogoths had just been defeated by Byzantine forces, who had also taken over North Africa from the Vandals a short time earlier. Spain, meanwhile, had been under Visigothic rule for over a century.[3]

The Visigoths, like the Ostrogoths, were a Germanic people, originally settled north of the Danube. In 376, under increasing pressure from the Huns, they were allowed by Roman authorities to cross the Danube and settle in Thrace. Their dealings with Rome within the Empire were rocky from the outset, and they soon rebelled, raiding throughout Thrace before defeating Roman forces outside Adrianople in 378. Fighting continued until the two sides reached an agreement in 382 which established the Visigoths as Roman allies bound to supply troops in return for subsidies and a certain amount of autonomy. By the end of the century relations had deteriorated again, however, and the Visigoths, led by Alaric (reigned 395–410), entered Italy and sacked Rome in 410 after they were unable to reach an agreement with the Emperor on the subsidies they were to receive. Still at odds with the Romans, they made their way to Southern Gaul in 412, and from there were driven by Emperor Constantius into Spain.

The Roman province of Hispania had been overrun a few years previous to this by a loose alliance of Germanic tribes, the Alans, the Vandals, and the Sueves. The Visigoths, faced with food shortages due to a Roman blockade, came to an agreement with Constantius to fight these earlier barbarian invaders on Rome's behalf. After some success, they were resettled in Gaul in 418.

In 456, under Theodoric II (reigned 453–466), the Visigoths invaded Spain again, where the Suevi had become the dominant power in the meantime. Theodoric's forces did not manage to conquer the entire peninsula, however; areas held by the Suevi, Galicians and others continued to assert their independence for some time, and the Basque territories were never completely subdued.

In 507, Clovis, the king of the Franks, attacked the Gaulish part of the Visigothic kingdom, and over the next quarter century the Visigoths lost all their Gaulish territory apart from the region around Narbonne known as Septimania. From this point on, the Visigothic kingdom was essentially confined to the Spanish peninsula.

It should be pointed out that although the Visigoths were rulers of Spain they probably only made up a small percentage of the population throughout the period under their rule; the majority of the inhabitants were Hispano-Roman. The new rulers retained a large part of the Roman administrative structure; Roman governors and officials continued to collect at least some Roman taxes[4] and enforce Roman law.[5] The two groups remained socially distinct, however; a ban from imperial times on intermarriage between Goths and Romans, for example, apparently remained in effect until the later part of the sixth century.[6]

Visigothic Spain was a politically unstable kingdom throughout most of the sixth century. Four successive kings were murdered (Amalric, Theudis, Theudisclus, and Agila). From 544, Byzantine forces intervened in Visigothic affairs, possibly at the invitation of Athanagild in his rebellion against Agila. By 557, the Byzantines occupied the southeastern coast of the peninsula, including the port city of Cartagena. Isidore's parents appear to have left Cartagena at about this time, quite possibly as a result of this invasion. In the meantime,

2 The fullest recent account of all these matters is the extensive General Introduction by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz to the Spanish edition of the *Etymologies*, ed. Oroz Reta and Marcos Casquero 1993[2]: 3–257. No good general treatment of Isidore is available in English; the study by Brehaut (1912) is outdated.

3 For a recent overview of the whole period see McKitterick 2001.

4 Land tax, custom tolls, and *collatio lustralis* continued to be collected, for example; see Heather 1996: 194–95.

5 There is some controversy over whether the Gothic inhabitants were subject to a separate code based on traditional Gothic law; see, among others, King 1980, Collins 1995: 24–31, Heather 1996: 194–96, Velázquez 1999, and Wood 1999.

6 Wood 1999: 193.

relations with the Franks to the north deteriorated and they began to threaten Visigothic Septimania and the Ebro Valley.

Following Athanagild's death in 568, the Visigothic nobility chose Liuva to be king, and after Liuva's death in 571 or 573, his brother Leovigild (the Visigothic monarchy was not hereditary, although sometimes a son did succeed his father to the throne). Under Leovigild, the kingdom saw its strength increase. The new king's military successes restored territory that had been lost to the Byzantines and regained political control over rebellious areas (the city of Cordoba, for example, which had been in a state of rebellion since 550) and bordering regions in the northern part of the peninsula.

Leovigild's attempt to win new converts to Arianism met with less success. Arianism was a form of Christianity that held that the three members of the Trinity were not equal and co-eternal – specifically that the Son was not God by nature but created, and not eternal like the Father.[7] Catholic Christians condemned Arian doctrine as heresy at the Council of Nicaea in 325. The Goths, however, had already accepted Arianism when they converted to Christianity, and they continued to hold this doctrine as they moved westward into Gaul and then into Spain. Until Leovigild, the Gothic rulers had made no attempt to convert their largely Catholic subjects, and had apparently made little restriction on the practice of Catholicism, although the Catholic clergy had been deprived of some of their privileges. Under the Arian rulers, the Catholic Church in Spain had been free to convene synods, construct new churches and found monasteries, correspond with the Pope, and circulate their writings openly. The two Churches coexisted independently of each other, each with its own clergy, shrines, and other institutions.

Leovigild, however, mounted a serious campaign to expand Arianism, choosing persuasion and rewards as his instruments, rather than force. In 580 he summoned the first Arian synod held in Spain, and ruled that converts to Arianism no longer needed to be rebaptized, which presumably also made the process of conversion more appealing to Catholics. According to Gregory of Tours (*Libri Historiarum X*, 6.18), Leovigild also attempted to win converts by redefining Arian doctrine to hold that the Father and Son were equal and co-eternal and only the Holy Spirit was not equal. Although he managed to win over a few important Catholic figures, including the Bishop of Saragossa, he lost ground in his own family, for by 582 his older son Hermenigild had converted to Catholicism.

Hermenigild's conversion may have been based as much on political considerations as religious conviction. He had rebelled against his father in 579, soon after his marriage to a Frankish princess (Clovis, the king of the Franks, had converted to Catholicism around the beginning of the sixth century),[8] and had declared himself the independent monarch over the southern part of the peninsula. For three years, Leovigild seems to have accepted the situation, making no attempt to regain control, while Hermenigild, for his part, did not seek to expand the territory under his rule. Some time around 582, Hermenigild converted to Catholicism, under the influence of Isidore's brother Leander, according to Pope Gregory I, a friend of Leander.[9]

In 583, Leovigild finally moved to retake the territory held by Hermenigild, and by 584 he had regained control and exiled Hermenigild to Valencia, where he was murdered the next year. Leovigild, in the meantime, continued his military successes, conquering the Suevic kingdom before he died in 586.

Reccared, Leovigild's other son and Hermenigild's younger brother, became king at his father's death, and converted to Catholicism the following year. Again, as with Hermenigild, Leander of Seville was apparently instrumental in his conversion[10]. Reccared began systematically disassembling the Arian Church structure, reassigning Arian churches to the Catholic dioceses where they were located, and allowing Arian bishops who converted to retain their sees, even when this meant having two bishops in a single see. Most of the groundwork for these changes was laid at the kingdom-wide church Council convened by Reccared at Toledo in 589.[11]

7 For a discussion of the theology of Gothic Arianism see Wiles 1996:45–51.

8 Some historians have suggested that the Franks first converted from paganism to Arianism, and then from Arianism to Catholicism; see D. Schanzer, "Dating the Baptism of Clovis: the Bishop of Vienne vs. the Bishop of Tours," *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998): 29–57.

9 *Dialogues*, iii.31. See Collins 1980:215–18 for further discussion of Leander's role in Hermenigild's conversion.

10 Collins 1995:54.

11 See Stocking 2000:59–88 for a discussion of the Council; records of the Council may be found in G. Martínez Díez and F. Rodríguez, eds., *La Coleccíon Canónica Hispana*, V, Concilios Hispanos: segunda parte (Madrid, 1992).

Although he ordered the destruction of Arian books (and in fact no Arian documents are preserved from Visigothic Spain), there was little if any other persecution of Arians who refused to convert. In the first four years following his conversion, Reccared faced several Arian conspiracies and attempted revolts led by Gothic nobles, but these did not turn out to be serious threats, and within a generation Arianism appears to have died out.

One result of Reccared's conversion to Catholicism was the formation of close ties between the monarchy and the Church. From this point forward, the Visigothic kings exercised control over the appointment of bishops and other decisions that had hitherto been made by the Church alone (see Letters IV and V in the Appendix). In return, the Church, in particular the council of bishops, was given the authority and responsibility for overseeing secular offices like local judges and agents of the treasury estates.

Reccared died in 601, shortly after Isidore became Bishop of Seville, and was succeeded by his seventeen-year-old illegitimate son Liuva II. Less than two years later, Liuva was deposed by Witteric, a Gothic noble. Witteric had Liuva's right hand cut off to prevent him from retaking the throne (Visigothic tradition required that the monarch be able-bodied), and then, in 603, had him executed. Witteric himself was assassinated in 610. The assassins and their motivations have not been recorded, but Witteric was by all accounts not a popular king. Isidore speaks of him with disapproval, and other contemporaries complained of injustices suffered under his role. Gundemar took the throne after Witteric's death, and involved himself, as Reccared had, in the councils of bishops, before dying two years later.

Sisebut then became king. He was a man of some intellectual attainment and authored, among other works, a poem on lunar eclipses (written in 613 as a response to Isidore's cosmological treatise, *De Natura Rerum*) and a Life of St. Desiderius of Vienne.[12] He was also noted by contemporaries for his personal piety, which led him to become deeply involved in the activities of the Church. According to Isidore, Sisebut's anti-Jewish policy of forced conversion was based on zeal rather than knowledge.[13] (Isidore may be referring to this campaign in *Etymologies* V.xxxix.42.) Isidore did not entirely approve of this policy but apparently reserved his criticism until after Sisebut's death.

Sisebut died in 621, of natural causes, or an overdose of medicine, or deliberate poisoning, depending on which account one credits.[14] Reccared II, his young son and successor, died shortly thereafter, and Suinthila took the throne. He began his reign by pushing back a Basque incursion into the province of Tarragona (see Letter II). A further triumph followed a few years later when he succeeded in driving the Byzantines out of Spain. In one version of the *Historia Gothorum*, written during Suinthila's reign, Isidore is lavish in his praise of the monarch. However, Suinthila was deposed in 631 by a group of nobles with Frankish assistance, and Sisenand was made king. Little is recorded about Sisenand's reign aside from his participation in the Fourth Council of Toledo. He died in 636, the same year as Isidore.

Chronology

557: Byzantines occupy Cartagena.
ca. 560: Isidore is born.
572: Leovigild becomes king.
ca. 579: Hermenigild rebels.
586: Death of Leovigild; Reccared becomes king.
587: Reccared converts to Catholicism.
600: Leander dies. Isidore becomes Archbishop of Seville.
601/2: Reccared dies. Liuva II becomes king.
603: Witteric dethrones and murders Liuva II, and becomes king.
610: Witteric assassinated. Gundemar becomes king.

12 See J. Fontaine, "King Sisebut's *Vita Desiderii* and the Political Function of Visigothic Hagiography," in James 1980.

13 Isidore, *History of the Goths*, 61, translated in Wolf 1999:105; see Stocking 2000:132–6 for further discussion of Sisebut's and Isidore's views on conversion.

14 Isidore, *History of the Goths* in Wolf 1999:106: "Some claim that he died a natural death, others, that he died as a result of an overdose of some medication." In an earlier version of the *History of the Goths*, the possibility of poisoning was mentioned (see Stocking 2000:135 fn. 69).

611/12: Death of Gundemar. Sisebut becomes king.
613: Isidore dedicates *De Natura Rerum* to Sisebut.
621: Sisebut dies. Reccared II becomes king and dies shortly thereafter. Suinthila becomes king.
624: Suinthila drives the Byzantines completely out of Spain.
631: Suinthila is deposed. Sisenand becomes king.
636: Sisenand dies. Isidore dies.

Life and works

Few details can be given about Isidore's life with any certainty. He was born some time around 560, about the time when his father Severianus relocated the family to Seville from Cartagena, where invading Byzantine forces had taken control. Isidore's parents died while he was still young, and he was brought up and educated in Seville under the care of his older brother Leander, very likely in the monastery school where Leander was abbot (Riché 1976:289).

Leander, who became Bishop of Seville before 580, was an active and influential churchman.[15] He was a personal friend of Gregory, later Pope Gregory I, whom he encountered on a visit to Constantinople and who dedicated his *Moralia* to Leander. A connection of greater consequence for the kingdom of Spain was Leander's friendship with King Leovigild's sons Hermenigild and Reccared, the future king; it was under Leander's guidance that both his royal friends converted from Arianism to Catholicism.

After Leander's death, and shortly before Reccared died, Isidore was made Bishop of Seville, most likely in the year 600. His other brother, Fulgentius, as well as his sister Florentina, also chose to go into the Church; Fulgentius became Bishop of Ecija and Florentina entered a nunnery. As one of the leading churchmen in the country, Isidore presided over important Church councils in Seville (in 619) and Toledo (in 633). The close ties that had been established between the Visigothic monarchy and the Catholic Church after Reccared's conversion make it likely that Isidore had some political influence as well. His relationship with King Sisebut (reigned 612–621) was particularly close, extending beyond practical matters of government to a personal friendship based on shared intellectual interests. Also important was his friendship with his younger colleague, Braulio, who was in Seville with Isidore until 619, when he became archdeacon (and later, in 631, bishop) of the Church in Saragossa. Their correspondence (see the letters attached to the *Etymologies* in the Appendix) provides a valuable glimpse of Isidore's personality and daily life.

Isidore was deeply admired by his contemporaries for his scholarship and intellectual gifts. Although their praise for his Greek and Hebrew is perhaps unmerited (his knowledge of these languages appears to have extended only to disconnected Greek terms and phrases, and a smattering of Hebrew words), the breadth of his learning is nonetheless impressive.[16] He was happy to draw on pagan authors as well as Church Fathers, and was familiar with works as various as Martial's *Epigrams*, Tertullian's *On Spectacles*, and Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*. In spite of the demands of his episcopal office, Isidore nevertheless found time to produce a substantial body of writing. Braulio compiled a list of these works, the *Renotatio Isidori*, presented in the order in which they were written, shortly after Isidore's death in 636:

> Isidore, an excellent man, bishop of the Church at Seville, successor to and brother of Bishop Leander, flourished from the time of the Emperor Mauritius and

15 Good biographies of Leander, with accounts of his combat against Arianism and his writings, are L. Navarra, *Leandro di Siviglia: Profilo storico-letterario* (Rome, 1987), which prints and translates his *Homilia in Laudem Ecclesiae*, and J. Madoz, "San Leandro de Sevilla," *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 56 (1981): 415–53, printing the basic documentary sources for Leander's career.

16 The kind of Greek known by Isidore and others from the sixth century on has been the subject of a number of studies: see Bischoff 1967:246–75, Riché 1976:44–45, W. Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter, von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues* (Bern and Munich, 1980), revised and expanded by the author and trans. J. C. Frakes as *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages, from Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa* (Washington, DC, 1988) and especially M. Herren and S. A. Brown, eds., *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1988), esp. Herren's introduction (v–xii), and the studies by Dionisotti (1–56), Herren (57–84), Berschin (85–104), and Riché (143–68) in the same volume. Isidore's knowledge of Hebrew was restricted to names interpreted by Jerome (Riché 1976:302).

King Reccared.[17] Our own time indeed found in him a likeness to the knowledge of antiquity, and in him antiquity reclaimed something for itself. He was a man educated in every kind of expression, so that in the quality of his speech he was suited to both the ignorant audience and the learned. Indeed, he was famous for his incomparable eloquence, eloquence appropriate to the occasion. An intelligent reader can now very easily understand from his diverse undertakings and well-crafted works just how great Isidore's knowledge was. Accordingly, I have noted down these thoughts about the works that have come to my notice. He published:

Two books of *Differences (Differentiae)*, in which he used subtle distinctions to differentiate the meaning of terms whose use is confused.

One book of *Introductions (Proemia)*, in which through brief notes he pointed out what each book of Holy Scripture contains.

One book *On the Lives and Deaths of the Fathers (De Ortu et Obitu Patrum)*, in which he noted with thoughtful brevity their deeds and worthiness, their deaths and burials.

Two books of *Offices (Officia)*, for his brother Fulgentius, Bishop of Ecija, in which he set out the origin of the Offices and why each Office is performed in the Church of God, with interpretations of his own pen, but not without the authority of our forefathers.

Two books of *Synonyms (Synonyma)*, with which, through the intervening exhortation of reason, he encouraged the reader to a consolation of the soul and a hope of receiving forgiveness.

One book *On the Nature of Things (De Natura Rerum)*, addressed to King Sisebut, in which he resolved certain obscure matters concerning the elements, relying on his study of both the Doctors of the Church and the philosophers.

One book *On Numbers (De Numeris)*, in which he touched in part on the discipline of mathematics, on account of the numbers which are inserted in Sacred Scripture.

One book *On the Names of the Law and the Gospels (De Nominibus Legis et Evangeliorum)*, in which he shows what the people who are mentioned signify in a mystical sense.

One book *On Heresies (De Haeresibus)*, in which, following the examples of our forefathers, he gathers diverse topics, being as brief as he can.

Three books of *Sentences (Sententiae)*, which he ornamented with flowers from the book of *Morals* by Pope Gregory.

One book of *Chronicles (Chronicon)*, from the creation of the world up until his own time, collected with great brevity.

Two books *Against the Jews (Contra Judaeos)*, at the request of his sister Florentina, a virgin (i.e. a nun) in her way of life, in which he demonstrated everything that the Catholic Church believes based on the evidence of the Law and of the Prophets (i.e. based on the Hebrew Scriptures alone).

One book *On Illustrious Men (De Viris Illustribus)*, to which we are adding this entry.[18]

One book of the *Monastic Rule (Monastica Regula)*, which he tempered most fittingly for use in this country and for the souls of the weak.

One book *On the Origin of the Goths, and also The Kingdom of the Suevi, and The History of the Vandals (De Origine Gothorum et Regno Suevorum et etiam Vandalorum Historia)*.

Two books of *Questions (Quaestiones)*, which the reader may recognize as an abundant anthology of ancient treatises.

The *Etymologies (Etymologiae)*, a codex of enormous size, divided by him into topics, not books. Although he left it unfinished, I divided it into twenty (or, "fifteen," in some manuscripts) books, since he wrote the work at my request. Whoever thoughtfully and thoroughly reads through this work, which is suited to philosophy in every respect, will not be ignorant of the knowledge of human and divine matters, and deservedly so. Overflowing with eloquence of various arts with regard to nearly every point of them that ought to be known, it collects them in a summarized form.

There are also other minor works by this man, and abundantly ornamented writings in the Church of God. After such misfortune in Spain in recent years, God encouraged him, as if he were setting up a prop – to preserve the ancient monuments, I believe, lest we decay into rusticity. To him we may fittingly apply the philosopher's comment (Cicero, *Academica Posteriora* 1.3): "Your books have brought us back, as if to our home, when we were roving and wandering in our own city like strangers, so that we might sometimes be able to understand who and where we are. You have laid open the lifetime of our country, the description of the ages, the laws of sacred matters and of priests, learning both domestic and public, the names, kinds, functions and

17 The Byzantine Emperor Mauritius reigned from 582 to 602, and Reccared from 586 to 601.

18 On the *De Viris Illustribus* see below. Braulio's list was appended to a manuscript of Isidore's treatise. It is edited from the manuscript León 22 by P. Galindo, pp. 356–60 in C. H. Lynch, *San Braulio* (Madrid, 1950).

causes of settlements, regions, places, and all matters both human and divine."[19]

The proceedings of the Council at Seville, at which he was present, declare how with a flood of eloquence he pierced through the heresy of the Acephalites (see VIII. v. 66) with the arrows of divine Scripture and the testimonies of the Church Fathers. In this council he asserted the truth against Gregorius, leader of the aforementioned heresy.

Isidore died during the reign of the Emperor Heraclius and of the most Christian King Chintila.[20] He was outstanding above everyone with his sound doctrine, and very generous in his works of charity.

All of these works except *On Heresies* (the subject of *Etymologies* VIII.v) are still extant. They range in date from what is presumably the earliest, the first book of the *Differentiae*, around 600, to around 625. Four of them focus closely on the Bible. The *Introductions* gives a brief description of each book of the Bible, and the *On the Lives and Deaths of the Fathers* is a collection containing short biographies of important Biblical figures. In spite of Braulio's description, *On Numbers* is a religious rather than mathematical treatise; in it Isidore discusses the symbolic interpretation of numerals contained in the text of the Bible. *On the Names of the Law and the Gospels*, also known as the *Allegories (Allegoriae)*, is a similar discussion of the symbolism of Biblical names.

Against the Jews is an attempt to win converts from Judaism to Christianity by means of rational persuasion; it was most likely written around the time of King Sisebut's campaign of forced conversion (see above, p. 6), and may be seen as an alternative approach in contrast to Sisebut's harsher measures. In the first book Isidore argues that Old Testament prophets foresaw the birth, death, resurrection, and divinity of Christ, while the second book presents passages from the prophets that Isidore interprets as condemning Jewish rituals.

The four other surviving theological works deal with the Church and the duties of Christians. The first book of *Offices* (also the subject of *Etymologies* VI.xix) gives a history of the Catholic liturgy, and is an important source of information about the Mozarabic liturgy. The second book deals with the various ecclesiastical offices and their duties. The *Monastic Rule* and the *Sentences* are more instructional works, the first providing an introduction to monastic life in simple and straightforward language, and the second a guide to Church doctrine and Christian conduct of life. In the *Synonyms*, Isidore presents a contemplation on sin and conversion, relying on synonyms to reiterate and emphasize each point of his message.

On the Nature of Things is a detailed cosmology dealing with astronomy, meteorology, and other natural phenomena, as well as with the human conventions of timekeeping and calendars.

The *Chronicles*, although a useful source for the history of Visigothic Spain, is otherwise mainly derivative of earlier chronicles, particularly Eusebius's chronicle (*ca.* 326), translated and continued by Jerome (*ca.* 378), and Prosper of Aquitaine (*ca.* 455) and others. Like the *History of the Goths*, it draws from Julius Africanus, Eusebius's universal history, Orosius's *History against the Pagans*, other works of Jerome, Augustine, and Cassiodorus. There are two versions, both by Isidore, one completed in 615/16, during Sisebut's reign, and the other completed in 626. *Etymologies* V.xxxix incorporates an abbreviated version of the chronicle; the fact that it uses materials found in the 626 version shows that the work dedicated to Sisebut before 621 was not the complete *Etymologies* as we now have it.[21] There are likewise two extant versions of *On the Origin of the Goths*, one that ends with the death of Sisebut in 621 and one that continues up through 625, in the middle of Suinthila's reign. It is not clear which is the later version; it may be that the longer account was written first and that Isidore thought it prudent to excise the final section after Suinthila's fall from power.[22] *The Kingdom of the Suevi* and *The*

19 Braulio would have read Cicero's encomium of Varro, the great predecessor of Isidore, in Augustine's *City of God* 6.2.

20 The Byzantine Emperor Heraclius reigned from 610 to 641, and Chintila from 636 to 640.

21 Both the *Chronicon (Chronica Maiora)* and the shorter version *(Chronica Minora)* included in the *Etymologies* are edited by T. Mommsen, MGH, Auct. Ant. XI, 391–497 (Berlin, 1894). The new edition of the *Chronica* (615/16 and 626 redactions) by Martin (2003) contains the most recent full bibliography of Isidore studies and a thorough account of Isidore's sources. See also P. M. Bassett, "The Use of History in the *Chronicon* of Isidore of Seville," *History and Theory* 15 (1976): 278–92. See further the materials on the *Chronicon* and *The History of the Goths* in Wolf 1999.

22 On the *History of the Goths* see the edn. by Mommsen, preceding note, pp. 267–303, and the edn. by R. Alonso, *Las Historias de los Godos, Vándalos y Suevos de Isidoro de Sevilla* (León, 1975), with full introduction, and G. Donini and G. B. Ford, *Isidore of Seville's History of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi* (Leiden, 1970), with trans. See also J. N. Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," in *La Storiografia altomedievale* (Spoleto, 1970: 287–302).

History of the Vandals, although Braulio speaks of them as if they and *On the Origin of the Goths* were a single work, appear to be brief but separate histories, which have been appended to the larger work. In *On Illustrious Men*, Isidore presents thirty-three brief biographies of important Christian figures, mainly writers, from various countries (many Spaniards) and eras, including his brother Leander. It is a continuation of works with the same title by Jerome (*ca.* 392) and his continuator Gennadius (*ca.* 490); all three sketch the lives of prominent Christians, as an answer to Suetonius Tranquillus's *De Viris Illustribus*.[23]

Like the *Etymologies*, the *Differences* is closely concerned with the form and meaning of individual words. The first book explains the distinctions between pairs of words that are either synonyms or homophones, and gives instructions for correct usage. The second book focuses on the differences between things; between angels, demons, and men, for example.

A second early notice of Isidore and his works was included by Ildefonsus, bishop of Toledo, in his work *On Illustrious Men*, a continuation of the Jerome–Gennadius–Isidore tradition.[24] Ildefonsus was reputed to have been a student of Isidore's; he completed the work shortly before his death in 667. The notice (cap. 8) follows:

> Isidore held the bishopric of the see of Seville, in the Province of Baetica, after his brother Leander. He was a man esteemed for both his propriety and his intellect. In speaking he had acquired a supply of such pleasing eloquence that his admirable richness of speech amazed his listeners. Indeed, someone who had heard a sermon of his a second time would not approve unless it were repeated still further. He wrote not a few exceptional works, that is:
>
> *The Types of Offices*,
> *The Book of Prefaces*,
> *The Births and Deaths of the Fathers*,
> A book of lamentations, which he himself called the *Synonyms*,
> Two little books written for his sister Florentina, *Against the Iniquity of the Jews*,
> A book for King Sisebut, *On the Nature of Things*,
> A book of *Differences*,
> A book of *Sentences*.
> He also collected into one place from various authors what he himself called the *Exposition of the Secret Sacraments*. It is also known as the *Questions*.
> Finally, in response to a request from Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa, his book of *Etymologies*. He tried to fulfill this request completely over the course of many years, and seemed to finish his final days engaged in this work.
>
> He was active during the reigns of Reccared, Liuva, Witteric, Gundemar, Sisebut, Suinthila, and Sisenand. He held the honor of the bishopric for almost forty years, and maintained the distinction of its holy doctrine, its glory as well as its propriety.

Obviously a good deal of Isidore's earlier writing was taken over into the *Etymologies*, which Isidore must have considered the *summa* of his scholarly career. Presumably he began work on it before the death of Sisebut early in 621, and he left it unfinished at his death in 636.

Isidore was officially canonized as a saint in 1598, and was declared a Doctor of the Church in 1722. His feast day is April 4.

The sources of the *Etymologies*

Isidore acknowledges, in the dedication (before 621) to King Sisebut prefaced to an early draft (perhaps Books I–X) of the *Etymologies*, that his work compiles material "gathered from my recollection (or, "record") of readings from antiquity" (see the appended Letter VI). This is no mere topos of humility; nearly the whole work, in fact, consists of intricately woven excerpts and paraphrases of the works of earlier writers. To assess Isidore's achievement we cannot look to original researches or innovative interpretations, but rather to the ambition of the whole design, to his powers of selection and organization, and to his grand retentiveness. His aims were not novelty but

23 The main part of Suetonius's work still extant is *De (Claris) Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*. The Jerome and Gennadius works are edited by E. C. Richardson, *Hieronymus: Liber de Viris Illustribus. Gennadius: Liber de Viris Illustribus*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 14, 1. (Leipzig, 1896). On these and Isidore's *De Viris Illustribus* see R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989: 200–02).

24 C. C. Merino, ed. and trans. into Spanish, *El 'De Viris Illustribus' de Ildefonso de Toledo* (Salamanca, 1972).

authority, not originality but accessibility, not augmenting but preserving and transmitting knowledge.

A full reckoning of Isidore's sources must await the completion of the major edition of the *Etymologies* now under way, being published in the series Auteurs Latins du Moyen Age (Paris: Belles Lettres). To date five volumes of a projected twenty, one for each book of the *Etymologies*, have appeared (see Bibliography). These and the important study by Jacques Fontaine (1959, 1983[2]) are the only authoritative studies of the *Etymologies*'s sources yet to appear.

The following sketch divides Isidore's sources into three kinds: first, his forebears in producing etymologies and encyclopedias; second, the actual scholars from whom he derives his information, whether or not at first hand; and third, the *auctores* whom he cites, that is, the acknowledged classical masters of imaginative literature and artful prose (Vergil, Cicero, and the rest).[25]

The idea that knowledge of the origins of words can yield up the words' "true sense" (ἔτυμον), and indeed something of the intrinsic character of the thing named by the word, is very ancient. The oldest Greek and Hebrew writings take for granted that proper names can conceal and reveal the characters and fates of their bearers.[26] Plato in the *Cratylus* treats the fundamental question, whether a thing takes its name arbitrarily or with reference to the thing's nature. The first known work, now lost, devoted to the science of etymologies is the Περί ἐτυμολογίας of Heraclides Ponticus (fourth century BCE). Developing the Greek science of etymology were the Ἐτυμολογίαι of Apollodorus of Athens and a work by Demetrius of Ixion, both of the second century BCE. In the Roman tradition of scholarship the first important figure is Aelius Stilo Praeconinus (*ca.* 154–74 BCE), of whose works only fragments survive, but whose pupils Varro and Cicero carried on his interest in etymology. The Stoics, in particular, continued the study of etymology, including the articulation, by Varro (especially in the lost books II–IV of *On the Latin Language*) and others, of the several types of etymologies.

Parallel to, and eventually coincident with, the development of etymologizing proper was the compilation of encyclopedias.[27] As the term 'encyclopedia' suggests (if we may follow Isidore's practice of explanation by etymology – 'paideia' means "education"), these were summations of learning intended for general instruction, the "cycle of education" proper to a free person – hence, the "liberal arts." The first encyclopedias were Latin. Cato the Censor compiled (*ca.* 185 BCE) an encyclopedia, now lost. Much the most important figure, both for the production of etymologies and for the making of encyclopedias, is Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BCE). Of his many works those on the Latin language and on agriculture substantially survive. Lost is the *Disciplines*, an encyclopedia whose nine books treated in turn grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astrology, music, medicine, and architecture. The first seven of these, regularly divided into the language arts (the trivium: the first three) and the mathematical arts (the quadrivium), became the classic model of preliminary education, the "Seven Liberal Arts."[28] The shape of Isidore's first five books may be traced directly to Varro's influence, though in fact it is unlikely that Isidore had direct access to texts of Varro.

Of A. Cornelius Celsus's encyclopedia (early first century CE) only the medical books survive intact. After Varro the greatest encyclopedist is Pliny the Elder, whose massive *Natural History* (dedicated in 77 CE) in effect fills out the classical matrix of encyclopedic learning, adding to Varro's cycle of the liberal arts the cycle of

25 Preliminary guidance for many of the following authors and works may be found in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn., ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford, 2003), and *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York, 1982–89).

26 Fundamental studies of the history of etymologizing are Ilona Opelt, "Etymologie," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 6 (1965: cols. 797–844) and Roswitha Klinck, *Die lateinische Etymologie des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1970). See also Fontaine 1981.

27 An introductory treatment of early encyclopedias is R. Collison 1966. Pp. 21–35 survey the tradition up to Isidore. With full bibliographies on both the basis of encyclopedias in Greek and Roman education and on encyclopedias themselves are H. Fuchs, "Enkyklios Paideia" (cols. 365–98) and "Enzyklopädie" (cols. 504–15) in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 5 (1962). See also Ribémont 2002 and M. de Gaudillac, "Encyclopédies pré-médiévales et médiévales," pp. 1–42 in *La Pensée encyclopédique au moyen âge* (Neuchatel, 1966) and other essays in this collection on encyclopedias partly derived from Isidore.

28 On the liberal arts see *Arts libéraux et philosophie au moyen âge. Actes du Quatrième Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale, Montréal, 1967* (Paris, 1969), esp. the essays by Marrou and Díaz y Díaz. The scheme of the Seven Liberal Arts came to the Middle Ages primarily by way of Martianus Capella. See Herbert Backes, *Die Hochzeit Merkurs und der Philologie: Studien zu Notkers Martian-Übersetzung* (Thorbecke, 1982: esp. 11–15), and P. Courcelle, *Les Letters grecques en occident: De Macrobe à Cassiodore* (Paris, 1948).

scientific and naturalist lore: extensive treatments of the world in general (cosmology and meteorology), geography, the human being, zoology, botany, mineralogy, and medicine. Both Varro's and Pliny's works are arranged, with a view to ready access, by topics in rational order. To these foundational works of scholarship should be added the *Institutes of Oratory* (before 96 CE) of Quintilian, a masterwork on rhetoric in the broadest sense, including what we would call literary history and criticism.

With the exception of medicine, Roman scholarship after the first century CE shows a progressive decline in the practice of original scientific research. Concomitantly, the major works of reference (following Varro's lead) focus more and more intently on the Latin language itself. Encyclopedic works of the later period show more interest in presenting and defining, often with etymological explications, the *terms* of the arts and sciences, rather than the actual processes of the technologies and the essential qualities of the objects of study. One looks to these works for copious vocabulary, for careful discriminations of correct and incorrect usage of language, and in general for what might be called a heightened state of literacy.

The main encyclopedic works after Pliny are the *Compendious Doctrine* (early fourth century) of Nonius Marcellus, arranged in alphabetical order; the *Marriage of Mercury and Philology* (perhaps early fifth century) of Martianus Capella, which contains a review of the Seven Liberal Arts; and the *Institutes* (*ca.* 562) of Cassiodorus, written in two books for the monks at the monastery he founded. Its first book gives instructions on the parts of the Bible and about how to study and copy religious writings, and the second is a compendium of the Seven Liberal Arts.[29] Less encyclopedic in form – that is, organized in a deliberately casual manner – but of encyclopedic scope are the (mainly lost) *Prata* (early second century CE) of Suetonius Tranquillus, the *Attic Nights* (late second century CE) of Aulus Gellius, and the *Saturnalia* (early fifth century) of Macrobius. Of crucial importance are the vast commentaries by Servius (late fourth century), available to Isidore in the longer version called *Servius Danielis* (after its first publisher, Pierre Daniel), which is thought to include materials from Donatus not reworked by Servius. Servius's commentaries amount to an encyclopedia organized by the order of the text of Vergil, rather than by topic or by alphabet. All these, apart from the Cassiodorus, are pagan works; among Christian works with encyclopedic abundance of lore are the writings of Lactantius (*ca.* 240–*ca.* 320), including the *Divine Institutes*, Ambrose's *Hexameron* (late fourth century), and Augustine's *City of God* (413–426).

Alongside, and in part excerpting, the encyclopedias was a tradition of lexicography, which included from the outset definitions, etymologies, and *differentiae*, the discrimination of meaning and usage of closely related terms. At the head of this tradition stands Verrius Flaccus's *On the Meaning of Words* (early first century CE), lost but epitomized by S. Pompeius Festus in the late second century. These works were arranged in roughly alphabetical order. The Latin tradition of free-standing glossaries, not attached to individual authors, seems to begin with the sources of Placidus's glossary in the late fifth or early sixth century. Some glossaries compiled after Isidore's time are known to include material from sources probably known to him, especially Paul the Deacon's epitome of Festus, preserving much of that work otherwise lost, and the vast (over 500,000 entries) *Liber Glossarum (Glossarium Ansileubi*), probably of the late eighth century and compiled at Corbie or a related scriptorium.[30]

Together with these encyclopedic and lexicographical works we must presume a substantial number of lost school-texts and manuals treating the various arts, and of course a mass of monographs, many still

29 R. A. B. Mynors, ed., *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones* (Oxford, 1937; corr. reprint 1961). An important translation and commentary: Leslie Webber Jones, *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings, by Cassiodorus Senator* (New York, 1946). Isidore apparently knew only the second book of the *Institutes* (Fontaine 2000:334); Mynors observes that the two books usually circulated separately.

30 The *Liber Glossarum* is edited (abridged) by W. M Lindsay, *Glossaria Latina*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1926). Lindsay also studied the Festus material contained in it and other post-Isidorean glossaries: see his reprinted *Studies in Early Mediaeval Latin Glossaries*, ed. Michael Lapidge (Aldershot, Hampshire, 1996), no. 7, "The Abstrusa Glossary and the Liber Glossarum." Festus is also edited by Lindsay: *Sexti Pompei Festi De Verborum Significatu quae Supersunt cum Pauli Epitome* (Leipzig, 1913). See further D. Ganz, "The 'Liber Glossarum': A Carolingian Encyclopedia," in *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times*, ed. P. L. Butzer and D. Lohrmann (Basel, 1993: 127–35), and T. A. M. Bishop, "The Prototype of the *Liber Glossarum*," in M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson, eds., *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries* (London, 1978: 69–86). On Paul the Deacon's epitome of Festus, completed in 786, see Settimio Lanciotti, "Tra Festo e Paolo," in *Paolo Diacono: Uno scrittore fra tradizione longobarda e rinnovamento carolingio* (Udine, 2000: 237–50), and the references cited there.

extant, treating specific disciplines: grammar, rhetoric, medicine, law, geography, architecture, philosophy, chronology, logic, music, ecclesiastical and theological matters, and the rest. Outstanding among these are the treatises of Boethius (480–524), covering the disciplines of the quadrivium as well as important translations and commentaries on logic; the standard grammatical works of Donatus (fourth century), Sacerdos (third century), and Terentianus (late second century); the many legal compilations of Julius Paulus (*ca.* 210) and Ulpian (died 223), whose works were used in the great codifications under Justinian (529–534); Vitruvius's (late first century BCE) *On Architecture*; for agriculture the works of Palladius (fourth century), partly based on Columella (60–65 CE); Marius Victorinus's (fourth century) translations of Greek philosophical texts; the geographically arranged miscellany of lore, practically an encyclopedia, the *Collection of Memorable Things* (soon after 200) of G. Julius Solinus; and for history and chronology Jerome's translation and continuation to the year 378 of Eusebius's *Chronicle*, Rufinus's translation and continuation (late fourth century) of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* (early fourth century), and Paulus Orosius's *History Against the Pagans* (418).[31]

From this survey it appears that Isidore's twin informing principles, etymologizing and encyclopedism, descend from ancient and distinguished ancestry.[32] In that the *Etymologies* amounts to a reorganized redaction and compendium of writings mainly of the fourth to sixth centuries (with the large exception of Pliny), it could be said that his work is not merely conditioned by, but in the main is comprised of, the major components of intellectual history as they were handed down to him. He had access, albeit largely indirect, to the major traditions of Latin learning reaching back 800 years, from Gregory the Great to Cato. Like his fellow "transmitters"[33] from Servius to Cassiodorus, Isidore quite consciously preserved, in abbreviated form, the accumulated learning of the classical world. As his disciple Braulio remarked in his *Renotatio*, "Our own time indeed found in him a likeness of the knowledge of antiquity, and in him antiquity reclaimed something for itself . . . God encouraged him . . . to preserve the ancient monuments . . ."

Apart from the dedication to Sisebut Isidore does not speak generally about his use of sources in the *Etymologies*, with one exception, his use – particularly his occasional augmenting – of Jerome's work explicating the meaning of Hebrew terms (VII.i.1).[34] More vaguely, he claims to avoid presenting material about the founding of cities when the authorities differ among themselves, giving examples of such dissension from Sallust and two places in the *Aeneid* (XV.i.1). At the beginning of Book XIII he emphasizes that he will tell of the cosmos in a "brief sketch" *(brevis tabella)* and "with compendious brevity" *(conpendiosa brevitas)*, implying abbreviation of his sources.[35]

Because Isidore derives his information mainly at second or third hand, his actual naming and even quoting of earlier scholars is no reliable guide to his immediate sources. Let the crucial figure of Varro, at the head of the encyclopedic tradition in which the *Etymologies* stands, serve as an example.[36] Isidore names him as his authority for various facts twenty-eight times, and appears to quote him eighteen times.[37] The first ten of these

31 On historiography before and after Isidore see R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004).

32 On this see especially Fontaine (1966).

33 On such "transmitters" of classical culture as Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Isidore see E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1928). Broadly for the period see M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, AD 500–900* (Ithaca, NY, 1931), and esp. Riché (1976) and J. J. Contreni, "The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture," in R. McKitterick, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. II *c.* 700–*c.* 900 (Cambridge, 1995: 709–57).

34 The openings of three other books, X, XIII, and XIX, refer without specification to Isidore's abbreviation of his sources. Three chapter titles refer to sources (II.xxv, xxvi, and xxix).

35 Díaz y Díaz observes that Isidore uses similar phrasing when speaking of his intentions in the preface to his treatise *On the Nature of Things:* "presenting some statements about the nature and causes of things . . . all of which I have noted in a brief sketch *(brevis tabella)* according to what has been written by the ancients and especially in the works of Catholic writers" (Oroz Reta and Marcos Casquero 1993^2:176).

36 The information about those whom Isidore names, and those whom he directly quotes (whether or not naming the specific source), may be gleaned from two indexes in the Reta–Casquero edition (1993^2): "Index nominum" and "Loci citati in textu." These do not include Isidore's quotation or paraphrase of sources where he gives no indication of doing so. In what follows we collect statistics from these indexes with the caveat that they contain many errors.

37 Isidore appears to quote Varro at I.iii.1, I.xxvii.15, I.xxxviii.1, II.xxiii.1, IV.viii.13, IV.xi.5, VIII.vi.21, VIII.vii.3, IX.ii.74, X.185, XI.i.51, XI.i.97, XIII.i.2, XIII.xviii.2, XV.xiii.6, XVII.ix.95, XX.x.1, XX.xi.9 and otherwise names him as his authority at VIII.ix.13, XI.iii.1, XIV.vi.18, XIV.vi.36, XIV.viii.33, XIV.ix.2, XV.i.63, XVII.vii.57, XVII.i.1, and XVIII.xvi.2.

citations give an idea of what Varro provides: he calls grammar 'literacy'; he observes that Caesar's use of the *i* in *maximus* led to the standard orthography; he defines the term *prosa*; he gives the etymology of the disease *aurigo*; he gives the etymology of the word for 'mortar' *(pila)*; he speaks of fire as the soul of the world; he gives the etymology of the word for 'prophet' *(vates)*; he records the Pelasgians' first arrival in Italy; he defines the word *hilum*; and he gives the etymology of the word for 'tongue' *(lingua)*. Yet modern scholarship has affirmed that all of these references are at second hand; there is no evidence that Isidore handled any writing by Varro. Compare his naming of Pythagoras as authority eight times in the *Etymologies*; we can be sure that Isidore had no direct access to Pythagoras, who, as far as we know, wrote nothing.

Because so much of the *Etymologies* is complacently derivative, we can nowhere take for granted that we know the stance of the "we" who compiles the work. When he describes the types of parchment, Isidore might have told us about the production of books in his own scriptorium. Instead, he reproduces Pliny on the types of papyrus sheets and the ancient types of parchment (VI.x). Presumably many of the critical remarks about pagan beliefs that we find are Isidore's own words – but many may derive from his Christian forebears. Things that persist "up to this day" may be those that persist up to the time of Isidore's source. Usages that Isidore labels as "commonly" *(vulgo)* current may be those current in the milieu of the source. Descriptions of Spain, even of Seville, are exiguous, traditional, *pro forma*.

The names of earlier scholars found in the *Etymologies* display a striking fact. Isidore names Aristotle (15 times), Jerome (10), Cato (9), Plato (8), Pliny (7), Donatus (6), Eusebius (5), Augustine (5), Suetonius (4), and Josephus (2), along with single references to a few others. At one point he names, we may suppose with admiration and in emulation, those "who wrote many things": Varro and, "of ours," that is, of Christians, Origen and Augustine. Of all these writers, Isidore surely drew excerpts directly from Jerome and Augustine, and possibly from Pliny and Donatus, yet he probably never saw the other authorities, but borrowed the references from secondary works.[38] (Whether or not he cites Pliny from intermediate sources, he often borrows from him at length verbatim.) More striking, he never names several encyclopedists from whose work he probably drew at second or third hand: Aulus Gellius, Nonius Marcellus, Lactantius, Macrobius, and Martianus Capella (possibly an immediate source). And most striking, nowhere in the *Etymologies* do we find mention of three of Isidore's four (with Pliny) main scholarly sources: Solinus (himself heavily indebted to Pliny), Servius, and Cassiodorus.

Jacques Fontaine's important study (1959, 1983²) examines Isidore's profound indebtedness to Cassiodorus's *Institutes* in the first three books of the *Etymologies*, and Peter Marshall's edition (1983) of Book II bears out Fontaine's conclusions in even greater detail. The ALMA editions of other books of the *Etymologies* (IX, XII, XVII, XIX) confirm the findings of investigations since the fifteenth century concerning Isidore's vast quotation and paraphrase of Servius, Pliny, and Solinus. In his treatment of the sources of Book XII (1986: 13–22), Jacques André finds a typical situation. The book contains 58 citations – that is, acknowledged quotations (there are altogether nearly 600 of these in the *Etymologies)* – and 293 uncited borrowings. Of these most, 79, are from Solinus; 45 are from Pliny the Elder. From Servius come 61 borrowings of material; André estimates that some 400 from Servius occur in the whole of the *Etymologies* – this may understate the number. Of the Church Fathers from whom Isidore constantly borrows, in Book XII (on animals) the most used is Ambrose – the *Hexameron*. Ambrose is named only once in the *Etymologies*.

The ancient tradition of grammar and of encyclopedias took for granted that for the uses of particular words, as well as for figures of speech and in fact for any other information, the major poets and rhetoricians, the *auctores*, constituted the prime witnesses. Hence copious citation, in grammars and reference works, of wording from Vergil or Cicero or Horace not only displayed the writer's liberal learning (and status), and not only illustrated particular literary techniques or fact, but also authenticated assertions by the highest standard – higher, indeed, than immediate experience of the world. Thus Isidore reports (XII.iv.48) that Pythagoras says that a cadaver's spinal cord turns into a snake, and to buttress the veracity of

38 The detailed evidence is found in Fontaine and in the ALMA editions – see below.

the idea he quotes Ovid's *Metamorphoses* with the same report – even though Ovid leaves room for doubt ("there are those who believe . . ."). Surely Isidore himself did not believe so unbiblical an idea; rather, he follows his respected source, both in stating it as fact and in providing further authentication. Elsewhere (XIX.i.17) he speaks of a type of boat called *phaselus*, and notes that "we" (either seventh-century Spaniards or whoever were the original audience of his source) incorrectly call this boat *baselus*. Merely to affirm the existence of the word in its correct form he quotes Vergil's *Georgics*. If Vergil used the word it is worth knowing – so the Roman scholars presumed, and Isidore follows them.

The most cited *auctores* used in this way are Vergil (over 190 citations),[39] Cicero (over 50), and Lucan (some 45). Other much-cited figures are Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, Martial, Ennius, Sallust, and Persius. In addition, Isidore quotes from the Bible nearly 200 times. Apart from the Bible and Vergil, and perhaps Ovid, Lucretius, and Martial, modern scholarship (especially Fontaine and the ALMA editors) shows that Isidore probably quotes none of these *auctores* at first hand. Yet he often carefully names them; clearly he distinguishes between these writers and the scholarly providers of the bulk of his material. They are older (mainly Augustan and pre-Augustan); apart from Cicero and Sallust they are poets; they are revered from antiquity on as luminaries of the language, as originators and originals – they are, in short, what we would call "classics." In contrast are the unnamed and seldom named sources: Pliny, Servius, Cassiodorus, and the rest. We may presume that Isidore thought of them as not worth mentioning as authorities: they are fellow scholars, (except for Pliny) relatively recent, utilitarian and prosaic, themselves secondary. Evidently Isidore made no sharp division between the authoritativeness of pagan versus Christian writers, but he probably did generally regard his Christian sources – to use some old terminology – as "moderns," and the pagans as "ancients" (whom with great frequency he calls *maiores, veteres, antiqui*; roughly "our ancestors, those of old times, the ancients").

Because our translation of the *Etymologies* specifies sources only in the few cases where they particularly bear on Isidore's meaning, we offer here a very rough guide to the major sources of the individual books.[40] Two caveats: first, the forthcoming volumes of the ALMA edition of the *Etymologies* will supersede any current knowledge of sources; second, the positing of a source by no means indicates that it is Isidore's immediate source. The first two books rely mainly on Cassiodorus, as does the third, with important additions from Boethius on mathematics. Book IV on medicine draws on Caelius Aurelianus's (fifth century) Latin translation, *On Acute Diseases and Chronic Disorders*, of Soranus of Ephesus (second century) and Pliny. Among the sources of the legal materials in Book V are the *Institutes* of Gaius (second century) and its epitome in the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, and Julianus Salvius's (second century) *Digesta*. The chronicle section updates and abbreviates Isidore's own *Chronicon*, which derives from Jerome's adaptation of Eusebius's chronicle and continuations of it.

Books VI to VIII constitute the ecclesiastical and theological part of the *Etymologies*. Primary sources are, naturally, Augustine and Jerome, whom Isidore ransacked thoroughly, as well as Gregory the Great (a friend of Isidore's brother Leander), Lactantius's *Divine Institutes*, Tertullian, and for the pagan lore in Book VIII, Varro, Cicero, Pliny. Book IX weaves together material from Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Servius, Pliny, and Solinus. A remote source is M. Junianus Justinus's (third century) Latin epitome of Pompeius Trogus's universal history (early first century). The vocabulary of Book X derives from the glossographic tradition from Verrius Flaccus through Festus, as well as Servius, and the Church Fathers. For Books XI–XX excerpts from Pliny, Servius, and Solinus occur everywhere. Book XII borrows much from Ambrose's *Hexameron*. Solinus and Paulus Orosius's *Histories against the Pagans* (fifth century) provide much of the geographical learning in Book XIV.

39 These figures derive from an index in the BAC edition of the *Etymologies*; however, in the same edition Díaz y Díaz (Oroz Reta and Marcos Casquero 1993²:193) writes that Vergil is cited by name more than one hundred times, and 266 times altogether, as reported by N. Messina, "Le citazioni classiche nelle *Etymologiae* di Isidoro di Siviglia," *Archivos Leoneses* 68 (1980: 205–64). Our own search finds that in the *Etymologies* Isidore cites Vergil by name 112 times.

40 Particularly valuable for Isidore's sources are the works of Fontaine listed in the Bibliography. On the general topics of education and knowledge of the classics in Isidore's Spain see Riché (1976), esp. 246–65, 274–303, and Díaz y Díaz (1975). The manuscript evidence for transmission of the classics in Spain may be found in Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, and Reynolds 1983.

On buildings and fields (Book XV), Columella and Servius are the main bases. Pliny, Servius, and Solinus yield most of Isidore's mineralogical lore (Book XVI). Book XVII, on agriculture, derives ultimately from Cato via Varro, Columella, Pliny, Servius (mainly his commentary on the *Georgics* of Vergil), and Rutilius Palladius (fourth century), whose agricultural treatise derives mainly from Columella and from his own experience in farming. On war and games (Book XVIII) Isidore draws much material from Servius and, on the Circus games, from the treatise *De Spectaculis* (*ca.* 200) of the Christian apologist Tertullian. The last two books may have been conceived as a unit (so Rodríguez-Pantoja 1995: 1); Book XX bears no separate title in early manuscripts. Along with Servius (the main source), Jerome, Festus, and Pliny, in these books Isidore uses the abridgement of Vitruvius's treatise on architecture made by M. Cetius Faventinus (uncertain date), Palladius, Book XIII of Nonus Marcellus, and others.

Isidore's absorbing and replicating of these traditions, pagan and Christian, Plinian and Augustinian, show him facing both ways. He may be included among the last humanist polymaths of late antiquity, and also among the early and most influential medieval Christian scholars.[41] He obviously accepted the commonplace among Christian scholars, from Augustine (especially *De Doctrina Christiana*) and Jerome, that mastery of pagan learning is a good thing for the inquiring Christian: the liberal arts are a fit introduction to the study of the Bible and theology.[42] He offers an apology for one type of this learning to his Christian reader (*Etym.* I.xliii): "Histories of peoples are no impediment to those who wish to read useful works, for many wise men have imparted the past deeds of humankind in histories for the instruction of the living." Especially in the broad survey of the natural world and human institutions in the second decade of books, he passed beyond strictly Christian interest by reverting to the interests of Latin scholars some centuries earlier.

In this connection a set of verses attributed, probably correctly, to Isidore makes a witty case for eclectic reading. The verses purport to speak of the contents of the cathedral library at Seville, as if they were written on the walls or bookcases.[43] The works of encyclopedists – Pliny, Servius, Cassiodorus, and the rest – go unmentioned; the poem sheds light not on the sources of the *Etymologies* but rather on Isidore's attitude toward antique learning.

I. These bookcases of ours hold a great many books.
Behold and read, you who so desire, if you wish.
Here lay your sluggishness aside, put off your fastidiousness of mind.
Believe me, brother, you will return thence a more learned man.
But perhaps you say, "Why do I need this now?
For I would think no study still remains for me:
I have unrolled histories and hurried through all the law."
Truly, if you say this, then you yourself still know nothing.

II. Here there are many sacred works, and here many other secular ones.
If any of these poems pleases you, take it up and read it.
You see meadows filled with thorns and rich with flowers.
If you do not wish to take the thorns, then take the roses.

III. Here the venerable volumes of the two Laws shine forth,
The New joined together with the Old.

IV. Origen
I, the celebrated Origen, at one time a Doctor most true,
Whom famous Greece first brought to the faith:
I was lofty in merit and famous for my abundance of speech,
But was suddenly ruined, cut short by a malicious tongue.
I toiled, if you may believe it, to compose as many thousands of books
As a legion has armed men.
No blasphemy ever touched my senses,
But I was watchful and wise, and safe from the enemy.

41 On Isidore's place in the scholarly tradition see especially Fontaine (1966).

42 See among many studies H. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study of the Apologists, Jerome, and Other Christian Writers* (Gothenburg, 1958) and G. Ellspermann, *The Attitude of Early Christian Latin Writers toward Pagan Literature and Learning* (Washington, 1949). Further references are in Riché 1976:7, and see his detailed treatment of Christian uses of classical writings, 79–176. In his *Rule for Monks* Isidore charged monks to avoid the books of pagans or heretics – evidence that such books were available in monastic libraries. Riché (296) argues that the stricture would not apply to more experienced monks. Isidore's time was broadly one of less interest in the classical texts, as indicated in Reynolds 1983. Reynolds notes that of 264 books and fragments of Latin books preserved from the seventh century, only a tenth are secular works, and those mostly technical (p. xvi).

43 We translate from the edition in Sánchez Martín 2000. Among studies of the poem, and Isidore's sources generally, is Díaz y Díaz 1975: esp. 136–42.

Only the words in my *Peri Archon*[44] brought this misfortune on me.
Impious darts attacked me when I was assailed by these words.

V. Hilary
Nurturing Gaul sent me, born in Poitiers,
Her own Doctor Hilary with thundering speech.

VI. Ambrose
Doctor Ambrose, celebrated for his miracles and hymns,
Shines here with his chapters and his text.

VII. Augustine
He lies who says he has read you entirely.
What reader could possess your complete works?
For you, Augustine, glow with a thousand volumes.
Your own books bear witness to what I say.
However pleasing may be the wisdom of books by many authors,
If Augustine is there, he himself will suffice you.

VIII. Jerome
Translator Jerome, most learned in the various languages,
Bethlehem praises you, the whole world resounds with your name;
Our library also celebrates you through your books.

IX. John
I am John by name, called 'Chrysostom,'
Because a golden tongue[45] makes my work glitter.
Constantinople glows with me as its teacher
And I am everywhere renowned for my books as a Doctor.
I have established morals, I have spoken of the rewards of virtues,
And I have taught wretched culprits to bemoan their crimes.

X. Cyprian
With a brighter eloquence than all the rest, Cyprian, you gleam.
At one time you were a Doctor, now you are here as a martyr.

XI. Prudentius, Avitus, Juvencus, Sedulius
If Maro, if Flaccus, if Naso and Persius raise a shudder,
If Lucan and Papinius[46] disgust you,
Sweet Prudentius of distinguished speech is at hand;
With his various poems this noble one is enough.
Read through the learned poem of eloquent Avitus.
Behold – Juvencus is there with you, and Sedulius,
Both equal in tongue, both flourishing in verse.
They bear large cups from the gospel fountain.
Leave off, therefore, waiting on pagan poets –
While you can have such good things, what is Callirhoe[47] to you?

XII. Eusebius, Orosius
Histories of events and circumstances of a bygone age,
This chest holds them collected together on parchment.

XIII. Gregory
Hippo, as much as you are distinguished for your teacher Augustine,
So much is Rome for its Pope Gregory.

XIV. Leander
You are held to be not much unequal to the ancient Doctors,
Leander the Bishop: your works teach us this.

XV. Theodosius, Paulus, Gaius
Collected here is a most ample series of the laws of justice;
These rule the Latin forum with their true speaking.

The character of the *Etymologies*

Internal evidence alone defines the method and purpose of the *Etymologies*, because apart from the brief dedication to Sisebut (appended Letter VI) no statement from Isidore survives. Obviously he compiled the work on the basis of extensive notes he took while reading through the sources at his disposal. Not infrequently he repeats material verbatim in different parts of the work; either he copied extracts twice or he had a filing system that allowed multiple use of a bit of information. Presumably he made his notes on the slips of parchment that he might have called *schedae:* "A *scheda* is a thing still being emended, and not yet redacted into books" (VI.xiv.8).

44 Origen was accused of heresy, partly on the basis of statements he made in *Peri Archon.* For the text (i.e. Rufinus's Latin translation) and an account of the controversy see H. Crouzel and M. Simonetti, ed. and French trans., *Origène: Traité des principes*, Tomes I and II, Sources Chrétiennes 252 (Paris, 1978).

45 Cf. Χρυσός, "gold" and στόμα, "mouth."

46 The four poets in the title are Christians; the next six (Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Persius, Lucan, and Statius) are pagans.

47 Callirhoe was the name of an Athenian fountain, here taken as the inspiration of the pagan poets.

The guess that Isidore had help from a team of copyists (Fontaine, 1966:526) finds some support in the fact that some errors of transmission may indicate that Isidore was using excerpts poorly copied or out of context, perhaps excerpts made by a collaborator. Although these could result from Isidore's own copying error or failure of memory, they are suggestive. At XVII.iv.10, for example, he misconstrues Servius's comment on *Aeneid* 6.825, taking the phrase *Pisaurum dicitur*, "the city of Pesaro is so called . . . ," as if it were *pis aurum dicitur*, *"pis* means gold" – there is no Latin word *pis*. Again, at XVII.vii.67 occurs another misreading of Servius (on *Georgics* 2.88), taking types of pears as olives. Most telling in this connection is a confusion at XVI.iii.3:

> *Crepido* (i.e. 'a projection, promontory') is a broken-off extremity of rock, whence a height of sheer rock is called *crepido*, as in (Vergil, *Aeneid* 10.361): 'Foot (*pes*) presses against foot' – whence it is so called.

The place in Servius from which the information "*crepido* is a height of broken-off rock" is drawn actually is a comment on *Aeneid* 10.653, where the word *crepido* occurs. In the course of his comment, Servius cites in another connection *Aeneid* 10.361, which does not involve the term *crepido* but rather exemplifies a grammatical point. The error could be Isidore's own, but it could easily be attributed to an assistant's truncating the excerpt so as to leave the wrong line from Vergil as the authenticating illustration of the use of the term. It appears that Isidore then turned the error into an etymology, deriving *crepido* from *pes*, gen. *pedis*. These instances are from Servius, whose organization followed the text of Vergil rather than an alphabetical or topical arrangement, and whose information was hence more difficult to extract and reorder than the materials in Pliny or Cassiodorus, and thus more liable to errors of this kind.

Explicit evidence about the purpose of the *Etymologies* is scant.[48] In a few places Isidore indicates that he will treat "what ought to be noted" (*notandum*) about a topic,[49] but seldom does he explain why. In Book II, following Cassiodorus, he several times remarks on the usefulness of knowing the logical disciplines for understanding books of both rhetoric and logic, avoiding the deception of false sophisms, and grasping the "clearly wonderful" power of gathering human inventiveness into a limited set of topics.[50] Elsewhere he explains the symbols used for different weights, to keep a reader who might be ignorant of them from falling into error (XVI.xxvii.1). Thus he aims to furnish the material required for good reading and to provide schemas for managing discourse. In a few places he proposes aids for understanding the Bible: knowing the rationale of terms for numbers can elucidate scriptural mysteries; exposition of Hebrew names reveals their meaning; the patriarchs' names derive from intrinsic causes; the names of prophets can indicate what their words and deeds foretell; it is proper to know of cities whose origin is reported in Scripture (or in pagan histories).[51] Again, he remarks that the most important of mountains and rivers – as celebrated in histories or in general opinion – should be known (XIII.xxi.6, XIV.viii.1).

A fuller sense of what Isidore was about, and for whom he wrote, may be gathered from who he was and what he did. His close relations with the Visigothic rulers, especially Sisebut, and his dedication of the *Etymologies* to Sisebut (himself a writer),[52] imply that he wrote in part for the general literate governing class of his nation – those who might partake of and patronize a liberal education.[53] The clergy, too, were among the main recipients of Isidore's attention – more obviously in some of his other works, but evidently in the *Etymologies* as well. His purpose was pastoral and pedagogical – he wished for his priests and monks to possess a general knowledge of what books make available, and to possess the preliminary skills that make intelligent reading, especially of Scripture, possible. External evidence of Isidore's concern for education of the clergy is available: he presided over the Council of Toledo in 633, and one of the decrees promulgated there commanded bishops

48 On Isidore's motives for compiling the *Etymologies* see Fontaine (2000: 174–76).

49 For example VII. vii. 1, XIII.xxi.6, XIV. viii.1.

50 See II.xxvi.15, xxviii. 1, xxx.18.

51 See III.iv.1, VII.i.2, VII.vii.1, VII.viii.3, XV.i.2.

52 Sisebut's poem on natural phenomena is edited in J. Fontaine, *Traité* (1960: 328–35).

53 On the learning of the laity in Isidore's Spain see Riché 1976:246–65, and R. Collins, "Literacy and Laity in Early Medieval Spain," in R. McKitterick, ed., *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990: 109–33). Relevant also is the chapter on "The Literacy of the Laity" in McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989). A fascinating argument that, for the Spanish laity, learning Latin would be merely the learning of a traditional spelling system is made by R. Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool, 1982), esp. 83–95 on Isidore.

to establish educational centers at each cathedral city of Spain. Bishop Braulio's claims that the *Etymologies* were written at his own request (Letter II and *Renotatio*) presume a clerical motive, and Braulio's sense of the *Etymologies*' purpose is to the point: "Whoever thoughtfully and thoroughly reads through this work . . . will not be ignorant of the knowledge of human and divine matters, and deservedly so. Overflowing with eloquence of various arts with regard to nearly every point of them that ought to be known, it collects them in summarized form." The work, then, aims to gather what ought to be known, especially by a cleric, in a compendium.

More precisely, the form of the work indicates Isidore's intentions. It is written in easy Latin, in relentlessly utilitarian prose. At the outset it presents the Seven Liberal Arts, with an obviously propaedeutic motive. It is a storehouse, to be sure, but it also provides a reasonably sequential general education. The hundreds of citations illustrate the facts presented, but conversely they exemplify the kinds of reading, pagan and Christian, that the *Etymologies* can enrich. Generally the treatment is in continuous prose, not tables or lists, and its effort at pleasing variation – even when the facts presented are rather repetitive in form – implies a reader absorbing the work consecutively, even as its careful organization ensures access topic by topic to a reader looking for a particular fact. In an era when the gravest dangers to Christianity were thought to be intellectual errors, errors in understanding what one read – that is, heresies like Arianism – mastery of the language arts was the Church's best defense. Isidore's book constituted a little library for Christians without access to a rich store of books (it even incorporates a good deal of material from Isidore's own previous books) in order to furnish capable Christian minds.

Although a good number of statements in the *Etymologies* address particular Christian concerns, such statements amount to comments by the way when theologically incorrect ideas emerge in Isidore's sources. The core of the work is not apologetic but informational. Still, we find Isidore carefully denying such superstitions as that a turtle's foot on board retards the progress of a ship (XII.vi.56), or that the stars have predictive power – "These [horoscopes] are undoubtedly contrary to our faith, and so they ought to be ignored by Christians, so that these things are not seen to be written up" (III.lxxi.38). Reporting that augurs claim to predict the future by observing crows, he remarks, "It is a great sin to believe that God would entrust his counsels to crows" (XII.vii.44). Isidore's persistent response to pagan religious belief is euhemerism, the interpretation of pagan divinities and mythological figures as in fact human beings wrongly elevated as supernatural creatures by benighted heathen.[54] In his chapter on the pagan gods (VIII.xi) Isidore begins confidently, "Those who the pagans assert are gods are revealed to have once been men, and after their death they began to be worshipped among their people." In the same chapter (section 29) he rejects the tradition of interpreting the names of the gods as expressing universal physical properties, "physical allegory," such that Cronos would represent time, Neptune water. Treating the names of the days of the week (V.xxx.5–11) Isidore gives both the Christian and the pagan terms. Noting that the latter are named from heathen gods – Saturday from Saturn, etc. – he is careful to remind us that those figures were actually gifted humans, but he acknowledges that these names for days are in common use. "Now, in a Christian mouth, the names for the days of the week sound better when they agree with the Church's observance. If, however, it should happen that prevailing practice should draw someone into uttering with his lips what he deplores in his heart, let him understand that all those figures whose names have been given to the days of the week were themselves human." We sense here both Isidore's theological precision and his episcopal tolerance.

The learned tradition that lies behind Isidore's work would lend him five schemes of organization from which to choose. In roughly chronological order these are: the sequential "scholiastic" order of a particular text, as used by the scholiasts on ancient texts, and commentators on master texts like Vergil (Servius) and the Bible (the Church Fathers); the "encyclopedic" order from Varro through Pliny, arranged in rational order

54 Euhemerus's utopian novel, *Sacred Scripture*, written around 300 BCE, is extant only in fragments and epitomes. It presented the idea that Uranus, Cronos, and Zeus were human kings whose subjects worshipped them as gods – an idea not alien to Augustan Rome. Christians naturally seized on the idea. For the development of the idea of euhemerism and physical allegory see Don Cameron Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1970). Examples of euhemeristic and rationalizing interpretations of such mythological figures as Scylla and Hydra may be found at II.xii.6 and XI.iii.28–31 and 34.

by topic; the educational or propaedeutic order, especially of the Seven Liberal Arts (from trivium to quadrivium), from Varro through Cassiodorus; the haphazard "conversational" order of Aulus Gellius and Macrobius; and the alphabetical "dictionary" order of collections of glosses and other extracts, through Placidus. Apart from these broader orders are the internal ordering principles of such monographic treatises as annals and chronologies (obviously, chronological order), medical works (e.g., acute and chronic diseases; head to toe anatomies), and the rational orders of logical and legal texts.

Isidore used all these orders except the scholiastic and the conversational. The general scheme of the twenty books can be approached in several ways.[55] One arrangement, with some support from the manuscript tradition, divides the *Etymologies* into two decades of ten books. In assessing this arrangement we need to remember Braulio's assertion in the *Renotatio* that it was he, not Isidore, who divided the text into books, where Isidore had left it only divided into "titles" (*tituli*) – perhaps what we call the "chapters" of the received text.[56] The organizing principle of the second decade is obviously encyclopedic, and contains two movements: the first (Books XI–XVI) might be called *On the Nature of Things* – the Lucretian title, adopted by Isidore himself in an earlier work. This segment ranges (below celestial matters) from higher to lower things – from intelligent animals (humans; Book XI) through other animals (XII), cosmic and non-earthly phenomena (XII), the earth (XIV), and earthy materials (XVI). Within these orders a number of subclassifications are perceptible – for example, the treatment of metals from the most to the least valuable, of gems by color, or the division of the world's objects into those composed of each of the four elements. Out of order here, in this conception, is Book XV, rather a miscellany on cities and things built by humans – this would fit better, perhaps, in the second movement of the second decade. This movement (XVII–XX) broadly treats human institutions, artifacts, and activities. Book XVII begins in this way, at least, with agriculture, though the bulk of the book treats flora in detail – our (ultimately Aristotelian) sense of order would prefer to place this material among the books on animals and minerals. The order of this last group of books is not obvious; their miscellaneous character may explain why they fall at the end of the whole work.

The first decade adopts several principles of order: propaedeutic, encyclopedic, alphabetic. Books I–III obviously conform to the idea of the Seven Liberal Arts, as explained in I.ii. These are followed by the treatments of medicine and law (IV, the first part of V), rounding out a general introductory education, we might say, in the professions. The second part of Book V, on the mensuration of time and the actual chronology of history, annalistically ordered, may be said to look both back, to the essentially pagan character of the liberal disciplines of the first books, and forward, to the religious matter of the following books. This set, Books VI to VIII, focuses on the sacred sciences, not in an obvious sequence. Book VI is propaedeutic to these, treating Scripture, the authority for the rest, then books in general, then a number of ecclesiastical matters. Books VII and VIII present a transparent order, moving from God downward to heresy and paganism. Book IX treats human institutions broadly conceived, human organization (languages, nations, reigns, cities, kinship), and Book X, alphabetically ordered, presents terms descriptive of humans. These two books might after all be classed with the following book (XI), the anatomy of human beings.

A more general characterization of the *Etymologies*' scheme of organization would make the main division after Book V. Thus the first part constitutes notes toward a general education, and the second a particularization of reality based mainly on two principles, that of the Great Chain of Being (from God to inanimate materials) and that of the four elements. In this scheme, too, the last group of books constitutes an anomalous miscellany. Neither order consistently dominates the text, and the exigencies of Isidore's broadest intention, to store in compendious form what is known from former times, ultimately takes precedence over the inherited schemes.

As Fontaine has pointed out (1966:536–38), Isidore's followers derived material wholesale from the *Etymologies*, but under more fully Christianized, "clericalized" form, in "a sort of Carolingian edition." Especially remarkable in this connection is the reordering of the work by Hrabanus Maurus in his *On the Nature of Things*, which begins not with the Liberal Arts (which

55 A similar account of the organization of the work may be found in Fontaine 2000:176–78.

56 Furthermore, it seems that Braulio divided the work into fifteen books; the division into twenty books developed during the course of the manuscript diffusion (see Reydellet 1966:435).

Hrabanus treated in another book) but with the religious material, and works "down" through the Chain of Being.[57] Furthermore, Hrabanus lards the whole with allegorical interpretations of the kind found in Isidore's own *Certain Allegories of Sacred Scripture*. Not until the thirteenth century, and not entirely until the sixteenth century, does the impulse toward encyclopedism recover the intellectual inclusiveness of Isidore.

Given this rough outline of the *Etymologies*, we can turn to its particular content, and begin by noticing a few things the *Etymologies* is not. First of all, it is not complete or polished – so Braulio implies and so Isidore says in the letters prefaced to the work in the manuscripts (Letters II and V). We may imagine that the finished work would have eliminated many of the repetitions currently present, and might have joined together the now scattered materials on law (Books II and V), on astronomy (Books III and XIII), on nations (Books IX, XIV, and XV), and the like. However, Isidore might well have retained those repeated statements that fall naturally into separate topics. Surely he would have completed or omitted the dozens of items that now stand as the lemma – a single word – alone, without further discussion. These are signaled in this translation by the appearance of ellipsis points, as XI.i.93 or XIX.v.4.[58]

Second, Isidore makes no effort to disclose the rationale of the taxonomies he presents. Here the (derived) shapeliness of the early books on the liberal disciplines is the exception; on the whole Isidore does not explain the order of things beyond what is implicit in their sequence in the text. In this he is like his sources, from Varro on, and differs from the masters of these sciences, Plato and Aristotle. As a consequence we have no reason to think most of the classes of things treated are presented with all their members – a consideration repeatedly made explicit by Isidore himself (e.g. XII.vii.2). So it is, after all, with post-Linnaean biology as well. It should be added here that Isidore does include a good number of lesser schemata, establishing such logical sets of things as the types of definition, or the types of divination, or the kinds of fields.[59]

And third, Isidore generally avoids, in the *Etymologies*, providing "spiritual" or "mystical," or "figurative," that is, allegorical, interpretations of the items he adduces. These were the main content of his earlier work (perhaps 612–615), the *Certain Allegories of Sacred Scripture*.[60] In fact we find a few of such interpretations: "the Hebrews used a ten-stringed psaltery on account of the number of laws of the Decalogue" (III.xxii.7); Esther's people are "a figure of the Church of God," and as Aman's name means "wickedness, so his killing is celebrated in the feast of Purim" (Esther 7 and 9; *Etym.* VI.ii.29); the seraphim "figuratively signify the Old and New Testaments," they have six wings as a figure of the things made in the six days, and their crying "Holy" three times (Isaiah 6:3) "shows the mystery of the Trinity" (VII.v.32–33); the split tip of a quill pen signifies the Old and New Testaments (VI.xiv.3). At one point Isidore explicitly denies any attempt to provide the spiritual sense: speaking of the names of Biblical characters, he says, "While a holy and spiritual character abides in these names, we are now describing the meaning of their stories only with regard to the literal" (*ad litteram*; VII.vi.2). Indeed, his direct treatment of divinity in Book VII is essentially a treatment of names, and not a theological investigation. This self-imposed limitation has its precedent in Augustine's *The Literal Level of the Book of Genesis (De Genesi ad Litteram*), and it is fairly consistently carried out through the *Etymologies*, hence giving Hrabanus his opportunity for "improvement" of the work for a clerical audience eager for such interpretations.

Isidore's overriding interest, the fundamental principle of the *Etymologies*, falls under the discipline Isidore would call grammar, the "origin and foundation of liberal letters" (I.v.1), and what we would call philology – the art of understanding and correctly producing words and texts. It is an obvious fact that, before the nineteenth century (the twentieth in the East), philology broadly conceived was the dominant concern of the learned world, the queen of the sciences; Isidore merely reflects

57 Hrabanus's work is usually known under the title *De Universo* (mid-ninth century): *Patrologia Latina* 111. A facsimile of an early Montecassino manuscript of it is ed. G. Cavallo, *De Rerum Naturis: Casin. 132, secolo XI* (Turin, 1994). See Maria Rissel, *Rezeption antiker und patristischer Wissenschaft bei Hrabanus Maurus* (Bern and Frankfurt, 1976).

58 A much rarer type of incompleteness occurs at XIV.ix.7, where a sentence breaks off before giving the Biblical citation.

59 II.xxix, VIII.vii.3, XIV.ix.2. The sources are explicitly named: Marius Victorinus and Varro. For such *divisiones* of topics see also I.v.4, II.v, II.xxi.1, II.xxiv.9–11, II.xxvi.5 (all from Cassiodorus), and V.xxvii.4 (following Cicero) and XVIII.ii.1 (following Sallust). It may be doubted whether Isidore supplied any such rationales apart from his sources.

60 This is the work Braulio calls *On the Names in the Law and the Gospels.*

that concern at one of the turning-points of intellectual history, as pagan thought in the West gave way to Christian thought. What we might understand as alternative master-disciplines – theology, or experimental science, or philosophy – in Isidore's work are subsumed under philology in what Fontaine calls the "pangrammatical" cast of late antique culture (1966:534).

In fact three sequential chapters (I.xxix–xxxi) in his treatment of the art of Grammar treat three of the main informing principles of the *Etymologies:* these are etymology, glosses, and differentiae. If we add to these the theme of the next three chapters (xxxii–xxxiv), faulty Latin usage, and the idea that propositions are usefully finished with an illustrative or exemplary quotation, we will have summed up much of the content of the *Etymologies.*

First, glosses. Isidore defines a gloss as a single term that designates the meaning of another term (I.xxx). If we broaden this to include any sort of definition of a term, we might expect to find hundreds of such definitions in the *Etymologies*, and indeed there are many: the definition of "gloss" itself, or, selecting at random, of such terms as "chronic disease" (IV.vii.1), "hymn" (VI.xix.17), "tyro" (IX.iii.36), "vineshoot" (XVII.v.9). However, such glosses are relatively infrequent, as compared with Isidore's usual presumption that the basic meaning of the Latin word is either already known to his reader, or (like terms for minerals or herbs) is not in his interest to define in any systematic way – such that, for example, one could positively identify an actual specimen of an item using only his description of it. This is not to say that formal systems of definition were unknown to him: thus in II.xxix he lists fifteen types of definition, with their Greek equivalents, "abbreviated from the book of Marius Victorinus"; and in II.xxv and xxvi he briefly but clearly expounds the logical taxonomy of Porphyry's *Isagoge* and the system of predicates of Aristotle's *Categories.*

Second, differentiae. This is the kind of definition that does interest Isidore, and they constitute the subject matter of a treatise he wrote before he turned to the *Etymologies.* In I.xxxi he says a *differentia* is the distinguishing and therefore defining feature of things otherwise alike, and gives for example the differentiation of the terms for a king (restrained and temperate) and a tyrant (cruel). Isidore introduces dozens of such differentiae in the *Etymologies* – between a maxim and a chreia (II.xi), between astronomy and astrology (III.xxvii), between three types of law (*ius, lex, mores*; V.iii), between types of wars (XVIII.i.2–10) and types of pyres (XX.x.9). As much as any information Isidore gives, such differentiae reveal Isidore's pedagogical motives: to refine the reader's sense of Latin, sharpen the mind with a fundamental form of reasoning, discourage incorrect usage.

Finally, etymology. On this crucial subject in Isidore we must refer to the essay by Fontaine (1978), with full bibliography, which remains the best treatment – perhaps the only essay on a section of the *Etymologies*, namely the chapter on etymology itself (I.xxix), that fully and definitively treats Isidore's thinking and his work with his sources. The sources of this chapter include Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory* (I.vi.28), citing Cicero's *Topics* (35) – where Cicero literally translates the Greek term ἐτυμολογία as *veriloquium*, "true utterance" – and Boethius's commentary on the *Topics.*[61] In his chapter on etymology Isidore gives no hint that what he is defining is the most powerful informing principle of the work that both he and Braulio refer to as either *Etymologiae* or *Origines* (Letters II, IV, V, VI, *Renotatio).* He defines etymology as "the origin of words, when the force of a word or a name is inferred through interpretation." He goes on, "The knowledge of a word's etymology often has an indispensable usefulness for interpreting the word, for when you have seen whence a word has originated, you understand its force more quickly. Indeed, one's insight into anything is clearer when its etymology is known."[62]

In the same chapter Isidore offers a brief account (as had Varro and others) of types of etymology, as follows. Some things take their names not from their nature, but arbitrarily. Words with retrievable etymologies take them from their *causa* (rationale, intrinsic principle, explanatory force), the word's answer to the question "why?" Other words derive from the thing's origin, the word's answer to the question "from where?" Of the former an example is *rex* ("king") from acting *recte* ("correctly"); of the latter, *homo* ("human being") from *humus* ("earth," the "origin" – Aristotle would say "the material cause" – of the human). Still other etymologies

61 The commentary is trans. E. Stump, *Boethius's In Ciceronis Topica* (Ithaca, NY, 1988). Cicero's *Topics* are edited by T. Reinhardt (Oxford, 2003).

62 Obviously a great many, perhaps most, of the etymologies that Isidore proposes are incorrect in light of modern scholarship. For the actual etymologies of Latin words consult A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, 4th edn. (Paris, 1979) and the appendix on "Indo-European Roots" by Calvert Watkins in *The American Heritage Dictionary* (Boston, 1976).

are based on contraries, so that 'mud' (*lutum*) derives from 'washing' (*lavare*, with the past participle *lutus)*. Some words have their etymology by derivation from other words, like the adjective "prudent" from the noun "prudence." Some etymologies may be discovered in words of similar sound. Some words are derived from Greek, and others derive their names from place names. The origins of words derived from other foreign languages are often hard to discern.

This brief statement could be much expanded, but it contains the essence of Isidore's principal endeavor, to disclose the inner and true (ἔτυμος) meaning of the Latin lexicon by way of the etymology of the words. The method is fundamentally derivational, whether from a thing's intrinsic character (its *causa*) to its extrinsic name, or from its originating motive by process of time to its current locution, or from some term's sound to another term's similar sound, or from one word-class or language to another. The constantly repeated formulas are "X is so called because Y" and "X is so named as if the word were Y." The focus on origins, indeed, finds expression in many places in the *Etymologies* where the origins of things rather than merely words are specified: the origins of various alphabets (I.iii.5) and the Latin letters (I.iv.1), of shorthand signs (I.xxii) and of fables (I.xl.1), of historiography (I.xlii) and of the disciplines of Rhetoric (II.ii.1) and physics (II.xxiv.4).[63] Further, Isidore supplies hundreds of indications of the regions where things – metals, spices, gems, birds, and the like – originate, uniquely, or in their best condition, or abundantly, and whence they are imported (imported, that is, as Isidore's sources presume, into Italy). The very idea of a disquisition on the "Nature of Things," the essential title of an encyclopedic work, implied for a Latin reader the idea that the genesis of things is in question, as the word *natura* itself means (etymologically!) "what is begotten or generated," from *natus*, the past participle of *nasci*, "be born."[64]

63 A few more origins, particularly those inventors and discoverers whom he calls *auctores*, adduced by Isidore: mathematics (III.ii), geometry (III.x.1), music (III.xvi), various musical instruments (III.xxii.2 and 12), astronomy and astronomical writing (III.xxv and xxvi), medicine and its three schools (IV.iii and iv), laws (V.i) and chronicles (V.28), libraries (VI.iii.2–5), book collecting (VI.v), Christian libraries (VI.vi), canon-tables (VI.xv.1), the method of dating Easter Sunday (VI.xvii.1–2), agriculture (XVII.i.2). An unusual instance is the detailed technical description of the origin of glass (XVI.xvi.1–2).

64 So *Etymologies* XI.i.1, "Nature (*natura*) is so called because it causes something to be born (*nasci*)."

In a number of places Isidore offers a brief review of types of etymology for classes of things. Thus "meters are named either after their feet or after the topics about which they are written, or after their inventors, or after those who commonly use them, or after the number of syllables." Examples, respectively, are dactylic, elegiac, Sapphic, Asclepiadian, pentameter (I.xxxix.5–15). Ointments are named after their regions, inventors, or material (IV.xii.7–9). Heretics may be named after their founders or their tenets (VIII.v.1); philosophers from their founders (Platonists) or their meeting sites (Stoics – VIII.vi.6). To such as these we can add the great many places where Isidore makes the type of an etymology explicit. Examples are the derivations of the names of seas from the names of people who perished in them (XIII.xvi.8); of the disease satyriasis from its exemplars the satyrs (IV.vii.34); the names of parts of the Mediterranean from the adjacent regions (XIII.xvi.5); the different terms for earth from logic (*ratio* – XIV.i.1); 'pocket change,' the thing contained, from the word for 'bag,' the container (XVI.xviii.11; for such metonymies see I.xxxvii.8); derivation by physical resemblance, as the disease *elefantiacus* takes its name from the sufferer's resemblance to an elephant (IV.viii.12); from onomatopoeia, as the word for 'cricket,' *gryllus*, is from the sound of its call (XII.iii.8); and similarly the names of many birds (XII.vii.9). The notorious type that Isidore labels with the Greek term κατ' ἀντίφρασιν ("by opposition") is not infrequent: thus the merciless Parcae take their name from the verb meaning "spare" (*parcere* – VIII.xi.93).

Usually Isidore grants that the borrowing of a Latin word from Greek amounts to a sufficient etymology, though often he supplies a second explanation from within Latin as well. A great many etymologies based on Greek are not made explicit in the *Etymologies*, in some cases perhaps from Isidore's own ignorance of the import of the etymology he adduces. We have supplied the relevant Greek in this translation when we are aware of it. In his treatment of illnesses, for example, Isidore provides a number of etymologies from Greek, but when he gives the etymology of the antidote *tyriaca* he omits the crucial information that θηριακός means "of venomous beasts" (IV.ix.8) although he knows that the medicine is "made from snakes." He also supplies a number of etymologies from languages other than Latin or Greek – obviously from secondary sources. Most of these, as in the case of Biblical names, are from Hebrew,

but we also learn of words derived from Persian (XII.ii.7), Syrian (XII.vi.38), and a number of others.

The most frequent type of etymology, from the very beginning ('know' [*scire*] is named from 'learn' [*discere*]) to the end ('branding iron' [*cauterium*] is so called because as a warning [*cautio*] to potential thieves it burns [*urere*]), is the discovery of a term's origin in another term, a single word or a phrase, because of a resemblance in their sound. Such similarities are often tenuous and remote, as Isidore seems to acknowledge when he observes, in deriving 'spiced' (*salsus*) from the phrase 'sprinkled with salt' (*sale aspersus*), "with the [three] middle syllables taken away" (XX.ii.23) – it is a stretch. It is hard not to agree with the remark of Isidore's distinguished editor Faustino Arévalo, some two hundred years ago, that Isidore can produce an etymology not in the belief that it is the actual origin of a term, but as a mnemonic aid (*Patrologia Latina* 82.954). Arévalo's example is Isidore's deriving 'swan' (*cygnus*) from 'sing' (*canere*) – after he has just referred to the Greek word that is the obvious etymon, κύκνος. We might add a large number of instances where Isidore notes that a term is "as if the word were" (*quasi*) another term. Thus Isidore distinguishes the two plural forms of *pecus* ("livestock"), *pecora* and *pecudes*, by proposing that the latter term is used only of animals that are eaten, "as if the word were *pecuedes*," that is, as if it contained the term 'eat' (*edere*; XII.i.6). The many dozens of such instances may well reflect Isidore's effort to help a student of Latin to remember a distinction rather than his belief in the actual origin of a word. To be sure, Isidore's authoritative sources, pagan and Christian, were replete with etymologies no more strained than these. Isidore illuminates the essences of words, their natures, not in terms of historical linguistics, but in terms of grammar.

The influence of the *Etymologies*

It would be hard to overestimate the influence of the *Etymologies* on medieval European culture, and impossible to describe it fully. Nearly a thousand manuscript copies survive, a truly huge number. As evidence of its continuing popularity down to and after the advent of printing, more than sixty manuscript copies of the whole work, as well as more than seventy copies of excerpts, were written in the fifteenth century.[65] It was among the early printed books (1472), and nearly a dozen printings appeared before the year 1500. According to Díaz y Díaz (Oroz Reta and Marcos Casquero 1993²:210), abundant evidence demonstrates that, by the year 800, copies of the *Etymologies* might be found "in all the cultural centers of Europe."

The earliest dissemination of the work beyond the cathedral centers of Seville itself and Braulio's Saragossa seems to have been in Gaul and Ireland. The earliest manuscript fragments of the *Etymologies* are housed at the monastery of St. Gall, a foundation in present-day Switzerland with Irish connections going back to the early seventh century. These fragments are written in an Irish scribal hand, perhaps as early as the mid-seventh century.[66] Irish texts of the mid to late seventh century show knowledge of the *Etymologies*, for instance (possibly) the *Twelve Abuses of the Age* (perhaps before 650).[67] The English scholar Aldhelm (obit 709) knew works of Isidore in the late seventh century, and "the

65 J. M. Fernández Catón, *Las Etimologías en la tradición manuscrita medieval estudiada por el Prof. Dr. Anspach* (León, 1966).

66 The fragments are described by E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* 7 (Oxford, 1956, no. 995). For the early diffusion of the *Etymologies* see A. E. Anspach, "Das Fortleben Isidors im VII. bis IX Jahrhundert," in *Miscellanea Isidoriana: Homenaje . . .* (Rome, 1936:323–56) especially for influence in Spain; Bischoff (1966:171–94), esp. 180–87; J. N. Hillgarth 1962; M. Herren, "On the Earliest Irish Acquaintance with Isidore of Seville," in E. James (Oxford, 1980); Reydellet 1966; Oroz Reta and Marcos Casquero 1993²:200–11. Reydellet 1966:389–91 provides a list of the thirty-seven complete or nearly complete manuscripts of the *Etymologies* dating from before the tenth century, with their provenances, and reference to the Bischoff study (1966) and Lowe's *Codices*. Fontaine 2000:401–16 treats a number of instances of Isidore's influence, with good bibliography on the subject.

67 On Isidore in early Ireland see Herren (preceding note); M. C. Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoriana II: Sobre el *Liber de Ordine Creaturarum*," *Sacris Erudiri* 5 (1953): 147–66; Paul Grosjean, "Sur quelques exégètes irlandais du VII^e siècle," *Sacris Erudiri* 7 (1955): 67–97; Riché 1976:320. The Pseudo-Cyprian *De XII Abusivis Saeculi* is edited by Siegmund Hellmann in *Texte und Untersuchungen der altchristlichen Literatur* 34, 1 (Leipzig, 1909). A. Breen sharply disagrees with Hellmann's "quite unproven thesis" that the *Twelve Abuses* makes use of the works of Isidore: "Evidence of Antique Irish Exegesis in Pseudo-Cyprian, *De Duodecim Abusivis Saeculi*," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C, vol. 87 (1987): 71–101, esp. p. 76.

works of Isidore of Seville were a major influence on the development of Anglo-Saxon intellectual life in the age of Bede," that is, in the late seventh and early eighth centuries.[68]

Bede himself, the most learned scholar of his age, made extensive use of the *Etymologies*, and the work thrived in the Carolingian educational program in Gaul (where Isidore was known at the abbey of Corbie by the mid-seventh century). We have noticed above that Alcuin's pupil, the churchman Hrabanus Maurus (*ca.* 780–856), called "the teacher of Germany," "clericalized" the *Etymologies* of Isidore in his popular treatises *The Natures of Things* and *Allegories on the Whole of Sacred Scripture*, as well as other works. Both directly and indirectly, through such prominent writers as these, Isidore's influence pervaded the High Middle Ages of the eleventh to fifteenth centuries, in which the *Etymologies* was always regarded as a prime authority.

Of that continuing influence we can here only touch on a couple of strands. First was the direct influence of the *Etymologies* on the traditions of lexicons and encyclopedias that were standard reference works of the later Middle Ages.[69] We have noticed that the vast *Liber Glossarum (Glossarium Ansileubi)*, probably of the late eighth century, incorporates much of Isidore. Around the year 1053 the Italian Papias composed the *Elementarium Doctrinae Rudimentum*, an alphabetically arranged encyclopedic dictionary replete with etymologies and differentiae from Isidore, surviving in some ninety manuscripts and several Renaissance printings. Borrowing from Papias and Isidore, Osbern of Gloucester compiled his *Panormia* in the mid-twelfth century, and Huguccio (Hugutio), bishop of Ferrara, produced his *Liber Derivationum*, also known as the *Magnae Derivationes* (over 200 manuscripts), of the same type as Papias, around the year 1200. Before 1270 the Franciscan Guillelmus Brito, master at Paris, completed his *Summa*, another alphabetized dictionary of encyclopedic proportions, in this case treating some 2,500 words from the Bible. Its extensive use of the *Etymologies*, where Isidore is explicitly cited hundreds of times, is detailed in the Index of the modern edition.[70] It survives in over 130 manuscript copies, and was printed in the fifteenth century. From these same sources and others Giovanni Balbi of Genoa (Johannes Januensis) finished the culminating encyclopedic dictionary of the Middle Ages, the *Catholicon*, in 1286. It was one of the first printed books, in 1460.

These dictionaries are accompanied by a series of topically arranged encyclopedias likewise derivative of Isidore, and cumulatively massive. Major ones include Honorius Augustodunesis, *The Image of the World* (early twelfth century), Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *The Properties of Things* (*ca.* 1240 – early translated into six languages, including English), Thomas of Cantimpré's *Nature of Things* (*ca.* 1245), and the massive set of encyclopedias (over three million words), the *Speculum Maius*, of Vincent of Beauvais (*ca.* 1260), of which some eighty manuscripts are extant; it was the first book printed at Strasbourg (1473–1476). Bartholomaeus's encyclopedia was the basis of the thoroughly allegorized encyclopedic work of Pierre Bersuire, the *Reductorium Morale* of the mid-fourteenth century. The first encyclopedia in a vernacular language, Brunetto Latini's *Li Livres dou trésor*, duly dependent on Isidore, appeared around 1265.

Some sense of the continuing use of the *Etymologies* beyond this tradition of reference works can be acquired by observing its influence on the great Italian and English poets of the fourteenth century.[71] For Dante, suffice it

68 P. H. Blair, *The World of Bede* (London, 1970). F. C. Robinson has identified a number of bits of etymological lore from Isidore in such Old English poetic texts as *Genesis*, the riddles of *The Exeter Book*, and *Instructions for Christians*: see *The Tomb of Beowulf and Other Essays on Old English*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1993), pp. 197, 103, 119.

69 A number of medieval encyclopedias that borrow from the *Etymologies* are treated by Collison 1964, 1966[2]: 44–81.

70 L. Daly and B. A. Daly, *Summa Britonis sive . . . Expositiones Vocabulorum Biblie*, 2 vols. (Padua, 1975).

71 A few other evidences of Isidore's influence: Isidore was often among those excerpted and praised in the collections of sententious utterances (the *florilegia*) and the chronicles of the later Middle Ages; a number of these are cited in *Patrologia Latina* 82:198–205. Aspects of Isidore's influence on music theory well into the sixteenth century are discussed in R. Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (The Hague, 1960). Materials from Book VI of the *Etymologies* are the earliest sources for some lore about books and libraries, according to K. Christ, *The Handbook of Medieval Library History*, trans. T. M. Otto (Metuchen, New Jersey, 1984). Isidore's deep influence on the medieval tradition of poetics and rhetoric may be exemplified in the citation of his name as an authority on the first page of John of Garland's *Parisian Poetics* (about 1220–1235); see T. Lawler, ed., *The 'Parisiana Poetria' of John of Garland* (New Haven, 1974: 5). On "Etymology as a Category of Thought" in medieval Latin Poetry see Curtius (as n.1 above), pp. 495–500. Instances such as these can be multiplied indefinitely.

that Isidore is among the luminous minds in the circle of the Sun in *Paradiso:* "See, flaming beyond, the burning spirit of Isidore" (10.130–31).[72] Boccaccio naturally derives material from Isidore (or by way of quotations of the *Etymologies* in Hrabanus and Vincent of Beauvais) in his learned treatise on the *Genealogy of the Gods.*[73] Closer to hand, he would have found Isidore's discussion of the origins of poetry and of the term *poeta* (*Etymologies* VIII.vii.1–3) among Petrarch's *Familiar Letters*, in the letter addressed to his brother Gherardo. Isidore had referred to an otherwise unknown passage from Suetonius, and to Varro, in his discussion. Isidore's actual source is Servius on *Aeneid* 3.443. Petrarch in turn cites the material from Varro and Suetonius, and diligently records that he actually derives the information from Isidore, an author "better known to you." Boccaccio repeats the information in his *Short Treatise in Praise of Dante.*[74] So we find information passed from ancient Latin authors through Isidore and his encyclopedic borrowers to the Italian poets.

In his long French poem, *The Mirror of Mankind* (*ca.* 1377), the English poet John Gower calls Isidore "the perfect cleric."[75] In his equally long Latin poem *The Voice of One Crying* (*ca.* 1378–*ca.* 1393), in an exemplary instance, Gower cites Isidore in a passage actually drawn from Godfrey of Viterbo's encyclopedic poem *Pantheon* (late twelfth century).[76] In *Piers Plowman* (written *ca.* 1376), William Langland quotes and paraphrases Isidore's definition of *anima* in the course of the figure Anima's self-explication.[77] This may be the only direct paraphrase of a passage of Isidore in English verse; it begins:

> 'The whiles I quykne þe cors', quod he, 'called am I *anima*;
> And for þat I kan and knowe called am I *mens* . . .'

Finally we may see the influence of the *Etymologies* on Chaucer. In the Parson's Tale of *The Canterbury Tales*, and nowhere else, Chaucer names Isidore, and quotes from him, both times (lines 89 and 551) at second hand. The latter instance cites Isidore's remarks on the long-lasting fire made from the juniper tree (*Etymologies* XVII.vii.35): so, says the Parson, is the smoldering fire of Wrath.

Again, we may find the *Etymologies* behind a passage in the Second Nun's Tale that derives from the legend of Saint Cecilia in the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine, the standard collection of saints' lives in the later Middle Ages (before 1298).[78] As often, Jacobus begins his Vita with an etymology of the name of the saint, here deriving her name from *caelum*, "heaven," and explicitly borrowing from the *Etymologies*: "Or she [Saint Cecilia] is called a heaven because, as Isidore says, the philosophers asserted that the heavens are revolving, round, and burning." He thus quotes verbatim, including the reference to "philosophers," from *Etymologies* III.xxxi.1, and he goes on to say in what ways Cecilia was revolving, round, and burning (*rotundum, volubile atque ardens*). Chaucer says he will "expowne" the meaning of Cecilia's name, and follows Jacobus's several etymologies in detail, concluding with this perfect Chaucerian stanza (113–19), with which we conclude our own exposition:[79]

> And right so as thise philosophres write
> That hevene is swift and round and eek brennynge,
> Right so was faire Cecilie the white
> Ful swift and bisy evere in good werkynge,
> And round and hool in good perseverynge,
> And brennynge evere in charite ful brighte.
> Now have I yow declared what she highte.

72 "Vedi oltre fiammeggiar l'ardente spiro / d'Isidoro." See also the citation of Isidore's etymology of *anima* in *Convivio* IV.xv.11.

73 For example in the treatment of "poetry" in *Genealogy* XIV.vii, perhaps written around 1360. See C. G. Osgood, trans., *Boccaccio on Poetry*, 2nd edn. (Indianapolis, 1956), pp. 156–59, etc. – see Index. Boccaccio cites the same passage of Isidore in *Genealogy* XI.ii.

74 See Petrarch, pp. 413–14, and Boccaccio, pp. 492–93, translated in *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100–c. 1375*, eds. A. J. Minnis, A. B. Scott, and D. Wallace, rev. edn. (Oxford, 1991).

75 Line 10,405. See W. B. Wilson, trans., *John Gower: Mirour de l'Omme* (East Lansing, MI, 1992: 143).

76 *Vox Clamantis* I.765. See E. W. Stockton, trans., *The Major Latin Works of John Gower* (Seattle, 1962), p. 353.

77 G. Kane and E. T. Donaldson, *Piers Plowman: The B Version* (London, 1975), 15.23–39. The passage is from *Etymologies* XI.i.13. It is also quoted in the *Summa* of Guillelmus Brito, ed. Daly and Daly, p. 40, in Peter the Chanter's *Distinctiones Abel* (late twelfth century, under the term 'Anima'; unedited), and doubtless elsewhere – such is Isidore's afterlife.

78 G. Ryan and H. Ripperger, trans., *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine* (New York, 1969), p. 689. For other citations of Isidore in the *Legend* see the Index. Caxton translated and printed the *Legend* in 1483.

79 *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston, 1987).

Editions of the *Etymologies* and this translation

The first printed edition of the *Etymologies* was issued by G. Zainer at Augsburg in 1472.[80] This was followed by ten further editions by the year 1500. The first edition of the complete works of Isidore appeared in Paris in 1580. The first important scholarly edition was that of Juan de Grial, which became the basis for work on Isidore until the early nineteenth century; it was issued in Madrid in 1599. Its valuable notes are retained in Arévalo's edition. The Jesuit scholar Faustino Arévalo produced his seven-volume edition of the *opera omnia* from Rome between 1797 and 1803; volumes III and IV contain the *Etymologies*. This great edition, whose notes update and correct Grial, was reprinted, with the usual large number of errors, in volumes 81–83 of the *Patrologia Latina* (ed. J.-P. Migne) in 1850.[81] The *Etymologies* form the bulk of volume 82. In 1909 Rudolph Beer published in Leiden a facsimile edition of the "Toledo" manuscript of the *Etymologies*, now Madrid manuscript Tol. 15.8.

Wallace M. Lindsay edited the *Etymologies* for the Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis series in 1911. This was the first edition of the work based on modern principles of textual criticism, and it was prepared by the ablest student of Late Latin of his time. Lindsay claims, with good reason, to have produced a text that accords with the state of Isidore's text as it might have appeared around the year 700. His diffidence about capturing the *ipsissima verba* of Isidore is sensible; given the complex relationship of Isidore with his sources, which themselves doubtless often came down to him in somewhat corrupted form, it is in fact hard to be sure that one does not over-correct on the basis of sources. On the other hand, the steadily accumulating knowledge about the precise sources Isidore used will inevitably inform better readings in future editions, as it already has in the recent critical editions. Lindsay's remarkable accuracy and good judgment have been apparent to us from the outset, and his edition will not easily be superseded.[82] It is still in print, and is likewise handily accessible in the Oroz Reta-Marcos Casquero edition (1993²), which has very few typographical errors. Further, it is also now available on the internet at the address http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/texts/Isidore/home.html. This version is corrected and variously improved from the text that may also be found on the internet at www.thelatinlibrary.com/isidore.html. Lindsay's text is also available on the CD-ROM issued by CETEDOC in the Library of Latin Texts. A concordance to the *Etymologies* has recently appeared.[83]

Two translations into Spanish of the complete *Etymologies* have hitherto appeared for the Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos: by Luis Cortés y Góngora (Madrid, 1957), and by José Oroz Reta and Manuel-A. Marcos Casquero (1993²). The latter edition has an excellent and comprehensive introduction by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, and is provided with the Latin text of Lindsay on facing pages with the translation. We have compared the Reta–Casquero translation in detail with our own, and we have a good number of differences of interpretation from their translation. Yet we must acknowledge that they have divined, at various points of difficulty in the Latin, solutions that we had not grasped.

As already noted, a new, international edition of the *Etymologies* has been appearing, book by book, in the series Auteurs Latins du Moyen Age, being published by Belles Lettres in Paris.[84] To date five volumes have appeared, published from 1981 to 1995, under the general direction of the distinguished Isidoreans Jacques Fontaine and Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz. Information about these volumes appears in the bibliography appended below. These are accompanied by translations in the language of the editors; one has appeared so far in English (Marshall, 1983); of the others, three are in French, and one in Spanish. Of particular value is their profuse

80 The following information about early editions of Isidore is mainly drawn from Díaz y Díaz (Oroz Reta and Marcos Casquero 1993²:226–36).

81 The *Patrologia* edition was reprinted in 1977 by Brepols in Turnhout, Belgium.

82 We find no reason to dissent from the judgment, printed in his edition of Lindsay's *Studies*, of Michael Lapidge, himself a distinguished Latinist: "Wallace Martin Lindsay (1858–1937) was one of the greatest, perhaps *the* greatest, Latin scholars ever born in these British Isles" (Studies in Early Medieval Latin Glossaries 1996: ix).

83 A.-I. Magallón Garcia, *Concordantia in Isidori Hispaliensis Etymologias: A Lemmatized Concordance to the Etymologies of Isidore of Sevilla*. 4 vols. Hildesheim, 1995.

84 On the origins of this edition see Oroz Reta and Marcos Casquero 1993²:235–36.

presentation, in the form of footnotes, of the sources of Isidore's text. We have examined these volumes in detail, have admired them enormously, have learned much from them, and occasionally refer to them in our own notes. The new editors make a number of emendations of Lindsay's text on sound grounds, but in fact the excellence of Lindsay's edition is confirmed by the small number of substantial emendations that the ALMA editors propose. In striking cases we supply the probably superior readings in our notes.

We have based our translation strictly on Lindsay's text. It will be obvious that our translation is fairly literal, as we anticipate that readers with some knowledge of Latin will prefer clarity and help with the occasionally difficult syntax rather than elegance of style. As we have said, Isidore's Latin is resolutely utilitarian; he manifestly aimed to help his readers, and not to delight them with fancy prose.[85] We offer translations of a number of technical terms – plants, colors, minerals, and the like – not in confidence that the English term exactly catches the meaning of the Latin word (or whatever meaning Isidore or his sources might attach to the word), but as a rough guide to the sense. Further, when a Latin term in Isidore has no known English correspondent or meaning beyond what Isidore explicitly supplies, we have simply left the term in Latin: examples are *flamines* (X.96), *sibilus* (XII.iv.9), *thracius* (XVI.iv.8), and *cetra* (XVIII.xi.5). In the many places where Isidore quotes earlier authors in wording that departs from the modern received texts of those authors, we have translated Isidore, and not the received text, annotating the passage when needed for clarity. The simple conventions that we follow in presenting the text are explained in the Note to the Reader.

85 Cf. Fontaine 2000:352: "Isidore sought a purely functional and pedagogical style that was accessible even to the least literate clerks and monks."

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See also the recent and full bibliography in Martin's edition of *Chronica* (2003).

THE *ETYMOLOGIES*

Analytical table of contents

The first table below, within quotation marks, is a translation of the listing of the titles of the twenty books of the *Etymologies* found at the beginning of some early manuscripts, along with its prefatory remark; the list is printed by Lindsay (vol. I, pages 11–12). Since Braulio, not Isidore, divided the work into books, we can be sure these titles are not Isidore's. There follows an analytical table of contents, drawn from the text itself. The title and chapters of each book correspond with our translation of the work. Book XX has no title in the early manuscripts. Manuscripts of the *Etymologies* often listed the chapter titles at the head of each book.[1]

"So that you may quickly find what you are looking for in this work, this page reveals for you, reader, what matters the author of this volume discusses in the individual books – that is, in Book

I. Grammar and its parts.
II. Rhetoric and dialectic.
III. Mathematics, whose parts are arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.
IV. Medicine.
V. Laws and the instruments of the judiciary, and times.
VI. The order of Scripture, cycles and canons, liturgical feasts and offices.
VII. God and angels, prophetic nomenclature, names of the holy fathers, martyrs, clerics, monks, and other names.
VIII. Church and synagogue, religion and faith, heresies, philosophers, poets, sibyls, magicians, pagans, gods of the gentiles.
IX. Languages of the nations, royal, military, and civic terminology, family relationships.
X. Certain terms in alphabetical order.
XI. Human beings and their parts, the ages of humans, portents and metamorphoses.
XII. Four-footed animals, creeping animals, fish, and flying animals.
XIII. Elements, that is, the heavens and the air, waters, the sea, rivers and floods.
XIV. Earth, paradise, the regions of the whole globe, islands, mountains, other terms for places, and the lower regions of the earth.
XV. Cities, urban and rural buildings, fields, boundaries and measures of fields, roads.
XVI. Earthy materials from land or water, every kind of gem and precious and base stones, ivory likewise, treated along with marble, glass, all the metals, weights and measures.
XVII. Agriculture, crops of every kind, vines and trees of every kind, herbs and all vegetables.
XVIII. Wars and triumphs and the instruments of war, the Forum, spectacles, games of chance and ball games.
XIX. Ships, ropes, and nets, iron workers, the construction of walls and all the implements of building, also wool-working, ornaments, and all kinds of clothing.
XX. Tables, foodstuffs, drink, and their vessels, vessels for wine, water, and oil, vessels of cooks, bakers, and lamps, beds, chairs, vehicles, rural and garden implements, equestrian equipment."

Book I: GRAMMAR. i. Discipline and art. ii. The seven liberal disciplines. iii. The common letters of the alphabet. iv. The Latin letters. v. Grammar. vi. The parts of speech. vii. The noun. viii. The pronoun. ix. The verb. x. The adverb. xi. The participle. xii. The conjunction. xiii. The preposition. xiv. The interjection. xv. Letters in grammar. xvi. The syllable. xvii. Metrical feet. xviii. Accents. xix. Accent marks. xx. Punctuated clauses. xxi. Critical signs. xxii. Common shorthand signs. xxiii.

1 For an account of some of the manuscript systems of presenting tables of contents of the *Etymologies* see B.-J. Schröder, *Titel und Text: Zur Entwicklung lateinischer Gedichtüberschriften. Mit Untersuchungen zu . . . Inhaltsverzeichnissen . . .* Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte, vol. 54 (Berlin, 1999). See also Reydellet 1966: 388 *et passim*.

Signs used in law. xxiv. Military signs. xxv. Epistolary codes. xxvi. Finger signals. xxvii. Orthography. xxviii. Analogy. xxix. Etymology. xxx. Glosses. xxxi. Differentiation. xxxii. Barbarism. xxxiii. Solecisms. xxxiv. Faults. xxxv. Metaplasm. xxxvi. Schemas. xxxvii. Tropes. xxxviii. Prose. xxxix. Meters. xl. The fable. xli. History. xlii. The first authors of histories. xliii. The utility of history. xliv. The kinds of history.

Book II: RHETORIC AND DIALECTIC. i. Rhetoric and its name. ii. The founders of the art of rhetoric. iii. The term 'orator' and the parts of rhetoric. iv. The three kinds of arguments. v. The two states of legal arguments. vi. The tripartite dispute. vii. The four parts of an oration. viii. The five types of cases. ix. Syllogisms. x. Law. xi. The maxim. xii. Confirmation and refutation. xiii. Prosopopoeia. xiv. Ethopoeia. xv. Kinds of questions. xvi. Style. xvii. The three registers of speaking. xviii. Clause, phrase, and sentence. xix. Faults to be avoided in letters, words, and expressions. xx. Combinations of words. xxi. Figures of words and expressions. xxii. Dialectic. xxiii. The difference between the arts of rhetoric and dialectic. xxiv. The definition of philosophy. xxv. Porphyry's *Isagoge.* xxvi. Aristotle's categories. xxvii. The *De interpretatione.* xxviii. Logical syllogisms. xxix. The division of definitions abbreviated from the book by Marius Victorinus. xxx. Topics. xxxi. Opposites.

Book III: MATHEMATICS. Mathematics. i. Words belonging to the study of arithmetic. ii. Originators of mathematics. iii. What a number is. iv. What numbers do for us. v. The first division, of even and odd numbers. vi. The second division of all numbers. vii. The third division of all numbers. viii. The differences between arithmetic, geometry, and music. ix. How many infinite numbers exist. x. The inventors of geometry, and its name. xi. The fourfold division of geometry. xii. Geometrical figures. xiii. Geometric numbers. [xiv. Exposition of figures illustrated below.]
MUSIC. xv. Music and its name. xvi. The inventors of music. xvii. The power of music. xviii. The three parts of music. xix. The threefold division of music. xx. The first division of music, which is called harmonic. xxi. The second division, which is called *organicus.* xxii. The third division of music, which is called rhythmic. xxiii. Musical numbers.
ASTRONOMY. xxiv. The name of astronomy. xxv. The inventors of astronomy. xxvi. Those who established astronomy. xxvii. The difference between astronomy and astrology. xxviii. Astronomical reckoning. xxix. The world and its name. xxx. The shape of the world. xxxi. The sky and its name. xxxii. The position of the celestial sphere. xxxiii. The movement of this same sphere. xxxiv. The course of the same sphere. xxxv. The speed of the sky. xxxvi. The axis of heaven. xxxvii. The celestial polar regions. xxxviii. The poles of the heavens. xxxix. The vault of heaven. xl. The doorways of heaven. xli. The twin faces of the sky. xlii. The four parts of heaven. xliii. The hemispheres. xliv. The five circles of heaven. xlv. The circle of the zodiac. xlvi. The bright circle. xlvii. The size of the sun. xlviii. The size of the moon. xlix. The nature of the sun. l. The course of the sun. li. The effect of the sun. lii. The path of the sun. liii. The light of the moon. liv. The shapes of the moon. lv. Interlunar intervals. lvi. The path of the moon. lvii. The proximity of the moon to the earth. lviii. Eclipse of the sun. lix. Eclipse of the moon. lx. The differences between stars, star clusters, and constellations. lxi. The light of the stars. lxii. The location of the stars. lxiii. The course of the stars. lxiv. The changing course of the stars. lxv. The distances between the stars. lxvi. The orbital number of the stars. lxvii. Planets. lxviii. Precession and antegrade motion of stars. lxix. Recession or retrograde motion of stars. lxx. The standing of stars. lxxi. The names of the stars and the reasons for these names.

Book IV: MEDICINE. i. Medicine. ii. The term 'medicine.' iii. The inventors of medicine. iv. The three schools of medicine. v. The four humors of the body. vi. Acute illnesses. vii. Chronic illnesses. viii. Illnesses that appear on the surface of the body. ix. Remedies and medications. x. Medical books. xi. The instruments of physicians. xii. Scents and ointments. xiii. The foundations of medicine.

Book V: LAWS AND TIMES. i. The originators of laws. ii. Divine laws and human laws. iii. How jurisprudence, laws, and customs differ from each other. iv. What natural law is. v. What civil law is. vi. What the law of nations is. vii. What military law is. viii. What public law is. ix. What quirital law is. x. What a law is. xi. What popular resolutions (i.e. plebiscites) are. xii. What a senate decree is. xiii. What an order and an edict are.